

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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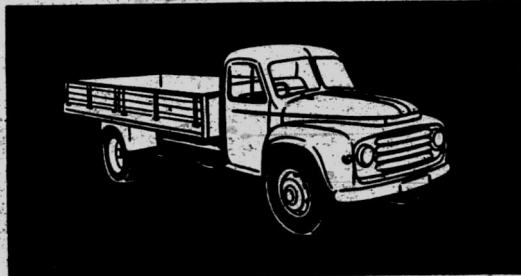
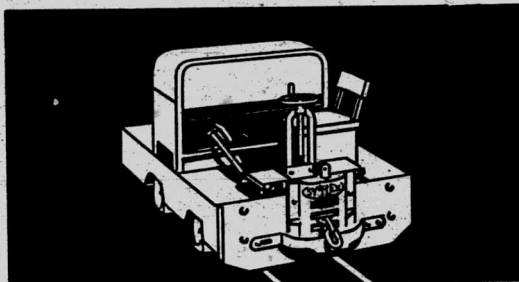


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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

LORD SALISBURY—in honour of whose grandfather Rhodesia's capital was named—expressed in the House of Lords on Monday, as he has so often done, basic truths about Africa which the Government of the day and almost all other men in public life had found it expedient to disregard.

Lord Salisbury Points To the Basic Truth.

In common with almost everyone—and, we have no doubt, Mr. Ian Smith himself—Lord Salisbury regrets the unilateral declaration of independence, but he declines to be associated with the massive misrepresentation through newspapers, television, radio, and other means of communication that the British Government is blameless for the tragedy. Mistrust and suspicion of all recent British Governments had, he told the Upper House, grown steadily in the minds of Rhodesians, an ever-increasing number of whose responsible men, black as well as white, had come to believe that their country's political problem could not be solved while African nationalist extremists were encouraged to look to London. To stigmatize as traitors the only people who are upholding the British way of life in Central Africa, and supinely to repudiate those who had created and developed Rhodesia merely to appease "a hostile junta of semi-civilized States whose motives are wholly political", was strange treatment of most loyal subjects of the Queen. Britain had, he thought, been brought by the conduct of the Government to about the lowest point ever reached. There is, we believe, no word of exaggeration in that characteristic statement, made the more necessary by the Prime Minister's remarkably astute creation of the impression that no man could have done more than he to avert what has happened in Rhodesia. He has made that claim in those words in Parliament, in a broadcast to the nation, and in his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet on Monday.

Yet, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has

shown in recent issues—and, unhappily, this journal alone—it is an absurd claim to make. Unfortunately, it is almost universally believed because Mr. Wilson's

Why Meretriciousness Can Pass As Merit.

television technique is near perfect; because the television channels so consistently disseminate left-wing views; because almost all the leading newspapers have abandoned the duty to examine African affairs objectively and criticize without fear or favour; because the mass of the people are consequently ill-informed about Africa and unable to recognize, let alone refute, the stream of propaganda which passes for news; because the small minority who do recognize the false presentation of events seldom protest in sufficient numbers to cause Members of Parliament to remonstrate with their party leaders; and because those leaders, with sadly few exceptions, are accessories to the political crimes committed in Britain's name in Africa in the recent past, and consequently have no liking for real probing into African issues. Tory front-benchers have in the past few days helped Mr. Wilson to burnish his self-created image of blamelessness over Rhodesia when they could and should have shown its meretriciousness. Having sadly watched for years the insidious trend in British public affairs, and noted that callous abandonment of solemn obligations had become a political commonplace, Rhodesians felt themselves driven to the bitter conclusion that they dare not rely on the British Government in any major matter.

Though Socialist Ministers, having been in office for only a year, are less culpable than their Conservative predecessors, it must be remembered that they always pressed the Tories to appease the Afro-Asian clamour by surrender. Now they seek to justify themselves by hypocritical double-talk. It has suddenly

become convenient to refer to "British trusteeship", though there is naturally no hint that Rhodesian distrust was primarily caused by persistent disregard of that trusteeship. Had United Kingdom politicians acted as responsible trustees for the British African Dependencies, so-called independence would not have been thrust so prematurely and recklessly on so many hopelessly unready territories: It is because the politicians were so foolish and faithless in their trust that during this year and last, to go back no further, there has been a Communist-inspired rebellion in Zanzibar, attempted rebellion in Malawi, a large-scale and bloody rising in Zambia, mutinies in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda which had to be quelled by British troops, swiftly spreading corruption almost everywhere, and organized subversion against neighbouring States, including in particular Rhodesia. It is because Rhodesians, black as well as white, were determined to prevent such occurrences in their country that they clashed with the men in power in Britain who had to pretend that these calamities were merely the "growing pains" of African nationalism. Rhodesians know better, for they have to live with the violence of that nationalism. Coincident with the Rhodesian assumption of independence we find African M.P.s. in neighbouring Commonwealth States talking of skinning other Africans alive and of using their skulls as drinking vessels, and an official of the Nkomo party writing that the rivers of Rhodesia will run red with the blood of white men and their children. Is it unrealistic for Rhodesians to say that they know better than distant theorists how best to regulate the pace of change?

At no time has any Rhodesian Minister taken the racist line that the purpose of the Government was to perpetuate white supremacy—though that misrepresentation

has been constant in the British Press. What **Broken Pledges** the British Press. What **Provoked U.D.I.** Rhodesian Ministers very reasonably said was that the political advancement of Africans must be by merit, not by capitulation to the agitators of a tiny minority of African racist careerists encouraged and financed from outside the country, mainly from Communist and American sources. Some of those who have provided encouragement and money have been and are Members of the British Parliament, and their resentment at Rhodesia's stand has been all the greater because their *protégés* elsewhere in Central and East Africa have had their way in consequence of the cynical and catastrophic complacency of the Macmillan Administration. When they be-

trayed the Central African Federation, senior members of that Government led Southern Rhodesian leaders to believe that their Colony would be granted the independence which was to be accorded to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; and, since the Rhodesians had governed themselves for forty years, that was obviously their due. What they considered to be promises from Whitehall were broken—as many other of their pledges had been in Africa under Macmillanism. Then, and only then, did a unilateral declaration of independence become a real possibility.

Many of those who joined the Rhodesian Front in support of the plan had no wish or expectation that it would ever become operative. They hoped and believed that overwhelming evidence of **Misjudgments** Rhodesian determination **In Whitehall.** would bring British politicians to a belated sense of the realities, and that agreement acceptable to both Governments would then be reached. It is our conviction that Mr. Smith held that view. If that were not so, why should he have spent more than eighteen months in endeavours to persuade H.M. Government to face the facts in Central Africa? Had he been a racist revolutionary, as some publicists now proclaim, he would surely have done a year ago what he has now reluctantly and regretfully felt constrained to do. The tragedy is that the year and a half in which United Kingdom politicians had so many opportunities of studying the situation and assessing the personalities concerned were wasted. So poor were the judgments in Westminster and Whitehall that there was a fatal confidence that a mixture of bluff and bullying would succeed. No one was more clearly a victim of that obsession than the present Prime Minister.

His exchanges with Rhodesia just over a year ago opened with a brutal broadcast; and this week he has absurdly referred to the Rhodesian leaders as "little frightened men".

Whatever they are, they are **Mr. Wilson's** not frightened. It would be **Fatal Bluff.** truer to talk of courage, even if deeply regrettable courage.

Mr. Wilson's recent four-day visit to Salisbury, when he knew that the Smith Cabinet had definitely decided to assume independence, produced sufficient shock from his talks with the African political leaders to compel him to say that an African majority could come only by achievement, not by clock or calendar. That was precisely what Rhodesians had continued to declare, and what is provided by the Constitution, granted only four years ago, which Mr. Wilson was so anxious to amend.

Had that acknowledgement by the British Government been made years ago relations between the two countries would have remained harmonious. Moreover, the African political parties would assuredly have refrained from boycotting the Constitution. But, most unfortunately, public admission of the need for considerable delay in which Rhodesian Africans might gain political and other experience was coupled by Mr. Wilson with continued bluff about methods. That Mr. Smith was right to resist is shown beyond question by the fact that in their telephone conversation in the early morning of Independence Day Mr. Wilson conceded every single point which he had previously refused. In other words, Mr. Wilson had been reckless enough to continue to pretend throughout the four days, and had the mortification of discovering that the concessions which he should have made across the table were offered much too late.

He was also precipitate in returning before matters had been absolutely clarified with the Rhodesian negotiators. The flimsy excuse since offered is that to remain while they held discussions with their associates would have been offensive to Mr. Wilson's "dignity"! When he did fly off with important issues still undecided he

left behind the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Attorney-General, supposedly to tie up the loose ends. But, taking a cue from their chief, they decided to follow his unwise example and leave after only a few hours' further discussion. Conversations about Rhodesia with African leaders in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda were evidently considered more pressing than a final settlement of intricate points with the white Rhodesians whose whole future was in the balance. The fatuous excuse for their premature departure was that there was a Cabinet meeting in London which the two Ministers must attend. Was that more urgent than completion of the task which they had flown to Rhodesia to undertake? Do not these evidences of imprudence, indeed, of irresponsibility akin to frivolity, destroy the assertion that everything possible was done by Mr. Wilson and his colleagues? Yet Opposition leaders have significantly swelled the chorus of praise. Even at so grave a time they have been insufficiently concerned to analyse all aspects of the tragedy as it must appear in Rhodesian eyes and boldly proclaim the facts. They have not pointed out to the nation that Mr. Wilson's bluff and procrastination were fatal. He conceded too little too late; but when he recognized that he had missed the tide of opportunity, offered all that he had until then held back.

Rhodesian Ministers Pledge Loyalty "Whatever Happens"

Exclusion from the Commonwealth Would Be A "Lasting Sorrow"

EVERY MINISTER IN RHODESIA, those in the Cabinet and the three Deputy Ministers (known until recently as Parliamentary Secretaries), signed on Tuesday of last week a letter addressed to the QUEEN, to whom it was delivered in London next day. It read: —

"Your Majesty,
"At this time, when Your Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and Your Majesty's Government in Rhodesia are finding it impossible to agree on the course of government which may be best for all the peoples of Rhodesia, we, your Ministers, wish respectfully to convey to Your Majesty, both on behalf of all peoples in our country and on our own behalf, our constant loyalty to Your Majesty.

"The Crown, in the person of the Sovereign, is dear to all the peoples of Rhodesia, and Your Majesty will know how completely that devotion has been shown on many occasions in the past.

"It will be to our lasting sorrow should we find ourselves excluded from the Commonwealth, but nothing can break the ties of common heritage and kinship which we share with so many of its older members.

"May we therefore assure Your Majesty that whatever happens there will still be found among all Rhodesians that same loyalty and devotion to the Crown

which have guided and sustained us since our country was founded".

The signatures were: —
Ian Smith, Clifford Dupont, A. Dunlop, D. W. Montrose, Ian F. McLean, B. H. Mussett, A. P. Smith, Lardner-Burke, W. J. Harper, J. H. Howman, (Lord) Lance B. Smith, I. B. Dillon, P. Van der Byl, P. Van Heerden, J. J. Wrathall, and G. W. Rudland.

The Queen's reply was sent to the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the representative of the Crown in Rhodesia, through the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, who telegraphed: —

"I have it in command from the Queen to request you convey this reply to a message to Her Majesty signed by all the Ministers in the Government of Southern Rhodesia which was delivered in London today.

"Her Majesty acknowledges with gratitude the assurance of loyalty to the Crown expressed by the Prime Minister of Rhodesia and other Ministers.

"She is confident that all her Rhodesian people, on whose behalf the message speaks, will demonstrate their loyalty by continuing to act in a constitutional manner".

Next morning Rhodesia declared her independence.

Mr. Ian Smith's Broadcast to Rhodesia*

Union Jack Will Continue to Fly and National Anthem Will Be Sung

Firm Intention to Abide by the Constitution

Your Government has issued the following proclamation which I will read to you:

Whereas in the course of human affairs history has shown that it may become necessary for a people to resolve the political affiliations which have connected them with another people and to assume among other nations the separate and equal status to which they are entitled,

And whereas in such event a respect for the opinions of mankind requires them to declare to other nations the causes which impel them to assume full responsibility for their own affairs,

Now therefore, we the Government of Rhodesia, do hereby declare:—

That it is an indisputable and accepted historic fact that since 1923 the Government of Rhodesia have exercised the powers of self-government and have been responsible for the progress, development, and welfare of their people; that the people of Rhodesia, having demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom and elsewhere throughout two world wars; and having been prepared to shed their blood and give of the substance in what they believed to be a mutual interest of freedom-loving people; now see all that they have cherished about to be shattered on the rocks of expediency.

Destroying Civilization in Africa

That the people of Rhodesia have witnessed a process which is destructive of those very precepts upon which civilization in a primitive country has been built, they have seen the principles of Western democracy and responsible government and moral standards crumble elsewhere, nevertheless they have remained steadfast.

That the people of Rhodesia fully support the request of their Government for sovereign independence, and have witnessed the consistent refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to accede to their entreaties.

That the Government of the United Kingdom have thus demonstrated that they are not prepared to grant sovereign independence to Rhodesia on terms acceptable to the people of Rhodesia, thereby persisting in maintaining an unwarrantable jurisdiction over Rhodesia, obstructing laws and treaties with other States in the conduct of affairs with other nations and refusal of assent to necessary laws for the public good, all this to the detriment of the future peace, prosperity, and good government of Rhodesia.

That the Government of Rhodesia have for a long period patiently and in good faith negotiated with the Government of the United Kingdom for the removal of the remaining limitations placed upon them and for the grant of sovereign independence.

That in the belief that procrastination and delay strike at and injure the very life of the nation, the Govern-

ment of Rhodesia consider it essential that Rhodesia should obtain without delay sovereign independence, the justice of which is beyond question.

Now therefore we, the Government of Rhodesia, in humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destiny of nations, conscious that the people of Rhodesia have always shown unswerving loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen and earnestly praying that we the people of Rhodesia will not be hindered in our determination, to continue exercising our undoubted right to demonstrate the same loyalty and devotion in seeking to promote the common good so that the dignity and freedom of all men may be assured,

Do by this proclamation adopt, enact and give to the people of Rhodesia the Constitution annexed hereto. God save the Queen.

Decision After Deepest Heart-Searching

Now I would like to say a few words to you. Today, now that the final stalemate in negotiations has become evident, the end of the road has been reached.

It has become abundantly clear that it is the policy of the British Government to play us along with no real intention of arriving at a solution which we could possibly accept. Indeed, in the latest verbal and confidential message delivered to me last night we find that on the main principle which is in dispute the two Governments have moved further apart.

I promised the people of this country that I would continue to negotiate to the bitter end and that I would leave no stone unturned in my endeavours to secure an honourable and mutually accepted settlement.

It now falls to me to tell you that negotiations have come to an end. No one could deny that we have striven with might and main and at times bent over backwards to bridge the gap which divides us from the British Government.

My Ministers and I have not arrived at this decision without the deepest heart-searching. We have sat for days in ceaseless conference trying to find any possible way of achieving negotiated independence, as we undertook to the country we would do.

But I would be failing in my duty to all of you who live in Rhodesia if I were to permit this country to drift in the present paralysing state of uncertainty. The bitter lesson of the Federation is constantly in the forefront of my mind. In that case matters were permitted to drift and plans for action were formulated too late to prevent the destruction of this noble concept of racial harmony.

However, Rhodesia has not rejected the possibility of racial harmony in Africa. The responsibility for the break-up of the Federation was Great Britain's alone. Their experiment failed and they are now trying to foist the same dogma on to Rhodesia.

Opportunities for Africans Not Diminished

We are determined that the same will never be allowed to happen here. Let no one believe that this action today marks a radical departure from the principles by which we have lived, or be under any misconception that now the Constitution will be torn up and that the protection of the rights of all peoples which are enshrined in that Constitution will be abrogated and disregarded.

Neither let it be thought that this event marks a diminution in the opportunities which our African people have to advance and prosper in Rhodesia. Far from this being the case, it is our intention, in consultation with the chiefs, to bring them into the Government and administration as the acknowledged leaders of the African people on a basis acceptable to them.

It is our firm intention to abide by the Constitution. Indeed, we have never asked for anything other than independence on the basis of the present Constitution, and only such amendments are included as are necessary to adapt it to that of an independent country.

With regard to the position of Members of Parliament, judges, civil servants, and members of the armed forces, as well as the police, provision has been made for all of them to carry on their duties, and all are deemed to have complied

* This historic debate was made in Salisbury on Thursday, November 11, Remembrance Day.

with the requirements of the new Constitution. They will continue to carry on their normal work. All present laws shall continue to operate and the courts will enforce them in the normal manner.

We are doing no more than assuming the right which various British Ministers have in the past indicated were ours. And in fact this Constitution was the one which would carry us to independence.

Let no one be persuaded that this action marks a change in our attitude towards our neighbours in Africa, to whom we have ceaselessly extended the hand of friendship and to whom we have nothing but goodwill and the best of intentions.

We have never sought, nor will we ever seek, to interfere or in any way attempt to influence their policy and their internal affairs. All we ask in return is their goodwill in permitting us to look after what are, after all, our own private and domestic matters.

No Quarrel with People of Britain

I wish to make it quite clear, as indeed I have on many occasions in the past, that we in this country have no quarrels whatsoever with the people of Great Britain. The differences of opinion which we have are entirely with successive British Governments.

The people of Britain are the kith and kin of many Rhodesians and the people with whom we have the closest affinity both in our way of life and in our conception of justice and civilization.

How can anyone suggest that we would harbour hostile sentiments against those with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy in two world wars? Our admiration and friendship for the people of Great Britain is real and enduring.

Let there be no doubt that we in this country stand second to none in our loyalty to the Queen. And whatever else other countries may have done, or may do, it is our intention that the Union Jack will continue to fly in Rhodesia and the National Anthem continue to be sung.

Most of you, I know, have longed for this day, but a few on the other hand have had reservations. However, I would say to you that there can be no future for this great and splendid country of ours if we are to remain drifting in this constitutional twilight.

To those who believe that it would be in our own interests to continue as we are, I would point out that the British Prime Minister implied in his speech to Parliament on his return from Rhodesia that should the result of the Royal Commission go against Rhodesia, the British Government reserved the right to call a conference, which further implied the changing of our Constitution as a result.

It would appear that if this is the British Government's real intention, we shall not be allowed to go on as we are—even if there had been a Royal Commission.

While African Nationalists Blackmail Britain

There can be no solution to our racial problems while African nationalists believe that, provided they stirred up sufficient trouble, they will be able to blackmail the British Government into bringing about a miracle on their behalf by handing the country over to irresponsible rule.

There can be no happiness in this country while the absurd situation continues to exist where people such as ourselves, who have ruled ourselves with an impressive record for over 40 years, are denied what is freely granted to other countries, who have ruled themselves in some cases for no longer than a year.

There can never be long-term prosperity, which is so necessary for the nurturing of our endeavours to improve the standard of living and increase the happiness and better the lot of all our people, whilst the present uncertainty exists.

No businessman could ever seriously contemplate massive long-term investment in a country in which chaos and confusion will always be future possibilities.

Whatever the short-term economic disadvantages may be, in the long term steady economic progress could never be achieved unless we are masters in our own house.

To those of you who fear the short-term effect of economic sanctions, I would say that, whilst we in no way minimize the possible hardship and inconvenience they may bring about, nonetheless we are firmly convinced that in the long run, because of our natural resources and the enterprise of our people, there will be brought about a prosperous and better future for everyone.

Week after week we have seen businessmen passing through here on their way to South Africa, who with few exceptions say that, whilst this state of uncertainty continues, they will not even contemplate a serious investigation of the possibility of investment. However, they also say that once we have solved our constitutional difficulties and are independent, then they will be very interested in undertaking serious investigation and inquiries with a view to investing.

That some economic retributions will be visited upon us there is no doubt. Those who seek to damage us do not have any great concern for the principles to which they endlessly pay lip service; for if they really believed in these principles, which they ceaselessly proclaim, then they could not possibly deny the many disasters which have been brought about by the premature withdrawal of European influence from countries in Africa and Asia who were nowhere near ready for it.

There is no doubt that the talk of threats and sanctions is no more than appeasement to the United Nations, the Afro-Asian bloc, and certain members of the Commonwealth; and undoubtedly some action will be taken.

But I cannot conceive of a rational world uniting in an endeavour to destroy the economy of this country, knowing, as they undoubtedly do, that in many cases the hardest hit will be the very people on whose behalf they would like to believe they are invoking these sanctions. We for our part will never do anything in the nature of taking revenge on any neighbouring African State for what other countries may do to us.

But it is nonetheless inevitable that if our economy should contract as a result of such actions taken by others, then what jobs were available would have to be reserved for our own Africans, thus bringing hardship not only on our own people but also to those people from adjoining territories who work here. If, as some have predicted, there are repercussions elsewhere in Africa, I would warn those people who contemplate taking action that it will be their actions and not ours that have precipitated these events.

Whatever the consequences may be and whatever difficulties may present themselves, we are a people who in the past have survived and prevailed in circumstances of the utmost adversity. The mantle of the pioneers has fallen on our shoulders, and we will, I am sure, be able to face any difficulties which may occur fortified by the same strength and courage which distinguished our forefathers in days gone by.

Cast in Historic Role

I do not believe many of the extreme consequences which have been forecast by various would-be Cassandras, both here and abroad, will come to pass. But, whatever may befall, I have the profoundest confidence and belief in the determination of our people to stand united and to prevail in the face of any adversity.

The safety of our homes and the freedom of our people alike depend on the conduct of each one of us at this critical time.

In the lives of most nations there comes a moment when a stand has to be made for principles whatever the consequences. This moment has come to Rhodesia. I pray—and I hope other Rhodesians will also pray today—that our Government will be given the wisdom and the strength to bring Rhodesia through.

I call upon all of you in this historic hour to support me and my Government in the struggle in which we are engaged. I believe that we are a courageous people and history has cast us in an heroic rôle. To us has been given the privilege of being the first Western nation in the last two decades to have the determination and fortitude to say: So far and no further.

We may be a small country, but we are a determined people who have been called upon to play a rôle of world-wide significance.

We Rhodesians have rejected the doctrinaire philosophy of appeasement and surrender. The decision which we have taken today is a refusal by Rhodesians to sell their birthright. And, even if we were to surrender, does anyone believe that Rhodesia would be the last target of the Communists in the Afro-Asian block?

We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilization, and Christianity; and in the spirit of this belief we have this day assumed our sovereign independence. God bless you all.

Warning of British 'Subversion'

ON MONDAY Mr. Smith called on the armed forces, police, and civil service to remain loyal to his Government. He said:—

"The British Government will not hesitate to employ every device, legal or otherwise, that occurs to them, to sow doubts in the minds of civil servants, members of the armed forces, and of the prison service and to detach these services from their loyalty to the Government and to Rhodesia itself.

"All are warned not to believe any approaches, no matter how flattering they might be, made to them by anyone outside the Government, and in particular to disregard any claims

(Continued on page 213)

Sir Humphrey Gibbs Remains in Government House

Tells Rhodesians Not to Further Objectives of the Illegal Authorities

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, who has farmed in the country for nearly 40 years, has refused four requests of Mr. Smith to vacate Government House, Salisbury, since the declaration of independence was made last Thursday morning.

Acting on the Queen's instructions, the Governor immediately announced the suspension from office of Mr. Smith and all other Ministers. He said:—

"The Government have made an unconstitutional declaration of independence. I have received the following message from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations."

"I have it in command from Her Majesty to inform you that it is Her Majesty's pleasure that in the event of an unconstitutional declaration of independence, Mr. Ian Smith and other persons holding office as Ministers of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, or as deputy Ministers, cease to hold office. I am commanded by Her Majesty to instruct you in that event to convey Her Majesty's pleasure in this matter to Mr. Smith and otherwise publish it in such a manner as you may deem fit."

Carry On with Normal Tasks

The Governor then called on all citizens of Rhodesia to refrain from all acts which would further the objectives of the illegal authorities, saying that "subject to that, it is the duty of all citizens to maintain law and order in the country and carry on with their normal tasks". His instructions, Sir Humphrey Gibbs said, "apply equally to the judiciary, the armed forces, the police, and the public services".

On Sunday, after a second request from Mr. Smith to leave Government House, the Governor said that he did not recognize the "illegal Government" and would resign only at the Queen's command.

Mr. Smith then stated that he had called on the Governor two hours before making the independence broadcast, and had then been told by Sir Humphrey that a unilateral declaration of independence was wrong, but that though he opposed it "once U.D.I. was a *fait accompli* all good Rhodesians should stand together". Mr. Smith added: "He assured me that he was a good Rhodesian."

Change of Mind

"On Friday I paid Sir Humphrey another visit, taking with me Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Mr. Lardner-Burke, the Minister of Law and Order. I found that he had changed his stand, and had obviously received instructions from London. I suggested that he should ask the Queen to relieve him of his position. This he was not prepared to do."

Referring to a declaration by the Governor dismissing Mr. Smith and his Government, Mr. Smith said: "It was not signed by the Queen but by the Commonwealth Secretary. It seems that the Queen never came into the matter at all."

A message from the Governor to the people of Rhodesia on Sunday said:—

"It is with much regret that I feel compelled to make this statement. Rhodesians will wish to know my attitude and my position. I remain your legal Governor, and my duty is to uphold the lawful constitution.

"I will not recognize the now illegal Government or the new Constitution they have presented to the country. Mr. Smith and his colleagues no longer hold office lawfully. I call on the citizens of Rhodesia to refrain

from all acts which would further the objectives of the illegal authorities.

"Subject to that, it is the duty of all citizens to maintain law and order in the country and to carry on with their normal tasks. This applies equally to the judiciary, the armed services, the police, and the public service.

"I have been asked by Mr. Smith to resign from my office as Governor. I hold my office at the pleasure of Her Majesty the Queen, and I will resign only if asked by Her Majesty to do so. Her Majesty has asked me to continue in office, and I therefore remain your lawful Governor and the lawfully constituted authority in Rhodesia.

"It is my sincere hope that lawfully constituted government will be restored in this country at the earliest possible moment, and in the meantime I stress the necessity for all people to remain calm and to assist the armed services and the police to continue to maintain law and order."

Sir Humphrey then repeated his statement of Thursday (which had been censored from local newspapers) that the unilateral declaration meant that Mr. Smith and his Ministers had ceased to hold office.

The message was not broadcast in the evening news bulletin.

Reports from Rhodesia stating that it had been planned to fly Sir Humphrey to his farm in the Bulawayo area immediately after the independence declaration, but that Major General Putterill and Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins, Chiefs of the Rhodesian Army and the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, had declined to be implicated in an act which would be illegal, were denied by Mr. Smith, who paid two visits to the Governor on Monday.

Treason to Lay Hands on Governor

There has been no attempt to isolate the Governor, with whom Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice and Deputy Governor, has been staying since his return from London. More than 2,000 people signed the visitors' book in four days; though many added expressions of opposition to U.D.I., most are regarded as having taken that opportunity of demonstrating loyalty to the Queen. Among the signatories were Lord Malvern, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, and many Africans.

The Prime Minister issued the following *communiqué* from 10 Downing Street on Sunday evening:—

"The statement issued today in Salisbury by Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, suggests that his authority is being challenged and that his person may be in jeopardy. It should be known that the Law Officers of the Crown advise that anyone who orders or carries out the forcible expulsion of the Governor or lays hands on him or otherwise assaults him commits an act of treason. If any person were to usurp, or seek to usurp, the authority of the Governor by purporting to act as 'regent' or otherwise, this also would constitute an act of treason."

Mr. Smith said: "The Governor is representing not the Queen but the British Prime Minister, by aiding and abetting him in his obvious endeavour to create a division among the people of Rhodesia. Just before independence was declared he said that he could not stop it and Rhodesians must stand together; he would like to go back to his farm and see if he could get more milk out of his cows. Overnight he had changed his mind, obviously on instruction from London."

(Concluded on page 214)

Final Telephone Conversation of the Two Prime Ministers

Mr. Wilson's Offer of Concessions Made Too Late to Prevent U.D.I.

The following transcript of the telephone conversation between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith early on Thursday morning of last week, shortly before Rhodesia announced her unilateral declaration of independence, was released from Downing Street on Sunday.

PRIME MINISTER: Is that Mr. Prime Minister? Good morning.

MR. SMITH: Good morning.

PRIME MINISTER: Good morning. I wanted to talk to you directly. I have had a report on the High Commissioner's talk with you last night. It seems to me, apart from one or two points of clarification, that there really is nothing now between us to stop us setting up the Royal Commission. I understand there are one or two points you are not clear about. I would like to clear up one or two of them now. The first of these relates to the question of our dissociation from your document to the Royal Commission.

Points About Royal Commission

As far as that is concerned, we believe, as I said in my message, that having stated our opposition in the House of Commons we are now prepared to leave it there. The Royal Commission will be seized of our views and we have no intention at all of canvassing against those proposals in Rhodesia. As far as that is concerned, the position, I think, is quite clear.

MR. SMITH: Yes.

PRIME MINISTER: Now the second point relates to the freedom of the Commission to see everybody they want to see. I discussed this with Beadle [Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia], who can tell you about it when he returns this morning. This must be a matter for the Commission to decide; whether they are allowed to see everybody that they wish to see, and whether in their view there is a free expression of opinion by the people of Rhodesia; and we would have full confidence in the Commission, when it is appointed, to decide whether they could do their job. If they cannot, presumably they would on their own initiative report to us.

I am not suggesting that we give any instructions to the Commission on that point, but it is a matter on which there is very great concern in our House of Commons. We have got to be satisfied that the Commission can do their job, and that is a matter for the Commission to decide. That is point two.

In Case of Unanimity

Now point three refers to the lengthy question [given textually by Mr. Wilson in the House of Commons] that we have put to you. So far as that question is concerned, this is a question I am putting to your Government. My own Cabinet is meeting this morning. If your Government is prepared to say "yes" if we say "yes", I will of course recommend to my Cabinet that we say "yes".

And that will mean that we are prepared to commend to the House of Commons, to Parliament, subject always to their sovereign rights of course, acceptance of a unanimous report of the Commission which says that the people of Rhodesia want independence on the 1961 Constitution, in return for a statement by you that you drop your claim to independence on that Constitution if there is a unanimous report saying that the people of Rhodesia do not want that.

In those circumstances, of course, we then propose that the Royal Commission be constituted with wider terms of reference. This does not rule out, of course, if you want to press

this, that the 1961 Constitution continues, but that it would not be a basis for independence. That is what we mean by dropping your claim.

The only other point that I can see—though you may tell me there are others—is what happens if there are majority reports. If there are majority reports, in other words if we do not get a clear unanimous report, then both Governments would reserve their position and we would have to get into talks again. So that is how we see these particular problems. But I may not have dealt with all the doubts and clarifications you have in mind, though I think Hugh Beadle could probably clear up any further details.

No Differences Left

Oh, I am sorry, I have not dealt with the interim report. We believe this should be a matter—and here I am taking the advice of what Hugh Beadle said to me—this should be a matter for the Commission, if they were to decide by majority that they want to make an interim report. If they do not so decide there would presumably be no interim report as to the method of consultation. Now those are the points that I thought—it seemed from your discussion with the High Commissioner—that you were not clear about.

But my own view now is that there is no difference in substance or, as far as I can see, in detail to prevent the establishment of a Royal Commission, and my own view now is that I should send a senior Minister to Salisbury to clear up any points of clarification if there are any—I can send him today—and then to sign an agreed minute with you on the basis on which we recommend the Royal Commission. I do not think there is anything now to justify further exchanges or arguments. I can send one of my senior chaps today.

MR. SMITH: Yes, I think I got most of it. Could you hear me?

PRIME MINISTER: Yes. Are you there? Could you hear all that?

MR. SMITH: The important things that are outstanding as far as we are concerned are certainly the things you mentioned at the beginning. But the two most important things that we believe, as we said not in my last letter but in the previous letter, that we would be prepared to accept a majority report as opposed to a minority report and that what is most of all worrying us is your suggestion that if the Royal Commission should not find in favour of the terms that we put, that you would then be in a position to put your terms to the country. Because we have always believed that, if the Commission did not find in our favour, then the alternative would be to continue as we are under the present Constitution because this is what the British Government has so far advocated to us. This is the thing that is causing our Cabinet the most concern.

Continuance under 1961 Constitution Not Excluded

PRIME MINISTER: "We have never said, as far as I am aware, that there is anything against continuing as you are."

MR. SMITH: I will take your message to them.

PRIME MINISTER: Let us just be clear about this. On a unanimous report, the proposal we put to you is that we both agree to accept a unanimous report, whichever way it goes. On a majority report, our proposal is that the Royal Commission be reconstituted. But we certainly haven't said that we are unwilling to go on as we are: all we have said is that there would then be no basis for independence. Both sides have reserved their position so far as this is concerned.

But there would be no basis for agreed independence on the 1961 Constitution in the absence of a unanimous report. But if both sides have reserved their position and if your Government said in those circumstances "Let us go on as we are", we have made no proposal about altering the 1961 Constitution unless we can agree to set up a Royal Commission to try and do it.

MR. SMITH: This is the thing which is worrying us most, and as I say, the first reaction of my Cabinet when they read your message, as they have been reading it this morning, is that we are further apart and not closer together.

PRIME MINISTER: Oh, this isn't true, you know. This really isn't so. On every point you have pressed since I left Salisbury, we have met you—on the terms of reference, the narrower terms of reference; on the fact that it should be a Rhodesian paper only, if we could not agree on this; and on the interim report—on all these things, and even to the point now where we are prepared to accept in advance, and commend to Parliament, subject always to the sovereign rights of Parliament, to commend as a Government a unanimous report

of the Commission. Now how you can say we are further apart than ever I just cannot understand.

MR. SMITH: That is what is worrying them, and the reason why it is that that thing which has now been brought in referred to the fact that if the Commission was to vote against the recommendations that we wished, then you would expect not a Royal Commission putting over the five principles, embodying the five principles themselves—that would be a different thing to retaining the *status quo*.

PRIME MINISTER: I was not aware that there had been any backtracking by your Government on the five principles. I thought we had agreed with them all along. But as far as we are concerned, we have never ruled out the *status quo*. But we thought that you and your Government and your people wanted to have independence, and that independence was something that you wanted for its own sake.

What we are saying is that if there were a unanimous report against independence on these terms, then if you are still demanding independence we would have to get something that was acceptable—we suggested a Royal Commission for that. If, of course, you say you are prepared in those circumstances having lost the unanimous report, to maintain the *status quo*, without independence, we have never said that we would not agree to that.

"This Thing Has Gone Too Far"

MR. SMITH: Well now, as I said, we are in the midst of discussing this, and I take it that it would not be right of me if I do not tell you that the feeling seems to be that it looks as though this thing has gone too far. I would be wrong to say the feeling was optimistic.

My Cabinet and I regret that this has happened at this stage, because you find yourself in the position that it has gone too far, not because of actions on your part. This seems to be the general theory. Is this not irreconcilable?

PRIME MINISTER: Well, the thing is obviously reconcilable and there is not a point outstanding so far as I can see; but if there is any doubt or any point to be clarified I have offered to send a senior Minister out today. He will have full authority in the name of our Cabinet to discuss these points with you within the terms of the decisions that our Cabinet have made and which were communicated yesterday.

It may well be that your people or that you have doubts about the meaning of some of these things but what I am getting more and more worried about—I had this feeling on that Friday night we met and some of your messages seem to reinforce this feeling—that members of your Cabinet, whether a majority or not only you can say, have pretty well decided to take the law into their own hands, irrespective of any effort to reach agreement.

I do not believe that there is a single independent person in the world studying our exchanges, who could possibly say that this is irreconcilable. This is just an excuse for illegal action by people who have got the bit between their teeth. I am not accusing you of this, because I believe that you throughout have negotiated in good faith, as we have, I am not sure that that is true of some of your colleagues. The question whether you can get them to take a reasonable point of view is something that only you know. I think you are big enough to do it; but I may be wrong.

MR. SMITH: Well, I think it is possible that there may be a few that fall into the category that you mention, but I can assure you that it is only a few, not the majority. That I can assure you.

Death Wish

PRIME MINISTER: Yes, well, as I say, I am convinced—and I have said it throughout in the House and elsewhere, and I believe it to be true—that you have negotiated in good faith. If anybody can now say that this position is irreconcilable or justifies illegal action I think they want their heads examining or they must have a death wish on them that is beyond what can be dealt with by ordinary rational argument, such as you and I have conducted.

MR. SMITH: Well, I am grateful to you for taking all this trouble.

PRIME MINISTER: I leave it to you now to report to your Cabinet what I have said. I hope you could hear all I said in the first time round, but if you have any questions on what I said, I will be glad to try and answer them, or of course, I can arrange for any points to be clarified and I could give you a quick reply. I think they are clarified now. I think your formal proposal—I make this quite formally—is that a senior Minister flies to Salisbury today. I would be grateful if you would put that to your colleagues.

MR. SMITH: Thank you. I have got the position quite clear. Goodbye.

PRIME MINISTER: All right then, Prime Minister. Have you got anything more to raise? Thank you very much. Goodbye.

Britain Equally Guilty—Lord Malvern

Effective Sanctions Now the Best Hope

LORD MALVERN, for more than 20 years Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and then the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, told a correspondent of *The Times* in Salisbury on Sunday that the Rhodesian declaration of independence had precipitated the end of white rule.

But he attributed the present "unnecessary mess" as much to the "unrealistic African policy of Britain" as to the Rhodesian Front Government, which had, he believed, deceived the Rhodesian public. Britain, however, had been equally determined to give nothing away.

"What a mess the Ian Smith Government have made: We handed them a country which had everything. All that we had to do was build up a strong African middle class and make friends with them. Within 15 years everything could have been entirely different. They have not the intelligence to see this."

After he had had a brush-off from Britain in 1956 over independence for the Federation, he had advised Sir Roy Welensky, his successor, and the Federal Parliament in his last speech to forget all about it.

"I never had any trouble", said Lord Malvern; "when Britain tried to interfere, which was not often, I just thumbed my nose at them and did what I wanted".

Misled by Macmillan and Macleod

Sir Roy had been misled by Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Iain Macleod into believing that Dominion status was possible. Since then matters had gone downhill.

Sir Edgar Whitehead had frightened "these timid men" by going too far and trying to repeal the Land Apportionment Act. That was unnecessary, for "we have been repealing it ever since the damn thing was first passed".

Mr. Smith had beaten Sir Roy Welensky in the Arundel by-election and destroyed the Opposition by the "lie" that U.D.I. was out of the window, probably for all time.

The best hope was that sanctions acting quickly would give the Government a rude awakening. Otherwise Rhodesia would go down and down and down. When they began to feel the pinch many whites would leave for South Africa.

U.D.I. brought the danger of a direct clash between whites and blacks in Rhodesia. "A hungry people is a dangerous people". Why could the Government not have had the sense to learn the lesson of the Alabama riots? "Surely they have the wit to know—if they can learn anything—that what a revolting minority can do a revolting majority can do much better."

Censoring the Press and outgoing telegrams was merely childish.

Lord Malvern was delighted with the stand taken by the Governor. He was so popular with farmers that that might swing them against the Government.

"If I had been young I should have come back into politics and stopped this nonsense, but a campaign would have killed me", Lord Malvern concluded. "When I went to London in July I got very tired. I do not want to fly again; and if you go by sea the whole world has changed round by the time you get there." It is unlikely that he would sit again in the House of Lords.

Free Criticism in Press Permitted

The Attorney-General said in the House of Commons on Friday when asked if anyone who spoke or wrote in support of the point of view of the now illegal Government in Rhodesia could be impeached for treason.

"Unlike the Rhodesian Government, it is not the intention of this Government to stifle free expression of opinion, and clearly the free range of discussion about these matters conducted in the Press will be permitted."

When the Leader of the Opposition asked whether the cover extended to discussion on radio or television, the Attorney-General replied: "Clearly that is so. When I say 'permitted', I mean that which is legal under the law. We are not going to set up any kind of censorship in this situation."

P.M.'s Statement to Parliament on Rhodesia's Declaration

"Racist Emotions in Command Regardless of Consequences to Africa"

THE HOUSE will have heard with deep sadness of the illegal declaration of independence by the men who until that declaration constituted the Government of Rhodesia.

The House is aware from statements made in this Chamber by the previous British Government and the present one of the long record of discussions aimed at agreement on independence to be conferred by the only legal authority capable of granting independence, by this Parliament acting on legislation introduced by the British Government.

I do not intend to retrace the course of those negotiations which have now continued over a period of three years, but I must repeat that at every point over those three years successive British Governments have warned the Rhodesians in the strongest terms that any so-called declaration of independence not carrying with it the authority of the British Parliament would be illegal and invalid.

Hon. Members will wish me to say something of the discussions between the British Government and the then Rhodesian Government since I last reported to the House on Tuesday.

On Tuesday, and again yesterday, my colleagues and I had a series of meetings with Sir Hugh Beadle, then and now Rhodesia's Chief Justice. In his capacity as chairman designate of the Royal Commission he discussed with us every aspect of the working of that Commission which could affect the issues still in dispute between the two Governments.

Talks with Rhodesia's Chief Justice

He returned to Rhodesia overnight authorized to explain to Mr. Smith and his colleagues the precise position of H.M. Government on all these questions, including one to which the House attaches great importance—the effect on the working of the Royal Commission of the state of emergency and the steps that would have to be taken to ensure that the Royal Commission would still be in a position, despite the state of emergency and the regulations made under it, to see everyone it needed to see and to obtain the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole on the basis of a free expression of opinion, without restriction or intimidation from any quarter.

Yesterday afternoon I sent a detailed message to Mr. Smith explaining our position on all the outstanding items, but adding that Sir Hugh Beadle would be in a position to give further clarification on every point, including the problem of the interim report which I have referred to in earlier statements in this House.

On the last outstanding point which held up agreement, namely, the extent to which each Government would give an assurance in advance that they would accept a unanimous report from the Commission, we made a proposal to the Rhodesian Government which would fully meet every demand they had made.

We asked them the following question: "If the United Kingdom Government undertook to commend to Parliament—whose sovereign rights must be reserved—a unanimous report by the Royal Commission to the effect that the 1961 Constitution was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole as a basis for independence, would the Rhodesian Government give a corresponding undertaking that if the Royal Commission submitted a unanimous report to the effect that the 1961 Constitution was not acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole as a basis for independence they would abandon their claim in this respect and would agree that a Royal Commission should then proceed to devise a new Constitution for Rhodesia which would give effect to the five principles enunciated by

the United Kingdom Government in their statement of October 9, 1965, and would be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole as a basis for independence?"

I must tell the House that what was proposed in that message to Mr. Smith—which he was in a position to report to his Cabinet at 8 o'clock last night—met every requirement to which he had referred in messages, formal and informal, which I had received from him.

"Hell-Bent on Self-Destroying Action"

Evidence was nevertheless accumulating throughout yesterday that, despite this, the then Rhodesian Government were hell-bent on illegal, and self-destroying action. So throughout the small hours I was in touch with Salisbury, with H.M. High Commissioner, and I arranged an early morning telephone call to Mr. Smith himself which took place several hours before the illegal declaration.

I began by telling him that there were no outstanding points between us, and I said that I was sending a senior Minister to Salisbury empowered to sign, on behalf of the British Government, an agreed minute recording the basis on which the Royal Commission could be set up this week and start its work.

In that conversation I went through every single item of dispute between the two Governments concerning the establishment of the Royal Commission. I spelt out yet again our attitude on them. I proved beyond any reasonable doubt that every point they had made was fully dealt with on terms that must be satisfactory to them. Every point was discussed in that telephone conversation, and by the end of the conversation he had no further queries and no further points to raise. There was no suggestion that there was anything still in doubt.

Yet after this he went on to say that the position of the two Governments was irreconcilable. This is what he said to me. I am bound to say that when I heard this I told him that if anybody could now say that this position was irreconcilable and justified illegal action I thought they wanted their heads examining, or they must have a death wish on them.

Mr. Smith, who gave me no indication that a decision to take illegal action had been taken, went on to say that his Government were then—while I was speaking to him—in the midst of discussing this, and he took it that it would not be right of him if he did not tell me that the feeling seemed to be that it looked as though this thing had gone too far.

I will not at this stage inflict on the House the comments that I made on this statement, on Mr. Smith and on his colleagues. But I should add that Mr. Smith went on to say, in a perfectly frank and—if I may use the phrase in the circumstances—almost friendly conversation, that his Cabinet and he himself regretted that this had happened at this stage because he said, "You find yourself"—that is me—"in the position that has gone too far not because of actions on your part".

"I Have Done Everything"

I am glad to feel that Mr. Smith, at any rate, agrees with the claim I made to the House on my return from Salisbury that I had done everything any man could do to avert this disaster. He was saying that the action they were taking was not being taken because of any action on my part.

I am bound to tell the House that I was speaking in the early hours of this morning to a confused and unhappy man. He has been, in these past weeks, under intolerable pressures from some of his colleagues and from the unreasonable extremists of the Rhodesian Front; but it must not be forgotten that it was Mr. Smith who called the Rhodesian Front into existence.

I ended the telephone conversation with a heavy heart feeling that reason had fled the scene and that emotions—unreasonable racist emotions at that—had taken command regardless of the consequences for Rhodesia, for Africa, and for the world.

The Government conceive it as their duty to publish all the exchanges that we and the previous Government have had with the Rhodesian Government over these past months and, indeed, longer. When these exchanges are published I will call the House to witness that this Government—as did their predecessors—have done everything in our power to avert this disaster, and to witness that even as this day dawned—as today dawned less than four hours before this illegal declaration—we had created a situation settling every difference between the two Governments, providing for the immediate dispatch of a senior Minister to proceed to Salisbury, who, as I have said, was empowered to sign an agreed minute creating the conditions in which the Royal Commission could have been appointed in this very week.

I still find it incredible—and the House, when it reads the records, will find it incredible—that this action should have taken place this morning. But, as I have previously warned the House, the differences between us have not been differences of legal drafting; they have not been the differences of normal political interchange. They have represented a deep difference of philosophy—a gulf that we now know could never be bridged because it was a gulf covering all the differences between different worlds, and different centuries.

At every point when agreement was near we were told that our positions were irreconcilable. This was because there were men in the then Rhodesian Cabinet who were determined at all costs that agreement should not be reached. I challenged Mr. Smith today, as I did—and my right hon. friends will confirm this—in my last meeting in Salisbury, with this fact, and to his credit Mr. Smith had the honesty to admit it in my telephone conversation this morning.

I felt the House was entitled to this frank assessment of the last stages of these discussions. Now I must inform the House of the action that has been taken, the action that is being taken, and that that will be taken—some of it subject to the necessary powers being given by Parliament to the Government.

Ministers Dismissed from Office

I repeat that the British Government condemn the purported declaration of independence by the former Government of Rhodesia as an illegal act and one which is ineffective in law. It is an act of rebellion against the Crown and against the Constitution as by law established, and actions taken to give effect to it will be treasonable.

The Governor, in pursuance of the authority vested in him by Her Majesty the Queen, has today informed the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Rhodesian Government that they cease to hold office. They are now private persons and can exercise no legal authority in Rhodesia.

The British Government wish to make it clear that it is the duty of all British subjects in Rhodesia, including all citizens of Rhodesia, to remain loyal to the Queen and to the law of the land and to recognize the continuing authority and responsibility for Rhodesia of the Government of the United Kingdom.

The British Government are in close touch with all other Commonwealth Governments about the consequences of this illegal act and about the measures we should take. The British Government will, of course, have no dealings with the rebel régime.

The British High Commissioner is being withdrawn and the Southern Rhodesian High Commissioner in London has been asked to leave.

Export of arms, including spares, have, of course, been stopped. All British aid will cease. Rhodesia has been removed from the sterling area. Special exchange control restrictions will be applied. Exports of United Kingdom capital to Rhodesia will not be allowed. Rhodesia will no longer be allowed access to the London capital market. Our Export Credits Guarantee Department will give no further cover for exports to Rhodesia.

The Ottawa Agreement of 1932 which governs our trading relations with Rhodesia is suspended. Rhodesia will be suspended forthwith from the Commonwealth preference area and her goods will no longer receive preferential treatment on entering the United Kingdom. There will be a ban on further purchases of tobacco from Southern Rhodesia. We propose to suspend the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement in its relation to Rhodesia and to ban further purchases of Rhodesian sugar.

We shall not recognize passports issued or renewed by the illegal Southern Rhodesian régime. A further statement will be made on citizenship questions.

Britain Responsible for Rhodesia

We shall bring before Parliament on Monday a general Enabling Bill to deal with this situation. It will, first of all, declare that Rhodesia remains part of Her Majesty's Dominions and that the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom continue to have responsibility for it. It will go on to give power to make Orders in Council, to enable us to carry through the policy I have stated, and there will be a Government statement tomorrow giving more details of the action we would propose if Parliament agrees to the Bill.

Lord Caradon, British permanent representative of the United Nations, is asking the President of the Security Council to call an early meeting to consider the situation—

HON. MEMBERS: Why?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Why? Because if we do not somebody else will. It is the duty of H.M. Government to keep control of this situation. For that reason the Foreign Secretary will be leaving for New York this evening.

It is the duty of everyone owing allegiance to the Crown in Rhodesia or elsewhere to refrain from all acts which would assist the illegal régime to continue in their rebellion against

the Crown. Members of the armed forces and the police in Southern Rhodesia should refrain from taking up arms in support of the illegal régime and from doing anything which will help them to pursue their unlawful courses. Public servants in Rhodesia should not do any work for the illegal régime which would tend to further the success of the rebellion.

It is the duty of all private citizens owing allegiance to the Crown, wherever they may be, in Rhodesia or outside, to refrain from acts which will give support to the illegal régime.

The House will have an opportunity of further debate when the Southern Rhodesia Bill comes before the House next week. But I understand also that discussions are proceeding through the usual channels about a possible special debate on Rhodesia tomorrow instead of the wider intended debate on defence and foreign affairs. I will reserve further comment until we debate these matters more fully.

Deep Sense of Tragedy

But I cannot end this statement about a problem with which my rt. hon. friend the Secretary of State and other colleagues and myself have been so intimately concerned for so long without expressing the deep sense of tragedy which each of us feels—personal tragedy, but not only personal tragedy. It is a tragedy affecting a great people, including many thousands who have made their homes there and who are plunged into a maelstrom not of their own making, and of millions more who are denied the inalienable human right of self-expression and self-determination.

Heaven knows what crimes will be committed against the concept of the rule of law and of human freedom for which this House has always stood: this progressive unfolding of the regulations which have been signed under the state of emergency—and there are more to come—are an ominous warning.

The illegal régime which now claims power and authority in Rhodesia marked its usurpation of authority with a proclamation which borrowed for the purposes of small and frightened men the words of one of the historic documents of human freedom, even to the point of appropriating the historic reference to "a respect for the opinions of mankind".

I would repeat to them and to the Rhodesian people as a whole in words I used in my farewell statement on leaving Salisbury, which also quoted these words:—

"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 in the world. Could anyone say that either of these things would be true of a Rhodesia which chose illegally to claim its independence?"

Resolute Acceptance of Challenge

It would be unworthy of this Government, of any British Government, as it would be unworthy of this House, to allow this challenge, offensive as it is to all our cherished traditions and to the wider aspirations of the whole of mankind, to go unanswered.

We did not seek this challenge. The House will concede that we did everything in our power to avoid it, but now it has been made, then, with whatever sadness, we shall face this challenge with resolution and determination.

Whatever measures the Government, with the support of this House, judge are needed to restore Rhodesia to the rule of law, to allegiance to the Crown, these measures will be taken. And I am confident that we shall have not only the support of this House, not only the support of the nations of the world, but we shall have the clear and decisive verdict of history.

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition: Is the Prime Minister aware how deeply we on this side of the House also deplore the unilateral declaration of independence by the former Government of Rhodesia today, with what distress we heard this news, and with what feeling we share the tragedy of the situation? I will not say anything which could add to the dangers of the situation.

It has been reported from Salisbury that the Governor, in addition to dismissing the Ministers, has suspended the Constitution. Is that so? Secondly, by bringing the matter before the United Nations, could the Prime Minister say whether the Foreign Secretary will continue to emphasize that this continues to be a British responsibility?

Thirdly, as far as the individual proposals are concerned for action which the Prime Minister has described in some detail, is he aware that we would wish to examine each of these on its merits? Of course, some flow from the present situation of an illegal Government and some are the decision of the Government. In examining them on their merits we would do so against the criteria—what is the purpose of the Government's policy in taking each of these actions.

Finally, is the Prime Minister aware—as I am sure the whole House is—of the importance at this time in every action which is taken and every word which is spoken of maintaining our own national unity, thus helping to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth, to which we hope that at some future date an independent Rhodesia will be able to return.

THE PRIME MINISTER: I welcome the fact that the rt. hon. gentleman has lent his voice and that of his party to deploring and condemning this illegal action. I agree about the paramount need to preserve national unity in dealing with this tragedy—it is a tragedy not only for Rhodesia but for all of us—as a first step towards a united Commonwealth in which—I absolutely agree with his words—we hope that free Rhodesia will play a very important part.

We have had no confirmation that the Constitution has been suspended. As far as I am aware, the Governor has no power whatever to suspend the Constitution. The Constitution was conferred on Rhodesia by an Act of this Parliament. It can be amended, so far as certain parts are concerned, only by further Acts of this Parliament, and certainly in the present situation that would be required.

But while certain amendments may be necessary if we are to protect the necessary rights of the Crown in Rhodesia, and while we could take power to suspend the Constitution, I want to make it clear that it is not possible to take away the Constitution of Rhodesia and replace it with a new Constitution, except by separate and specific legislation passed by this Parliament.

Stopping Outside Interference

I can certainly confirm that the Foreign Secretary will emphasize the position in the United Nations that Rhodesia is a British responsibility. In one sense this is another part of the tragedy of the situation. It is more of a British responsibility today than it was yesterday, because now the responsibility lies directly on this country and this House, as no other House and certainly no other Government will have any legal right to exercise power in Rhodesia. But the extent to which what has happened in Rhodesia will create a difficult situation in Africa and the Commonwealth makes it a matter of world concern, and those who deny this are burying their heads in the sand. It is only by our being able to prove to the United Nations that we are ourselves taking our responsibilities—and this will need the fullest support of the whole House—that we can stop other people from engaging on perhaps dangerous courses of action which we should all regret.

The rt. hon. gentleman said that all measures should be examined on their merits and that the criterion should be the purpose which we all have in mind. That is absolutely right and absolutely fair.

Our purpose is not punitive. We do not approach this tragic situation in a mood of reprimand. Our purpose is to restore a situation in Rhodesia in which there can be untrammelled loyalty and allegiance to the Crown and in which there can be, within whatever rules this House lays down, a free Government of Rhodesia acting in the interests of the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

There may be different views about how that can be brought about in this difficult situation. There may be different views about the severity with which measures should be applied and how quickly to reach that situation. There will be no difference in the House, I am sure, about the fact that it is our duty, and that we have as a House to perform that duty by discussing the basis on which we can restore the rule of law, legal Government and freedom in Rhodesia.

Liberal Party Support

MR. GRIMOND, leader of the Liberal Party: May we express our deep regret at this deplorable and illegal act by the late Government of Rhodesia and our sympathy and support for the Governor and all those who remain loyal to their oaths in Rhodesia? We fully support the measures proposed by H.M. Government. We understand that they are taken, as is the clear duty of the Government and the House, in defence of the rule of law and the ideals of a multi-racial Commonwealth. Does the Prime Minister intend to take any specific steps about oil supplies? While acknowledging that this is a British responsibility, if it is to be raised at the United Nations will other nations be asked to support us in the economic steps outlined?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Governor, who is known to many of us in all parts of the House, is one of the greatest of Rhodesians, and he has gone through a very critical time with great courage and great wisdom in these months. When my colleagues and I left Rhodesia I felt a very special touch of sadness in leaving His Excellency, and I hope that I am not betraying any personal secrets when I say that he was in tears when we left. I think that he knew what was coming,

and I am sure that the thoughts and prayers of the whole House will be with the Governor and Lady Gibbs, not only in his capacity as representative of the Crown, but as a very great statesman who will go through a very, very difficult time.

Only Terms for Military Intervention

We have no proposals to make on oil supplies. I think that the solution of this problem is not one to be dealt with by military intervention unless, of course, our troops are asked for to preserve law and order and to avert a tragic action, subversion, murder and so on. But we do not contemplate any national action, and may I say any international action, for the purpose of coercing even the illegal Government of Rhodesia into constitutional posture.

We intend to inform the United Nations of our responsibilities and of the measures which we are taking, and we shall ask for the support of other countries in those economic measures, because it is obvious that some of them could be frustrated if there were no general support for them. But it will not be necessary for us to ask.

Anyone who has studied the attitude of the United Nations on the Rhodesian question and on the South African question will know that it will be a question—[HON. MEMBERS: "No."]—I hope that hon. Members will try, however difficult, to be worthy of this situation which we face. If not, there are other places in the building to which they could repair while this debate is going on. I think that the problem will be to avert excessive action by the United Nations.

As for the economic sanctions, I think that it will be right for us to concentrate on trying to get other nations to follow our lead rather than seeing them get too far ahead of us.

MR. JOHN HYND: What is the Governor's statutory position in view of the present situation? Secondly, what action is being taken in regard to ships now on their way from Rhodesia to this country?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The Governor is the Governor of Rhodesia, acting in the name of the Queen. We shall not recognize any orders which he has been forced to sign conferring his powers on any other people, private persons or whoever they might be.

Cruel Dilemma of Civil Servants

As to the civil servants, we all recognize the cruel dilemma which many people in Rhodesia will be facing. It is our view—and I believe the Governor has made this statement in Rhodesia—that it is the duty of public servants to carry on with their jobs, to help maintain law and order—certainly the judges and the police at this critical time—but that they must themselves be the judges of any possible action which they might be asked to take and which would be illegal in itself or illegal in the sense of furthering this rebellious act.

I hope that those who are concerned with, say hospital administration, education, and the normal functioning of Government will feel able to carry on, unless and until they reach a point when their consciences tell them that they cannot.

As to ships on their way towards this country, I do not see that any problem arises from the point of view of goods and cargoes due to be landed.

MR. HENRY CLARK: Will the Prime Minister assure the House that H.M. Government will take no action and make no statement which would in any way encourage or be thought to encourage civil strife or hostilities in Rhodesia?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, sir. I hope that it will be recognized that throughout this period of discussions our predecessors and ourselves have done everything in our power to avoid doing anything to exacerbate the situation in Rhodesia by civil strife or any action of this kind. I hope that the House will feel that the statement which I made in Rhodesia could have been regarded as a very salutary warning to both sides to avert from any action which was violent or illegal.

MR. TAVERNE: Will the measures which H.M. Government are having to bring forward include any offer of compensation to these public servants in Rhodesia who find themselves unable to support the rebellion, for the period during which the rebellion lasts?

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is a difficult problem. To do it by a kind of general blanket offer of compensation would create difficulties for this House; there is the control of the public purse and so on. The Governor has our authority in that where any public servant feels that he is being asked to take action which affronts his conscience or which in his view is contrary to his allegiance to the Queen, then where that public servant suffers financially or in any other way from the exercise of that discretion or conscience I am certain that the whole House will feel that we have a responsibility to him at the end of the day, when order is restored. The

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case will have to be made. We have to control Government expenditure in this matter with proper rules, but the Governor has our authority to give that indication to those who approach him.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: Is the Prime Minister aware that many of his sternest opponents respect very much a great deal of what he has said and done during these recent terrible weeks, but that, at the same time, not all of us are entirely convinced just because he said so, that he has done everything possible to avert this situation, which we deeply deplore? May I further ask him whether, despite the emotional feelings which we all may have at this present moment, he does not agree that ultimately it is along the lines of conciliation rather than coercion that the solution, in the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in Rhodesia—African more than European—must be found?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Yes, sir. I think the hon. gentleman for his opening words, but if he feels that there is anything more we could have done to avert this situation I hope that when he studies the full record he will tell us because I am only too ready to be instructed in this matter. I believe that we have done everything we possibly could.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: Why did the right hon. gentleman not leave a Minister in Salisbury?

Conciliation But Not Appeasement

THE PRIME MINISTER: I will be glad to answer the hon. gentleman further in the debate. At dawn this morning I offered to Mr. Smith to send a senior Minister to sign an agreed minute providing the conditions to recommend to the Queen the establishment of a Royal Commission. At every stage when we have been in touch we have met every point outstanding.

I think that I agree when he uses the word "conciliation". Our aim must be first to make this illegal action impossible and then to create among the great mass of the Rhodesian people, who I believe want to see this, independence on a reasonable basis and to create a situation in which we can have ordered Government. However, if by conciliation the hon. gentleman means appeasement of those who have committed this illegal, unnecessary, and irrational act, then that it is not my definition of "conciliation".

MR. SNOW: Is there any evidence at the disposal of the Prime Minister that either the Government of the Union of South Africa or the Portuguese Government are lending aid to this rebellion?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I have no such evidence. We have been in touch in the last few weeks with very many Governments, not only Commonwealth Governments but the particular Governments mentioned. I have no reason at all to suppose that either of them have encouraged the Rhodesian Government in this course or are lending any form of financial or other support to the action taken.

Speeches in Upper House

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, Lord Privy Seal, read the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Lords.

LORD BROCKWAY asked what immediate protection H.M. Government would give to Rhodesians, especially the judiciary, who opposed the declaration of independence; how the four million Africans were to be protected from the restrictions imposed by the state of emergency; what was being done to protect the people and economy of Zambia; and, particularly, to safeguard Zambia's right to the service of the Kariba dam. LORD LONGFORD thought the questions poignant and needing eventual answers.

LORD FRASER OF LONSDALE: Did the Prime Minister say through the noble earl that anyone who lends aid, succour, or help, even perhaps argument, to those favouring the late Government in Rhodesia (possibly, it is, *de facto*, the present Government; I do not know) is in treason with Her Majesty? If so, we shall have to have some special privilege to enable us to speak at all on this matter in the debates that are to come.

LORD LONGFORD: I would ask the noble lord to study carefully the statement. He will then be reassured, at any rate in regard to the last point.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My lords, I am sure that there is no-one in this House who does not share the deep sorrow expressed by the leaders of the various parties about these recent developments in Rhodesia. Nobody wishes to say anything to-day which would exacerbate an already sufficiently tragic situation. Many of us hold views, which we are entitled to hold, regarding the events which have led up to the present situation and believe, rightly or wrongly, that the action of the Rhodesian Government could be seen in a less unfavourable light perhaps than appears from the Prime Minister's statement. I want to say that to-day because I felt it should be said.

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister's intervention has not entirely removed our doubts.

"Much the most general matter worrying the people in Rhodesia concerns the normal actions of the police and armed forces and civil servants carrying out their ordinary occupations. Here the guidance given is contradictory. It ought to be considered carefully whether the Government say that anything that helps Mr. Smith's group is illegal and that those responsible must take the consequences; or whether the Government say that these acts may be illegal but because of the need to maintain law and order and the public services people are justified in carrying on their normal duties.

"What we have heard now on the sterling area seems to go further than the Prime Minister indicated yesterday. Rhodesia is removed from the sterling area. Exports of capital are not permitted and there is no access to the capital market. Sterling balances and all movements of sterling are controlled. It depends on the extent to which they will be controlled whether this meets the Government's criterion of being punitive.

"This is important, because people in this country recognize the illegality of Mr. Smith's group, but are not I believe, prepared to see individuals in Rhodesia or in this country unnecessarily controlled by the Government in a way which does not flow from the illegal group in Rhodesia."

Heavy Blow

MR. CALLAGHAN: "There is a difference between being controlled and being blocked. In the guidance given to the banks yesterday a whole series of payments was set out—such as pensions; payments under contract entered into before November 11, wages and salaries—which will be controlled but not blocked. There will be a scrutiny of these payments to see that they are in the normal course in accordance with the provisions laid down here."

MR. HEATH: "The actions taken are a very heavy blow to Rhodesia. They are far more than happened when South Africa left the Commonwealth.

"I ask the Prime Minister to explain the justification for taking the action on tobacco in his criterion that these should not be punitive actions. The Government could have stopped or tried to stop all trade, but they have discriminated in choosing tobacco and sugar. Why did they not cover the full range?"

"Is the Prime Minister endeavouring to ensure that it is possible for any so-called administration by Mr. Smith to continue to function in Rhodesia? If so, will it be possible, and would the result be a restoration of freedom and law and order, or would there be a gradual slide into chaos? These are very grave questions."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I agree. The right hon. gentleman has put the key questions. I was proposing to try to answer them. Will he say what his answer is?"

Not Frightened Men

MR. HEATH: "The onus rests on the Government to show why these actions are necessary. In the light of what they give as their explanation we shall tell the House what our own position is.

"The House has to consider whether the impact will bring about the objective that we want or whether it is going to drive a rebel group, as the Prime Minister terms them, further into rebellion. The Prime Minister described them as a group of frightened men. That was not the impression which some of us who met them in London got. They are somewhat determined men, and nobody in this House wishes to see Rhodesia forced or sliding into a form of society which already exists in Africa and which is abhorrent to everyone in the House.

"The Commonwealth Secretary emphasized the close ties between the people of this country and of Rhodesia. The whole country wants them to be maintained. The Prime Minister emphasized this last night in his broadcast. There-for the actions which must be taken have to be based on a judgment of whether they will bring a return to normality in Rhodesia, or lead to very determined men sliding further away from this country and the Commonwealth and towards a form of society which is abhorrent."

Christian Right to Disobey Bishop Repudiates the "Rebellion"

THE RT. REV. CECIL ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, said in a sermon in Salisbury Cathedral on Sunday that Christians were not morally obliged to obey laws unlawfully enacted by the new Rhodesian authorities.

"Clearly their authors will exact penalties for a breach of the law. It would not be right for a Christian to break laws clearly designed for the public good, such as traffic and health laws. Much greater difficulties arise from those designed to subvert the displaced Constitution. Submission under protest may not be enough. There is a Christian right, maybe a Christian duty, to disobey. Naturally we do not expect to escape the penalties of disobedience."

The Bishop believed the independence rebellion to be wrong because none of the conditions of legitimate or other repudiation of acknowledged authority had been present, such as "intolerable oppression by a tyrannical Power, well-nigh universal agreement among the oppressed, expectation of rapid stability, rapid and marked benefits to the hitherto oppressed, and the impossibility of any other course."

"I suspect deeply the basic motives of a great part of the community as a whole which has led to this thing. It must be the constant prayer of the Church that time may soon be restored when the Government of this country is recognized as its lawful Government by the Queen and all the nations. I speak of course of the hope of a sovereign country, of independence."

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, the Governor, who had attended early Communion in the Cathedral, was not present at the later service at which the Bishop took his stand against the "rebels".

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Views Full Union with Britain Suggested

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia said on B.B.C. Television on Monday that Britain should negotiate a full, active union with Rhodesia as one integrated State. Although the idea might seem "almost crazy", it would be the best course.

U.D.I. was unnecessary, wrong, and should not have occurred. Now that it had happened, Britain should insist on handling the situation alone. The United States had already imposed sanctions more severe than those imposed by Britain, and that example would be followed by others until the situation got completely out of hand if H.M. Government trailed along behind the U.S.A. and other countries.

Sir Edgar did not like the idea of any kind of sanctions, which would merely make Rhodesians more determined to resist. He thought the steps already taken by H.M. Government "quite futile"; but he would not support strong sanctions, for they would destroy Rhodesia's economy and leave no future for Europeans and no hope for Africans.

Mr. Smith's Appeal to Services

(Continued from page 205)

that may be advanced by Sir Humphrey Gibbs or persons purporting to speak in his name or officials and members of the British Government.

"I remind everyone in the Services that first and foremost, he is a servant of Rhodesia—his country—and its Government. This you must place foremost in your mind whenever you see suggestions and insinuations that there is some other authority either within or outside the country which claims your allegiance.

"My Government is without any shadow of doubt the Government of this country and the only one in position to maintain law and order and protect the lives and properties of citizens of the country.

"By remaining steadfast and united come what may the Services will play a powerful part in supporting the efforts of all Rhodesians to weather the storm."

Loyal to the Crown and Rhodesia Brigadier Skeen's Farewell Message

BRIGADIER ANDREW SKEEN, High Commissioner for Rhodesia, issued the following statement for the "Gentlemen of the Press" just before he left London for Salisbury on Saturday. It was distributed on his behalf shortly after the aircraft became airborne.

"Since yesterday noon I have not unnaturally withstood a siege from your colleagues, and I have not been able to give you a statement. Please acquit me of discourtesy to you or any appearance of brusque indifference to the very difficult task you have in doing your duty in informing the public. At all times I have had the utmost sympathy and understanding of the often uncomfortable and trying nature of your task, especially in this cold November weather.

"But the fact of the matter is that as a diplomat who has been given 48 hours to pack his bags I felt I was not at liberty during that period to say anything. Now that I have left my post I have that liberty to say something.

"Despite what you heard last night and will hear in the future, the Rhodesian case is quite simple: Rhodesians have the 1961 Constitution. To reach a settlement the Rhodesian Government has leant over backwards to assist the U.K. Government. We have gone far in adjustments in the Constitution to meet them.

"It is incorrect to assume that Mr. Smith refused in his last telephone conversation to accept a Royal Commission on his own terms. The final offer was still so hedged with uncertainty that it nullified the whole Commission. We in Rhodesia believe in evolution and advancement on merit, and to be free to guide the people of Rhodesia towards this end—an end where merit and responsibility transcend race or colour.

Horrified by African Nationalists

"Those of you who watched TV on Thursday night will have been as horrified as I was at the calibre and demeanour of the African nationalists who talked of murder by night with such obvious relish. These are the people to whom power will inevitably fall should the British Government's proposals be accepted. How would you face such a prospect?

"Many Africans hold seats in our Parliament and senior positions in our civil service. There are two such men on my staff at Rhodesia House for whom I have a great affection and regard, and many others like them in Rhodesia. It is with them, not those such as we saw on TV, that the future lies, and it is with them that we shall build our country—a country in which all races shall rise to the highest position of authority on a basis of responsibility and merit.

"It has been stated that time was needed in this dialogue between Governments. But we have been talking for three years and more. Further delay could have had no other result than what has happened in Zanzibar-Tanganyika, the Congo, and soon in Kenya.

"There will be no more opportunity for Rhodesia to state her case in London. You will be subjected to a single point of view from now on, in which the Communist fellow-traveller will have a major say. But please think of us in difficult circumstances trying to preserve your British way of life in a world in which those values are being eroded daily.

"For seven generations my family has served the Crown faithfully, and my loyalty is to the Crown alone, separate from the shifting politics of Westminster, and policies which often differ from the majority opinion of the British public.

"All we ask of the great British public is sympathy in the days ahead, assuring them of our affection and the acknowledgement of ties of blood and tradition, while asking for true understanding of the great and unselfish aim we pursue, which is a Rhodesia loyal to the Crown and to the true and long-term happiness of all our peoples of all races. Farewell."

Brigadier Skeen said in Bulawayo on Monday night:—

"Rhodesia was in for the chop anyway in June when the next Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference meets under a new set-up. Britain will abdicate as head of the Commonwealth. The whole object of the British Government was to string us along and wear us down until we were weak enough to accede to what they wanted, which was an African nationalist rule in order to appease the Afro-Asian group."

Lord Hastings, who has a farm in Rhodesia, told a meeting in Saltburn, Yorkshire, that the more the Rhodesian economy ran down the more miserable would the condition of the Africans become. The Revolution and bloodshed could come because there would not be employment for the Africans.

PERSONALIA

MR. WAZIRI JUMA has been appointed Tanzanian Ambassador in the people's Republic of China.

DR. JOAO SA NOGUEIRA has been appointed a member of the Mozambique board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

SIR EDGAR UNSWORTH, Chief Justice in Nyasaland until last year, has been appointed Chief Justice of Gibraltar.

LORD CACCIA has joined the board of Standard Telephones & Cables, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary.

MR. BHOKE MUNANKA, Minister of State in the Office of the President of Tanzania, has led a delegation to the Somali Republic.

MR. A. G. CARTWRIGHT has been appointed Press adviser to the Rhodesian Diplomatic Representative in South Africa, MR. JOHN GAUNT.

SIR BASIL SMALLPEICE has been appointed chairman of the board of governors of the English Speaking Union of the Commonwealth. LORD BAILLIEU had held the office for 14 years.

HERR DIETER DAHLKE, correspondent for the East German News Agency, was declared a prohibited immigrant by the Kenya Government last week and ordered to leave the country within 24 hours.

MR. W. R. FERRIS has been appointed Chief Information Officer in Rhodesia, with responsibility for the public relations, press, research, publications, and photographic sections of the Ministry.

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development, was host at a Government luncheon given last week for the visiting Kenya Ministers, Messrs. GICHURU, MCKENZIE, and ANGAINE, and MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, the High Commissioner.

SIR ARTHUR CLARK entertained at Marlborough House, St. James's, S.W.1, last evening six chiefs from Malawi and one M.P., Mr. G. Ndama, and four Africans from Zambia who have also been guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

LORD BROCKWAY, who was recently made a Socialist life peer, attended the opening of the new session of Parliament in a lounge suit. He said that it was "an undemocratic imposition that peers should be required either to buy or hire robes for this occasion".

THE MOST REV. DR. MICHAEL RAMSEY, Archbishop of Canterbury, and MRS. RAMSEY, accompanied by the REV. JOHN ANDREW, will leave London today to visit Mauritius and Madagascar. They travel by way of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and are due back on November 28.

MR. J. F. HOLMAN, chairman and joint managing director of Holman Brothers, Ltd., Cambourne, Cornwall, is making an investigation on behalf of the British National Export Council's Committee for Exports to Africa into opportunities for sales in Africa of British construction equipment.

MONDAY CLUB MEETING ON RHODESIA

A special meeting on Rhodesia, called by the Emergency Committee of the Monday Club, will be held in the Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1, at 7 p.m. on Monday next, November 22.

Particulars and tickets from G. I. Greig, 30 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.7.

Telephone: KENsington 0612.

"We Have No Governor"

(Concluded from page 206)

Mr. Smith feared that the message of loyalty to the Queen from Rhodesia's Ministers had never reached her, for the reply was drafted by the Queen's secretary and Government officials. The message purporting to dismiss the Ministers had been signed by Mr. Bottomley, not the Queen.

When asked if he intended to eject the Governor, Mr. Smith replied; "We have no Governor".

Mr. Gondo the Opposition leader, who called on Monday to tell Sir Humphrey that he intended to resign his seat was persuaded not to do so.

The Governor also saw Mr. David Butler, former leader of the Rhodesian Party.

The Chief Justice announced in Salisbury on Saturday after he had met his High Court colleagues that the judges in Rhodesia "will continue to perform their duties in accordance with the law"—the implication being that they will uphold the 1961 Constitution and not recognize edicts of the illegal Government.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, M.P., said on Sunday that it was important to keep cool heads and not take any precipitate action.

Mr. T. Boston, Socialist M.P. for Faversham, has suggested that an all-party mission of senior back-bench M.P.s. should go to Rhodesia with a watching brief.

MR. GRIMOND the Liberal leader, told Oxford University Liberal Club at the week-end that there was a great danger that Britain would try to shrug off the failure in Rhodesia as she had done with the failure at Suez.

Canon Collins, of St. Paul's Cathedral, proposed on Sunday that the Queen should charge Mr. Nkomo with the responsibility of forming a Government in Rhodesia since, as president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, he represented "the large majority of our kith and kin in Rhodesia".

Dr. H. C. Whiteley, minister of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, preaching at a Remembrance Day Service, suggested that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope, and the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, should go to Rhodesia to confer with local Christians, theirs having been the three Churches which had brought the Gospel to Rhodesia: "Rhodesia is not just a problem of blacks and whites"; he said; "it is also a problem of the relationship of Christian people".

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Pressure on Rhodesian Officials

Government Disowns Objectionable Documents

THIRTY-TWO SENIOR MEMBERS of the staff of Rhodesia House, London—all except those who were recruited in Britain—received on Friday from the Commonwealth Relations Office a typewritten demand to dissociate themselves from “the purported declaration of independence”.

Headed “Declaration Required”, the statement read:—

“You are required to declare that you dissociate yourself from the purported declaration of independence that has been made by Mr. Smith and his colleagues, that you do not accept the authority of any Government that Mr. Smith and his colleagues may purport to constitute in pursuance of this illegal declaration of independence, and that you do accept the continuing responsibility and authority for Southern Rhodesia of the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom.

“If you decline to make a declaration in the above terms you will be regarded as having chosen to adhere to Mr. Smith's illegal régime”.

The demand was made to holders of Rhodesian passports and holders of United Kingdom passports working for the Rhodesian “rebels”.

Strong Resentment

Strong resentment was felt that Rhodesian civil servants who had been posted by their Government to London should be asked to give an undertaking which would not otherwise have been required of them. They considered it most unfair—“monstrous” was one of the expressions—that they should be singled out for discriminatory action.

It had been hinted to them from an official source that those who did not sign must leave Britain within a few days. In one case that involved withdrawing a son from school a fortnight before he took an important examination. In other cases illness in families was a complication, in at least one case a very serious illness.

A consular staff is to remain, and names of consular officers have been submitted to the C.R.O. It was understood that the United Kingdom wished to retain 16 consular officers in Rhodesia, at least for a time.

The windows of Rhodesia House in the Strand had for some days shown a large photograph of Mr. Smith surrounded by pictures of the members of his Cabinet, giving details of their war service. On Friday the Commonwealth Relations Office ordered such “promotional activities” to cease. In the late afternoon the blinds were drawn, and a notice said that the office had been closed.

Not Authorized, Says Solicitor-General

Sir Dingle Foot, the Solicitor-General, repudiated the above document in the House of Commons on Monday. It was necessary, he said, to distinguish between the official position of the staff of Rhodesia House and the treatment to be accorded to them as individuals.

As individuals the High Commission staff had simply been offered the opportunity to dissociate themselves from the illegal régime. They had been told that if they did so they would not be required to leave; that they would be regarded and treated by the British Government as loyal public servants of the Crown; that the object would be to restore them to service under a legal régime in Rhodesia; and that in the meantime financial assistance would be offered and the possibilities of giving them alternative employment in this country would be immediately examined.

The document was given to the former Deputy High Commissioner at his own request as a guide to the kind of declaration of loyalty that was needed and the implications of the choice facing individuals. There never had been any question of requiring the staff to make a declaration in one sense or another, or indeed to sign a declaration in any form unless they wished. There was no reason to think that any misunderstanding of the position remained in the minds of any member of the staff.

Mr. Turton: “Does the Solicitor-General deny that the actual document ended: ‘If you decline to make a declaration in the above terms you will be regarded as having chosen to adhere to Mr. Smith's illegal régime?’”

Sir Dingle Foot: “All that happened was that one civil servant asked another civil servant for an expression of

opinion. That is all this document represents. This document was in no way presented on behalf of the Government to any member of the staff of Rhodesia House. Nobody has been asked to sign the document, nor has it been suggested anyone should do so”.

Mr. Heath: “The copy we have is headed from the Commonwealth Relations Office, Downing Street. It is headed ‘declaration required’, and it has the sentence which has been read to the House. Would it not be better for the Solicitor-General to say that he regrets the document was sent out, and that in view of this statement it is withdrawn?”

Sir D. Foot: “The document was not sent out in any way representing the policy of the Government, and therefore there is nothing for us to withdraw. No one has been required to sign the document. It will appear to the House from what I have said that every possible indulgence has been offered to all members of the staff”.

Censorship

Issues of the *Rhodesia Herald*, which is edited by Mr. Malcolm Smith, a Rhodesian by birth, and the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, edited by Mr. Sydney Swadell, a Scot, have been published with blank leading article columns and blank spaces on other pages to show the public the effects of censorship.

The *Sunday Mail*, edited by Mr. Rhys Meier, a South African, said that it had always been opposed to U.D.I. as economically and politically harmful. Independence having been taken, the duty of Rhodesians was to put Rhodesia first. The country was bigger than any political party or person.

The Very Rev. A. V. Kingston, Dean of Bulawayo, said that his Remembrance Day sermon had been censored but not cut. He had been required to submit the script for scrutiny because the sermon was to be broadcast by the Government-owned Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation.

About 600 copies of four London newspapers were destroyed on reaching Salisbury by censorship staff as contravening the emergency regulations.

LADIES IN THE VELD

BRIAN ROBERTS

A lively account of two extraordinary women journalists, the pseudo Lady Avonmore, and Lady Florence Dixie, sister of the 9th Marquess of Queensberry and Lord Alfred Douglas's aunt, who were in Natal and the Transvaal between the Zulu War of 1879 and the Transvaal War of 1880-81.

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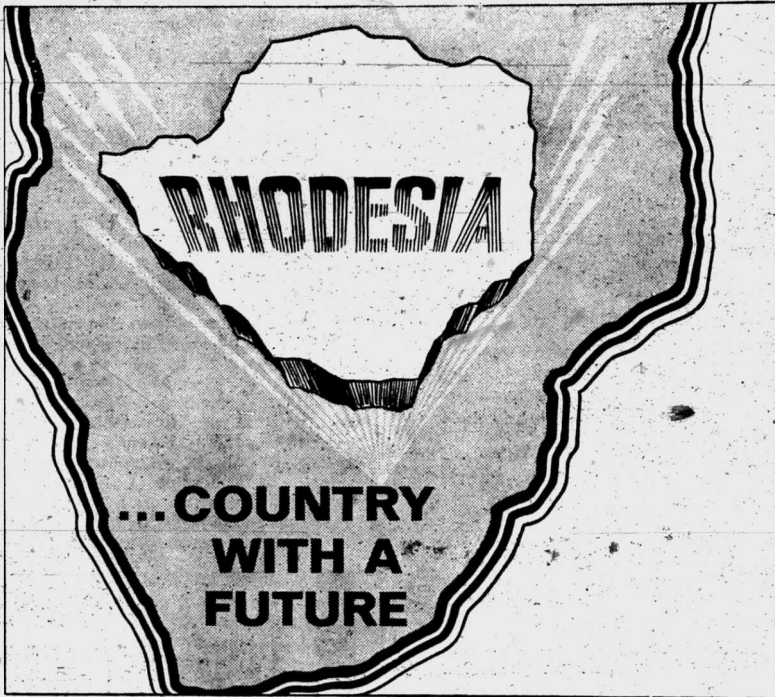
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JOHN MURRAY



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seek investment in agriculture here, both in farming and ranching . . . and it is interesting to note that electricity is available to a greater proportion of farms in Rhodesia than in the United States of America. Agriculture has already made an impressive contribution to the growing national economy of Rhodesia. Situated as it is in the heart of Africa, close to a vast potential market, Rhodesia today is a country with a future.

President Kaunda's Broadcast

"This Treason Will Not Prosper"

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia broadcast to the nation on Thursday evening, saying:

"Mr. Smith, the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has carried out his threat to declare unilaterally the independence of that country. I do not wish to comment at this stage other than to say that Zambia, in common with a great number of other nations, is determined to see that his act of treason does not prosper and that the rebellion is brought to an end.

"I have this afternoon made regulations extending the operation of the Preservation of Public Security Regulations to the whole of Zambia. The regulations provide for the imposition of curfews; the control of Zambian citizens returning from foreign countries; and the acquisition of lands, buildings, vehicles, foodstuffs, medical supplies and other listed items. If this power is exercised the owner will receive adequate compensation.

"Restrictions are imposed on the right of public officers and persons in essential services to retire. I do not expect that it will be necessary to exercise these powers, but the Government would be failing in its duty to the nation if it did not empower itself to prevent any decline in the public service or in the performance of essential services through the resignation of officers.

"These are precautionary measures. I hope that it may not be necessary to use the powers; and if matters in Rhodesia are brought to a hasty conclusion it will not be necessary.

"I appeal to the public not to panic in any way. There is no need for worry as to availability of petrol, oil, or foodstuffs. We have adequate stocks in the country, and supplies will continue to arrive. If some members of the public are tempted to buy excessive amounts of these commodities, they should remember that this is unnecessary and that such action may result in a temporary shortage which will cause hardship to others.

Rhodesian Troops on the Border

"The rebellious Rhodesian Government has moved strong contingents of European troops up to the Zambian border. During the past 48 hours there has been an increase in troop movements on the Rhodesia-Zambia border. There is the equivalent of two battalions of European troops along the border in the area covered by the Lusaka division. These troops consist of the Rhodesian Light Infantry, who number approximately 700 officers and men, and detachments of the Special Air Service, the Corps of Signals, and other personnel required to maintain a large body of troops in operational condition.

"Troops are presently disposed at Kariba; on the south bank of the Zambezi opposite Lusitu; Chirundu, in the vicinity of the Nyakasanga River; on the peninsula formed by the Zambezi and Gombe rivers, and at Feira. The troops at these places are equipped with refrigerator trucks and equipment for spanning rivers. If necessary these units can be provisioned by air by parachute drops.

"During the past dry season roads have been improved in the Rhodesia border area. Many of these roads will now be operational during the rainy season.

"The Rhodesian Army is presently operating at least four launches on the Zambezi. They are capable of carrying eight to 10 armed men. They carry out patrols from the army camps situated between the Kariba Dam and the Mozambique border at Zumbo.

"In the past week reconnaissance flights by Rhodesian Air Force aircraft along the Zambian border have greatly increased. On November 10 flights were carried out over the border by jet, piston-engined, and helicopter aircraft, with automatic weapons.

"Let me now warn Smith and his fellow traitors that if Zambia is invaded or if our territory is violated in any way, we will not hesitate to meet force with force."

Mr. Dupont, Rhodesia's Defence Minister, announced that the elements of the Rhodesian Army deployed at points along the northern borders were there in a purely protective rôle to guard against acts of sabotage and that they have no aggressive intent whatever.

(Continued from next column)

that about 1,000 aircraft a day would be required to move Zambia's copper production, and that the logistics of an operation of Berlin air-lift scale, mentioned by the British Prime Minister, would make "the Congo operation seem like a Rotary Club charter flight outing."

Dr. Banda Scorns African Plans

Childish To Talk of Military Action

IF AFRICAN STATES attempted armed intervention in Rhodesia, they could not win, Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, declared in Zomba last week. The Rhodesian Army could if it wished conquer all East and Central Africa in a week, and the Rhodesian Air Force could within 24 hours reduce all their capitals to ashes.

Referring to President Nkrumah's proposal that practical plans should be made by African States to deal militarily with the situation in Rhodesia, Dr. Banda said that if the Rhodesian Air Force went into action the air forces and armies of Ghana and Nigeria would not even get to Central Africa. The Ghana Air Force was "a paper air force for show".

Rhodesian forces on the other hand, were the most powerful north of South Africa. Events in the Congo had shown that 10 Rhodesian mercenaries could whip some 5,000 so-called African soldiers.

It was childish prattle to expect Britain to send troops into Rhodesia and put Rhodesian Africans in charge of the country. Any such attempt would bring down the British Government.

Talk by African politicians of quitting the Commonwealth and withdrawing money from Britain if she did not intervene in Rhodesia was stupid nonsense. "Who would suffer by withdrawing from the Commonwealth? What money have they to withdraw from Britain? Their overdrafts!"

He would rather be thrown out of the 36-nation organization of African Unity than keep silent on the Rhodesian issue, for the only way to get majority rule in that country was to unite and fight constitutionally.

Dr. Banda said in a broadcast on Monday night that Rhodesia was Britain's responsibility, and that Malawi's only course was to support Britain morally. It could do nothing physically or economically.

Saboteurs Infiltrate into Rhodesia

A correspondent of the *Daily Mail* has reported from Chirundu, on the border between Rhodesia and Zambia that about 40 African saboteurs a week have lately been arrested in Rhodesia after arriving from Zambia.

Some of the infiltrators had passed through the customs carrying jars marked "cold cream"; though the contents looked and even tasted like cold cream, it was in fact plastic explosives. Plastic "strawberry jam" had similarly been brought in by infiltrators.

Others have crossed with an old suitcase tied up with rope—which proved to be a length of cordite.

The report, telegraphed on the day before the declaration of independence was made, said that the small Rhodesian police unit at Chirundu had only two patrol boats with which to operate the more than 200-mile stretch of the Zambezi to the border with Mozambique.

The correspondent, Mr. Anthony Carthew, had been told

(Continued in previous column)

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ISLE OF MAN

Pearl of the British Isles

Commons Discussion Before Declaration House United Against U.D.I., Says Tory Leader

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH from the throne at the opening of a new session of Parliament last week contained a one-sentence reference to Rhodesia:—

"My Government will maintain their unremitting efforts to bring about through negotiation a peaceful and honourable solution in Rhodesia on a basis acceptable to the people of the country as a whole"

The speech is always written by the Cabinet, not the Sovereign.

MR. HEATH, leader of the Opposition, said in the debate on the address:—

"We welcome the statement in the Queen's Speech about Rhodesia because both sides of the House can agree on it. The whole House is united against any movement for U.D.I.

"The Prime Minister is concentrating, I believe rightly, on the Royal Commission. What is difficult to understand is why on a matter of such importance there was no joint statement setting out in detail what had been agreed on in Salisbury about the Royal Commission. This I and many of my hon. friends find very difficult to understand, and it has now turned out to be the crux of the matter.

"I again put the point whether a senior Minister ought not to be permanently in Salisbury in order to carry on these difficult and delicate negotiations, rather than try to continue through exchanges of letters. I hope that the Prime Minister will be able to deal with this point today".

Warm Praise of Chief Justice

MR. WILSON, the Prime Minister, spoke warmly in his reply of Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, and critically of Mr. Ian Smith and his Cabinet colleagues. He said:—

"Hon. Members will have seen the message which I received from Mr. Smith on Saturday amounting to a flat rejection of the proposal for a Royal Commission. They will have seen also the terms of my reply on Sunday, when I repeated what I believe to be the views of the whole House—that we cannot here and now in advance of the Commission prejudice the rights and indeed the duties of Parliament.

"The House will have noticed the deep concern which I expressed in the Sunday message—and I am sure that that concern is shared by the whole House—about the declaration of the state of emergency last Friday and its possible effects on the ability of the Commission to obtain a free expression of the views of the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"It is for that reason that I suggested to Mr. Smith that Sir Hugh Beadle, whom both of us agreed to recommend as chairman of the Royal Commission, should come and discuss these matters in London preparatory to a further meeting which I would propose to have with Mr. Smith.

"Sir Hugh Beadle made his wise advice available to both Governments during my stay in Salisbury, and he has been in regular consultation with the Rhodesian Prime Minister since I left Salisbury.

"All of us welcome Sir Hugh to this country—not only for his sagacity, judgment and humanity, but also as a man with the courage of a lion—and it will be needed in this situation. I have already seen him for a brief discussion this morning, and I intend to have full discussions with him later today and tomorrow. I hope that it will then be possible for Mr. Smith to agree to a further meeting. I do not think that the House will expect me to say more at this critical stage, and I assure the House that we have reached an extremely critical stage.

"I agree that it would have been agreeable to have had the agreed minute to which the rt. hon. gentleman referred, but the meeting which my rt. hon. friend and I had with the Rhodesian Cabinet was very difficult. The Leader of the Opposition underestimates the difficulties of a meeting with a Cabinet already set for U.D.I. within a matter of hours if we had not put these proposals.

"We had the greatest difficulty getting discussions on the new plan. There is a lot the rt. hon. gentleman does know and a lot more I can tell him. I do not want to prejudice the position further by going into this, but when I say that we still have not got agreement about the minutes of the discussions of the rt. hon. Member for Kinross and West

Pertshire (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) with Mr. Smith in September, 1964, the rt. hon. gentleman will appreciate our difficulties in the very difficult situation a week last Friday. It is understandable that not only the Government but the House have been concerned with this very grave situation".

MR. GRIMOND, leader of the Liberal Party, said in a brief reference to Rhodesia:—

"We are discussing this Queen's Speech under the heavy shadow of events in Rhodesia. I am sure that the whole House shares the Prime Minister's regret at the state of emergency declared in Rhodesia at the end of last week, and also over the rejection of the latest proposals for a Commission.

"If there is to be a U.D.I. in Rhodesia, it will be one of the most unnecessary tragedies which the world has ever seen. Everybody will agree, I think, that the British Government have gone as far as they can to find some acceptable basis on which all can agree.

"We cannot compromise on the principle of majority rule in the foreseeable future, and, while we have to be sensitive to all the difficulties of a multi-racial country, we have to remember that we are the centre of a multi-racial Commonwealth, and that, if the Commonwealth means anything, it means that all races will be treated with justice within it.

"Furthermore, we take pride in the fact that Britain has left in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world a respect for the rule of law. We cannot have one law for the white and one for the black. We cannot have different standards in the Commonwealth.

"I still believe and hope that a way can be found out of this crisis, but I think we should make it plain that, while all reasonable compromises have to be made, we must keep stressing that there are certain fundamental, basic issues on which we cannot compromise. The Archbishop was right in saying that ultimately this is a moral question".

MR. JOHN RANKIN remarked:—

"In all the language that is now being employed about Rhodesia it should be remembered that to the north of that country, in Zambia, President Kaunda is seeking to create a multi-racial society. If this can be done in Zambia it ought to be possible in Rhodesia. If it is to become possible, however, it can be achieved only by peaceful methods".

MR. HUGH JENKINS said:—

"To continue the rôle of world policemen is completely beyond our capabilities now, and we are wrong if we try to carry it out in any part of the world unless we have a particular function to do so and unless we do so as an instrument of the U.N. in carrying out its will.

"It would be possible for us to do just that in Rhodesia. President Kaunda has suggested that the best way to avoid bloodshed in Rhodesia is for the British forces to act as policemen before trouble really starts. It is an arguable proposition. I do not think that one could prove it, but it is certainly possible that an intervention at a fairly early stage would avoid bloodshed which might occur if an intervention were not made".

With the Queen's Specific Authority Prime Minister's Assurance at Guildhall

THE PRIME MINISTER spoke about Rhodesia at the Lord Mayor's banquet on Monday evening.

"This dilemma, this agony", he said, "had been caused by one of the most unnecessary and irresponsible acts in Commonwealth history. H.M. Government could not have done more to avoid the tragedy.

"I pray that those whose arguments might be read or misread as implying any degree of support for the illegal régime will recognize that if they appear to join behind the band-wagon of the illegal régime they might find it the harder to dissociate themselves from each successively unfolding crime against humanity, from Press censorship to still uglier manifestations of the Police State which is now in course of creation.

"In this difficult time the thoughts and prayers of all of us are with the Rhodesian people, with whom Britain will always have a most intimate association. Particularly our thoughts go out to the Governor and Lady Gibbs, to those who are showing their courage and their loyalty by standing firm behind the Governor for the rule of law and for their oath of allegiance. The Governor is the only legal embodiment of authority in Rhodesia today.

"I do not need to tell an audience such as this that any instruction or command issued by Her Majesty's Ministers in the name of the Queen could not and would not in any circumstances be issued without the specific authority and approval of Her Majesty herself".

[But, of course, Her Majesty acts on the advice of her Ministers, not on her private judgment.—Ed.]

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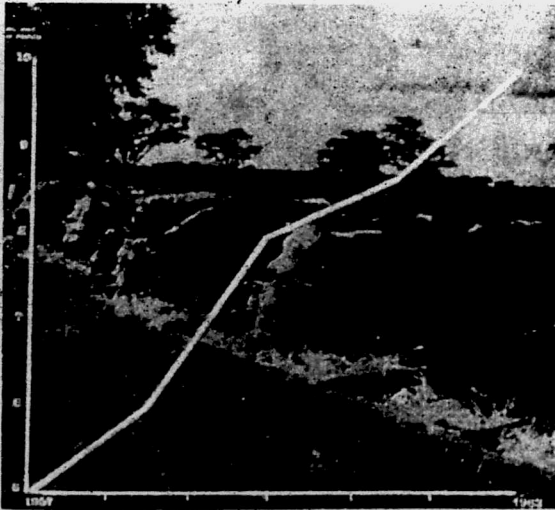
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Reactions to Rhodesian Declaration

DR. VERWOERD, Prime Minister of South Africa, said that normal relations would be continued with Rhodesia, it being of exceptional importance for South Africa that that should be so. There could be no participation in any boycott movement.

Sir Hugh Stephenson, British Ambassador in South Africa, was instructed to ask the Government for clarification of its policy towards Rhodesia.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition United Party, said: "The hearts of all of us go out to our Rhodesian neighbours".

Within an hour of Mr. Smith's declaration the South African Broadcasting Corporation had received more than 1,000 telephone calls, all sympathetic to Rhodesia.

In Nairobi it was announced that an emergency Cabinet meeting had strongly condemned the action of Rhodesia's white minority Government. Kenya would not recognize "the illegal racist régime", and called upon "our African brothers in Rhodesia to unite in this hour of trial against the common enemy".

"Should Be Baked Alive"

Students marched to the British High Commission shouting "Down with Smith". One placard read: "Smith and his white régime should be baked alive and preserved as white-rule fossils".

Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary-General of the new Commonwealth Secretariat, who was visiting Nairobi, said that the serious situation must be studied by the Commonwealth. He did not believe that it would break up on the issue.

In Tanzania President Nyerere proclaimed an immediate prohibition on exports to Rhodesia and imports from that country.

African students attacked the British High Commission building in Dar es Salaam, tore down and burned the Union Jack, smashed the High Commissioner's car, stoned the office windows, and then invaded the neighbouring office of the British Information Services, where they did considerable damage.

Many were dressed in their red, yellow and black university gowns. The police did not arrive until the demonstration had lasted for 10 minutes. Then tear gas was used and about 50 arrests were made. Among the placards displayed were "Rhodesia Must Be Black", "Africa Must Fight Now", "We Must Fight to the Death", "Britain has Tricked the World", and "Down With British Tricks".

No Claim for Compensation

Mr. Robert Fowler, the High Commissioner, parleyed with the crowd on the sixth floor of the building and agreed to receive four spokesmen. He said later that there would be no protest and no claim for compensation. Three members of the staff had been assaulted and slightly hurt. Elsewhere a British car was attacked in the street, and the wife and infant child of the driver were covered with broken glass, but escaped injury.

President Nyerere had the arrested students brought to him to be severely reprimanded. He ordered some to convey apologies to the High Commissioner. He and two Cabinet Ministers later expressed their regrets.

On the previous day President Nyerere had told a news conference that African countries must be prepared to use force if Britain's sanctions did not bring down Mr. Smith.

A spokesman for the Zimbabwe African National Union said in Blantyre, Malawi: "If Mr. Wilson does not stamp out this rebellion by arms the Africans will have to take up arms themselves".

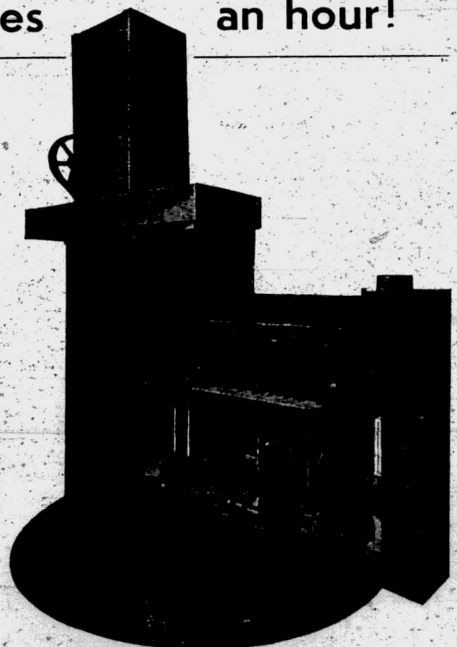
In Ghana students carrying placards demonstrated outside the British High Commission and demanded that the British flag should be flown at half-mast.

In Ethiopia about 1,000 demonstrators burst into the grounds of the British Embassy in Addis Ababa, hauled down the Union Jack three times, smashed windows, and handed to the Ambassador, Sir John Russell, a petition calling for military action to safeguard the Africans in Rhodesia.

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Reactions From Outside Africa

A SPOKESMAN for the State Department of the United States said immediately after the declaration of independence had been made that it was deplored by the U.S. Government, which was giving immediate attention to the matter in consultation with Britain. No request for recognition had been received from Salisbury or was expected. If one were made it would be rejected.

The Rhodesian Affairs Department of the British Embassy in Washington had been closed, and Air Vice Marshal Bentley, the Minister for Rhodesian Affairs, and his four assistants no longer enjoyed diplomatic status.

The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, announced that Canada would not recognize an independent Rhodesia and that the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Salisbury would be withdrawn. Preferential tariffs on Rhodesian goods entering Canada would end, there would be no more financial or other aid to Rhodesia, and the export of arms to that country would be banned.

Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, regretted the declaration, and said that he had hoped that other counsels would prevail.

Mr. Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, said that recognition could not be accorded to an illegal Government. The steps which New Zealand must take would be determined after consultations with other Commonwealth countries and in the light of discussions at the United Nations. The consequences of Rhodesia's action must be grave for Rhodesia, Africa, and the Commonwealth.

Likely to Imperil Peace of Africa

Mr. Shastri, Prime Minister of India, told a meeting of M.Ps. that Rhodesia could not be recognized. Her action would pose great problems for all Africa.

President Ayub Khan, of Pakistan, said that the Rhodesian action had no validity.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia, said: "Britain should not allow it. It is up to Britain to act".

The Government of Singapore described the declaration as "a rebellion likely to imperil the peace of Africa and the world".

Sir Alexander Bustamante, Prime Minister of Jamaica, expressed shock and amazement at an action which "violated all principles of decency, justice, and fair play". If Britain did not take appropriate action she would lose respect which she could never regain.

Within two hours of Mr. Smith's proclamation a special edition of the Soviet Government's newspaper *Izvestia* was on sale. It described U.D.I. as a monstrous crime, "committed with the clear connivance of England, which bears direct responsibility for the situation in the Colony." U.D.I. was an impudent challenge to world opinion.

Students from a dozen African countries arranged a protest march to the British Embassy, but the plan was forbidden by officials. Some students were allowed to hand in a note of protest, but they could not see the Ambassador, who had an appointment with Premier Kosygin in the Kremlin. "Skin Smith Alive", said a banner carried by one of the students.

The Soviet Government on Monday accused Britain and the U.S.A. of complicity in the Rhodesian declaration of independence, which had been made, it alleged, with the blessing of the member States of N.A.T.O., "and above all the United States". The régime in Salisbury "held a bayonet at the breast of liberated Africans".

A West German spokesman said that the Government's action would be determined by the country's friendly relations with Britain, possible decisions by the United Nations, and German belief in the principle of self-determination. What Rhodesia had done was deeply regretted. It was felt that all possibilities of an agreed solution had still not been exhausted.

In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, Ministers stated that the new Rhodesian régime would not be recognized.

Dr. Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, who was

visiting New York, said that his Government's attitude would be decided after careful study of the terms of the declaration. Inquiries by journalists in official quarters in Paris brought merely the statement that there would be no recognition of the new Government. Correspondents pointed out that there was no official word of criticism.

The Japanese Foreign Ministry stated that Rhodesia would not be recognized as an independent nation.

Turkey said that the new Government would not be recognized.

Brevities

H.M. GOVERNMENT informed the United States, West Germany, Japan and South Africa last Thursday that Rhodesian diplomats in their capitals were no longer the representatives of the Government of Rhodesia.

Mr. G. Brown, Rhodesian Counsellor in Tokyo, was stated to have told H.M. Government that he was opposed to the declaration of independence and had dissociated himself from the Smith régime and resigned. Mr. R. W. Allan in Bonn also said that he could not support U.D.I.

Representatives in Salisbury of the British, Canadian, and Australian Governments did not attend Sunday's Remembrance Day wreath-laying ceremony at the Cenotaph, but wreaths were laid on their behalf by a Rhodesian ex-Service organization.

There were long debates in both Houses of Parliament on Monday. Reports will appear next week. The Bill authorizing sanctions against Rhodesia was carried.

A Blue Book (Cmd. 2807, 10s.) on Southern Rhodesia has been published by H.M. Stationery Office. It contains documents exchanged between the British and Rhodesian Governments over the past two years.

Journalists in Rhodesia can now send cables abroad only against payment in cash or by letter of credit payable in South African rands, United States dollars, or Swiss, German, French or Italian currency. Any change is given in Rhodesian currency, which is not usable against further cable charges.

Rhodesia has raised the duty on whisky by 4s. a bottle, and on cigarettes by 2d. per 20.

Great Britain has withdrawn the postal order and money order services with Rhodesia. Orders in transit from Rhodesia are to be met.

The B.B.C., by re-directing aerials and making other technical adjustments, has increased the broadcasting range to make its World Service from Cyprus more audible in Rhodesia. There are 17½ hours of broadcasting daily on that service. Mr. Wilson's broadcast of Thursday last went out live and was repeated several times.

Oxford University Conservative Association has passed a resolution advocating military intervention in Rhodesia.

Mr. William, Keith Steele, aged 40, who was born of British parents in Northern Rhodesia, left London on Sunday with his wife and six children to settle in Rhodesia, saying that he had faith in its future. He is a brother-in-law of Mr. Andrew Forbes, left-wing Socialist candidate for Smethwick.

On Thursday and Friday there were repeated demonstrations outside Rhodesia House by students, many of them Africans, of the London School of Economics. They carried such placards as "Eject Smith", "Throw Out Smith", "Down with Smith", and kept chanting, "Down with Smith". Twelve people were arrested after one demonstration and two more after an incident near Whitehall. Later 13 were charged with obstruction and one with assault on the police.

BRITAIN NOT GUILTY, SAY LEADING NEWSPAPERS

LISTENING TO MR. WILSON, wrote Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne in the *Sunday Telegraph*, one might imagine that Rhodesia's seizure of independence had interrupted or put into reverse a slow but sure advance towards multi-racialism which Britain had been successfully promoting. Britain had been doing nothing of the sort. She had merely preached multi-racialism.

"What Britain had been doing all these years is to insist that even if the Rhodesian whites cannot be persuaded to do anything effective about multi-racialism in practice, they must profess to believe in the idea. The main consequence of the presence of British power in Rhodesia has been the imposition of hypocrisy.

"If it were simply a question of Britain alone reacting to U.D.I., the case for doing nothing would be overwhelming. It has long been clear that British interference could do little of any value to help the Africans. In fact, Britain has been failing to help them for 40 years, ever since self-government was granted. To pretend now that Britain cannot accept U.D.I. because this would mean breaking trust with the Africans is sheer humbug. We broke that faith long ago. U.D.I. puts an end to a legal fiction which disguised this unwelcome truth.

"U.D.I. may even do the Africans more good than harm. No longer encouraged to believe in external solutions to their problems, they will have no alternative but to stop play-acting and get the best terms they can within the real situation of Southern Africa.

Crime Only in Legalistic Sense

"U.D.I. is neither a tragedy nor a crime in itself except in the very legalistic sense. Nothing substantive has been changed; only a few illusions shed. Mr. Wilson's talk of restoring the rule of law is double-talk."

"Although logic and justice suggest that Britain should do nothing, expediency and self-interest make action desirable, since if Britain does nothing other African States may use this as an excuse for intervention.

"But even this problem is much less acute than Mr. Wilson suggests. The leaders of the other States of Eastern and Central Africa realize that any attempt to solve the problem by force would lead either to Congo-type chaos, which would infect and destroy their own areas, or Great Power intervention, which would endanger African independence. Of course, they have to pretend to want to intervene so as to appease their own extremists.

"The mood and language adopted by Mr. Wilson are exaggerated and dangerous, introducing an utterly ill-judged note of moral judgment and apocalyptic prophecy. To discuss the use of sanctions as if they were designed to undo a crime or prevent a tragedy is to indulge in archaic illusions of imperial grandeur. The sooner the Opposition brings Mr. Wilson down to earth again the better."

British consciences might fairly be searched on one matter, the *Daily Telegraph* suggested:

"The only real argument Mr. Smith ever put forward for immediate independence was that the African nationalist leaders would never co-operate in the working of any Constitution so long as they were looking over their shoulders to Whitehall to support and further their causes by other means. In this there was much truth.

"It may be asked whether any British Government has made it clear enough to the African leaders since 1961 that the only route to African political and social advancement was along constitutional paths in Rhodesia itself. Some day this question may be of importance again. The British Government's present duty is to assert its authority by the only means it has—economic measures.

"The major purpose must be that of persuading the important mass of moderate and central opinion in white Rhodesia to withdraw their support from the rebel leaders of the Rhodesia Front and rally behind leaders who will reassert their loyalty to the present Constitution. It may be hoped that a stage will come when the Governor could appoint such leaders as Ministers with the support of a Rhodesian Parliament and of the Rhodesian army and police behind them.

"To that end it is better to leave the constitutional vacuum as it is, than formally to suspend the Constitution and impose theoretical direct rule. The latter course would destroy any chance of finding new leaders to take up the constitutional threads that have now been so rashly broken.

"The measures seem fairly designed to serve the primary purpose of bringing home to the Rhodesian people the crude and rebellious reality of what they have done. The loss of preferences, of sterling area privileges, of passport issuing powers, of loans and aid, of arms supplies, of export credit guarantees: these are the things, along with the Queen's letter and the Governor's personal dismissal of the late Ministers, to impress upon Rhodesians the reality of their outlawry. So far the only punitive measure is the ban on purchase of Rhodesian tobacco and sugar.

"If so much damage and suffering were inflicted on Rhodesia that she would have no choice but unconditional surrender, that could mean only a long road to disorder and chaos on a scale not yet seen in Africa."

Will Not Easily Be Brought to Heel

Stupid, reckless and bad was the verdict of *The Times* on Rhodesia's declaration of independence. Britain's essential concern must be to return Rhodesia to the path of ordered constitutional development, and political and economic pressures could have only one legitimate purpose—to convince Rhodesians that they had been misled.

"Rebel Rhodesians will not easily be brought to heel. Countries at Rhodesia's stage of development do not collapse overnight. Unless outside influences make themselves vigorously felt, the Rhodesian Front regime may carry on for some time, elated by its act of defiance.

"There will be tremendous pressure on Britain to take the lead in crushing Mr. Smith, and the chief agents of pressure will be within the United Nations and the Commonwealth. It will be Suez in reverse. Then there was an almost unanimous demand for Britain to get out. Now there will be an almost unanimous demand for Britain to get in. It is easy to envisage a situation in which Britain is left with the worst of every world—the Rhodesian régime squeezed but not broken, the Commonwealth disrupted, the United Nations outraged and vindictive.

"Nothing must be done to create a new Congo situation; and if possible Rhodesia must be kept out of the arms of South Africa. One of the great dangers is the ominous shape being given to Southern Africa. If the Rhodesians are not saved from their folly their neighbours will suffer first and the whole of Africa soon afterwards. Getting this rogue elephant back under control is the most intricate and could be the most dangerous challenge Africa and the Commonwealth have had to face.

Fierce Economic Sanctions

"Britain's first economic sanctions are the fiercest financial and trading regulations imposed against any country since the war. Mr. Wilson has pulled out nearly all the stops. The only possible move omitted is an embargo on oil supplies. The Rhodesian pound is now to all intents and purposes a foreign currency. Even Russia will find it easier to get trade credit in London.

"Theoretically any support which civil servants, soldiers, or judges give to Mr. Smith's non-government amounts to aiding and abetting rebellion, but it is more reasonable to suggest that they will be behaving correctly if they merely continue to obey the law as it stood until yesterday while refusing to take account of any new 'law' or instruction from Mr. Smith's former Cabinet, especially edicts that strengthen the rebellion. The basic difficulty of the situation is that the British Government has authority but no power to protect those who remain loyal to it."

The action of Rhodesia's leaders, some sincere, some frightened, all misguided, has brought to Africa the prospect of violent racial conflict, the *Guardian* emphasized, continuing *inter alia*—

"The white Rhodesians are not wholly to blame. This country has encouraged their settlement and their rule. The African leaders have put their own obstacles in the way of co-operation between the races. No one has any claim to feel self-righteous as the painful task begins of forcing Britain's will on this unhappy colony.

"Rhodesia receives staggering blows. Its Government is not recognized. Dealings with that Government will be for a British subject treasonable, British aid, credit, and capital exports cease. Tobacco imports are banned. These sanctions are beyond anything which have been brought to bear on a country not at war.

BRITAIN ALONE SHOULD HANDLE THE DISPUTE

"Yet whether they will prove adequate to bring Rhodesia to its knees—and nothing less than that is needed—must be doubtful. If Rhodesia can find the money—and she has a wealthy neighbour to the south—she can go on importing machinery, fuel, and raw materials. The sanctions so far announced are inadequate for the job they have to do—to break the Rhodesian Government.

"Mr. Smith can count on massive white support, but not total support. The Africans owe him no loyalty, and his security forces, powerful though they are, are likely to find themselves stretched. Mr. Smith will not find it easy to govern without the consent of the governed.

"To save life, to give some hope for Rhodesia's future, and to confine the damage caused by U.D.I. to as small an area as possible, it is essential that the rebellion be ended quickly. To take only those sanctions which condemn Rhodesia to a lingering run-down of her economy is a short-sighted policy. She should be denied further imports of oil. The Government has shied away from an oil embargo, possibly because of the difficulty of administering it.

"It would be difficult. Zambia, whose oil is refined at Umalti, would suffer equally with Rhodesia: Portugal and South Africa would have to have their own supplies restricted to their normal domestic needs. South Africa has large reserves against her own rainy day, which could be sent by road to Rhodesia (the only rail link through Bechuanaland is controlled by Britain). But South Africa's main anxiety is not to fall foul of any international agreement and provide the excuse for sanctions against herself. The oil companies may be under pressure from African Governments to withhold supplies from Rhodesia, but they are more likely to act if the British Government gives them a lead.

Shabby Act of Political Partisanship

"Mr. Wilson has gone to the utmost lengths—as even Mr. Smith acknowledged—to prevent U.D.I. No Conservative Minister could have done more, and it is only an accident of history that the rebellion ripened after and not before the Conservatives lost office. The Conservatives have paid lip service to the need for eventual majority rule in Rhodesia and warned Mr. Smith of the serious consequences of U.D.I. For them now to try to recoup their failing fortunes by quibbling with the Government about the size of the sanctions needed, as Mr. Heath has begun to do, is a most shabby act of political partisanship.

"If the United Nations passes a resolution condemning Rhodesia's rebellion, other Powers may believe that they have a pretext for putting the rebellion down. British troops might therefore be needed in Rhodesia to forestall the intervention of forces from elsewhere.

"U.D.I. has advanced the prospect of African rule in Rhodesia by several years. Had Rhodesia stuck to its existing Constitution Britain would have been unable, without breaking the promises of successive British Governments, to interfere to speed up the process of majority rule. Now it is a matter of time before Rhodesia collapses."

The *Daily Express* departed from its customary column of "Opinion" and ran its editorial comment across half a page in larger type than usual. The first essential, it emphasized, was for Britain herself to handle the "tragic crisis".

"This declaration is foolish and carries the danger of economic loss and political isolation.

"Rhodesians have seen many countries utterly unable to support themselves given 'independence' and a vote at the United Nations. They have witnessed the bloodshed and despotism descend on one 'independent' African nation after another. Little wonder if they are reluctant that Rhodesia should go the way of the Congo!

"They feel that they have been betrayed by successive British Governments. This feeling was heightened by Mr. Wilson's refusal to be bound by the findings of the Royal Commission—a fact tacitly conceded by the Prime Minister when he made new proposals on Tuesday night.

"All parties have insisted that no other body except the British Government has any standing in this dispute. Yet the Foreign Secretary's flying to the United Nations to explain the situation seemed to give that discredited organization a toothhold. The Rhodesian Government has been declared rebellious to the Queen. If that is so no outside organization such as U.N.O. has any standing in the crisis. What a farce it would be if the United Nations, unable to stand for justice in Kashmir, had the impudence to interfere in Rhodesia!

"The imposition of sanctions—a clumsy, self-defeating weapon—is a mistake. It should be discarded. Nothing

must be done to make more difficult the eventual task of reconciliation."

Zimbabwe's rivers must run red with the blood of white tyrants and their children, a person signing as E. Ndlovu has written to the *Daily Express* on note-paper of the Regional Headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Nkomo Organization. The letter ended:—

"We want to rule our own country in Africa as Africans, and for this we are determined to destroy all vestiges of white civilization throughout Zimbabwe by all the violent means at our disposal.

"The Mau Mau of Zimbabwe will be terrible. We believe in the policy of an eye for an eye, and are sure that the only way to rid our country of Wilson's and Smith's policies of racial discrimination and white supremacy is to eliminate from the soil of Zimbabwe all those who are exploiting us and robbing us of our patrimony.

"Do not believe we are weak, as 4,500,000 nationalists are ready—and the greatest nation China will give us everything necessary for the struggle.

"We shall not abandon the struggle until the waters of Zimbabwe's beautiful rivers turn red with the blood of white tyrants and their children. Do not make any mistake about this as you will soon see."

The whole-hog policy of swingeing sanctions, if necessary backed by force, is unacceptable to Parliament and British opinion, the *Sunday Times* insisted; but there could be no guarantee that the middle course of moderate stringency would succeed.

"When seriously threatened from without, men of different opinions tend to draw together in common self-defence: if this happened in Rhodesia, those Europeans who do not approve of Mr. Smith's actions might find it impossible, even undesirable to begin condemning them. Above all, the imposition of what are now known as 'punitive' sanctions risk splitting the national unity that has hitherto been preserved in this country between the parties in their approach to the Rhodesian issue.

Walking Vertiginous Tightrope

"The Prime Minister is walking an almost impossibly vertiginous tightrope. He and his Government must be seen to be doing enough to satisfy Commonwealth and world opinion that British responsibilities and British authority are being seriously asserted. At the same time he must seek to preserve national unity at this grave hour and refrain from actions which would make more difficult an eventual reconciliation with Rhodesia—for there will have to be one day such a reconciliation. His best course is to desist for the moment from sanctions which are obviously unlikely to have any early practical effect, holding them in reserve for subsequent use as and when the situation in Rhodesia, in the Commonwealth, or at the U.N. may demand it."

Stern measures, even military intervention, might be demanded by the less responsible members of the United Nations, said the *Daily Mail*.

"There are elements in Rhodesia unfavourable to the headlong courses which have landed their country into such trouble. If Rhodesia were punished too much, these would be driven to support the men they now oppose.

"It may be true that a 'confused and unhappy' Mr. Smith has been egged on by others 'hell-bent on illegal and self-destructing action'. But few would agree that these are 'frightened' men. However mistaken we may think them, they are showing foolhardy-courage in facing a hostile world.

"The desire of white Rhodesians to 'preserve what they have built up is well understood, but it could have been better done by a gradual movement towards majority rule. Now Rhodesia seems determined to do it the hard way. We can only hope and pray that whatever ordeal she has brought on herself may not be prolonged and that it will cause the minimum of suffering to others."

"Half-hearted sanctions would annoy everybody, help nobody, achieve nothing", said the *Observer*. "Even full-scale sanctions, including an oil embargo, might not work quickly. Britain's aim should still be a planned transition from minority rule by one race to majority rule with all resident races represented—as has occurred in Kenya and Tanzania."

Hostility on B.B.C. Television

SPECIAL B.B.C. TELEVISION PROGRAMMES occupied rather more than three hours on the evening of the Rhodesian declaration. Nearly every speaker was hostile.

Not one hinted at the responsibility of United Kingdom politicians for the conditions precedent to the Rhodesian decision; and not until the last few minutes was there forthright support for the Rhodesian action. Then two women who had just arrived from Salisbury were interviewed at London Airport.

One, a university student who had won the "Miss Rhodesia" title, had come for a "Miss World" contest. Asked if she felt like a rebel, she laughed away the suggestion as absurd, saying that though born in England and holding a British passport she sided completely with Mr. Smith.

So did her companion, who had just opened a new business in Salisbury and expressed confidence in the outcome of an action which she thought Rhodesia's political leaders had been fully justified in taking.

A correspondent in Salisbury reported complete calm. There had been no demonstrations, and Union Jacks were flying as usual.

Objection to Punitive Action

Mr. Heath, leader of the Opposition, condemned the action of "an illegal group of men", but emphasized that relationships between the people of Britain and Rhodesia should not be impaired. Prohibition of the purchase of Rhodesian tobacco seemed a punitive measure, the reasons for which the Government must explain. His party wanted to see Rhodesia free, independent, and back in the Commonwealth. Punitive actions might consolidate Rhodesia behind U.D.I. The United Nations should be told that responsibility in Rhodesia was entirely British and that neither British nor international military forces could be used.

Mr. Grimond, the Liberal leader, thought the Rhodesian action tragic, disastrous, unnecessary, and likely to have wide repercussions on the relations of white and black throughout the Commonwealth. While he would deplore the use of force, he thought that developments might make that course inevitable. If the United Nations decided to employ military force in the event of civil war, Britain should not stand aside.

The High Commissioners for Tanzania, Zambia and Ghana took the line that it was Britain's responsibility to act and that Africans were watching to see that her action was firm.

Mr. Eric Faulkner, who had led the recent Confederation of British Industries mission to Rhodesia, had no doubt that that country would face a balance-of-payments crises and must severely restrict imports. The Rhodesian pound might fall sharply. He expected the embargo on purchases of tobacco and sugar to be followed by other sanctions, especially as the ban on tobacco buying would have little effect until after next Easter, when the next crop would be harvested.

Mr. G. C. Tracey, who had recorded his opinion before returning to Rhodesia, did not expect sanctions to cripple the economy, since a number of countries would seize the opportunity to do business with Rhodesia. Judging by United Nations performances elsewhere in the world, Rhodesians would not be much perturbed by its involvement.

Africans Will Use All Forms of Violence

Mr. Jason Moyo, treasurer of Z.A.P.U., who was on the point of flying back to Lusaka, averred that his party had plans for "a majority government with headquarters in Rhodesia", which would have the support of all independent African States and many in Asia and elsewhere. "We shall instruct our people to use all forms of violence."

A spokesman for the rival Zimbabwe African National Union alleged that it had that day formed a "government" in Sikombela, Rhodesia, "where our leader, Mr. Sithole, is resident." He added: "We shall meet force by force."

The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of a "major tragedy", a moral issue in which Christians found themselves on both sides, and the need to combine fearless moral judgment with charity. Prayers must be for justice and reconciliation and for the leaders and peoples of Rhodesia as well as Britain.

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., considered that Mr. Smith had acted most foolishly, but he objected to such punitive sanctions as the ban on the purchase of tobacco, for it would severely hit Africans but not the Rhodesian economy for nearly another year. It must raise the price of cigarettes in Britain.

Mr. James Lemkin described the new Rhodesian Constitution as unlawful "nonsense". The Higher Authorities for the

railways and airways in Central Africa consisted of Ministers from the three territories. Why should not H.M. Government now nominate persons from this country to take the place of the Rhodesian members?

A military commentator said that Rhodesia's armed forces would equip themselves well against any combination of troops from black African States, even if they had the aircraft to fly them to Zambia. A unified command for such a force was not likely to be impressive.

There have been many other B.B.C. television and sound radio programmes about Rhodesia.

In the Home Service news at 1 p.m. on Sunday, Remembrance Day, it was stated that Commonwealth representatives had laid wreaths at the Cenotaph in Whitehall, but that Rhodesia had not been represented. It was not explained that the Rhodesian High Commissioner had left Britain on the previous day and that the London office of Rhodesia had been closed by order of the U.K. Government.

Portugal in Africa

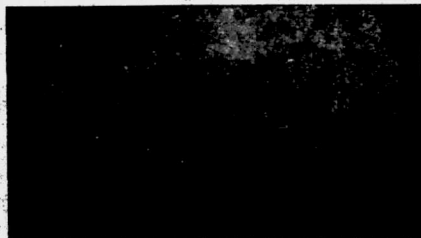
PORTUGAL IN AFRICA will be the subject of a symposium to be held at the Africa Centre, London, on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Walter Rodney will speak on "The History of Portugal in Africa"; Senhor Antonio Potier on "Portugal's Policy in Africa"; and the Rev. J. Macondueca on "Struggle for independence". Dr. Richard Gray will preside. After the addresses there will be a general discussion.

Mr. Kimba Defeated

MR. KIMBA, Prime Minister of the Congo, lost a vote of confidence on Sunday by 134 votes to 121, but President Kasavubu asked him next day to try to form a new Government. He was brought down by Mr. Tshombe's Conaco Party, which expects that some of its members will now be offered portfolios. Such inducements had little success when Mr. Kimba formed his Government last month.

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ATTORNEY-GENERAL TELLS COMMONS OF GOVERNMENT'S MEASURES

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS debated the Rhodesian situation last Friday for almost two and a half hours.

SIR ELWYN JONES, the Attorney-General, said: "Nothing done yesterday or that may be done in future by an illegal regime can alter the fact that in law Rhodesia remains part of Her Majesty's Dominions and under the authority of this Parliament. This Parliament alone can grant Rhodesia independence. Until such an Act is passed by this Parliament, any Rhodesian legislation repugnant to any Act of this Parliament extending to Southern Rhodesia is void under the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865. Yesterday's declaration and all actions by the Smith régime flowing from it are illegal.

"We propose to make an order invalidating any laws which have been or may be passed or business which has been or may be transacted by the Legislative Assembly in Southern Rhodesia at any time after the declaration or independence. The order will confer certain powers on the Secretary of State; for example, to prorogue the Legislative Assembly. It will also empower the Secretary of State to exercise executive authority in Rhodesia. The Government will take a general power and make laws for the peace, order,

Easier for Rhodesians to Change Nationality

"It is proposed to amend the British Nationality Act of 1948 so as to make it easier for loyal Rhodesian citizens to obtain citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies; and to amend the Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881, so as to prevent the return of alleged fugitive offenders to Rhodesia unless the Secretary of State or other person issuing the warrant for his return is satisfied that it is not inexpedient that the fugitive should be so returned, having regard to the present circumstances.

"We shall amend the Import Duties Act, 1958, to remove Rhodesia from the Commonwealth Preference Area, and suspend the operation of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement in relation to Southern Rhodesia. Another order will relate to the decision not to recognize passports issued or renewed by the illegal regime.

"Other measures the Prime Minister has indicated do not need new legislative authority. The import of Rhodesian tobacco and sugar has been banned under existing statutory powers. We can exclude Rhodesia from the ability to borrow on the London market under the Control of Borrowing Order, 1958. The Government have also taken certain exchange control action under existing powers.

"Rhodesia has been excluded from the sterling area. All transactions between residents of the United Kingdom and residents of Rhodesia are now subject to exchange control. Exports of U.K. capital to Rhodesia will not be allowed. Control will be exercised over current payments and over cash, securities, and gold held in the United Kingdom by Rhodesians.

"A grave aspect of this rebellion is that the illegal regime has pretended to give to the people of Rhodesia a new Constitution. One object is to usurp the authority of the United Kingdom Government and the sovereignty of Parliament.

Conduct of the kind that has taken place is treasonable. So would be steps taken by anyone whether in Rhodesia or in this country, or by anyone else owing allegiance to the Crown, with the intention of furthering the objectives of the illegal regime or inciting others to take such steps.

"Nothing that I have said or that is proposed affects the complete independence of the judiciary of Rhodesia or the duty of all lawyers in Rhodesia to play their part in upholding the rule of law."

SIR JOHN HOBSON: "Does the Attorney-General regard the legal position in Rhodesia at present to be subject to the 1961 Constitution, although *de facto* it has ceased to operate or to be carried out by the Ministers who are now apparently in charge of matters there? Could he confirm that when he speaks of the

rights of the United Kingdom Government he means the Crown in the United Kingdom, and that the rights and decisions as between this country and Rhodesia affect not Governments but the Crown and the Parliament of the United Kingdom—and that it is perhaps more accurate to speak of the rights of the Crown?"

"Could he elaborate about the position of those who aid and abet those who have unconstitutionally taken control of the country of Rhodesia, in particular in relation to the police, the armed forces, and civil servants?"

Position of Government Servants

"The Prime Minister seemed to think that it was a matter of individual judgment for civil servants and the police in Rhodesia to decide whether they were or were not assisting the illegal Government. Is not any action that maintains law and order, that continues essential services, that assists in censorship, and that enables the present Ministers in Rhodesia to exercise export and import controls—is not every single one furthering the maintenance and stability of the illegal régime?"

"If so, how can it be that civil servants and the police are under a duty and are advised to carry on until they get to a stage at which they in their consciences think that they ought not to carry on any further?"

"What is the position of a policeman who, under the emergency powers that were passed before the illegal declaration of independence by a Minister in Rhodesia at present, is asked to arrest one of his political opponents? Would he have any defence to an action for false imprisonment? What is the position of these unfortunate persons who owe allegiance to the Crown who are now left and told by the Prime Minister to rely on their judgment?"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "The 1961 Constitution is still the legal Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. It can be amended only by a Bill in this House.

"The rebellion has imposed a cruel dilemma upon the public servants in Southern Rhodesia with, on the one hand, the duty to sustain law and order, and, on the other hand, the duty to do nothing to further this rebellion. I do not think it would be proper for me, as Attorney-General, to spell out in any individual case: 'Yes, there we should be in the presence of treason'. It is a matter upon which general and specific guidance is admittedly difficult to give; but it is the responsibility fairly and squarely of the illegal régime that they have imposed this intolerable dilemma upon the citizens of Rhodesia.

Commonwealth Secretary Given Executive Authority

"Legal executive authority rests in the Governor, but it is thought necessary in the circumstances in which the Governor finds himself or may find himself to give power to grant to the Secretary of State what has been correctly described as concurrent authority with the Governor to exercise executive power in Rhodesia, to provide for a contingency in which the Governor may be unable to act."

MR. TAVERNE: "Is it not the automatic consequence of the rebellion that any person who trades with or deals with or aids the rebel Government or those who support the rebel Government is aiding, dealing with, and trading with the enemy?"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "I doubt whether I should commit myself to quite so all-embracing a proposition, but the Government having prohibited certain transactions with the Rhodesians, engagement in those transactions would obviously be criminal participation. Those who wish to engage in other transactions may well find it prudent, in view of the risk to which they may expose themselves, to take legal advice before doing so."

MR. JOHN HALL: "Can the Attorney-General say whether anyone who speaks outside or writes articles in support of the point of view of the present illegal Government could be impeached for treason?"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "Unlike the Rhodesian Government, it is not the intention of this Government to stifle the free expression of opinion, and clearly the free range of discussion about these matters conducted in the Press will be permitted."

MR. HEATH: "Presumably that means that discussion of any kind or on radio or television would obviously be covered."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "Clearly that is so. When I say 'permitted', I mean that which is legal under the law. We are not going to set up any kind of censorship in this situation."

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY'S RECAPITULATION OF EVENTS

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, said in the course of a recapitulation of events:—

"The question of independence for Rhodesia has been under discussion between H.M. Government and the Rhodesian Government ever since the break up of the Federation in 1963. On taking office last October I proposed to Mr. Smith that I should visit Rhodesia after attending the Zambian independence celebrations in Lusaka on October 24. I made it clear that I wanted to obtain a balanced cross-section of Rhodesian opinion on the independence issue and accordingly wished to talk with Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. Sithole as acknowledged leaders of the African nationalists, even though at that time both were in detention. Mr. Smith refused to agree to this and therefore I saw no useful purpose in going to Rhodesia.

"When I was in Zambia the Rhodesian Government dismissed General Anderson, Chief of the Rhodesian Army, and rumour was current that there was to be a unilateral declaration of independence. I telephoned the Prime Minister, as a result of which he made a statement which said that sanctions would be applied if power was seized illegally. We now know that this did in fact stop a unilateral declaration of independence.

"From that time I did all in my power to arrange a meeting with Mr. Smith. At the time of the death of Sir Winston Churchill Mr. Smith came to London, and this provided the Prime Minister and me with an opportunity to talk with him. As a result, Mr. Smith reluctantly agreed that the Lord Chancellor and I could go to Rhodesia and would be free to see African nationalist leaders except anyone detained on a criminal charge. Therefore it was possible for us to see Mr. Nkomo although not the Reverend Sithole, who was criminally detained.

Differences Were Fundamental

"When the Lord Chancellor and I first met the Rhodesian Cabinet we realized how fundamental were our differences. One thing that I did judge during these talks with the Cabinet was that Mr. Smith himself stood out as a man of character and integrity. The Lord Chancellor and I found that the churches as a whole, business interests generally, and some national and local leaders were opposed to an illegal declaration of independence. However, we had sadly to recognize that the broad masses of the people supported the Rhodesian Front Government and the policy of a unilateral declaration of independence. [HON. MEMBERS: 'The white people'] Yes, the white people.

"In the event, the Lord Chancellor and I made a favourable impression on the European people in Rhodesia. I see one or two hon. gentlemen opposite who have associations with Rhodesia and have been kind enough to tell me that this was so.

"We spoke very plainly to the Africans. I told them that they should work the 1961 Constitution. This provided for 15 seats on the B roll. I think that, subsequently, by educational and income qualifications, we could have seen increasing numbers of Africans getting on the A roll. In these circumstances the Smith Government could not have come into being.

"Unlike the other African leaders, the African nationalists in Rhodesia have never fought an election and have never tried to show their ability to govern. Indeed, they have been more concerned with fighting each other. I told them that very often they have used intimidation to get support for their policies. In these circumstances many liberal-minded Europeans who had supported the 1961 Constitution were frightened and transferred their support to the Rhodesian Front party.

"When I had tea with Mr. Smith in his home he confided that he had difficulties in his Cabinet. He agreed that we should have another private meeting. The Lord Chancellor and I went to Mr. Smith's home and were able to agree what are now generally known as the five principles upon which negotiations could be conducted.

"My last words to Mr. Smith were that he was the most popular figure in Rhodesia and that if he went to the electorate he could win the support of his party. I believed that to be true then and I believe it to be true now. Equally, I could tell him that I spoke for a united British Parliament and Commonwealth and that the two of us ought to be able to solve this problem. He accepted the challenge.

"We made clear beyond doubt to the Rhodesian Prime Minister that these five principles must be realized before Rhodesian independence could be granted. The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and

guaranteed. There would have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendments of the Constitution; immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; progress towards ending racial discrimination. The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"I went to Rhodesia with the Lord Chancellor in February. The Minister of State went in July. In October Mr. Smith and his colleagues came to London. The talks lasted a week and ended in complete failure to reach agreement. Throughout all our exchanges we have done all we can to remove the differences between us.

No Positive Advancement

"Mr. Smith's proposals did not provide any positive advancement for Africans in the political and social fields; any fully effective safeguards against retrogressive amendment of the 1961 Constitution, or adequate means of consultation with African opinion in Rhodesia on the Rhodesian Government's proposals for independence. In particular, it was quite impossible for us, as indeed for the former Government, to agree that the chiefs could by any stretch of the imagination be said to be representative of the African people.

"I said to Mr. Smith and Mr. Harper when they were pressing me to recognize the chiefs that I was prepared to accept that in one or two cases they truly did represent the people, but in the main these chiefs, paid by the Government, employed by the Government, and dismissed by the Government were not free agents. They all had a vested interest.

"Despite the breakdown of the talks, the Prime Minister made clear to Mr. Smith before he left London that we were very willing to continue the discussion. When I saw Mr. Smith off at London Airport I said: 'I will come out at any time'. At least three proposals merited further consideration. I pressed them upon him—our proposal for a constitutional conference; his for a Senate; and that there should be a treaty between the British and Rhodesian Governments to provide the safeguards on which we insisted. After further exchanges the Prime Minister made his proposal for a Commonwealth Mission to Rhodesia to be headed by the Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies. Mr. Smith rejected this.

"On October 20 Mr. Smith sent the Prime Minister an ultimatum. He demanded immediate acceptance of independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution, combined with a treaty on the lines suggested by Mr. Smith. This looked very much like the prelude to a U.D.I. Parliament would never have accepted this ultimatum. On the other hand, I am sure that the Rhodesian Government would have been forced into rebellion had we turned this demand down out of hand.

Stopped U.D.I.

"The Prime Minister then announced that he was going to Salisbury. People in Salisbury, and I think I can say the Prime Minister of Rhodesia himself, acknowledged that the going of our Prime Minister to Rhodesia at that time stopped a U.D.I.

"The Prime Minister went to have talks with all who could help in solving the problem. He proposed that these talks should include African nationalist leaders and ex-Prime Ministers as well as all other representative sections of the community. I went with the Prime Minister, as did the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development to discuss an intensive education programme. The Attorney-General joined us in Salisbury. The talks lasted four days. They involved just about all Rhodesians African and European, who could be said to be leading representatives of the population.

"In his talks with the Africans the Prime Minister made three things clear beyond all doubt. There could be no question of the use of armed force by Britain to impose a solution. Majority rule, to which the British Government were committed, could not be expected today or tomorrow; it could be expected only when achievement warranted it. African opinion, at that time bitterly divided, should unite.

"During the talks it became clear that the proposal for a treaty was a non-starter. Despite exhaustive discussion on the basis of amendments to the 1961 Constitution, no progress was made. There were ominous signs of illegal action likely to be taken immediately.

"The Prime Minister put two propositions. The first concerned Mr. Smith's repeated assertion that the Rhodesian people, including the majority of the Africans, wanted independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. The Prime Minister proposed that this assertion should be tested by a referendum of the whole Rhodesian people. Mr. Smith rejected this.

CONSERVATIVE LEADER SAYS P.M. MADE OFFER TOO LATE

"The Prime Minister's second proposition was that a Royal Commission should be set up under the chairmanship of Rhodesia's Chief Justice to recommend the amendments to the 1961 Constitution which would provide the basis on which Rhodesia might proceed to independence as rapidly as possible.

"The Rhodesian Government accepted neither proposition, but put forward instead an ingenious combination of both. They agreed to the Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Rhodesia. They proposed that one member should be nominated by Rhodesia and one by Britain, that the three should work on the basis of a unanimous report, and that the Commission should receive from the two Governments an agreed draft independence arrangement based on the 1961 Constitution with such amendments as we might consider necessary. The Commission should then find out whether the resulting document was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Attitude of Ministers Left in Salisbury

"The Attorney-General and I stayed in Salisbury after the Prime Minister left. We tried to reach agreement with the Rhodesian Government on the text of a suitable document. We wanted to see where we differed and where we agreed. After nine hours of talks we found it impossible to reach agreement with the Rhodesian Government on the changes to the 1961 Constitution to put to the Royal Commission for a test of their acceptability to the Rhodesian people as a whole. If we had stayed a whole week we could not have made any changes. The agreements and the disagreements were firmly registered. If we had stayed a week the Rhodesian Ministers would have accused us, as they have done continually, of trying to cause delay.

"There was also an obligation upon the Attorney-General and myself to get back to report to our Cabinet, because the Rhodesian Prime Minister was demanding an answer forthwith. I had to tell him that we could not act in that way. We had to get a Cabinet decision, and in due course Parliamentary approval, for what had to be done.

"In a letter dated October 31 to the Prime Minister Mr. Smith proposed that the Rhodesian Government's amendments alone should be put to the Commission. The rôle of the Commission would be then to work out a procedure for testing the acceptability of these proposals and then to test them.

"The Prime Minister replied accepting the suggestion, subject to Mr. Smith's acceptance of the following understandings: (1) H.M. Government must be free to state publicly that they dissociated themselves from the proposals and to require that this fact should be known in Rhodesia; (2) before canvassing the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole, the Royal Commission should submit for approval by both Governments a unanimous report on the procedure which it recommended for canvassing these views; (3) H.M. Government could not be bound to accept any report which the Royal Commission eventually produced, since the final decision rested with the British Parliament.

"It might well have been that the Royal Commission would have established that the Rhodesian Government's proposals were not acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. The effect of the reply of the Prime Minister was to reserve H.M. Government's freedom of action in this event.

Referendum Proposed

"Supposing that the Rhodesian Government did not accept these proposals, the Prime Minister suggested an alternative course that the constitutional proposals should be submitted to the test of a referendum of the whole of the adult population of Rhodesia, this referendum to be conducted without restriction of normal political activity by all sections of the community and subject to adequate impartial supervision. Finally, there would be stringent safeguards against intimidation.

"Mr. Smith claimed that the Prime Minister was shutting the door on negotiations. The Prime Minister demonstrated that this was not so. He offered to meet Mr. Smith at some convenient meeting place such as Malmaison, after having discussions in London with the Chief Justice of Rhodesia about how the Royal Commission should work.

"The Prime Minister told the House yesterday of Mr. Smith's objection to the conditions under which the Prime Minister had suggested that the proposed Royal Commission should be accepted. The Prime Minister answered this message on Wednesday afternoon. He clarified the position of H.M. Government on every single one of Mr. Smith's objections. The Prime Minister spoke to Mr. Smith on the telephone on Thursday morning. He again answered every one of Mr. Smith's objections to our views on the Royal Commission. Mr. Smith did not attempt to fault the Prime

Minister's arguments; he did not demur; he raised no new arguments; he put forward no new proposals. He merely baldly stated that the views of the two Governments were irreconcilable.

"A few hours later he put himself and his country in a state of rebellion, tearing up that very Constitution which he had so often claimed to be the right Constitution for Rhodesia.

"In the proclamation issued yesterday in Salisbury, Mr. Smith alleged that the Government of the United Kingdom have thus demonstrated that they are not prepared to grant sovereign independence to Rhodesia, on terms acceptable to the people of Rhodesia.

"This is a complete distortion of the truth. Acceptability to the people of Rhodesia as a whole was the central point of the whole argument. Neither we nor our predecessors were ever satisfied that Mr. Smith's proposals were acceptable to the whole people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"The argument is about racial equality. Implicit acceptance of racial equality has been an obligation of Commonwealth membership ever since India became independent. We have heard much about our kith and kin in Rhodesia. The Government are very conscious of the emotional ties which bind friends and relations in Britain and Rhodesia. But these are not our only kith and kin abroad, nor indeed in Africa. We have nearly as many kith and kin in black Africa as we have in Rhodesia. There are large British communities in Zanzibar, Kenya, Tanzania, and most other Commonwealth countries in Africa.

"If the British Government were to make clear by their actions that they take a one-sided racial view of the situation in Rhodesia—if, for instance, we were to present the appearance of having connived at this illegal act because we secretly sympathized with our kith and kin in Rhodesia—racism on our part would be met by racism on the part of other Governments. I hope that hon. Members will think not only of our kith and kin in Salisbury and Bulawayo but also of our kith and kin in other parts of the world.

"There must be eventually majority rule and racial equality in Rhodesia. It is my devout hope that this unswerving determination will strengthen the Commonwealth association by the reaffirmation of Britain's attitude to one of the most diverse problems facing the world today."

Tory Party Deplores Declaration

MR. HEATH, leader of the Opposition, said that the Conservative Party had strongly opposed a unilateral declaration of independence, had done everything possible to dissuade Mr. Smith, and deplored what had happened.

"Historians will not look only at the last few weeks. The suspicions and doubts which have been expressed by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary have not arisen only during the recent talks. Those who have sat in the House for the last 15 years will recall the history of the Federation, debates on the 1961 Constitution, and constant attacks from some quarters on Rhodesian Governments. We can remember a certain lack of co-operation with the Monckton Commission. We have seen the difficulties that former moderate and liberal Governments had in Rhodesia in holding their own against these attacks and in trying to make progress in the direction which all of us wanted to see. The responsibility cannot be allocated only to the last few weeks or to those who are in Rhodesia at this moment.

"Yesterday the Prime Minister told us about his last offer. He put the question: Would the Rhodesian Government be prepared to commend a unanimous report by the Royal Commission to their own Parliament if the British Government did the same? Perhaps the Prime Minister could tell us whether if the answer was 'yes' the British Government were themselves prepared to commend the Royal Commission's report to the House. The Prime Minister is nodding his agreement."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Mr. Smith knew it."

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister has now given us information which he did not give us yesterday. This shows how far the Prime Minister and the Government have gone in saying to Mr. Smith that they will recommend a unanimous report of the Royal Commission without any further question about it and the Prime Minister was prepared to send out a senior member of the Government with powers to sign an agreed minute to that effect. The tragedy is that it was then too late, and Mr. Smith apparently made that plain to the Prime Minister."

"My regret is that when the Prime Minister was in Salis-

IF GOVERNOR ASKED BRITAIN FOR TROOPS OR POLICE

bury he did not stay to get the Royal Commission's activities tied up at the time. In a speech at Bexley two days before the Prime Minister left I welcomed his mission, wished him success, and specifically urged him or the Commonwealth Secretary to stay in Salisbury until these details were completely tied up.

"The Commonwealth Secretary believes he would have been accused of delaying the matter. I find it difficult to accept that argument. History will never be able to prove conclusively whether staying in Salisbury would have averted a U.D.I. What I believe to be wrong is that any doubt about this should have been left to remain.

"In negotiations timing is the essence, and if the Prime Minister had been able to give further support to the moderate forces in Rhodesia who had agreed to the Royal Commission it may be that at that particular moment it could have come into being.

"The Prime Minister set out to prevent a U.D.I. To everybody's regret he did not succeed. He said yesterday that the measures now taken and to follow 'should be examined on their merits, and that the criterion in this examination should be the purpose which we all have in mind. Our purpose is not punitive. We do not approach this tragic situation in a mood of recrimination. Our purpose is to restore a situation in Rhodesia in which there can be untrammelled loyalty and allegiance to the Crown, and in which there can be, within whatever rules this House lays down, a free Government of Rhodesia, acting in the interests of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. There may be different views about the severity with which measures should be applied. There will be no difference, I am sure, about the fact that it is our duty to restore the rule of law and freedom in Rhodesia.

"In one passage the Prime Minister very clearly set out that the actions should not be punitive and that there may be honest and sincere differences of view about the measures which should be applied and the speed with which they should be applied. I do not see how it can be said from the benches opposite that there cannot be differences of view."

Charge of Dishonesty and Insincerity

MR. CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND: "I am expressing my belief that some of the views expressed have been neither honest nor sincere."

MR. HEATH: I am sorry the hon. Member does not believe that his colleagues in the House express views which are sincere. The onus rests on the Government to show that each action which they propose is in accordance with the criteria which the Prime Minister has set out.

"The Prime Minister confirmed to us yesterday that the Foreign Secretary would maintain the position at the United Nations that Rhodesia is a British responsibility. If the Security Council wishes to take action which on the Prime Minister's statement yesterday the Prime Minister and the Government would deem to be unwise, are they prepared to oppose that action, if necessary by the use of veto?"

"The Prime Minister also said yesterday: 'The solution of this problem is not one to be dealt with by military intervention unless, of course, our troops are asked for to preserve law and order and avert a tragic action, subversion, murder, and so on. But we do not contemplate any national action, and I may say any international action, for the purpose of coercing even the illegal Government of Rhodesia into a constitutional posture'. It means that the Prime Minister would not support the United Nations in taking action, international action, by force to coerce even the illegal Government of Rhodesia.

"I ask him to clarify his statement, unless, of course, our troops are asked for. Asked for by whom? If it is asked for by the Governor on his own initiative or if at some future date when law and order broke down Mr. Smith and his colleagues, or other bodies, were to go to the Governor and suggest that the moment has come when it will be necessary for law and order to be restored, of course any British Government would have to consider this most carefully."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The legal Government of Rhodesia is the Governor. If the Governor were to approach H.M. Government for forces, police, or any other assistance to help restore law and order, we would, of course, respond; we would naturally give very full consideration to it. If the Governor is pressed, whether by Mr. Smith or any other private person—because Mr. Smith is a private person—then the Governor, naturally, will weigh the importance of the pressure of Mr. Smith and of others.

"I think the whole House will feel that we should not consider sending what would be a major military invasion for the purpose of imposing a constitutional solution on Rhodesia. If the legally-constituted Government of Rhodesia were to seek help in dealing with law and order, naturally we would have to give it the fullest consideration."

MR. HEATH: "That has clarified the situation completely and confirmed what I said was my understanding."

"Is it possible to make known to the House what the Government consider will be the effect of each of the measures taken? The House should know the impact of each of these measures, both on Rhodesia and on Britain. We recognize that it is an illegal Government and that the Government of this country can have no dealings with it. We do not in any way condone its actions, and neither must the Governor.

"Whereas there are illegal or unconstitutional Governments in other parts of the world which we recognize, perhaps overnight—although very often we disapprove of them—in this case we take the view that it is an illegal Government and cannot be recognized or condoned and that there cannot be dealings with it. The House should recognize the source from which it arises—the relationship to the Crown and the responsibility which we have to all the peoples in Rhodesia.

Difficult Questions

"Why is it necessary to take power to suspend or revoke the Constitution? We understand the need to amend or add to it. If the Government are looking forward to the time when Rhodesia would wish to return to normality—and there may well be those in Rhodesia who would be able to lead it in that direction—is it not likely to arouse further suspicion and produce discouragement if those people find that the 1961 Constitution, which has been the basis of the present discussions, has been suspended or 'revoked'?"

"The Prime Minister said yesterday: 'It is the duty of everyone owing allegiance to the Crown in Rhodesia or elsewhere to refrain from all acts which would assist the illegal régime to continue in their rebellion against the Crown'. This is very wide advice. Anybody carrying on his normal job can be said to be enabling an illegal Government to continue.

"The Prime Minister later said: 'It is our view—and I believe that the Governor has made this statement in Rhodesia—that it is the duty of public servants to carry on with their jobs, to help maintain law and order, certainly the judges and the police, at this crucial time, but that they must themselves be the judges of any possible action which they might be asked to take and which would be illegal in itself or illegal in the sense of furthering a rebellious act'.

"Those two statements, if broadcast in Rhodesia as the hon. gentleman has asked, put the people of Rhodesia in a very difficult position. One could understand the advice that if they remain in their positions they will be furthering acts of this Government and this is to be deplored and illegal. One could understand the position in which, although it is technically illegal, they are right to remain in their positions in order to retain law and order and maintain central services in operation and so on. But it is difficult to know what judgment they can form as a result of the two statements which the Prime Minister made yesterday."

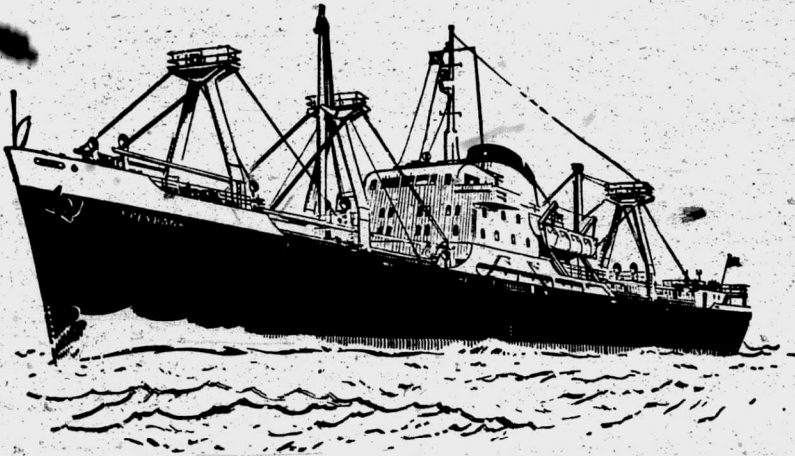
THE PRIME MINISTER: "I recognize this enormous difficulty. The cruel dilemma was not imposed by us. It is inherent in the action of Mr. Smith.

"I can put two cases. If one is an assistant secretary to the Ministry of Health and wanted to buy some surgical dressings, one would have to use the phrase: 'I am directed by the Minister of Health', who is an illegal Minister of Health. In a sense he is recognizing and forwarding the rebellion. At the same time everyone will agree that he must order those surgical dressings.

"But if another secretary, in the Ministry of the Interior or a similar Ministry, were told by a Minister to go out and take action which by any test was illegal, and would have been illegal before yesterday, any action which would offend against the conscience of any human being, such as to go out and shoot all the people in a detention camp, I hope that they would feel that this was not only acting illegally but would be furthering the rebellion, because he would be doing it for the purpose of maintaining an illegal Government in office."

(Concluded on page 212)

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. IAN SMITH is in a stronger position today than he was when he declared Rhodesia independent a fortnight ago. That is the verdict of all the newspaper correspondents from many countries who have gone to Rhodesia to assess and report developments. Some of them had been highly critical of that country for long periods, but, when constrained to turn from comment to chronicle, their fidelity to the obligation to record what they have seen and heard has in almost all cases overcome previous prejudice. The consensus in their dispatches is made the more impressive by the past attitude of some of the writers, an attitude which, not unnaturally, still finds reflection in some of the cables. One could almost imagine some of these journalists sending private notes to their editors saying: "I am sorry to have to report this: I know that it does not square with my expectations or with the many articles I have written in the past, but these are the facts as I judge them". What they have found is what people knowledgeable about Rhodesia continued to affirm about previous conditions and what they would have expected in the present situation: calmness, confidence, and concentration on the work in hand by leaders and followers alike.

Sanctions, it is evident, are causing less anxiety among Rhodesians than in political circles in Britain, where the initial bi-partisan-ship proclaimed in the House of Commons by the leaders of the three parties is already under strain as the Conservatives recognize the great differences between Mr. Wilson's initial statement and the Government's prompt departures from them in action. Conservative M.P.s. have, moreover, discovered that large sections

of the public openly sympathize with Mr. Smith, distrust the pro-Wilson propaganda, and object to the policy of sanctions because they believe that what has happened in Rhodesia is essentially due to the folly and faithlessness of successive Governments in the United Kingdom. The first demonstration of the depth of such feelings was given on Monday evening at a gathering in London organized by the Monday Club. As will be seen from the report in other columns, there was very plain speaking from the platform and even more vigorous protest from the audience at the treatment of Rhodesia. Indeed, after the National Anthem had been sung at the close of the proceedings, someone in the hall called for three cheers for Mr. Ian Smith. They could not have been more resoundingly given if the assembly had been composed of subscribing members of the Rhodesian Front. It was also significant that the meeting refused to accept a resolution protesting to the Prime Minister against punitive and coercive sanctions; it insisted almost unanimously on the removal of both adjectives and in condemning sanctions in general.

Criticism, moreover, is being suddenly and sharply voiced by influential Socialists. For the first time in more than forty years a dissentient view already expressed by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of the action and inaction on a major Sharp Socialist African matter of the Criticism of P.M. Socialist Party's leader has the emphatic endorsement of the left-wing *New Statesman*, regarded as their oracle by most Labour stalwarts. What must the zealots have thought when they saw across the front page of the current issue the heading "Wilson's Tragedy of Errors"?—and that at a time when their standard-bearer unwisely insists on repeating in connexion with the Rhodesian problem that

"I have done everything that any man could do", presumably to convince himself and others that his botchery can be dissembled. He should be told that some people are already quoting "Methinks he doth protest too much". Those in his party who are still bemused by his brilliant public relations technique, however, may perhaps now think that the terms "rebel" and "treason" which he and his senior colleagues have been using with such frequency and infelicity should be transferred from Rhodesia to Great Turnstile, whence comes the candid and condemnatory leading article. Starting from the point which this journal has emphasized—that the Prime Minister's self-created and shining image has been due to his "astute manipulation of the mass communications media"—our contemporary declares that "at every stage in the developing crisis Mr. Wilson has been guilty of serious errors of judgment, endorsed (in some cases reluctantly) by his Cabinet colleagues", and that throughout his exchanges with Mr. Smith (who is consistently denied the courtesy of the honourific "Mr."), "Mr. Wilson was obliged to retreat further and further from the original position his Government inherited from its Tory predecessors. At no stage did Smith make any concessions even of form and still less of substance. Throughout Mr. Wilson tried to edge closer to what he supposed Smith's position to be, even at the risk of jeopardizing the five basic principles he repeatedly proclaimed. The telephone transcript suggest that Mr. Wilson was ready to devise further surrenders had the negotiations continued. The British Government was spared this dishonour, not through any resolve on Mr. Wilson's part, but simply by Smith's inability to restrain his colleagues".

* * *

That is strong medicine from Socialist specialists, whose diagnosis is accurate. Indeed our own leading articles have made a much stronger case against the Prime Minister.

Rebellion Wrapped In the Union Jack.

Yet, as we pointed out last week, leading Conservatives, especially in the House of Commons, have taken so cursory a view that they blundered into warm praise for Mr. Wilson, who had been unwarrantably praising himself for his excursion to Salisbury. Speakers in the House of Lords were, as usual, much more circumspect. But every close student of Parliament has long known that on any major issue the debate in the Upper House will invariably be of far better quality than that in the "other place". The nation, unfortunately, is unaware of that fact, for not one newspaper in the land applies to debates in the Lords the same standards of judgment, those of news

value, by which it tests what to publish about proceedings in the Commons. The mass of the people consequently never know what has been said in the much better informed senior House. From the lengthy reports of speeches by peers which have so often been given in our pages, however, regular readers are aware that there are in that Chamber a considerable number of men with great experience of Africa who have been outspokenly opposed to the African policy of successive British Governments. As will be seen from our pages this week and next, they have refused to be associated with the pretence that Britain is blameless for what has happened in Rhodesia. "Rebellion?", Mr. Julian Amery asked scornfully at the Monday Club meeting; "if so, it is rebellion wrapped in the Union Jack". That succinctly summarizes what very many, perhaps most, Britons are thinking and already saying.

Statements Worth Noting

"Was there ever a greater piece of nonsense than the talk of 'Afro-Asian Solidarity'?"—*Daily Express*.

"Nearly 300,000 visitors spent at least £6m. in Rhodesia last year".—Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, Immigration, and Tourism.

"In our struggle for *Uhuru* we did not act out of jealousy, greed or hate. Our motives involved more noble principles. We called for tolerance, equality and justice".—President Kenyatta.

"One-tenth of the new companies registered in Kenya this year are mixed African-Asian or African-European companies, compared with only 2% in 1962".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

"The Government plans to plant 400,000 acres of exotic softwood plantations throughout Kenya by 1980. We have to plan ahead because the trees take 30 to 35 years to grow to a mature size. More than one-third of the total area will supply pulpwood for a paper factory at Broderick Falls".—Mr. S. O. Ayodó, Minister for Natural Resources.

"Zambia has some of the best land for cotton, groundnuts, tobacco, fruit, vegetables, timber, and cattle, and we have some of the best lakes and rivers for a fish industry. Why on earth must we import any of these products? Why must we import coffee, rice, table-birds, eggs, cloth, and sometimes even maize?"—President Kaunda of Zambia, speaking in Kitwe.

"I am glad that local authorities are replacing beer-halls by small pubs, which will, I am sure, conduce to orderly drinking of the traditional type among the indigenous peoples before the advent of Westernization. In our zest to combat drunkenness the question of the advertising of intoxicating drinks is being closely examined".—Mr. Nalumino Mundia, Minister of Labour and Social Development in Zambia.

"Malawi Congress Party leaders, Ministers, M.Ps., members of the central executive of the party and of the Women's League, Youth League, and Young Pioneers must be examples of good behaviour, good conduct, good manners. They must behave like ladies and gentlemen. If they drink, they must not get drunk and trouble the people".—Dr. Banda, president of the party, and Prime Minister of Malawi.

Mr. Dupont Appointed Administrator in Rhodesia

Sir Humphrey Gibbs Made K.C.V.O. by the Queen

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, lately Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, was in the middle of last week appointed by Mr. Ian Smith to be Acting Officer Administering the Government of Rhodesia, thus supplanting the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, who had been under pressure from Mr. Smith and his colleagues to resign and leave Government House. That he had declined to do, telling the public that he would continue in his office until dismissed by the Queen.

Shortly before the announcement of Mr. Dupont's appointment was made seven official cars had been removed from Government House, from which guards and police and the official staff were also withdrawn.

Captain Christopher Owen, aged 25, a third-generation Rhodesian, who had been A.D.C. to the Governor, resigned his commission in the Royal Rhodesia Regiment, saying that he preferred to stay with the Governor, for whom he felt affection, and who needed him.

Next day it was announced from Buckingham Palace that the Queen had made Sir Humphrey a Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, an award which is entirely in the gift of the Sovereign. The Prime Minister had recommended an award in the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of the Governor's steadfastness and loyalty, but Her Majesty preferred the more personal honour of appointment to the Royal Victorian Order.

That same day the leaders of the Socialist, Conservative and Liberal parties in the House of Commons tabled a joint motion expressing admiration of Sir Humphrey's dignified and courageous stand.

Commons Tribute to Dignity and Courage

It read: — "That this House notes with admiration the dignified and courageous stand taken by Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor of Rhodesia, in the face of illegal attempts to drive him from office; deplors the efforts made by the illegal régime to shake the loyalty of Her Majesty's subjects in Rhodesia towards the Governor and the Constitution as by law established; and expresses its sympathy towards all those for whom Sir Humphrey and Lady Gibbs are setting so inspiring an example."

Sir Humphrey sent a note to the Press in Salisbury reading: —

"I have heard with great pleasure that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, by whose warrant under the Queen's sign manual dated December 28, 1959, I hold office as Governor of Rhodesia, has been pleased to appoint me as Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order. I value this honour all the more because it is a personal gift entirely from the hand of Her Majesty. It is my humble duty and wish to thank Her Majesty for the great honour she has bestowed upon me as Her Majesty's representative of the people of Rhodesia."

Mr. D. Jones, Socialist M.P. for Burnley, has tabled a Parliamentary question asking the Prime Minister to send a token force of Guardsmen to Salisbury to protect the lives of the Governor and Lady Gibbs.

Because the Chief Justice and other judges of the High Court declined to swear him in, Mr. Dupont took the oath before a justice of the peace. It was announced that he had resigned the portfolios of External Affairs and Defence, and would continue to reside in his suburban home until Government House, Salisbury, at present occupied by Sir Humphrey Gibbs in a private capacity, becomes available. Later it was decided that he should use Governor's Lodge as an office.

Mr. Dupont, now in his 60th year, was born in

London, qualified as a solicitor, and practised in London until he went to Rhodesia to farm. He was a founder member of the Rhodesian Front, and has been Deputy Prime Minister for about 18 months.

The Constitution introduced when the Declaration of Independence was made on November 11 provides that the Officer Administering the Government shall be either a Governor-General appointed by the Queen on the advice of Rhodesian Ministers "or a regent appointed by the members of the Executive Council presided over by the Prime Minister".

Mr. Smith told a news conference in Salisbury that he had given instructions for disconnection of the telephone at Government House so that the British Government and its representatives could no longer communicate with Sir Humphrey Gibbs, since he was no longer the legal Governor of Rhodesia. It was therefore the intention to strip Government House of the various trappings normal with a governorship, but he did not wish to interfere with Sir Humphrey's private life, comfort, or convenience.

Governor and Government

One of the Governor's aides had gone to the Postmaster-General, "this Government's Postmaster-General", to protest against disconnection of the telephone. He had been sent to the Prime Minister's office. So, in spite of the fact that on Monday the Governor on instructions from the Queen — "actually, I believe, from Mr. Bottomley" — dismissed us the next day, he had to come back and acknowledge us as the *de jure* Government and myself as the Prime Minister, seeking help from the predicament in which he found himself. Nothing could be of greater evidence that even Sir Humphrey Gibbs has to acknowledge that we are the Government of Rhodesia.

Parts of the news conference, relayed in B.B.C. television last Thursday evening, showed that many of the questions were harsh and some heated and sarcastic.

To those about the censorship Mr. Smith replied that it was a necessary evil which it was hoped to remove at the earliest possible moment. It would have been foolhardy not to take elementary precautions in order to ensure quiet safety in Rhodesia.

When a London journalist suggested that the Rhodesian regulations were not distinguishable from those in Communist, Fascist and other totalitarian régimes, Mrs. Smith replied: "When I think of the B.B.C. I wonder how you have the nerve to ask a question like that." "It would be agreeable if you would answer my question," said the questioner, to be told: "If you had a little patience that also would be agreeable. I wonder if you can tell me when there was a precedent for the exercise we are now going through. Then perhaps we can make a comparison."

Questioned by a correspondent who said he represented the *Daily Mirror*, Mr. Smith said: "Good grief, the *Daily Mirror*!"

Prime Minister's Statement in Commons

In the House of Commons the Prime Minister said: — "The House will have seen with regret and noted with contempt the action the illegal régime have taken in purporting to replace the Governor by Mr. Dupont. I repeat that the Governor holds his office during Her Majesty's pleasure and can be removed only on Her Majesty's instructions. As I warned earlier in the week, this is an act of treason.

"Hon. Members will have noticed that in carrying through this illegal procedure the persons concerned appear to have been unable to secure the services of the Chief Justice or any other judge and had to use a justice of the peace.

"The House, too, will have noticed the contemptible actions of the illegal authorities in the forms of pressure

put on the Governor, Lady Gibbs and their loyal staff.

"Hon. Members who know Sir Humphrey Gibbs, and who have had an opportunity of forming some impression of Mr. Dupont, will, in making the inevitable contrast, be able to measure the extent to which Rhodesia has been degraded and her people abused by the events of the past seven days".

Mr. Thorpe: "Is the Prime Minister aware that hon. Members on both sides will applaud the courage and dignity with which the Governor has continued to act as Her Majesty's sole representative in Rhodesia?"

"Can the Prime Minister give some assurance that every effort will be made to make known the very important undertaking which he broadcast relating to accrued rights and pension rights for civil servants and other Government officials who, like the Governor, and indeed his A.D.C., would wish to remain loyal to the Crown?"

The Prime Minister: "May I say how very much I agree with the opening words of the hon. gentleman. With regard to my broadcast to Rhodesia yesterday, we will do everything possible to see that it gets through. I have good reason to think it was heard in Rhodesia. All the reports are that the repeated broadcast by the B.B.C. did get across."

Governor's Courage Exploited

Mr. Heath: "We on this side of the House would like to express our admiration for the courage and dignity of the Governor in the present circumstances, which we all feel must be becoming more and more difficult for him daily, and the hope that he will be able to continue his representation for as long as it is humanly possible."

The Prime Minister: "I thank the right hon. gentleman. I think 'courage' and 'dignity' are the two words that stand out in the minds of most of us in considering the way in which Sir Humphrey Gibbs has carried on in the face of this most intolerable pressure."

Mr. Hastings: "While endorsing what has been said about the Governor's courage, may I ask the Prime Minister to ensure that he does not exploit the personal courage of Sir Humphrey Gibbs. Is he aware, as I am sure he must be, that Sir Humphrey Gibbs is neither a young man nor very fit?"

The Prime Minister: "Which is another reason why the hon. gentleman might have thought twice before saying what he did. There is no question of exploiting Sir Humphrey Gibbs's personal courage, because that speaks for itself, but some hon. gentlemen might consider how far remarks of that kind might be taken—that will not be censored—reported and exaggerated out of all relation to the hon. gentleman's significance, and then used by people in Rhodesia to suggest that this House is not united in the steps it is taking."

The letter in the original form, appeared in *The Times* on Tuesday. It bore the following signatures:—G. Arrighi, J. P. Barber, T. Bareham, J. C. Briden, A. Brock, P. H. Canham, J. A. Conradie, P. Considine, T. R. C. Curtin, M. P. Forder, G. Fortune, G. K. Garbett, A. C. Gifford, I. Henderson, C. R. Hill, J. B. Ingram, D. L. Jones, E. L. Joyce, R. Hodder-Williams, G. P. Kahari, A. A. Kee, R. M. Letcher, B. Lewis, M. A. Mason, N. J. Maynard, M. W. McElhinny, J. C. Mitchell, M. Newitt, P. J. Nursey-Bray, C. Palley, R. H. Palmer, F. Podmore, J. O. Reed, J. K. Rennie, H. W. Roberts, G. Siedner, A. Sommerfeldt, J. van Velsen, J. Ruth van Velsen, M. A. Wakatama, C. H. Wake, M. Walford, P. R. Warhurst, P. Wheeldon, C. R. Whittaker, R. Wood.

Give Us A Chance, Says Mr. Smith

Purpose of U.D.I. to Preserve Civilization

"GIVE US A CHANCE", said Mr. Ian Smith on Saturday when mounting a plaque in the wall of a new casino at Victoria Falls. It was his first public appearance since the declaration of independence.

Independence, he said, had already been accepted by Rhodesians. Britain and the rest of the world should not interfere, should not upset the applecart. "Give us a chance and you will see us play the game by every Rhodesian, black or white. We shall meet all our obligations, and Rhodesia will be a better place for all Africans, white and black". Being now a fact of life, independence should be faced by the world.

U.D.I. had not been a gamble. The purpose was to preserve the civilization built up by Europeans in

Rhodesia, and "my gambles have all worked out".

It was fantastic that the United Kingdom, having lost many millions of pounds by giving political independence to other countries in Africa which were not economically independent, should now be prepared to lose millions more by trying to suppress Rhodesia's independence. Britain would have to pay £13m. to £14m. a year for American tobacco to replace the Rhodesian supplies which she had decided to boycott.

Some of the things that Britain had done had been really surprising. The letter sent to members of the staff at Rhodesia House, London, for instance, was really an attempt at blackmail. To a man like himself brought up in the British tradition it was "dirty play". But such attempts would not split Rhodesians from one another. Indeed, "as each day goes past this Government gets stronger".

Chiefs Unanimous for Independence

Mr. William Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs, announced on Friday that in a number of gatherings he had met 587 chiefs and headmen representing about three and a half million Africans living on tribal lands. "Without exception these African leaders voiced their appreciation of the Government's action in assuming independence for Rhodesia and pledged their full support".

An Economic Council has been established at a Cabinet committee, with Mr. Smith as chairman.

Sir Cornelius Greenfield has been seconded from the Rhodesian Treasury to act as chief adviser on economic matters to Mr. Smith, who has decided to set up three committees on (1) commerce and industry, (2) agriculture, and (3) mining, to advise on the direction of the national economic front. Leading businessmen, farmers and miners have had consultations with senior officials as to the best means of maintaining the economy and offsetting economic and financial sanctions. Sir Cornelius is to co-ordinate the work of the three committees.

Mr. Josiah Gondo, leader of the all-African Parliamentary Opposition, has said that his United People's Party will not in any way co-operate with the régime which it considers illegal. There could be no question of U.P.P. representatives sitting down to discuss ways and means of furthering illegal action. That was the attitude which the official and loyal Opposition will adopt in Parliament.

The House is due to re-assemble today. Dr. Ahrn Palley, the only European M.P. who is not a member of Mr. Smith's party, has denounced the declaration of independence. He sits as an Independent for the African seat of Highfields.

The Minister of Internal Affairs has said that civil and military personnel are deemed to continue in their posts on their existing oaths and will not be required to swear a new oath of loyalty to Rhodesia.

Police Search University College

Having learnt that members of the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland proposed to send a protest for publication in London against the Rhodesian Government, the police in Salisbury undertook a search and interrogations at the week-end.

Of a teaching and research staff of 123 altogether, 46 had by Friday night signed a letter intended for publication in *The Times* which said:—

"We, the undersigned members of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, wish publicly to affirm that we do not recognize or accept the present illegal régime of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, and his colleagues".

The first two signatures were those of J. C. Reed and C. R. Whitaker, lecturers respectively in English and classics. An alternative draft was prepared by others, and it was agreed that the one which attracted the greater number of signatures should be dispatched on Monday.

By Friday evening, however, the authorities had knowledge of the plan. The police seized 20 unsigned copies and a memorandum inviting signatures. The official view is that the circularization of the staff constituted an evasion of the censorship regulations and was illegal under the emergency powers.

House of Lords Debates Rhodesian Independence

Lord Chancellor Says "African Nationalist Remedy for Everything Is Violence"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, Lord Gardiner, said when opening a debate on Rhodesia in the House of Lords:—

"I like Mr. Smith. I think him a very sincere man, who, if he made a promise, would carry it out. But I think he has a greater power of self-deception than most of us.

"In the last fortnight Mr. Smith has been fighting against an illegal declaration of independence. I know he feels that he has nailed the flag of U.D.I. to his mast, but I know he feels that it is really a mistake, and that if it had to be done at all it should have been done before. But he has a lot of extremists in his Cabinet, and I am afraid that they have carried the day.

"The African nationalists in Rhodesia say: 'Nothing less than one man one vote tomorrow; we are not interested in anything else, and our great remedy for all the problems of Rhodesia is violence'.

"Last year there was a good deal of violence in the townships, not by Africans against Europeans, but by gangs of young men employed by Mr. Nkomo who beat up those who did not join the party, and gangs of young men employed by Mr. Sithole who beat up those who did not support his party. Their great remedy for everything is violence.

"The Europeans have done a magnificent job in the development of Rhodesia. They are magnificent farmers."

Lord Salisbury on British Share of Guilt

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said that British treatment of Rhodesians had been partly responsible for the present situation.

"I have a long family connexion with Rhodesia. The capital, Salisbury, was named after my grandfather, who was Prime Minister when it was founded at the end of the last century; and I am a very proud freeman of that city. I have also a share in two farms.

"I hope the House will agree that that should not inhibit me from speaking on the affairs of Rhodesia, any more than having a share in a farm in England would debar one from speaking on the affairs of our own country. Indeed, it gives me an additional qualification, in that I have a personal experience of the country and its peoples.

"We have had two accounts of the discussions between the United Kingdom and Rhodesian Governments, one from Mr. Wilson and one from Mr. Smith, and they differ widely. Mr. Wilson said, in effect, that there was no difference of substance between the two Governments and that this was merely the action of a little clique of 'small, frightened men'. Mr. Smith, on the other hand, said 'on the main issue that is at stake the Governments have moved further apart'.

"Now, whatever their views of his latest action, all who know Mr. Smith will agree that he is a man of outstanding rectitude and honesty. That emerged from the account which the Lord Chancellor has given us this afternoon. I cannot accept *sans phrase* the Prime Minister's account of what emerged from the discussions.

"The White Paper no doubt gives the truth as the Prime Minister sees it; but it is not, I suggest, the whole truth. There is something missing.

"I believe that that element, which is not mentioned at all in the Prime Minister's account, nor even in the very frank and moderate account which the Lord Chancellor gave us this afternoon, is the deep feeling of distrust and suspicion of all British Governments

which exists today and has grown steadily in the minds of Rhodesians as a result of their own and their neighbours' experience in recent years.

"The present Prime Minister has come on the scene very late in the day, when mistrust was already created. The blame must attach far more to the leaders of my own party over that period. I am pretty certain that Lord Malvern would also agree with this.

"Mr. Maudling has said that he could not think of any major thing the Prime Minister had done wrongly or had not done; he had, after all, only been following the same lines as Mr. Macmillan and Sir Alec Douglas-Home would have done. The same line of argument was pretty well followed this afternoon by Lord Dilhorne. What Mr. Maudling saw so clearly the Rhodesian leaders saw. To them—and as the long and tortuous discussions proceeded it became more and more clear to them—this was the same old policy.

Scrapped Under African Pressure

"They remembered how again and again H.M. Government in the United Kingdom had put forward proposals for Constitutions for British Dependencies in Central Africa; how again and again those Constitutions had been accepted by the local Government and then with the ink hardly dry on them those Constitutions one after another had been scrapped under African pressure and new ones put forward.

"As a result of previous experience, the Africans in Central Africa—that is the view, at any rate, of the white Rhodesians, their convinced and sincere view—had no incentive to co-operate with the local Europeans; they were always looking over their shoulders, hoping to squeeze something more out of the United Kingdom Government; and they nearly always got it. The Rhodesian Government saw this process beginning all over again.

"There was a proposal for a Royal Commission whose recommendations they felt were designed to bind them but not the home Government.

"Then there was that obscure phrase about any settlement having to be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. Mr. Wilson used that phrase again and again. But what did it mean? Were the United Kingdom Government in effect suggesting something that we do not practise in our own country, with an infinitely more advanced population—a plebiscite, or referendum, of the whole population? How should the Rhodesians know? I do not know myself what that phrase means.

Magic Incantation

"I wonder what noble lords think of a proposal that the recommendations of a Royal Commission touching the future of Rhodesia, which were bound to be of a most complicated kind, should be submitted to the arbitration of the people of Rhodesia as a whole and not merely of the Rhodesian Parliament, although the vast proportion of the voters in such a plebiscite could have no real understanding of the complexity of the issues involved, and have in fact only just learned enough to repeat endlessly 'One man one vote', as if it were some kind of magic incantation. Such a proposal could only tend to increase Rhodesians' suspicions that they were going to be sold down the river again.

"Rhodesians have seen what has happened in the Congo—things so horrible that the British Press has been reluctant to print them; and they do not want those things to happen to their wives and children. That is one of their main pre-occupations. And who shall say that it is an unworthy one?

"Should anyone say: 'If it is indeed their object to maintain free institutions, why do they themselves keep certain people under restraint?'; it would be fair to remind this House that it is not for us in this country to throw stones, for in our own emergency in the last war we found it necessary to keep quite a number of people in confinement under Regulation 18B—for six years without trial, not because we had no regard for liberty but for the opposite reason, that we regarded them as a danger to our very existence as a free nation.

"Can we, looking at Africa today, at the Congo and Southern Sudan, regard as so indefensible the present attitude of the Rhodesians, who, after all, are our own stock and value just those things that we value? Have we forgotten so soon what we did in similar cases?

"This is, in a sense, a moment of truth, in which we must all search our consciences. We live 5,000 miles away from Rhodesia. While I suppose that all of us regard majority rule as the ultimate goal of British policy—it always has been—are we so very certain that we are right about the

ALL MUST SEARCH THEIR CONSCIENCES, SAYS LORD SALISBURY

pace of constitutional advance for Africans that is safe for Rhodesia today? Rhodesians are the only people at this time who are keeping the British way of life alive in Central Africa. Are we so sure that this is the right way to treat them—to stigmatize them as traitors, to do our utmost to beat them to their knees, and call in the rest of the world to help us? That is no doubt the easy course, but are we so sure that in the long run it is the wise and courageous course?

Not Rebels in Any Disgraceful Sense

"We are told that Mr. Smith and his people are rebels. That may be the technical word, but I cannot believe that they are rebels in any disgraceful sense, any more than George Washington was, or those Irish leaders of the past. There are nominal rebels who are not disgraceful rebels but fighting for a high ideal.

"I have always opposed a unilateral declaration of independence, and I regret as bitterly as anyone that things should have come to this pass. Those of us who believe in constitutional action must regret deeply that it has been regarded as necessary to take this action; but there are occasions, as Burke said at the time of the American War of Independence, when men driven to a certain point say to themselves: 'It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do; but what humanity, reason and justice tell me I must do'.

"Placed as the Rhodesian Government were, and bearing in mind their past experiences of British Governments, I cannot regard what they have done as wicked, and our supine repudiation of our own kith and kin, who alone have made Rhodesia what it is, under pressure mainly from a hostile junta of semi-civilized States, whose motives are wholly political; this stigmatizing of them as rebels, when in fact they were the loyalists of the loyal subjects of the Queen, seems to me about the lowest point our country has ever reached. I am pretty sure that countless people in this country feel the same. Letters reach me by every post from people of every section of the population who hold the views which I have made bold to express. Do not, by any action that we now take, let us sink lower still, and give any impression, in this country or outside, that we are persecuting for reasons of mere expediency those who have proved themselves in our own extremity our true friends."

Blunders of British Ministers

LORD COLYTON, who mentioned illegal declarations of independence in North and South America which had justified themselves, did not condone Mr. Smith's action but pleaded for understanding of the causes.

"I felt when the Prime Minister returned from Salisbury that he and his colleagues had handled the Rhodesian question with conspicuous tact and skill. I felt there was still hope.

"In his statement to the Commons on November 1 he made it clear that, although the matter was ultimately one for Parliament, if there was a unanimous report by the Royal Commission it would in practice mean that both sides would accept it. Unfortunately, he changed his position in his statement on November 3. I thought he put forward conditions which it was impossible for Mr. Smith to accept.

"The first was that it must be made known that the British Government disagreed with the Rhodesian Government's constitutional proposals. The second was that, even when the final and unanimous report was submitted, the British Government could not be expected to commit themselves in advance. It was what one newspaper called: 'Heads I win tails you lose'. The third was a suggestion for a national referendum in Rhodesia which, once one-man-one-vote was excluded, was clearly contradictory and unacceptable.

"It was not until after successive tragic events led to the break-up of the Federation that Southern Rhodesia turned to the only practicable alternative of independence for themselves. The resistance shown by successive British Governments to this plea only hardened European opinion in Rhodesia and slowed up African advance to political equality of status.

"To the north, in newly-independent states there were mutinies, Communist infiltration, and modification of the Constitutions within a few months of adoption. Political rights of the Europeans throughout those territories have been virtually extinguished. Even to-day there are 1,300 European mixed farmers in Kenya who, after 20, 40 or 60 years of hard work, are quite unable to carry on their farming—and that in spite of the fact that they have a friendly and helpful

African Government. Yet they cannot sell their farms and get out. In other territories there were uprisings, followed by massacres on such a scale and so bestial as to be beyond description—in Zanzibar first, then Ruanda, and more recently the Congo.

"The Rhodesians, I am convinced, in their final attempt to achieve independence by negotiation were entirely sincere. But time was slipping away.

"There were in my judgment unnecessary piacirikps by the British Government—like the attempt to block the appointment of a Rhodesian diplomatic agent in Lisbon which had been conceded to the Federal Government in 1957 and transferred to the Southern Rhodesian Government in a letter from Mr. Duncan Sandys to Mr. Winston Field on December 10, 1963.

"There were injudicious statements, like that of Lord Caradon, who in the midst of these negotiations told an audience in New York: 'The confrontation between black nations in Africa and the former Colonial Powers is not far ahead. The fuses are already lit, ready to blow the whole world sky high'.

"There was also the encouragement most unwisely given, to Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, to come to London without the authority of his Government. That must have been almost the last straw.

Amazed At Prime Minister's Action

"Incidentally, I was amazed to learn from the Prime Minister's speech on Friday that he had been discussing with Sir Hugh Beadle the implications of, and counter-measures to, U.D.I. while he (the Prime Minister) was still in Salisbury and before U.D.I. had happened at all. After all, Sir Hugh is a high functionary of self-governing Rhodesia, not of the United Kingdom.

"What are our reasons for banning purchases of Rhodesian tobacco and sugar? Are the Government not aware that the effect of this will fall, to begin with, only upon thousands of African workers who at the moment are engaged in putting in seedlings? Is it the aim to stimulate unemployment and starvation and ultimately chaos and bloodshed, in an attempt to bring Mr. Smith's *de facto* Government to its knees? I cannot believe that this is the purpose, nor do I think that the Government will succeed in doing so; but they will cause untold suffering to hundreds of thousands of Africans and their families.

"I hope that when these measures come before both Houses of Parliament we shall address ourselves to them in an effort to limit the damage to what is constitutionally absolutely necessary and inevitable.

"How is it possible to argue that Rhodesia can remain part of Her Majesty's Dominions but at the same time is no longer to be entitled to the privileges appertaining to that status? I refer to Imperial preference and the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. Under what section of the Rhodesian Constitution of 1961 had the Commonwealth Secretary, acting through the Governor, the right to dismiss Mr. Smith and his Cabinet? retrospectively by the Bill? If so, I think that we should be told accordingly. What will be the effect of these measures on our own balance of payments? Shall we have to spend at least £35m. a year on American stock-piled tobacco? Which they will be only too glad to get rid of."

Speech of Lord Hastings

LORD HASTINGS: "This U.D.I. came with suddenness and as a great shock, and I feel sure that the majority, utterly bewildered and confused, would like some guidance. The Prime Minister has said that a form of madness had seemed to descend upon the Rhodesian people. I agree that there has been some madness, but not precisely in the way that the Prime Minister meant.

"I was a permanent resident in Southern Rhodesia from 1951 to 1957. I still have my farm and visit it every year. I belonged to all the local organizations, like the Farmers' Union, and when Mr. Garfield Todd was Prime Minister I was chairman of one of the most active branches of his party.

"I was the only member of either House of Parliament who took the trouble to go to the now famous conference at Selima on Lake Nyasa organized by the Capricorn Africa Society, at which people of all races were present. It was an inspiring occasion, and it is with an added sense of tragedy that I have to inform your lordships that practically all those Africans, Asians, and Coloured people who were at that multi-racial conference now belong to one or other of the nationalist African organizations. One wonders how that could happen.

"In the war, for its great services, Rhodesia was offered its independence, but Lord Malvern turned it down because he

RHODESIA OFFERED INDEPENDENCE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS

considered that his community had not a viable economy. As recently as 1958 or 1959 I heard Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Commonwealth Relations Secretary say that a viable economy was still considered one of the cardinal principles before the grant of independence. That has all changed now. In 1953 Southern Rhodesia could have had her independence if the Federation had not been set up.

"When the Federation failed it must have been a great shock to Southern Rhodesia, which had turned down the chance of independence at least twice, and probably a third time, to find that she could not have it—because we had moved forward 10 years and the policy of H.M. Government had changed after 1959, in response to the demand of the African nations, some of whom had already obtained their independence. H.M. Government had changed their policy, and the Southern Rhodesians and the Federal Government felt let down.

Rhodesia's First Great Mistake

"In 1958 Mr. Garfield Todd was removed unceremoniously as leader of the United Rhodesia Party and as Prime Minister. I believe that that was the first great mistake made by the Europeans in Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead came along, and had trouble with the Africans, largely, I think, because the Federation was not going too well; and he had to pass certain restrictive laws.

"By the time of the 1961 Constitutional Conference it was clear that the Federation was going to fail. The Southern Rhodesians were getting very worried, and my friends in Sir Edgar Whitehead's Cabinet and among his M.P.s. asked what I thought should be done to obtain their independence. I said: 'You must give at least 25% representation, perhaps even one-third representation, to the Africans and slightly widen the franchise.' I think that would have been accepted by the Africans and we should not now be in this mess.

"But there is another side to this coin. That conference was attended by Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. They had agreed to accept the best they could get, which was 15 seats in Parliament, and they signed the document which Mr. Duncan Sandys brought home. But they were not strong enough to stand up against the pressure of some of their more extreme elements, and in particular to the pressure of outside African influence—and some of that influence was not anxious to see the success of a multi-racial community in Southern Rhodesia; it wished only to see African domination. Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole backed down from their signatures, boycotted the election, and began agitating throughout the country.

"That was probably the greatest folly of all, because if the Africans had stuck to their signatures and worked this Constitution, they would have been the official Opposition now, and the right-wing Government of Mr. Winston Field would never have come to power. There was perhaps a chance under Mr. Field, a great gentleman and a very reasonable and wise leader. Under him we might have been able to come to terms, but we were not offering enough guarantees for the minority of the population in the long run, the Europeans.

Opportunity Not Seized by Tories

"The offers made by Mr. Wilson have been at least equal to, and I believe more generous than, any offers made by the Conservative leaders in the previous five years. Why were these offers not made by the Conservative Party earlier? If they had been made before the 1962 election, we should not be in this mess to-day.

"One reason why they were not made is because, in order to carry the Commonwealth, the United States, and the United Nations with us, we should have needed a united national attitude towards it, and we had not got that. If in those years we had made such offers as have now been made by the Labour Government we should have been most strongly criticized by the Labour Opposition, who were at that time wedded to giving independence solely on the basis of majority rule and on the principle of one-man-one-vote. We all made our share of mistakes.

"At every step the wrong movement has been made at the wrong time, or, perhaps more important, the right move has not been made at the right time. That refers to the Europeans in Rhodesia; it refers to the Africans in Rhodesia; it refers to the African nations outside Rhodesia; it refers to the United Nations; and to the whole of Parliament in this country, both Government and Opposition, at whatever period we are discussing.

"This has been the unfolding, with horrible inevitability, of an ancient Greek tragedy; and all of us who have taken part in this tragedy will stand judged at the bar of history as morally guilty. I wish to make this quite clear to your lordships and I hope it will be quite clear to the people of this country.

"Since there are moral issues involved, let us remember the

prayer given us by the most reverend Primate on television on Thursday night: 'God give guidance to all the Rhodesians and to each one of us in the ways of justice, reason and love'. When we use that prayer, let it, above all, apply to ourselves. Do not let us imagine that it is to be applied to the people of Rhodesia alone.

"We are faced with a technical act of rebellion, and that we cannot condone. Therefore, I shall vote for this Enabling Bill, knowing that I shall offend some of my friends in Rhodesia. I should have much greater difficulty in voting for specific sanctions. We must regard them from the standpoint of practical, conciliatory, positive politics, national and international.

"As regards tobacco, the seedlings have been put in, but they have not been transplanted yet in great numbers. Therefore the costs incurred by farmers so far in this season are negligible, and can be cut altogether. They will grow such tobacco as they think they will be able to sell. Therefore the tobacco farmer, if he has been wise enough to build his farm also into a mixed farm, as I have, can carry on. Tobacco sanctions, therefore, not only will not begin to work until the sales get under full swing next April, but are not likely to have the effect it is believed they will have. For that reason if I were given the choice I should vote against it; but I shall not vote against it because I have a personal interest and it might be for ever afterwards said that was the reason for my taking that line.

Britain Should Show Real Humility

"Everybody in this House, and so far as possible in this country, should approach this subject with real humility, in the knowledge that we must bear our share of the guilt, and therefore adapt all our methods to bring about conciliation in Rhodesia in a basis which the European people of that country quite apart from the Africans, can accept.

"If only it had been said before—and not merely last week by the Prime Minister; and I mean said before even by my own party—that there was no question of an African majority to-day or to-morrow, if that had been made perfectly clear a long time ago, we should have been able to reach agreement long before now."

LORD BUTLER said in the course of his maiden speech in the Upper House:—

"If we go too far we shall push Rhodesia into even more negative courses, and see a danger of the Zambezi being for a long time the frontier of white supremacy from South Africa upwards. There never was less cause for spite or more cause for firm statesmanship.

"What a thousand pities that Mr. Smith and his Cabinet did not realize the strength of their hand! They were given a trump card when the Prime Minister stated that he did not expect majority rule to be established immediately.

"Mr. Smith never showed any convincing sign of moving along the road of African participation. He is supported by a caucus and party more ruthless than himself.

Dr. Banda A Great Realist

"The British Government have been absolutely right to oppose the use of force. My friend Dr. Banda—one of life's great realists—has reminded us not to underrate the forces at the disposal of Rhodesia.

"At the Victoria Falls Conference representatives of Northern Rhodesia and Malawi agreed to the Federal Air Force being passed over to Southern Rhodesia. That always seemed to me the turning point in the history of Southern Africa. Any attempt to impose a solution by force would be likely to rally these powerful forces to what we now call the 'rebel Government' and lead to a disaster in which the assailants would be as badly mauled as the Rhodesians."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: "Among those on the other side in Rhodesia are people who, however mistaken we may think them, are God-fearing people who care for Christian values. We are very lacking in imagination if we do not understand the fears felt by some of the white people, who know about the violence and even the chaos which has occurred in some parts of Africa.

"I do not believe in sanctions as a protest or punishment, but they have moral validity if their aim is to bring about the end of the illegal régime in Rhodesia. Sanctions which are not quickly effective drag on in embarrassing ineffectiveness."

(Further speeches will be reported next week.)

RHODESIANS TOTALLY DISTRUST BRITISH GOVERNMENTS

A "CONFIDENCE TRICK" against Rhodesia by the British Government has been mentioned in a letter to *The Times* by MR. A. J. A. PECK, who wrote a few days ago from Robin House, Gordon Avenue, Salisbury:—

"In the December 1962 general election in Southern Rhodesia I stood as a United Federal Party candidate against the Rhodesian Front; and in the May 1965 general election I was one of the three European candidates who stood as Independents, again opposing the Rhodesian Front.

"I am Rhodesian-born, but my name derives from the Peak District of Derbyshire. I have a large number of relatives in Britain; my grandfather's business is still in existence in Wigan and Manchester; my mother was born within the sound of Bow Bells. I joined the Royal Air Force on leaving school during the last war—soon to be boarded out, however, on medical grounds—and I obtained a degree at Oxford University. I say these things to indicate my own close ties with Britain, and to establish that I am no slavish follower of Mr. Smith's Government.

Monckton Commission An Instrument of Destruction

"But of one thing I am positive: the ordinary white Rhodesians' belief in the dishonesty, the lack of integrity of successive British Governments, together with his total distrust of these Governments, have been as much a contributing factor to the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence as any policies of Mr. Smith himself.

"The people of Rhodesia have been compelled to watch successive 'permanent' Constitutions imposed at short intervals upon Zambia. The Monckton Commission, agreed to by the Federal Government as an instrument for the framing of a new Constitution for the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, was used instead as an implement for its destruction.

"I myself closed my own offices for a week in order to act as Sir Edgar Whitehead's chauffeur and personal assistant when he toured Rhodesia in 1961 seeking to persuade the Rhodesian electorate to accept that 1961 Constitution. I was then assured, and believed with good reason, that—apart from the Federal ties—this new Constitution would confer upon Rhodesia the equivalent of Dominion Status.

"What was the outcome? This Constitution that I personally strove as hard as I could to help introduce was said to be contained in two White Papers, (Nos. 1399 and 1400) entitled 'Southern Rhodesia Constitution: Summary of Proposed Changes' and 'Southern Rhodesia Constitution: Detailed Provisions' respectively.

"However, I was to find to my dismay when the new Constitution was finally promulgated that an additional provision—Section III—had been introduced into that Constitution, which purportedly gave to Her Majesty the Queen almost unlimited powers to intervene, by means of Orders in Council, in the affairs of Rhodesia. This particular section had appeared in the previous Constitution, the 1923 Constitution, as Section 61.

Crucial Omission

"It did not appear in the two White Papers, by means of which the new Constitution was supposedly presented to the electorate of Rhodesia, in any shape or form whatsoever; when it voted for the new Constitution the Rhodesian electorate had no means at all of knowing that this section would be inserted in the new Constitution; and the Rhodesian electorate would, in fact, have almost certainly rejected the 1961 Constitution had these provisions appeared in the two White Papers.

"It is today my firm and bitter conviction—and I speak as a practising lawyer—that the British Government was hence, in regard to this 1961 Constitution, a party to a confidence trick which, if practised by one member of the public upon another member of the public in everyday life, might well have resulted in criminal proceedings.

"Today this 1961 Constitution is, after only four short years, regarded as obsolete! Great Heavens! Why? Are British designed Constitutions, even though Constitutions commonly purport to be reasonably permanent structures, in fact designed, like American automobiles, to have a planned obsolescence?

Do four short years make such a vast difference in the circumstances of a peaceful nation?

"And, if our Constitution has not worked entirely satisfactorily, the factor preponderantly to blame is, surely, African nationalism—African nationalism that at first accepted the constitutional proposals, but thereafter rejected them and waged a terrorist campaign to compel all Africans to refrain from voting; and, by now condemning that 1961 Constitution, is not the British Government setting the stamp of its approval upon such terrorism?

"Mr. Wilson's grandiloquent phrase 'majority rule' is a terminological inexactitude masquerading in the purple robes of a Pontius Pilate. Mr. Wilson well knows that in Ghana there is no 'majority rule'; one man rule—Dr. Nkrumah. He well knows the position to be the same in numerous other African States; and he well knows that 'majority rule' in Rhodesia would today, inevitably, bring dictatorship by one particular man.

Ethically Dishonest or Ethically Unbalanced

"For, doing Mr. Wilson the honour of believing that he is not prepared to sacrifice the people of Rhodesia merely in order to curry favour with the Afro-Asian block and preserve his markets, can his and the American Governments be anything other than ethically dishonest with themselves or ethically unbalanced?

"Is it ethical to apply so-called 'good' principles in circumstances in which they have no application?—such as giving the vote to ignorant illiterates who have not the slightest idea of how to use it.

"Is it ethical to love your neighbour *more* than yourself rather than as yourself?—so indulging in the lunacy of spending millions in money and thousands of lives in opposing Communist expansion in Vietnam by force, while handing to the Communists on a plate (if I may mix my metaphors) sundry perfect springboards for expansion in Africa?

"Is it ethical to have a double standard—one for whites and one for blacks—so that Mr. Bottomley can in a radio broadcast this very evening wag righteously eloquent over the mote of the misdeeds of Mr. Smith, yet overlook with unctuous rectitude the beam of the 47 deaths in the Nigerian elections, reported in the very same broadcast?

"Many of we Rhodesians have striven hard and conscientiously towards the goal of a united Rhodesia; but I can assure you, sir, that we are not helped by the antics that your successive Governments have on occasion indulged in, in the name of morality, and certainly not by Mr. Wilson's present policy of seeking to reduce our beloved country, in which our parents lie buried, to a Congo—even on the pretext that Britain should strangle her child lest others resort to the club".

Conspiracy of Silence

LORD COLERAINE WROTE:—

"By publishing Mr. Peck's moving (and for many of us shaming) letter from Salisbury, you have broken the conspiracy of silence which has so clouded consideration of the tragic events of the past 10 days.

"Why have we been encouraged to believe that Rhodesia's rebellion is the work of a minority of fascist extremists in Rhodesia; and that moderate opinion there is utterly opposed to it? Why do we accept, without question, the proposition that majority rule is right for Rhodesia at this stage of that country's development, and that because most white Rhodesians disagree with us they need their heads examined? Why do we believe that unless we support a policy which, in the opinion of many persons well qualified to judge, can end only in humiliation for us—or in the ultimate of ruin for Rhodesia, we are traitors to our country?

"The reason is clear. Extreme pressure is being exerted by Government and Opposition alike to ensure that only one side of the question is put before the British people. The Government holds that the policy which it is pursuing is the right one. It is entitled to think so. But that does not mean that everybody agrees with the Government. How, indeed, can we agree—or disagree—when we are allowed to hear only one side of the case, and when any rational discussion is forbidden?

"I believe that the Conservative leadership is taking on itself a very heavy burden of responsibility, if not of guilt, in giving its blind and uncritical support to a policy which may be as right as you, sir, believe it to be (or which may be just plain crazy) but which is certainly not supported by an informed public opinion in this country—because public opinion has had no opportunity to form itself, let alone express itself".

WAS MR. SMITH TRICKED OVER FINAL 'PHONE CALL ?

WAS MR. SMITH TRICKED over the final telephone call made to him by Mr. Wilson?

That question was argued in the House of Lords when Lord Coleraine asked whether Mr. Smith had been told that the call was being monitored when the Prime Minister telephoned him on the morning of November 11.

The Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Longford: "No. It was self-evident that an exceptional telephone call of the kind which took place in the very special circumstances of the morning of November 11 would be listened to in order that an accurate record should be available."

Lord Coleraine: "Whatever reservations the Prime Minister may have had, is it not self-evident from the candour—and some might think the damaging candour—of Mr. Smith's reply that he had no idea that what he was saying was going to be taken down and used against him?" (Opposition cheers).

"Does the Lord Privy Seal know of any Government—except, of course, the Russian Government—which would publish something that was clearly a confidential exchange without the permission of the other party to the exchange?"

Remarkably Insulting

Lord Longford: "While I cannot say for certain whether the telephone call was listened to at Mr. Smith's end, we assumed it was being listened to; and there is evidence to bear this out in subsequent statements by Mr. Smith."

"I find the noble lord's second question remarkably insulting to the present Government—to imply that we would stoop to some conduct which no other country in the world except Russia would stoop to—when it was to be regarded as a very natural thing to do in the circumstances."

The Marquess of Salisbury: "Are we to understand that not only before but also after this conversation Mr. Smith was not told of the monitoring and that he was not asked to check the conversation which was to be published? That would seem to me a very unusual proposal of any Government."

Lord Longford: "In the debate on Monday Lord Salisbury said: 'We have had two accounts of these discussions—discussions generally—one from Mr. Wilson and one from Mr. Smith, and as so often on occasions like this, they differ widely. I cannot personally accept *sans phrase* the Prime Minister's account of what emerged from the discussions'. If anybody is going to raise that kind of point afterwards, that they cannot accept the Prime Minister's account, it seems that it was particularly fortunate that some check was taken."

Never Heard of Such Action

Lord Salisbury: "I was referring to the statement made by Mr. Smith himself in his broadcast. This is a very unusual procedure. I have never heard of it happening before in our history in an important statement of Government policy."

Lord Longford: "Of course the situation was unusual. No doubt there would not have been publication of this kind in the ordinary way, if U.D.I. had not followed. Here we were dealing with a rebellion, which happens so very seldom, and this exceptional step was necessary. I have no desire to make further criticism of Mr. Smith at this moment, but he did not hesitate to give accounts of his discussions, which may or may not have been correct with the Governor shortly afterwards."

Viscount Dilhorne: "While recognizing the desirability of a record being kept of conversations between Prime Ministers—and that I think always is done in one form or another—is not the real question here whether the account was published with Mr. Smith's consent or without his consent? In the course of this conversation or afterwards was Mr. Smith asked to agree to the record being published or was no approach made to him?"

Lord Longford: "To the best of my belief he was not asked for his agreement. (Opposition cries of 'No.')

Lord Glendevon suggested that even for a man who had put himself out of court as Mr. Smith did, in talking to the Prime Minister it should be possible for him to have confidential talks without their being published without his agreeing to that course.

Undermining Rhodesian Confidence

Lady Summerskill: "Are we being asked to believe as Parliamentarians and sophisticated people that a Prime Minister under these circumstances is so naive that he does not anticipate the conversation being recorded, and also under these circumstances the conversation, if necessary, being given publicity? This is underestimating our intelligence as Parliamentarians."

Lord Longford: "I entirely agree. No one surely would object to the Prime Minister giving his own account of this conversation; and if his own account is going to be given, is it not much better to have a record in addition?"

The Earl of Mansfield: "Are we to understand that anyone holding a confidential conversation with members of any future Government will have to bear in mind that the line may be tapped and the conversation recorded?"

Lord Longford: "All Governments use their discretion in this matter."

Lord Coleraine: "How do you see the possibility of diplomatic negotiation when confidential exchanges are published by one side within a few hours of their taking place? Do you not also realize that one day the British Government will have to treat with Rhodesia? How can we expect those on the other side of the table to have any confidence in the British Government?"

Lord Longford: "I am rather shocked at the way the noble lord is so ready to talk about suspicions held in Rhodesia of this Government, and for that matter of Governments of his own colleagues recently. I would rather trust the word of any British Government in the last 10 years than the word of some gentlemen we have been criticizing in recent days."

The Lord Chancellor: "As I was there, it may assist the House if I say that during the Rhodesian Cabinet, when we were trying to agree with them on publication of the records of the discussions, it was made plain to them that of course if there was a U.D.I. we should regard ourselves free to publish anything we liked."

Lord Coleraine asked whether any reference in the documents to publication could conceivably cover this telephone conversation.

Why Was Mr. Smith Not Warned ?

Lord Longford: "It was entirely in keeping with the general approach that this telephone conversation should be published."

Lord Coleraine: "Would it not have been possible for the Prime Minister at the beginning of the telephone conversation to have taken the same line as he adopted in Rhodesia and say to Mr. Smith: 'Look here, I want to talk to you, but I had better let you know that if we break down I am going to publish this conversation, as I am going to publish the other documents?' Reading the transcript, it is quite evident that Mr. Smith could have had no idea that what he was saying was going to be published."

Lord Longford: "I do not agree at all. I am bound to say plainly to the noble lord that a good many of us resent the tone of his remarks about the Prime Minister this afternoon."

Lord Glendevon: "There may be a time sooner or later when someone important in Rhodesia is going to want to talk to the Prime Minister of this country by telephone. Are we to understand he is not going to be certain whether the Prime Minister of the day, whoever he may be, is not going to publish that conversation?"

Lord Longford: "I regard that as a very slighting comment. All Ministers who take part in long-distance calls know what is likely to happen."

MR. BOSTON asked the Prime Minister in a Parliamentary question if he would invite representative senior back-bench Members of Parliament, preferably Privy Councillors, to form a mission to Rhodesia as an aid in assessing developments on the spot.

The Prime Minister: "No sir, not in this moment of time."

Mr. Boston: "Does the Prime Minister agree that such action would be useful, especially at a time when it is likely to become increasingly difficult to assess development? Will he keep the idea open for possible use at a later stage if he decides it may be useful?"

The Prime Minister: "Yes, sir. It is very much being kept open. I do not think that at this moment it would be right to take such action. As long ago as last December I proposed to the then Rhodesian Government that there should be a mission of senior members of all parties in the House for the purpose of trying to make progress with the outstanding difficulties, but they refused to have it at that time. There may be a case for quite other reasons today, and at the right moment I shall not be backward in putting the idea forward."

Sir Edgar Whitehead's View Act of Union With Britain Proposed

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD'S opinion, expressed in a television interview, was briefly reported last week. The following amplification is now given.

"I think the U.D.I. was quite unnecessary and I think it wrong. I would have opposed it violently had I been still in Rhodesia. I would like to put the point of view of the ordinary citizen of Rhodesia, not the politician.

"I'll start with the European. People here do not realize the immense difference between Rhodesia and the countries further north such as Kenya which were Colonial Office territories before independence. Rhodesia had a much larger civil service. It's an industrialized country, with many services which did not exist further north. Rhodesia had recruited her own public servants since 1923.

"In the north an Army officer was still under the War Office, lent or seconded. The civil servant was recruited in London for the Colonial Office and employed perhaps in one Colony, perhaps in another. Both knew that when an African Government took over that their interests would be completely safeguarded. They would find fresh employment probable. If not, they would get a 'golden bowl'. Their pensions were guaranteed by H.M. Government.

Difficulties for White and Black

"Nobody seems to have picked up the point that in a total of something like 17,000 public servants in Rhodesia, if an African Government came in and replaced them with Africans, as has happened in all the countries further north as and when Africans were trained to be able to do the job, they would lose every single thing. There is no pension fund outside Rhodesia. Many of them would be thrown on the labour market at the age of over 40. Those born in Rhodesia would be stateless people.

"The African's position is equally impossible. If you have for the foreseeable future a white supremacy Government politically in Rhodesia, the African knows he's going to be a second-class citizen. He and his children are not going to get the political fire that their brothers further north got who were less advanced and less educated in many instances than the Rhodesian African; and I have often seen the bitterness of the man who has fought his way right through the educational system with the greatest difficulty and considerable sacrifices from his parents with regard to school fees and so on and has finally attained to a university degree and still finds discrimination against him.

"You believe that Mr. Smith would not really promote the African interest?"

"I believe that the Government would revert to something much more in the nature of paternalism in the white areas and apartheid in the black areas. It wouldn't be exactly on the South African model, but the principle behind it would be the same. The moves that I was making to bring about a completely non-racial State were rejected by the electorate in December, 1962 by a small majority. Since then things have moved a long way, and most of the Europeans who supported me in the belief that a non-racial State could be built now support Mr. Smith. Most of the Africans who supported me are now far more inclined to the Nationalist view on the ground that the European will never give them political power.

"How do you react to the steps that the Wilson Government has taken?"

"I think they are quite futile. I don't believe that they in any way meet the needs of the situation.

"I feel that Britain has not yet realized basically that when you have a situation in which two races have found it impossible to find a political *modus vivendi* that Britain if possible accepts full responsibility, must be prepared to make sacrifices, not simply demand them of others. I could never support the strong British action which would have the effect purely of destroying the economy of Rhodesia that has been built up by tremendous effort over a long period of years, offering no future to the Europeans who have made the country and offering no hope for the African except possibly taking over a completely ruined area. What good can that possibly do anybody?"

Sanctions Will Make Rhodesians More Determined

"I know my Rhodesians well enough, black and white, to know that sanctions are not going to turn them liberal. Sanctions in any form, whether you like to play about with the word 'punitive' or not, will make them more than ever determined that they will resist.

"The Government are not proposing to give Rhodesia the treatment that Eire got when she left, or even that South Africa got when she left the Commonwealth. They're not even giving financial terms as favourable as those accorded to some of the Scandinavian countries. The Conservatives' sanctions are just as punitive as the Labour Party's.

"Britain is already claiming that it is her responsibility, that foreigners should not interfere. If Rhodesia were a member of the French Union I am sure President de Gaulle would see that nobody did interfere. Britain's duty is to see that she handles this situation. She must not permit anybody else to do so. Secondly, Britain must realize that this is urgent, immediate. Already the United States have imposed sanctions more severe than those imposed by Britain. This will obviously be taken as a guide to others, and the situation will get completely out of hand if Britain trails along behind the United States and other countries.

"I would recommend a full act of union between Britain and Rhodesia as one integrated State. As things now stand, if a white Government has control the African will be afraid of a general trend towards the same form of Government as exists in South Africa. If the African gains control the European has a really justifiable fear that he will lose everything built up in 75 years and be thrown as an outcast on the world's labour market, having lost all his rights and all his health. If either side wins an intolerable injustice will be done to the other.

"Britain has it in her power, if the people of Britain are prepared to co-operate, to give absolute security to both races so that they no longer have any justifiable right to feel fear of the future."

Airbridge from Ndola to East Africa

A 1,000-MILE COPPER "AIRBRIDGE" from the Zambian Copperbelt to East African ports is about to be demonstrated by the copper mining companies and the Lockheed Aircraft Company of the United States, in order to test the commercial feasibility of transporting copper by air to Indian Ocean ports.

The Hercules prop-jet commercial air-freighter will fly a 25-ton payload of copper non-stop from Ndola to the coast and return with a similar payload of typical heavy commercial cargo.

For some time the R.S.T. and Anglo American Corporation groups have been studying alternatives to the existing routes out of land-locked Zambia. Hitherto their copper has been raised 1,500 miles to the ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques in Mozambique.

Lockheed calculate that 20,000 tons a year in each direction can be transported by each Hercules, a rugged and dependable cargo aircraft of which 1,000 are in service throughout the world transporting military supplies. It can accommodate outside cargo in a 10ft. wide, 9ft. high, and 40ft. long cargo hold. Its short take-off and landing capabilities make it especially suitable for remote areas with limited facilities.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER has repudiated any responsibility by the United Kingdom for outstanding loans incurred by former Governments of Southern Rhodesia. The servicing and redemption of such loans remain, he has told Parliament, the responsibility of that country.

Monday Club Pleads for Conciliation, Not Coercion

Enthusiastic London Meeting Gives Three Cheers for Mr. Ian Smith

CONCILIATION, NOT COERCION, peace, not punishment.

In those words the Monday Club has summarized its attitude to Rhodesia. It has issued a leaflet which reads: "Sanctions will further embitter relations between Britain and Rhodesia; make reconciliation all the more difficult; lead determined men to take desperate measures; hurt all races in Rhodesia and above all the Africans; create chaos to the benefit of international Communism; threaten vital supplies of copper to British industry and the economies of neighbouring African States; imperil major British export markets; put up your tobacco prices; and add to Britain's dollar bill.

"What can you do? Write to your M.P. and political leaders; write to national and local newspapers and to the B.B.C.'s 'Listening Post'; raise the issue in political, trade union and other organizations; support the Monday Club's Rhodesia Emergency Fund (6 Elm Park Road, London, S.W.3); and pass on this leaflet".

On Monday evening the Emergency Committee held a meeting in London which was so well attended that those who could not gain admission filled an adjacent hall, to which speeches were relayed.

At the close, when the National Anthem had been sung, someone in the hall shouted "Three Cheers for Mr. Ian Smith".

The response could not have been louder.

In the audience were 12 Conservative M.P.s and several peers.

Mr. Wilson's Ham-Handedness

MR. PATRICK WALL, who presided, said that the purpose was to protest against punitive and coercive sanctions against Rhodesia, especially the embargo on oil. A resolution in that sense was so strongly opposed by the audience that it had to be amended by the omission of the words "punitive" and "coercive". The sense of the meeting was against all sanctions. Statements by speakers and interjections from the floor indicated the general view that Mr. Smith had been driven to take a regrettable step by the follies of British politicians in recent years.

Had Sir Alec Douglas-Home still been Prime Minister, the Rhodesian problem would have been solved, Mr. Wall said emphatically, for Mr. Ian Smith had made the concessions which the Conservatives had rightly required: arrangements by which Africans in the Rhodesian Parliament could prevent constitutional changes to the detriment of their race; universal franchise on the lower electoral roll; and provisions that after independence there could be no alterations to the constitution detrimental to Africans.

Mr. Wilson, unhappily, had handled matters ham-handedly throughout. Then, when it was too late, he had offered concessions which should have been made earlier. His behaviour had made Rhodesians feel that they must expect continuation of that policy of erosion by H.M. Government which had destroyed the Federation.

U.D.I. was a technical rebellion by some of the most loyal subjects of the Queen (a remark which was applauded for 65 seconds). The Conservative Party view was that Rhodesians must suffer the automatic penalties flowing from an illegal act, but not punitive sanctions, and certainly not an oil embargo. The Prime Minister had assured Parliament that there would be no punitive measures. How else could an oil embargo be described? Yet H.M. Government had voted at the United Nations for an oil embargo.

Public opinion in Britain was that evening being given the first chance since U.D.I. to express its opinion. Mr. Smith was certainly at the head of the *de facto* Government. While everyone recognized the bravery and sense of duty of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, there was much resentment at the way he was being exploited by British Ministers. There was also recognition that sanctions might lead to sending British troops to Zambia and to United Nations intervention. The choice was between chaos and conciliation.

MR. JULIAN AMERY, M.P., deplored the Prime Minister's references to rebellion and treason and his resort to the whole apparatus of economic warfare, on a scale unprecedented even in British dealings with Communist countries. An oil embargo was the last measure short of war. People in Britain were bewildered, for no British interest had been threatened. If it was rebellion, then it was rebellion wrapped up in the Union Jack. (Loud applause).

Mr. Wilson An Incompetent Negotiator

If the Socialist demand for majority rule were granted in Rhodesia tomorrow, there would be a black dictatorship within six months. Rhodesia had been 98% independent, and her assumption of the other 2% had given the lunatic fringe at the United Nations a wonderful opportunity for mischief. Resort to the U.N. would not make up for Mr. Wilson's incompetence as a negotiator. There were many people in Britain sharing with Mr. Smith the responsibility for the breakdown. Rhodesia had been on Britain's side in every grave crisis.

Mr. Wilson's aim, his war aim, was to break the Smith régime; but he had nothing to put in its place.

It was incredible that H.M. Government should have voted for the Security Council resolution moved by two South African States. France alone had abstained—a voice from the floor "Vive la France"—on the ground that the matter was entirely domestic to Britain.

Sanctions must lead to unemployment, to discharges of employees, to discontent, disorder, and perhaps even to chaos. Was the British Government's idea that it could restore law by creating disorder?

Rhodesia would of course get help from South Africa and Portugal. New Zealand had already said: "No sanctions". The Dutch Government has declared them to be contrary to the Constitution of Holland. The attitude of Zambia and Malawi, which shared common frontiers with Rhodesia was "Business as usual". In Africa the pressure against Rhodesia increased the further away from Rhodesia a country was.

At the United Nations and elsewhere there were people eager for a crusade against all Southern Africa. The Communists made no secret that that was their plan. So it was of some Americans.

American denunciation of U.D.I. was humbug. They used to be proud of their own U.D.I.—which had been followed by the enslavement in the U.S.A. of Africans on a greater scale than anywhere else in the world.

MR. H. H. HUGHES, lately chairman of the Conservative Association of Cambridge University, said that what was at issue was a crisis of loyalties, not of technicalities.

Unfortunately, the younger generation did not know of Rhodesia's great services in two world wars; and loyalty was not now fashionable in many quarters. To preserve the essence of civilization was necessary here and in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia respect for the opinion of other people mattered to the white minority, but not to the African nationalists. The technical illegality would not have been committed by Mr. Smith and his friends if they had not lost confidence in the law-makers in Britain, where successive Governments had on many occasions been highly inconsistent in their African actions. Rhodesia's white minority had been given cause to fear that they would be handed over, bound hand and foot, to the forces of African nationalism.

Mr. Smith might well say: "God Help Us. We could do no other."

LORD WEDGWOOD, who had until recently farmed for 25 years in Kenya, said that Rhodesia's problem must be considered against the Kenya background.

H.M. Government had treated Kenya's European farmers shamefully. Indeed, the Kenya National Farmers' Union had said a few days ago that the British Government seemed incapable of acting honestly towards British subjects.

In that country there had been a sudden transfer of power to Africans who were not ready for the responsibility. The vast majority still lived primitive lives under the shadow of fear. They had absolutely no experience of modern government, but Britain had suddenly plunged them into that situation, and without regard to fair treatment of the European who had produced 85% of the exports and the same proportion of the revenue. Naturally, there had been a disastrous loss of confidence.

Because of the change to African rule, nearly all white

farmers had left or would leave if they could get a decent price for their land. Many had sold for much less than a fair price. Now the Finance Minister told those who remained that it would be necessary for the Government to dictate its own terms. That was another abandonment of British responsibility—and Ministers knew that in the Kenya Government there was a strong element who had been directly connected with Mau Mau.

Under Africanization there had been serious deterioration in the postal and telephone services, and accidents, delays, and thefts had risen markedly on the railways. The police could not deal with the rapid expansion of crimes of violence, including murders of Europeans. Roads had deteriorated, and road manners had become bad and indeed aggressive. There had been a number of arbitrary expulsions of Europeans, including senior police officers, as, he believed, a deliberate form of intimidation. Rhodesians knew of these things and of increasing indiscipline, and that racial conflict had been incited and aggravated by evil influences.

MISS MARJORIE JUTA, a South African, said that Dr. Verwoerd had made it quite clear that his country would maintain its normal relations with Rhodesia and not engage in any boycott.

Shameful

MR. J. BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., said that Mr. Smith must have recognized that there was something a little stealthy about Mr. Wilson.

It was shameful that H.M. Government, having claimed to resume administrative responsibility for Rhodesia, had failed to place at the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day a wreath in honour of Rhodesia's dead of all races in two wars fought in support of Britain. Did talk of "treason" pursue them beyond the grave?

He believed that there was indignation throughout the country at the imposition of sanctions. There could be national unity for reconciliation, but not for coercion; for friendship with Rhodesia, but not for force against her; for peace, but not for punishment.

To whom had H.M. Government taken the problem? To totalitarian States, Communist States, at the United Nations, States which had practised genocide and chattel-slavery.

Political leaders in Britain must be compelled to recognize the opposition to sanctions and the need for policies which would help the new Rhodesia to arise in common allegiance with Britain, a Rhodesia in which men of all races would dwell and proudly prosper.

MR. PAUL WILLIAMS, chairman of the Monday Club, urged those present to write to their M.P.s, to the leaders of the three political parties, to national and local newspapers, the B.B.C. and other organizations.

"Where do we go from here?" asked a number of people in the audience. Mr. Wall replied that, apart from the activities recommended by Mr. Williams, the Monday Club would organize meetings throughout the land if adequate financial support were forthcoming.

MR. JOHN BROMLEY, a Rhodesian, asked leave to express his country's thanks to the Monday Club for arranging the meeting, canalizing protest, and taking the resolution to the Prime Minister. It was widely felt in Rhodesia that there was something very wrong at the centre of the Commonwealth, something for which the Prime Minister himself bore responsibility. Rhodesia's determination was to stand for democracy against dictatorship.

British Action At Security Council

Text of Anti-Rhodesian Resolution

H.M. GOVERNMENT voted on Saturday for a resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations which described the Government of Rhodesia as "a racist settler minority".

It calls on all States to "do their utmost in order to break all economic relations" with Rhodesia, "including an embargo on oil and petroleum products".

The text of the resolution reads:—

"The Security Council, deeply concerned about the situation in Southern Rhodesia, considering that the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia have proclaimed

independence and that the United Kingdom Government, as the administering authority, looks upon this as an act of rebellion, and noting that the United Kingdom Government has taken certain measures to meet the situation and that to be effective these measures should correspond to the gravity of the situation,

"(1) Determines that the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia is extremely serious, that the United Kingdom Government should put an end to it, and that its continuance in time constitutes a threat to international peace and security

"(2) Reaffirms its Resolution 216 (1965) of November 12, 1965, and General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV);

"(3) Condemns the usurpation of power by a racist settler minority in Southern Rhodesia and regards the declaration of independence by it as having no legal validity;

"(4) Calls upon the United Kingdom to quell this rebellion of the racist minority;

"(5) Further calls upon the United Kingdom Government to take all other appropriate measures which would prove effective in eliminating the authority of the usurpers and in bringing the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to an immediate end;

"(6) Calls upon all States not to recognize this illegal authority and not to entertain any diplomatic or other relations with that illegal authority;

"(7) Calls upon the United Kingdom Government, as the working of the Constitution of 1961 has broken down, to take immediate measures in order to allow the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future, consistent with the objectives of General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV);

"(8) Calls upon all States to refrain from any action which would assist and encourage the illegal régime, and in particular, to desist from providing it with arms, equipment, military material, and to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products;

"(9) Calls upon the United Kingdom Government to enforce urgently and with vigour all the measures it has announced, as well as those mentioned in paragraph 8 above;

"(10) Calls upon the Organization of African Unity to do all in its power to assist in the implementation of this resolution, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter;

"(11) Decides to keep the question under review in order to examine what other measures it may deem necessary to take"

France Alone Abstained

France alone abstained, on the ground that the matter concerned only Britain and Rhodesia, and not the United Nations.

The resolution was carried by 10 votes to nil.

The resolution, a compromise between a British draft and one agreed by 36 independent African States, had required more than a week of intensive consultations. It was submitted jointly by Bolivia and Uruguay.

Britain had insisted that the Rhodesian situation must be discussed under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter as "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace", whereas the Africans held that the declaration of independence in Rhodesia already constituted a "breach of the peace" and therefore required mandatory commitment by member States of the U.N. under Chapter VII, which provides both for an economic boycott and the use of force.

The resolution as adopted avoids reference to either Chapter VI or VII. Though it did not satisfy African delegations because it avoids commitment to military measures, it is much stronger than the British draft, which merely called upon member States "to lend all necessary assistance and support" to Britain in making effective the measures which H.M. Government had already taken.

By the use of her veto Britain could have frustrated the resolution.

The Dutch delegate said that the proposed oil embargo and trade boycott involved practical difficulties for Holland and that he could not give a binding obligation to implement them. An official spokesman said later in Holland that the law forbids discriminatory treatment in trade matters.

Arrangements are understood to have been made for oil to be supplied to Rhodesia from recently discovered fields in Angola, transport being either through South Africa or Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, where the operating company, Sonaref, has a refinery.

From Rome and Paris there have been suggestions that Italian and French interests are considering the supply of oil to Rhodesia, in which it is generally expected that there will be little difficulty in buying petrol from South Africa.

Rhodesia's oil consumption has been running at about 400,000 tons a year.

No National Unity on Rhodesia Criticisms of Prime Minister Increase

THE PRIME MINISTER'S claim of national unity on

Rhodesia has already been shown to be an exaggeration by speeches in both Houses of Parliament, by public statements of Tory M.P.s., and by protests that Mr. Heath, the Leader of the Opposition, had been imprudent in the extent of his initial support for Mr. Wilson.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home said in his constituency at the week-end that the Conservatives unreservedly condemned U.D.I. and supported those penalties upon Rhodesia which flowed from the severance of partnership with the Commonwealth.

"But we have had misgivings about the conduct of negotiations and some of the consequences which followed their failure, though for the sake of national unity in a crisis of Commonwealth relations we kept them to ourselves. Conservatives, however, have the duty to be clear as to the objectives of a policy of sanctions.

"The Prime Minister has declared that a line must be drawn between penalties which the Rhodesians have brought upon themselves and sanctions which are vindictive and punitive and designed to wreck Rhodesia's economy and bring chaos to the country.

"We agree. But there are certain actions advocated in some quarters which could only have three effects—first to unite Rhodesians behind Mr. Smith; secondly, to drive Rhodesia into the arms of South Africa; thirdly, to make reconciliations between Europeans and Africans within Rhodesia impossible. Which action would do so is a matter of opinion, and on this Conservatives reserve judgment."

Conservatives Reserve Judgment

Mr. Heath said in Newcastle on Tyne:—

"We are not going to be swept off our feet in a wave of emotion; nor are we going to be stampeded into supporting precipitate action which the country may later regret. National unity, which can be our greatest strength in bringing about the solution we want to see, cannot be only a one-way affair. Others must also continue to contribute to it in full measure."

Mr. Geoffrey Hirst, Tory M.P. for Shiplake, wrote to Mr. Heath:—

"I much regret your decision to sign the Prime Minister's motion on Rhodesia. While I share and support the admiration expressed for the courage, loyalty, and dignity shown by Sir Humphrey Gibbs, and am delighted that he has been honoured by the Queen, I consider, in the circumstances as they exist, it is no longer dignified for him to continue in office. Your support is calculated not only to praise the integrity and courage of Sir Humphrey but to support him in a decision which I believe to be no longer wise."

How Can Rhodesians Feel Confidence?

Mr. Peter Walker, formerly F.P.S. to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, said a few days ago that the Labour Party had engaged in "a cheap party political public relations exercise" in encouraging its Parliamentary members to add their signatures to the motion of admiration for the conduct of the Governor of Rhodesia when it had been agreed that it should be tabled jointly and solely by the leaders of the three parties, Messrs. Wilson, Heath and Grimond.

Mr. Frederick Corfield, Tory M.P. for Gloucestershire South, has sharply criticised the Prime Minister's judgment in publishing a transcript of his last telephone conversation with Mr. Smith.

"Mr. Wilson has felt himself frustrated and provoked. Understandably, he has wanted to make public all that he has done, or tried to do, to avert a break. But by publishing a verbatim report of a telephone conversation he is surely taking upon himself a very grave responsibility indeed.

"Suppose Mr. Smith, or someone who replaces him, has second thoughts and wants to reopen negotiations. Is he likely to feel he can do so in the confidence that his proposals will not be published to the world, and, perhaps more important,

to more extreme Rhodesians only too anxious to forestall them?"

Sir John Eden, M.P. for Bournemouth West, though describing the Rhodesian declaration as "criminal and foolish", has said that he cannot bring himself to condemn it.

"I cannot forget at this time, when he preaches in the name of national unity, that it was Harold Wilson and his party who for years in the past have attacked and undermined the position of the European in Africa. Even now, but for the accident of Government, they would be loud in their support for African nationalism."

Mr. Biggs-Davison, Conservative Member for Chigwell, has tabled a motion in the House of Commons deploring the passage in Mr. Wilson's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet "which might tend to involve the Queen's person in a policy framed and executed by Her Majesty's advisers for the time being".

The motion was promptly signed by a number of influential Conservative back-benchers, among them Sir Arthur Vere Harvey, a vice-chairman of the 1922 Committee; Mr. John Hall, a member of its executive; Mr. Goodhart, one of the joint secretaries; and Sir John Barlow, Sir Frederic Bennett, Sir Eric Bullus, Sir Oliver Crosthwaite-Eyre, Mr. J. A. Kershaw, Mr. Clark Hutchinson, and Mr. A. R. Wise.

Prime Minister Threw Away Settlement Negotiations with Rhodesia Conducted Badly

THE PRIME MINISTER was sharply criticized on Friday in the "24 Hours" programme of B.B.C. Television by Mr. F. S. Joelson, who said that it was nonsense for Mr. Wilson to make and repeat the claim that he had done as much as any man could have done to find a solution of the problem of Rhodesia.

The truth was that he had thrown away the solution when he had it in his hand. That had been the position when he told journalists just before he left Salisbury that he had made it clear to the African nationalist leaders that they could not expect one-man-one-vote and African-majority rule tomorrow or by clock or calendar; that could come only by achievement.

That attitude was tantamount to acceptance of the Rhodesian case, which had consistently rested on the sound doctrine of advancement by merit. But, having overcome the main difficulty in principle, the Prime Minister had flown off to Ghana to damp down an explosion by President Nkrumah without reaching finality with Mr. Smith on the practical details.

Mr. Wilson's Fatal Bluff

He did, it was true, leave behind the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Attorney-General, but after a few hours of further unfruitful discussion they also had taken off for London, saying that they had to attend a Cabinet meeting a couple of days later. Yet they found time for talks with Presidents Nyerere and Kenyatta and Dr. Obote in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, and Kampala.

In such circumstances how could the Rhodesian negotiators believe that Mr. Wilson and his colleagues wanted a settlement? They were bound to suspect that matters had been left in the air because it suited the British Ministers not to reach a conclusion.

That Mr. Wilson was indeed bluffing right up to the end of his four days in Salisbury was proved by the transcript of his final telephone talk with Mr. Smith in the early morning of Independence Day. Then, much too late, he told the Rhodesian Prime Minister that he would abandon all his reservations about the proposed Royal Commission. Had he recognized his errors a couple of days earlier U.D.I. would have been avoided.

Mr. Wilson's handling of the issue had been catastrophic from his first brutal broadcast as soon as he became Prime Minister a year ago. Instead of talking of rebellion and treason he should have said—as his Conservative predecessors should have done—that there could be no question of African majority rule until Africans had qualified themselves for the responsibility. That was all that Rhodesians had ever asked.

PERSONALIA

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS was 63 on Monday.
VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON was 61 last week.
SIR CHRISTOPHER COX has just passed his 66th birthday.

MR. MICHEL GAUVIN has been appointed Canada's first Ambassador in Ethiopia.

MR. WAZIYI JUMA arrived in Peking last week to take up duty as Tanzanian Ambassador to China.

THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR ALFREDO POLEDRINI has been appointed Papal Pro-Nuncio in the Republic of Zambia.

MR. GODFREY W. LAMBERT has been appointed an assistant general manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O. from January 1 next.

MISS MINNA SOPHIA PIGOT-MOODIE, of Melsetter, Rhodesia, left estate in England valued at £21,131. She left £1,000 "for work among Native people".

SIR BERESFORD CRADDOCK, M.P., who was for some years in business in Uganda, has lost his seat on the executive of the 1922 Committee of Conservative backbenchers.

MR. MAKAME, Minister of Health in Tanzania, has told a mass rally at Maswa that Tanzanians must be vigilant regarding the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. They must watch their enemies.

At the end of this year MESSRS. D. K. V. HALL and J. DAVIDSON, headmasters of Norton and Blakiston Schools, Rhodesia, will retire. Their successors will be Messrs. S. N. SIMPSON and T. R. CRAIG.

MR. G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, senior research fellow in African history and lecturer in Swahili at the University of Ghana, has been appointed teaching and research fellow in Swahili in the University of York.

PROFESSOR H. J. HANHAM of Edinburgh University is to speak on "The Future of Africa" at a joint lunchtime meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on December 2. SIR GILBERT RENNIE will preside.

MR. ALFRED ROBERTS, one of the Socialist M.P.s. who visited Central Africa at the invitation of the Federal Government, is to represent the National Union of Vehicle Builders on the new 12-member Motor Industry Joint Labour Council.

MR. JOHN McCLOY, chairman of the trustees of the Ford Foundation for the past 10 years, who recently visited East Africa, is about to retire. His successor will be DR. JULIUS STRATTON, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA has appointed SENATOR CLEMENT LUBEMBE to be secretary-general of the recently created Central Organization of Trade Unions, with MR. DENIS AKUMU as deputy general secretary and MR. STEPHEN KIONI as assistant general secretary.

MR. A. H. SMITH, chairman of the United Africa Company and of the British National Export Council's Committee for Exports to Africa, told Birmingham Chamber of Commerce last week that British industry had still not grasped the growing potential of African markets.

SIR GEOFFREY GIBBS, a brother of SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, flew to Salisbury at the week-end, partly to see his brother, and partly on business. He is a director of the merchant banking house of Antony Gibbs and Son and a director of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

When the East African Central Legislative Assembly met in Kampala on Tuesday four new members from Tanzania took the oath or affirmation of "due performance". They were MISS LUCY LAMECK and Messrs. ALI SAIDI MTAKI, JOB LUSINDE, and HERMENEGILD ELIAS SARWAT.

MR. A. D. CHESTERFIELD has joined the board of the Standard Bank.

DR. KURT MULLER has taken up his duties as West German Ambassador to Ethiopia.

LORD ALPORT is to be one of the members of a Parliamentary delegation which will shortly visit Malta.

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY's new book, called "Brave New Victuals", inquires into modern food production methods.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, who has been in a London hospital for a week, flew home a few days ago.

SIR KEITH ACUTT has joined the board of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. He is a deputy chairman of Anglo American Corporation.

MR. W. A. ONYANGO-AYOKI has been appointed general manager designate of the Kenya Meat Commission. He holds a Makerere B.A.

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW, M.P., and MR. JOHN TILNEY, who have shown much interest in African affairs, are to be members of a Parliamentary delegation to Pakistan.

MR. C. R. P. HAMILTON, deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, MRS. HAMILTON, and three senior representatives of the Chase Manhattan Bank, left London Airport on Friday to visit Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya.

MR. HAROLD SOREFF and MR. IAN GREIG has substantially revised "The Puppeteers", of which a second edition has just been published. The book examines organizations and bodies "concerned with the elimination of the white man in Africa".

MR. ARNOLD SMITH, secretary-general of the Commonwealth Secretariat, left London recently to spend a few days each in Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania. He is accompanied by MR. A. L. ADU, now one of the deputy secretaries-general.

MR. A. L. PONS, an M.Sc. in industrial psychology, will shortly take charge in Broken Hill of the manpower localization section of Rhodesia Railways. He joined the Northern Rhodesian Civil Service nine years ago as a labour officer, was later personnel consultant to the copper mining industry, and since last year has been on the staff of a large local manufacturing company.

Obituary

SIR PATRICK RENISON, a former Governor of Kenya, has died suddenly in hospital in London. It was he who called the Mau Mau leader Kenyatta "the African leader to darkness and death".

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Another £18m. of British Money Promised to Kenya

But Kenya Ministers Express Their "Bitter Disappointment"

ANOTHER £18m. FOR KENYA in interest-free loans will be provided by British taxpayers during the financial years 1966-70.

This is in addition to earlier arrangements, which provides for £6.6m. for compensations and the commutation of pensions and £5m. for other purposes, including general development aid and completion of existing settlement schemes. It is also additional to technical assistance, costing about £4m. a year.

The *communiqué* issued after talks in London between the Minister for Overseas Development and three Kenya Ministers states:—

"The British Government has proposed that from these new commitments a sum should be allocated to land transfer and settlement which will enable the Kenya Government to proceed with the purchase of European mixed farming land at the rate of 100,000 acres per annum. The Kenya Government has accepted this. Within that figure the British Government have agreed to finance low density settlement schemes at a rate of 20,000 acres per annum. Provision will also be made for a programme of training in farm management.

Joint Committee to Settle Farm Valuation Basis

"A joint working party from Britain and the Kenya Government will be set up at any early date in Kenya to examine and recommend to the two Governments a basis for the valuation of the farms to be transferred under this scheme.

"The British Government is prepared to provide a limited sum to enable the Kenya Government to continue to purchase land belonging to farmers who are deemed eligible on compassionate grounds, but which is outside the regular land transfer and settlement programme. This sum will be over and above the total of £18m. offered for economic development. The present strict criteria governing eligibility will continue to be applied as in the past.

"The British Government are prepared, if the Kenya Government so wish, to undertake a further review of the problem before the end of the four-year programme of land transfer and settlement now agreed.

"The balance of the new commitment will be allocated to development projects to be agreed between the two Governments. The British Government have indicated their willingness to consider financing from within this sum a further programme for the consolidation and registration of holdings of land the extent of which will be determined after the recommendations of a joint British-Kenya team of specialists on land survey and registration have been examined. This offer is conditional on the Kenya Government's ability to obtain funds for agricultural credit and to make available the necessary agricultural advisory services.

"The British Government have offered to the Kenya Government, and the Kenya Ministers have accepted, a number of combined expert studies related to land transfer, settlement, and agricultural development generally under technical assistance programmes.

"The British Government will continue to do all it can through the Overseas Service Aid Scheme and other forms of technical assistance to meet the Kenya Government's requests for help with staff from Britain."

The Kenya Ministers told the Press that they were "bitterly disappointed" at receiving only £18m. Another £4m. would have made a great difference to Kenya, and to the white farmers whose land the Government wanted to buy.

Historical Background

The background to the problem has been summarized in a Ministry of Overseas Development memorandum which states (in part):—

"Kenya's large European farming community has made a major contribution to the export trade, to domestic food supply, and to employment in Kenya.

"In 1959 the Kenya Government accepted the recommendation of the 1953-55 Royal Commission on East Africa that all racial barriers to ownership of land in the Highlands should be removed. A multi-racial Land Board was established, and the sole criterion for ownership of land was henceforward to be that of good husbandry.

"Decisive steps towards independence for Kenya were taken after the Kenya Constitutional Conference held in January-February 1960. Alongside progress towards political independence, policies were instituted to increase African participation

in all sectors and at all levels of Kenya's economic life. An important part of this programme consisted of schemes for the transfer of land from European to African ownership.

"The first scheme, evolved early in 1960, was extended in December 1962 to become what is known as the million-acre scheme. The basic concept was to enable two forms of settlement to take place—high and low density schemes, the acreage of each holding depending on the potential productivity of the land.

"The million-acre scheme, for high density settlement, aimed to achieve a net income for the individual African farmer of £25 to £70 per annum after providing for his own subsistence and his loan obligations. The total cost of this scheme was estimated at £19,967m., of which the British Government undertook to provide £17,225m.

"The IBRD/CDC scheme (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and Commonwealth Development Corporation) was for low density settlement on 180,000 acres. It aimed at providing net incomes in excess of £100 per annum after meeting subsistence and loan obligations. The total cost was £5,577m., of which IBRD and CDC eventually agreed to provide £2,471m. and the British Government £3,106m.

"In 1963 the British Government agreed to provide finance for the purchase and transfer of a further 118,000 acres in the Ol Kalou area, at a cost of £1,275m., to be farmed on a co-operative basis.

"Special provision has also been made at various times for the purchase of farms outside the settlement areas on compassionate grounds, i.e. where the owners for such reasons as age, infirmity, or remoteness of the property were exposed to special risks.

"In addition to these various land transfer schemes, the British Government provided loans to the Kenya Government of £1m. per annum in the Kenya fiscal years 1963-64, 1964-65 and 1965-66 for the Land Bank and the Agricultural Finance Corporation. The purpose of these loans was to increase the mortgage facilities for land transactions outside the areas of the settlement schemes.

"The Kenya Government put forward proposals in April 1964 for a further programme of land transfer. This was the situation which faced the present Government when it assumed office in October 1964. On December 15 the Minister of Overseas Development told Parliament: 'I intend to send a small expert team to discuss the matter further with the Kenya Government and generally to examine the problem on the spot.'

Maxwell Stamp Mission

"The Hon. Maxwell Stamp was appointed leader of the mission, which comprised Mr. R. J. M. Swynnerton, Agricultural Adviser to the Commonwealth Development Corporation; Dr. A. M. M. McFarquhar, of the School of Agriculture, University of Cambridge; and Mr. G. J. Caren, a partner in a firm of chartered surveyors.

"The mission arrived in Kenya on January 24, 1965, and returned to Britain at the end of February. During its stay it was received by the President of Kenya and heard the views of Ministers, officials, farmers, and representatives of agricultural and commercial organizations. It received memoranda from 45 sources in addition to the Kenya Government. Ten days were spent in an extensive tour of the European mixed farming areas, during which the mission met delegations of European farmers and visited African-owned mixed farms and African settlement schemes.

"An interim report was made in May and the final report on October 12. Further discussions between the two Governments were held from November 8.

"The mission's report to the British Government was confidential, but was made available to the Kenya Government. The main conclusions may be outlined as follows:— (a) The transfer of ownership of land does not in itself make a positive contribution to economic development. Indeed, in the circumstances of Kenya it results in a large-scale outflow of capital. Therefore it is not in the interests of the Kenya economy that a disproportionate share of scarce foreign aid resources should be allocated to the land transfer programme.

"(b) Kenya is faced with a number of crucial economic problems. There is a population explosion in progress. The standard of living of the mass of the population is very low. There is a serious problem of unemployment in the towns and under-employment in the countryside: Much of African agriculture is subsistence in character, with little or no cash income. Food supply is uncertain.

"(c) These serious problems will be solved only by general economic expansion. To provide the necessary opportunities for the African population of Kenya this expansion must take place mainly in the areas already being farmed by Africans

It will also be necessary to expand employment outside agriculture. There is therefore a need for development programmes in all sectors of the Kenya economy.

"(d) Achievement of success along these lines will create an environment in which it will be possible for Europeans to continue to farm and to share in a productive and profitable mixed farming economy.

"(e) The fears expressed by some European farmers about their position may well be exaggerated.

"On the basis of these conclusions the mission made recommendations to the British Government along the following lines on the action they should take with regard to the Kenya Government's application for assistance:

"(a) Whilst it was difficult to forecast what the long-term future structure of Kenya's agriculture would be, the immediate need seemed to be for the maintenance of a market in land together with a general improvement in productivity in all agricultural sectors.

"(b) The problems of Kenya agriculture were complex and the information available limited. Therefore, there was a need for continuing further study and the systematic collection of data. There should also be increased technical assistance for agriculture in any future aid programmes.

"(c) Outside the former scheduled areas great success had been achieved in expanding output where the consolidation and registration of land holdings had been effected and followed by the provision of credit facilities and advisory services. Future prosperity must largely depend upon a satisfactory rate of development in those areas, in which the vast majority of the population live and work. Therefore an expanded programme of land consolidation should be undertaken.

"(d) There should be a continuing programme of land purchase, but at a much reduced level.

"(e) A programme of land purchase should be drawn up for four years in the first instance.

"(f) Although the settlement programme has done much to alleviate a difficult social problem of landlessness, the high density settlement schemes have so far not produced the levels of cash income for farmers which are necessary for the progress of the Kenya economy. A pause in settlement for at least two years should be made to enable past results to be analysed and present and future practice to be improved.

British Offer of Assistance

"H.M. Government believe that these conclusions provide a sound basis for co-operation with the Kenya Government in dealing with the problems of the land and agriculture. The Government is anxious that the financial resources available for overseas aid, the amount of which is inevitably limited in present economic circumstances, should be deployed so as to make the maximum contribution to economic development. They agree that the assistance to be provided for land transfer in Kenya should be considered in the general context of aid to the Kenya Government for development as a whole. This view is, they understand, shared by the Kenya Government.

"The Kenya delegation explained the very great importance which their Government attaches to obtaining British assistance for a substantial programme of land purchase and to enable some of the land purchased to be used for low density settlement schemes. This was a matter of great political concern to Kenya, and they were not satisfied that sufficient weight had been given to the political aspects of the problem.

"The British Government recognize that, while land transfer contributes only indirectly to economic development, it has done much to ensure the stable social conditions which make that possible. The financial assistance which the British Government has felt able to offer goes somewhat further than the mission's recommendations as regards land purchase and settlement, although not so far for either as the Kenya Government would have wished.

"Given the total amount of aid available to Kenya in the next four years, and having regard to the mission's conclusions, the offer now made represents the maximum which the British Government has felt able to provide for land transfer. Both Governments attach importance to making adequate provision for general development projects in Kenya and for land consolidation, to which the Kenya Government attaches special importance; these can make a substantially larger contribution to additional employment in agriculture and in other industries than land transfer and settlement.

"Subject to a report of a joint technical team set up by the two Governments which is about to start work in Kenya, the British Government hopes to be able to provide assistance for an increased programme of land consolidation as part of a programme of financial aid for general development on broadly the present level.

"The British Government have accordingly, subject to Parliamentary approval, offered aid to the Kenya Government along the following lines, which they have accepted:—

"(1) Loans leading to disbursements of £18m. will be provided during the British financial years 1966-70. These loans will be interest-free. They are in addition to disbursements

arising from existing commitments, which are expected to amount to £11m. over the period.

"(2) The amount of these new loans to be used for land purchase will be such as to finance the transfer of 100,000 acres per annum for the next four years, 20,000 acres of this per annum to be used for a limited low density settlement programme for African farmers.

"(3) The above will, it is estimated, absorb just over one-third of the £18m. over the next four years. The balance of about two-thirds of the loans will be devoted to development projects, including land consolidation, and the training of African farmers.

"(4) Technical assistance will be provided for a number of combined specialist studies in the land and agricultural field. This will include a study next year of the economics and administration of the settlement schemes.

"(5) The British Government, through the Overseas Service Aid Scheme and technical assistance, will continue to do all it can to meet the Kenya Government's requests for help with staff from this country. Expenditure on technical assistance and the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, at present running at the rate of about £4m. a year, will continue on a substantial scale and will be additional to the figure mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) above.

"(6) A limited amount of money in addition to the £18m. will be made available to the Kenya Government to enable certain farmers to be bought out on compassionate grounds.

"Discussion of the methods to be used for the valuation of farms to be purchased under this arrangement has not been completed. The Stamp Mission went carefully into this matter, and it has been further discussed with the Kenya delegation. It has been agreed that a joint working party of professional valuers from this country and the Kenya Government will be set up at an early date in Kenya and will present recommendations on this question to the two Governments.

"A particular problem arises in regard to the tenant farmers of the Agricultural Settlement Trust.

"It is the hope of the British Government that this offer of aid will be found to strike an appropriate balance between the needs of land transfer, land consolidation, and general development in Kenya.

"As regards land transfer, the British Government are prepared, if the Kenya Government so wish, to undertake a further review of the problem before the end of the four-year programme of land purchase and settlement now agreed."

Agricultural Settlement Trust Farmers

An appendix states:—

"Amongst the European mixed farmers are some who purchased or leased land from the Agricultural Settlement Trust. This trust was established in 1961 as the successor to the European Agricultural Settlement Board, which was instituted in 1945 to enable Europeans, and particularly British ex-Servicemen, to settle in Kenya.

"In total 520 farmers were settled by the board, and when the Stamp Mission visited Kenya 119 were still farming under the auspices of the trust, of whom the majority were tenants. Some of the tenants were originally assisted owners who took advantage of an offer made by the trust in 1962 to realize their capital and to revert to tenants, with the option to purchase. Those who took advantage of this offer were refunded the original cost of their land (less any loan outstanding), plus the current value of permanent improvements.

"This trust has expressed the fear that their tenants might be barred from exercising their options to purchase their farms unless they became Kenya citizens. However, the Kenya Governments have given an assurance that there is no obstacle to any of the tenants exercising their option to purchase with their own resources the farms on which they are now tenants."

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HOUSE OF COMMONS CONSIDERS RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE

WHEN MR. WILSON began winding up the debate on Rhodesia in the House of Commons, he said: "I would like to thank the Leader of the Opposition not only for the tone . . ."

MR. SPEAKER: "Order. Even the rt. hon. gentleman must ask the leave of the House to speak again."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I beg your pardon, Mr. Speaker. I must ask the leave of the House, and I hope that I shall be granted it, as was the Leader of the Liberal Party."

"I thank the rt. hon. gentleman not only for the tone of his speech but for many of the things he said, and indeed for the way in which he and other of his rt. hon. friends in this most crucial moment made statements entirely helpful in this difficult question, and for playing their part in preserving national unity in handling this critical situation."

"I was asked whether the people of Rhodesia really knew that we were not proposing majority African rule the day after tomorrow; really knew that the choice was not, as it was dishonestly presented, between an illegal declaration of independence today and of having their throats cut the day after tomorrow; which was the view that was so often put."

"On the morning I left, I made a fairly lengthy pronouncement which was carried in every Rhodesian paper in full, I think, and on radio, and indeed, I am glad to say, on television as well. It was no fault of ours if the people of Rhodesia did not fully understand that we were holding out to them the hope of alternative courses."

Status of Rhodesian Citizens

"The illegal declaration made yesterday does not make any difference to the status of Rhodesian citizens in United Kingdom law. They continue to be British subjects, and the citizen of Southern Rhodesia who is not also a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies if he remains loyal and wishes to become such a citizen of the United Kingdom can do so by one of a number of possible ways."

"If he is descended in the male line from a United Kingdom ancestor and has close connection with the United Kingdom, he will be able to obtain citizenship provided he intends to reside here. The necessary amendment of the law to make this possible will be made by Order in Council under the Enabling Bill."

"If he is not in this category he can claim citizenship after a period of residence here, and we shall take his loyalty into account in considering whether the normal period of five years can be reduced."

"If the illegal régime purports to deprive anyone of his Rhodesian citizenship this will have no effect in our law, and he will still be eligible to apply for United Kingdom citizenship. Rhodesian citizens who do not otherwise meet the requirements of immigration control will be admitted to the United Kingdom if they are of United Kingdom ancestry or would be in danger of persecution in Southern Rhodesia owing to their demonstrated loyalty to the Queen's Government and the rule of law."

"The Leader of the Opposition seemed to think that the causes of this arrangement lay in the Labour Party's opposition to the 1961 Constitution. We opposed it. I voted against the 1961 Constitution in this House. So did Mr. Smith in his House; indeed, he resigned from the then Government, where he was a Chief Whip, and played a leading part in forming the Rhodesian Front, precisely, as he told me many times, because of his opposition to the 1961 Constitution."

If Prime Minister Had Spoken Frankly

"Mr. Smith said to me—I think he was unfair in saying it, but it was one of the factors in his mind—that if my predecessors had spoken to him and his predecessors as frankly and clearly as I had done we would not be in this situation. The record shows that in the September 1964 talks the then Prime Minister spoke with absolute firmness and clarity. The then Commonwealth Relations Secretary was just as frank with Mr. Smith and Mr. Winston Field as we have been in these past few weeks."

"Of course, it is a widespread Rhodesian legend, held by politicians of all parties there, that the Macmillan Administration and some leading members of it did not speak with great clarity. But even if rt. hon. gentlemen two, three, or four years ago had spoken with the same clarity as my predecessor and I have done, I do not believe that it would have avoided the present crisis. It might have brought it on a year or two earlier."

"The Leader of the Opposition said that I should have stayed on in Salisbury until we could have reached absolute agreement on the Royal Commission. Late on Thursday night there

seemed no hope, and at 9 o'clock on Friday night the odds were heavily against even a procedural agreement, and even against keeping the door open for further talks. When hon. Members read the record of the meeting with the Rhodesian Cabinet—and if it has been expurgated at all it has only been to cut out one or two words that I used that I did not think appropriate for publication in a Parliamentary paper—they will see that throughout I was trying, and I think that Mr. Smith was trying, to keep the doors open, and that we were both doing it against the unremitting opposition of some of his colleagues."

"When at the end of the night we finally kept one slender hope alive—I never said that it was more—I cannot describe the looks of hatred on the faces of some of his colleagues, directed not only at me but at him. But after that there was never any question of reaching agreement on the Royal Commission until Mr. Smith had met his so-called caucus, his Parliamentary party."

P.M. Would Not Be Kept Hanging Around

"I think it would have been totally inappropriate for me to have been kept hanging about in Salisbury for another week while those consultations were going on. I did not meet members of his caucus. It was decided that Mr. Smith should speak for his own Parliamentary party; but if I was asked I was prepared to meet any of them, including Boss Lilford himself, which I think might have done some good. However, it would have been inappropriate, I think, if I were to have been kept hanging around while he was going through the agonies of meeting that caucus, which included some extremists and some almost neurotic racialists."

"I assure the Leader of the Opposition that there was no more that we could have done. When he reads through the record, if he cares to say what more we could have done, I will answer his points. I think that the miracle was that we kept things going so long and were able to open so many doors which had been slammed in our faces."

"I have referred on a number of occasions to the capacity of Rhodesian Ministers for what seemed at times to be almost total self-deception. This was why we had to say again and again that we meant what we said about the economic measures which we should take. But our position was for a time weakened in the negotiations by false hopes on the part of Mr. Smith and his colleagues that opinion would be divided in this country and that we did not speak fully for the House as a whole, and that at the end of the day we should be forced by political opposition not to apply the economic measures which we said would be applied."

"The belief was total self-deception on their part, but it played some part in their attitude. At no point were they more convinced in that belief than when for one moment at Brighton it looked as if the Conservative Party would be pushed around on these matters. I was able to tell Mr. Smith that what I was saying represented the views not only of the Labour Party and the Government but of this House, and that what I was saying carried authority on behalf of the whole country."

Tremendous Passions Aroused

"The House will know the tremendous passions which have been aroused in Africa and in Asia. These passions have found expression in the Organisation of African Unity and in the United Nations. We do not agree that the courses urged upon us by some of these countries are wise or practical, but we cannot ignore that they are being urged."

"The Constitution had been stretched almost beyond breaking point by Mr. Smith and his colleagues before their illegal declaration. We do not yet know all the measures which were taken. We had some information of the Governor being asked to sign some pretty devastating orders before yesterday's break. Since he had to take the advice of the then legal Government, he had to sign those orders, and some of them go a very long way in frustrating the whole spirit of the Constitution, although perhaps not in breaking its letter. Some of these things may be challenged in the courts."

"The Governor was asked to sign an order the day before the break. There is a provision in the Constitution for the Governor to nominate an individual to act as Deputy Governor, to be Acting Governor whenever the Governor is out of the country or in some way prevented from discharging his duties. The day before the break the Governor was asked to sign an order nominating as his substitute if he were incapacitated or unable to discharge his duties a whole list of Rhodesian Ministers, which means that they would have the executive power and the quasi-royal power if the Governor were incapacitated. The Governor might well be incapacitated from discharging his duties by actions within the control of those particular individuals."

CRUEL DILEMMA OF PUBLIC SERVANTS IN RHODESIA

"In those circumstances it was legal, I suppose, under the Constitution, but it will be necessary for us to seek powers to change that provision of the Constitution, to render illegal that act, taken for one purpose only—a very evil purpose. [HON. MEMBERS: 'Did he sign?'] Yes, he had to sign. The Governor had to sign anything which was within the Constitution and recommended to him by the régime.

"This is one more reason why we were so insistent when trying to draw up the document for the Royal Commission that it should be made as far as possible fool-proof against measures to twist or strain the Constitution.

"Our intention is to revoke or amend parts of the Constitution. It has been so twisted and strained by the illegal régime that it is not a Constitution any more. I am sure the House will insist that the illegal Parliament in Salisbury should not continue to meet and pass laws which have no validity.

"The contradiction in the position of public servants, the lack of clarity in their position, the cruelty of the dilemma which faces public servants, and, indeed, many others of Her Majesty's subjects in Rhodesia, arises not from our action, not from our failure to be able to help them, not from our failure to make their position clear, but from the illegal and monstrous action taken by what was until yesterday their Government. We are dealing with a totally unprecedented situation. If there were a precedent, I suppose the nearest would be occupied Europe during the war; but there are very many differences between that situation and this.

Should Refuse to Take New Oath

"I take the position of the judiciary, the police force, and the armed forces. If any of them are asked to take an oath of allegiance to the illegal authority it will be their duty to refuse, because their oath of allegiance to the Queen is absolute and they could not take any oath which conflicted with it. The Governor has already told the judges, with our approval, that it is the judges' duty to carry on, and I understand that they are going to carry on.

"Clearly, it will be for the judges to decide the legality or otherwise of particular laws or so-called laws, which might be illegal either because they were made by unauthorized persons, by private persons not Ministers, or because they were intrinsically illegal or offensive in some way to the Constitution. It will be for the judges to decide whether certain acts of the illegal Government are illegal in themselves."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Is it widely known in Rhodesia that it will be a treasonable act to take a new oath of allegiance?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "By whatever steps are possible for telling people of this, I think that it will be known; but the House will not for a moment underrate the extent to which we now have a Police State in Rhodesia and the extent to which there is complete Press censorship and so on. For example, the fact that the Governor dismissed the Ministers yesterday has not been allowed to be broadcast or printed in the Press.

"Therefore, how far it will be possible for what I have said to be known throughout Rhodesia I should not like to say, but I have good reason to think that there is a considerable number of persons loyal to the Queen in the public services, and I think that they will be pretty efficient in passing on information which they already have in regard to this matter. But it may take time.

Improving Broadcast Services

"We were asked what we were doing to improve the audibility of broadcast services from outside. Perhaps the House will leave that with us. We have been on it for some little time. There are difficulties in this connexion and, if we have to borrow on the experience of an organization known as Radio Caroline, we shall not hesitate to do so.

"I think the House would agree that it is the duty of public servants to remain at their posts, and especially to maintain essential public services and public order. But to ask for some simple directive for their guidance is, in these circumstances, crying for the moon. In every case the officer or official will have to decide whether any particular action or course of action involves furthering the cause of the illegal authorities; and there can here be no absolute rules.

"I should think that an official continuing as Permanent Secretary or private secretary to an illegal Minister would do that extent be recognizing and aiding a usurper.

"The test must lie—I discussed this at considerable length with the Governor and Sir Hugh Beadle when I was in Salisbury, and we agreed that there could be only guidelines here—in whether an official is asked to take action which itself furthers the rebellion, or action which by any standards would be illegal or immoral or repugnant to him—which would, for example, have been illegal under Rhodesia's laws of a week

ago—or action involving violence or intimidation beyond the existing laws of Rhodesia.

"The Rhodesian illegal authorities have already passed ordinances affecting the rights, duties, and penalties where public servants are involved, ordering them to stay at their work and the rest of it.

"In the last resort the same test I have mentioned must apply to members of the armed forces, many of whom must now be facing a clash of divided loyalties which must be almost intolerable to bear.

"When I spoke of punitive measures I was saying that we are not going to indulge in any measures purely for the sake of recrimination, purely for the sake of inflicting punishment, purely for inflicting pain or hardship for their own sake. We are not out to punish, nor, for that matter, are we out to deter. Every measure has been judged and must be judged against its ability to restore the rule of law and the functioning of a democratic Constitution in Rhodesia.

"Everything we stand for, and still more our ability to defend our position against world opinion outside and to stop them taking a hand in these matters which might not be helpful, will be prejudiced if hon. Members say that all that we ought to be doing at the moment is to wag a warning finger at Mr. Smith and say: 'Naughty, naughty. You must not do things like this; or that we should take measures for a time just to show our disapproval and then withdraw them, perhaps just when they are becoming effective.

"The question we have to decide is whether we have now as a nation decided—as a House, as Government—that there can be no truck with this illegal régime or any compromise with it. If the answer is 'No truck; no recognition,' it is our policy to restore Rhodesia to the rule of law at the earliest possible moment? This can be done only by bringing the rebel régime to an end, by making that régime unworkable and, indeed, creating a situation where at the earliest possible moment the people of Rhodesia, acting through the only legal Government there, the Governor, themselves ask to see a lawful Government in its place.

Cannot Do Business With Illegal Régime

"We cannot recognize this illegal régime or do business with it simply because it is illegal. As the calendar of their repressive ordinances unfolds, the House may feel that we shall not be able in any case, legally or illegally, to do business with a group of men who use their first taste of power, however illegally asserted, to erect all the sickening apparatus of a Police State. When I was in Salisbury I warned Mr. Smith against these tendencies and the fact that they are illegal.

"Some may think that tobacco was decided upon because the tobacco farmers have contributed to the treasure chest of the rebellion. The rest of the business class, the Rhodesian Federation of Industries, the Institute of Directors, and the Chamber of Commerce are solid almost to a man against the causes of Mr. Smith. But the tobacco farmers have contributed to the treasure chest of the rebellion and used their contribution for the purpose of calling the tune against as I believe the views of Mr. Smith himself. But that is not our motive. We do not carry our opposition to political contributions that far.

"If we are to make the quickest and most painless impact on the ability of the régime to survive, it is necessary to make clear now that we are not going to buy Rhodesian tobacco. The whole financial and banking structure of Rhodesia revolves round tobacco-financing in such a way that this decision will have a pretty serious and speedy effect. We were quite frank about this when we were there, and no one had any doubt what we intended. Mr. Smith and his colleagues were told, and the tobacco farmers whom I met and lunched with were left in no doubt of the action which we would take.

"It is better for the action to be effective quickly than for it to be lingering and involve great and prolonged hardship. Certainly that was the impression of the recent business mission which went from this country to Rhodesia and met a great number of industrial and financial leaders in that country. They came back with a very strong impression that if action is to be taken let it be effective quickly, so that we can jointly, Britain on the one hand and a legitimate Rhodesian Government on the other, acting together, pick up the pieces and speed up the political and economic reconstruction of Rhodesia as quickly and helpfully as possible."

Mrs. JULIA AMERY: "If the measures proposed do not prove effective, would it be the Prime Minister's intention to do something further?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It is our view that these measures will be effective, not least because of the financial considerations. We have no other measure in contemplation. We shall of course review the situation in the light of the actions taken in Rhodesia. We shall certainly have to review the situation in the light of the discussions in the United Nations and else-

POTENTIAL THREAT TO KENYA'S "GREAT MULTI-RACIAL EXPERIMENT"

where, because in our view it is important that, whatever measures are taken, they will fall a long way short of some of the measures which may be urged in the United Nations.

"Hon. Members are perfectly entitled to dismiss from their minds the resolutions of the O.A.U., or the announcements made this morning about the use of parachutists, as impractical or nonsense. They may dismiss these, but one thing that they cannot dismiss is the danger of major Powers getting a foothold on the Continent of Africa. After the Commonwealth Conference last summer I referred in the House to 'the struggle for the soul of Africa', going on between countries such as ours and China, whose attempts at penetration in Africa have become a byword. But other nations besides China might feel competitively stimulated by the success they think China is having.

"There may be other nations seeking a foothold, perhaps a military foothold, on the Continent of Africa, who would be glad of the opportunity of establishing that foothold with the substantial backing, with the aura of legitimacy, from a resolution of the United Nations. If we are not able to show opinion and those who have it in their power to go in for military action that we ourselves mean business and are carrying out effective measures, then hon. gentlemen may be inviting a prospect which is not one that I find comforting—the prospects of a Red Army in blue berets.

"I am not prepared to go to my colleagues in the Commonwealth and say that what we said before this illegal declaration we did not mean; that it was all bluff. I am not prepared to say that the national unity to which we appealed was a facade. I believe that it is a real national unity. Nearly 30 years ago, Winston Churchill, in a debate in the House on Abyssinia, used these words:

"... We cannot undo the past, but we are bound to pass it in review in order to draw from it such lessons as may be applicable to the future, and surely the conclusion from this story is that we should not intervene in these matters unless we are in earnest and prepared to carry out intervention to all necessary lengths".

"I cannot think of a better text on which to build our national unity than those words of Sir Winston Churchill".

Sir Geoffrey de Freitas

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS (lately British High Commissioner in Kenya) had said: "I want to take up the point about our British community in other parts of black Africa. We should recognize the consequences that there could be for the British communities in those countries, especially Kenya, as a result of this rebellion.

"It can be argued that the white Rhodesians are entitled to commit suicide. What cannot be argued is that they are entitled to endanger the great multi-racial experiment in Kenya. Our fellow countrymen have lived in Kenya for two years under black African rulers and have seen those rulers provided justice and good government without any racial discrimination.

"On October 21, a number of Kenyans and British citizens, all of British descent, issued in Nairobi a statement from which I quote: 'Most of us have held, or still hold, positions of some responsibility in the public, commercial or agricultural life of the country. We wish to express publicly our feeling of deep shock and dismay at the declared intention of the Rhodesian Government to seize independence in the name of a white minority and in defiance of the British Government's persistent efforts to secure legally enforceable safeguards leading by stages to African majority rule. We feel we can speak for the overwhelming majority of British people in Kenya when we say that the efforts of all British parties to achieve support for Britain's policy are most certainly supported here. Most of us had perfectly sincere reservations about the speed with which independence was granted to Kenya. Today, however, we must readily admit that a great many of our fears have proved totally unfounded.

"Like any other new country, Kenya has its fair share of difficult problems—the disruptive forces of tribalism, stock thefts, drought and famine, chronic unemployment, arbitrary deportation orders, and so on—' We can honestly say that President Kenyatta's Government has kept its pledge to respect the rights of all races and that the bitterness of the past has been largely forgotten in the spirit of *Harambee*—that is unity, or 'pull together'. Racial prejudice is minimal, the rule of law has been preserved. Freedom of religion, speech and of the Press has generally been respected. Law and order has been maintained by a first-class police force under African command'.

"The signatories are Wilfred Barger, Jack Block, Sir Michael Blundell, Kenneth Bolton, Michael Curtis, Lord Delamere, Sir David Erskine, Sir Wilfrid Havelock, Air Commodore Howard-Williams, Sir William O'Brien Lindsay, Sir Charles Markham, Monty Ruben, Humphrey Slade and Leslie Thornton.

"The idea that black rule leads inevitably to the chaos of the Congo is a myth fostered by the Southern Rhodesian white politicians. Their propaganda is intense. In June last year, when I was still a civil servant, I met other civil servants in Rhodesia, and even some—very few—of these highly educated and highly intelligent men had been taken in by the myth that the politicians had created, the myth of black rule leading to chaos. I asked them to come and stay with me in Nairobi so that they could see what the result of the Kenya experiment was.

"In July last year when President Kenyatta was pushed off the pavement in London, the anti-Western elements among the politicians in Kenya stirred up demonstrations against me. There were placards saying: 'Go home, High Commissioner', and 'de Freitas, back to England'; but it was all very polite. There was even one which read: 'Sir Geoffrey, please return'. My wife and I could drive without escort hundreds of miles into the country in a big conspicuous car with a Union flag.

"There has been no breakdown of law and order in Kenya so far. That does not mean that there could not be a breakdown. The whites in Kenya today are teachers, missionaries, technicians, businessmen, civil servants, and farmers. No longer is the British community a settler community. Settlers no longer play even a prominent part in the life of the country. Most of the settlers who gave Britain a bad name left Kenya before independence. Those who stayed are good men and women doing a fine job for Kenya. We owe it to these people, our kith and kin, our people of our generation, thinking as we do, to do all we can to help Kenya continue its proud course as a peaceful multi-racial State in the heart of black Africa.

"If we are firm with the rebels we shall convince the black Africans of our sincere belief in a multi-racial community; but if we are weak or half-hearted, then the sins of Mr. Smith may be visited on our fellow countrymen abroad. Such weakness could be at the cost of the very great multi-racial experiment in Kenya".

Liberal Leader Wants Short, Sharp Action

MR. J. GRIMOND, Leader of the Liberal Party: "It would be as ridiculous to judge all black African Governments by the standards of the Congo as to judge white Governments by the standards of Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany.

"There is agreement between the parties that the Government had no alternatives but to stand upon the five principles and that Mr. Smith and his colleagues are in rebellion.

"We maintain that we are loyal to the ideal of democracy, of a multi-racial community, and of the rule of law. Are we going to act up to those ideals? It has never been the doctrine of British law that we temper the law to our kith and kin. It has been one of the principles of British law that everybody is treated equally under it.

"The fact that the ex-Government of Rhodesia are of the same colour and same kinship as ourselves makes their action all the more shameful and alarming. In many quarters in this country they have considerable sympathy. That is disturbing.

"I am in favour of short, sharp, effective action. I believe the Archbishop was right to say that this was a moral issue and that, in defence of the law and of morality, we cannot say the use of force would be wrong. But I agree that force can be only the last resort, which, though it cannot be ruled out, would add to the tragedy which we are witnessing, and would not by itself obtain any lasting solution in Rhodesia.

"The Prime Minister has made it clear that the only event in which he contemplates the use of force is a state of internal chaos. I would like the House to consider the position of those officials in Rhodesia who remain loyal to their oath. I should feel ashamed if, supposing a situation were to arise in which they have the chance to make good their loyalty, this country did not go to their aid.

"One wants to do as little damage to loyal Rhodesians as one can, but it is not worth applying sanctions at all unless they are severe. In a rebellion innocent people must suffer. They will suffer much more if we do not grasp the nettle. We should not delude ourselves that we shall not suffer. The economic consequences to the country if the sanctions are effective may be serious. But that would not be a reason for applying ineffective sanctions.

TRAGEDY BEGAN WHEN SOCIALISTS WENT BACK ON FEDERATION

"I am puzzled about the word 'punitive'. If these sanctions are not punitive, what are they? I am wholly against ineffective sanctions, which will merely exacerbate ill-feeling and do no good. I think the Government should examine the possibility of getting a general agreement to restrict oil supplies.

"I fear that we shall drift into a long period of recrimination and economic war; that during this period Britain will lose her determination; that we shall fail to maintain the ideals which are at stake; and leave behind an immense trail of bitterness. There may well be bitterness in the other African countries, and a great exacerbation of race bitterness in this country. The British people may face another Suez and our failure to get into the Common Market, which will have an effect upon our temper.

"My fear of the immediate future is not of bloodshed. It is of a very long trail of bitterness and disillusion, and also the fear that Britain is going to lose her reputation for being a country which upholds the rule of law and the rights of all citizens to fair treatment."

MR. R. H. TURTON: "The tragedy goes right back to when Mr. Gordon Walker and the present Minister for Welsh Affairs ran away from their own idea of federation, and the Federation was destroyed.

"I agree with the Prime Minister that it is an unnecessary tragedy. I believe that we could have avoided it in recent negotiations if the terms put forward for a Royal Commission and the details announced in yesterday's telephone conversation between the Prime Minister and Mr. Smith had been communicated to Rhodesia many weeks before and been widely published there. Then we should have avoided this senseless and stupid act of U.D.I.

Bringing Rhodesia Back to Commonwealth Privileges

"It is senseless because in no country is there more loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and because Rhodesia has been virtually independent for 42 years. It is stupid because the standard of living of all races in that country has been higher, I believe, than in any other country in Africa with the possible exception of South Africa."

"Our aim must be so to act as to encourage men of good will in Rhodesia to bring Rhodesia back to the privileges of the Commonwealth. That very delicate task means that we should confine our actions to those automatic and necessary steps that flow from the consequences of the illegal act of the Rhodesian Government.

"The only way to force Mr. Smith and his party caucus to submission is by crushing the whole economy of Rhodesia. Surely the Liberal Party has learnt the lesson of the last 60 years. Economic sanctions do not work unless they are backed by force, and economic sanctions backed by force normally lead to war. That is what this country faces.

"The Prime Minister has made it quite clear that he is not in favour of using force except for the preservation of law and order and is not in favour of punitive action. I challenge him to say how he can justify the imposition of a ban on tobacco as not being punitive. Is it effective action? The tobacco crop is sold. For five months, if not more, there will be no tobacco on the market. What is the purpose of this part of a trade embargo? It will bring misery, unemployment and poverty to those Africans who are the best friends of Britain.

"The Liberal Party is advocating economic warfare, backed by force. I reject it. I would prefer to try to encourage men of good will to use their influence to bring Rhodesia back to sanity rather than adopt the other course of crushing Rhodesia and marching troops into the country.

Africa Is Very Dry Tinder

"Economic sanctions of that nature will undoubtedly invite retaliation by Mr. Smith and his caucus against Zambia and Malawi. We do not want to inflame the whole position in Africa. Africa is very dry tinder. I came back from it on Wednesday night.

"Is the Government's object to crush Rhodesia — because in their negotiations the Government have failed? Is this a vindictive attempt to see how much damage they can do to the economy? That will not work. They will be judged adversely by the whole nation.

"Under the Enabling Bill they were attempting to take over the rights of Parliament to pass Bills dealing with this matter. They are using a form of delegated legislation which results in Parliament being unable to debate an order until it is

already in operation and having no opportunity to amend it. There is a 28-day procedure; and this is quite unusual. Why are the Government breaking all rules of Parliament to take these steps of economic sanctions? It is a sad day when this country and Parliament use unconstitutional means to deal with an unconstitutional act."

MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER: "Why do we want to take action against Rhodesia? Not for revenge — of course not. To show that 200,000 people, who are split among themselves, many of whom hold ideas which were appropriate only to the last century or the century before, cannot thwart the great movement of opinion throughout the world. We want to bring back into power men of good will who will establish a multi-racial society.

"When I was Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations I met many Ministers from Rhodesia. I formed a higher regard for Sir Edgar Whitehead, for his ability and statesmanship, than for the others. He said in 1963: 'Any political party in Southern Rhodesia drawing its entire support from one race can never bring happiness or prosperity to this country in the long term'. In January 1964 he warned his friends against the extremist right-wing who talked of declaring Southern Rhodesia independent; he said that that would amount to rebellion. 'It would be a foolhardy act and would bring complete disaster on the country'.

"Then he used these words: 'All the people must take part in every stage of development. The concept of a completely multi-racial State has to be accepted'. That is the purpose which we have in view. We trust and believe that men like Sir Edgar Whitehead will soon be working with our Government to make it come true."

Widespread Suffering Should Be Avoided

SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR: "If we have the ultimate aim of conciliation in Rhodesia and bringing all communities back to a new course of constitutional government in which all can share, we should not encourage widespread suffering. This is a practical task of keeping the essential services going — such services as water, transport, telecommunications, hospitals, and health. I should like the Government here and the Governor in Rhodesia, if he has any means of communication, to make it absolutely clear that, in the interests of all the inhabitants of Rhodesia, African and white Rhodesians, the essential services should be kept going.

"All speakers have felt deep distress at this U.D.I. Though the warnings were given to Mr. Smith and his main supporters of the consequences which would flow from an illegal declaration of independence; I am not at all sure how far those got to the main body of supporters in the country early enough. When these warnings were spelled out in all their starkness, was that too late? If farmers and others who supported him were kept in ignorance of the real consequences we in Britain must bear a share of responsibility for not bringing home those consequences earlier, when people were still free to make up their minds. Perhaps by the time the Prime Minister went their minds had been made up.

"It is very important to maintain unity of national leadership in this very difficult task. If we do not do so, we shall encourage other forces to enter into the Rhodesian scene — other African Governments and perhaps physical intervention by the United Nations. Both would be disastrous for both communities in Rhodesia, harmful for the rest of Africa, and disastrous for the Commonwealth.

"If we are vindictive in actions or statements against Rhodesia I believe that we shall harden the attitudes of those who have taken this illegal step and their supporters and make it much more difficult for people to have second thoughts.

"Some people want sanctions to bring the illegal Rhodesian Government to heel, but to whose heel I am not sure. I do not see sanctions in that light. I believe that our action should be designed to give real cause for second thoughts in Rhodesia, both to the people who at the moment are supporting the illegal Government and to those who do not wish to support them. We shall not do it easily by threats; but if we can point the way ahead this is the best chance of getting a change of heart in Rhodesia. I doubt whether we shall do it by vindictiveness and oppression."

(Further speeches will be reported next week).

Miss Judy Todd Flies Home Cowardly to Remain Away from Rhodesia

MISS JUDITH TODD, the 23-year-old daughter of Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, left London Airport on Monday evening for the family farm near Shabani, despite the advice of her father that she should remain out of the country.

She had decided to disregard his advice because she felt it would be cowardly that she, a Rhodesian by birth, should stay away when any Rhodesian caring for his or her country "ought to do everything to get rid of the Smith régime; I can do very little, but if going home helps at all I feel I must".

Miss Todd told journalists that she did not believe sanctions would bring down the régime or that a United Nations force backed by the Organization of African Unity would do anything but start a racial war. Commonwealth troops, she suggested, should be sent in now to back up the Government; they would be acting in the rôle of police and could, she felt confident, take over without bloodshed.

Letter to the Prime Minister

Miss Todd, who has been studying journalism at a university in the United States since the beginning of this year, wrote at the week-end to the British Prime Minister:

"I hereby swear my loyalty to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Majesty's Government, and the Government of Southern Rhodesia, which is presently vested in Sir Humphrey Gibbs. As is my right, I am returning to my family and my country—the British Colony of Southern Rhodesia where I was born.

"As a British subject I pray that Her Majesty's Government will afford me protection if for any reason I am arrested, apprehended, restricted, or in any other way denied freedom of rights afforded me by the 1961 constitutional Bill of Rights of Southern Rhodesia and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

"I further pray Her Majesty's Government most earnestly that my fellow citizens, who are demonstrating their opposition to the régime of Mr. Smith at great personal cost, be afforded the same protection and justice I ask for myself."

When speaking at a "teach-in" at Edinburgh University last month Miss Todd suggested sending an all-white military force to overthrow the Smith régime.

She would, she thought, be liable to a prison sentence of up to 20 years for that and other public statements. All she wanted if she were arrested was a fair trial. If she were sentenced she hoped that she could write a book on Rhodesian politics which has just been commissioned by a London publisher.

If White Troops Were Sent

She believed that if Mr. Smith received three days' warning that white Commonwealth troops were being sent to take over the country his régime would topple at once. Sanctions, however, would merely make white Rhodesians stick more closely together. It was hopeless to expect them to rally to Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

Just before leaving London Miss Todd challenged Mr. Smith to deny that the African nationalist leader Mr. Nkomo had been beaten up when being transferred from a Rolls Royce car to a police jeep after his meeting with Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Peter Bennenson, president of Amnesty International, tried to dissuade Miss Todd from returning, saying that she could serve her country best by speaking in Europe and America. She felt, however, that her duty was to return in order to defy the new régime.

It would be very stupid of them, she said, to arrest her because of the adverse publicity which would result, but, deeming the Rhodesian Front stupid, she thought it quite possible that she would be arrested. She had therefore arranged for a lawyer to be at the airport to meet her.

A number of left-wing Labour M.P.s.—Mrs. Anne Kerr and Messrs. Eric Heffer, I. L. Evans, William Hamilton, and William Griffiths and one Liberal, Mr. George Mackie—have tabled a motion in the House of Commons congratulating Miss Todd on her "courageous action in deciding to return to Rhodesia, thereby risking arrest by the rebel Government". The motion hopes that H.M. Government will do "all in its power to secure that she is protected".

The A.D.C. to Sir Humphrey Gibbs thought Miss Todd's return most untimely, calculated to cause trouble, and make a difficult situation worse.

Threats by O.A.U. Defence Committee Considering Invasion of Rhodesia by Africans

AFRICA'S GREAT MIGHT must be deployed to rescue our Rhodesian brothers, Mr. Oscar Kambona, Foreign Minister of Tanzania, and chairman of the Liberation Committees of the Organization of African Unity, declared in Dar es Salaam last week when addressing the special Defence Committee of O.A.U. created at the recent Accra conference. It consists of delegates from Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Nigeria, and the United Arab Republic.

Independent Africa, Mr. Kambona insisted, must mobilize all its resources to bring majority rule in Rhodesia. "Let us serve notice on Britain that we mean to save Rhodesia". The purpose of the meeting was to make plans for an African military force to be used against Rhodesia.

After the return to Dar es Salaam of a three-member delegation which had flown to Lusaka to see President Kaunda, it was stated that he had made a final appeal to Mr. Wilson for the immediate transport of British troops to Zambia and for R.A.F. aircraft to be stationed at air bases in Zambia. It is understood that if the British reply proved unsatisfactory, as it was expected to be, the Defence Committee would suggest an immediate O.A.U. Conference to consider the formation of an independent African military force for the invasion of Rhodesia. It was believed in the Tanzanian capital that the sudden visit to Lusaka of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald had been caused by these developments.

Time for Action

Mr. Telli, secretary-general of O.A.U., said on his arrival in Dar es Salaam that "Economic sanctions against Rhodesia would not work unless backed by force. Even assuming that the proposals for economic sanctions are sincere, which I do not think is the case, and assuming a serious intention to back them up, we know they will not work. The time for words has gone. This is the time for action."

Representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union, proscribed in Rhodesia, have been holding talks in Dar es Salaam. Some of the delegates said that Z.A.N.U. was about to be recognized by O.A.U. as representing the African peoples of Rhodesia. Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda had previously said that they preferred to back Z.A.P.U. because it had much larger numerical support.

President Nkrumah of Ghana said in Accra on Friday that the "growing gravity" of the Rhodesian situation should bring the African States together. Since the régime in Rhodesia was a threat to all Africa, and since it was dangerous to wait any longer for the United Kingdom to do its duty, the African States should take the initiative in their own defence and that of the people of Rhodesia.

A rebel group in Rhodesia in possession of a powerful army and air force, and equipped and trained for warfare outside the frontiers of Rhodesia, was clearly a danger and a threat. Indeed, the bulk of the air force could not be used for internal security purposes; its only function was external attack.

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JOURNALISTS IN RHODESIA PRAISE MR. SMITH'S LEADERSHIP

The special correspondent sent to Rhodesia by *The Times*—reported at the week-end that the mood of Rhodesia had swung from apprehension to confidence, even cockiness.

"Mr. Smith, a shrewd politician, was almost certainly right when he claimed on Thursday that support for his Government had grown.

"It is widely felt that it would take months effectively to bring the big oil companies into line over an embargo. The trump card is held to be Zambia's vulnerability to oil sanctions, which can be overcome only by extremely expensive air tankering.

Rhodesians, and even their critical and watchful guests, the foreign Press Corps, feel that the first round against Mr. Wilson has been comfortably won on points.

"Britain is expected to be scared of various foreign missions now coming here to see how much former British trade can be picked up. An Italian mission, mainly of bankers, is looking round, and others are expected.

"White General de Gaulle withdrew his Consul-General—telling the British Government that it was because of the rebellion, and the Rhodesian Government that it was because his appointment had expired—the French trade and consular staff remain and are active. So are other trade offices, giving the impression of a world on the sidelines waiting to rush in once Rhodesia is seen to be successfully holding out."

"We Are Going to Get Away With It"

The diplomatic correspondent of the *Financial Times* cabled from Salisbury on Sunday that "an excess of confidence is sweeping the country; even the Europeans who dislike the Rhodesian front and would have preferred to make the break legally are saying: 'We are going to get away with it'.

"Mr. Smith's opponents, now in a tiny minority, admit that they are frightened. Britain will have to step up the pressures, they say; the Queen must forbid public servants to carry out Government orders. Many of them are coming to think that Britain will have to use force if the rebellion is to be crushed. Otherwise, they argue, the Smith régime will establish itself so firmly that not even economic collapse in a year's time will bring about a change of heart.

"While the white Rhodesians, isolated by censorship and propaganda, probably underestimate the force of world hostility and even the effect of the present limited sanctions, their overconfidence is easy to understand. In Salisbury there is absolutely nothing to betray to the casual visitor that these Europeans have just carried out a rebellion that set the world by the ears. There are no troops or demonstrators, there has been no violence or sabotage, and there have been very few arrests.

"It was the shop assistants, not the owners, who sent out for champagne on the Thursday that U.D.I. was proclaimed. It was the artisans, not the industrialists, who held independence parties that evening.

"Business, as opposed to political circles, remains profoundly pessimistic despite news that half the £23m. reserves had been removed out of London before U.D.I. and despite the resumption of financial transactions with South Africa and Malawi.

"In response to embargoes already announced, the Treasury here is reckoning on holding imports well below £90m. next year, probably one quarter less than the pre-U.D.I. estimate (was imports in 1964 totalled £110m.). This figure of £90m. was arrived at by rule of thumb, after estimating the amount Rhodesia can hope to export. Stringent import controls have therefore been imposed."

"Round One to Smith" said a heading in the *Daily Mail* on Monday. Reporting on the first 10 days since the declaration of independence, its correspondent in Salisbury, Mr. Peter Younghusband, telegraphed, *inter alia*—

"People here now feel that Mr. Smith has more than an even chance of getting away with it. Every day that goes by seems to ensure his continuing success.

"The great hullabaloo from the outside world has rolled over Rhodesia and left the bulk of its white population unperturbed. South Africa and Malawi have already returned to foreign exchange dealings with Rhodesia exactly as before.

"One significant pointer is that many of Mr. Smith's supporters who lost their nerve when he declared independence have returned to the fold. One reason is that his Government

has been impressive in the well-planned preparations made to meet sanctions. Another is the steady influence of the Government itself on the people.

"Mr. Smith has shown himself to be in complete control all along the line. The Governor's position for a day or two held a threat to his power, but this situation was handled with remarkable shrewdness.

"The next test will be the effect of trade sanctions, which are unlikely to be felt in the extreme for another six months. If Rhodesia survives that Mr. Smith will be home and dry. Then nothing less than a military invasion will shift him from power."

Mr. Roy Perrott's dispatch from Salisbury to the *Observer* was given the caption "Whites Think They've Won". He found most Europeans in Rhodesia in a mood of "smooth and careless optimism".

"They think six months the longest period of austerity that will have to be endured. Then, they think, the world will be either bored with sanctions or feeling the pinch of its own self-sacrifice. The liberals and sceptics feel that Britain will do too little too late. Tobacco farmers, who should theoretically be very worried, appear to be planting about 80% of the normal quantity.

"The police are in full control in Bulawayo, always the most militant area. Not more than 10 out of the city's 300 factories were affected by work stoppages last week.

"Widespread phone tapping by the police does not bother the public. One senior Anglican clergyman told me that when he rings up a brother churchman in another part of the country they converse at length in Latin."

Mr. TOM STACEY, who has travelled widely in Central and East Africa in recent years, and recently joined the staff of the London *Evening Standard*, has written in an article to which great prominence was given that he has misgivings about the Prime Minister's strategy in regard to Rhodesia.

"Mr. Smith Is Going to Win"

He believes that "Mr. Smith is going to win, by surviving in power for as far as we can reasonably foretell". He continued (in part)—

"Salisbury today is crammed full of newspapermen. Every one of them is yearning to wrinkle out someone, high or low, in the civil or armed services of Rhodesia who is prepared to go on record as refusing to serve the Smith régime. Apart from the Governor's aide, there has not been one single defection—from the generals to the postmen, not even an unmarried clerk with nothing to lose. Not one among all the thousands—even though the first to defect must be certain of a blaze of congratulatory publicity and a hero's welcome on arrival in Britain.

"Certainly there will be some who will refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the rebel Government, possibly many—especially as word circulates of the inducements of compensation to be offered by the British Government. But, if Mr. Wilson's policy is to succeed, it must bring about a stampede away from Mr. Smith—and soon.

"There is not a sign of it. No distant rumbling—nothing more than the odd misgiving reported here and there, in a country where all the major newspapers have been implacably critical of Mr. Smith's Government and hostile to U.D.I., and all the forces of big business actively hostile, too.

"So far it has been a rebellion without a drop of blood spilled or a bush-knife swung. There has been a non-strike, a disbanded march, a few omnibus windows broken, some scattered arrests, and a disconnected telephone.

"I suspect Mr. Wilson and the previous British Government have been—in absolutely good faith—misinformed for two or three years about the true state of opinion by its representatives in Salisbury.

"What will become of Mr. Wilson's policy if Mr. Smith does, indeed, stay put and retains the loyalty of the bulk of his civil service, police and military forces; if the white public, for the most part, decide they have more to lose by giving in than hanging on; and if the Rhodesian Africans, their urban nationalist movement broken, and with the more effective of their traditional chiefs ensconced in the Government, remain basically co-operative, or at least acquiescent? It will become an embarrassment to Britain on an international scale.

"Mr. Wilson has had no other course but to sever all constitutional links with the unconstitutional régime; but the sooner he ceases to conduct a policy of wishful thinking, the sooner Britain, Southern Africa, and the world can set about making the best of a bad job."

NEWS IN BRIEF ABOUT THE RHODESIAN SITUATION

Mr. N. H. B. Bruce, Governor of the Reserve Bank, has suggested that the country will not know for about two months how effective sanctions may be.

Rhodesian troops, apart from a few hundred men of a Special Air Service unit, have been withdrawn from Kariba to positions a few miles to the south.

The Reserve Bank of Rhodesia confirmed a few days ago that more than half the country's reserves, or about £12m., had been moved outside the sterling area in the weeks preceding the declaration of independence.

The Portuguese are believed to have been asked by H.M. Government to withdraw their Consul-General from Salisbury. He was still there on Tuesday. The Italian Consul-General also remains in the Rhodesian capital.

In a radio interview the Minister of Internal Affairs said that Rhodesia was not a police State and that the restrictions imposed to prevent trouble-makers from taking advantage of the situation would be necessary for a limited period only.

TWENTY TRAINED AFRICAN SABOTEURS who had crossed the Zambezi were captured last week by Rhodesian troops and police. They were part of a contingent of about 50, most of the rest of whom were believed to have returned to Zambia.

Lord Brockway, addressing an anti-U.D.I. meeting in Hyde Park, spoke of the danger of a blood-bath in Rhodesia. Unless Britain took firmer action Africans outside Rhodesia would go to the assistance of their brothers in that country, and they might welcome Russian and Chinese aid.

U.N.E.S.C.O. is moving its Salisbury staff to Lusaka. Staff of the Commonwealth Development Corporation have left Rhodesia.

The Acting Consul-General for West Germany in Salisbury has said that his office will remain open.

The Japanese Consul in Salisbury told inquirers last week that he knew nothing of a report from Tokyo that the Consulate was to be closed.

About 500 students of London University marched through the City on Friday chanting "Smith Out" and "One Man One Vote". City workers jeered and booed.

The African Workers' Postal Union of Rhodesia, which has a 4,000 membership, has asked Britain for guidance as to whether their loyalty lies with the Governor or Mr. Smith.

China Buys Swiss Arms for Africa

Rifles and machine-guns of Swiss manufacture are being bought by China, believed for supply to Government and guerrilla movements in Africa which intend violent action against Rhodesia.

The Secretariat of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade said in Geneva on Friday that it would have no further communication with Mr. Smith's Government although Rhodesia remained a full member of G.A.T.T.

President Kaunda said in Lusaka a few days ago that he reserved the right to invite any foreign Power to help guard Kariba if Britain failed to send troops. He had, he said, received many offers of help from foreign Powers.

The Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, has issued a decree revoking Press censorship in Rhodesia, the Enabling Bill having authorized him to revoke or amend the Rhodesian Constitution and emergency regulations under it.

Nigeria has declared that no aircraft for or from Rhodesia may fly over her territory. The Minister for External Affairs said when making the announcement that the economic measures taken by Britain were not enough; sterner steps including the use of force, were needed for the punishment of an act of rebellion.

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Foreign Minister of Kenya, has stated that Britain must understand that Zambia has a legitimate claim upon her for any injury caused by the Rhodesian rebels. H.M. Government have been far too soft with Rhodesia. If English troops had been sent they would not have met resistance.

Because Britain has refused to take military action against Rhodesia, the leaders of three trade unions in Kenya have demanded the dismissal of about 300 Britons employed by the East African Common Services Organization. The demand was coupled with a threat that members of the unions would refuse to do customs work for ships or aircraft with cargoes for or from Rhodesia.

Courage of Rhodesian Press

Five Conservative M.P.s. have tabled a motion headed "Courage of the Rhodesian Press". It states: "That this House watches with pride and admiration the courageous stand of the editors and their staffs in Rhodesia in their determination to see that knowledge and truth are not suppressed". The sponsors are Messrs. Nigel Fisher, W. Shepherd, J. Tilney, J. L. Hunt, and T. L. Iremonger.

Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda said last week: "We thought the British Government was playing a very dangerous game in offering Rhodesia a referendum. Mr. Smith could have acted on the present voters' roll and run away with the show. I have therefore made it clear to Mr. Bottomley that Uganda cannot accept the British line in general and can agree only to specific measures. That remains the position".

The British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking, Mr. Donald Hopson, walked out of a State Banquet given on Monday evening in honour of Second Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa of Tanzania, who had arrived in the Chinese capital earlier in the day. Mr. Hobson's protest was against remarks about Rhodesia by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister, who said that "in Africa, Anglo-American imperialists have connived at and supported a unilateral declaration of independence by the white colonialist authorities in Rhodesia".

Dr. A. J. Visser, vice-president of the Handels Institut of South Africa, has said that it is in the interests of that country that Rhodesia should remain economically prosperous, and that within the framework of normal trade negotiations South Africa should do everything in her power to help Rhodesia through a possible economic crisis. Rhodesia might suffer a temporary recession but would then experience great prosperity. The Reserve Bank in Pretoria could act as Rhodesia's international commercial bank if the Bank of England refused to continue in that capacity.

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BREVITIES ABOUT RHODESIA FROM MANY COUNTRIES

RHODESIA has decided to retain her gold output in order to strengthen her reserves. In consequence, the customary weekly shipment of gold to the London market did not appear last week. The gold is likely to be refined in Johannesburg.

Zambia and Malawi have been relaying extra B.B.C. news bulletins and commentaries.

Zambia and Malawi has cancelled the Commonwealth preference on Rhodesian goods.

More than 2,000 Africans employed by Rhodesia Railways at Gwelo staged an unofficial strike.

Residents in Zambia may no longer deal in securities through Salisbury Stock Exchange.

Postal orders issued in Rhodesia after November 11 are no longer acceptable in Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, or Uganda.

South African newspapers have said that there will shortly be an official announcement of full economic support for Rhodesia.

On Monday the Government of Zambia asked the oil companies to reduce their supplies to retailers by 15% as a cautionary measure.

The Finance Ministry in Malawi has announced that commercial banks in that country have ceased to exchange Rhodesian notes for Malawi currency.

Forwarding agents in Beira and Lourenço Marques have had instructions from Rhodesia to discontinue shipping in British vessels. Vessels of 14 British lines serve Mozambique.

The National, Commercial, Distributive and Office Workers' Association of Rhodesia, with a membership of about 45,000, has appealed to organized labour to stand behind the Government.

South African May Buy Tobacco Crop

There were rumours in Cape Town at the week-end that a large South African tobacco manufacturing group has expressed willingness to buy next year's Rhodesian tobacco crop.

Mr. Peter Forbath, of the staff of *Time* magazine, an issue of which has just been banned in Rhodesia, was not allowed to remain in the country when he arrived from Lusaka on Saturday.

The Bank of England has confirmed receipt of a remittance of about £140,000 from Rhodesia in payment of the half-yearly interest due this week to holders of the Rhodesia 6% stock 1976-79.

When Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, spoke in Walthamstow on Saturday a woman member of the League of Empire Loyalists jumped onto the platform and shouted "The Union Jack still flies in Salisbury".

News cables from Salisbury state that a tobacco company, whose name is not given, has told its staff that if they take other employment at less salary the difference will be made up for the next nine months.

The Salisbury Council of Churches has declared its loyalty to the Queen through the Governor, "the only legal Governor of Rhodesia"; we do not recognize the present régime as the legal authority in Rhodesia".

Zambia's Minister of Labour and Social Development has announced that no individuals or teams from Zambia may take part in sporting fixtures or other engagements with persons or clubs in Rhodesia.

Sir Norman Kipping, lately director-general of the Federation of British Industries, arrived in Lusaka at the week-end. He said that H.M. Government had asked him to "look generally at Zambia's economy".

Prospect of Unemployment

Mr. G. Brind, a clothing manufacturer in Rhodesia, who recently resigned from the executive of the Rhodesian Front, has estimated that about 4,000 Europeans in that industry will be out of work within three months.

Mr. Kaswenge, Foreign Minister of Zambia, said a few days ago: "Mr. Smith will send this tobacco and sugar to South Africa, where it will be labelled as produced in that country. Then it will be sold on world markets".

Mr. Humphrey Wightwick, of Lonrho, Ltd., said in Rhodesia on Monday that the oil embargo concerned the oil companies, not Lonrho, for the company were merely transporters for the companies and could not introduce politics into the matter.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, in his new capacity as H.M. Government's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, is to have discussions in Lusaka this week with President Kaunda. He left London on Friday for Nairobi after talks with the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

The Salisbury branch of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists has deplored the censorship but declared that "it is nevertheless the duty of all Rhodesians to support the State in maintaining law and order at a time of national emergency".

The Minister for Finance, Trade and Industry in Malawi said at the week-end that, following abrogation of the trade agreement with Rhodesia in consequence of the declaration of independence, goods from Rhodesia would pay normal customs duties.

News bulletins in English are being beamed to Rhodesia from a medium-wave transmitter in Soviet Russia. The new transmitter of exceptional power calls itself Radio Kharkov. The bulletins blend propaganda with news. Exceptionally clear reception is reported from Kenya.

Mr. Alan Gilmore, First Secretary (Information) in the United Kingdom High Commission in Salisbury, said on arriving in Lusaka at the week-end that sanctions would begin to make themselves felt in Rhodesia within a week, first in difficulty in getting whisky.

A Commonwealth reception for Princess Margaret and Lord Snowdon at the United Nations was boycotted on Friday by all representatives of African member States in protest at Britain's "complacent attitude" to the Rhodesian crisis. Lord Caradon, chief British delegate at the U.K., was the host.

Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the U.S.A., told representatives of 23 American companies with interests in Rhodesia at a meeting in Washington on Friday that the U.S. Government entirely supported Britain in regard to sanctions against Rhodesia. Afterwards one of the business leaders commented that it had been "an extremely shallow briefing".

A large sugar shipment on its way from Rhodesia to the U.S.A. is to be refused entry by order of President Johnson. A few months ago Rhodesia received a quota of 9,500 tons for the American market this year, in which there is a premium of nearly 5 cents per lb. above the world price. Loss of the quota will cost the Rhodesia sugar industry nearly a million dollars.

After hearing the news Mr. Ellman Brown, chairman of the Rhodesian Sugar Association, said: "We are going to make U.D.I. and the sugar industry work".



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RST | Chairman reviews operations in Zambia

The following are extracts from the annual statement, dated October 29, by the chairman of the RST Group of Companies, Sir Ronald Prain, to shareholders:—

New records in both copper production and sales were achieved by the RST Group in the year ended June 30, 1965. It was a year of uninterrupted production at all our mines in Zambia, and consequently of full employment of production facilities which have been increased steadily for many years past.

The past twelve months have been marked by several important events. In April Chambishi, our fourth and newest mine on the Copperbelt, came into production and made a small contribution to the year's record figures. When the present development plan for Chambishi is in full operation next year we shall have achieved a group production capacity of 300,000 long tons of copper a year, an increase of 100,000 tons over the past ten years.

We have seen a continued buoyant copper market which at the time of writing shows little sign of abating. The average price received for our copper has been higher than that of last year.

During the year the Zambian Government announced that it did not intend to change the formula which was established by The British South Africa Company for assessing royalty payments by the companies. This was the subject of a circular which I sent to shareholders on May 21.

In this year's budget the Zambian Government modified the temporary rates of income tax which were introduced last year, and on which I commented at the time. Since these taxes affect the results which I outline in subsequent paragraphs, I should mention here briefly that the rate of tax for large companies was reduced from 47½ to 45 per cent, while certain further reductions were granted to certain mines. In the case of our group these reductions have resulted in a tax rate of 41½ per cent for RST and 42½ per cent for Chibuluma, whilst Mufulira is to pay the full rate of 45 per cent. It was also announced that these modifications were still temporary pending the conclusion of permanent arrangements which await a general review of the tax legislation.

Finally, I must record the completion of the first year of Zambia's independent existence as a republic, a year marked by progressive government and stable economic and social conditions.

This is an enviable record in a continent where political systems either are changing with rapidity, or in some cases are not changing sufficiently to satisfy the march of world events. Zambia has



neighbours in each category, and no country in Africa can be an island or an oasis; especially when history and political geography have imposed on no fewer than fourteen countries in Africa, including Zambia, the unenviable position of being landlocked. History more than geography has led to Zambia's economic dependence on certain of its neighbours, some of whom however have an equal dependence on Zambia. This is a situation that has confronted us however since the beginning of the copper industry in Zambia, and has never yet led to any impediment to our imports of supplies and services, or the export of our copper. Should political differences one day cause any such interruption to the traditional import and export routes, alternatives are becoming available which, even if they cause some short-term dislocation, could point a way to new and permanent arrangements which would ease Zambia's position as a landlocked country.

OPERATIONAL RESULTS

Luanshya Division

Copper production totalled 91,992 long tons which was slightly lower than in the previous year. Sales amounted to 90,592 tons as against 96,413 tons last year, when pipeline stocks were reduced by about 4,000 tons.

Despite higher prices, the gross profit on sales of copper of £3.18 million was £230,000 down on the previous year's figure, mainly because of the decreased sales and higher royalty payments.

The impact of increased royalties on the trading results of a high-cost mine is extremely burdensome. In the case of the Luanshya division 53.7 per cent of the pre-royalty profits on sales of copper was absorbed by royalty, the remaining profits being subject to income tax.

Mufulira Mine

Mufulira's copper production, the highest yet recorded, was 161,802 long tons, 7,507 tons more than in the previous year.

The mine's capacity is now rated at about 162,000 tons per year, which is 12,000 tons more than was expected when the western expansion scheme was first planned nearly ten years ago.

Sales totalling 161,204 tons were more than 23,000 tons greater than in the previous year when sales were affected by the need to replenish pipeline stocks.

Increased sales together with higher copper prices are the main reasons why profits on sales of copper are nearly 20 per cent more than those of the previous year. With the addition of other income, less interest charges, the profit before income tax amounted to £14.3 million. Income tax on the year's profits on the basis of 45 per cent, using the last-known rate as usual, is estimated at £6.3 million after making adjustment for the over-reserve last year.

After providing £198,000 for the redemption of debenture stock, available profits amount to £7.8 million, of which £700,000 is retained in the business and transferred to general reserve. The directors have recommended a final dividend of 11s. 6d. gross per share which, together with 5s. 0d. paid last June, makes a total distribution of 16s. 6d. gross, or 8s. 11.4d. net per share.

Completion by the end of this year of the extension to the tankhouse of the mine's electrolytic refinery will mean that the group will be in a position to refine the whole of its output.

Chibuluma Mine

Copper output amounted to 22,618 long tons which was slightly less than in the previous year. Sales at 22,554 tons were, however, some 750 tons higher than last year. Despite increased sales and higher prices, the gross profit on sales of copper which amounted to £1.028 million was £56,000 less than in the previous year. The main reason for this was the increased cost of mineral royalty payments which absorbed 46.9 per cent of the pre-royalty profits.

Income tax on the remaining profits on the basis of 42½ per cent using the last-known rate as usual is estimated at £457,000 after making adjustments for last year's over-reserve.

After transferring £100,000 to general reserve the directors have recommended a final dividend of 1s. 9d. gross per share equivalent to a net amount of 1s. 0.075d., making a total distribution of 1s. 4.8d. net per share for the year.

Chambishi Mine

Chambishi produced its first copper in April, less than three years after the decision to begin the first stage of the development of the orebody.

In the open pit, operations have proceeded satisfactorily and by the end of last month 25 million tons of overburden had been removed and about four million tons of ore had been stockpiled ready to be fed into the treatment plants.

The crushing, vat leaching and electro-winning plants were commissioned between April and June of this year and there was a saleable output of 783 long tons of copper. However, at the roasting plant certain problems have not yet been resolved. Shortages of skilled labour and late delivery of materials and equipment have hampered concentrator construction, and we do not expect this plant to become operational before the end of 1965.

For these reasons attainment of full production will be delayed and it is not expected that output during the current financial year can exceed 15,000 tons.

Capital expenditure is now expected to amount to £10.2 million, £900,000 more than the estimate given in my statement last year. The increase is mainly due to the cost of equipment and installation being affected by inflationary tendencies. Bank overdraft facilities are being used to finance the additional expenditure until profits are available to repay these temporary borrowings.

Ndola Refinery

The refinery handled a record of 117,537 tons of copper, compared with 105,187 tons the previous year. The output of the Luanshya division continues to constitute the bulk of the tonnage refined, the balance coming from other producers in Zambia to whom the refinery offers custom facilities.

There was a gross profit of £700,000 and, after charging £129,000 for depreciation and £175,000 for taxation, the directors have recommended a dividend of 2s. 0d. gross per share, the equivalent of a net amount of 1s. 3-6d. with tax at 35 per cent.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

Total production from all mines during the year was 276,995 long tons and sales 274,938 tons, compared with production of 270,206 tons and sales of 255,922 tons the previous year.

The growth of our business has been achieved as a result of many years' planning, of many millions of pounds of capital expenditure and last, but by no means least, of the combined efforts of all employees in the group.

The profits of the Luanshya division and the dividends received from the Mufulira, Chibuluma and Ndola companies, together with other miscellaneous sources of investment income, make a total income for RST of £8.9 million. Income tax, which is primarily on the profits of the Luanshya division, is estimated at £1.5 million after a credit adjustment as a result of last year's over-reserve.

Out of the available profits of £7.4 million the board has decided to retain £600,000 which is being credited to the general reserve. The interim dividend of 3s. 3d. gross, equivalent to a net rate of 1s. 8-475d., was paid in June last and the directors now recommend payment of a final dividend in December at the rate of 7s. 9d. gross per share, equivalent to a net rate of 4s. 6-6375d.

ROYALTIES AND TAXATION

In my statement last year I drew attention to the new relationship which exists between royalties and taxation now that the Zambian Government is the recipient of both of these payments.

As regards royalties, there is little to add to the circular which I sent to shareholders on May 21 when I reported that the Government had decided to make no change in the royalty formula despite the industry's representations that royalties should be assessed on a profitability basis. We have for many years contended that any formula based on price is unsound. We believe that a formula based on profits is the only intrinsically sound method of taxing the mining industry for extraction rights, and the only method which is also conclusive to the full development of the industry. Our views have been fully represented to Government.

The accounts show a group cost for royalty for the year of £11.2 million; the cost of royalty per ton produced was over £44.

As regards income tax, the modifications which I have already mentioned give some relief from the high rates imposed in 1964, though they still represent a form of differential taxation. Not least of our objections on the royalty question, however, is based on the fact that the burden of royalties and income tax combined still falls most heavily on the mines least able to afford it.

When announcing its decision in May the Government stated that it would consider concessions to new mines or mines losing money. It will, in my opinion, be essential to adopt some different royalty formula if Zambia is to see an expansion of its mining output. Such expansion will involve the investment of many millions of pounds, and new capital is unlikely to be attracted if, in addition to normal mining risks, it has to carry the open-ended financial risk which is inherent in the operation of the present royalty formula.

COPPER MARKET

Production of copper in the free world in the past twelve months has been relatively free of interruptions, and has increased significantly. From a mine production in 1964 of about 4.4 million short tons it is estimated at the time of writing that 1965 production may rise to about 4.7 million short tons, but clearly

this depends on the extent of any interruptions to production during the last two months of the year.

Demand for primary copper in 1965 in the free world has continued at a high rate. After allowing for Soviet off-take and purchases for replenishing stocks which were run down in 1964 no apparent surplus has developed in 1965.

The major producers continued throughout the year to sell copper at producer prices which in the case of the Zambian producers stands at £304 per long ton at the time of writing. This level, equivalent to 38 cents per lb of electrolytic copper delivered c.i.f., is now virtually uniform for export copper throughout the free world.

London Metal Exchange quotations have continued to fluctuate widely, reflecting the situation for marginal supplies, as well as being influenced by political and labour uncertainties. These fluctuations and high commodity exchange prices have made difficulties for the fabricating industry. We believe, however, that the fabricating industry appreciates the producers' efforts to sell primary copper at prices which are reasonable in relation to commodity exchange prices, and which are, of course, designed to limit as far as possible substitution of copper by other materials which would be disastrous for the future of the industry. The problem of substitution arises not only from the price factor, but from the point of view of availability, and neither of these difficulties can be adequately dealt with until production and demand are again in balance, or there is an overall surplus of production.

CONCLUSION

Since the early days of our mining operations in Zambia we have endeavoured to keep under constant consideration our closely interrelated responsibilities to shareholders, employees, the Government and community of the country, our customers and the world copper industry. The reconciliation of these responsibilities in a changing world is not always easy but it is our intention to continue to strive for a balance which will bring benefits to all those interests which I have mentioned, and will enable the copper mines of Zambia to continue to play their part in the development of a nation which is potentially one of the most prosperous in the African continent.

Copies of Sir Ronald Prain's statement, together with copies of the annual report and accounts, can be obtained from the Secretary, RST International Metals Limited, One Noble Street, London E.C.2

RST



Companies in the group are incorporated in Zambia, the United Kingdom, Rhodesia and Bechuanaland.

Roan Selection Trust Heavy Burden of Royalties

ROAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., of which the operations are reviewed on other pages, had profits after tax to June 30 of £8,683,000, compared with £5,899,000 in the previous year. Tax took no less than £9.3m. Dividends to shareholders required £6,757,000, compared with £4,732,000 in the previous year. The issued capital is £21.6m. Mines, plant and equipment appear in the books at £54.8m., fixed investment and loans at £16.9m., and net current assets at £11.5m. There are long-term liabilities of £11.2m.

Copper sales reached a record of 274,938 long tons, the proceeds totalling just over £69m. Costs of production averaged £183 per ton and sales realized an average of £251.

Sir Ronald Prain, the chairman, emphasizes that it is the mining industry which enables the Government of Zambia to embark on a development programme costing £2m. a month, partly with the object of diversifying the economy, especially in agriculture.

He criticized the levy of royalties by the Government on prices based on London Metal Exchange quotations, which are more than £200 a ton above the price charged by producers in Zambia to their regular customers. In consequence the Luanshya division (formerly the Roan Antelope company) paid in royalties last year 33.7% of its profit, and the balance had then to bear income tax.

Rhokana Corporation

RHOKANA CORPORATION, LTD., reports net profits after tax to June 30 at £9,198,000 (£8,348,000), of which £8,771,000 is absorbed by dividends of 7s. net per £1 unit. Issued capital amounts to £25.7m. Fixed assets appear at £34.5m., stores at £2.4m., loans at £6.7m. and net current assets at £508,000. Copper and cobalt sales totalled 103,850 long tons and 1,711 short tons respectively.

Mr. Oppenheimer, the chairman, says that he has been deeply impressed by the enthusiasm with which Zambian employees have accepted the training opportunities offered to them and by the co-operative attitude of the expatriates who provide the training. He expects further jobs to be assumed by Zambians at an acceptable pace without detriment to production efficiency. The year was, however, marked by a large number of disputes.

In the September quarter there was a net profit after tax of £912,000. Copper sales totalled 23,869 tons for an average operating profit of £54.1.

Zambian Anglo American Ltd.

ZAMBIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD.—which has large investments in the Rhokana, Nchanga, Bancroft, Rhokana Copper Refineries, Mufulira, Chibuluma, Chambishi, Baluba, and Chisangwa companies—reports profits after tax to June 30 at £7,245,000, of which £6,871,000, are needed to pay dividends of 10s. net. Quoted investments standing in the books at £13.6m. have a market value of £48.4m. and net current assets are just over £4m. Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer is the chairman.

Rhodesia's fifth African brewery has been opened in Marandellas by Heinrich Syndicate, Ltd.

Rhokana Copper Refineries, Ltd., report net profit after tax to June 30 at £307,000 (£284,000), of which £275,000 is added to the reserve. Issued capital is just under £2.3m. Fixed assets slightly exceed £5m. and current liabilities exceed current assets by £354,000.

Amalgamation of four trade unions in Kenya has been agreed by the Distributive and Commercial Workers' Union, the Tobacco Workers' Union, The Dyers and Laundry Workers' Union, and the Bottling Workers' Union. The joint body will be known as Kenya Union of Commercial Food and Allied Workers.

Nchanga Consolidated Mines, Ltd., had a net profit after tax for the six months to September 30 of £5,953,000, which compares with a profit of just over £11m. for the year to March last. During the half-year 130,514 long tons of copper were produced and 126,371 sold at an average operating profit of £91.6 per ton.

Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Zambia, had a net loss of £477,000 in the six months to the end of September; 709,000 tons of ore were milled in the half-year and 18,135 long tons of copper were sold for an average of £258.9. Costs, however, had averaged £318.6 per long ton. The Government has refused remission of royalty payments for the period to May 7 last. An application for relief from that date is under consideration.

At least 200,000 tons of copper are to be sold from the United States stockpile.

The Economic Commission for Africa recommends three iron and steel plants, one each in Rhodesia, Zambia, and Uganda.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga is to pay 300 Belgian francs per one-tenth share as a further instalment on a dividend of 800 francs declared for 1961.

A Copperbelt Development Plan states that deposits of copper already proved in Zambia will suffice for at least 70 years. By 1980 the urban population of the Copperbelt is expected to reach 869,000.

For the half-year to June 30 Rhodesia Railways had an estimated surplus of £82,175. The comparable figure for the whole of 1964 was nearly £1.9m. Special payments to staff stationed in Zambia now cost £42,000 a month.

E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., report profits after tax for the 17 months to August 31 at £75,426, compared with a loss of £242,505 for the 12 months to March 31 last year. The debit balance is now just over £105,000. The issued capital is £587,500. Net current assets appear at £815,830 and fixed assets at £396,447.

Selection Trust, Ltd., estimate profits after tax for the half-year to September 30 at just over £1m. In the first half of last year the figure was £989,000 and in the second half £1.6m. An interim dividend of 2s. 3d. per share, less tax, is declared. The directors hope to be able to recommend a final 1s. In 1964 the total was 3s. per share.

Dalgely and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., view their business in East Africa with "cautious optimism", though the policy of the Government of Tanzania of creating State-owned organizations for the import and export trade discourages commercial development, says the annual report. The group, which is primarily concerned with trade in Australia and New Zealand, reports profits after tax to June 30 at just over £2m., against £2,249,329 in the previous year. Ordinary shareholders receive 10% tax-free, taking £1,147,858. The issued share capital is £10.5m. and loan capital £19.5m. Net current assets stand at £28.1m., fixed assets at £21.9m., and trade assets at £1.1m.

Murdered in Kenya

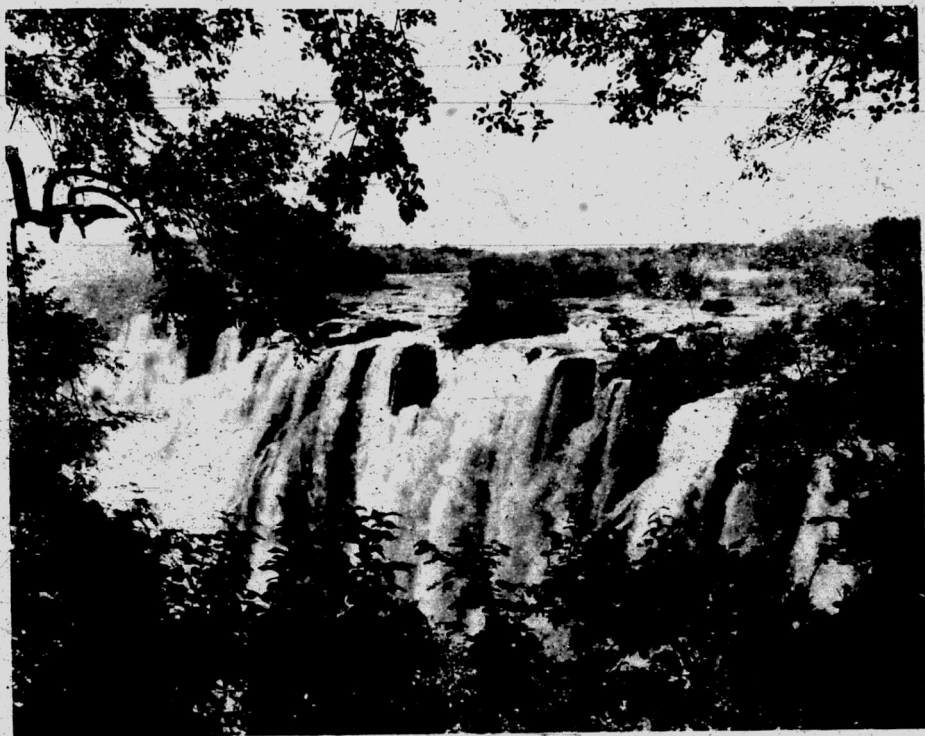
TWO ITALIANS and a Briton were murdered at a fishing camp at Lake Rudolf at the week-end, allegedly by *shifita* (bandits). Those killed were the manager of the fishing camp, Mr. Guy Poole, Father Stelliole, an Italian, and an Italian driver employed at the camp.

Deported by Dr. Banda

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, gave orders on Friday that Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Boston, two young social workers from the United States who had been attached to the Henry Henderson Institute, a secondary school in Blantyre, should leave the country within 48 hours for "involvement in the internal affairs of Malawi". They are understood to have commented about the amendment to the Penal Code which provides for public hanging. Mr. Boston was a lay preacher at the Anglican church in Blantyre. An official of the Malawi Congress Party gave a warning that any African who associated with Mr. and Mrs. Boston before they left the country would be severely dealt with. Since last year's Cabinet crisis nine Americans have been sent out of Malawi.

Common Services and Common Market

THE COMMISSION under Mr. Kjeld Philip which is to report on the East African Common Services Organization and the East African Common Market has three representatives of each of the three territories, all of them Ministers. Tanzania has appointed Messrs. A. Jamal (Finance), Paul Bomani (Economic Planning and Development), and A. Z. N. Swai (Industries, Mineral Resources and Power); Uganda, Messrs. L. Kalule-Setala (Finance), M. M. Ngobi (Agriculture), and L. Lubowa (Commerce and Industries); and Kenya, Messrs. J. Gichuru (Finance), T. J. Mboya (Economic Planning and Development), and B. McKenzie (Agriculture).



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