

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 2, 1965

Vol. 42

No. 2147

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

52s. yearly post free

HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

JOINT SERVICE



LOBITO, CAPETOWN, *MOSSSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN
AND MAURITIUS (also Walvis and Luderitz Bay with transhipment).

Vessel	Glasgow	S. Wales	Birkenhead
CITY OF PRETORIA	2 Dec.	6 Dec.	14 Dec.

: if inducement. * With or without transhipment.

DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and BEIRA (also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with
transhipment).

Vessel	Glasgow	Birkenhead
TACTICIAN	31 Dec.	11 Jan.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

ENQUIRIES to:—
THOS. & JAS. HARRISON LTD., Liverpool and London.
HALL LINE Limited, Liverpool.

Leading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

THE MANICA
TRADING COMPANY
LIMITED

**STEAMSHIP, AIRWAYS,
SHIPPING, FORWARDING
AND INSURANCE AGENTS**

LONDON OFFICE: St. Mary Axe House, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3.

BEIRA P.O. Box 14
SALISBURY P.O. Box 776
BULAWAYO P.O. Box 310
GWELO P.O. Box 447
UMTALI P.O. Box No. 270
BLANTYRE P.O. Box 460
LOURENCO MARQUES
P.O. Box 557
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. Box 8827

Established over 60 years

Pledge Not to Use Troops Already Broken

What importers should know about John Holt Exports Limited

WHAT JHEL IS

With offices in London, Liverpool and Lagos, JHEL provides a buying and credit financing organisation to meet the import needs (capital equipment as well as consumer goods) of the independent countries of Africa.

Rapid development in Africa means that conventional trading methods are being overtaken by direct business between client in Africa and source of supply overseas. A prime requirement for developing business in Africa today is credit. To meet this urgent need for capital JHEL, working closely with Merchant Bankers, provide credit facilities and will also negotiate the necessary insurance cover.

JHEL can help State Corporations; Co-operatives, Merchants and Industrialists of standing, not only with recurrent merchandise orders but with capital projects. We already serve, for example, the Ghana National Trading Corporation, the successful State sponsored organisation, whose requirements for a large range of consumer and capital goods total many millions of pounds each year.

WHAT JHEL CAN DO FOR YOU

Negotiate for goods at the keenest possible prices using our high volume purchasing power from many clients.

Procure credit on the best and longest terms.

Arrange insurance and shipment of goods to meet clients' delivery dates and assist in claims and other queries.

Provide service in both Europe and Africa which individual businesses would find costly to provide themselves.

Put at the clients' disposal our knowledge of world wide sources of merchandise and advice on new products and opportunities.

WHAT WILL JHEL COST YOU

Our fees are subject to negotiation, being dependent upon the volume of business to be done, the services required, whether the turnover is made up of large lumps or small pieces, and the realistic expectation of potential business in the near future.



IF LOWER COST AND BETTER FINANCING AND COVER ARE YOUR REQUIREMENTS JHEL CAN BE OF SERVICE TO YOU

For further information, please write, telex or telephone us at:

JOHN HOLT



EXPORTS LIMITED Dept A

P.O. BOX 542 · LAGOS · NIGERIA. Telephone No. Apapa 55855. Telex No. 38

MOOR HOUSE · LONDON WALL · LONDON, E.C.2. Telephone No. NATIONAL 4151. Telex No. 262871

BUY ADVERTISED GOODS — THEY HAVE BEEN PROVED BY US

EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1.
Telephone: EOLborn 2224-5

Cables: EASTAFRIC, London
Inland Telegrams: EASTAFRIC, Westcent., London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	257	Personalia	268
Latest News' from Rhodesia	260	F.A.O. Criticized	269
Communist-Trained Saboteurs	261	Kenya "Betrayal"	270
British Aircraft and Troops for Zambia...	262	Letters to the Editor...	272
Lords Debate Rhodesia	263	Points from the Press...	273
Reference to U.N.	266	Mr. Howman on Mr. Wilson	275
		Congo Coup	276

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1965

Vol. 42

No. 2147

52s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

THAT MILITARY MEASURES would not be taken in Central Africa has been repeatedly promised by the Prime Minister in the past three weeks. Mr. Wilson's emphatic pledge has now been broken, as we fully expected it to be, under pressure from African politicians whose opposite numbers in this country almost automatically appease them on any issue. Any realist knowing Africa and its politics could have told the self-confident theorists in office who think they know more about Africa than men who have lived their lives with its problems that the comfortable and complacent assumption of the Cabinet would be quickly and roughly assaulted by the African nationalist extremists who are ever alert for any opportunity of exaggerating a difficulty and thrusting it upon Britain with the intimation that if H.M. Government does not do their bidding some of the newly-independent States will leave the Commonwealth. Since no Minister in the United Kingdom has yet had the wisdom and resolution to call their bluff, the passivity in Whitehall on which the pan-Africans now feel that they can count has inevitably prompted them to raise what was at first a ruse to the status of a policy. The intimidators—and African politicians are specialists in intimidation—now add for full measure: "If you do not do as we ask we shall be driven (1) to consider withdrawal from the Commonwealth; (2) to organize our own action under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity; and (3) to turn to the East for the co-operation denied us by Britain". When someone inquires if the third point is intended to mean acceptance of help already offered by Communist China, he is likely to receive the now stock answer that "They also are people".

President Kaunda, who only last week resorted to that *cliché*, has been under obvious pressure from the ironically misnamed Defence Committee of O.A.U.: it would be more accurately labelled the Offensive Committee—for it is offensive in both senses of the word. Could less be expected from the

African Pressures. five-nation ginger group which was formed at the recent Accra Conference because the nine-member Liberation Committee (which would have been better named Subversion and Sabotage Committee) under Mr. Kambona had done much too little and cost far too much during the previous twelve months? Even President Nyerere had been openly critical of the committee over which his own Minister for External Affairs presides. The messages brought to London at the week-end by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, now Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, were ostensibly from the President of Zambia, but they assuredly reflect, and must have been said also to reflect, the insistence of Presidents Nyerere and Kenyatta and Dr. Obote, the three outstanding leaders in the northern areas of Mr. MacDonald's new bailiwick. Having troubles in plenty in their own countries, it suits them to divert African and international attention and to pretend that an innocent Zambia is gravely menaced by a predatory Rhodesia.

The truth is that scores of Communist-trained African saboteurs and subversionists have in recent months infiltrated Rhodesia from Zambia; that the political parties proscribed in Rhodesia for their campaigns of violence, whose agents elsewhere arrange for the recruitment and training of these criminals, have the hospi-

Rhodesia Disregards Zambian Provocation.

tality of the capital of Zambia; that many of the infiltrators sent back to Rhodesia by them have been caught in possession of arms and explosives and have given the police full details of their associations and orders; and that Rhodesia has abstained from any retaliatory provocation which could possibly justify allegations of hostile intent against Zambia. Mr. Smith has given repeated assurances in private and in public that good neighbourly relations will continue from his side unless the Government of Zambia should deliberately breach the peace. To put it on the lowest plane, Rhodesia needs the revenue received from Zambia for the supply of power from Kariba, for the carriage of traffic from and to her northern neighbour over the jointly-owned State railways, and for the sale of her manufactured and other goods and services. None of that revenue would be recklessly forfeited. It will be diminished or withheld only if Zambia should so decide.

* * *

This leading article must be written before the Prime Minister tells the House of Commons about the Cabinet's decision to go back on its policy that Britain must eschew any

At Variance Only With Politicians.

military adventure in Central Africa. As is now customary, however, there have been "leaks" to the leading dailies of what the Government wanted published in order to condition the country for Mr. Wilson's announcement and the consequential controversy. The similarity in the prognostications indicates that they stem either from a single official source or from two or more ministerial spokesmen who had been given similar instructions. Examination of Tuesday's morning newspapers clearly reveals that the Government case is weak and dangerous. The Prime Minister has been driven to break his explicit pledges by his own threefold incompetence—as judge of the Rhodesian situation, as negotiator with the Smith Government, and as director of the courses to be taken after the avoidable breakdown of discussions with the Rhodesian loyalists—for nothing can obscure the fact (which is sensed by the mass of the people of Britain) that the Rhodesian quarrel has been, and rightly, with the foolish, vacillating, faithless politicians in Britain, and most certainly not with the Queen and the Crown and not with the British people. Mr. Wilson's contemptible endeavour to implicate the Queen personally has been widely resented and nowhere, we may be sure, more bitterly than among white Rhodesians. They still fly the Union Jack, toast Her Majesty, and sing "God Save the Queen"—sometimes now adding "from the politicians".

For what reasons are elements of Britain's armed forces now sent to Zambia? The chief purpose is said to be to guard, or help guard, the Kariba Dam in order to ensure Zambia's electricity supply. What

Why Have Troops Been Sent?

has not been explained is that the power-house is on the south, or Rhodesian, bank of the Zambezi, and that Britain could provide the guarantee which the Kaunda Government wants only by invading Rhodesia. That means, in plain English, starting an Anglo-Rhodesian war. If that is not Mr. Wilson's purpose—and he cannot imagine that this country would tolerate that iniquity—all talk of protecting Zambia's interest in Kariba by military means is nonsense. Next in the list of absurdities comes the assertion that the troops are to forestall invasion. In the first place, there is not the slightest evidence of any external threat to Zambia (except, of course, from the Communists and others who will exploit any occasion for murderous mischief). In the second place, those who are remote enough from reality to imagine that Rhodesians would invade Zambia would presumably know that the token force which is being sent would be useless, and that it would therefore have been necessary to dispatch a brigade or two (if they could have been found somewhere while British commitments are so overstretched).

* * *

Next come two ludicrous suggestions: that ground forces will be restricted to the number of men required to guard airfields and a few vital installations, such as mining properties, bridges, and electrical stations, but that fighter aircraft will patrol the Zambezi border and the power lines from Kariba to the Copperbelt. Observers above the river frontier would merely waste their time and petrol, for there is not a chance in a million of a Rhodesian invasion of Zambia. Those on the Kariba-Kitwe run would be equally grotesquely employed, for they and everyone else must know that anyone planning sabotage would wreck pylons or other objectives by night, not in broad daylight. Not much more sapient is the suggestion that the need is to strengthen President Kaunda's personal position. Has anyone offered proof that it is weaker today than it was a month ago? If it were, would British troops be properly employed as a buttress? Several mass-circulation newspapers have drawn a parallel between Zambia's appeal for British troops and those made early last year by the Governments of Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. There is not the slightest similarity in the circumstances. Open mutinies in the three East

African territories by their African troops required immediate suppression, and the African Governments (which had been so prematurely installed by Britain) asked London to save them from their own rebellious forces. Their calls were naturally met.

* * *

Troops in Zambia—among whose officers are several dozen Britons and Rhodesians—have shown not the slightest sign of indiscipline or disloyalty. Incidentally, it is naive to postulate that the presence of British troops must strengthen President Kaunda's political position. For the moment, that would doubtless be so; but those who are angered by his restraint in racial matters will exploit the charge that he turned to Britain instead of to O.A.U., and African States which have been eager to send in their own troops will consider themselves outwitted and humiliated, and will therefore work with increased determination for the entry of forces from North, West, and East Africa as soon as possible.

* * *

Since not even United Kingdom politicians can have overlooked that certainty, the country should be told what guarantee President Kaunda has given that no troops from any other external source should be brought to Zambia while British airmen and soldiers do duty in that country. Whatever promises may have been made, vigilance will be necessary, for there is every likelihood of the entry into Zambia not only of partly trained "freedom fighters," but of Africans who have had considerable military training and who will be induced to enter as "volunteers," or just as wanderers, ready for guerrilla activities or sabotage in Rhodesia. What will H.M. Government say and do if, under cover of a peace assured by British troops, warlike conspiracies flourish in the Zambian bush and express themselves by the dispatch to Rhodesia of hundreds of men ordered to murder, maim and wreck? Africans have talked openly for weeks of a Zambian Mau Mau. Some such excrescence is a certainty, the only uncertainty being its extent and efficacy. Are British troops to keep their eyes and ears closed to organizers of outrage? They will be told, no doubt, that they must not interfere in any way in Zambia's internal affairs. Yet the sole purpose of their presence will be limited interference of that kind.

* * *

Can they or those who commit them to this thankless task conceive that they can facilitate

what is supposed to be the British Government's aim of expediting the emergence in Rhodesia of such a climate of opinion among responsible men that discussion can be resumed on a basis which will bring majority rule in Rhodesia "not today, not tomorrow, not by clock or calendar, but by achievement", to use Mr. Wilson's own words? Cannot he understand that the use of British troops will be exploited by the worst African nationalist elements, to whom it makes a present of the argument, false but nonetheless expedient, that neo-colonialist and perfidious Britain has seized a chance to serve her own interests which has simultaneously denied Africans beyond the borders of Zambia their first great opportunity of bringing the colour war to the buffer State protecting South Africa, the real target of the African anarchists and their Communist backers? Apparently the gravity of these considerations has not been recognized by the Conservative leaders (who treated Rhodesia so shamefully when they were in office), for Mr. Wilson has been assured of Tory support for his reckless venture.

Statements Worth Noting

"To build a railway to Kisii would cost more than £3m., and it would incur an annual loss of more than £200,000".—Mr. D. Mwanumba, Minister for Works, Communications and Power in Kenya.

"The Kenyatta Government receives every year scholarships from different Governments to assist Kenya Africans to receive higher education in Europe or America. Nine-tenths of these scholarships go to Kikuyu and Luo students".—Radio Mogadishu.

"My concern over the high incidence of drunkenness in Zambia is deepened by the fact that thousands of people are at this moment spending their leisure in heavy drinking".—Mr. Nalumino Mundia, Minister of Labour and Social Development in Zambia.

"Many major Asian businesses in Kenya are making practically no attempt to Africanize at managerial and supervisory levels. The sooner the isolationist attitude prevalent among Asian businessmen is broken the better for Kenya".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

"The strength and influence of the Commonwealth do not necessarily depend upon maintaining 100% of its present membership. It is a fluid and flexible organization with a hard core of many peoples who are prepared to make the effort to work together for common ideals and objectives".—Major-General A. E. Walford, president of the Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce.

"It has been a disappointment to the college and the country that so few students take the degree in agriculture or prepare themselves through other degrees in the basic sciences and social studies to serve the national industry of agriculture and food production".—Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, addressing the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on presentation day.

Rhodesians Confident But Ready to Resume Discussions

Prime Minister Surprised by Extent of Offers of Help from Abroad

MR. IAN SMITH has told Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, assistant editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*, who flew to Salisbury last week, that he would be ready to resume talks with Mr. Wilson at any time and place provided they could start on a constructive basis. He did not think it was his responsibility to take the initiative, and he doubted whether Mr. Wilson had reached the stage of being prepared to forget having used such silly words about Rhodesia as "traitor" and "rebel".

The economic reprisals by Britain had been much milder than expected, and the Rhodesian Government had received far more offers of assistance from other countries than had been thought likely. Britain would receive "some notable surprises" if she knew the names of those who were proving themselves Rhodesia's friends.

The principal result of U.D.I. so far had been "a tremendous upsurge of confidence, which, when translated into economic terms, would enable Rhodesia to forge ahead with schemes which would benefit all the races". There was no intention of putting back the clock in racial matters. He would soon be discussing fresh plans with African M.P.s. and the chiefs.

Portugal Will Help Rhodesia

DR. FRANCO NOGUEIRA, Foreign Minister of Portugal, told journalists in Lisbon on Thursday that Portugal wished to continue her good neighbourly relations with Rhodesia, Malawi, Zambia, and the Congo. Whereas some people advocated drastic, violent, theoretical measures against Rhodesia, "we must always act with a great sense of responsibility and in a spirit of collaboration".

Though he made no specific statement that Portugal would not join in sanctions against Rhodesia, that was the impression left upon the journalists present.

Saying that no formal request for recognition of Mr. Smith's Government had been received, Dr. Nogueira explained that though such recognition might raise difficulties for many members of the United Nations, "such difficulties do not belong to us".

MR. IAN SMITH said in Salisbury:—

"To illustrate the position of Her Majesty the Queen in this matter, I shall tell you how the principles of loyalty to the Crown are operated by the politicians in Westminster.

The Queen and Rhodesia

"I instructed the High Commissioner in London to ensure that our letter reached Her Majesty's hand. He at once telephoned the Queen's secretary to arrange a time to deliver my loyal message. He was informed that the Queen could not be available until 5 p.m. to receive the message. The secretary undertook to reply to the High Commissioner by 3.30 p.m. On further inquiry at that time the Queen's secretary informed the High Commissioner that all messages intended for the Sovereign should, by custom and protocol, be passed to him for transmission to Her Majesty through the Commonwealth Relations Office or the Foreign Office.

"Accordingly the message was handed to the Commonwealth Relations Office at 3.35 p.m. At 5 p.m. the High Commissioner inquired of the Queen's secretary if Her Majesty had received the message. It transpired that the Queen's Secretary, with the British Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and certain civil servants were at Whitehall reading the message and drafting a reply.

"When the High Commissioner said that he would report this to Salisbury it was found that the telephone line to Rhodesia had developed a defect. It was made clear to the

Commonwealth Relations Office that the High Commissioner considered this a deliberate obstruction. There appeared to be considerable anxiety in the Commonwealth Relations Office at this and assurances were given that the Queen would soon be receiving the message with, in addition, the prepared reply.

"After being informed by the High Commissioner that he would publish the letter the telephone line to Salisbury suddenly became free at 9 p.m. It was further stated that the British Prime Minister would publish the message and his reply that night. It seems therefore that the Queen never came into the matter at all".

Governor Does Not Intend to Resign

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, the Governor of Rhodesia, told overseas newspaper correspondents on Friday that he had no intention of vacating Government House or resigning his office.

"In spite of certain statements in the Press, as you can see I am in very good health. I intend to remain at Government House as the lawful Governor of Rhodesia until such time as the constitutional Government is restored, which I very much hope will be soon. I hope and believe that if I continue in office I may provide the link which will make a satisfactory settlement of the present situation possible".

Captain Christopher Owen, the A.D.C., had said that the Governor would not answer questions, since he must keep out of the political arena.

"Although attacks have been made on his personal integrity and innuendoes whispered about his disloyalty to Rhodesia, he is a man of integrity who would not stoop to petty recriminations which would cause a lowering of standards".

All but one of the typewriters was removed from Government House that day. Women volunteers are acting as secretarial staff, and replying to the many letters, said to run into thousands, which have assured Sir Humphrey of support.

Major David Hall, Chief of Protocol to the Rhodesian Government, and formerly to the Federal Government, resigned on Friday, saying that on the day after U.D.I. he had told Mr. Smith that he could not support the declaration of independence. He had also informed Mr. Dupont through the usual official channels. He had thought it right to fulfil his normal duties for as long as possible if that did not conflict with his loyalty. That hope having been disappointed, he had resigned.

Roman Catholic Bishops Criticize

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salisbury and the four Bishops in Rhodesia have expressed the view that Mr. Smith was toying dangerously with reality when he claimed that Rhodesians were behind the declaration of independence. A pastoral instruction distributed to those who attended Catholic churches on Sunday said:—

"A vast number of the people of Rhodesia are bitterly opposed to the unilateral declaration of independence. They are particularly angered that it should be stated publicly that this action was taken in the name of preserving Christian civilization in this country.

"It is simply untrue to say that they have consented by their silence. Their silence is the silence of fear, of disappointment, of hopelessness. It is a dangerous silence, dangerous for the church, for all of us".

Much had been done in the recent past in many spheres of social endeavour, the document conceded, but it concluded:—

"It is simply courting disaster and building up massive resentment for the years ahead to offer temporary palliatives or to try to reduce to silence the voices of those who speak piteously, pleading against the indignity of being regarded as second-class citizens, of being governed with mere token representation, of being made to feel that theirs is a permanent position of inferiority".

THE RT. REV. CECIL AIDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, has written to the *Church Times*:—

"I write not to assert or defend a cause or to appportion praise or blame, but to beseech the lively

prayers of my fellow-Christians throughout the world for Rhodesia, all its peoples, and all its Christian churches.

Rhodesian Christians Differ About U.D.I.

"Pray for our Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, in the crushing burden that has come upon him. Born in England, he has been a lifelong Rhodesian, a dedicated Churchman, a weekly communicant. Pray for him as he meets the inescapable duties of a wholly unsought and ever lonely call to serve his country, and to serve God. Pray for Molly, his gracious lady. They are dear to all Rhodesians. Almost every African Rhodesian is with him, and thousands of white Rhodesians... and yet now!

"In another part of Salisbury, another Government House, reigns Clifford Dupont, and his gracious lady. They are Churchmen too, and the African priests and congregation near their country home have found them unflinching friends. They believe, with thousands more of our fellow-Churchmen in this land, that their cause is right. Pray for Clifford Dupont.

"And for Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of our *de facto* Government (a Presbyterian), and all who for the time bear actual power of government in Rhodesia, whatever history says, or we (and I believe it utterly wrong myself), about U.D.I.

"Above all, pray for the Church, all its ministers and other members; for Kenneth of Matabeleland, and, if you will, myself.

"I believe the wounds of 1965 (whatever the estimated 'success' or 'failure' of U.D.I. may prove to be) in State and Church will bleed for decades, and perhaps much longer, like the wounds of the Anglo-Boer War, unless the healing, forgiving, understanding, renewing grace of Christ is unremittingly, from this moment and for years to come, applied to them by his Church.

"We do not know yet how hard the Church is going to be hit, or anything else, by the material consequences of U.D.I. But that should of course, in a Church which is the Body of the Crucified, be our great moment of spiritual advance, through death to resurrection and 'glory'. But will we too be boycotted, because like all human beings we are tied and bound with the chain of sin, utterly frail and confused sheep of Christ, filled with terrible racial prejudices and fears, making our terrible mistakes? Will priests and laymen shun us, to whom God has given, with our hundreds of thousands of his African children, and our tens of thousands of his non-African children, the pastoral opportunity of the 20th century?

"Please pray for us all, the saintly Africans and the wicked Europeans, the wicked Africans and the saintly Europeans. I have them all in my flock, this one kral of Christ's Church".

Rhodesia's Formidable Case

Mr. Worsthorpe reported from Salisbury that international correspondents with memories of Algeria, the Congo, Indonesia, and other troubled territories found Mr. Smith and his colleagues astonishingly unafraid, the Prime Minister's office being guarded by only one unarmed white policeman and his home having no more protection even at night. "I have yet to see a strand of barbed-wire or a barricade. Ministers walk down the street unescorted". The dispatch also said:—

"There is very little evidence of any real conflict of loyalties. One eminently reasonable anti-U.D.I. senior civil servant put it like this: 'Smith's action has probably posed less of a challenge to 99% of Rhodesians than Macmillan's policy of joining Europe did to most Britons. A lot of us opposed U.D.I., but now it is done we support the Government, just as opponents of the Common Market would have supported Macmillan if he had succeeded in getting Britain in'.

"I am convinced, as I never was in London, that these men have a formidable case. Their arguments make sense from the Rhodesian viewpoint.

"Mr. Harper, Minister of the Interior, argued that Rhodesia needed her independence because there was a fundamental conflict between Salisbury and London on the most vital issue—the future of the white man in South Africa.

"Britain believed that black-majority rule, based on the one-man-one-vote principle, was the irresistible wave of the future in Southern Africa, and that the only sensible course open to the white man was, to conduct himself in such a conciliatory way as to make this inevitable fate as painless as possible when it came.

"Against the background of that policy, Mr. Harper admitted U.D.I. made no sense at all. It would give the whites new determination to dig in their toes and the blacks increased provocation. But Rhodesia, he insisted, did not accept the premises on which British policy was based.

"Black-majority rule was not necessarily the wave of the

future, because once its bitter fruits— incompetence, corruption, black inhumanity to black— had had time to be fully tasted (and this might take another decade or so) current faith in this panacea would have begun to fade, as much among Africans as in the West as a whole. Indeed, the tide was already beginning to ebb.

"It was essential therefore that the white man should not give way now to a doctrine that was already losing its force. He must dig in his toes until experience of black-majority rule had taught the rest of Africa and the rest of the world that justice demanded fundamentally different political solutions for Southern Africa.

"On this assessment, he insisted, U.D.I. made perfect sense, because without independence the whites could never engender enough national cohesion and patriotic resolve to tide Rhodesia over the next difficult 10 years. For that to be done successfully it was essential to weld Rhodesia's disparate white population into a united nation, which could be done only by struggling for and achieving independence".

Spirits Astonishingly High

Independence, Mr. Worsthorpe considered, had certainly had a most galvanizing effect. Spirits were astonishingly high.

"If sanctions breed a real crisis atmosphere, which to date does not begin to exist, the arguments for authoritarian rule would be greatly strengthened. But at the moment it is difficult to find any real concern about sanctions at all.

"When I had a talk with Mr. Smith on Thursday he waved the threat aside, drawing my attention to a sheaf of letters on his desk, all of which, he implied, were offers of help from friendly countries.

"Once sanctions do begin to work, the bitterness will be all the greater because of present optimism and euphoria. But the bitterness will not be directed against Mr. Smith; scapegoats will be found in the form of white liberals and black nationalists. How sad it would be if Britain, having failed to deter a moderate revolution, succeeded only in transforming it into an extremist dictatorship!"

The representative in Salisbury of the London *Evening Standard* telegraphed:—

"After only two weeks of U.D.I. the industrialists and businessmen of Rhodesia have come out solidly behind Mr. Ian Smith.

"These are the very men who before the proclamation of U.D.I. were among its most vocal and persistent opponents. They are backing the Government, not from political motives, but because they recognize the economic facts of life. But this makes no odds to Mr. Smith: he needs their backing only to make independence work.

"In Bulawayo I spoke to a leading industrialist who was a strong opponent of U.D.I. 'I have no suicidal tendencies. I will do anything to make independence work, and I was an opponent of U.D.I.', he said. He asked me not to use his name. 'Rhodesia is like a country at war. We have to forget our differences and win a victory'. Industrialists and businessmen in Rhodesia, he said, are confident that economic sanctions against the country will fail".

Communist Trained Saboteurs

MR. DESMOND LARDNER-BURKE, Minister of Law and Order, has announced that a number of Communist-trained intelligence agents who have entered Rhodesia from Zambia have been arrested. They had undergone comprehensive training in guerrilla warfare and sabotage in Russia between April and August of this year. Most had belonged to the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, People's Caretaker Council, or Zimbabwe African National Union.

This year more than 80 terrorists trained in Russia, China, Ghana or Algeria had been caught, some only after they had committed sabotage with explosives. All had passed through Zambia, some having started from Tanzania.

About 800 Communist-trained guerrilla agents were estimated to be waiting to start subversive work in Rhodesia. Deposits of explosives and ammunition already found pointed to nationalist plans for armed insurrection.

Britain and Zambia Deadlocked Over Dispatch of Troops

Commonwealth Secretary Sent to Lusaka After Days of Wrangling

MR. BOTTOMLEY, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, left London for Lusaka in an R.A.F. Comet aircraft shortly before midnight on Tuesday.

The decision that he should fly to Zambia had been taken only an hour and a half earlier, when it had become clear to the Government that its stipulations about the use of the troops which it was intended to send to Zambia were resented and resisted by President Kaunda and his Cabinet.

It had been expected that agreement to the British terms would have been reached early in the day, and the Prime Minister would be able to make a full statement in the House of Commons at 3.30 p.m. At about that time it was made known that discussions were continuing and that the announcement could not be made before 7 p.m. Later the time was changed to between 9 and 9.30 o'clock; and arrangements were made for Mr. Wilson to broadcast to the nation on television just after 10. That intention had to be cancelled, for the messages arriving from Lusaka indicated that a gulf still separated the British view, as expressed by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, and that of the Government of Zambia.

Its objections were understood to relate entirely to the conditions governing the employment of British troops, not to their numbers.

H.M. Government's condition for acceptance of President Kaunda's requests for an R.A.F. unit and troops had included stipulations that the British forces shall remain entirely under British command and that they shall be kept away from the border with Rhodesia. Zambia, however, insisted that the essential need was to occupy the Kariba power-house, which is situated on the Rhodesian bank of the Zambezi. Acceptance of that proposal would therefore constitute willingness to invade Rhodesia.

Mr. Macdonald had arrived back in Lusaka on Tuesday to discuss these matters with President Kaunda and to report the decision of his Government to London.

He had flown to London on Sunday from days of discussion with President Kaunda, who had said publicly that he had appealed to the British Government to send troops to Zambia, and that if that were not done he would decide which other Power should be invited to help safeguard the supply of electricity from Kariba. He had had "many" offers, but preferred not to name the countries concerned.

Offers From Communist and Other Nations

When asked at a news conference if offers had been received from Communist Powers, he replied: "They are human beings".

Other Ministers in Zambia were saying at the time that offers of military aid had come from Russia, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Ghana.

A few hours after Mr. MacDonald's arrival the Prime Minister motored back from Chequers to Downing Street so that he and Ministers especially concerned with the Central African problem might hear the envoy's report and discuss eventualities. The meeting, which lasted almost three hours, was attended by Mr. Bottomley and Mr. Clewlyn Hughes from the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Defence Secretary, the Foreign Secretary, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. George Brown, First Secretary and Minister for Economic Affairs.

No statement was issued, but it was understood in official quarters that some positive response to President Kaunda's appeal must be made quickly if the initiative were not to pass from H.M. Government, since hesitation might cause several African States and perhaps also Russia and China to send troops.

In R.A.F. circles it was thought that a fighter squadron might be sent, together with contingents from the Royal Air Force Regiment.

The military contribution seemed likely to be of battalion strength.

The question was discussed on B.B.C. Television on Tuesday night by Mr. Erskine Childers and Mr. F. S. Joelson, who sharply criticized the decision to intervene militarily, saying that it was a direct breach of the Prime Minister's repeated pledge and a reckless venture. At best it would invoke humiliation for Britain; at worst, bloodshed. Rhodesians would obviously not tolerate invasion by British or other troops.

Hazard of Civil War

Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., said in Folkestone that he strongly opposed the dispatch of British troops. President Kaunda had asked for them to guard the Kariba Dam, and that meant crossing into Rhodesia and risking a clash with the Rhodesian Army. Such a hazard of civil war ought not to be taken.

Another possibility was that, with British troops in Zambia, Africans of that and other territories might undertake guerrilla raids and other subversive operations in Rhodesia, against which Rhodesian troops would be prevented from retaliatory raids into Zambia because of the British presence.

It was also possible that the wish for British troops was intended to keep President Kaunda in power, or to protect British lives in the Copperbelt—which was the responsibility of Zambia, not of Britain.

If a small British force were sent, its size could escalate; and the initial threat that Zambia would accept troops from Egypt, Ghana, or some other source could be extended later to demand still more troops.

The arrival of British troops in Zambia might well be the first step to civil war in Central Africa.

Threat of War in Central Africa

MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice, speaking at a public forum on Rhodesia at York University, said: "It must now be recognized that Mr. Smith's régime is the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia. We in Britain have to make up our minds whether we are to make every effort to overthrow his régime by force or, in accordance with a well-established precedent, open negotiations after a period of some three to six months.

"Economic sanctions which are not supported by Portugal and South Africa will not cause the overthrow of a determined Government, certainly in any period of less than a year. It is equally clear that the Afro-Asian majority in the United Nations will make every effort to persuade the Western Powers to use military force to defeat Mr. Smith's Government.

"The precursor to any such action would be the dispatch of a British battalion to 'protect' Zambia. Once it was established at Kariba, many would argue that this battalion should change into blue berets on the excuse that Britain could thus retain some influence over a United Nations force.

"The result of military intervention would inevitably be to consolidate not only all white Rhodesians behind Mr. Smith but to bind together the four million whites in Southern Africa. The only result of such action would be utter chaos, as any United Nations force, once on the move, would attempt to march on into South Africa.

"The alternative to war in Central Africa is to appreciate that the ends we have in mind can be achieved only by discussion and conciliation. The door is still slightly ajar, and it is possible that in a few months negotiations can be opened with Mr. Smith with the object of establishing a legal independence for Rhodesia which would safeguard the rights of Africans as well as Europeans but would guarantee that there was no handing over of power to the majority race 'either today or tomorrow', to use our Prime Minister's words".

House of Lords Debates Rhodesian Independence

Peers Condemn Savage Sanctions and Criticize Prime Minister's Actions

LORD FORESTER, who said that he spent half his life in Rhodesia, wondered if that made him a rebel.

When he left Salisbury a week earlier everything was absolutely tranquil. Was that situation to be upset by savage sanctions?

"I grow about 350 acres of tobacco, and I feed, house, and pay some 200 African families. I also provide a school for their children. This is the typical set-up of the Rhodesian tobacco farmer.

"If we put an embargo on Rhodesian tobacco, it will not be grown, and many thousands, perhaps 100,000, Africans will be out of work and near starvation level. Idle hands and empty stomachs cause unrest and probably bloodshed—a word so glibly used in this country, even by the Church. Perhaps that is what the Government want; but if it is, let this House not be a party to it.

"Is it wise to destroy an industry that has been so laboriously worked up? More than half the tobacco in your cigarettes is Rhodesian. If you lose all that you will have to get it from America. That suits America very well; there is four years' supply waiting in their docks; and very bad tobacco it is. I hope it will not give you lung cancer, but it may well do so. Should you have to cultivate the taste for American tobacco it will cost about \$35m. a year. Is that going to help our balance of payments?

"The unfortunate British taxpayer pays some £200m. to the other African States. Must he spend even more on subsidising starving Rhodesian Africans whom we have put out of employment?

"It is utterly incongruous to apply punitive sanctions to Rhodesia, a State pledged to multi-racialism and eventual African rule—certainly a much more liberal régime than that carried out by our friends to the south or to the north. Surely it is better to use the reasonable velvet glove rather than the punitive mailed fist, which will most certainly drive all Rhodesians into a corner together and invite them to endure any sacrifices.

"I have many friends in Rhodesia who are members of the old U.F.P. party. A week or so ago they were all stolidly behind Mr. Smith. They said that Rhodesia speaks with one voice in her desire for independence. Now possibly they may think differently. So let us give them every opportunity for second thoughts—perhaps an alternative or a coalition Government."

Mr. Smith the More Reasonable Negotiator

LORD MILVERTON deplored the necessity for U.D.I. Reasonableness and willingness to make some concessions had been almost entirely on Mr. Smith's side. The British Government's demands, however plausibly set forth, rested on an inflexible foundation and left no real freedom for accommodation.

"The Prime Minister dared not appear to be otherwise than inflexible because he was all the time apprehensive of the United Nations. This talk about 'Red troops in blue berets' seems to me nothing short of the admission of blackmail by the militant members of the United Nations—shall we say Soviet Russia trading on the hysteria of certain members of the Afro-Asian group?

"I still believe that an acceptable agreement could have been reached between the Rhodesian and British Governments on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. I simply do not believe that it would not have been possible for the right sort of negotiator, who understood the atmosphere of Africa, to arrive at an agreement of that sort with Mr. Smith.

"The 1961 Constitution opened the door wide to the black African citizens of Rhodesia to qualify themselves within a reasonable period of years for a dominant participation in the Government of a great and prosperous country; but they were intimidated by self-appointed leaders into refusing to co-operate in any such constitutional advance towards partnership and eventual predominance in a civilized Government. The chance lay with the African community, and they were misled by their so-called leaders into refusing a golden opportunity.

"The militants of the United Nations will go on pressing to the end for the immediate surrender of Government powers to the unqualified numerical majority of black Africans. The Prime Minister has himself said that one-man-one-vote makes no sense today or tomorrow. But that danger looms large on the horizon.

"The imposition of penal sanctions is an act of war, and is extremely likely to produce a situation in which the use of

military force will be loudly demanded to control the chaos these measures seem likely—or even, some may think, designed—to create.

"Is not failure to stand up for civilized government, failure in obedience to the traditions and sacred beliefs of one's own race, substitution of expediency for courageous faith, far greater disloyalty than a technical breach which can legally be called rebellion? The Rhodesian Government, in my view, was driven into this unwise course.

"Amid all the talk about rebels and traitors on which side is the failure in faith and loyalty? Is it not with us? It is a sorry day when we are ordered by irresponsible foreign representatives to abandon the high principles by which we once stood. We are told that we must swim with the tide, even if it be a torrent of barbarism.

"Mr. Smith has asked only that ample time be given to his African fellow citizens to take advantage of the opportunities provided for them, so that they can, if they will—and they have up to date refused—make a constructive contribution to the prosperity of so potentially great a country. They have not been willing to do so.

The Frightened Men Are in Britain

"To me it seems that the 'frightened men' are on this side of the picture, not on the Rhodesian side. Are not the British Government looking over their shoulder all the time to the United Nations? The United States, Canada, and Australia are in strange association with Soviet Russia and Afro-Asians in this insistence that civilization has no right to survive if it is numerically outnumbered. On this basis why do our American friends bar the entry of China, to the so ineptly called United Nations?

"What are the terms and conditions which we should be ready to offer the Rhodesians? It is no use waiting and drifting. We should know exactly what we are trying to do in this appallingly difficult situation.

"I am utterly opposed to the imposition of viciously penal sanctions, because they are morally unjustifiable, likely to be unsuccessful practically, and because they will harm most those whom they are nominally designed to assist.

"The sun is setting blood-red on the high principles which once governed our relationship to the timing of betterment, material and spiritual, of hitherto backward countries. I, for one, refuse to salute this withdrawal from responsibility as the dawn of a brighter day."

Britain's Share of Blame

LORD GRIMSTON OF WESTBURY emphasized that no political party in this country could disclaim its share of responsibility over those years.

"In legal phraseology the Smith Government may be rebels; but can your lordships who heard his broadcast the other day believe that in his heart he is a rebel? The Union Jack continues to fly; the National Anthem continues to be sung. How favourably that compares with other places, where on the grant of independence a republic is immediately proclaimed, allegiance to the Crown is severed, the Union Jack is pulled down, and they proceed to gang up against us in the United Nations.

"The Rhodesians have flouted the rule of law. But is it for us in this House to stand in a white sheet over that matter, when we remember that only a few short months ago we retrospectively reversed a judicial decision of the highest court in the land?

"I do not claim a great knowledge of Rhodesia, but I have paid several visits in the last few years. This was the gist of the remarks made to me in different parts of the country:

"We know you are going to treat us as expendable. You are much more interested in your image at the United Nations than in doing justice to those who have built this country and to whom you have been content to give virtual independence for years. That very general view is to quite a large extent justified.

"Let me recall the United Nations Congo operations. They were called in to maintain order after the mutiny of the Force Publique. President Tshombe, a friend of the Belgians, was running a viable Katanga in law and order when the rest of the Congo was a shambles, doing it with the help of the former Colonial Power and with white mercenaries. He was indeed sowing the seeds of multi-racial development. That was anathema to the Afro-Asian group and their friends in the United Nations. What would have been a peace operation was turned by that interference into a campaign to oust

ALL BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES BLAMEWORTHY

Tshombe from Katanga. They succeeded, with the help of the United States and ourselves and after much bloodshed Tshombe was ejected. The Rhodesians saw all this happening at close quarters.

Lessons from Congo and the Federation

"Tshombe, who wanted to work with the white Colonial Power, was driven out by the United Nations with the support of ourselves and the United States: and the lesson was not just on Rhodesia.

"Then came the break-up of the Federation and the handing of independence to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The impression created on many Rhodesians is that Britain has been in far too much of a hurry to hand over to black majorities, with precious little regard for the feelings or the fate of those who have built up the country; and when this process reached a point where there was a white population large enough and powerful enough to revolt, it has done so and it is not surprising. That is the tragic position we have reached. We have a heavy portion of the blame. When I say 'we' I mean all political parties in this country.

"The Government have explicitly stated that this is a British matter, and not one for any outsider. Then why run off to the United Nations at once and drag them in, particularly after the Congo story? Why not have adopted the attitude taken by the French Government who, refusing to recognize the illegal Smith régime, nevertheless said: 'We will take no part in the United Nations over this, as we regard it as wholly a British matter'.

"The Prime Minister thinks that by getting in first he will steady the United Nations' demands for drastic action. I have spent three months at the United Nations on our delegation, and I do not believe that our going there to try to get in first will restrain the U.N. from making extravagant demands. I think it may well prejudice our future position.

Lost Trust in Britain

"The Lord Chancellor asked why Rhodesia agitated for independence when she could govern herself as long as she liked under the 1961 Constitution. The terrible answer is that after what has passed during these last years they do not trust us."

LORD ALPORT could find no precedent in British history for the situation in Rhodesia: not the American War of Independence, not Ulster.

"The decision made by the Rhodesian people in December 1962, when Sir Edgar Whitehead's Government was defeated and replaced by that of Mr. Winston Field, was to opt for the Dutch solution for the future of race relations in Southern Africa, which is opposed to the British tradition. In the referendum of 1961 it seemed certain that the majority of Europeans would wish to continue in close relationship with British policy. They were frightened by what they saw when the refugees from the Congo came through, and concerned with what they thought unwise decisions from the British Government in other parts of Africa; and they were astonished to find that when South Africa left the Commonwealth she enjoyed almost immediately substantial economic advantages and relative internal security.

"After the election of December 1962 there was never any chance, whether under Mr. Field or his successors, of an agreement being reached between any British Government and the Rhodesian Front Government. My Secretary of State, Lord Butler of Saffron Walden, will remember that I gave that advice when I served him.

"Of all the parties that took part in the constitutional conference before the Constitution of 1961 was accepted, only one refused to accept its conclusions. The United Federal Party and the United Federal Government, under Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Central African Party, the representatives of the chiefs of the Coloured communities, and the Asian community all accepted that Constitution. Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole accepted it. One party refused—the Dominion Party, which formed the basis for the present leadership in Rhodesia.

"Good faith is the essential element in political progress, but although they may remember the mistakes—and there were mistakes—of British Governments of all parties in the past, though they may attribute to us lack of good faith, we have a right to historical memory as well.

"When the moment came for us to realize that the people of Southern Rhodesia had opted for a South African solution—not in detail, not doctrinaire, not as part of the full panoply of apartheid, but fundamentally an orientation to South Africa rather than to Britain—then we in this country, whatever

Government were in power, had a duty to make certain that the safeguards which were written into the Constitution, before independence was granted to any Government in Southern Rhodesia, were sufficient to ensure reasonable prospects of freedom and progress for the people of all races.

"There have been so many accusations of bad faith levelled at successive British Governments. These have been exploited in Rhodesia by people who are fundamentally anti-British, to denigrate everything this country has stood for, everything which this country could accept as a possible future for the people of all races in Rhodesia. If good faith is the issue, we also have a right to be certain of the good faith of any Southern Rhodesian Government to whom we hand over full and independent power over the future of every man and woman in that territory, regardless of race, creed, or colour.

"The Governor, the Chief Justice, the heads of the religious communities, and many other honourable people are seeking, even after the twelfth hour, to restore Southern Rhodesia to the British orientation. I have found it incredible to hear in this Upper House of the British Parliament speeches in support of a rebel Government without any mention whatever, without even any tribute of a personal nature, to the Governor, who alone represents constitutional authority in Rhodesia at this moment and is facing a dilemma your lordships and I should pray to God we shall ourselves never have to face.

No Attitude of Unconditional Surrender

"The Government might make clear the conditions which we in our British Parliament will accord to the Government that succeeds the Smith régime. There must not be an attitude of unconditional surrender by the Rhodesian people. We must try to ensure not only that the people of Rhodesia and the people in the Civil Service, the Army, the Air Force, and the police, if they take the right decision in the terrible dilemma with which they are faced, and if they turn to the Governor and the constitutional authorities there, will receive reasonable and proper support, but also that their country and what they stand for will not be suddenly thrown into the melting pot of some new policy about which they know nothing.

"We have to tell them the constitutional settlement which will be come to by a British Government with the successor Government to the Smith régime as soon as Rhodesia returns to its allegiance. We should be specific on the conditions that are to be available to those who remain loyal in the civil service and Forces and those who are going to support, may be at great cost to themselves, the British point of view in Rhodesia. I should like the Prime Minister to make an immediate statement.

"But that is not sufficient. In Rhodesia they know the vicissitudes of British politics—one party in power to-day and perhaps another tomorrow. They have seen their interests become the football of party politics. Therefore, any decision about the constitutional settlement at the end of this rebellion must be underwritten not only by the present Government but by the leaders of the Conservative Opposition as well. Then we shall have a definite and decisive offer to make to the Rhodesian people so that they will know what their future is.

"They will know, if they decide to make the decision that is demanded by duty and loyalty, that they are doing something for the future of their country. In that sort of spirit we may gradually find a return to support for the constitutional authorities in Rhodesia. If we fail, we and they face a tragedy. If we succeed we shall do a service to Rhodesia, ourselves, the Commonwealth, and to the whole desperate and fervent problem of race relations throughout the world."

No Enthusiasm for Instant Independence

THE EARL OF LYTON had no enthusiasm for instant independence according to the United Nations prescription.

"Behind Mr. Nkomo is Resolution 1514 of the General Assembly, which prescribes immediate independence, regardless of lack of preparation. Similar views are embodied in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in many resolutions of that organization, which has now 36 members, many of them of our own Commonwealth.

"Similar resolutions, much more violently expressed, were embodied in the Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations in October 1964. Representatives of 47 member nations and 10 observers were present—getting on for half the States of the world. All were afraid of giving one single word of credit to the freedoms that Britain has bestowed.

"In addition, there are in Tanzania the headquarters of the

WHY WAS A REASONABLE TIME-TABLE NOT ARRANGED ?

Liberation Committee and physical forces of the Organization of African Unity, with the Foreign Minister of Tanzania as its chairman; it is dedicated to violence and subversion in neighbouring countries. That is known to all Rhodesians.

There is the book, published in Britain, written by Mr. Tom Mboya, who describes in absolute detail the procedure followed by the nationalists in order to get the white man out. He is represented, as soon as they reach a certain stage, as the enemy, the only enemy; and anything denigrating and mendacious that can be said about him is said.

"Rhodesians see plainly their genuine crisis. They must feel that the pressures of the Commonwealth and the non-aligned nations is such that a British Government will not be able to resist it for long.

"I wonder whether when the phrase 'Not today' nor tomorrow' was used in the negotiations anybody mentioned the period which has been mentioned today (for the first time, to the best of my knowledge, from a high authority) of possibly 15 to 20 years.

"Constitutional progress in Kenya and Tanzania was carried out in a virtual vacuum. The poor in pence were elevated to the seats of the mighty; and there was nothing in the way of a substantial middle class community of Africans with all sorts of trades, professions, and activities. There were only the poor Africans, the African politicians in power, and the rich whites. Would it not be possible to approach the matter from the absolutely opposite end?—to decide, after calculating the cost and the methods of carrying out a plan, to create an African middle class community in 20 or 30 years and give that as the date after which there would be more Africans with the vote than whites? If that were done, if we did hold the fort, we could bring Rhodesians to believe by degrees in the possibility. Those who would not tolerate it would filter away—and would not need to be compensated. Lord Swinton said: 'Keep the door open'. This is my contribution to keeping the door open".

Rhodesians Thought Only of Their Country's Future

LORD COLERAINE said that the Government's decision to reply to a technical rebellion by savage sanctions would bring not the quick change of heart which they presumably expected but increased support for Mr. Smith and his friends. Sanctions would consolidate their position, not weaken it.

If the Lord Chancellor had conducted the negotiations, not only in the last three or four weeks, but over the past three or four years, Rhodesians would have had a very much more favourable opinion of the reliability and integrity of British Ministers.

As patriots, Rhodesians thought only of their country's future, while British Ministers had entangled themselves in constitutional law. While in Salisbury Mr. Wilson suggested that discussions should be confined to the specific constitutional problem, to which Mr. Smith replied that it was not so much constitutional law as political philosophy which had to be considered. That defined the real difference and the reason for Rhodesia's insistence on independence.

People of British stock who had grown into nationhood would no longer submit to control by a Parliament thousands of miles away in which they had no representation.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE and FERRARD thought that the misstatement of the century must be the Prime Minister's claim that Britain had given freedom and independence to 700m. people since the war. Those people had now nothing like the individual freedom or the impartial justice which they had enjoyed within the former British Empire.

The Prime Minister had regrettably tried to stir up public opinion against the Rhodesian Government. It had acted illegally, but had not embarked on slippery politics. Nothing was to be gained by brow-beating, and there was no reason why negotiations should not soon be re-opened. Rhodesians were not to be blamed for being frightened of the intentions of the British Government.

LORD BADEN-POWELL said that on his mother's side there were four generations of Rhodesians, the first having arrived with the 1890 Pioneers. His wife was a second-generation Rhodesian, and she and he had been born in Rhodesia, one of Africa's most prosperous and go-ahead countries.

Unrest had been stirred up from other African States, and there was a general feeling among Rhodesians that a stand

must be made. Unfortunately, that had led to tightening of controls and the restriction of freedom, the dilemma having been heightened by the African nationalist leaders' abysmal lack of leadership and coherence and by Whitehall's unwillingness to make up its mind.

British tardiness in attempting to find a permanent solution had been a major reason for U.D.I. Much of the blame must rest on Britain, which could not therefore exact reparation or reap vengeance with a clear conscience.

Sanctions would make Rhodesians more determined. A more moderate Government being therefore unlikely even in the next couple of years, some country to the north might start a conflict, probably with Chinese and possibly with Russian backing. If Rhodesia had to fight on two fronts, one economic and one military, she would be brought to her knees, but only bloodily and among chaos which would turn a prosperous country into an economic and political backwater.

Sharp Criticism of Government

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL emphasized that anyone who had been in the Congo when the United Nations force was there must fervently hope that there would be no U.N. intervention in Rhodesia.

Such words as "treason" and "traitor" ought not to be used. If, as H.M. Government had said, it would be reasonable to recognize the rebel Government in Rhodesia, would it also be reasonable to recognize an African government-in-exile?

He sharply denounced the document which officials at Rhodesia House, London, had been required by the Commonwealth Relations Office to sign, dissociating themselves publicly from their employers, the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia.

"Consider the dreadful position of an African holding such a position. If he elects to sign the declaration, then in the event of the Smith Government lasting he will have cut himself off from his own country. If he refuses to sign, then in the event at some date of constitutional government being re-established he will be a marked man as soon as African majority rule comes about".

EARL ATTLEE recalled his visit to the two Rhodesias 13 years ago, when Lord Malvern was providing "wise leadership". Unfortunately, "the present ruling clique in Rhodesia consists of people whose mentality is rather like that of an American in the Southern States before the civil war". Sanctions should be short, sharp, and strong.

"The sooner we are prepared to treat generously with these frightened people—Mr. Smith and his friends—the better. We might get a guarantee for their safety from the United Nations. Something of that kind may be needed to restore confidence. Today power in Rhodesia has fallen into the hands of frightened people, and one cannot get frightened people to hear reason".

Prime Minister's Costly Blunder

THE EARL OF SWINTON considered that Mr. Smith had sincerely tried to get a settlement, but the Prime Minister had unfortunately given the impression that Rhodesia was to be bound by a unanimous finding of the Royal Commission but not Britain.

"It is a disaster that Mr. Smith and his colleagues have rushed into U.D.I. A disaster to Rhodesia, it will be damaging for this country too. Rhodesia's friends here do not condone illegal action but want to save Rhodesians from themselves. Let us avoid making it unnecessarily difficult for a future Rhodesian Government to retrace their steps".

LORD WINDLESHAM, who said he had found Mr. Smith a thoughtful and direct man of apparent sincerity and integrity, objected to U.D.I. as a threat to future peaceful development. The only way forward in Rhodesia was for a vital, educating, and advancing society in which all citizens would feel they had a part and a future.

EARL DE LA WARR thought the outstanding point of the controversy was its lack of bitterness; and what was wanted was a lasting, just, and unembittered solution to a tragic problem.

Hitler's bombs had rallied the British people, not demoralized them. Some of his own friends in Rhodesia who had strongly opposed U.D.I. had said that if it came they would support the Government. That would be a characteristic British attitude. It must be remembered that there were a great number of loyal, moderate, liberal-minded Rhodesians. Britain should refuse to accept criticism from people who were in no position to sit in judgment on others.

(Further speeches will be reported next week)

British Reference to United Nations Debated by Parliament

Aim to Turn Rhodesia Back to Constitutional Channels Without Recrimination

H.M. GOVERNMENT'S DECISION to refer the problem of Rhodesia to the Security Council of the United Nations has been discussed by the House of Commons.

THE PRIME MINISTER SAID:—

"The House will recall the circumstances in which the Foreign Secretary went to New York. He had to negotiate and debate against a background of almost overwhelming demand for the use of collective military force, and it was the desire of the whole House that he should assert the British responsibility for Rhodesia, while seeking the fullest support for effective measures to bring Rhodesia back to constitutional rule. I believe he had a great success in what he set out to do, not least because he was able to claim the full support of Parliament and the country.

Views of 36 African States Unacceptable

"It became clear that the original British resolution would not have secured a majority, and we insisted that the opposing resolution supported by 36 African States, was unacceptable. In the event, a compromise resolution which, with the explanation made by Lord Caradon last Saturday, was acceptable to us, was passed by 10 votes to none, France abstaining.

"On the wording of the resolution, Lord Caradon made it clear that, with regard to the operative paragraph 1, we do not regard it as falling under Chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations.

"Paragraph 7 of the resolution calls upon the United Kingdom Government, as the working of the 1961 Constitution has broken down, to take immediate measures to allow the people of Rhodesia to determine their own future, consistent with the objectives of General Assembly Resolution 1514 (xv). I cannot see any difficulty here.

"Manifestly the 1961 Constitution has broken down. In so far as Mr. Smith and his colleagues purport to be a Government, they have replaced it by an entirely new so-called Constitution. But the Constitution had in fact already broken down as a result of the ordinances and decrees signed on November 10, which amounted to the destruction of all safeguards for the rule of law, for human rights in the 1961 Constitution, and earlier legislation.

"This certainly does not mean we have abrogated it. It remains the law of Rhodesia, together with the new laws made last week under the powers created by the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965. While we have power to revoke or amend sections of that Constitution, we have said we have no present intention of revoking it as a whole, and I cannot at this stage foresee circumstances in which we would do so.

Taking Counsel with Other Governments

"With reference to paragraph 8 of the Security Council resolution, on November 12, I said: 'We shall certainly have to review the situation in the light of the discussions in the United Nations and elsewhere, 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'. We are committed to doing what is in our power to implement this resolution; but although we insist that this remains a British responsibility we shall not follow a unilateral policy. We shall take counsel with other Governments on the best methods to pursue.

"Unilateral action on our part under the resolution could not be effective if other nations were to fill any gap we created. There are many technical and economic factors to be examined if an oil sanction is to be effective. The same considerations apply in the case of other goods entering into Rhodesian trade.

"The test to be applied is the effectiveness of the measures to be applied as a means of contributing to the return of Rhodesia to constitutional methods of government. This issue cannot be buried. The measures must not be vindictive, but they must be effective if we are to continue to discharge our continuing responsibility for Rhodesia, and not have that responsibility taken out of our hands by others, and possibly by methods which would involve lasting damage for Rhodesia, and indeed far beyond Rhodesia?

"Action which is speedily effective will do less lasting damage to Rhodesia's economy and to the possibility of a

reasonable settlement than pressures which are long drawn out and inflict a continuing agony on Rhodesia. While we must continue to assert our special and continuing responsibility, this is a matter of world concern. The future of our multi-racial Commonwealth is at stake—has been at stake—and the possibility of our virtual isolation at the United Nations.

Pressure from China

"What is at stake too is whether the Afro-Asian bloc will continue in a substantially neutralist posture, or will be attracted by the pressures from other nations—not least China—who are in a position to turn the Rhodesian situation to their advantage.

"Our aims are as speedily as possible to turn Rhodesia back into constitutional channels, and to do this constructively, without recrimination. When the Governor is able to report that the people of Rhodesia are willing and able to work on constitutional paths, we are prepared to work together with their leaders to make a new start.

"For this purpose, the 1961 Constitution remains in being, though the House will realize the need for those amendments which are required to prevent its perversion and misuse, such as we have seen in the last fortnight, and those amendments which are needed to give effect to the five principles to which all parties in this House have subscribed."

MR. HEART: "This is not a Section 7 resolution. Does the Prime Minister mean that it is not mandatory on countries? If so, why did the Foreign Secretary say yesterday that the Government are implementing the resolution?"

"It is not only a question of the resolution saying that the Constitution has broken down, but also committing the British Government to the peoples of Rhodesia themselves settling a future Constitution as the next stage. Will the Prime Minister confirm that the British Government will not go back on the 1961 Constitution or any of his offers made during the negotiations?"

"On the question of a trade embargo, will the Prime Minister state clearly whether the British Government intend now to impose a complete trade embargo, including oil, for which the resolution calls, or only to impose it if all other members of the United Nations do the same thing?"

British Reservations

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Our interpretation is that the wording, because it was a compromise, could be interpreted as something between Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. We do not regard it as a Chapter 7 resolution. We do not regard it as mandatory. But in all the circumstances we voted for it with reservations.

"With regard to paragraph 7, about the 1961 Constitution and the terms for allowing the peoples of Rhodesia to decide their own future, Lord Caradon specifically reserved the one word 'immediate', throughout the negotiations, and all parties have done so in this House, that while guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule is the policy of all of us, we do not believe that this could be immediate.

"All of us are committed, and were in the negotiations, to an early opportunity for the Rhodesian people to pronounce on their own future. That was the reason for the suggested referendum and the Royal Commission.

"We are going to study all aspects of trade and oil. We are not going in for a trade embargo or an oil embargo on our own. This would make utter nonsense of the situation, which has to be properly studied. As everyone realizes, the oil embargo is bristling with difficulties if it is going to be effective. Even if there were fairly general support for it, there is the position of Zambia to be considered, along with other countries.

"These matters will have to be very carefully studied, and while we must insist that whatever sanctions are applied must be effective, we do not want those which are damaging and ineffective, any more than we want to create damage or resort to ineffectiveness. It is very important that in this we proceed only in agreement with others principally concerned."

MR. GRIMOND: "Can the Prime Minister say whether his statement means that although he may ultimately have to find out from other nations whether they are to join in the embargo, H.M. Government are in favour of such an embargo on oil, and possibly on other trades too, and that they are such an embargo?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I assume that the other countries will feel that it is their duty to make effective, as far as it lies within their power, the wishes expressed in the United

INCONSISTENCIES IN PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENTS AND AT U.N.

Nations resolution. I repeat that if we fail to do this we are going to find a much uglier situation, with military force being used, which none of us could control. To this extent therefore we are going to sit down with them to see whether an effective embargo can be worked out that will not do lasting damage but which will be effective in getting a settlement in Rhodesia. We are not going to do it on our own."

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "Can we get this clear from the Prime Minister? I think the House understood him to say only a few weeks ago that the Government were not in favour of coercive economic action which would bring chaos to the economy of Rhodesia and therefore drive the Rhodesians willy-nilly into the hand of South Africa. Can he make it absolutely clear that this is still the Government's position?"

"We Regret Military Intervention"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have said repeatedly, and the House has to face up to this question, that whatever measures we take they must be effective. The quicker they are the less damage there will be. What I have said is that we reject the idea of military intervention. We will examine any other measures. Tobacco is the first, and there are others. We will certainly examine any measures necessary for a quick solution of the problem in Rhodesia. That includes an oil embargo."

MR. HEFFER: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that the resolution passed by the United Nations is widely welcomed in this country? Would he not agree with me that, if unilateral action is not taken when action is agreed, the most effective method of stopping oil going to Rhodesia will be by a naval and military blockade?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "As to the resolution being widely welcomed, all I can say is that it was the best that we could get after very hard work by the Foreign Secretary, and it might have been a good deal worse. So far as oil is concerned, the Government of Iran have already proceeded to act under the terms of the resolution, and I imagine that a number of other oil producing countries will do so. If this is an applicable embargo—and I would need a lot of satisfying on the technical and economic consequences of this embargo—if this is applicable and effective—"

MR. GOODHEW: "Let us have some straight talk."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I do not know whether the hon. gentleman wants me to say that we will introduce an oil embargo tomorrow, or whether he wants me to say that we are examining this properly, which any sane and rational Government would do in the light of all the facts."

Prime Minister's Assurance Contravened

MR. J. AMERY: "Will the Prime Minister recall that on November 11 he said: '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 a constitutional posture'. Will he recognize that we gave our support to the Enabling Bill on the strength of this assurance, and that the Government's acceptance of the United Nations resolution seems to go clean counter to the assurance which he gave to the House on Armistice Day? He cannot expect in these circumstances much further support from this side of the House."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The rt. hon. gentleman was speaking a long way below the gangway and will no doubt decide for himself how far he can speak for his side of the House. I can at any rate tell him that he will not get three cheers from us. The statement I made—and I looked it up because it was quoted yesterday—was against the background of military action, military action proposed whether by United Nations or in any other way. In the debate on the 12th I made it clear that while the measures being taken under the Act last week were all that we envisaged at that time, we should need to reconsider the situation in relation to what Mr. Smith's régime did, and, secondly, in relation to the discussions at the United Nations. This we are in the process of doing."

MR. MICHAEL FOOT: "Does not the Prime Minister think that a more important question than satisfying the official Opposition, which appear to be attempting to wriggle out of its responsibilities, is how we are to discharge British responsibilities in Rhodesia, in particular the protection of human rights there?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I do not agree with the opening words of my hon. friend, because I am sure that a large number of rt. hon. and hon. gentlemen opposite are looking at this problem, as we have to do, in a world setting out against the background of all the dangers which are faced. I do not think that there can be anyone in this House who will readily see, or want to see, the break-up of the Commonwealth or

further Chinese penetration of the Afro-Asian bloc.

"In the light of our experience of the twisting and misuse of the 1961 Constitution, it will be necessary in the future to strengthen the 1961 Constitution in respect of human rights. For example, the Constitutional Council of Rhodesia, whom I met, are anxious to see that their powers are increased. They are much too limited in the matter of human rights at present."

LADY TWEEDSMUIR: "Will the Prime Minister clarify the methods taken to assert British responsibility for Rhodesia? While all Governments have been willing to give information on Rhodesia to the United Nations, can the Prime Minister explain why we did not participate in any vote on resolutions concerning Rhodesia before U.D.I., but that after U.D.I. we did? Can he explain what appears to be an inconsistency, in that on October 12 Sir Roger Jacking, in speaking on a resolution which asked Britain to prevent U.D.I., said: 'My Government has reservations concerning the competence of the United Nations in the question of Rhodesia. For this reason my delegation will not participate in the vote.'"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I should have thought the answer was obvious: We have throughout—both Governments—abstained on votes of this kind in the past because we have said that it was an internal matter owing to the fact that under the Convention and under its Constitution Rhodesia is a self-governing country. This position was entirely changed, however, by the illegal declaration of independence. It is the so-called Rhodesian Government who have torn up that Constitution and altered the whole situation."

Britain's Responsibility

"I warned Mr. Smith—I had to speak in pretty strong terms, as will be seen from the published documents—that whatever we had done in defending Rhodesia in the past could not be the position after an illegal declaration of independence. Once this had arisen, with the threat of military invasion from other parts of Africa, this must be a matter of world concern. We still regard it as our responsibility, but we cannot go on as though the rest of the world and of Africa did not exist."

MR. DAN JONES: "Is the Prime Minister aware of the statements that came from Caxton Hall last night, statements from responsible politicians belonging to a responsible political party? Since those observations attempt to support a reasonable Government, do not those statements constitute treason?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No, sir. I have seen the statements. They should be treated with the contempt they deserve. I do not believe that they came from responsible politicians. They came from irresponsible members of a responsible party. The only danger about them is the habit which has been formed in Rhodesia of believing that one or other hon. Members who make a speech of that kind speak for Britain or for their own party. I am sure that they do not."

MR. RONALD BELL: "Will the Prime Minister bear in mind that these are matters of domestic jurisdiction, whether or not they are matters of international concern, whether or not one regards Rhodesia as independent or as dependent upon Britain? That being so, as the Government have recognized since the illegal declaration, is it not a fact that Article 2(7) of the Charter makes it perfectly clear that the United Nations has no competence in this matter?"

"Why, therefore, did the Government take this matter to the United Nations? What is the alleged need for anti-separating action by other people in the United Nations? Since Article 2(7) governs Chapter VII of the Charter as well as the other chapters, what is all this talk about whether it comes under Chapter VII?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I explained this in answer to a perfectly reasonable question put by the hon. Lady the Member for Aberdeen South (Lady Tweedsmuir). The hon. Member must not go through this whole question with his head buried in the sand. We assert that this is our responsibility. For that reason it was we who took it to the United Nations to prevent other people doing so. Whatever we have done in the Security Council, the matter would have been transferred to the Assembly, and there would have been no doubt whatever of the overwhelming desire of members of the Assembly, as had been shown only a week before the illegal declaration, for the use of military force. We believe that this would have been a very dangerous course of action."

"I am not sure how hon. Members opposite, with all their legalism about sub-sections of the kind that have just been quoted, would have stopped the bloodshed that could have

(Continued on page 277)

PERSONALIA *Obituary*

SIR EDMUND TEALE was 91 on Monday.

PRESIDENT KAYIBANDA OF RWANDA is visiting Germany.

MR. OCHAB, chairman of the Polish State Council, is shortly due in Ethiopia.

MR. CARLO ENRICO GIGLIOLI is the new Italian Ambassador in Somalia.

DR. MALCOLM ADISESHIAH, Deputy Director-General of U.N.E.S.C.O., is visiting East Africa.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, Kenya's High Commissioner in London, has returned from a visit to Nairobi.

THE COUNTESS OF LISTOWEL is the authoress of "The Making of Tanganyika", just published in London.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA has become patron of the Kenya Division of the East African Institute of Engineers.

MR. TEMBO, Finance Minister in Malawi, has arrived in London for discussions with H.M. Government on financial matters.

SIR EDWARD FREDERICK MUTESA, Kabaka of Buganda, and President of Uganda, has just celebrated his 41st birthday.

MR. JOHN PEARSON, a Briton, and MR. S. W. I. BURGER, a South African, have been declared prohibited immigrants in Zambia.

MR. G. M. RUTANANZIBWA, lately Counsellor in the Tanzania High Commission in India, has been appointed Ambassador in Canada.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE presided last week when the Honourable Society of Knights of the Round Table held a dinner in honour of Commonwealth Africa, on whose behalf MR. NGAIZA, High Commissioner for Tanzania, responded.

MR. R. J. BLOXAM, a director and general manager of the Union-Castle Line, and MR. G. E. TONGE, managing director of Hay's Wharf, have been appointed by the Minister of Labour to be members of the National Dock Labour Board.

Roads in Zomba, capital of Malawi, have been named after MR. MACLEOD, who when Secretary of State for the Colonies ordered DR. BANDA'S release from imprisonment, and LORD DEVLIN, chairman of the commission into the 1959 "massacre plot" in Nyasaland.

When MR. WILSON, the Prime Minister, went to Oxford a few days ago to open the new headquarters of the Institute of Economics and Statistics, he was greeted by undergraduates bearing such slogans as "One Man One Vote" and "Out of Aden Into Rhodesia".

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX, a fellow of New College, who on Saturday received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University, has been Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies since 1940. Previously he had been Director of Education in the Sudan and principal of Gordon College, Khartoum.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

by *Pietro Annigoni*

Also other superb reproductions by this famous modern master signed by the artist as a gift suggestion.

Available from the Pheasantry Studios, Ltd., 152 King's Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.3. (Telephone: Flaxman 1891.)

Illustrated leaflet available.

Major-General W. A. Dimoline

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM ALFRED DIMOLINE, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., who has died from a coronary thrombosis at the age of 68, had for the past 11 years been secretary of the British group of the Inter Parliamentary Union.

He had been G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa for two years from 1946 and Colonel Commandant of the King's African Rifles, the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, and the Rhodesian African Rifles.

Commissioned in 1914, he went to France with his battalion soon after the outbreak of war and was awarded the M.C. for gallantry on the Western Front after having been seconded to the Royal Signals. He graduated at the Staff College, Camberley, in 1934, went to India, and was in Quetta at the time of the earthquake.

In 1937 he took command of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment. When war broke out two years later he commanded the Northern Rhodesia Volunteer Force and was also sub-area commander. Soon afterwards he went to East Africa Force Headquarters in Nairobi, and in 1941 commanded the 26th (East African) Infantry Brigade in the Ethiopian campaign. Next year he commanded the 22nd Brigade in Madagascar. In Burma he commanded the 28th (East African) Independent Infantry Brigade and then the 11th (East African) Division.

Professor Frank Debenham

PROFESSOR FRANK DEBENHAM, O.B.E., former Professor of Geography at Cambridge University, who has died at the age of 81, was a member of Scott's expedition to the South Pole. The explorer wanted Australia to be represented in his party, and Debenham, who had been born in New South Wales, was one of two Australians selected. On returning from the Antarctic Debenham spent a year at Cambridge helping to work out the geological results of the field work. Immediately war broke out in 1914 he joined the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, and was soon in Salonika. There he was severely wounded and suffered badly from shell shock. After demobilization he was appointed a lecturer in cartography at Cambridge. Later he became reader in geography, and finally professor.

When he retired from that chair in 1949 he interested himself in Central and Southern Africa, especially in Nyasaland, in which he travelled extensively. He wrote two books and many articles on that country.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Africana Ltd.

26, Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1.

For One Year, and until countermanded.

PLEASE
SEND
ME

ORDINARY EDITION (52/- per annum)

OR

AIR EDITION (£6.0.0 per annum)

OR

By SECOND CLASS AIRMAIL (£6.10. per annum)
(Celeste as Necessary)

Name and Rank
(Block Capitals, please)

Full Postal Address
(Block Capitals, please)

Signature

Bitter Criticisms of U.N. Agency

Two Ministers Stress F.A.O. Errors

BITTER CRITICISMS of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations were voiced at its biennial conference in Rome. The gathering marked the 20th anniversary of the establishment of F.A.O.

MRS BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development, said that such multi-lateral aid agencies as F.A.O. must be ready to overhaul their organizations, integrate their work, and eliminate waste and overlapping.

Criticizing the staffing arrangements of some international agencies, she suggested that F.A.O. and others should consider the creation of more middle-grade staff posts equivalent to the executive grades in the British civil service.

"We must scrutinize our own organization. The first task, as the Director-General says, is to look at what is required to meet the increasing responsibilities of F.A.O. But we shall court criticism and cynicism if the only result is to increase the number and status of high level posts at headquarters and in regional centres. Our aim must be to relieve professional officers of routine administrative work which could be performed by a non-professional cadre.

"I am startled to find in the staffing of so many specialized agencies a void between the honours graduate on the one hand and the secretary on the other. In our governmental machine in Britain most of the essential day-to-day work is done, willingly and effectively, by intermediate grades of staff who are the backbone of the civil service. We call them executive staff, the bridge between the clerical and the administrative grades. They are the transmission system between the engine and the wheels.

"Has not the time come to consider the creation of such a cadre in the technical divisions of F.A.O., so that more of our professional officers, who are everywhere in short supply, can be released for the practical jobs in the field?"

Candid Catalogue of F.A.O. Failings

An unusually candid catalogue of the failings of the Organization was presented by MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister of Agriculture in Kenya and leader of its delegation. He said (in part): —

"Many things are going wrong. Some peculiar clanking noises are coming from under the bonnet of this vehicle of progress. This, therefore, is a moment for seizing a spanner and getting our hands dirty so that this F.A.O. engine will start running smoothly again.

"Is F.A.O. providing a vigorous and productive service? My answer is 'No'. F.A.O., a magnificent conception, should be the springboard of hope; but its contemporary performance is inadequate and unreal. Its annual budget, together with yearly expenditure under the U.N. Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance and the World Food Programme — has reached almost £20m. No-one could honestly declare that this finance is being utilized in ways bringing the greatest benefit to all mankind. F.A.O. has built a tremendous headquarters organizations here in Rome. More and More of its executives are living right up in the clouds.

"Too many international bodies swell up, evolve their comfortable theories, and move into the orbit of complacent bureaucracy in the artificial atmosphere of Rome, Geneva, Paris, or New York. F.A.O. has followed this line.

"F.A.O. should get out of the plush chairs. Its executive, officials, technicians, and economists must be spread around the world, probing into unfashionable, ill-equipped, and even hazardous corners, to see the brutal reality of what is happening on the ground. F.A.O. must be brought into touch with its raw material. Its technical activity must be related to conditions as they are, not to generalizations that some blonde secretary can extract from an out-of-date file. Above all, F.A.O. must meet the people, and understand the psychology of the people.

"This Organization seems almost wholly remote from an understanding of the national pride and self-respect that largely motivate the newly-independent countries. We in Kenya are determined to expand our economy by our own

efforts, not through contrivance or charity. We feel that F.A.O. is not with us in this.

"Through lack of familiarity with problems and peoples, and through the creation of this huge body with poor sensory perceptions, F.A.O. has failed to be effective in small ways, as well as substantially. Take Market Research and development. The Organization has done virtually nothing to promote the flow of inter-African trade. F.A.O. has taken no technical or exploratory initiative, has fashioned no commercial blueprints, and has made no comment on our archaic heritage of communications systems, which sporadically penetrate our continent from key coastal points while often leaving neighbouring nations without a land route contact. Yet trade between African States must be a vital factor in building our economies and improving the living standards of our people.

"Experts" of Poor Professional Quality

"Another point vital to the productivity of agriculture in developing nations is mechanization. What optimum capital should be employed under this heading in different circumstances? How can this capital be best obtained and deployed? How should mechanization in the early stages be subsidized? What useful data is there on costings and techniques? At what points does mechanization depress or stimulate employment opportunities? F.A.O. should have surveyed this whole field. It has done nothing useful at all.

"F.A.O. sends out technicians for investigation of assistance with our development schemes. In too many cases these so-called 'experts' are of poor professional standard, cannot adjust their thinking to the environment, or give little evidence of being interested in their job. Time and again I have had to meet these 'experts', appointed and upheld by an international body, and have found them far below the standards of competence and character of many of our local men. Why does F.A.O. palm off such people on us? Who does this Organization think they are?"

"For the purpose of some agricultural survey or feasibility study a so-called 'team' of experts may be appointed. In far too many cases this 'team' will prove to be a random collection of ill-chosen, widely scattered, and basically incompatible individuals, brought together from all ends of the earth, thrown together for the first time, and embarking without enthusiasm on a professional scrutiny of an unfamiliar part of the world.

"I have known members of these so-called 'teams' who were too elderly and frail for such a task. Others have been bone idle. Some have been disloyal. There have been cases of serious misconduct. One or two have seen no further than dissatisfaction with their salaries.

Impressed by Commercial Consultants

"By contrast, we in Kenya have had one study undertaken through the special fund and F.A.O. by a consortium of two commercial firms of international repute. The teams they sent were of the highest professional ability, dedicated to their work. My Government had complete respect for a job well done.

"F.A.O. needs far more solidity than can be provided through advisers engaged on short contract terms. In my judgement, this Organization should reduce the numbers of its casually recruited and volatile 'experts'. Surely it could now amply justify a permanent staff of men and women with a proven record of industry and integrity. If people of such calibre were employed and distributed the offer of F.A.O. technicians would begin to mean something again.

"We are impressed with the service given by consulting companies. They might usefully be commissioned far more frequently by F.A.O. We find that such people are truly expert and have their feet firmly on the ground. Some of these companies become anxious to invest in developing countries. In the United States they are allowed a rebate for so doing. In Britain and elsewhere this incentive rebate system does not apply. Developing countries are 'scheduled' in the United States for the purpose of encouraging investment, but not elsewhere. F.A.O. should get belligerently involved in this kind of problem.

"While the prices of capital goods and manufactured products tend constantly to rise, the prices of agricultural and other primary products from the developing countries tend constantly to fall. It is pointless for spokesmen of the advanced and industrialized nations to pay lip-service to the nobility of our independence and spill out pious platitudes about allocations of financial aid, when their nations frustrate the commercial means of giving our independence its purpose and nobility. It is farcical to talk of stepping up the volume of financial and technical aid from sources which condone or even encourage commercial practices and price manoeuvres which undermine our future.

"During 1964 export prices of agricultural products fell by over 12%. Cocoa and sugar have been particularly hard hit. Coffee is hanging on, but only through a depressingly stringent quota system. The future for coepra, bananas, and rubber seems bleak. Polypropylene fibre may well toll the death knell of the sisal industry. This is a crisis. Situations and prospects are worsening daily. What is F.A.O. doing to meet this world problem?"

"Without some real revolution in the dynamic and in the active functioning of F.A.O., the Kenya Government will have to consider very carefully whether further support for the Organization and participation in any ensuing conference would be worthwhile.

Complacency Instead of Courage

"To serve the real interests of mankind a body like F.A.O. must be courageous and constructive. Now it is merely complacent. Its impact on our economic and social disabilities must be explosive. Today its whole attitude is merely effete. It must be realistic and earthy, getting down to the level of the muck-heap on our farms and bringing the language of stark reality into the ruthless arena of boardrooms and commercial conventions. Today it is merely intellectual, raising its delicate hands in horror at any mention of the facts of life.

"Fine phrases are no cure for the basic, grinding problems of poverty and hunger. Fine palaces are no camouflage for the cruel misery which is the lot of millions in many parts of the world. The Republic of Kenya will never accept that this is an inevitable situation, pre-ordained and inescapable, that we must stalk the earth as the constant grisly companion of countless men, women and children while we their representatives—whose lot has been cast in more fortunate moulds—fail to grasp the urgency of the need.

"We are at war. The shoddy, the indifferent, the apathetic, the lethargic, the second best, is just not good enough. We have the tools, the organization, and the means to mount a relentless and sustained assault. It must never be said or suspected that this Organization through tiredness or timidity has been weighed in the balance and found wanting."

"Complete Betrayal"—Kenya Delegates Government "Seems Unable to Act Honestly"

THE DELEGATION from the Kenya National Farmers' Union who were recently in London for discussions with the Ministry of Overseas Development and others on behalf of the British mixed farmers who remain in Kenya have issued the following statement in reply to the joint *communiqué* of British and Kenya Ministers which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA published last week.

Messrs. J. M. Rowbotham and W. H. Hindley wrote in the name of the delegation:—

"There can be no dispute about the wisdom of the Kenya Government's decision to transfer the remaining 1,350,000 acres of British-owned mixed farming land to African ownership; as this policy is politically essential if stability is to be maintained in Kenya.

"Yet H.M. Government's proposals for the implementation of a buy-out scheme will account for only

one-third of the mixed-farming area concerned. H.M. Government has given no definite assurance that the remaining two-thirds will be included in a further scheme. Further, the level of valuation remains in doubt.

Confidence in H.M. Government Destroyed

"The British mixed-farming community in Kenya view the plan as a complete betrayal. Their confidence in their future and in H.M. Government will be destroyed. If, as a result, race relations are harmed, posing a threat to law and order, then the British Government must bear the full responsibility.

"It is little wonder that the Rhodesians have resisted the wishes of the British Government when H.M. Government seems unable to act honestly towards her subjects in Kenya who in good faith accepted independence on the one-man-one-vote system in the belief that the many pledges given by Britain to her subjects in Kenya had real meaning.

"In this connexion we quote an extract from the speech of Sir Evelyn Baring, then Governor of Kenya, at the Production Conference in Nairobi on November 1, 1954:

"I think it is most fortunate that as the new chairman of the Board of Agriculture you have had the experience of the practical working of immigration, for the future of farming and the future of immigration are closely linked. I think you will agree that the prospective agricultural immigrant who hopes to work on a farm in the Highlands has several reasons for looking hopefully to the future. He will be coming to a country where much of what affects him will be settled by experienced farmers now to be elected to production committees. He will know that by emigrating from the United Kingdom to Kenya he is doing something approved by the United Kingdom Government and to be encouraged by it in the future.

"He will also know that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has recently said in Nairobi that the British settler is really here to stay and has an essential part to play. Let me remind you of some of his words: "H.M. Government are not likely to lend themselves to encouraging people to come if they intend to betray them. They will be entitled to feel confidence in the possession of the homes they have built for themselves and their children". He will also know that he will come to a country where agriculture plays a great part in the economy and the Government is sympathetic to farmers."

"In pursuit of this policy in 1960 H.M. Government made a free grant available to Kenya of £500,000 for the specific purpose of furthering British agricultural resettlement in Kenya."

Kenya Rejects Stamp Report

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has rejected the recommendation of the Stamp Commission for a two-year breathing space to allow the Government to analyse the work of land settlement. The Ministry of Lands and Settlement will proceed with its plan to buy 100,000 acres from European farmers every year for the next four years with an £18m. loan offered by the British Government.

A Government spokesman said that the Kenya Government appreciated the underlying economic arguments of the Stamp report, but regretted that it had underrated the political and social aspects of land settlement and the extent to which the programme had contributed to the stability of the country. It had ignored the fact that some of the settlement schemes, particularly the low density ones, were very successful, and it was due to that success that Kenya had continued to attract financial assistance from bodies like the World Bank and the C.D.C. If the Stamp recommendations were accepted it would be 14 or 15 years before Kenya could buy out all the European settlers who wanted to be bought out.

It had been made clear to H.M. Government that, if no more money was available from Britain, Kenya must raise money locally or from another source abroad instead of reducing the rate of purchasing for African re-settlement. The Kenya Government could hardly be expected to be as generous as the British Government had been under the 1 million-acre scheme because Kenya would have to pay interest on the money raised locally or borrowed from another source.

Enjoy your retirement to the full

Don't let dreams of an idyllic retirement founder on harsh realities like high taxation. Retire to the Isle of Man where tax is low and life is pleasant. Enjoy enchanting scenery, entertaining leisure, favourite pastimes like fishing, golfing and sailing, in a benign climate. Only 30 mins. by air from England. Free brochure from A. K. Kermodé, Government Information Bureau, 13 Victoria Street, Douglas, Isle of Man.

ISLE OF MAN

Pearl of the British Isles



BARCLAYS BANK OF CALIFORNIA *NOW OPEN*

If you are the clear-eyed, steel-trap-brained, tycoon of tomorrow type of person who usually reads Barclays' advertisements, you will realise that the opening in California of this new member of the Barclays Group not only strengthens our U.S.A. representation, but dramatically extends our reach in the Western Hemisphere.

This new San Francisco bank is fully equipped to provide up-to-the-minute information on local trade and market conditions. This information—like the information received from other members of the Barclays Group all over Africa, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean and elsewhere—is yours for the asking.

All you need to do is get into touch with your nearest branch of Barclays Bank Limited or Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK OF CALIFORNIA

111 Pine Street, San Francisco

Letters to the Editor**Overwhelmingly on Mr. Smith's Side**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—When talking to the secretary of the London and Counties Tenants Federation I learnt that of 123 letters to them which mentioned Rhodesia, 122 had been pro-Smith. This beats the high percentage of pro-Smith letters received by the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail*.

It was thought that this absolutely unprecedented number of letters not initially concerned with tenancy problems was due to apprehension among English people of too large and sudden an influx of coloured folk.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W.5.

GEORGINA GALE.

Refusal to Honour Rhodesian Dead

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—On behalf of the M.O.T.H.S. of Lord Malvern Shell Hole, Umvukwes, Rhodesia, all of us ex-Servicemen who saw active service in the last war or the first Great War, may we thank Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P. for his protest against the behaviour of the British Government at the Cenotaph in London—our Cenotaph—on Remembrance Day?

Our order is entirely non-political.

We can take any amount of harsh words from British politicians, and have come to expect to hear fantastic utterances from leaders of the Anglican

Church in England; but we never thought we should see the day when Great Britain could stoop so low that her representative should find it expedient to refuse to join us in honouring our dead comrades, who did so much to help Britain in her hour of need.

We are cheered that there are still people left in what many of us used to call "Home" who have the decency to protest against this shabby and disgraceful behaviour. We deeply appreciate the action of Mr. John Biggs-Davison.

M'sonneddi,
Rhodesia.

Yours faithfully,

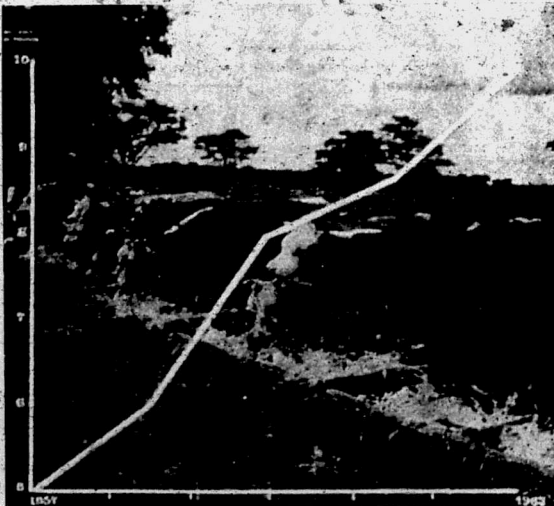
DAVID P. COOKER.

Points from Letters**Sympathy in Australia**

"I, AN M.P. IN AUSTRALIA, commend you for the splendid battle you are waging against extremely difficult odds. There is in Australia a great deal of sympathy for the cause for which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is fighting".

Bias in Press and Radio

"YOUR STAND for truth and sanity in this Rhodesian business is appreciated. How good it is to find one place where facts from Rhodesia are honestly reported. The bias of Press and television in this country is something I could never have believed possible. The bankruptcy of British 'statesmanship' has never, never reached such depths. More strength to your pen!"

Invest in Rhodesia's rocketing Beef Industry

The Cold Storage Commission has been directly responsible for the spectacular development of Rhodesia's Beef Industry. Their beef throughput has soared from 5 million to over 10 million pounds sterling in six short years. The Commission's progressive domestic and export marketing policies, coupled with the forward guaranteed cattle prices, safeguard all investments in cattle production.

THE COLD STORAGE COMMISSION OF RHODESIA

'SERVES THE NATION'

RHODESIAN NEGOTIATORS BAFFLED BY RACIST DOUBLE-THINKING

RACIST DOUBLE-THINKING was denounced by MR. JOHN WALTER, JR., in a letter to *The Times*, which said:—

"Lady Listowel falls into major confusion of thought when she suggests that, because of the failures of Rhodesian 'nationalist' leadership, three African Presidents, none of whom are Rhodesians, should publish a programme for that country since they are surely in a position to speak on behalf of the African masses in Rhodesia."

"I had thought that the essence of the dispute between the British Government and Mr. Ian Smith was constitutional, i.e., about which Rhodesian citizens should get the vote and when."

"Here it is proposed that three foreign Presidents, who have no constitutional standing in that country whatsoever, shall be deemed to represent Rhodesians who have not been able to agree even among themselves. (Many of them, as the Prime Minister has admitted, are supporters of Mr. Smith). This astonishing proposition is quite irreconcilable with the universally accepted concept of the nation State, the franchise within State boundaries—even of democracy itself."

"It is hardly surprising that if such racist double-thinking is widely shared in this country (which it may well be) Mr. Smith and his negotiators found it impossible to meet our minds."

"The parallel is not an exact one, but I would ask Lady Listowel if she would think it right, in the event of constitutional disputes in the United Kingdom, for Presidents de Gaulle and Saragat with, let us say, General Franco—all Europeans and therefore surely in a position to speak for the British masses—to be invited to devise a new and better Constitution for us?"

Ideas of African Nationalists

The Countess of Listowel had suggested that H.M. Government should publish the terms on which a "non-rebel white Government in Rhodesia would be able to function."

"We do not know what conditions will be like when Ian Smith and his backers will be defeated, but we know what they are like today. A clear statement for an alternative Government should be made known; and it could be amended if and when events happen that make this necessary."

"Presidents Nyerere, Kenyatta and Kaunda, who have declared that they propose to take over Britain's responsibility in Rhodesia if our sanctions are not speedily effective, should publish a programme of what the African nationalists propose to do when an alternative Government takes over in Rhodesia. I am aware that Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole do not agree on anything; moreover, that neither is in a position to accept or reject such a declaration. But surely Presidents Nyerere, Kenyatta and Kaunda are in a position to speak on behalf of the African masses in Rhodesia."

"These two declarations would, so it seems to me, get another dialogue going in Rhodesia, and go some way towards exorcizing the fear that is blinding both whites and blacks in that unhappy land."

MR. J. H. HUIZINGA pointed out that the first action of Mr. Smith's régime had been to deprive Africans of a crucial safeguard contained in the 1961 Constitution.

"I refer to the provision making it impossible for the Rhodesian Parliament to raise the qualifications for the franchise—as has been done repeatedly in the past—without the consent, expressed by referendum, of each of the four racial communities. In future these qualifications will once again be at the mercy of the white oligarchy which disposes of well over the two-thirds majority required to carry amendments to the Constitution."

"There is nothing surprising about this move. More than one of Mr. Smith's Ministers made no bones about it when I spoke to them a few weeks ago that one of the reasons why they wished to shake off Westminster's control was to get rid of the so-called entrenched clauses in the Constitution."

"But it casts an odd light on Mr. Smith's 'integrity' and 'good faith', repeatedly commended even now by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley. For not only has he often solemnly declared that he accepted the Constitution which he opposed so violently at the time of its adoption, but also, in the very moment of striking out the clause specifically designed to guard against 'retrogression', he saw fit to say in his proclamation of last week:—'Let no one believe that the protection of the rights of all peoples which are enshrined in that Constitution will be abrogated and discarded. 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'."

Mr. Ludovic Kennedy Rebuffed

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS criticized a proposal made by Mr. Ludovic Kennedy.

"Dispatch immediately, he says, a strong peace-keeping force to make war on Mr. Smith, and the crisis would end within a week."

"Having some slight knowledge of the logistical problems involved in a similar operation, I do not feel I can share the Kennedy optimism. Nor do I feel attracted by the obvious implications of his letter—that there is not time for negotiation, or for further exploration of a possibly instable situation, and that only force remains to bring about the unconditional surrender of the Smith Government."

"The last time this sort of thing became the policy of Western Powers it raised the flagging morale of the enemy, stimulated efforts to survive, lengthened the war, and filled the cemeteries."

MR. LUDOVIC KENNEDY had commented:—

"Of all the proposed measures against Rhodesia, economic sanctions are the most foolish. They will take a long time to become effective and will sow the seeds of a lasting bitterness."

"The whites, with their backs to the wall, and fearful of what the blacks may do to them, will order more and more repressive measures (indeed, the process has started already). The blacks will have all the time and encouragement they want to organize a campaign of subversion and violence (there are signs that that is happening already, too)."

"The alternative is the immediate dispatch to Rhodesia of a strong peace-keeping force. The first object would be to prevent the rebel Government from continuing in power. There is a risk, which I do not consider very great, that Rhodesian troops might be ordered to bar the way; but it is a risk that must be taken. The second object would be to enable the Governor to govern by Order-in-Council until such time as, under a new Constitution, there could be a return to democratic rule and the assurance of progress towards majority government."

"This action, if taken now, could end the Rhodesian crisis within a week. But if we leave it to sanctions there is no knowing where it may end. Now that U.D.I. has been taken, time is no longer on anybody's side."

MRS. DOROTHY LAWRENCE wrote:—

"Mr. Smith is still more than one jump ahead with the aid of his friends and neighbours, the Republic of South Africa and Portuguese East Africa. What concerns me most, being Rhodesian born, with kith and kin and friends in Rhodesia, is that no practical alternative is being offered the people of that country, to the organized and repressive Smith régime."

"The British Government is still represented only by the Governor. There is no Government machinery, no police force, nothing whatsoever, to give protection, support or help to those people, black and white, who may wish or dare to defect from the Smith régime."

"The alternative is that the majority of the white people will follow Smith, not necessarily because they want to (except for a minority) but because the non-existence of any other form of Government will make them do so. The African people, who have been extremely patient, will without doubt form themselves into a resistance movement."

"The kind of *laissez faire* attitude adopted by the British Government to date, instead of helping to bring the races together, will, I am convinced, do the exact opposite. I believe that it is absolutely essential for the British Government, without further delay, to set up some form of alternative Government in Rhodesia. Firm and diplomatic action now along these lines by the British Government can avert disastrous consequences and help to establish a harmonious multi-racial and economically stable State in that country and in that highly inflammable part of the world."

RHODESIANS EXASPERATED BY UNWISE PRESSURES FROM OUTSIDE

CAPTAIN G. H. ASHBY, R.N.(Retd.) wrote in *The Times*:—

"Many people, particularly in politics, Press and Church, have helped to build up those pressures which have exasperated the majority of white Rhodesians, and in my view done a disservice to the brown ones.

"A cool review of the past 15 years is necessary to appreciate that Rhodesia, which has been making commendable political, social and economic progress according to a realistic time scale, while at the same time coping with the problems created by a rapid increase in brown and white population, was being subjected to wholesale external interference, much of it irresponsible and mischievous.

"White Rhodesians are people like ourselves, except that they have a better understanding and regard for the Matabele and Mashona Rhodesians and do not see the sense in attempting to apply in Central Africa for many years a form of democracy, based on universal suffrage, which Europe has taken a thousand years to develop and which they see failing in other parts of Africa.

"It is well to remember that it is the pressures from outside which have persuaded Rhodesians to turn to leaders prepared to take drastic action, and which have forced them to accept restrictive measures in defence of their country and its standard of civilization.

"The majority of people in this country wish to see a painless solution. The only hope of this is to allow the emergence of new leaders (which would probably now be achieved by ordering an election under the 1961 Constitution) and give them the chance to succeed by protecting them from external pressures and allowing them the freedom and the time to bring forward the Matabele and Mashona peoples to a stage when they will be fit and willing to share the burden of government and administration."

REAR-ADMIRAL MORGAN GILES, M.P., wrote to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Although we must all regret the decision which was reached—and Mr. Smith's declaration was of course illegal—it was clearly not treacherous in intent. Is it not therefore deplorable to hear so much use made of words such as 'treason', 'rebellion', 'rebel Government', both in Parliament and elsewhere? Would it not be preferable for Mr. Wilson and his supporters to try to be constructive instead of vindictive—to consider healing the wounds rather than keeping them open by threat of sanctions.

"One constructive measure would be to spell out in some detail a programme of gradual advancement towards wider enfranchisement under the 1961 Constitution which would be acceptable to the British Government. A definite proposal of this sort, with no double-talk, would form a rallying-point for responsible opinion in Rhodesia. But quickness and clarity are essential."

COLONEL SIR RICHARD GLYN, M.P., said:—

"For several years left-wing intellectuals, including some members of the present Administration, have demanded that Britain should take steps to make Rhodesia adopt without delay the principle of one man one vote.

"Now the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has told me, in answer to a question, that in 1961 Britain had abandoned the reserve powers required, while later the Prime Minister could not deny that had Britain acted in such a way it would have been *ultra vires*.

"Is it not possible that these repeated admonitions to the British Government to use reserve powers which had been abandoned in 1961 may have played some part in convincing loyal Rhodesians that their country needed to attain independence if not by one means then by another?"

SIR FREDERIC BENNETT, M.P., emphasized that the appalling sufferings of Europeans in the Congo had had great effect upon Rhodesian feelings.

"The Socialist benches in Parliament, by their derisive reception of this example of how decent human beings allow emotions to affect judgment, have indicated once again their reluctance to regard African whites as other than inborn racist reactionaries.

"How blind this prejudice is revealed if one recalls how, when faced just with a loss of votes, not life and livelihood, our smug Socialist brethren soon dropped all their much-vaunted, lofty, multi-racial ideals in regard to something that touched them—coloured immigration."

MR. L. DOULL-CONNOLLY said in a long letter to the *Scotsman*:—

"Our Prime-Minister's prejudiced attitude threw the Rhodesians into their present limbo... Mr. Wilson's meagre endowments, especially of statesmanship, could not override his hatred of middle-class property owning interests in Rhodesia. He was blinded by Socialist doctrinaire policies completely and utterly out of sympathy with all that the Rhodesian Front stands for.

"The Labour Party did not want our Constitution adapted in order to keep Rhodesia in the Commonwealth any more than they want any of us to have the freedom of choice so dear to our grandfathers when we were indeed a nation of shopkeepers: Level all to the lowest common denominator; that's their object here and in Africa.

"Would you have us believe that four million indigenous Shona and Matabele now clamour to give expression to their aspirations and exercise their human rights? What arid nonsense! There are thousands in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, the Sudan, Egypt, indeed all over Africa, who if they have any aspirations will never realize them. The only beneficiaries are the trouble-making politicians and eventually the bureaucratic parasites who, after a fruitful apprenticeship amongst left-wing institutions here, are determined to jump on the band-wagon in Africa.

"It is time for us Britons to stop apologizing to all and sundry for our existence, for the complete successes of our grandfathers in commerce, industry and statesmanship, and start thinking about ways and means of supplying the world's markets with really cheap and well-finished goods. The rest will follow. But this means real sacrifice and self-discipline—qualities foreign to Socialism."

Savage Party Attack on Loyal Britons

AIR COMMODORE G. S. ODDIE wrote:—

"We have recently seen photographs of the Prime Minister joining in the public singing of the 'Red Flag.' We have seen both the recent Conservative and present Labour Government making use of members of the Royal Family to haul down the Union Jack in one after another of Her Majesty's possessions.

"We now, to our amazement, see all three political parties, each of which have made no secret of their intentions to throw off their allegiance to the Queen in their slink to world government, all joining in a savage attack on a group of Britons who have proved their loyal support of Britain and Her Royal House in three wars, on the staggering charge of treason, apparently based on their crime of wishing to hold fast to the Union Jack.

"Could you please explain why sanctions were not applied to Southern Ireland when Mr. Costello made his unilateral declaration of independence and threw off allegiance to the Crown?"

Of the large mail about Rhodesia reaching the *Daily Mail* four out of five still support Mr. Smith's action.

Mr. H. B. Isherwood said that: "All loyal Britons stand behind their own kinsmen in Rhodesia and resent Mr. Wilson so basely culminating the gallant Premier of Rhodesia and his companions as 'frightened men'."

Mr. S. T. Woodger, of Garsdale, Beck Lane, Bingley, Yorkshire, wrote:—

"Never have politicians and the Press been so divorced from public opinion as they are over Rhodesia, I am convinced that the majority of people in Britain support the white Rhodesians' refusal to hand over their country to the corruption and mismanagement which are rife in the surrounding African States. If justice and liberty are to be the criteria, why are sanctions not being imposed on Ghana, where neither exist; or is this a further manifestation of the current 'progressive' cult that the white man is always wrong and the coloured always right?"

MR. SYDNEY JOSLAND said: "Apart from politicians, I wonder how many people in Britain think it a brave act to gang up on such a small country as Rhodesia which has made a decision to go it alone? Why can't we do the same? Don't put a heavy-weight against a fly-weight."

MR. J. E. COULDBOURN: "In the minds of the majority of Englishmen logic does not enter into the Rhodesian issue. After all, to behave 'constitutionally' means to act in accordance with the wish of one or another British political party, for they are the people who frame the laws. How often have they put party before nation?"

Cold Fanaticism of U.K. Politicians

Rhodesian Minister's Judgment of Mr. Wilson

MR. JACK HOWMAN, Minister of Information, said in Bulawayo on Saturday that what Rhodesia faced was the cold fanaticism of British politicians who had sold out to an ideology that sterilized creative political thinking. To satisfy the abstract principle that political power must be exercised on the basis of a counting of heads, no matter what might be in them, they were prepared to destroy civilization itself.

Mr. Wilson, an astute and utterly ruthless politician, now sought to divide Mr. Smith's colleagues and to make the Governor a tool of his machinations. He had also made an "unspeakable attack" on Mr. Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government.

He said of Mr. Wilson:—

"He is a strange personality, quick to grasp a point and analyse its implications, but utterly ruthless. In the days that followed his visit to Salisbury the confidence that we had found a solution rapidly ebbed away. The ball was tossed back and fourth. Interpretations, elaborations, new poses, half-lights and shadows were all thrown up.

Why Were Rhodesians Refused Written Message ?

"On November 8 the Prime Minister addressed to Mr. Wilson what we believed would be the final exchange. We expected to receive from him confirmation that the views of the respective Governments were irreconcilable, as indeed he had accepted in London. All Tuesday we waited for that reply, but that night at 10.30 the Prime Minister received a message that he would receive a reply the following morning. All of Wednesday, November 10, we awaited this final message deliberating endlessly. The message ultimately arrived at 7.30 that night—a verbal confidential message by the person of the High Commissioner.

"He had no written message for Mr. Smith. He came to deliver an oral message. He read from a piece of paper. He was asked to leave it, or the more important part of it, with

the Prime Minister, or to put it in writing so that we would know exactly what was in Mr. Wilson's mind. His instructions, he said, were to put nothing in writing; and he refused to leave any part of the written notes he had with him.

"The Prime Minister joined us and we deliberated upon this personal exchange. It shed no new ray of light. It appeared clear that we were no closer together—indeed, we were further apart. At about 10.30 that night we all, I think, realized that the final moment was with us; but even then the Prime Minister and my colleagues—and I say this deliberately to their everlasting credit—having been in almost continuous session for some 15 hours, and being worn and wearied, decided that this was not the moment at which to make a final decision.

"We would defer our decision until the following morning, when we would have before us a memorandum prepared by the Secretary to the Cabinet who, as is usual, sits in attendance at such meetings. He would present his report of the conversations that took place between the High Commissioner and the Prime Minister.

Wish to Divide Rhodesian Cabinet

"We broke up in a state of some exhaustion and reassembled on Thursday, November 11, at half-past eight in the morning, when we were handed a memorandum containing the final proposals. The Prime Minister reported on a further telephone conversation with the Prime Minister of Britain—that it contained nothing new. There was no advance; there was no coming together. Indeed, there was a widening of the gap.

"The decision was taken, the proclamation signed, and as you all know, Rhodesia assumed its independence.

"I have spoken of this at some length to remove from your mind any thought that this was a reckless, ill-considered action made by men whom Mr. Wilson has described as having a 'death wish'.

"This strange man has talked of looks of hatred directed at the Prime Minister by his colleagues when the very subject of the discussion was proposals put forward by the Prime Minister with the collaboration and approval of his colleagues. What possible cause of dispute could have existed to warrant looks of hatred? This strange man has asserted that every single point of dispute between us was settled.

"This astute man, recognizing the respect and regard that the Prime Minister gained for himself in London, now seeks to direct odium at his colleagues, the inference being clear that if we can be divided Mr. Wilson can re-open the dialogue."

ROBIN LINE

Fast Regular Service — Cargo and Passenger

OUTWARD SAILINGS

ROBIN TRENT

S'y'n'h	Ch'ton	N'folk
DEC. 7	DEC. 8	DEC. 10
Bit.	Phll.	N. Yk.
DEC. 11	DEC. 12	DEC. 16

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, TAMATAVE (Madagascar).

(R) ROBIN-SHERWOOD

S'y'n'h	Ch'ton	N'folk
DEC. 20	DEC. 21	DEC. 23
Bit.	Phll.	N. Yk.
DEC. 24	DEC. 26	DEC. 30

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, TAMATAVE (Madagascar).

(D) Deep Tank Space available.

(R) Refrigeration Space available.

NEW YORK, Baltimore and Philadelphia

TO AND FROM

SOUTH & EAST AFRICA

Serving also MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS and REUNION

Cargo will be accepted at all ports for ST. JOHN, N.B. (Subject. inducement).

HOMEWARD SAILINGS

(D) (R) MORMACRIO	—	Early Dec.
(R) ROBIN LOCKSLEY	—	Early Dec. Late Dec.
(D) ROBIN GOODFELLOW	—	Late Dec.
(D) ROBIN GRAY	—	Mid Jan. Late Jan.

For Particulars apply Principal Agents

MITCHELL, COTTS & CO. LTD
Cotts House, Camomile Street,
London, E.C.3

Telephone: AVenue 1234 Cables: Mitcotts, London

MITCHELL COTTS & CO. (S.A.) (PTY) LTD.

Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London, Lourenco Marques, Beira

WM. COTTS & COMPANY LTD.
Durban.

MITCHELL COTTS & CO. (E.A.) LTD
Mombasa, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam.

KARIMJEE JIVANJEE & CO. LTD
Zanzibar, Tanga, Lindi, Mikidani

GENERAL AGENTS:

Madagascar, Mauritius and Reunion
NOUVELLE COMPAGNIE HAVRAISE
PENINSULAIRE DE NAVIGATION
Tananarive.

HEAD OFFICE: MOORE-McCORMACK LINES INC.

2, BROADWAY
NEW YORK, 4

Congo Coup by Army Commander General Mobutu Deposes Kasavubu

GENERAL JOSEPH MOBUTU, the 35-year-old Commander of the Congolese Army, deposed President Kasavubu last Thursday in a bloodless coup, and announced that he had cancelled the presidential election due to take place early in 1966 and would himself rule the country for the next five years. He appointed Colonel Leonard Mulamba, aged 34, his Chief of Staff, to be Prime Minister, and gave General Louis Bobozo, commanding the Katanga area, command of the army.

Negotiations between President Kasavubu and Mr. Tshombe, whom the former had dismissed from the Prime Ministership a month earlier had broken down earlier in the day, when Mr. Kimba, his successor, who had been defeated in Parliament by Mr. Tshombe's Conaco Party, finally rejected the idea of a Coalition Government in which Conaco would have eight of the 19 portfolios.

General Mobutu was wholeheartedly on his side, and had telegraphed describing the coup as a "courageous and patriotic act".

Later Mr. Tshombe said that he would not accept a portfolio, but that his Convention Nationale Congolaise would participate in the Government. It has eight Ministers, compared with nine from the Front Democratique Congolais, which had supported Mr. Kasavubu.

On Sunday a joint session of Parliament approved the new Government by 256 votes to nil, with two abstentions.

A long communique issued from the Presidency of the Democratic Republic of the Congo explains that two generals, five colonels, and seven lieutenant-colonels who met at the home of Major-General Mobutu to survey the state of the country were unanimous that the military situation had become satisfactory but that in political matters "failure was complete", the political leaders "having been content with the fruitless struggle for power, without any consideration for the welfare of the citizens of the country".

For more than a year the army had fought against a rebellion which at one time occupied nearly two-thirds of the national territory. That rebellion had been almost extinguished, but the political authorities had made no effort to deal with the misery of the masses of unfortunate people who were coming out of the bush because of their confidence in the army. The race for power between politicians again threatened bloodshed.

President and Prime Minister Dismissed

For those reasons it had been decided to dismiss Mr. Kasavubu, the President, and Mr. Kimba, the Prime Minister designate.

A broadcast from Radio Leopoldville said that the Kasavubu régime had been removed because of its "absolute failure". All members of the deposed Government were free to do what they wanted, and ex-President Kasavubu could either become a Senator for life, an honour available to former Presidents under the existing Constitution, or retain his seat in Parliament as a Deputy. His safety was being assured in his official residence.

All the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution would be upheld, especially freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

Mr. Antoine Gizenga, the left-wing nationalist leader, who had been under house arrest for 14 months, had been released. Other political detainees would be set free, except rebel leaders guilty of murder.

General Mobutu said:

"The race for the top is finished. A Government of National Union under Colonel Mulamba will be formed. I shall ask Parliament to amend the Constitution so that the presidential elections due in February will not take place". The Government would not be of a military character, its only soldiers being himself and Colonel Mulamba, who, in addition to their civilian duties, would continue to run the army.

The new President was at one time the best known Congolese journalist. Having begun to write while an army clerk, he left the army in 1956, and was editing two Belgian-owned newspapers in Leopoldville when in 1958 he joined the nationalist movement headed by Mr. Patrice Lumumba, who afterwards became Prime Minister. In 1959 Mobutu went to Belgium to study. When Lumumba formed his first Government in the next year he appointed Mobutu Secretary of State to the Presidency, and he made him Chief of Staff with the rank of colonel when the mutinies broke out in July 1960. The army was then commanded by General Lundula, whom he later replaced, announcing that the country would be run by "a college of commissioners". After an attempt on his life by a fellow officer, he transferred civil authority to President Kasavubu.

The Russian newspaper *Izvestia* denounced the coup as having been arranged to help Belgian and American monopolies. It called General Mobutu and his associates "varicoloured racist scum".

From Incompetent Politician to Incompetent General

The *Guardian* commented:—

"Few Congolese public figures inspire much confidence either there or here, and the replacement of President Kasavubu by General Mobutu does little more than mark the transfer of power from an incompetent politician to an incompetent general. Kasavubu at least had the distinction of staying in power for five years, which is more than anyone else in the Congo has been able to do. Mobutu's previous coup, in 1960, was shortlived though devastating in its effect.

"What the Congo needs is unity, firm government, and the absence of interference from outside. To date it has been none of these; nor does the Mobutu coup give much hope for the future. There can be no national unity without the co-operation of the former Stanleyville rebels, who actually surround Stanleyville and are still active in Kivu Province.

"Though they have little real military power they could cause political irritation almost indefinitely, for it is the rebels who have inherited the mantle of Patrice Lumumba without which any Government in Leopoldville is suspect in the Congo itself and in the rest of Africa. Mobutu has thrown out an olive branch by releasing the former Lumumbist leader Gizenga, but this is unlikely to be sufficient.

"If Mobutu fails to win the confidence of Tshombe—Prime Minister until a month ago—there might be a new secession of Katanga. If this happened it would be difficult for black African States not to conclude that the coup had been instigated by outside interests. Mobutu success in ousting Kasavubu and Lumumba in 1960 is usually ascribed to the activities of the American Central Intelligence Agency. For those who see things in cold war terms, it is clear that Mobutu is on the side of the West. When news of the coup was announced the value of the shares of Union Minière went shooting up. The Chinese have described him conventionally enough as 'a notorious running dog of the imperialists'. Whether he is on the side of the Congolese is another matter".

LE TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



FIRST AND FOREMOST
IN RUBBER TYRED
EARTH-MOVING
EQUIPMENT



WIGGLESWORTH
& CO (AFRICA) LIMITED
DAR ES SALAAM TANGA NAIROBI HOMBASA KAMPALA
London Associates

Wigglesworth & Co., Limited, 30-34 Mincing Lane, London, E.C.3.

MORE SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS

(Continued from page 267)

occurred if my rt. hon. friend had not taken the action he did".

MR. HEATH: "Will not the Prime Minister recall that he himself told the House that, as a result of the action in Rhodesia and the Enabling Bill, Rhodesia had become to an even greater extent the responsibility only of the British Government, and therefore the explanation which the Prime Minister has given of the reason why the Government did not abstain is certainly not consistent with what he said before?"

"The Prime Minister stated, also in the debate, that in his view and that of the Government the measures which they were taking would be effective. Therefore, anything further to which he agrees is not, in the judgment of the British Government, necessary but is being forced upon them by other Governments."

"Will the Prime Minister recognize that the last part of his statement about the future position on which those who wish to return to constitutional normality in Rhodesia can work is still far from clear, and that it is becoming urgently necessary to have a detailed statement from the Government on this point?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It is true that we are responsible for Rhodesia, and I said that there is a very special responsibility now in that the Government of Rhodesia legally resides in this country through the Governor. It ought not, however, to be for me, to explain to the rt. hon. gentleman the difference between our legal responsibility for Rhodesia and the fact that this is a matter for world concern. It is easy for him to deplore that it is a matter for world concern, but he has to answer the question whether he is prepared to see the Commonwealth break up on this issue."

World Opinion

"Although we have a special responsibility for Rhodesia, we cannot ignore world opinion. It would be perfectly easy to do so and stand upon constitutional doctrine. The result would be bloodshed in Rhodesia, and perhaps throughout the whole of Africa. [An Hon. Member: 'Nonsense.'] No rt. hon. Member has the right in this House to discount the importance of this."

"With regard to the rt. hon. gentleman's question about discussions with the people of Rhodesia to get a new Constitution, I agree with him that this is very important. I agree with him about the need to spell this out further as we go along, and I hope that we shall be able to do so. The position here, however, is that as soon as the people of Rhodesia are prepared to return to constitutional paths, as soon as the Governor feels that there is an opportunity of perhaps forming a Government among those who will act in a constitutional manner, we would want to deal with those people, without any recrimination or any rancour about the past, on the basis of a resettlement in Rhodesia, starting from the 1961 Constitution with such amendments as, I think, the whole House would agree to be necessary to give effect to the five principles, leading up, I would hope, as quickly as possible to free elections in Rhodesia and then discussion as to how we can give effect to the question of gradual and unimpeded progress to majority rule."

"What is important to say here is that there are too many people still in Rhodesia who think that the only alternative to this illegal action and all the economic consequences that will follow from it would be majority rule tomorrow or the day after. Repeatedly we have said, on both sides, that this is not a runner at all, and that Rhodesia is not ready for immediate majority rule. I spent a lot of time in Rhodesia talking to various people from all sections of opinion to discuss a basis on which we can move at the earliest possible moment towards it. But we have to get abundant proof of a willingness to work the Constitution and of racial harmony in Rhodesia before we can proceed to the question of majority rule."

Some of the speeches in an earlier debate on Rhodesia were reported last week. Extracts from others follow.

MR. DAVID ENNALLS: "We are facing the gravest crises of our relations with Africa and of relations between black and white throughout the world. Yet the Leader of the Opposition gives only equivocal and hesitant support to 'certain parts' of H.M. Government's policy and makes niggling criticisms of other parts."

"It is possible that those now in power may be brought to their senses. If not, it is possible that many other people in Rhodesia will see the folly of the decision taken by Mr.

Smith, and that more moderate voices will seek to return again to a legal Government."

"Mr. Smith and his Government were determined to maintain white supremacy. They could have acted in many ways to prove that the 1961 Constitution would have led eventually to majority rule. They could have given Africans responsibility in Government and the civil service. They could have encouraged personal liberty, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and association, protection from discriminatory action. They could have proceeded to do away with all aspects of racial discrimination. Freedom has been eroded. Now it has been abolished."

Helping Rhodesia to Fair Independence

"But there are men and women in Rhodesia, white and black, who do believe in racial co-operation. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, was not ousted from office by any pressure from Britain. He was ousted by the extremists in Rhodesia."

"This country, Parliament and Government have the task as much today as we had 25 or 50 years ago of helping Rhodesia towards a just and fair independence. We cannot allow that responsibility to be usurped by an illegal group of people who have already been banished from office by the Queen. We cannot give up responsibility to Mr. Smith or to the United Nations. The responsibility is ours for seeing that the sacred trust is carried through—a sacred trust as much to Africans as to Europeans."

"If it had been an African minority Government which had taken this action, would the rt. hon. Member for Thirsk and Malton have made the sort of speech he made this morning. Would the leader of the Opposition have made the same sort of speech?"

MR. TURTON: "I would certainly have made exactly the same sort of speech. I do not believe that economic sanctions, unless backed up by force, are effective."

MR. ENNALLS: "All Britain will hope and pray that economic means alone will be enough. That is why they must be organized and effectively carried out by all the world. We want no undermining of this essential policy by hon. Members opposite."

"Our troops must be ready if need be to deal with a breakdown in law and order. It would be intolerable if in Rhodesia white was killing black or black killing white, and we who have responsibility not only allowed carnage to develop but allowed it to spread into other parts of the world."

"We must be absolute in our support for Zambia, which has pursued a policy of moderation and rectitude and must not be allowed to suffer."

Unholy Alliance

"It would be intolerable if South Africa, the first country to recognize an illegal Government in Rhodesia, were to gain from this illegal action. This unholy alliance is a threat to all the values which we hold dear. The situation will require great firmness by the Government, and some resolution and some guts from those on the other side of the House who know as well as we do the record of the former British Government and the commitments which they undertook. It would be a shocking situation if, when in Opposition, they were to withdraw from the commitments which they had undertaken when they were in Government."

MR. PATRICK WALL: "The hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Ennalls) at least made his position clear—an escalation of sanctions leading to and including war, provided that those sanctions are exercised against white Governments in Southern Africa. He has consistently made this view clear in remarks which we have heard from him in the past both inside and outside the House."

"The news which I had of U.D.I. was a deep personal tragedy to me. I first visited Rhodesia in company with the rt. hon. gentleman who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1957. I fell in love with that country and with the people of all races in the country, and since then I have tried to do my best to maintain good relations between successive British and Rhodesian Governments. I deeply regret U.D.I. because of the effect it is bound to have on race relations not only in Central Africa but in the Commonwealth as a whole."

"Though Mr. Smith is greatly to blame in its unconstitutional and stupid action, the blame must be shared by Front Bench Members on both sides of the House, and indeed by hon. Members on both sides of the House, who have pro-

GUILT OF BRITISH MINISTERS AND OTHER M.P.s.

duced a situation in which Britain has had responsibility but no power in Central Africa. The real blame must lie upon those hon. Members who, when in Opposition, conducted a major and sustained campaign to destroy the Federation, which alone gave the last chance of real partnership in Central Africa.

Africans Intolerant of Multi-Racialism

"I have very many African friends. I supported the non-racial approach of Mr. Todd when he was Prime Minister and also Mr. Michael Blundell and his party in Kenya. I did this until I saw that in the circumstances of recent years, multi-racialism was no longer possible, because as soon as an African political party won a majority in its House of Parliament it became clear that it intended to exercise complete political and economic domination. Who can blame the Africans? But one must study the effect that this had on the European minorities who had equal rights, who were equally indigenous members of that country.

"As the hon. Member for Kettering (Sir G. de Freitas) and others have pointed out, race relations in Kenya and other places are excellent. The Africans wish to retain the European settlers. Their Governments understand their power to draw capital. They understand the contribution they can make to the economy. But these African Governments intend to run their countries for Africans, and that means a disastrous reduction in standards which, in turn, means that many Europeans have to leave.

"In the famous 'wind of change' speech in 1960, Mr. Macmillan said in Cape Town that we wished to create a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature. . . . But he qualified this. He spoke of 'a society in which individual merit, and individual merit alone, is the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic'. Was this the criterion applied in Kenya, Tanzania, or Malawi? Why is it that 50% of the European population of Kenya have left since independence, despite the excellent relations in that country?

"The Commonwealth Relations Secretary talked very sympathetically about our kith and kin in Rhodesia. But what is happening to the European farmers who, in accordance with the wish of the British Government, remained in Kenya? The previous British Government granted sufficient funds to buy half a million acres of European land for African settlement each year. The present Government have cut this down to a negligible sum sufficient only to buy 80,000 acres. It will at this rate take 16 years to buy out the small European mixed farmers in Kenya, many of whom are World War I veterans now in their seventies. These farmers are suffering from cattle rustling and intimidation of their labour.

Treatment of Kenya Britons Warns Rhodesians

"If reports now current are true, it will take 16 years for them to be able to realize their capital and leave the country. Is this the way we treat our kith and kin? This is a shocking example of Treasury meanness which will not encourage the Rhodesians to trust the British Government.

"Kenya Ministers have said that £1.4m. for the purchase of these farms is inadequate and that they themselves may have to make up the difference by borrowing from other countries. They and the Kenya National Farmers' Union delegation consider that this offer by the British Government is a betrayal of our kith and kin in Kenya.

"I return to Rhodesia. I believe that the Secretary of State did his utmost to prevent this tragedy. I believe that the Prime Minister worked incessantly to prevent it. But it happened. The Prime Minister's efforts have failed.

"The key question was whether there should be a Senate of chiefs of whether two unpaid chiefs were to be invited to sit in the Lower House—either of which solution would mean giving the 'blocking third' to the Africans—or whether the additional Africans should be elected on the lower roll, and how the B roll was to be phased out, through the elimination of one seat on the B roll for each seat on the A roll won by a non-European or one seat on the B roll for two seats on the A roll. These do not represent great differences. Incidentally, I understand that Mr. Smith now intends to implement the promises he made to H.M. Government for African advancement."

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES: "The hon. gentleman is confused as between the 'blocking quarter' and the 'blocking third'."

MR. WALL: "Whether it is a 'blocking quarter', a 'blocking third', or a 'blocking fifteenth', the question is whether the Africans were to be put in the position of being able to block legislation for constitutional change to which they

objected. Mr. Smith made the concession of having 15 African seats plus two chiefs, or alternatively, a Senate of chiefs, providing a 'blocking third' or any other fraction to enable Africans to prevent constitutional changes they disapproved."

MR. SHIRLEY WILLIAMS: "Is the hon. gentleman not aware of the statement about the chiefs made by Lord Melbourne, who said that they were in the pay of the Rhodesian Government and called them 'old dodderers' with no influence?"

MR. WALL: "Members of this House are also paid by the Government, but that does not make them irresponsible. The chiefs represent a considerable section of rural African opinion.

"The position is that Rhodesians believed, rightly or wrongly, that, owing to pressure from the Commonwealth and the United Nations, the British Government would eventually insist on a handover to majority rule in two or three years, and they did not trust the Government because they had prevaricated for too long. 'Too little, too late' was the epitaph of the Central African Federation, and it was a case of 'too little, too late' for Rhodesia.

Must Majority Always Dictate?

"Hon. Members, ~~oppose~~ may feel that we should hand over Rhodesia to majority rule in the very near future, but are they being honest with themselves? What would we do if we were in the place of the Rhodesians? We in this country may be confronted fairly soon with much the same problem. We are in a minority in the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth may soon demand that the majority should have the say. Commonwealth countries may soon demand votes in the Prime Ministers' Conference, and the Commonwealth Secretariat may move in this direction. Are we to accept that, because of the wish of the majority, we should lower our standards? Are we to move towards a situation in the United Nations where the richer white nations who are in the minority must obey the behest of the majority? That is a parallel to what we are demanding of the white people in Rhodesia.

"But all this is no excuse for the declaration of independence, and the Rhodesian Government must suffer the consequences of their action. I support all the consequential penalties which flow from it—exchange control, exclusion from Commonwealth preference, from the money market, and from British aid—although Rhodesia has had practically none, except perhaps for the university. The Rhodesian Government by an illegal act have divorced themselves from the Commonwealth. They should not share in the benefits of Commonwealth membership. But I violently oppose any punitive sanctions. What is the object of such sanctions? Is it based to create chaos in Rhodesia so as to secure the overthrow of Mr. Smith's Government by force?

"Punitive sanctions on tobacco will not be effective until next year, but it will lead to the dismissal of 500,000 foreign Africans now employed on the tobacco plantations in Rhodesia. This is inevitable if the illegal Rhodesian Government put the rights of their own Africans before the rights of Africans from Malawi, Zambia, or wherever it might be.

Race War Could Be Provoked

"Punitive sanctions would undoubtedly consolidate Rhodesian opinion behind the Rhodesian Government. My own friends, who come mostly from the old U.F.P., have always said to me: 'If the balloon goes up, and if Britain really starts imposing sanctions of this kind on our country, we shall show them that we are Rhodesians first'. The only possible means of restoring the situation is to create a compromise with the Rhodesian people, black and white, so that they themselves want a change of Government. We certainly shall not do that by making them tighten their belts and creating chaos in their country.

"It is essential to keep United Nations intervention out of the dispute, and I believe there is a danger of United Nations military intervention, which could provoke a race war in Central Africa which could spread throughout the world. I do not believe that the people of this country would tolerate United Nations military intervention.

"If the Prime Minister intends to have a series of debates on one Order in Council after another imposing heavier and heavier sanctions on the lines suggested by the hon. Member for Dover, this series of debates will have the gravest consequences. It will lead to foreigners taking over our markets, to higher prices in this country, and not only to the consolidation of people in Rhodesia behind Mr. Smith but to the consolidation of four million whites in South Africa. I believe that it will create pressure from abroad for military interven-

WHY WAS HIGH COMMISSIONER NOT LEFT IN SALISBURY?

tion either from this country or the United Nations. These matters which will raise a growing storm of public indignation in this country which could well sweep the Prime Minister out of office.

Freedom of Speech Must Be Safeguarded

"Yesterday the Prime Minister said: 'It is the duty of all private citizens in Rhodesia or outside to refrain from acts which will give support to the illegal régime'. The word 'treason' has been bandied about. Today the Attorney-General talked along the same lines.

"Is there to be a limitation on the right of free speech in this country? Has the telephone of the Rhodesian High Commissioner been tapped? Has the telephone of his predecessor been tapped? Has my telephone been tapped? I should like an answer to these questions.

"While not supporting Mr. Smith's illegal Government, I want to ensure that the public in this country have the right to express their views and to criticize the actions of the British Government. That right of free speech is safeguarded in this House. It must equally be safeguarded in the country. I want an assurance from the Prime Minister on this vital matter today."

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY: "This U.D.I. is an unmitigated disaster. It is wholly impossible to predict what the consequences will be. In these circumstances it is of the greatest importance to maximize our national unity. I resent at least two partisan speeches from the other side, from the hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Ennalls) and the hon. and learned Member for Lincoln (Mr. Taverne). It seemed that both were attempting, quite unfairly, to drive a wedge not only between the parties but between the Leader of the Opposition and some of his supporters. Anybody who tries to play party politics on such a solemn matter as this is not likely easily to be forgiven.

"We are talking about the fate of 400,000 of our countrymen in Commonwealth Africa, half in Rhodesia and half in territories further north. We cannot put a fence round any African territory, and what happens in Rhodesia in the next few months may well have consequences upon our countrymen in the territories further north.

Talking Different Languages

"The negotiations, whether carried out by the former Government or by the present Government, would almost certainly have ended in the present melancholy situation: The Labour and Conservative Governments and Mr. Smith have for the past two years been talking entirely different languages. We have been talking about responsible government. He has been talking about white supremacy. This is the real basis of difference.

"I do not believe that Mr. Smith wanted a U.D.I., but had he not declared a U.D.I. I believe that he would have been turned out because he was too moderate, and would have been replaced by Mr. Harper or another of his colleagues whom no one could claim were too moderate. Therefore, there was a certain inevitability about this crisis.

"Sanctions which are a gesture or a protest are a waste of time. The only question is whether they will effectively and one hopes speedily bring about a restoration of legal rule under the Governor. I want to see the Europeans coming to recognize that in Mr. Smith they have a dangerous man who has involved them in perils going far beyond what any of them might have believed possible three or four weeks ago."

MR. HENRY CLARK: "Would not my hon. friend agree that if at some future date—perhaps six, eight, 12, or 18 months' time—it becomes apparent that the efforts to discredit Mr. Smith have become hopeless, that sanctions continued beyond that point would clearly be sanctions which could be described as punitive, and that when there is no further hope of altering European opinion in Rhodesia all sanctions should be removed?"

MR. BERKELEY: "That is a hypothetical question. I am puzzled why the British High Commissioner in Salisbury has been withdrawn. He is the British Government's representative to the Government of Rhodesia. The Government of Rhodesia at present consists of the Governor. I should have thought that it would have been helpful had the British High Commissioner remained in Salisbury and taken the opportunity if he was allowed to, not only of an ambassador, with all sections of the Rhodesian population. I should have wished him to stay there unless he had been expelled.

"If we say that our objective is to restore legal rule under the Governor, we ought also to say two other things which will affect European morale in Rhodesia. Can we clearly say that

we have no intention whatsoever of allowing United Nations entry into Rhodesia by means of a military force or any other means? Secondly, can we say that, judging by past and present performance, and, indeed, the performance that we saw on television last night, we do not believe that we can hand over in the immediate future to the African nationalists in Rhodesia?"

"They have not shown themselves to be fit and ready to take over the government of the country. They denied themselves the opportunity of fighting the 1961 Constitution. They have been denied the advantages of higher education and other training by the present Rhodesian Government. By any standards they are not ready as yet to administer the country."

Colonial Rule Proposed for Five Years

"I hope that we would make it clear that we see the end as being a resumption of legal rule under a Governor with full colonial powers to administer Rhodesia for a period of probably not less than five years, and perhaps even more, in which an ordered and steady transfer of power takes place at the same time as an accelerated education programme and a training programme, but this transfer taking place in an ordered way and at a speed of our choosing.

"It should be made plain to the people of Rhodesia, and particularly to the Europeans, that if Smith's Government falls the result is not going to be a Congo situation. We will not permit that. It is not going to be United Nations intervention. We will not permit that. It is not going to be an immediate transfer of power from white to black. We will not permit that because relations between the races are too embittered for this to be contemplated. But we intend to take over and firmly guide the territory towards majority rule in a situation in which mutual harmony can exist between the races.

"I have been to Rhodesia perhaps a dozen times in the last eight years, and I have seen the appalling deterioration in the relationship between the races. Five years ago it was barely perceptible. Today it is the most obvious feature to anybody who goes to Rhodesia. Both races are haunted by fear—the Europeans by the fear that if they give up any of their privileges they will be swept away overnight, the Africans will take over, and they will be inexperienced and a Congo-like situation will emerge. The Africans are frightened that now they will never achieve majority rule, never be first-class citizens, and will always be denied education and training which is their right and which can fit them to govern in due course.

"Therefore, if we can recapture the position, if we can exert British authority, it is essential that we should stay until black and white can live together in the future without fear and in safety and harmony."

Position of Armed Forces

SIR HARRY LEGGE-BOURKE: "The position of those under military law in Rhodesia is extremely dangerous. If they support the illegal Government, not only will they be supporting what has been quite properly described as a treacherous activity; as soldiers, they will also be committing mutiny against the lawful authority of Her Majesty in Rhodesia. What steps are being taken to ensure that it is brought home to everyone who is serving Her Majesty in the armed forces of Rhodesia the risks that they run unless they obey the Governor and refuse to obey orders from the illegal Government of Mr. Smith?"

"Are there methods open to the armed forces to get into communication with their opposite numbers in Rhodesia in a way which is perhaps not open in the civilian field? The armed forces serving Her Majesty are equipped with special signals apparatus, and I can conceive of methods of getting in touch with Rhodesian forces which might be denied in the civil field without the use of force.

"The Secretary of State has carried himself with distinction throughout the negotiations. What importance does he place on the reaction of Sir Roy Welensky to what has been happening? A week or two ago Sir Roy said that although he was absolutely opposed to U.D.I. it was the duty of all Rhodesians to back Mr. Smith's Government because it could not possibly be said that Mr. Smith was in office on anything but an independence ticket. I hope the Government will ask Sir Roy to consider most carefully revising that statement before it is too late."

MR. CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND: "What is at stake is the general future of Africa, the future of the white people in Africa, and the general reputation of Britain in the world. The eleventh hour is not the time for the Leader of the Opposition to spit in the wind of change. My fear is that his present stance is liable to give encouragement to the Queen's rebels."

Imports Reduced by a Quarter

RHODESIA'S IMPORTS of some goods, including motor vehicles, are to be reduced by 25% over the next four months. The imports affected also include bicycles, some office machines, sports goods, toilet preparations, fresh fish, coffee, chocolate, bananas, and condensed milk.

There have been some dismissals of staff by manufacturers' representatives and companies doing large import business. The official estimate is that unemployment among white Rhodesians will not at any stage exceed 5% of the total, or about 5,000. It is hoped that unemployment among Africans may be kept to about 25,000, out of a labour force of 640,000.

The Reserve Bank asked the commercial banks last week to reduce personal overdrafts and provide credits for the manufacturing and agricultural sectors of the economy rather than to importers and distributors.

A consignment of 25 archery bows made to championship standards for Rhodesian buyers by a Nottingham firm has been cancelled. They would have cost about £20 each. The maker suggests that the authorities perhaps believed that they might have reached the wrong people, and added: "A bow and arrow well made can be regarded as a weapon of war".

Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, has announced a decision to ban imports of Rhodesian sugar and tobacco.

Canada's Trade Commission in Salisbury is to be closed towards the end of next month. The Trade Commissioner has already left. There are about 250 Canadians in Rhodesia.

The National Coal Board of Great Britain is negotiating the sale to Zambia of some 90,000 tons of coal at a cost of about £500,000. The proposal is to ship from Immingham to Lobito. Coking coal would cost about £6 and steam-raising coal about £5 per ton. The ocean freight rate would add 40s. to 45s. per ton.

An official of the Ministry of Commerce in Zambia who has arrived in London is asking exporters to re-route their consignment to Zambia through Lobito or Dar es Salaam, instead of using the usual route through Beira or Lorenzo Marques.

Mr. Soreff, chairman of the Africa Committee of the Monday Club, said last week in Bloemfontein, South Africa, that when other nations were eagerly awaiting trading opportunities in Rhodesia it was no moment for H.M. Government to engage in punitive sanctions which would jeopardize the sterling area. While Communist aggression threatened the whole of the free world, and not least America (which had been created by its own U.D.I.), Rhodesia was being made the whipping-boy of the Western bloc.

Denmark has announced that tobacco already in transit from Rhodesia may be imported but that no more purchases of Rhodesian leaf may be made.

Nationalisation in Kenya

MR. ACHIENG ONEKO, Minister for Information in Kenya, said when recently addressing a seminar on "The Road to African Socialism" that a fundamental part of Kenya's African system was direct State ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, so that profits would go to the users of the services or to society in general. By manipulation of the taxation system a more equitable distribution of income and wealth was intended. Consideration was being given to progressive inheritance taxes, death duties, capital gains tax, expanding property taxes, and higher taxes on sales, entertainment, and non-essentials, by all of which means it was intended to "foster a new ethic in our society, to build a country in which men and women are motivated by a sense of service, not driven by greedy desire for personal gain".

Communist Arms

RUSSIAN AND CHINESE VESSELS are reported to have unloaded some 200 tons of small arms and ammunition in Dar es Salaam in November. They were taken over by the Tanzanian Army. Reports from Nairobi suggest that Russia has delivered this year about 1,600 tons of military equipment of various kinds, including anti-tank guns and anti-aircraft guns, and China about 1,275 tons of such equipment, plus 40 military trucks.

Commercial Brevities

A Polish textile exhibition has been opened in Dar es Salaam.

A rayon textile mill is likely to be established at Kawempe, near Kampala, Uganda.

Rhodesian Bath Shoe Co., Ltd., Bulawayo, has increased its capital from £1.1m. to £1,550,000.

A cotton ginnery costing £250,000 is being built at Shamva, Rhodesia, some 50 miles from Salisbury.

Steel window frames and doors are to be manufactured in Uganda by a West German company.

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., produced 1,541 tons of sisal in October, making 6,550 tons for July-October.

Three German industrialists have recently spent a week in Uganda, primarily to discuss fertilizer questions.

Shareholders of the Standard Bank are to receive an interim dividend of 7½% in respect of the year to March 31 next.

Kenya's exports to Britain in the first eight months of this year were valued at £11,187,000. Imports from the U.K. cost just over £20m. in the period.

A fibre glass factory is now in production in Salisbury. The proprietors, Halmatic (Rhodesia) (Pvt.), Ltd., are in the Hunting group of companies.

Motor-car accessories now imported from Britain are to be partly produced and partly assembled in Salisbury by a subsidiary of the Cope-Allman group of companies in England.

Lever Bros. (Zambia), Ltd., have decided to add a new soapless detergent plant to the £1m. factory now being built in Ndola. It will be able to supply all Zambia's detergent requirements.

The new Uganda Commercial Bank, starting with a capital of £1m., will take over the business and branches of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank. It will undertake all kinds of banking service.

Tobacco Companies Increase Capital

The Rhodesian Tobacco Warehouse & Export Co., Ltd., of Salisbury, has increased its capital from £200,000 to £750,000, and Tobacco Producers Floor, Ltd., Salisbury, has raised its capital from £200,000 to £200,000.

The Uganda Lint Marketing Board reports that India bought 23% of last year's cotton crop and China 21%. The next three largest buyers were West Germany, Hong Kong, and Japan. Hungary took 20,100 bales.

Uganda's second five-year development plan, 1966-71, is to be examined by economists from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Ghana, Poland, India, Pakistan, and the United Arab Republic.

The Mowlem Construction Co., Ltd., has received a £3m. contract from the Uganda Government to build and equip 11 rural hospitals. The National Provincial Bank, Lloyds Bank, and the Bank of Scotland are to lend the Uganda Government the necessary funds.

Richard Costain, Ltd., who have large Central African interests, report group profits after tax for the six months to June 30 at £294,000. Sir Richard Costain, the chairman, stresses that in such businesses figures for short periods are no reliable guide to the long-term situation. Central African interests account for less than 10% of the group's assets.

Charter Consolidated, Ltd., is paying a maiden interim dividend of 10d. per 5s. unit, of which 4d. relates to the pre-merger period. It is hoped to pay another 10d. next year, making 1s. 8d. for 15 months, equivalent to the 1s. 4d. per share per annum originally forecast. For the half-year to September 30 profit totalled £6,420,000, of which £2,683,000 was required by taxation. This year's Finance Act has seriously affected the company.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., which has substantial interests in the Mangula copper mine in Rhodesia, estimates net profits after tax to June 30 at R4,972,400, compared with R2,868,000 in the previous year. A dividend of 25% is to be paid on December 9. Distribution to shareholders for the current year take R1.7m., compared with R738,750 last year. Transfers to reserves are up from R2m. to R3.3m. Group profits after tax were rather above R6.2m. (R3.5m.), and group transfers to reserves are increased from R2.6m. to just under R4.5m.

The Central Africa Co., Ltd., reports gross profits from estates in Malawi before charging depreciation, administration, and tax at £115,000, compared with £506,710 in the previous year, the sharp drop being mainly due to the heavy fall in the price of sisal and adverse climatic conditions on the tea plantations. Output totalled 2,204,607lb., against 2,717,018, but the average price was 34d. lb., compared with 30.38d. in 1964. Production of sisal was 9,022 tons, against 11,251 tons in 1964 (when the figure included productions of two subsidiaries, for 15 months). No interim dividend is recommended.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

Rhodesia is packed with scenic splendours which make the heart of Africa a Wonder of the World. The Victoria Falls, where the mighty Zambesi river thunders into a chasm more than a mile wide and three hundred feet deep, are the greatest natural spectacle in all Africa. Within easy reach of the falls is the famous game reserve of Wankie which provides many modern amenities for the comfort of the visitor, in the heart of the African bush. Visitors are assured of seeing elephant, lion, antelope and many other species of wild life.

Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. These exciting places are not so far away as you may think! The V.C.10 will get you there on any day of the week in under 14 hours. A grand safari holiday is not beyond your reach when you take advantage of a package tour to this sunny land.



TELL OUR ADVERTISERS YOU SAW IT IN "EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA"



We bend over backwards to meet your Delivery Dates

At Union-Castle, this kind of bending over backwards isn't painful; it's routine. When we say we'll get your freight there on time, we mean it. We carry your goods with a reliability, care and speed that's as famous as the dependability of the Union-Castle Line itself. Send for full details of Union-Castle freight services and see how we bend.

SEE HOW WE SAIL: Monthly sailings from London and Middlesbrough to East African ports (via Mediterranean) and to Beira (via The Cape). Cargo to Rhodesia can go by rail from Beira or Port Elizabeth.

The going's good by
UNION-CASTLE

Outward Freight Dept., Greenly House, Creechurch Lane, London, E.C.3
For details, clip coupon to your letter heading, then post.
To Union-Castle Line, please send full details of freight service.
NAME _____
POSITION _____



**CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES
EAST AFRICA**

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD to MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and if inducement MTWARA

	Closing	Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	B'head
† CLAN URQUHART	—	—	Dec. 6	Dec. 14
‡ CITY OF PERTH	—	Dec. 15	Dec. 20	Dec. 28
† WAYFARER	—	Jan. 5	Jan. 10	Jan. 13

* if inducement. † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR). ‡ also calls ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR). R also PORT SUDAN and ADEN.

also by arrangement

RED SEA PORTS:—

PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

For particulars of sailings, rates of freight, etc., apply to

THE OWNERS or

THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., (OVERSEAS) LTD., MOMBASA

Loading Brokers:
**STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO.,
LIVERPOOL 2**

London Agents:
**TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD.,
LONDON, E.C.3**

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 9, 1965

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Vol. 42

No. 2148

52s. yearly post free

JOINT SERVICE

HALL LINE HARRISON LINE



LOBITO, CAPETOWN, *MOSSSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN
AND MAURITIUS (also Walvis and Luderitz Bay with transhipment).

Vessel	Glasgow	S. Wales	Birkenhead
CITY OF PRETORIA	14 Dec.

: If inducement. * With or without transhipment.

DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and BEIRA (also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with
transhipment).

Vessel	Glasgow	Birkenhead
GOVERNOR	31 Dec.	11 Jan.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT.

ENQUIRIES to:—
THOS. & JAS. HARRISON LTD., Liverpool and London.
HALL LINE Limited, Liverpool.

Leading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

THE MANICA TRADING COMPANY LIMITED

**STEAMSHIP, AIRWAYS,
SHIPPING, FORWARDING
AND INSURANCE AGENTS**

LONDON OFFICE: St. Mary Axe House, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3.

BEIRA P.O. Box 14
SALISBURY P.O. Box 776
BULAWAYO P.O. Box 310
GWELO P.O. Box 447
UMTALI P.O. Box No. 270
BLANTYRE P.O. Box 460
LOURENCO MARQUES
P.O. Box 557
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. Box 8827

Established over 60 years

Much Severe Economic Sanctions Imposed

What importers should know about John Holt Exports Limited

WHAT JHEL IS

With offices in London, Liverpool and Lagos, JHEL provides a buying and credit financing organisation to meet the import needs (capital equipment as well as consumer goods) of the independent countries of Africa.

Rapid development in Africa means that conventional trading methods are being overtaken by direct business between client in Africa and source of supply overseas. A prime requirement for developing business in Africa today is credit. To meet this urgent need for capital JHEL, working closely with Merchant Bankers, provide credit facilities and will also negotiate the necessary insurance cover.

JHEL can help State Corporations, Co-operatives, Merchants and Industrialists of standing, not only with recurrent merchandise orders but with capital projects. We already serve, for example, the Ghana National Trading Corporation, the successful State sponsored organisation, whose requirements for a large range of consumer and capital goods total many millions of pounds each year.

WHAT JHEL CAN DO FOR YOU

Negotiate for goods at the keenest possible prices using our high volume purchasing power from many clients.

Procure credit on the best and longest terms.

Arrange insurance and shipment of goods to meet clients' delivery dates and assist in claims and other queries.

Provide service in both Europe and Africa which individual businesses would find costly to provide themselves.

Put at the clients' disposal our knowledge of world wide sources of merchandise and advice on new products and opportunities.

WHAT WILL JHEL COST YOU

Our fees are subject to negotiation, being dependent upon the volume of business to be done, the services required, whether the turnover is made up of large lumps or small pieces, and the realistic expectation of potential business in the near future.



IF LOWER COST AND BETTER FINANCING AND COVER ARE YOUR REQUIREMENTS JHEL CAN BE OF SERVICE TO YOU

For further information, please write, telex or telephone us at:

JOHN HOLT



EXPORTS LIMITED Dept A

P.O. BOX 542 · LAGOS · NIGERIA. Telephone No. Apapa 55855. Telex No. 38

MOOR HOUSE · LONDON WALL · LONDON, E.C.2. Telephone No. NATIONAL 4151. Telex No. 262871

BUY ADVERTISED GOODS — THEY HAVE BEEN PROVED BY US

EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1.
Telephone: HOLborn 2224-5

Cables: EASTAFRIC, London Inland Telegrams: EASTAFRIC, Westcent., London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	281	O.A.U. Threats	289
P.M.'s Broadcast	282	Psychological Warfare	290
Mr. Heath's Reply	283	Letter to the Queen	292
Negotiations with Zambia	284	Letters to the Editor	293
All-Out Economic War	286	R.A.F. in Zambia	294
Personalia	288	Zambian Youths Assault Whites	295

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1965.

Vol. 42

No. 2148

52s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

HUMILIATION FOR BRITAIN would, we predicted last week, be the least of the consequences of H.M. Government's manoeuvres over Rhodesia. Humiliation came with a promptitude and plenitude of which the British public has no conception, for, as is now customary, practically all the leading newspapers accepted the illusions convenient and comforting to the politicians instead of analyzing events objectively and alerting their readers to the continuance of mismanagement by British Ministers. It is still not generally understood that that mismanagement was responsible in Rhodesia for the creation and growth of a conditional disposition towards a unilateral declaration of independence and ultimately for the act of November 11. That tragedy would have been averted if Mr. Wilson had been a competent negotiator. Unhappily, he showed himself to be an indecisive and incompetent negotiator at crucial stages in the Rhodesian discussions. For precisely the same reason humiliation has come in the past week from Zambia, which has been allowed to wrench apart a carefully considered "package deal", taking merely that part which suited President Kaunda (Royal Air Force help) and rejecting the associated offer of a British infantry battalion — not because he did not want it, but because not even Mr. Wilson would agree that British troops should invade Rhodesia in order to seize the Kariba power-installations.

We write "not even Mr. Wilson" because the Prime Minister revealed under pressure in the House of Commons that in certain circumstances he might have authorized what he was pleased to call a "limited operation" on Rhodesian territory. Fortunately, Zambian intransigence has saved him and Britain from that folly. It would have been criminal folly to order some six hundred British infantrymen into offensive action

against Rhodesia. Who can say whether they would have obeyed the order? It can certainly not be taken for granted. If such a violation of their territory had occurred, the Rhodesians would naturally have defended themselves. They do not share the British Prime Minister's legalistic and naive pretence that it would not be an offensive act to order British forces into a territory over which Britain claims a sovereignty which is disputed by the *de facto* Government of the country. As Mr. Wilson had also caused the Royal Navy's largest aircraft-carrier to be brought to the coast of Tanzania, Rhodesians might appropriately retort "Tell that to the Marines". Incidentally, it has been said for the past week and more in naval circles in London that other large vessels were cruising off the East African coast and that one of the provisional plans had been to fly a Commando group in naval helicopters direct to Kariba, violating Mozambique air space in the process. If there was such a plan, wiser counsels fortunately prevailed. Such a raid, far from safeguarding Kariba, would have provoked the demolition of the power-station on the Rhodesian bank at Kariba, the large transformer installation some little distance away, and perhaps heavy damage to the dam itself. On his return from Central Africa at the week-end the Commonwealth Relations Secretary said publicly that he knew that arrangements for such destruction had been made: Perhaps that knowledge caused a "cops and robbers" escapade to be dropped by the Socialist warriors in Whitehall.

The antics in Addis Ababa at the week-end provided further humiliation for these men and their misguided and mischievous associates. Nobody has done so much over the years to encourage the African nationalist extremists who in 1963 formed the Organization of African Unity as an anti-white pressure

O.A.U. Antics Help Rhodesia.

machine. There is, of course, scarcely any sense of unity among the independent African States except that which stems from racialist fervour — and the Congo proved that that fervour could be turned against a moderate African like Mr. Tshombe who favoured a policy of multi-racial gradualism as it has now been concentrated against Rhodesia. What the O.A.U. fanatics failed to recognize was that their behaviour would cause large numbers of people in Britain to say: "Rhodesians are wise to have decided to protect themselves against the overhasty transfer of power to their black majority if these African Foreign Ministers on the rampage in Ethiopia are fair

samples of the best that African Governments can produce". Still larger numbers of Britons have assuredly asked their friends: "Why do we continue to pretend that the Commonwealth means anything? If its nine African members unanimously threaten to sever diplomatic relations with Britain on December 15, why do we not decide to bid them a fond goodbye? They take nearly fifty millions a year from the overburdened British taxpayer and then embark on this ridiculous public blackmail. Let them find friends elsewhere if they can. It is better to be rid of them now than after they have begun some silly military adventure".

Prime Minister's Broadcast About Rhodesia

Zambia to Have Royal Air Force But No Infantry

THE PRIME MINISTER said on Wednesday of last week in a television broadcast to the nation: —

"This afternoon I told the House of Commons that we are preparing to station in Zambia a squadron of Javelin fighters, units of the R.A.F. Regiment, and, if required, a battalion of ground troops. I said that as a precaution H.M.S. EAGLE has been moved from the Far East and has been cruising off the coast of East Africa for the past few days. This is a very grave step, and it is right that I should explain it.

"Since the illegal declaration of independence in Rhodesia, Africa has been in a state of determined anger, as was inevitable. I cannot count the number of warnings I gave Mr. Smith about this. Strong passions have been roused in very many African States, both Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth.

Zambia Wanted Intrusion at Kariba

"They want Britain to intervene in Rhodesia with force, for the purpose of cleaning out the illegal régime, imposing a return to constitutional rule. But we have made it clear that, though we have strongly condemned what has been done in Rhodesia and deeply abhor the oppressive measures of the illegal régime, we do not believe it right to attempt to settle this problem by force. We have urged, with all the power at our command, that African countries, however strong their feelings, should also recognize the grave dangers of any action that might turn this explosive situation into a major conflagration.

"In this extremely difficult situation we are deeply concerned about the position of Zambia, a close neighbour of Rhodesia, a sovereign Commonwealth country only recently become independent, but one whose economic development, and indeed present prosperity, are closely bound up with her neighbour to the south.

"Zambia has asked us to send R.A.F. fighters and ground troops as a safeguard against possible attack by Rhodesia. President Kaunda has stressed to me that when the Central African Federation broke up its fighting services passed very largely to Southern Rho-

desia, which now possesses, by African standards, an extremely powerful and sophisticated air force.

"In expressing our agreement to President Kaunda's request we have made it clear that British forces will be stationed in Zambia in a purely defensive role. They would remain clearly and unequivocally under British command, and, short of an attack by Rhodesia on Zambia, they would not be permitted to join in any offensive operations on or over Rhodesian soil. They would, however, provide a guarantee to Zambia against external attack.

Dangerous Situation

"I have explained to the House of Commons that, given the acceptance of the conditions on which we have insisted, it was our bounden duty to respond to the request of the President of Zambia. I referred to the passionate feelings in other parts of Africa; and it is well known that mobilization has taken place and that far-reaching plans have been developed for a combined military intervention in the area. It is our earnest hope that the difficult decision that we have had to take will help to produce a calmer, cooler atmosphere, and be a guarantee that an already dangerous situation will not escalate into something worse.

"On the Zambezi, with its boundary between Zambia and Rhodesia, has been constructed one of the engineering marvels of our time—the Kariba Dam. This provides electric power for both Rhodesia and Zambia; but though the dam spans the river from the Rhodesian to the Zambian side, the power station and the switchgear controls are on the Rhodesian side. Not only Rhodesia and Zambia, but we in Britain have a great stake in this dam and this power station. The British taxpayer was heavily involved in its construction.

"The power that goes to Zambia is essential to the production of the copper which Zambia sends to us, and without that copper many of our essential industries will be disrupted and our production, our exports, our employment would all be affected.

"I can well understand President Kaunda's anxiety that Mr. Smith's men might turn off that power and bring Zambia to a standstill. And although we have not felt able to accept his proposition that we should ourselves invade Rhodesia and take over the generating station, I have today made clear to the House—and I want this to be plainly understood by Mr. Smith—that if Rhodesia were to cut off power supplies to

the Copperbelt, with all it means for Zambia and for us, Britain could not stand idly by.

"Illegal action in Rhodesia has created a grave threat to the peace of Africa, and a sharp set-back to wise Commonwealth statesmen of all races who have worked for the creation of moderate multi-racial societies in their own countries and no less for a multi-racial Commonwealth. This illegal action can and must be stopped by determined action by Britain and by every other country concerned.

"But we believe that this can and should be done not by bloodshed but by economic means. We shall be successful in avoiding dangerous courses of action only to the extent that we show clearly to the world, and not least to the peoples of Africa, our utter determination to make these economic measures effective at the earliest possible moment.

"It would be possible no doubt to bring Rhodesia to her senses by a long-drawn-out application of economic sanctions, involving immeasurable hardship and agony for the Rhodesian people, and then leaving us with a Rhodesia whose economic and political recovery would be that much harder to bring about. The Government believe that it is our duty to press as hard and as fast as possible to avoid this long-drawn-out agony and to convince the world that our peaceful measures will be effective.

"For this reason I announced in the House of Commons today still more stringent measures affecting Britain's trade with Rhodesia. This means that we have now in operation an embargo on Rhodesian exports to this country representing over 95% of their normal shipments to us, and, in addition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer tonight has announced a further series of financial measures which will have an immediate effect on Rhodesia's ability to continue operating her economy against a background of illegality. These measures are unpleasant, but they are necessary.

"They must be judged against the oppression and suffering which the maintenance of the illegal régime must bring on the Rhodesian people, including millions who are incapable of speaking for themselves. But they must be judged too against the sombre background of an Africa where divisions are becoming more embittered and where passions are in danger of taking control of events. Against that background I have no doubt where our national duty lies."

Opposition Leader's Reply

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, claimed the right of reply on the ground that the Prime Minister had introduced party political comment. The application was granted by the B.B.C. Mr. Heath said:—

"While we were in Government 12 countries achieved their independence and became members of the Commonwealth. We wanted Rhodesia to do the same. We were opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence. We did everything in our power both in Government and in Opposition to persuade Mr. Smith not to make it.

"When Mr. Smith seized independence we condemned it. It was illegal and invalid. It created a dangerous situation—dangerous for Britain, for Rhodesia, indeed for the whole of Africa, and for the Commonwealth.

"At such a time of national difficulty it is the duty of the Opposition to support the Government, despite the doubts we may sometimes have, so long as the differences are not fundamental. We are certainly carrying out our duty. At the same time the Government must not expect to get unconditional agreement with all its actions.

"Now that independence has been seized illegally I want to describe what should be the objective of British policy. Every action taken by the Government must be judged on this basis.

"We should now use every possible means of persuading and encouraging the Rhodesian people to return to the path of moderation and constitutional development, in partnership with Britain and within the Commonwealth.

"This cannot be done by using national or international force against Rhodesia. That can only produce bloodshed, destruction and chaos at the heart of Central Africa: burning, looting, murder and rape—another Congo situation.

"But we do agree that British defence forces should be sent into Zambia. This will help to ensure continued stability in Zambia and make it unnecessary for forces from any other source to go there. The British forces must remain under British control and not violate Rhodesian ground or air space: that would precipitate civil war.

"We do not agree that the reason why our forces should go into Zambia is because that country is likely to be attacked by Mr. Smith. There is no evidence to support this.

"To speak in such terms heightens tension, produces reactions. It contributes to an atmosphere in which incidents may occur making it more difficult to maintain peace.

"I must say plainly to Mr. Wilson that he must not allow himself to be dragged into using force in Rhodesia because of some incident or other engineered by those who only wish to create havoc. The task of the British Government must be to reduce tension over this whole area.

How to Test Sanctions

"What about the economic sanctions? Again we must judge these by the objective of our policy: will they help to persuade the people of Rhodesia to turn back to moderation and constitutional government? It is a difficult matter of judgment to decide where the line should be drawn in imposing economic sanctions.

"We did not challenge the economic measures taken by the Government immediately after U.D.I. Later we warned the Government that a total economic embargo on Rhodesia could have the opposite effect from what we all wanted. But this is what the Government have now done.

"I believe that some of this action—for example, the decision to stop payment of pensions from this country to those living in Rhodesia, including ex-Service pensions—can only harden opinion in Rhodesia against the British Government—not against Mr. Smith. I am glad that the Government has heeded our advice and is now having second thoughts on this matter.

"I am quite sure that to go the whole hog would only produce a feeling of injustice and leave behind a legacy of bitterness which will make conciliation infinitely more difficult in the future.

"It is not enough to abhor force and impose economic sanctions. This tragic situation can finally be resolved only by conciliation. We must hold out hope for the future to those who want to return to the path of constitutional government. The British Government must be prepared to discuss with those who come forward the necessary arrangements to safeguard the rights of all races and achieve legal independence.

"We must constantly make it clear that we want Rhodesia back in partnership with us at the earliest opportunity and that we in Britain will do everything possible to help. In this way we can best advance the day when Rhodesia will once again be a member of the Commonwealth."

Mr. Heath said in Swansea on Saturday that he did not believe the people in Britain would tolerate the Government entering into a civil war in Rhodesia.

"Mr. Wilson told Parliament that if power to Zambia were to be cut off at the Kariba Dam by Mr. Smith, Britain 'would not stand idly by'. This ignored Mr. Smith's written undertaking to President Kaunda.

"Mr. Wilson added later that if it meant a limited action by British forces against the Kariba Dam he would not hesitate. Mr. Wilson must recognize that no action of this kind could remain a limited operation. It would immediately mean civil war in which British and Rhodesian forces would be involved against each other. I do not believe that the British people would tolerate the Government entering into a civil war of this kind."

Reconciliation through Negotiation

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said in Doune, Perthshire, on Saturday that the O.A.U. ultimatum to Britain was ominous, but that British policy was not influenced by mass hysteria; it was concerned with justice for black and white, with stability and peace in Africa, and with British and Rhodesian interests. Every action of British policy must be designed to enable reasonable Rhodesians to return to the path of moderation.

Even the most moderate Rhodesians would react resentfully against sanctions from Britain or the United Nations which were designed to wreck their economy and cause social chaos. Since H.M. Government was moving very fast in that direction, the Conservative Party must insist that the door to reconciliation through negotiation and within the law should be held wide open.

MR. MAUDLING, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said in Newcastle-upon-Tyne that Mr. Wilson's "stupid actions" in threatening pensioners in Rhodesia and stopping private travel to Rhodesia could not encourage conciliation and must engender bitterness. He could not accept Mr. Wilson's suggestion that there was any danger that Rhodesians would invade Zambia.

Parliament Told of Government's Negotiations with Zambia

"We Shall Not Stand Idly By", Says Prime Minister

THE PRIME MINISTER said in the House of Commons on Wednesday of last week:—

"I have been in touch with the President of Zambia over the past few days both directly by correspondence and through the intermediary of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and the British High Commissioner in Lusaka about the defence of Zambia in the light of current developments in Central and East Africa.

"The House will be aware that on the break-up of the Federation the bulk of the Federation Air Force went to Southern Rhodesia, and in consequence Zambia feels herself at present without effective means of air defence.

"H.M. Government have therefore expressed their willingness, to meet President Kaunda's request, to fly into Zambia a squadron of Javelin aircraft, complete with radar environment, to be stationed at Ndola, the ground environment to be stationed at Lusaka, and a detachment of the R.A.F. Regiment to be stationed at both airports, and probably at Livingstone as well, in order to ensure the protection of the aircraft and installations.

"The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who flew to Lusaka last night, will, together with the military adviser who went with him, be discussing a further request for a battalion of ground troops.

"In addition as a precautionary measure, H.M.S. EAGLE is cruising off the coast of Tanzania.

If Rhodesia Cuts Kariba Power Supply

"Any British units sent to Zambia would have to be under unequivocal British command, though naturally in consultation with the Zambia Government.

"I wish to make clear to the House that these forces sent to Zambia will go there purely for defensive purposes.

"Power from Kariba supplies both Rhodesia and Zambia, but the power station is on the Rhodesian side of the Kariba Dam. It is in the British interest as well as the Zambian interest that power supplies to the Copperbelt should continue. I have given President Kaunda an assurance that we shall not stand idly by if Rhodesia cuts off supplies to the Copperbelt.

"I undertook to keep the House informed of any further economic measures the Government decided to introduce. In addition to the embargoes on tobacco and sugar, which are already in force and which represent 70% of Rhodesia's exports to Britain, we have now placed embargoes on the following Rhodesian exports: asbestos, copper and copper products, iron and steel ores, and concentrates of antimony, chromium, lithium and tantalum, maize, meat and edible meat products, and a range of other foodstuffs.

"The embargoed items now account for over 95% of Rhodesian exports to us, so that we, who were once Rhodesia's best market, have virtually ceased to buy from her. We are in close touch with other countries which buy significant quantities of these or other commodities from Rhodesia. The object of these consultations is to deny Rhodesia as far as possible the export outlets on which the finances of the illegal régime depend.

"We are also reviewing certain items in our export trade to Rhodesia where these are relevant to our objectives of securing a speedy return to constitutional rule in Rhodesia, and are in touch with other countries about them.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer is announcing from the Treasury this afternoon the details of further financial measures. In general, a stop is being placed on practically all current payments by United Kingdom residents to residents of Rhodesia, except for those arising out of the very limited trade in goods still permitted, and also on remittances. Contractual obligations will not be repudiated, but they cannot be fulfilled in present circumstances. So far as H.M. Government are concerned, money due to residents of Rhodesia will be held back for the time being and will be released as soon as constitutional government is restored in Rhodesia."

Conservative Party's Reservations

MR. HEATH: "The statement the Prime Minister has just made is of considerable gravity. Will he accept that we believe it is right for the British Government to accede to the request from President Kaunda, the head of another country of the Commonwealth, for British defence forces to go to that country? At the same time, can he be more explicit about their purpose there?"

"Has he any indication that Zambia is under danger of attack from Rhodesia? Hon. Members on this side of the House have none. Or is it that it is regarded as undesirable that other forces should go into Zambia?"

"From this side we believe it right that these forces should go there, provided, as he said, that they remain under British control; provided also that other forces do not go into Zambia; and provided that the British forces are not expected to trespass either on the ground or air space of Rhodesia itself.

"I must ask the Prime Minister to clarify his statement that 'we shall not stand idly by if Rhodesia cuts off power supplies to the Copperbelt'. At first reading it is in contradiction to his own statement that the forces are there for defensive purposes, because it can only imply that our forces will invade Southern Rhodesia to defend the power supply.

"About the further economic measures now being taken, he told the House previously that the measures taken by the Government would be effective and that the Government would enter into other measures only if all other countries were doing the same. Is this in fact the position?"

Zambia Feels Aggrieved

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I fully understand that the rt. hon. gentleman will need time to give further consideration to the question of these economic measures. They are in the spirit of what I said last week—that it is not only more effective but in the short and the long run better that the measures should be quick and sharp rather than a long-drawn-out continuing agony on Rhodesia.

"I thank the rt. hon. gentleman for the expression of support to the proposition that we should accede to the request for air cover in Zambia. I only regret that I cannot be clearer about the discussions with President Kaunda. Communications are in a shocking state owing to atmospheric conditions, which are holding up radio telegrams as well as ordinary telephone discussions.

"We have no information of an impending attack from Rhodesia, but President Kaunda has no air cover in any circumstances, and he feels very aggrieved about the fact that nothing was done to build up his forces after the discriminatory way in which the Federation's forces were divided up.

"If we are to maintain the position that we have asserted—that Rhodesia is our responsibility—we should do everything in our power to prevent the stationing of other air forces in Zambia, wherever they may come from, as a means of providing air cover for President Kaunda.

"There is still a difficulty about the ground forces. I will not make any bones about it: the Zambian Government are anxious that we put in forces there with the idea of taking out the Kariba generating station, which is on Rhodesian territory. This we feel is wrong, and have made this clear. There is still argument about ground forces. That is what the Secretary of State, together with a very senior military officer from the Ministry of Defence, has gone out to discuss.

"The phrase about 'not standing idly by' is a very important and grave one. Rhodesian copper is absolutely vital to our own industrial production, as well as to the economy of Zambia, and there have been threats from time to time—I have myself heard them—from the Smith régime that at the end of the day they could always pull the switch and stop Zambia getting electric power.

Must Be Ready to Use Deterrent

"I believe that it is right that there should be enough of a deterrent in the minds of the Smith régime that if he interferes with Zambia's power supplies there might be some other power supply interfered with. I do not think it is appropriate here to say the means which might be used but while we are putting forces in—if we can reach full agreement with President Kaunda—on a defensive basis, it must be clear that we have the power to provide a deterrent to a cutting-off of the electric supply; and we must be prepared to use that power."

MR. GRIMMOND: "Will the Prime Minister also consider the situation of the railway, which is also vital to Zambia, and therefore indirectly to this country? I understand that the contractual obligations are not being repudiated but cannot be fulfilled. Does this apply to all contractual obligations, whenever entered into—even before U.D.I.? Does it mean that we shall eventually fulfil them, or will fulfil only those to people who did not support the illegal régime?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The railway is very important to Zambia, but what we have said relates to the cutting off of power. We shall also be watching very carefully the supply of coal from the Wankie colliery in case there was any attempt to use that as a means of destroying the economy of Zambia. We cannot make any general statement about the railway.

"Steps are being taken to provide transport facilities, not crossing Rhodesia and we are co-operating in helping to get certain roads and other transport facilities put in a state of better readiness, so that if necessary Rhodesian transport does not have to be used.

"With regard to the contractual position, there will be no repudiation. There just will not be transfer until constitutional government is restored."

MR. ENNALS: "Is the Prime Minister aware that there is in this country a tremendous respect for the courage and statesmanship of President Kaunda and that the decision which he has announced today will make a significant contribution to the maintenance of the unity of the Commonwealth at this very vital time?"

Military Attack Proposed

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I certainly hope so. I agree that there is very great respect for President Kaunda and, I think, very great sympathy for him in his predicament. He is subject to the most tremendous pressures, and I think this may be responsible for some of the difficulties which we face in our discussions with him.

"It has been his hope all along—his earnest hope, which he has expressed publicly—that we would go into Zambia alone, with no other countries, and then make a military attack on the situation in Rhodesia. We have said, of course, that this is contrary to our policy; and there is, I know, a lot of disappointment in his mind that we propose only a purely defensive operation. This, particularly with his emphasis on his desire—which we think is unrealistic—that we should take out the generating station and capture it and safeguard it, is what is causing the difficulties in our present discussions with him."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "I share the Prime Minister's respect for President Kaunda, but are not his difficulties internal? Is it not the case that the Smith régime has no conceivable interest in attacking Zambia? Can the Prime Minister assure us that everything possible will be done to see that arms smuggling across the Zambezi is brought to a stop, in co-operation with the Zambian authorities, and that broadcast incitement to racial conflict from across the Zambezi also ceases?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It is not for me to speculate on whether Mr. Smith will or is likely to undertake an act of aggression. I have only said that there is no evidence that he intends to do so at the moment. We had many reasons to doubt whether he was going to commit an illegal act, which he has now done. It is only right that all contingency planning should be made for any action of that kind. With

regard to the question of broadcasting incitements to racialism, I heard an awful lot of that when I was in Salisbury."

MR. PAGET: "Has the Prime Minister asked Mr. Smith whether he would have any objection to being lent additional guards for the Kariba power-house? One would have thought that it is in Mr. Smith's interests that these guards should be provided, since the power-house is valuable property of Rhodesia and is certainly in no danger from Mr. Smith."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I made it plain that any request from the Governor—we have had no dealings with Mr. Smith—whether inspired by Mr. Smith or by any other eminent private person in Rhodesia would be seriously entertained by us, whether it was for troops for general law and order or for guarding any vital position such as the Kariba Dam. I think that the spirit of Mr. Smith's statement yesterday—in which he made a rather offensive remark about a swimming pool for a start—and then his attitude to any British troops south of the Zambezi is probably the best answer which we can get in present circumstances."

DR. REGINALD BENNETT: "Can the Prime Minister clarify what he said about H.M.S. EAGLE cruising off the coast of Tanzania? Is she intended to supply combat aircraft or has she commandoes embarked? Has he secured over-flying facilities from the Tanzania Government?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Aircraft only; that is the purpose of H.M.S. EAGLE's pre-positioning. She has been there for a few days. The position is that it would be impossible for the Javelins to operate without a radar environment and it takes time to erect the necessary radar cover at Lusaka. There was always the danger and possibility, although a remote one, of a pre-emptive strike, and it was therefore considered necessary for H.M.S. EAGLE to be in those waters, because it would be possible for her Sea Vixens to provide temporary protection until we had the full radar and Javelin cover."

MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER: "Does the Prime Minister realize that many of those who most desire to avoid the use of force believe that an oil sanction is the most effective means of so doing? Can he tell us what the United Nations Committee has been doing during the 12 days since the decision to impose an oil sanction was taken? Will he press on them that every day lost in making the sanction effective will reduce the possibility of rapid success?"

Intrusion "Not An Act of War"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have expressed the view, which I hold very strongly, that an oil sanction, to be effective—without going into the merits of the proposal one way or another—must be virtually universal. The oil trade contains a lot of privateers who might easily supply oil. There are other considerations, not least the effect on Zambia, and there is the problem of South Africa and so on.

"Therefore, if an oil sanction is to be introduced—we are not contemplating one immediately—we should have to be satisfied that it was effective and internationally co-ordinated. The United Nations are not taking the initiative in this matter."

MR. WALL: "While I appreciate the argument for giving Zambia air cover, may I ask the Prime Minister to clarify what he has in mind about the task of the British battalion if it is sent there? Will it be concerned with internal security only? Does he agree that any crossing of the frontier would be an act of war?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am not at all sure what the hon. Member means by his last statement. *For British troops to enter British territory is not an act of war.* It is not for legal reasons of that kind that I have said that we are against using military force for getting a constitutional settlement. I am sure that I am right in saying that. But it is not a question of transgressing international frontiers.

"If the ground forces are to go there—that is, in addition to the R.A.F. Regiment defending the aircraft—there might be additional troops required for defending the aircraft and the airfields. There might be a case, for example, for at any rate part of a British battalion to be on the Zambezi; but of course we are insisting that it be on the Zambian side of the Zambezi."

MR. MICHAEL FOOT: "What is the legal position in respect of responsibility for the Kariba Dam? If the illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia has abrogated its rights to be responsible for the maintenance of the dam, have not the Government of this country directly assumed responsibility for maintaining it?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "There are many difficulties about it. In the first place, this was built as an international operation, not for the supply of electricity to Southern Rhodesia only. Indeed, the British taxpayer and the British Treasury were very heavily involved, certainly in connexion with the guarantees. This is one reason why we believe that it would be a gross breach of everything ever intended when the dam was built if there were an attempt, for reasons of a quarrel between the illegal régime of Rhodesia and Zambia, to cut off the electricity power supply to Zambia. That is the position.

"On the other hand, while the Smith régime is illegal, and therefore has no more authority to run the Kariba power-station than to run anything else in Rhodesia, we have the

practical fact to face that his troops have *de facto* control of the Kariba Dam; and, however much we may regret that situation, in present circumstances it can be put right only by putting in other troops, which we do not propose to do. But we intend to take every effective action by economic power to bring this illegal régime to an end as quickly as possible.

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister has said that the forces going to Zambia—which we support—are for purely defensive purposes. As he has never intended to use national or international forces in Rhodesia, in fact this means that these forces in Zambia will not cross on to Rhodesian soil or infringe Rhodesian air space, even if there is action in Kariba. I ask the Prime Minister to say that, whatever other things he may have in mind, it is not his intention to use British forces to invade Rhodesia".

Prepared for "Limited Operation"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "This is of the utmost importance, but I cannot give the assurance. I have said that we believe it wrong to use British forces for the purpose of restoring constitutional rule; that is, for taking over Rhodesia and reinstating a constitutional Government. I have said that we are opposed to the use of the forces which, if we can reach agreement with President Kaunda, we shall send to Zambia, for the purpose of any military confrontation in battle, if hon. Members like to put it this way, whether by air or on the ground, with the Rhodesian forces.

"But I have said—and I stand by this—that if Mr. Smith uses his illegitimate control over this international project, the Kariba Dam, to destroy the economy of Zambia, and indeed very seriously to disrupt our own economy, we cannot stand idly by. I cannot go into all the possible ways in which one could deal with it, but there are more ways of dealing with an electric power station than choking it with cream".

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "It is essential that the Prime Minister should make his position absolutely clear. This is far too important a matter for jeering. We have supported the

Prime Minister in his desire to send troops to Zambia. But he has used the phrase 'We cannot stand idly by'. Does he envisage military intervention in Rhodesia? This must be made absolutely clear by the Prime Minister now".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have said that while we do not contemplate the use of these forces in an aggressive rôle against Rhodesia, and certainly not in support of troops of other countries, providing them with air cover against Rhodesia or any general military movement, I mean what I said—that we should not stand idly by but should take whatever action was necessary in order to fulfil the deterrent threat which is involved there. If that did mean a limited operation we should be prepared to undertake that operation.

"For a year the rt. hon. gentleman's Government were blackmailed, and for a year our Government have been blackmailed, by the threat to cut off this electric power. I have had it from Mr. Smith many times, and I suspect that it was a nightmare with which the rt. hon. gentleman had to live for a very long time.

Someone Might Go Mad

"We have to envisage a situation in which Mr. Smith—or perhaps it would not be Mr. Smith, for I have always taken the view that he is nothing like as bad as some of the people around him—or someone might go mad in Rhodesia and be tempted to cut off the electric power, destroying or distorting a large section of our industry. In those circumstances, if we had forces there it would be the height of folly to say that in no circumstances should we be prepared to make our deterrent effective. This is a deterrent. I hope in Heaven's name, as I am sure does the House, that it need be no more than a deterrent.

"I do not need to lecture the rt. hon. gentleman on the importance of a deterrent, but I believe that the fact of this deterrent will be a final guarantee that this action will not be taken by Mr. Smith's régime. But ~~the~~ no good talking about a deterrent unless you are prepared to make it effective".

All-Out Economic War Now Declared on Rhodesia

H.M. Government Dismiss Reserve Bank Directors And Seize Assets

MUCH SEVERER ECONOMIC SANCTIONS have now been imposed on Rhodesia.

As recorded hereunder, H.M. Government has by Order in Council dismissed the governor and directors of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia and appointed in their stead men prominent in the City of London who have been directed to notify holders of the Reserve Bank's assets that they must henceforth receive instructions only from the new authority.

The Reserve Bank is the property of the Government of Rhodesia, but Britain, having declared that there is no such Government, has vested administrative powers over Rhodesia in the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, to whom the new board of the Reserve Bank is made responsible.

London's Orders Countermanded

The Rhodesian Government has informed the local commercial banks that they are to continue to accept the instructions of the governor of the Reserve Bank whom H.M. Government has purported to dismiss.

Drastic new exchange control measures have also been introduced in Britain. They prohibit the payment of dividends, interest or even pensions to residents in Rhodesia. Transfers of capital to Rhodesia had already been forbidden.

No company in Britain may now pay to anyone in Rhodesia salaries, wages, pensions, interest or dividends.

British Government pensions to persons resident in Rhodesia will no longer be paid, but will be retained for release when normal relations between the two countries are resumed.

Interest becoming due on British Government stocks will similarly be withheld from residents in Rhodesia. British companies and individuals with obligations to

Rhodesia are instructed to follow the same procedure. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the obligations are being held in abeyance, not repudiated.

In general, United Kingdom companies may no longer make remittances to branches or subsidiaries in Rhodesia, and United Kingdom banks are forbidden to grant loans, overdrafts, credits, or acceptances to or in favour of individuals or companies in Rhodesia.

No business in the United Kingdom may take any sum on its books to the credit of a resident of Rhodesia or make any payment on behalf of any such person without Bank of England permission.

Apart from journeys approved for official or business purposes, no facilities for travel to Rhodesia are to be allowed.

Cash gifts from U.K. residents to persons in Rhodesia may not exceed £50 in all from the date of U.D.I. until normal relations are restored.

No credit may be given by any exporter of goods to Rhodesia. For such transactions as are authorized payment must be made in full before shipment.

Almost Complete Ban on Imports from Rhodesia

Rhodesian products which may no longer be imported into the U.K. cover about 95% of the trade. The list includes asbestos, copper, iron, steel, antimony, chromium, lithium, meat, fruit and fruit juices, and dried vegetables.

Contracts for the supply of such products are deemed invalid, except in the case of purchases for which full payment has already been made. In such cases special import permits may be granted.

Another Order in Council authorizes the Treasury to require any bank in Britain to supply information about any assets held at any of its branches on behalf of any Rhodesian office of any bank. This does not cover assets held by British banks for individual Rhodesians.

Assets in this country of the Reserve Bank are believed to total about £10m., and it is thought that another £8m. is held in special accounts in other countries, including South Africa and probably Switzerland.

The Bank of England announced on Saturday that it had not received funds from Rhodesia to pay the interest due on the Southern Rhodesia 4% Loan Stock 1972-74. It would have totalled £100,000. There have since been sharp falls in the

quotations for all Rhodesian Government stocks, the 4% having dropped at one time to £57 10s. on Monday, when the closing price was £60.

When the Press pointed out that British subjects resident in Rhodesia could be destitute if they had no sources of income other than those now interrupted, a Treasury spokesman replied that if British people living in Rhodesia found themselves in an impossible position because of the existence of an illegal régime the obvious course was to help to get rid of that régime.

Reactions in Salisbury

MR. SMITH said in Salisbury that Britain's seizure of Rhodesian property would prevent her honouring her international debt obligations. H.M. Government's action constituted theft, which British people would find repulsive.

"As Britain has now seized Rhodesia's London reserves and imposed trade and financial sanctions of the greatest severity upon Rhodesia, I must make it clear to the people of Britain and to the world at large that it is quite obviously impossible for Rhodesia, much as she desired to meet her debt obligations in London and to the World Bank, to make the necessary payments. In consequence, I regret to say that all our good friends who subscribed to Rhodesian loans will have to look to the British Government for redress".

The Reserve Bank announced in Salisbury on Friday that gold and foreign assets had decreased £1.5m. in the week. Since the beginning of October there had been a fall from about £28m. to £22m.

Banks in Rhodesia had been instructed to ignore the "puppet" board of the Reserve Bank and to continue to take their instructions from Mr. Bruce, governor of the bank in Salisbury. Local managements of the major commercial banks in Rhodesia, whose head offices are in London, are thus under contradictory orders from Salisbury and London.

Mr. John Wrathall, the Finance Minister, said in a broadcast on Monday that the fury of Mr. Wilson's attack must not be underestimated. He evidently pinned his faith on a savage onslaught sapping Rhodesia's courage and will to win. "But if we stand our ground the battle will rage itself out and we shall then go forward from strength to strength".

The key to Rhodesia's problem was to increase exports. Every Rhodesian should do all in his power to maintain confidence in the country's great future, avoid the temptation to hoard imported goods, and save every penny possible.

Meantime there would have to be increased taxation in order to prevent undue unemployment.

In order to safeguard employment expenditure programmes were under review. The Ministry of Roads, for instance, would substitute labour for machinery where possible, and some 1,500 new jobs would be created in that Ministry alone in the next few months.

British funds blocked in Rhodesia would be used to pay British old age and war disability pensioners.

Rhodesia's Counter-Measures

Rhodesia is to consider on their merits payment for the maintenance of relatives in Britain. Where hardship will not be involved reductions will normally be required. Monetary gifts to residents in Britain are to be limited to £50 a year. No change is contemplated in pension payments to residents in Britain.

Payments of interests, dividends and profits, and repayment of capital to persons resident in Britain are to be made into blocked accounts.

British residents working in Rhodesia may no longer automatically remit their earnings abroad; each case will be considered on its merits.

Persons normally in receipt of pensions from the United Kingdom are to receive advances of money from the Rhodesian Government, which will also sympathetically consider the cases of residents dependent on dividend income from Britain (which has now forbidden remittance of both pensions and dividends).

It became known at the week-end that the 10,000-ton sugar cargo destined for the United States which had to be diverted because of an embargo on its entry had been sold to an unnamed European buyer for about £200,000. The preferential American price would have been almost £500,000.

The retail price of refined sugar in Rhodesia has been raised from 10d. to 1s. per lb. in order to enable the industry to proceed with its planned production for next year. It employs some 30,000 people. The price increase will represent an additional £600,000.

A British tanker on its way to Beira with some 12,000 tons of crude oil for Rhodesia has brought appeals from some African commonwealth States for interception of the vessel. H.M. Government's reply is understood to have been that that would be much more likely to interrupt oil supplies to Zambia than to affect the stock position in Rhodesia.

Lord Graham, Minister of Agriculture, told the annual congress of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association last week that the Government had a plan for disposal of next season's crop, details of which could not be revealed. Three thousand European growers in Rhodesia employ about 130,000 Africans and their families.

Tanzania has forbidden all trade with Rhodesia.

Rhodesia Will Pay the Pensions

As soon as the British Government's decision to discontinue the payment of ex-Service and other pensions to British subjects resident in Rhodesia was announced, Mr. Smith said that those concerned should not suffer from "this silly, stupid, petty little thing". Rhodesia would meet the needs of the 2,273 people, including war widows and old age pensioners, to whom she had hitherto paid their pensions as agent for H.M. Government.

The British pensioners had earned what they regularly received. "We shall take care of them. Two wrongs do not make a right. We shall not descend to this kind of behaviour".

A Government statement later said that one of the persons affected was a woman more than 60 years of age, the widow of an officer in the Royal Navy. Another was a former Royal Marine with 22 years' service. Twenty Africans were in receipt of war pensions for injuries received whilst serving against the Communists in Malaya.

Many of the white recipients were now elderly, and most had no other means of support.

New Directors for Reserve Bank

BY AN ORDER IN COUNCIL made on Friday the governor, deputy governor and other directors of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia were suspended from office and deprived of all authority, and a new board of directors was constituted, consisting of Sir Sydney Caine as governor and Viscount Harcourt, Lord Poole, Sir Norman Kipping, Sir Gordon Munro, and Mr. S. G. Warburg as directors. All authority formerly vested in the old board is now vested by law in its successor. The Order empowers a Secretary of State to give directions to the board.

Governments and central banks of other countries were at once informed of the effects of the Order in Council and the new governor of the Reserve Bank issued instructions to banks holding accounts for the Reserve Bank concerning the operation of those accounts. The main purpose of the Order was to ensure that the assets of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia held abroad "are safeguarded in the interests of the people of Rhodesia".

The board now suspended consisted of Mr. C. E. Bruce as governor, and the following directors: Sir Henry McDowell and Messrs. C. A. Bott, T. E. S. Francis, B. G. Hewitt, and J. MacIntyre. The former deputy governor, Mr. G. C. Gough, who had been seconded from the Bank of England, submitted his resignation on November 11, and has left Rhodesia.

The Reserve Bank of Rhodesia came into being in its present form in 1964 on the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Under the relevant Act of the Rhodesian Legislature the governor, deputy governor and directors were appointed by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, for seven years in the case of the governor and deputy governor, and for five years in the case of the directors.

PERSONALIA

LORD ROTHERWICK was 53 on Sunday.
SIR ARTHUR CLARKE was 57 on Saturday.
MR. J. F. KAPNEK is outward-bound in the PRETORIA CASTLE.

LIEUT.-COLONEL and MRS. T. PASSAPORTIS are returning to Rhodesia by sea.

MR. ACHIENG ONEKO, Minister for Information in Kenya, is shortly due in London.

MR. BURKE KNAPP, vice-president of the World Bank, has paid a short visit to East Africa.

PRINCE YURKA GALITZINE and MRS. ELIZABETH GWYNNETH IRWIN have been married.

JARAMOGI OGINGA' ODINGA, Vice-President of Kenya, has been in London on a private visit.

MR. MALCOLM SMITH, editor of the *Rhodesia Herald*, whose passport was withdrawn, has had it returned.

MR. MALCOLM S. ADISHESHIAH, deputy director-general of UNESCO, has been visiting East Africa.

VISCOUNT LAMBTON, Tory M.P. for Berwick-upon-Tweed, has left for Rhodesia in his journalistic capacity.

MR. D. E. SANDALL, Regional Commissioner of Customs and Excise in Tanzania, and MRS. SANDALL have arrived in Britain.

SIR HENRY PHILLIPS, lately Finance Minister in Malawi, and MISS PHILIPPA COHEN have announced their engagement.

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL has had to cancel his engagements for a least the next fortnight owing to a bronchial infection.

MR. G. BREBNER, a vice-president of the Roan Selection Trust group of companies, and MRS. BREBNER have arrived from Zambia.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, presided at the golden jubilee dinner in London of the Club Cricket Conference.

SIR KENNETH ROBERTS-WRAY and LADY WILLIAMS, widow of SIR ERNEST WILLIAMS, were married last week in Forest Row, Sussex.

MR. E. H. PECK, an Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, will in February become United Kingdom High Commissioner in Kenya.

Because a voice thought to be that of an African had threatened the life of MR. JULIAN AMERY, M.P., he has been given police protection at his London home.

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, took over the portfolios of Defence on Friday and External Affairs on Friday. Both had been held by Mr. Dupont.

MR. J. E. C. BAILEY, chairman and managing director of the Baird and Tatlock group of companies, spent a few days in Rhodesia last week and is now in Kenya.

MAMA NGINA, wife of PRESIDENT KENYATTA, flew to the United States as a guest of Pan American World Airlines on its inaugural flight from Nairobi to New York.

MR. D. N. CORNOCK-TAYLOR, secretary of the United Africa Company, has been appointed to the board. His successor as secretary is MR. J. D. KEIR, group legal adviser.

Two of the speakers at next Saturday's symposium at the Africa Centre, London, will be DR. RITA HINDEN and MR. C. P. NGAIZA, High Commissioner for Tanzania. They will deal with different aspects of the one-party State.

THE PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS was the guest of honour at last week's dinner in London of the Shikar Club. LORD LOVAT presided. PRINCE BERNHARD showed a wild life film which he recently made in Tanzania, where he has a 3,000-acre estate.

MR. GERALD JAMES BURNS, a 22-year-old bank clerk, has been found guilty in the Malawi High Court of the manslaughter of an African who died in hospital nine days after they had had a fight because the African had insulted him and other Europeans. The accused was ordered to pay £250 compensation to the African's family.

MR. J. A. BUDGE, for some years administrative manager of the Standard Bank in Tanzania, with headquarters in Dar es Salaam, has been appointed general manager in Zambia. He will live in Lusaka and take up his new duties early in February after two months' leave in the United Kingdom. Pending his arrival MR. N. P. HARLEY will continue as the bank's senior executive officer in Zambia.

MR. AND MRS. BRUCE BOSTON, two young Americans who had been expelled from Malawi, said on arrival in Nairobi that their offence had been to write to the Ministry of Community and Social Development and express concern about Government statements on public hanging, especially the suggestion in Parliament that rebels against the Government should be skinned and their bodies placed in the museum as an example to future generations.

MR. H. F. MAKULU, chairman of the Public Service Commission of Zambia, has succeeded SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS as chairman of the Provisional Council of the University of Zambia. Among its new members are MR. ROBERT GARDINER, head of the United Nations Economic Mission for Africa; DR. WILBERT CHAGULA, Principal of the University College of Dar es Salaam; and MR. F. THISTLETHWAITE, Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Anglia. PROFESSOR KARL BIGELOW, of the University of Columbia, New York, has been re-appointed.

Obituary

THE HON. ANGELA HADEN-GUEST, B.Sc. (Econ.), M.D., has been killed in Dar es Salaam in a motor-car accident. MR. CECIL POWNALL BROWNE, O.B.E., lately in the Sudan Political Service, has died at his home in Malmesbury at the age of 89.

MR. REGINALD DUNCAN GWYTHYR, C.B.E., M.C., who has died at the age of 78, was for many years senior partner in Coode and Partners, consulting civil engineers who have done much work, especially on ports, in Eastern Africa.

MISS HAZEL HESTER, aged 26, from Earley, Reading, Berkshire, a ground hostess in Uganda for Sabena Airlines, has been strangled in the bathroom of her home in Entebbe. The house had not been ransacked. Before joining Sabena she had been employed by British United Airways and Trans-World Airlines. Before that she had been in the British Army Physical Training Corps.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Africana Ltd.

26, Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1.

For One Year, and until countermanded:

PLEASE
SEND
ME

ORDINARY EDITION (52/- per annum)

OR

AIR EDITION (£6.0.0 per annum)

OR

By SECOND CLASS AIRMAIL (£6.10. per annum)

(Delete as Necessary)

Name and Rank
(Block Capitals, please)

Full Postal Address
(Block Capitals, please)

Signature

O.A.U. Decides African Task Force Shall Attack Rhodesia

Unanimous Threat to Sever Diplomatic Relations with Britain on December 15

FOREIGN MINISTERS of 35 of the 36 member States of the Organization of African Unity resolved at a three-day meeting in Addis Ababa from Friday to Sunday that if Britain had not "crushed the Rhodesian régime" before December 15 all the O.A.U. member States would sever diplomatic relations with Britain.

It was also resolved in closed session that an African military task force should be formed for action against Rhodesia. Delegates were bound to secrecy in regard to the size, composition, and functions of the force, the planning of which has been left to a five-nation committee consisting of representatives of Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia, with power to co-opt delegates from other African countries.

The *communiqué* said only that the Council of Foreign Ministers had "decided unanimously on concrete measures which will enable an end to be put to the racist régime in Rhodesia."

Mr. Kojo Botsio, the Ghanaian chairman of the conference told a news conference that "Africa has decided to use every possible means, including force if need be, to regain for our brothers in Rhodesia their long-lost heritage". Having given Britain an ultimatum to crush the rebel Government in Rhodesia before December 15, African States would undertake that task if by that date Britain had refused or failed to discharge her responsibilities.

Africans Will Take Military Action

He hinted that a major Power had offered to provide assistance to African States for their military action against Rhodesia, and added: "We shall now take action and stop talks. If England does not crush the rebellion we shall sever all relations with her and act for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Our council is mandated to use force if need be to end Smith's régime".

The secretary-general of O.A.U., Mr. Diallo Telli, had previously told correspondents that the council had decided on the following seven-point programme:—

- (1) All O.A.U. members would immediately effect a complete blockade of Rhodesia, for so long as it remained under the present illegal Government. The following specific measures would be taken:
 - (a) All economic relations, including commercial arrangements and financial accords, would be suspended immediately;
 - (b) The Rhodesian Government would be refused all facilities regarding the sterling area;
 - (c) All Rhodesian accounts in banks in Africa would be blocked;
 - (d) All travel documents issued or renewed by the illegal Government would be considered null and void;
 - (e) All means of trade, including the right of overflying by aircraft from or to Rhodesia, would be suppressed and all air servicing facilities would be refused;
 - (f) All member States would suspend all means of communication with Rhodesia, including cables, telephone, telex, and radio telephone.
- (2) All member States would break diplomatic relations with Britain unless the rebellion was crushed and law and order restored by December 15.
- (3) O.A.U. had decided to launch an appeal to all friends of Africa to provide all means to aid and support measures aimed at bringing to an end the illegal Government.
- (4) O.A.U. had also decided to launch an appeal to all countries to refuse oil and fuel supplies to Rhodesia.
- (5) O.A.U. had agreed that all African countries and other friendly States should use the radio and other communications media at their disposal in the service of the cause of Rhodesia's Africans.
- (6) All member States would inform the secretary-general of the measures adopted to execute the decisions formulated, and transmit copies of all legislation and decisions dealing with this subject.
- (7) The African group at the United Nations would act to

ensure that these decisions, particularly those on oil and fuel supplies, would be adopted and applied by the appropriate organs of the U.N.

The Emperor of Ethiopia had said in a speech of welcome to the delegates that his Government would abide by any decision taken to deal with Rhodesia. The event of November 11, by which four million black Africans came under the rule of a bunch of hooligans, was deplorable. Though Rhodesia was the constitutional responsibility of the U.K., the British Government had not taken any step to eliminate the bunch of hooligans or rebels who have emerged in that country.

Liberation fighters in Rhodesia must resolve their differences and take a united stand to free their country. "And let the African countries assembled here today resolve their minor differences, and unite to assist our brothers morally and physically in order to liberate them."

"Shed Blood Now"

Mr. Kawawa, Second Vice-President of Tanzania, emphasized the need to shed blood now in order to restore the independence of African people which had been grabbed by the small group of thugs. The Tanzanian Government was ready to provide any assistance required from it by O.A.U.

Mr. Bamalai, Foreign Minister of Nigeria, said:—

"At this summit meeting of the Council of Ministers we have agreed in principle to declare war on Rhodesia—to use military means to crush the rebel régime, even though we realize that we have not yet assembled the necessary forces to fight. If by December 15 Britain has not responded to our resolutions, then we shall be entitled to regard her as having abdicated her responsibility. A declaration of war can then be made, and we can launch our attack on the *de facto* régime of Ian Smith without in any way attacking Great Britain."

Mr. Felix Onama, Foreign Minister of Uganda, said that if Britain had not acted by December 15 Uganda would leave the Commonwealth.

"We attach great importance to the Commonwealth, but on the question of Rhodesia my country feels that Britain has let down the whole of Africa and the Commonwealth members in Africa. Therefore Uganda is prepared to sacrifice its membership of the Commonwealth for the sake of African unity and respect."

Mr. Mainza Chona, a delegate from Zambia, spoke in similar terms. He said that his country would suffer but must be ready to show its anger and contempt for Britain's failure to fight 220,000 white settlers in Rhodesia.

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Foreign Minister of Kenya, said that Kenya's continued membership of the Commonwealth would be discussed on his return to Nairobi.

Another delegate said: "Zambia will be the launching site of any operation against Rhodesia and is ready to make great sacrifices for the cause of Africa."

No Faith in Mr. Wilson

The special correspondent of the *Guardian*, Mr. Patrick Keatley, cabled that after conversation with some two dozen delegates he had found nobody who believed in the effectiveness of the economic sanctions imposed by Britain. "Sad though it be to relate, I have also failed to meet one who any longer sustains any faith in the sincerity of the Wilson Cabinet in clinging to this policy."

He thought Ghana, Ethiopia, and Sudan might be represented on the committee appointed to prepare a precise military plan.

None of the Foreign Ministers would tell correspondents whether the proposed breach with Britain was intended to operate automatically from December 16, or whether British consular and trade offices in their territories were to be closed.

Mr. Washington Malianga, Cairo representative of Z.A.N.U., said that Rhodesian Africans were ready to fight against the Smith régime but needed help from the O.A.U. His party considered fighting more important than anything else. "We have to fight for and enfranchise the people; then we can decide the leadership question between Z.A.N.U. and Z.A.P.U."

Nine African Commonwealth States are members of O.A.U. In the financial year 1964-65 they received £42,854,000 in aid from British taxpayers, Kenya heading the list with £14.8m. Next came Malawi, with £8.9m. Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria each received rather more than £4.4m., Uganda 2.2m., Ghana £1.9m., and the Gambia and Sierra Leone rather less than £1m. each. Non-Commonwealth States belonging to O.A.U. received aid totalling £6.3m.

United Kingdom exports to Commonwealth Africa in 1964 totalled £207m., or about 5% of Britain's exports. Imports from Commonwealth Africa were worth approximately £250m.

If Tanzania Severs Relations O.A.U.'s "Long March to Cape Town"

PRESIDENT NYERERE told a mass rally in Dar es Salaam on Sunday that he welcomed the O.A.U. decisions.

If Tanzania broke off diplomatic relations with Britain on December 15 there must be no violence against British subjects in Tanzania. "The British are good people generally, and have been good friends to us. Don't think you can get away with violence to them."

A diplomatic break would cause the departure of British experts, doctors, teachers, and others and the closure of some schools and hospitals for lack of skilled staff. The price to be paid for a breach with Britain would therefore be heavy.

There are more than 1,000 British professional men and technicians in Tanzania under the inter-Government aid agreements, which have resulted in British payments of more than £30m. since independence in 1961. Another £7m. had been promised for development projects in the next two years.

There are also many British missionaries, merchants, farmers and others in Tanzania.

President Nyerere said that he had told the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, on Saturday that he could not understand why Britain did not use force to end the rebellion in Rhodesia. Tanzania wanted to continue her understanding with Britain, but there was a limit to her patience. "We want British troops to deal with these rebels, not African troops. If Britain does not co-operate, she must at least stop sabotaging."

Merely to send a token R.A.F. group had been an insult. Their presence in Zambia was that of an occupying force intent on keeping out African troops.

The crowd which the President was addressing contained about 1,000 policemen and troops in uniform. The demonstration, led by an Army band, had halted outside the premises of the British High Commission.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Second Vice-President of Tanzania, who had led the delegation to the O.A.U. conference in Addis Ababa, said on the same day in Dar es Salaam that the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers were "the beginning of the long march through Mozambique and Rhodesia to Cape Town. Africa is going to liquidate colonialism once and for all. The British Press will see whether the resolutions are mere propaganda, as they say."

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

(Established 1865)

Bankers to Her Majesty The Queen's Government of the Isle of Man.

RETURNING HOME ?

ACCUMULATED SAVINGS from income earned by employment abroad, if remitted to the United Kingdom during the year in which such income ceases, can attract United Kingdom tax. Remittances to the Isle of Man from abroad are not "remittances" for United Kingdom tax purposes.

YOU CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE of this and obtain a first class banking service by opening an account with the ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

Head Office: Athol Street, DOUGLAS, Isle of Man, one of the NATIONAL PROVINCIAL group of Banks.

If you are thinking of retiring why not choose the Isle of Man with its substantial tax advantages.

Psychological Warfare Against Rhodesia Two British Transmitters in Bechuanaland

FOR PROPAGANDA against the Rhodesian régime, the British Government has decided to establish radio transmitting stations in Bechuanaland about 10 miles from the border with Rhodesia.

The Prime Minister told Parliament last week: "The Bechuanaland Government have agreed to our request for facilities to establish a powerful relay station for B.B.C. medium-wave broadcasts in their territory, and I hope that the station will be opening very shortly."

It has since been decided to send also a short-wave transmitter with a longer range—of about 1,000 miles.

Mr. William Everingham, programme organizer of the East and Central Africa Section of the B.B.C.'s Overseas Service, flew to Bechuanaland last week.

Mr. J. M. Helliwell, chairman of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, commented: "The B.B.C. world service is being used openly by the British Government to sow dissension and doubt in this country, and to present to the world at large accounts favourable to the British Government and unfavourable to Rhodesia."

A statement broadcast from Salisbury said: "According to a confidential report which had reached Salisbury, the British Government has set up a complete psychological warfare unit, whose purpose it will be to guide and launch a campaign aimed at undermining and destroying the Rhodesian will to resist. Propaganda and psychological warfare techniques look as if they are going to meet with the maximum of resistance in Rhodesia, where the people have already acquired a remarkable degree of immunity. Techniques which have proved highly effective elsewhere are now well understood in Rhodesia and South Africa and can be more easily counteracted."

"We are of little mind if we cannot match our sanctions and our hurt with some initiative providing a plan for the future. The final test of the Government's policy on Rhodesia will be that it provides promise, purpose and a plan for the future to encourage moderate opinion in Rhodesia"—Mr. Kenneth Lewis, M.P.

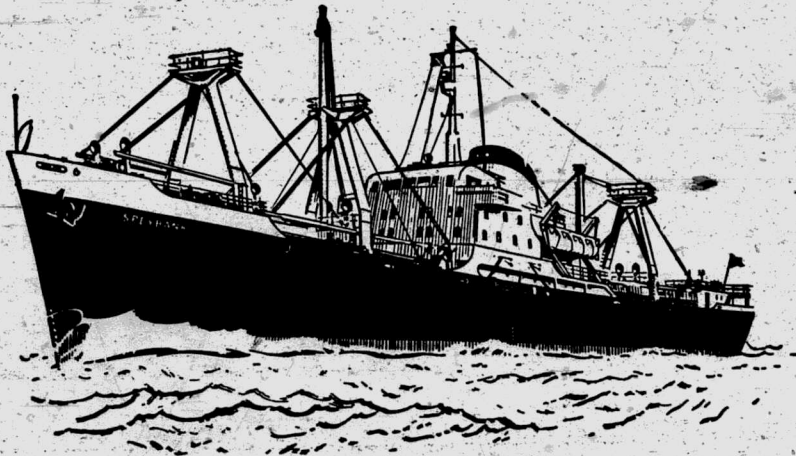
During 42 years . . .

the Rhodesian Milling Company has developed into the largest organisation of its kind in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its two principal products—Gloria Flour and Rhomil Stock-feeds are household names throughout the country. Representatives are stationed at most centres in the Federation to give advice and assistance on any matter connected with a Rhomil product.

THE RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY (PVT) LIMITED

SULAWATO GWELO SALISBURY UNTALI LIVINGSTONE LUSAKA KITWE

THE BANK LINE LIMITED



WORLD-WIDE SERVICES

INDIAN AFRICAN LINE

PAKISTAN AFRICA LINE

INDIA NATAL LINE

PAKISTAN NATAL LINE

**Carrying passengers and cargo from:
RANGOON · CHITTAGONG · CHALNA,
CALCUTTA, other Indian ports and
COLOMBO**

**To: EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN ports
and vice versa.**

ORIENTAL AFRICAN LINE

Carrying cargo from:

JAPAN · CHINA · HONG KONG

PHILIPPINES · BORNEO

SAIGON · BANGKOK & MALAYA

**To: MAURITIUS · REUNION
& EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS
and vice versa.**

Details of Freight from Managers: ANDREW WEIR & COMPANY LIMITED
BALTIC EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, 21, BURY STREET, LONDON, E.C.3.
or from any Shipping Agent

Mr. Smith's Letter to The Queen

MR. IAN SMITH wrote last week to the Queen asking for the replacement of Sir Humphrey Gibbs as Governor of Rhodesia. The letter said: —

"Your Majesty will know that on November 11 a new Constitution, entitled the Constitution of Rhodesia, 1965, was adopted for Rhodesia. The Constitution of Rhodesia, 1965, gives expression to the loyalty and devotion of the people of Rhodesia to Your Majesty by providing for Your Majesty being the Head of State.

"Sub-section 2 of Section 3 of the Constitution provides for the appointment of a Governor-General by Your Majesty on the advice of Your Majesty's Ministers of the Government of Rhodesia.

"The time has now come when such an appointment should be made in the interests of the proper administration of the country, and I humbly submit to your Majesty, on behalf of Your Majesty's Ministers of the Government of Rhodesia, the name of Clifford Walter Dupont for appointment as Governor-General, praying that Your Majesty may be pleased to appoint him to that office.

"I have the honour to remain, Madam, Your Majesty's most humble obedient servant."

The Commonwealth Relations Office informed the Governor that "The Queen has approved that the Governor should reply that he is in command to cause Mr. Smith to be informed that his letter has been laid before the Queen and that she is not able to entertain purported advice of this kind and has therefore been pleased to direct that no action should be taken upon it".

That message was sent from Government House to the office of the Prime Minister, from which it was returned to Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

P.M.'s Talks with Mr. Garfield Todd

THE RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER said on Monday that security sources had learnt that Mr. Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister, had said of his talks in October with Mr. Harold Wilson: —

"Mr. Wilson told me that he intended to make Mr. Smith toe the line. He also said that he would have to waste some time on the chiefs, as he would have to make the effort for the sake of appearances. When I pointed out to Mr. Wilson that the British Government were committed to grant independence to Rhodesia only on the basis of majority rule Mr. Wilson replied that he was well aware of that, but he was obliged to lead Mr. Smith up the garden path".

Mr. Smith continued:

"I also have evidence that in communications between Z.A.P.U. trustees and their representatives in London it was said: 'When Mr. Nkomo and his companions saw Mr. Wilson in Salisbury they informed him that they would never accept independence except under majority rule, and they received an assurance from the British Prime Minister that he would never give independence to the minority settlers at present running the country'.

"The foregoing confirms the impression that Mr. Wilson's visit was intended merely to gain time in order to avert action by the Rhodesian Government and that little could be expected to eventuate from a Royal Commission".

Commonwealth Secretary's Report

Mr. Bottomley replied in the House of Commons on Tuesday: "I was present at the interview with Mr. Todd. What has been said is a lie. I went out of my way on one occasion to say that Mr. Smith was a man with some integrity and character, although in blinkers. Since I said that he had lied not only to me but to others. This is one of the reasons why we cannot deal with Smith in any way because he is not a man to be trusted".

LE TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



FIRST AND FOREMOST
IN RUBBER TYRED
EARTH-MOVING
EQUIPMENT



WIGGLESWORTH
& CO (AFRICA) LIMITED

DAAR ES SALAAM TANGA NAIROBI MOMBASA KAMPALA

London Associates

Wigglesworth & Co., Limited, 30-34 Mincing Lane, London, E.C.3.

MANUBITO S.A.R.L.

CAIXA POSTAL 17. LOBITO, ANGOLA
Cables Manubito

STEAMSHIP FORWARDING & TRANSIT AGENTS
LINER AGENTS

AT **LOBITO** FOR

CHRISTENSEN CANADIAN	NEDLLOYD LINE
SOUTH AFRICAN LINE	ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES
CLAN LINE	SAFMARINE
DAFRA LINE	SOCIETE NAVALE DE L'OUEST
ELLERMAN & BUCKNALL	SOUTH AFRICAN LINES
S.S. Co., Ltd.	SEVEN STARS (AFRICA) LINE
FARRELL LINES	SOUTH AMERICA
HALL LINE	WEST AFRICA LINE
HOLLAND-WEST-AFRIKA	UNION-CASTLE MAIL
LIJN N.V.	STEAMSHIP CO., LTD.
NAUTILUS LINE	

Traffic Agents

BENGUELA RAILWAY to CONGO &
NORTHERN RHODESIA

Through B/L service U.K., EUROPE, U.S.A., VIA
LOBITO

Sub Agents, Congo — Casuaran: B.P. 1045
Elisabethville.

Traffic Agents, Northern Rhodesia — Leopold Walford
(C.A.) Ltd., P.O. Box 1567, Ndola.
And at Kitwe, Luanshya, Mufullira, Lusaka, Chingola,
Bancroft, Broken Hill.

London Office:

LEOPOLD WALFORD SHIPPING LTD.

ST. MARY AXE HOUSE, LONDON, E.C.3.

London Telex: 28125 and 28124

Telephone: AVEase 8030, Cables: Walfship, London, E.C.3

Letters to the Editor**Wreath Laid for Rhodesians****"Support Rhodesia" on Envelopes***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR,—Like Mr. David P. Cooker, of M'sonnediti, Rhodesia, I too was disgusted to hear that no wreath had been placed on the Cenotaph in remembrance of Rhodesian dead.

I made a point of examining the wreaths placed in the "Hall of Memory" in Birmingham and was unable to find one for Rhodesians. It may be some consolation to the families of the fallen to know that flowers were laid for them. I placed a small bunch of white chrysanthemums tied in purple ribbon with a card which, to the best of my memory, read:—

"In memory of Rhodesians who gave their lives willingly for our freedom in two world wars. Some of us remember and are grateful".

Incidentally, I have started my own campaign by printing "Support Rhodesia" on all envelopes which leave this house. This will include all our Christmas cards. Last night I wrote to the Prime Minister and put it on his envelope too! Legal or otherwise, I shall continue this course of action.

King's Norton,
Birmingham, 30.

Yours faithfully,

MARGARET BENNETT.

"Inhumanity" to Pensioners**Mr. Walden Protests for O.S.P.A.***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR—The executive committee of my association wishes to protest in the strongest possible terms at the Government's action in directing that pension increases to officers and widows who are living in Rhodesia should be withheld. We feel sure that the generous-hearted public of this country will not approve of this inhuman action, which is being taken against loyal and innocent ex-servants of the Crown and their widows.

This association has 116 members living in Rhodesia, of whom 14 are widows. What have these men and women done to be treated like this? What has transpired since November 18, when Mr. MacDermot, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in the second reading of the Pensioners (Increase) Bill made the following categorical statement: "It is intended that pensioners who are covered by the Bill and who are resident in Rhodesia should continue to receive their pensions and receive the increases under the Bill"?

On November 26 I received a letter from one of my members living in Rhodesia who had served in Malaya, Ghana and East Africa, who wrote inquiring about the security of his pension, and to whom I quoted those words of Mr. MacDermot, "I have now had to send a second letter informing him that the British Government have decided to disregard this undertaking, but that, as a result of pressure by Members of Parliament, the Prime Minister has agreed to look into cases of hardship."

How can these cases of hardship be decided 6,000 miles away? What yardstick is the British Government going to apply in deciding who shall and who shall not receive charity, and how long before anything could be payable to these people?

The British Government have always adhered to the "principle" that the pensioner must look to the Government of the country he served for his pension. Nobody in Rhodesia now can be sure that he will get his pension, because it is more than probable that these overseas Governments which pay the pensions will

follow the British Government's lead and apply sanctions against these innocent people.

It is difficult to imagine, more especially in view of Mr. Smith's announcement that his Government would take over payment of these pensions, how such action can do anything but encourage these people to support the present Government in Rhodesia.

Yours faithfully,

S. A. WALDEN,

Secretary,

Overseas Service Pensioners' Association.

London, S.W.1.

African Anger At C.P.A. Conference

MR. EMANUEL SHINWELL, M.P., the Socialist back-bench leader of the United Kingdom delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in Wellington, New Zealand, has been sharply attacked by a number of African delegates for his speech in the conference and for having told a local newspaper that delegates had made shameful and incredible charges against the British Government over its handling of the Rhodesian issue. Criticism would not change Britain's intention, "because we are a civilized people; professionals, not amateurs; adults, not children". Britain would not be overwhelmed by emotional outbursts. Her actions had been misrepresented by a tissue of *clichés*, platitudes, and irrelevancies.

Mr. Ronald Ngala (Kenya) sought a ruling from the chair that after discussion of an issue in the conference chamber it should not be carried into the Press. He objected to Mr. Shinwell's implication that some members of the conference were not adult, civilized, or professional, and retorted: "We regard ourselves as just as professional and adult as Mr. Shinwell".

Mr. Shinwell having said that he stood by his comments and was unrepentant, the matter was considered by African delegates, on whose behalf the Minister of Works in Nigeria said that the British Government could not take the conference seriously, for whereas Conservative Governments had in the past sent Cabinet Ministers to such conferences, the Socialist Government, "perhaps out of contempt or slight" had sent a delegation led by a back-bencher whose statements in a newspaper had been "grossly irresponsible".

A. B. Mutemba, leader of the Zambia delegation, had walked out of the conference while Mr. Shinwell defended Britain's policy, saying that he could not stand the speech, which contained a remark that bloodthirsty African delegates were making demands without regard to the consequences.

Mr. R. B. Chidzanza (Malawi) said that his country took a liberal view on the Rhodesian issues and supported Britain, though it did not think the economic sanctions were severe enough. Force should be used only as a last resort.

Mr. W. W. Kalema, Minister of Works in Uganda, said that there was a strong chance that African nations would declare war on Rhodesia, and that could result in the start of a world war. In that event he expected some European nations to support the Africans.

Zambian Traffic Through Dar es Salaam

THE FIRST LOAD of 23 tons of copper was flown from Ndola to Dar es Salaam last Friday in the commercial version of the Hercules aircraft, which returned with 130 drums each containing 42 gallons of oil.

Mr. W. E. Putnam, a Lockheed representative, estimated that if all aircraft were fully laden in both directions the cost of flying the copper to the Tanzanian port would be about £21 10s. per short ton. Railage to Beira now costs about £16 10s. per ton.

The Hercules aircraft costs just under £1m., and the estimate is that about 35 would be needed if all Zambia's copper were to be evacuated through Dar es Salaam.

That, however, is not at present intended. Discussions between the copper companies and the Benguela Railway have been held, and it is suggested that substantially more copper could be sent to Lobito, the Angolan port.

From next Wednesday a fleet of some 70 lorries is to start carrying oil, petrol and lubricants from the Tanzanian rail-head at Kilikum, on the southern spur line from the Central Railway, to the border at Tunduma. The plan is to raise the tanker fleet to about 250. Haulage costs from Dar es Salaam to the line of rail in Zambia are estimated at about 4s. per gallon.

R.A.F. Jet Fighters in Zambia Rhodesians Would Repel Intrusion

TEN JAVELIN JET FIGHTERS of the Royal Air Force flew into Ndola, on the Copperbelt of Zambia, on Friday, to be followed by transport aircraft and troop-carriers, President Kaunda having accepted a British offer of help in the air but declined the accompanying proposal to fly out an infantry battalion.

The Zambian Government had insisted that the troops should take over the Kariba power installation, which, since the power-house is on the southern bank of the Zambezi, would have meant invading Rhodesian territory.

Days of discussion, first by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, and then by Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, who had flown to Lusaka to continue the negotiations, had failed. President Kaunda was adamant that his Government would not accept ground forces (except men of the Royal Air Force Regiment for airfield protection duties) unless they were to take over Kariba. The British Cabinet was equally insistent that that could not be contemplated.

Major-General Victor Fitz-George-Balfour, Director of Military Operations in the Ministry of Defence, had flown out with Mr. Bottomley, who said last Thursday evening: "The Government of Zambia has asked the British Government to provide R.A.F. planes to act in co-operation with the Zambian Air Force for the air defence of Zambia. H.M. Government has agreed to this request".

It had also been agreed that a detachment of the R.A.F. Regiment should guard Lusaka, Ndola and Livingstone airports. With the three main airports under her control Britain could thus prevent troops being flown in from any other African territory—or by Russia.

Mutual Rights of Withdrawal

Zambia, however, had reserved the right to request the withdrawal of the R.A.F. units at any time; and Britain had reserved her right of withdrawal if Zambia should ask any other country to provide troops.

It became known a little later than 10 Argosys and two Britannias were due in Lusaka, and four Beverleys, three Hastings and three Argosys in Ndola, in addition to the Javelins.

Egypt had refused permission for R.A.F. aircraft to fly over her territory while she was continuing discussions with Zambia and other African States.

There had been suggestions in some quarters that President Nasser had been pressing Zambia to accept Egyptian fighter aircraft of Russian manufacture.

Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, said in Lusaka two days later on his return from Addis Ababa that the British Government had bluffed, cheated, and behaved shamefully; Africans were becoming anti-British because nothing had been done by H.M. Government to bring about the downfall of the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

"These Javelin aircraft are out of date and absolutely no match for the Hawker Hunters of the Rhodesian Air Force. It is absolutely shameful that Britain has given us these instead of modern weapons with which to defend ourselves. We have been bluffed. We have been cheated".

An R.A.F. spokesman replied that the Javelin, a supersonic fighter which first came into service in 1954, was quite adequate for any operations likely to be needed in Central Africa. Current marks carried air-to-air missiles and some had 30mm. guns mounted in their wings.

Radar equipment needed for operations had arrived in eight Argosy freighters.

A squadron of the R.A.F. Regiment had flown from Britain in Britannias.

The overall commander is Air Commodore Ian MacDougall.

The aircraft carrier EAGLE, 44,100 tons, the largest in the Royal Navy, was stated at that time to be cruising off Tanzania with two anti-submarine frigates, two tankers, and two store ships, together making a task force practically independent of shore bases.

H.M.S. EAGLE carries Sea Vixen aircraft, which could have provided cover before the arrival of the Javelins and their radar equipment.

On Friday President Kaunda told journalists that he had rejected the British offer of an army battalion because he had wanted those troops to enter Rhodesia and ring the Kariba Dam, a proposal which Britain had not accepted. Zambia did not need protection from other people, but Kariba did. If Britain did not respond adequately in the negotiations which were still continuing he must reserve the right to call in other forces.

He still preferred British troops to guard Kariba.

Risk of Racial War

"If we send in our troops it will mean a racial war. The alternative might be to send American troops, but America might say 'We are allies with Britain in N.A.T.O., and we will not accept what Britain does not accept'".

"What is left to us except to go to another big power?—the Soviet Union. If we did that it would mean not only an ideological war introduced into Central Africa but a shooting war based on ideologies.

"It would prejudice all our discussions with Britain if I said now that I was going to President Johnson or President Mikoyan. I am merely outlining what might happen and what might result".

If the Kariba power station were blown up by the Rhodesians the responsibility would be that of Britain, against whom Zambia would claim compensation.

President Kaunda said later that he did not really favour any foreign troops in his country, for if any were moved in there might be a racial war engulfing all Southern Africa. Since Rhodesia was a British Colony only British troops could act without causing a racial war.

The Rhodesian Prime Minister commented that the token force being sent to Zambia would not represent a threat to Rhodesia.

"So far as Kariba is concerned, our side is under complete security in the hands of our Rhodesian troops. We have to concede that there have been some unfortunate recent incidents in Zambia—the blowing up of a pylon, for instance, and deplorable behaviour by certain people in Livingstone. Security in Zambia has to be decided between its President and the Prime Minister of Britain.

Rhodesia Offers Hospitality

"If an R.A.F. squadron came to Livingstone there would be no objection to their crossing the border into Rhodesia to enjoy the facilities of The Victoria Falls Hotel, where they would be shown something of the Rhodesian way of life".

But, of course, if anyone, including British troops, crossed the frontier with military intent, Rhodesia would have no hesitation in acting in her own defence. Rhodesians would fire on anyone violating her borders.

"But so far as British troops are concerned I think that an academic question, for I believe that Mr. Wilson has too much common sense to try to use a token force as the thin end of the wedge".

If troops arrived in Zambia under United Nations auspices or, say, from Egypt or Ghana, they would not represent a serious problem for Rhodesia.

In reply to a question Mr. Smith said that he would be prepared to talk to President Kaunda or to Mr. Wilson if they had constructive ideas to discuss.

Mr. Wilson's endeavours to hide behind the Queen and the way in which he had used the Governor had merely caused Rhodesians to draw more closely together.

Asked about oil sanctions, he answered that he did not expect difficulties. It was now known that oil could be produced from local coal by a method which did not involve the complicated and expensive procedures followed in South Africa. Rhodesia's oil requirements could if necessary be met in that way within six months.

It was in Rhodesia's interest that law and order should prevail in Zambia and that her economy should not be disrupted. If a token force from Britain would help, then it was to be welcomed.

"It is only a token force. We know that a token force of

mercenaries cleared up the Congo. So a couple of dozen troops from Britain could, I am sure, solve the problem in Zambia."

Last Friday's issue of the *Weekly Express*, Salisbury, quoted Mr. Smith as having stated in an interview that the dam installations at Kariba would be blown up by the Rhodesian Army if British or any other troops invaded at any point.

While such demolition would paralyze the Copperbelt and damage Zambia's other industries it would not deprive Rhodesia of power, for the thermal power units used before power became available from Kariba had been kept in good trim and could be brought into immediate operation on coal from Wankie.

The authenticity of the report was denied by the Prime Minister's office.

On the previous day a Government spokesman had told the Press that the Kariba installations would be destroyed if there were hostile intrusions. The warning was regarded as directed to independent African States which were agitating for the use of military force against Rhodesia.

A denial of these reports was, however, issued by the Rhodesian Mission in Pretoria.

Disappointed With British Government

Close to Third World War, Says President

AFTER HIS TALKS with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, H.M. Government's recently appointed Special Representative for East and Central Africa, President Kaunda told journalists in Lusaka:—

"We are disappointed that the British Government does not move as swiftly as the rest of the world would like. I cannot urge them too strongly to support Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the legitimate head of the Government in Rhodesia. If they allow those rebels to play around with him they are allowing them to play around with the Queen. The rebels even toast the Queen's name. All this is sadly being allowed to continue. I see no reason for waiting any longer. We with the rest of the world, are getting tired of inactivity in Rhodesia.

"Again I counsel very strongly African nationalists in Rhodesia that they must sit down and plan carefully but quickly how they are going to help overthrow the Smith régime. If they keep quiet it will be taken by the rest of the world as accepting Smith as the legal Government.

"I must praise all the Christian leaders in Rhodesia who have come out strongly to condemn this illegal act. I am glad that the Christian conscience has been shaken. I hope all Christians in that country will refuse to recognize an illegal Government and will help Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

"How many of you realize how close we are here to the third world war? Only the British can stop this. We are certainly very close to a third world war.

Many Offers of Troops

"Offers of troops are flowing in daily. Only yesterday I received another, and for the first time this was from a non-Commonwealth country in Africa. Previously only Commonwealth African countries had offered troops. From outside Africa a number of offers have been made. I have neither said 'No' nor 'Yes' to any of these requests. I am waiting to hear from the British Government. I insist on British troops, knowing only too well that it is our only chance of bringing down the rebellion without introducing a very serious racial bloody war or ideological bloody war, not just a cold war."

President Kaunda told a U.N.I.P. conference in Ndola that a "hot war" over Rhodesia would cause a terrible loss of life, because Britain, the United States and France would fight with Rhodesia and the Communist countries would fight with the African countries. "I have put this to the British Government because they are responsible for Rhodesia, and it is right and proper that Britain should send in troops to guard Kariba because part of Kariba is ours."

The Zambezi had become the point where African nationalism and the forces of white racialism met. Being an international problem it had to be solved internationally. "This is when we are going to identify our allies. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Some idiots have been going around telling you we shall not come through. We shall never allow our policies to be determined by these white idiots.

"Very difficult times lie ahead. It will mean sometimes having to go without some essentials like soap, sugar, and even food to some extent." Zambia would substitute its colonial ties with links with East Africa.

To call in African States to help at Kariba would result in a racial war. To call in the Communist countries would result in an ideological war, a hot war.

Zambian Youths Beat Up Europeans

President Kaunda's Public Statement

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said during a recent news conference in Lusaka:—

"I again emphasize the importance of a non-racial approach to all our problems. Any racialist germs anywhere in the country would be treated by any Government with the most effective disinfectant.

"I hasten to add that when this incident at the Railway Club in Livingstone involved my Resident Minister in the Southern Province I thought it proper that we should allow the normal course of law to take its own line.

"I was therefore deeply disappointed when I learnt later that some of my Zambia Youth Service chaps against my orders had gone beating up innocent men, women and children. This is not the right way to behave. We have sufficient forces to help us maintain law and order. For anybody to try and get the law in our own hands will obviously lead to chaos and disorder. The law of the jungle will take place, and no sensible Zambian or resident in Zambia would like to see such a thing.

"There has been a meeting between the leaders of the Railway Workers' Union, artisans and railway drivers on one hand, and the two Ministers I sent to Livingstone last night. My Ministers explained that I had closed the Railway Club for the moment to avoid inevitable clashes. The club has been a source of many such racial incidents in the past, which made it impossible for me to do this in any other way than closing it temporarily.

No Intimidation from Any Quarter

"The artisans have gone back to work; they agreed with the explanation given by my Ministers. Railway drivers refused to accept the explanation. I would choose for my people and myself to go hungry rather than to have anyone, anyone at all, no matter what post he holds in Zambia, intimidate me. I do not take kindly to intimidation.

"The railway people called for police protection. This is entirely uncalled for, because after the third incident I did not need locomotive drivers to remind me of my responsibilities. I drafted immediately more policemen and officers into Livingstone's area, and the officer commanding assures me that all is quiet and under control.

"Then why must they give this as their excuse? I ask the reason for stopping work. I repeat: anybody who tries to intimidate me can't do any good in this country, I will get rid of him without any difficulty at all.

"Racialism in Zambia is outlawed. Racialism is savage and primitive. If it is accepted in Southern Rhodesia it is not accepted here. If they stop work illegally I am bound to protect the interests of Zambia. I do not participate in illegalities. If there are illegal actions in Rhodesia, an illegal Government in Rhodesia, here we have an elected Government and it does everything legally. Any imitation of Rhodesian attitudes or actions in Zambia will be dealt with very heavily.

"Meanwhile I have sent one of my most senior police officers to investigate this; and I say to these drivers: 'Go back to legality; this is Zambia'."

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., milled 317,670 tons of coal and 19,014 of coke in November. The October figures were 297,973 and 18,324.

The East African interests of Inchcape & Co., Ltd., and Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., are to be merged. A new company, in which they will hold an equal interest, will take over Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., and Dalgety (East Africa), Ltd., which will continue to operate on their present bases while co-operation and perhaps integration are considered. Joint gross assets in East Africa total about £7m, and combined net assets about £3m.

Zambia Imposes New Controls Declaration Demanded from Rhodesians

ZAMBIA imposed strict import and export controls on Monday. "We are already practically in a state of war and the situation will get worse", an official spokesman told journalists.

The Finance Minister announced that the Bank of Zambia could not handle Rhodesian money. Travellers visiting Rhodesia might not spend more than £5 a day, half the previous limit, or more than £100 in a year. For business visits the limit would be £10 daily. As the Rhodesian pound was likely to be devalued, he advised exporters to Rhodesia to insist on advance payment.

The chairman of the Bulawayo branch of the Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union said that since Zambia was imposing sanctions on Rhodesia, Rhodesian railwaymen who continued to handle traffic in the normal way would feel that they were aiding an enemy intent on destroying their country. They must consider their attitude to copper exports from Zambia and exports to Zambia of explosives and oil in particular.

The chairman, Mr. R. McIntosh, was suspended by the president, Mr. P. Lennox.

When Zambia announced last week that Rhodesians visiting Zambia must henceforth hold a visa and sign a declaration that they do not recognize the Smith régime, Mr. Smith said that there would be no objection from the standpoint of the Rhodesian Government.

New U.K. Exchange Control Regulations No Pensions or Dividends Transferable

H.M. TREASURY has announced the following new exchange control restrictions on transactions with Rhodesia.

"(1) Transfers of capital from the United Kingdom to Rhodesia have already been prohibited. Now a stop is placed on practically all current payments by U.K. residents to residents of Rhodesia, except where these arise out of permitted trade in goods.

"(2) Payments in sterling to and from Rhodesia sterling accounts will continue to be allowed in respect of trade in goods, and freight and insurance connected therewith, directly between Rhodesia and countries of the Sterling Area to the extent that such trade is allowed by the Governments of the territories concerned. However, U.K. residents will not be allowed to merchant goods between Rhodesia and any other territory. For exports from the U.K. to Rhodesia no credit may be allowed; payment must be made in full before shipment of the goods, which must be 'pre-entered' to Customs.

Ban on Payment of Salaries

"(3) The arrangements previously announced are cancelled in regard to travel, wages and salaries, and contractual payments such as pensions, interest and dividends. In general, no permissions will be given for such payments by U.K. residents to residents of Rhodesia until constitutional government is restored in Rhodesia. So far as H.M. Government itself is concerned, money due to residents of Rhodesia for pensions or interest on Government stocks will be held back for the time being, and will be released as soon as normal relations can be resumed. British firms and others with similar obligations to Rhodesia are advised to adopt a similar procedure. There is no question of such obligations being repudiated; but they cannot be fulfilled in present circumstances.

"(4) In general no permissions will be given for remittances by U.K. firms to subsidiaries or branches in Rhodesia. No U.K. bank facilities (loans, overdrafts, credits, acceptances, etc.) will be allowed to or in favour of firms or individuals in Rhodesia. U.K. firms are reminded that they may not place any sum to the credit of an account in their books in the name of a resident of Rhodesia or make any payment on behalf of such a resident without the permission of the Bank of England.

"(5) No facilities for travel to Rhodesia will be allowed except for approved official or business purposes. All applications must be referred to the Bank of England.

"(6) For the time being cash gifts from U.K. residents to individuals in Rhodesia will continue to be allowed, as already announced, up to an aggregate not exceeding £50 from November 11 until further notice."

General exchange control measures were announced on November 11, and amplified on November 23. They are greatly intensified by the new restrictions.

By the November 11 announcement Rhodesia was excluded from the Sterling Area and all transactions between U.K. residents and residents of Rhodesia were made subject to exchange control. Capital dealings with Rhodesia were effectively blocked, but certain current payments, including pensions, interest and dividends, wages and salaries, were allowed. Such payments are now forbidden.

The November 23 announcement limited to £250 the sum which U.K. residents might draw for travel to Rhodesia. That expenditure is now forbidden.

In the first nine months of this year Rhodesian copper exports to the U.K. slightly exceeded 8,800 tons.

In 1964 Britain imported 25,638 tons of iron and steel products from Rhodesia, costing £1.3m. So far this year the total has been about 7,000 tons, all ferro-alloys, at a cost of £780,000.

Rhodesia's sales of beef to Britain have been worth about £2.6m. a year.

Sabotage and Rail Strike in Zambia

POWER FROM KARIBA to the Copperbelt of Zambia was interrupted early one day recently when a high pylon some 27 miles from the mining town of Kitwe was wrecked by saboteurs. They had used about 100 sticks of dynamite stolen from one of the mines. Another charge of 50 lb. placed beneath a second pylon failed to detonate.

Mr. Smith said in Salisbury that he greatly regretted to hear of the sabotage, which might well have been the work of trouble-makers seeking to dislocate Zambia's economy and pin the blame on Rhodesia. Only the previous day his Minister of Law and Order, speaking in Parliament, had warned President Kaunda that by harbouring saboteurs he was running the danger that they might use their subversive training against Zambia. That, Mr. Smith thought, was what had happened.

Copperbelt Extremists Suspected

In Zambia it was suggested that white or black extremists on the Copperbelt had been responsible.

Railage of copper to the coast was simultaneously interrupted by a strike of some 300 white railwaymen at Livingstone. For a couple of days the only trains passing between Rhodesia and Zambia were those carrying passengers and essential goods.

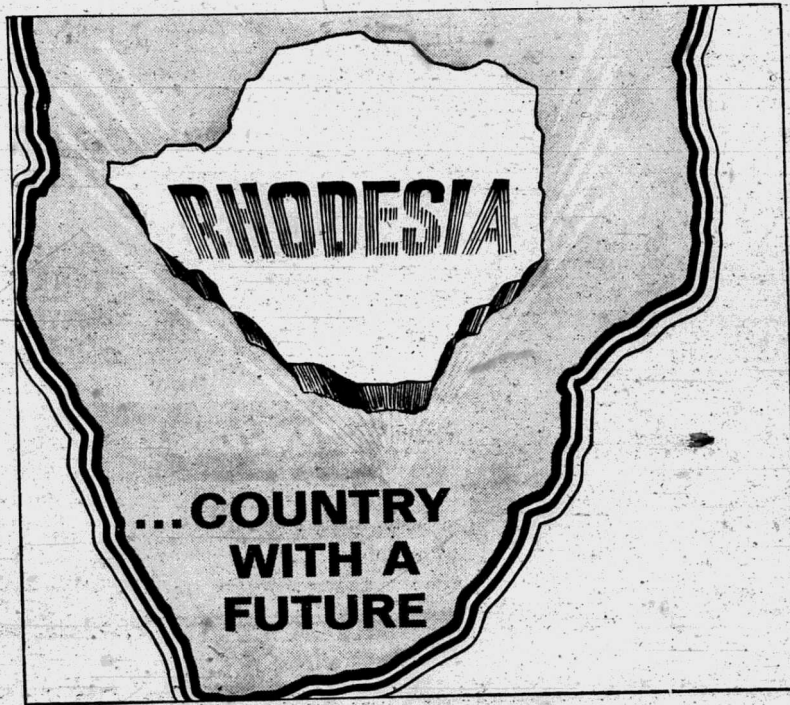
A dispute in the railway club with Mr. Sakubita, Resident Minister in the Southern Province, had been followed by assaults upon white men, women, and children in the streets of Livingstone by uniformed members of the Zambia Youth Service. The Minister had thereupon closed the club and cut off water and electricity supplies to it and to 12 flats occupied by families of white railway employees. The men thereupon struck work.

After the services had been restored to their homes by order of President Kaunda, and after the Government had given what the general manager of Rhodesia Railways, Mr. Trevor Wright, described as "certain assurances", the men resumed duty. A spokesman said that they had been promised police protection for their families, and that if their demands had not been met they would have walked across the Victoria Falls bridge into Rhodesia with their families at the week-end.

The opinion in Livingstone was that it had seen the most serious racial clash in Zambia's history. White shoppers who were in no way concerned with the railway dispute were jostled and struck by the youths in uniform.

The Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., is to pay a final 15%, making 22½% for the year to June 30, compared with a forecast of 20%. Group profit after tax increased from just under £1.5m. to £1,924,664.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. report net profits after tax and transfers to inner reserves for the year to September 30 of £3,019,881, an increase of 14% on the 1963-64 figures, which were 30% above those for the previous year. A final 6% dividend makes 11½% for the year (11%). The reserve fund is increased by £1m., and the carry-forward is £1.9m.



**... Sugar, tea, coffee, beef, pork, maize, tobacco and cotton . . .
apples and oranges, strawberries and bananas . . . almost every-
thing in fact, grows well in sunny Rhodesia.**

Crops of seed for California . . . peaches and gladioli for the London market . . . fresh fruit and vegetables for the Copperbelt. Rhodesia can compete with the world in price . . . and technical know-how. Each year sees an increase in the area of crops under irrigation and Rhodesian ranches cannot yet supply the world demand for top quality Rhodesian beef. Endless opportunities exist for those who

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.



BEST GO BY SEA

UNION-CASTLE takes you comfortably to East Africa and Rhodesia

EAST AFRICA

Regular sailings from London, Gibraltar and Genoa, via Suez, to the East African Ports of Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, and Beira. Also via South Africa by the Mail Service from Southampton with connections at Durban.

RHODESIA

Zambia and Rhodesia can be reached by the fast weekly Mail Service from Southampton to Cape Town thence by connecting express train, or via Beira the nearest port of entry by the East African Service. Through bookings arranged.

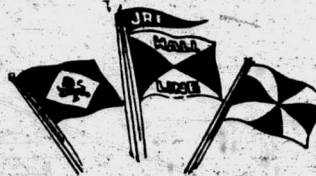
For fares and full details apply:

UNION-CASTLE

Head Office: Cayzer House, 2-4 St. Mary Axe, London EC3

Chief Passenger Office:

Rotherwick House, 19-21 Old Bond Street, London W1



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD to MOMBASA,
TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and if inducement MTWARA

	Closing Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	B'head
‡ CLAN URQUHART			Dec. 14
§ CITY OF PERTH	Dec. 15	Dec. 20	Dec. 28
† WAYFARER	Jan. 5	Jan. 10	Jan. 13

* If inducement. † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR).
‡ also calls ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR). § also PORT SUDAN and ADEN.

also by arrangement

RED SEA PORTS:—

PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

For particulars of sailings, rates of freight, etc., apply to

THE OWNERS or

THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., (OVERSEAS) LTD., MOMBASA

Loading Brokers:
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO.,
LIVERPOOL 2

London Agents:
TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD.,
LONDON, E.C.3

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

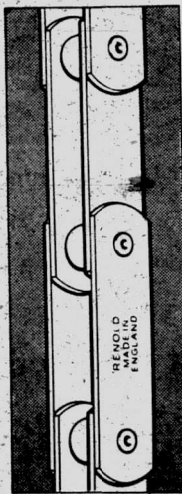
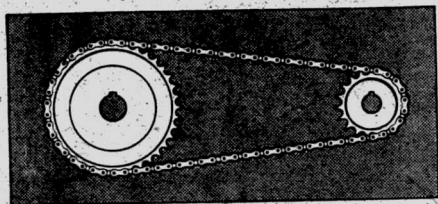
Thursday, December 16, 1965

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Vol. 42

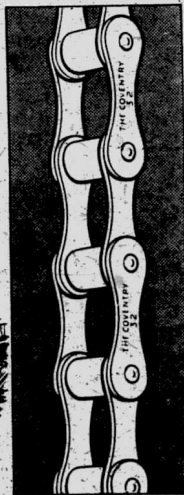
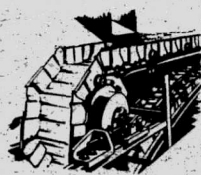
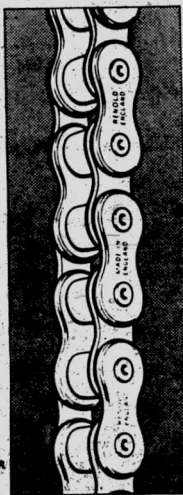
No. 2149

52s. yearly post free



RENOLD

*the FIRST name
in precision chain*



RENOLD CHAINS LIMITED · MANCHESTER

REPRESENTED IN TANZANIA BY



WIGGLESWORTH

& CO., (AFRICA) LIMITED

DAR ES SALAAM : TANGA

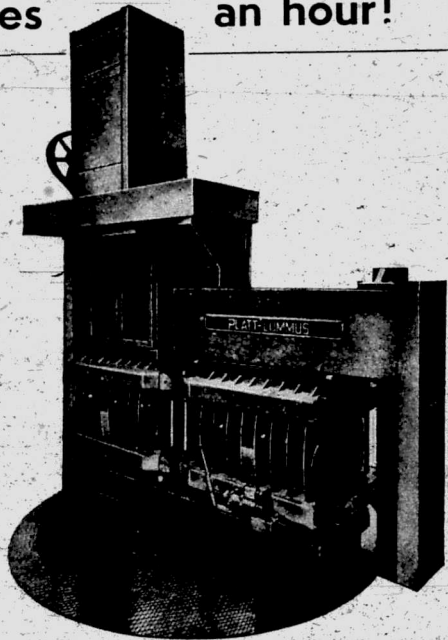
London Associates, Wigglesworth & Co. Ltd., 34 Mincing Lane, E.C.3

Security Council Invoked to Save Face of O.A.U.

Output up to 20 bales an hour!

**PLATT-LUMMUS BALE PRESS
PRODUCES HIGH DENSITY BALES —
AUTOMATICALLY
SAFE AND EFFICIENT IN OPERATION
... RUGGED IN CONSTRUCTION**

The Platt-Lummus 20in. x 41in. (508mm. x 1041mm.) automatic double-box baling press produces 'export' bales weighing 450lb. to 600lb. (204kg. to 272kg.), with densities up to 40lb./cu. ft. (640kg./cu.m.) dependent on the number of rams fitted. Provided with the appropriate hydraulic pumping unit, this press can achieve an output of up to 20 bales per hour. It is equally suitable for both saw and roller gin plants.



Platt-Lummus International Ltd

Hartford Works Oldham England

Phone: MAIn (Oldham) 6411. Grams: Ginning Oldham

Invest in Rhodesia's rocketing Beef Industry



The Cold Storage Commission has been directly responsible for the spectacular development of Rhodesia's Beef Industry. Their beef throughput has soared from 5 million to over 10 million pounds sterling in six short years. The Commission's progressive domestic and export marketing policies, coupled with the forward guaranteed cattle prices, safeguard all investments in cattle production.

THE COLD STORAGE COMMISSION OF RHODESIA

'SERVES THE NATION'

BUY ADVERTISED GOODS — THEY HAVE BEEN PROVED BY US

EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1.
Telephone: HOLborn 2224-5

Cables: EASTAFRIC, London Inland Telegrams: EASTAFRIC, Westcent., London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	297	Sir Alec Douglas-Home	
Saving Face of O.A.U.	298	Says "Negotiate" ...	307
P.M. Attacks Mr. Smith	299	Personalia	308
Rhodesia Refuses Ster-		Sir Edgar Whitehead	309
ling	301	Parliamentary Views	310
Mr. Smith Castigates		Rhodesian Brevities	312
"British Theft"	302	Commons Debate	313
Peers Debate Rhodesia	304	Company Report:	
		Barclays Bank D.C.O.	317

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1965

Vol. 42

No. 2149

52s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

AFRICAN POLITICAL LEADERS have been giving first priority to manoeuvres by which they hoped to save the face of the Organization of African Unity; whose Council of Foreign Ministers recommended at their recent meeting in Addis Ababa, with one abstention only, that their Governments should sever diplomatic relations with Britain if H.M. Government had not "crushed" the present Rhodesian régime by December 15 (yesterday) and then embark upon an African military adventure against Rhodesia. The chief characteristic of O.A.U. since it was formed two years ago has been its inability to provide even a façade of unity between the independent African States, except temporarily as a matter of mutual convenience on some issue, or now by a demonstration which is as theatrical and unpractical as it is nonsensical. One very experienced journalist who flew to the Ethiopian capital to report the gathering has emphasized that astonishing quantities of champagne were drunk by the delegations. Wine—if it was the wine—certainly produced folly, not truth. The veriest tyro should have understood that there was not a chance in a million that the Rhodesian Government could be "crushed" within a fortnight; and, according to the statement given to the Press, the Council of Ministers wanted an even greater miracle, for their insistence was that the United Kingdom Government should "crush the rebellion and restore law and order before December 15, thereby preparing the way for majority government". Probably nobody whispered that rebellions still simmer in some of the countries whose representatives thus relieved their emotions.

* * *
Foreign Ministers are supposed to be responsible men. Could irresponsibility have

been more strikingly revealed than by their resolution?—which a fifth-form debating society in any English school would have rejected. Yet apparently not one of the thirty-five African delegations (Gambia was not represented) voted against it, and cautionary reservations were seemingly made only on behalf of Zambia and Malawi—the two States bordering Rhodesia, and consequently most likely to understand the stupidity of the proposition. Even in the state of euphoria which evidently prevailed, the Foreign Ministers might have been expected to remind themselves and one another that many of their countries regularly receive large grants and loans from British taxpayers—more than sixty million pounds between them this year—and that that generosity, which alone maintains even the semblance of independence in many African States, would be withdrawn if they broke off diplomatic relations. When they returned to lower altitudes the plenipotentiaries must have been sharply reminded in private by their Heads of State and Cabinets of their recklessness in jeopardizing the continuance of financial, technical, and other forms of aid, and some of them are probably much less secure in their jobs today than they were three weeks ago. Nor can their Governments be pleased with the threat that an African army would take the field against Rhodesia. Presidents Nasser and Nkrumah are committed by past belliciosities to an assumption of enthusiasm, but in their sober moments many other African political extremists must concede, doubtless reluctantly, that the Foreign Ministers are less reliable military judges than Dr. Banda, who has so scornfully denounced the project in the Malawi Parliament. No other African leader has poured such ridicule on the Addis Ababa resolution, and not one State has dismissed it as unaccep-

table. The common impulse has been to evade the predicament by endeavours to save the face of O.A.U.

* * *

It would seem that the Conservative and Socialist leaders in Britain, wishing to accommodate the O.A.U. member States, have caused hints to be dropped to their followers not to discuss the matter

No Stand by the Western World. in public. What other explanation can there be of

the almost complete failure of British politicians to comment on the childish buffoonery of Addis Ababa, and of the consequent preoccupation of Ministers in many countries outside Africa with playing down and appeasing that piece of recklessness? The all-pervasive silence in Britain is the more remarkable since this country is the target for the O.A.U. attempt at blackmail. Yet the harsh words of the past fortnight have

been directed not at black Africa but at Rhodesia. The interests of the world, Britain, and Africa in general would have been much better served by authoritative rejection of the Addis Ababa formula. Instead, Ministers of mature States have telephoned and scurried from capital to capital in desperate endeavours to minimize the consequences, and the false pretence has been fostered that Rhodesia is responsible for increasing the risk of a colour war in Africa, when rash African nationalist extremists, some of them incited by Communist and other evil influences, are solely to blame. Rhodesians, of course, want peace, not war. They want the Western world, which has wobbled so disastrously for so long, to stand firmly against African foolhardiness. Mr. Wilson, unhappily, has thought it a better political gambit to join his Commonwealth Relations Secretary in insulting Mr. Smith, whom both praised for his integrity only last month.

Seeking to Spare Embarrassment to O.A.U.

President Nyerere Insists that Tanzania Will Sever Relations with Britain

DESPERATE EFFORTS have been made last week and this to save the member States of the Organization of African Unity from the embarrassment either of fulfilling the threat of its Council of Foreign Ministers to sever diplomatic relations with Britain if she had not "crushed the Rhodesian rebellion" by December 15 (yesterday), or the equally unwelcome admission that the Foreign Ministers, who had been unanimous (with the exception of Gambia, which was not represented) had been overruled by their Heads of State.

The British and American Governments and the United Nations let it be known that they were consulting together and with other Governments in Africa, Europe, America, Asia, and Australia.

Mr. Bottomley asked all Commonwealth High Commissioners to meet him on Thursday. At that time H.M. Government had received from only one source, Egypt, formal notification that it would abide by the O.A.U. resolution to sever diplomatic relations. Mr. Arnold Smith, the recently appointed Commonwealth Secretary-General, also saw a number of High Commissioners in London.

Avoid Militancy, Says Mr. Holyoake

Mr. Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, told a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in Wellington that the Commonwealth should not act in a militant spirit against Rhodesia. "If Rhodesia's action is outside the law and taken in a spirit of militancy and defiance, all of us must take care that we do not fall into the same error in our attempt to show that her actions will not be condoned".

British High Commissioners in Africa had been instructed to point out that severance of diplomatic relations with Britain would involve the forfeiture of Commonwealth preferences and jeopardize the continuance of aid from Britain. Grants and other aid contributions by Britain to independent African territories will exceed £60m. this year.

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, having proposed a Commonwealth Conference

in Lagos in January, flew to London on Monday to press the proposal. Before his arrival newspapers friendly to Mr. Wilson wrote that he did not wish to have the issue taken out of British hands or to appear in the dock in Lagos before all other heads of Commonwealth Governments.

Immediately following the Nigerian initiative, President Kenyatta told the Kenya Parliament that as there was not unanimity among African States a break with Britain would be ineffective and perhaps abortive; he had therefore decided on fuller consultation with neighbouring countries, including Zambia, whose President had expressed doubts about the wisdom of a break.

Though Kenya supported all O.A.U. resolutions, "we feel that unilateral action by any African State is not the answer". Britain should use force to crush the rebellion.

All money transactions between Kenya and Rhodesia had been stopped and all travel documents issued or renewed by the illegal Government in Rhodesia would be refused.

Mzee Kenyatta said that he had cabled to the United Nations proposing an immediate meeting of the Security Council. His telegram had read:—

"The Kenya Government are deeply concerned about the continued rebellion in Rhodesia. We are doubtful about the success of voluntary sanctions. The situation is desperate and dangerous, with the threat of racial confrontation on a world scale. Kenya proposes the immediate calling of the Security Council to approve sanctions under Chapter VII. By this we mean mandatory sanctions. Britain must be made to accept this".

The Security Council met on Tuesday.

Mr. Wilson is due in Washington tomorrow for talks with President Johnson. Oil sanctions and a possible naval blockade of the port of Beira are said to be on their agenda.

Two More Ministers Visiting Zambia

Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. Maurice Foley, Under-Secretary for Economic Affairs, flew to Zambia yesterday to discuss plans for aid to that country.

President Kaunda has told journalists that contingency planning would be discussed with the visiting Ministers, but that further talk on the use of British troops solely on the Zambian side of Kariba would be useless.

According to Whitehall sources, proposals for an international police force to guard both sides of the Kariba dam will be mooted.

A World Bank spokesman has denied that it has had consultations with Britain about possible British military action

if Rhodesia were to default on the interest due on Kariba loans. "We don't collect money at bayonet point, and there has been no default by Rhodesia", he said. In case of default the World Bank would look to Britain as guarantor of the loans.

Of East and Central African leaders, President Nyerere of Tanzania was the only one to say publicly and emphatically late in the week that his country would break with Britain on December 15 because of her inaction over Rhodesia. Then he flew to Mbeya for a hurriedly arranged meeting with President Kaunda.

On returning to Dar es Salaam on the same evening he said that he was more than ever determined to proceed with his threat. Dr. Kaunda had not tried to dissuade him from acting on the O.A.U. resolution on the ground that a breach with Britain would harm Zambia. Action against Britain might harm Zambia, but Dr. Kaunda's attitude was that maximum pressure must be put on Mr. Smith, Zambia's enemy.

Pointing out that only three days remained before the O.A.U. resolution would become operative, Mwalimu Nyerere accused Britain of trying to hide behind its wording, asking how the rebellion could possibly be crushed within the 14-day time-limit given. What was demanded was clear evidence of strong action by Britain. African countries must stop using Zambia to get out of the Addis Ababa commitment.

In a message cabled to the *Observer*, however, Dr. Nyerere left himself loop-holes, starting with the statement that diplomatic relations would be broken off unless Britain "demonstrates an immediate and new determination to deal with the Rhodesian rebellion". Later he said: "We shall wait until the very last moment, and beyond, for evidence that Britain is at last willing to live up to her responsibilities; but if it does not come we shall carry out our decision because we have no alternative if we are to deserve the respect of the world, and, more important, if we are to respect ourselves."

"If this break does come it will be between Governments; we have no quarrel with the British people working in Tanzania, and we hope they will stay. We shall not leave the Commonwealth, a multi-national organization, not a

British one, and therefore for the moment at any rate unaffected by our decision".

President Kaunda said on his return to Lusaka that he was certain Tanganyika would sever diplomatic relations. Agreement had been reached in Mbeya on joint action on Rhodesia. A diplomatic break with Britain by Tanzania would not, he believed, prevent British supplies reaching Zambia through that country. He was deeply disappointed with Britain's handling of the situation, and had no assurance that he would get the British supplies requested. He adhered to his demand that any British troops sent to Kariba should occupy both sides of the dam.

Anger in Lusaka

There was anger in Lusaka at reports that H.M. Government had suggested a payment of about £1m. for the services of the R.A.F. Javelin fighter squadron. It was rumoured that the reply reminded the Cabinet that at the Victoria Falls Conference Lord Butler had rejected Zambia's argument that half the Royal Rhodesian Air Force should be allocated to Zambia, as that compensation of £2.4m. offered by Britain had still not been paid.

The President recalled the heads of Zambia's missions in London, Washington, Lagos, Accra, and Leopoldville, and told Parliament that there was to be crash expansion of the army and equipment of an enlarged Zambian Air Force with modern jet fighters. The Rhodesian rebellion, the entire responsibility of the British Government, was a disgraceful challenge to Africa, which would take the initiative if Britain failed. Zambia would proceed as quickly as possible with the construction of a hydro-electric installation on the Kafue River some 28 miles south of Lusaka.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia said in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, that the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers must aggravate the situation and could not help to liberate Rhodesian Africans. What was necessary was co-ordinated, persevering, and intelligent action which would give moral, material, and diplomatic support to the under-privileged people of Rhodesia. He did not like "attitudes of defiance and intimidation".

Mr. Smith Cannot Be Treated as Leader of the Rhodesians

Prime Minister Tells House of Commons of Government's Attitude

IT WOULD BE INTOLERABLE to entrust the present Rhodesian Government and Parliament with the task of restoration and reconstruction, the Prime Minister told the House of Commons on Friday.

MR. WILSON said:—

"To put the issue of H.M. Government's objectives in relation to Rhodesia beyond doubt, I should make it clear once again that the purpose of economic measures we have undertaken is to bring Rhodesia at the earliest possible moment back to the paths of constitutional Government.

"These measures are harsh, they will involve hardship, but the Government consider that quick and effective measures will involve less suffering than a long-drawn-out agony. They are aimed also at minimizing the dangers, which are all too obvious, that if H.M. Government's measures are not believed to be effective, others will seek a speedy solution by the use of methods which we would abhor.

Salisbury Statement Recalled

"We must now leave the measures to work themselves out, but at the same time we are examining with others concerned the question of oil sanctions, provided this is multilateral in application, for only multilateral action is in our view likely to be effective.

"Economic measures are likely to bring about the desired effect in Rhodesia when, and only when, hardships of continuing illegal action are felt to outweigh fears of what may happen when illegal action is brought to an end. It is those fears which led to illegal action, but Mr. Smith never sought to find out whether even the present unrepresentative electorate felt that their fears justified illegal action. He never put his plans to the test of a democratic election or referendum. He had no mandate for the actions of November 11,

"Even so within that limited electorate, though much less outside it, there has been and is a continuing fear that the renunciation of illegal independence would be followed, perhaps within days, by the introduction of ill-prepared majority rule. This is not our policy, as was made clear in my statement to the Rhodesian people in Salisbury on October 30—and I quote that statement:—

"Given time—I repeat, given time—I think that working on these same lines, I think this problem can be solved and a basis found for Rhodesia's independence acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole—for on that we, no less than our predecessors, must insist. . . . Time to recognize that it is not a simple choice between two extreme courses, between an illegal assertion of independence today or an African majority tomorrow or next week. Rhodesia—and I say this with deep conviction and with all the emphasis at my command—is not faced with these stark alternatives. There are other courses open to us, and they need to be examined, canvassed and assessed—not dismissed out of hand through letting impatience and fear take command."

"That is still our position. It is now for the Rhodesian people, through His Excellency the Governor, to make clear their desire to return to their allegiance and the rule of law.

"As I have made clear from November 11 onwards, Mr. Smith, like any other private person in Rhodesia is free to make representations to the Governor. If the Governor, in his discretion, forwards any such submission to H.M. Government, it will be considered.

"In particular, as and when the illegal régime indicates to the Governor their acceptance of the need for a return to constitutional methods, H.M. Government will be glad to welcome such assurances, and in particular any proposals for dealing with the mechanics of returning to constitutional rule.

"What I must make clear is that H.M. Government are not prepared, directly or through the Governor, to enter into negotiations with Mr. Smith on any basis which involves dealing with an illegal régime, or on any conditions, other than procedure conditions, for a return to constitutional methods. I offered to the then Rhodesian Government, even on the morning of November 11, clear and far-reaching proposals for Rhodesian independence, subject to their proved acceptability to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

"But we cannot negotiate with an illegal régime, particularly one which has perverted, distorted, and misused the 1961 Constitution in a sense not intended by its authors or the British Parliament when that Constitution was approved, and which has introduced in Rhodesia police-state methods repugnant, not only to the spirit of the 1961 Constitution and to the standards always laid down by this House when we have granted independence to dependent British territories, but repugnant to all civilized standards.

"We cannot negotiate with these men, nor can they be trusted, after the return to constitutional rule, with the task of leading Rhodesia in the paths of freedom and racial harmony.

Mr. Smith May Discuss But Not Dictate

"Mr. Smith has it in his power to end the hardships which his illegal action has brought on his country. He can end these hardships by an approach to the Governor. He cannot, however, dictate terms to the Governor, nor can he now be treated—as he was treated until 11.15 a.m. on November 11—as the leader of the Rhodesian people.

"He must accept the utter determination of H.M. Government and of this Parliament to continue, and if necessary intensify, the measures necessary to induce Rhodesia to return to constitutional rule. He must recognize that the sooner he, or in his default the Rhodesian people, act, the less will be the sufferings of the Rhodesian people and the easier the task of economic and political reconstruction.

"As soon as Rhodesia returns to constitutional paths we shall relax and remove the economic measures we have introduced—if not literally within the hour, as quickly as possible. The longer this moment is delayed the greater the suffering, the greater the tasks of economic reconstruction, the greater the dangers of outside intervention and of conflict in Africa.

"We seek no conclusion in Rhodesia except an honourable return to constitutional rule. On this we must insist. For this Government, for any Government of this country, there can be no turning back until Rhodesia has returned to constitutional rule. Once that is achieved—with malice toward none, with no recrimination, in no punitive spirit—we shall seek to achieve peace and security in Rhodesia, on the basis of the five principles set out in the published declarations of this Government and our predecessors, the principles which have throughout inspired the approach of successive British Governments and of this House throughout these past months and years."

MR. HEATH: "Is the Prime Minister aware that in his statement on November 23 he dealt with this question of the approach to Rhodesia and the future of Rhodesia very clearly and without any qualification whatever? Will the Prime Minister recall the words that 'as soon as the people of Rhodesia are prepared to return to constitutional paths, as soon as the Governor feels that there is an opportunity of, perhaps, forming a Government among those who will act in a constitutional manner, we would want to deal with those people, without any recrimination or any rancour about the past'?"

"Was it not those words which the Lord Chancellor quoted in another place, saying that it was 'open to Mr. Smith, now, to put before the Government any proposals' and these proposals would be most carefully considered by the Government?"

"Has not the Prime Minister's statement today introduced in fact considerable confusion into the position rather than clarifying the position? Is not this an attempt to reconcile what he himself had previously stated, absolutely clearly and without reservation and which the Lord Chancellor repeated, with what the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said in the House the other night?"

Prime Minister's Change of Position

"Would it not have been better for the Prime Minister to have adhered absolutely clearly and firmly to his original statement, which the Lord Chancellor and other members of the Government have endorsed? Is not the Prime Minister swaying in fact in his statement today that, far from being able to put forward any proposals which would be carefully considered by the Government, Mr. Smith and any member of the illegal régime can only put forward something about the mechanics of how the future of Rhodesia can be governed, how it would take place, and that in fact thereafter the British Government are not prepared to deal with any single member of the existing illegal régime, where the Prime Minister says 'We cannot negotiate with these men, nor can they be trusted'. That is the attempt to reconcile what the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said the other night.

"Does the Prime Minister really believe that by making this dramatic statement, which has now gone back on what he previously said, he will in fact only indicate to these people that what is required from each and every one of them is unconditional surrender or else no progress can be made?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I recognize that the rt. hon. gentleman will want time to study very carefully the statement I

have made. It reached him only a few minutes before I rose. I hope that, as on other occasions, when he has had time to study it and consult his colleagues, whatever his feelings, he will recognize that we are now at a very serious turning point in our whole history, if not in the history of the world, and that he will feel able to associate himself with what I have said.

"What I have just said is absolutely clear. Mr. Smith is perfectly free to come to the Governor. What we are not prepared for him to do is to have him dictate terms to us, terms unacceptable to the House, terms which have always been unacceptable. His only approach to the Governor which I am aware of involved him saying that of course he is prepared to negotiate the ending of U.D.I. with us, on the basis of their getting independence on their terms, terms which throughout have been rejected by this House.

"He has said, if the statements made in this House are correct, that he continues to have independence on exactly the same terms. We are not accepting that, and I am sure that the House would not accept it.

"So far as the statements made in this House are concerned, although I always believed that Mr. Smith negotiated in good faith, it is a fact that he has gone back on a number of the things he said—and nothing more serious than one I must report to the House. The whole situation has been transformed by this declaration—this fraudulent declaration—of a state of emergency under which Rhodesia is being turned into a police State.

"Mr. Smith got the Governor's signature to it on the eve of U.D.I. with a categorical assurance to the Governor that this was not a preparation for U.D.I. Then immediately afterwards, having got the powers, he claimed that they were legal for the operation of U.D.I. This fully justified the statement of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations the other evening; and, if it does not fit the views of the Parliamentarily squameish, it fits the facts.

"On the second point—that the dogmatic statement, as he put it, that I have just made will unite all the Rhodesians in favour of U.D.I.—this is wrong. We are hearing of very many people in Rhodesia who want to get back to constitutional rule. I believe that a majority want to get back to constitutional rule, because Mr. Smith never had a mandate for this. He never took a mandate for illegal action. He never sought one. Most of the people who are in that position are saying to us, as I hope they are saying to the rt. hon. gentleman, that they want the measures to be quick and effective and that they want there to be no haggling and no terms with the illegal régime.

Enormous Capacity for Self-Delusion

"If there is one thing that is prolonging illegal rule in Rhodesia—I had this many times by implication from Mr. Smith himself before November 11, and there is a lot of evidence of it—it is his vain belief—because he has an enormous capacity for self-delusion—that this House is not united. He has a vain belief that a small number of hon. gentlemen below the gangway who attend meetings arranged, as we now know under Fascist auspices—I am sure they did not intend to do that—that these are the voice of Britain. Further, there have been doubts—though the rt. hon. gentleman when he has had time to consider these problems has, I think, given very fair support to our position—because of some of the questions the rt. hon. gentleman has raised, as to whether this country is united in these measures. I hope that the declaration I have made this morning can, after consideration, get the support of the whole House, because then the Rhodesian people as well as the British people will know where they stand."

MR. HEATH: "Does the Prime Minister recognize that the great majority of this House has given support to the measures which the Government have taken and that this has been plain to the world as a whole? Does he recognize that nobody is suggesting that the British Government should be dictated to in negotiations by Mr. Smith or anybody else? Does he recognize that the whole House abhors the aspects of the police State which have been and which are being introduced into Rhodesia today?"

"The fact is that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations knew what was happening under the emergency powers, but the Prime Minister also knew when he made his statement on November 23. The whole House can unite behind the statement on November 23 that those who come forward from whatever source to make a negotiation on the constitutional future of Rhodesia will be negotiated with. On that we can unite, but not on the sort of statement he has made this morning, when he says that none of these men who are apparently at the moment negotiating with Mr. Smith can be dealt with, either personally or together, nor can they take any part in the political life of Rhodesia afterwards. That is what he has in fact said."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "A lot of what the rt. hon. gentleman said is perfectly fair. He recognizes that we are dis-

(Continued on page 313)

Rhodesia Now Refuses Payment in Sterling for Exports

Britain's Litter of Broken Promises and Mirages of False Hopes

COUNTER-MEASURES by Rhodesia to the financial embargoes against her imposed by the British Government were announced by Mr. Smith in a broadcast to the nation on Wednesday evening of last week.

Rhodesia had, he said, been driven by British actions to declare that she could not meet her public debt obligations to the British public and the World Bank, totalling £108m. "As Mr. Wilson has filched our Reserve Bank, I am sure he will be happy to accept the responsibility attached thereto and meet our international financial obligations.

"Until now London has always been looked upon as a trustworthy banking centre. It is against this background that we have retained our balances in London and consistently supported sterling as a reserve currency. This we have done in the belief that the Bank of England and the City of London, who have been honoured to act as the custodians of the sterling area's common reserves and those of other countries, could be relied upon to regard this trust as sacrosanct."

Because Mr. Wilson was now dragging the Bank of England into disrepute and ridicule in the eyes of international financiers, Rhodesia was constrained to develop payments arrangements which would bypass London.

Peace Overtures by Mr. Wilson

"There are signs of peace overtures by Mr. Wilson, who is reputed to have said that if the Rhodesian people come to heel they will be assured of no majority rule, for several years. It is understood that he has asked his advisers to work out peace proposals for submission to the Rhodesian Government in the expectation of an early collapse.

"Mr. Wilson forgets that fresh in the minds of our people is the fact that successive British Governments have littered the path of recent Rhodesian history with broken conventions, broken promises, and mirages of false hope. He obviously under-estimates the determination of the Rhodesian people and the deep distrust with which they would view any proposal which might come from him.

"Is this man unaware of the stock from which we stem? Is this man ignorant of the traditions which we inherited, which we have preserved, and which we have developed and even strengthened? Is he aware that when we are confronted by an enemy—in this instance, said to relate, a British enemy—we become more united and more determined, and that when our opponents resort to underhand methods, then our determined nation becomes even more resolute, indeed inflexible?"

Referring to measures necessary to counteract British sanctions, Mr. Smith said: "I regret having to take these actions, but we have no option. I regret them because they will widen the gap between Britain and Rhodesia, and because once alternative arrangements have been made they cannot be lightly thrown aside. Hence the division will probably remain. It is possible that a certain amount of bitterness will be generated between Britain and Rhodesia."

Emphasizing his conviction that Rhodesians could soon overcome the "penal, punitive, vindictive sanctions of the deceitful Mr. Wilson", the Prime Minister appealed to commerce and industry to be patient for a couple of days while the Government's plans were completed. Some measures would be announced at once for the protection of the country and to enable it to recoup part of its losses.

"The British restrictions being taken for the redirection of our economy, provision will be made for national service schemes to meet the possible unemployment situation. Workers who cannot be absorbed by the national service schemes and who become redundant as a result of economic pressures from

Britain will be directed towards employment at present enjoyed by alien workers, and the latter will be replaced and will have to be repatriated to their countries of origin."

In order to replenish the bank reserves misappropriated by Britain, Rhodesia would demand for her exports payment in specified currencies other than sterling. How returns could be increased from sales of Rhodesian coal in Zambia and other countries was under study. Buyers would be required to pay in United States or Canadian dollars or certain European currencies. [Rhodesia's coal exports last year were worth about £17m., of which Zambia took 70% and the Congo 15%.]

The cost of transporting goods on Rhodesia Railways (jointly owned by Rhodesia and Zambia) had to be reviewed, and if it were proved that the greatest costs were incurred in Rhodesia it would be necessary to seek settlement of the balance in currencies other than sterling.

Goods dispatched to Zambia and Malawi from Rhodesia would also need to be paid for in currencies other than sterling.

In retaliation for the British decision that dividends, interest, and similar remittances due to Rhodesia should not be paid by British subjects, Rhodesia must block similar payments to Britain, which would lose about £26m. annually under that category.

Imports from Britain would have to be reduced to a relatively insignificant amount and the re-alignment of trading would unfortunately be of a long-term nature, for "we must naturally recognize the support we receive from others and continue to honour this support."

Unemployment among some sections of the Rhodesian community was an inevitable consequence of British restrictions, which would cause a recession in the Rhodesian economy. Africans from Zambia, Malawi, and other countries would have to be replaced by Rhodesian Africans. That would be a hard blow to many African families in Zambia and Malawi and damaging to the economy of those countries. [The latest official estimates are that Malawi Africans and their families in Rhodesia number about 250,000, Africans from Zambia about 175,000, and some 30,000 from other countries.]

Interference with International Banking Structure

Earlier in the broadcast Mr. Smith had said that Britain's attempt to purloin Rhodesia's sterling reserves and her decision to stop pensions payments showed to what lengths Mr. Wilson was prepared to go in his personal economic war against Rhodesia. In addition to attacking the humanities, he was interfering with the international banking structure.

An announcement from the Rhodesian Treasury, on the same day stated that all payments due to Rhodesia for any purpose by residents of the sterling area excluding South Africa and Britain must henceforth be made in United States or Canadian dollars or in specified Western European currencies. Payment for Rhodesian exports to Malawi and Zambia must be made in full in an approved currency before dispatch of the goods.

Exports to other countries would be deferred until the Rhodesian customs authorities were satisfied on a certificate from an authorized dealer that payment in an appropriate currency had been made or would be made within a maximum period of six months. Exporters facing difficulties in such matters should consult their own banks, not the Reserve Bank of the Government.

Spokesmen for commercial banks in Rhodesia denied the statement made on the previous day in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor that British pensions could still be drawn in Rhodesia. Mr. Charles Skipper, general manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O., said: "We have received no instructions or requests to make such payments. The position at the moment is that we are unable to pay any British pensions". Similar statements were made on behalf of two other banks.

A Rhodesian Treasury spokesman said that the University College in Salisbury had not then received payment of the £250,000 due nine days earlier from H.M. Government.

In London a Treasury official said that Mr. Smith's repudiation of Rhodesia's external debts was unlikely to involve Britain in anything more serious than an annual charge of about £3m. for the service of World Bank loans.

Rhodesian Government stocks quoted on the London market have a total value of about £67m. Loans from the World Bank, mainly for Kariba and Rhodesia Railways, total £23.3m. The Colonial Development Corporation has advanced £9m., the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation £3m.

and H.M. Government £4m. to Rhodesia for various purposes.

Though H.M. Government has assumed certain powers over the Government of Rhodesia, it has not merged Rhodesia into itself or legally taken over assets, liabilities, or external debts, except for loans from the World Bank which Britain guaranteed.

Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister of Zambia, said shortly after Mr. Smith's broadcast that he had foreknowledge of the move against imports into Zambia from Rhodesia and that measures to meet the situation had been taken in the import and export regulations issued two days earlier. Foreign exchange would be made available for imports of coal, food, and other essentials, but that could not be "an indefinite arrangement".

The Reserve Bank of Malawi suspended payments to Rhodesia until the position had been clarified by consultation with London. Malawi could, it was stated, buy currencies acceptable to the Smith régime only through London.

It was announced in Washington that the American Government had recognized the new London board of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia and that the American Federal Reserve Bank and several commercial banks of New York holding funds for the Rhodesian Government would operate only under instructions from London. Rhodesian funds held in America were put at about \$1m.

Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, said that sanctions would be extended to prohibit the import of Rhodesian asbestos, chrome, and ferro-alloys, thus cutting off nine-tenths of Rhodesia's exports to Australia.

An order issued in Uganda on December 8 bans all trade with Rhodesia. Kenya and Tanzania had made similar regulations a few days previously.

West Germany is to licence the import of Rhodesian tobacco. Annual purchases have been worth about £5m.

Mozambique and Rhodesia have signed a four-year agreement for mutual exchange of electric power.

Mr. Smith Castigates "British Act of Theft"

Talk About Fighting for Kariba A Political Gimmick

MR. IAN SMITH said in his broadcast to the nation (of which an abbreviated report was published last week):—

"The latest move by Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, to seize the assets of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia in London amounts to a further act of desperation on his part.

"I wish to assure Rhodesians and the world that the control of the Reserve Bank is still under the legal governor of the Bank, Mr. N. H. B. Bruce, and its Rhodesian board, who remain in office and exercise powers in accordance with the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia Act, 1964. I have no doubts as to the loyalty of this board.

"The British Government have no legal power whatsoever to control the operations of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia nor to control the Bank's assets. As far as we are concerned the puppet board which has been appointed under the direction of Mr. Harold Wilson has neither legality nor authority whatsoever to act on behalf of the Bank.

"The statement that the whole of the Bank's operations and the Bank's reserves amounting to about £22m. are under the control of the puppet board is therefore false. In fact, the value of the assets held in London was slightly over £9m. last night.

The Hand of Cain

"The British Government will be held liable by every person in Rhodesia for misappropriation of any of the assets of the Bank held in London or elsewhere by or upon instructions or directions of the puppet board.

"In this act of theft by the British authorities, Sir Sidney Caine has been appointed to head the puppet board to parcel out the loot. Once more Mr. Harold Wilson has made a cardinal blunder which the British people will find repulsive. Is this the Cain by whose hand Britain would seek to assassinate her brother, Rhodesia?

"As Britain has now seized Rhodesia's London reserves, and has imposed trade and financial sanctions of the greatest severity upon Rhodesia, it is obviously quite impossible for Rhodesia, much as she desires to meet her debt obligations in London and to the World Bank, to make the necessary payments. In consequence I regret to say that all our good friends who subscribed to Rhodesian loans will have to look to the British Government for redress.

"The recent desperate acts of Mr. Wilson have gone far beyond the limits which he told the people of Britain he had set. He had maintained that his actions would not be punitive or vindictive in character. No-one can now accept that the actions taken are not punitive or vindictive. The sanctions will bear heavily upon all sections of the Rhodesian community, and indeed upon peoples beyond its borders.

"The pernicious kind of enemy which Rhodesia faces is now apparent. I am confident the people of Britain are not behind these measures. All the people of Rhodesia will bear the situation with humility, courage, and determination until the British sense of fair play prevails once more."

IN A WEEK-END TELEVISION interview Mr. Smith said that he and his colleagues had said repeatedly that they

were ready to listen and talk to anybody if negotiations were to be constructive. It was Mr. Wilson, not he, who had broken off relations, and while Rhodesia's door was open, Mr. Wilson must open his own door. He had been surprised to hear Mr. Wilson refer to Rhodesia as his Cuba, for that seemed to indicate defeat. Cuba had not proved a victory for anyone.

The *de facto* Government of Rhodesia was an undeniable fact. Sanctions would be overcome. The British attempt to freeze Rhodesia's reserves had been embarrassing for a couple of days, but the difficulty was being overcome. There was little likelihood that H.M. Government would get their hands on the £13m. in foreign reserves which they had hoped to seize.

All the talk about fighting for Kariba was a political gimmick by Zambia, which had its equal representation with Rhodesia on the Power Board, which was satisfied with the situation at Kariba.

"Power supplies to the north bank were disrupted recently—because Zambian troops on the north bank digging a hole dug through a cable. They quickly covered it up and ran away. It would be unwise to let people like that come to the south bank to control the power station, wouldn't it?"

Some O.A.U. States were flirting with Communism, which seriously threatened Africa. Communism as an ideology did not exist in Rhodesia, but Communists were sending money and using extremist African nationalists as their stooges.

Mr. Smith had just visited Kariba to inspect the defences.

Finance Minister's Statement

THE FINANCE MINISTER of Rhodesia, Dr. J. J.

Wrathall, said in a recent broadcast:—

"Nearly four weeks have elapsed since Rhodesia became independent. For most of us our daily lives have carried on as usual, and visitors from the four corners of the earth have been disappointed in their search for sensation. The calm in Rhodesia has contrasted sharply with the hysteria in Whitehall.

"Nevertheless, despite our outward calm, we are at war. The latest British measures confirm that we are fighting for our very survival.

"Rhodesia's reserve balances in London, the property of the whole nation, have been plundered. We had anticipated that the Wilson régime might take action in this field, and the greater part of our gold and foreign assets—as much, indeed, as was consistent with our desire to remain in the sterling area—had been removed from London to other centres. This enables us to parry what might have been an even more grievous blow.

"As regards Mr. Wilson's attempt to take illegal control of our Reserve Bank, I do not propose to waste my breath on that bogus board, that troop of puppets, who, if Press reports are to be believed, are now scouring the world in search of further loot.

"The Government would have failed in its duty if it had not done everything necessary to ensure that our foreign exchange

reserves would not be dissipated on purposes not vital to our survival. When I tell you that the previous cost of holiday travel allowances, excluding fares, was around £12m. a year you will understand the need for a reduction of this substantial outflow. The immediate decision to intensify exchange control and impose severe curbs on imports has been amply justified by the subsequent British actions. It is now clear that Mr. Wilson will stop at nothing in order to break our spirit.

"On November 12 I said that there would be no impedance to the remittance of profits, interest, dividends and rents, or the repatriation of capital to residents of those countries with whom Rhodesia continued to maintain normal trading and financial relations. Because of the Wilson régime's extraordinary decision to block such payments to residents of Rhodesia, we have no alternative but to take similar action in the case of such payments due to residents of Britain. We have no desire to be vindictive or retaliatory.

Rhodesia's Impeccable Reputation

"I greatly deplore the need to discriminate in this way against those British businessmen and other investors who have displayed their confidence in Rhodesia's future. Our reputation for honouring our obligations is impeccable, and it grieves me that Mr. Wilson's vicious measures have forced us to extend the exchange control restrictions to include payments of interest and capital to holders of Rhodesian stock issued in London and to the World Bank. We shall continue to make every effort to allow the unimpeded transfer of other public debt payments, and we are making arrangements to pay in Rhodesian currency those Rhodesian residents who are holders of Rhodesian stock issued in London.

"The Wilson régime's decision to block remittances to Rhodesia of profits, dividends, pensions and so on is extraordinary because in consequence a larger volume of British funds will be blocked in Rhodesia than *vice versa*. This is merely one example of the way in which the present British rulers' pathological fear of the Afro-Asian extremists is driving them into actions which will harm the British people.

"We have taken steps to balance our external expenditure against our external income. Our income is what we can earn by exporting goods and services to other countries, and our expenditure is our payments, not only for goods imported, but for such invisible items as foreign travel, emigration allowances, freight, and insurance. We can use our foreign exchange reserves as working balances, but we must not allow them to run down too far; basically, therefore, we cannot spend more than we earn.

"We have forecast our probable export earnings for the coming year, and the forecast is being constantly reviewed in the light of changing circumstances. This will determine the value of imports which we can allow. Exports and still more exports are therefore the key to the problem; and this is why Mr. Wilson and his Government have selected our export trade as one of the main targets for their attack.

Dealing With Unemployment

"The actions of the Wilson régime will result in some unemployment amongst Africans and Europeans alike. The Government is accordingly reviewing its expenditure programmes with the object of creating employment for the greatest possible number of people, and thus helping to cushion the effect of the sanctions imposed on us.

"The Ministry of Roads is about to embark on a scheme for substituting labour for machines as far as possible. We hope to create nearly 1,500 new jobs in this one Ministry over the next few months. We are also accelerating our building programme and giving a high priority to projects with a high employment factor and a large local material content. The Minister of Local Government and Housing has urged local authorities to adopt similar measures, and in particular to direct their resources into African-housing. Expenditure on this spreads quickly through the economy, besides enabling an important need to be met. I congratulate the local authorities on their enthusiastic and energetic response to this appeal.

"Instructions have also been issued to Ministries and Departments that, while they must make all possible economies, they should try to avoid retrenching staff, except possibly for those such as pensioners who have other confirmed means, and that where they have suitable vacancies they should endeavour to take in any people who may lose their jobs as a result of the present situation. I appeal to local authorities and other large employers of labour to do likewise.

"The Rhodesian Government will assist those British pensioners and others who have been deprived of their income by an action of Mr. Wilson's which I can only describe as despicable. Rarely can a British Government have stooped so low. The Rhodesian Government pensions office will pay those pensioners who are normally paid on behalf of the British Government—against an undertaking to repay as soon as their blocked pensions are released.

"Other people, including pensioners who normally receive their pensions otherwise than through the Rhodesian Pensions

Office, should submit their cases for consideration. If proven claims for assistance amount to a greater sum than can be afforded, it may be necessary to scale down the larger claims. However, I give a firm undertaking that British old age pensions and war disability pensions will be made good in full.

"To meet these commitments steps are being taken to establish a trust fund as a channel for the investment of British funds that have been blocked in consequence of exchange control restrictions. Regulations will be published tomorrow requiring British blocked accounts to be invested in it forthwith.

"Further regulations will provide powers enabling any company, including a banking and insurance company, to be subjected to Government control. The purpose of these powers, which will be permissive, is to ensure that where any company operating in Rhodesia, including a subsidiary or branch of an external company, comes under undue pressure from external sources, it may be required to act only in the interests of Rhodesia.

"But we must go out and fight our way into new foreign markets. We must develop our internal market. To serve it we must expand our existing industries and establish new industries. We must make ourselves less dependent on imports. We must encourage tourism, not only in order to earn foreign exchange, but also so that people from other lands may see the situation for themselves and form their own opinions about our country and its future.

"The Prime Minister has established an Economic Council, of which he is chairman, to guide the broad strategy of the economic battles which lie ahead. The council and its sub-committees meet almost daily.

"The new situation provides an unprecedented opportunity for industrial expansion, and I am sure that our industrialists will meet this challenge with resourcefulness and ingenuity. I emphasize the need to produce goods of high quality if we are not to suffer long-term disadvantages from the production of inferior articles.

Rhodesia's Friends in Britain

"Our friends in Britain—and they are numbered in their millions—should know that many of Mr. Wilson's measures will injure Britain's own interests. Take his interference with Rhodesia's sterling balances. What is done to Rhodesia today can be done to others tomorrow. If the British Government can so easily interfere with the traditional banker-to-customer relationship because of a political difference, members of the sterling area must be even now considering, in their most secret councils, the implication that they must avoid giving political offence to the party in power in Britain if they wish to continue to enjoy their membership. The Afro-Asian countries, in particular, who have threatened to break with Britain if Mr. Wilson has not caused British and Rhodesian blood to flow by December 15th, should think again. Other countries will no doubt draw their own conclusions.

"One large firm of tobacco manufacturers in Britain has warned that the price of cigarettes, already iniquitous by Rhodesian standards, must go up since they consist of one-third Rhodesian leaf and the auction price of a similar tobacco in America is 60d. per pound against an average of 33d. on the Salisbury floors. The cost to the overburdened smoker in Britain of purchasing American tobacco in place of Rhodesian is likely to be in the region of £14m. a year. The cost in foreign exchange to Britain will of course be even more, since previous purchases were contained within the sterling area. So the net result will be to increase still further the pressure on the pound sterling, which is by no means as strong as Britain would like it to be.

"Every one of you can play his or her part in this battle, firstly, by maintaining confidence in Rhodesia's great future. Businessmen will need no reminding that confidence breeds success. One of our enemies' first objectives is to undermine our morale, create uncertainty, and divide our loyalties.

"Secondly, you can help by avoiding the temptation to hoard imported goods and by doing everything in your power to make existing stocks last as long as possible. There are large stocks of most imported goods in the country and in the pipeline, and, with everyone's co-operation, these could well be made to last until we can again afford all the imports we want.

"Thirdly, you can help by saving every penny. That will help not only to keep someone in a job and assist with the development of our country, but also to bring us more quickly back to normal times. All methods of saving which will put money into productive use are good.

"We must not underestimate the fury of Mr. Wilson's attack. He has pinned his faith on a savage onslaught aimed at sapping our courage and our will to win. If we stand our ground the battle will rage itself out, and we shall then go forward from strength to strength. So let us face the future with quiet confidence and determination, in the knowledge that such sacrifices as we may be called upon to make will build Rhodesia into a nation to which all our people, of whatever race, colour or creed, will be happy and proud to belong."

Peers Recall Britain's Share of Guilt

Strong Speeches by Lords Coleraine, Salisbury and Colyton

BRITAIN'S SHARE OF GUILT for the Rhodesian tragedy was emphasized by a number of peers when the House of Lords debated a motion tabled by Lord Coleraine.

He and other speakers accused H.M. Government, and in particular the Prime Minister, of middle-headedness, incompetence, breach of Ministerial pledges, and failure to decide on a policy which offered hope of wise conciliation.

LORD COLERAINE moved: "That this House, taking note of the economic measures imposed by H.M. Government in relation to trade with Southern Rhodesia, greatly deplores the prohibition by H.M. Government of the payment of pensions, including war disability pensions, to which British subjects now residing in Rhodesia are entitled; regards this prohibition as a serious departure from the policy announced by the Prime Minister on November 12, 1965; and affirms its belief that at the end of the day the problems relating to Southern Rhodesia can be resolved only by negotiation".

He said, *inter alia*:—

"I have never supported U.D.I. I have used such modest influence as I possess to try to prevent it. I deplore it as sincerely as anyone. I do not support the Government of Mr. Ian Smith. In many respects it is illiberal and repressive. But, the rebellion having taken place, and this country having in everything but name declared war on Rhodesia, there is an element of hypocrisy when we complain that a *de facto* Government adopts repressive measures. The longer the British Government pursue their present policy the more repressive Mr. Smith's Government will inevitably become.

Sad Charade

"I will take no part in that sad charade in which we have been engaged in this Parliament—the pretence that the Government of Rhodesia is vested in Mr. Bottomley. That is as unreal as any children's game that will be played this Christmas.

"We have become increasingly the victims of phrases which pass for thought and act as a substitute for thought. One is: 'We owe responsibility to the African'. If we were honest we should admit that we have not discharged that responsibility. We have slid out from underneath it.

"We have handed it over to the conjuration of tribal dictatorships masquerading as nation States, with their Presidential yachts paid for by overseas aid, with their jet flights to the Waldorf Astoria or the Park Lane Hilton, paid for by overseas aid, while the unhappy people, whom they are supposed to represent slide further back into that morass of misery and poverty from which for a hundred years we have been striving to raise them. We have not discharged our responsibility; we have surrendered it unconditionally.

"Another catch-phrase is 'Sanctions must hurt'. The only real question, which we beg, is 'Do sanctions help?'—to restore peace, trust, and honour. My conviction is that they do not.

"Need sanctions be sadistic? What are we to think of the prohibition of payments to Government pensioners in Rhodesia? We are invited to welcome the 'humanitarian' action which the Government are taking to mitigate their initial blunder. That amendment is on the order paper only because the Government realize that they made a catastrophic blunder; by this amendment they are trying to restore the tarnished image of the Prime Minister.

"How is this humanitarian action to be enforced? What control has Mr. Bottomley over any means test machinery

that he may set up in Rhodesia? Of course it cannot be enforced. On what basis of principle do the Government deprive people of pensions which they have earned—which are not gratuitous, not acts of grace—in order quite plainly to influence their political views?

"We talk about a Police State in Rhodesia. What State are we sinking into here? I object to all these sanctions; and the more extreme they become, the more I believe they will fail in their object.

"I have a letter from a young man who writes: 'I became a Rhodesian citizen some years ago and I am very proud of it. This is a very proud nation to-day. There are no regrets and no hard feelings. The obvious hardships that we shall have to face were expected and have been accepted. The people are behind the Government and are determined to defend, and only defend, what we believe is right. I cannot prognosticate the future. I only know that the people here are determined to make it work, no matter what the cost. We shall win through. We have to'.

A Nation, Not A Troop of Schoolboys

"What are we to do with that young man? Read him extracts from constitutional textbooks? Will that change his mind? Are we to kill him or starve him? We can do all these things; but they will not alter the fact that these people regard themselves as a nation not, as some of us seem to regard them, as a troop of schoolboys insulting the prefects or as a tribe to be quelled by force.

"Unless they win they will lose their standard of life. All their assets, their only means of earning a living, are in Rhodesia. From surrender they have nothing to hope except virtual extinction. From resistance, even beyond any sensible point of resistance, they still have hope—the only hope they have.

"Do your lordships realize, for example, that Mr. Nkomo has publicly stated that the land of every European farmer will be expropriated without any compensation? Faced with that, what interest have they in compromise? How can they surrender?

"H.M. Government have stumbled from miscalculation to miscalculation. We are further from any acceptable solution to-day than three months ago.

"First the Prime Minister uttered the most savage threats as to what would happen if Mr. Smith's Government made a unilateral declaration of independence. Some of us said that that was the one way to bring on U.D.I. I think we were right. Then we were told that if that gallant man, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, with whom we must all sympathize deeply, stuck to his post in Salisbury, it would become quite clear that this was not a rebellion of the white Rhodesians as a whole but of only a ruthless and unrepresentative minority, and that the loyal Rhodesians would flock to support the Governor. That has not happened. Then we were told: 'Our sanctions are swift, merciful and final'. They did not work. Now we have the savage sanctions announced last week, and this contemptible measure regarding Government pensioners in Rhodesia.

Mr. Wilson's Failures to Reply

"Throughout this country there is a growing feeling that this situation can be settled only by negotiation and conciliation. Is a door open for negotiation, even with Mr. Smith's illegal Government? If Mr. Smith broadens the basis of his Government, not through the Governor, but of his own act, would not H.M. Government negotiate with that new Government?

"Shortly before the last general election the leader of the Labour Party wrote to one of the nationalist leaders in Rhodesia saying that the Labour Party would never accept an independent Rhodesia except under majority rule, and that the Labour Party would do their utmost to change the 1961 Constitution. That letter was clearly of the first importance in the negotiations between the Prime Minister and the Rhodesian Government. Command Paper, 2807 refers to it between pages 47 and 51.

"On November 27, 1964, Mr. Smith wrote to the Prime Minister and said: 'What faith can we put in your undertakings as long as this letter is on the record?' The Prime Minister replied, but no attempt to give an answer. A few days later Mr. Smith wrote: 'You have not answered the question that I put to you. How do you reconcile what you are saying with this letter?' This time the Prime Minister made some evasive and quite equivocal reference which might have been a reference to it or not. Again Mr. Smith wrote: 'Still you have not replied to my question'. So far as the record shows there has been no reply ever since. Yesterday, 14

RHODESIANS DO NOT REGARD THEMSELVES AS REBELS

months afterwards, the Prime Minister tabled the letter in the library of the House of Commons.

"Do we not begin to see why U.D.I. happened?—that the Rhodesian Government had little trust in the good faith of the Prime Minister? Do the Government intend to withdraw that letter? If they do not, I do not believe that they will find any white Rhodesian of responsibility and character who will negotiate with them, because for so long as that letter is on the record any white Rhodesian must know that, whatever the protestations of H.M. Government, they are determined to introduce into Rhodesia African majority rule. If that is not so, let the Government withdraw the letter".

Lord Chancellor's Reply

LORD GARDINER, the Lord Chancellor, said that Mr. Smith had not changed his view about anything at any time, and that H.M. Government had done everything possible to avoid U.D.I. They had leaned over backwards to appease Mr. Smith.

White Rhodesians had done a magnificent job in the economic development of their country, particularly in farming, but, of course, they could not have done it without the Africans, any more than the Africans could have done it without the capital and know-how of the Europeans.

"This situation between us and the remainder of our African Commonwealth may yet develop into a racial war. What Rhodesia has done has been done with the sole material object of increasing their already high living standard. They are quite entitled to think of themselves, and they may add that if their standards went up so would those of the Africans; but I do not think any of the small shopkeepers, artisans, and small farmers who maintain the Rhodesian Front would suggest that they are doing so for the benefit of the African.

"As to pensions, they are being paid. All we were concerned with was a transfer across the exchanges. Service pensions are paid into Barclays Bank here to the credit of the people concerned and are transferred to Barclays Bank in Salisbury. The money is still being paid into Barclays Bank here. Anybody can take it out here, and anybody can go to his bank in Salisbury and draw against that credit; and it will be repaid in as soon as constitutional government is restored. If any difficulty arises or if there is any case of hardship, arrangements are being made under which the pension will be received in Rhodesian pounds from our consul in Salisbury.

"The object of the economic measures is, of course, to make Rhodesians realize that illegal action is not going to pay; that a country the size of Portsmouth cannot defy the opinion of the whole world as expressed at the United Nations; that their position will become more and more difficult unless and until they return to constitutional government.

Open to Mr. Smith to Make Proposal

"The question has been raised: 'Would Mr. Smith be able to make a proposal?' Certainly. It is open to Mr. Smith, now to put before the Government any proposals which he has to make, and any proposals which he makes will be carefully considered by H.M. Government.

"To say that the Europeans have nothing to hope for except extinction is nonsense, and dangerous nonsense. The Prime Minister has made it perfectly plain that there is still no question of African majority rule to-morrow or the day after, and the idea that a return to constitutional government means the extinction of the Europeans is wholly without foundation.

"When Rhodesians return to constitutional government they will find us ready, without rancour or bitterness, to sit down with all sections of the peoples of Rhodesia to consider their welfare and their future. Of course, conciliation is the only possible end.

"The really serious thing when I was there was that when we said to Mr. Smith: 'If Mr. Nkomo is prepared to meet you, will you see him? It will be a private meeting, no one will know you have seen him. He may of course say things with which you do not agree but your back is broad, you can see what sort of man he is, and you can discuss Rhodesia together', the answer was 'No'; in no conceivable circumstances was he ever prepared to meet Mr. Nkomo. We said to Mr. Nkomo: 'If the Prime Minister is prepared to see you, will you go along and talk to him? He probably will not agree with everything you might say, but you are a big man, you can explain what you think, and can discuss Rhodesia together'. But no, in no conceivable circumstances whatever was he prepared to meet Mr. Smith. Yet this is a country for which, unless it

becomes in substance multi-racial, there is no real economic future.

"The African badly needs the capital and know-how of the Europeans. The Europeans' high standard of living exists because of African labour and the lowness of African wages. At the end of the day the future of Rhodesia can be determined only by men of good will sitting round a table.

"When the time comes for constitutional government to return I think we shall find from a large section, both European and African, that the will is there to start again and to set Rhodesia out on a road which leads to peace and prosperity".

VISCOUNT DILHORNE said that less than three weeks after he had told Parliament that in his view the measures imposed on November 11 would be effective, the Prime Minister announced an almost complete economic embargo. Had he changed his views so soon, or were the further measures taken only in consequence of the United Nations resolution? Had the British Government, after emphasizing that responsibility for Rhodesia was theirs, departed from their policy and bowed to pressures?

Prime Minister Mistaken Throughout

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said that the Prime Minister had been mistaken from the start—in attempting to bully the Rhodesians into submission, proceed against them with all the vigour of the law, beat them to their knees, and rub their faces in the dirt. In dealing with people of British stock such actions could only rally all sections to support their Government.

"It is all very well for the Prime Minister to brand the Rhodesians as rebels and claim that that justifies him in taking any measures, however extreme, however oppressive, to compass their destruction. But they do not regard themselves as rebels. They regard themselves as free Britons, fighting for their freedom, and each new twist that he has given to the rack has only strengthened their determination.

"So he has been driven to further and further excesses, to measures not directed against the Rhodesian Government, but directed indiscriminately against the Rhodesian people whether or not they agree with Mr. Smith.

"He started with Rhodesian tobacco and sugar. On November 12 he went further, but giving an assurance that 'We have no other measure in contemplation'. In less than a month, in a desperate effort to make his policy effective, he has gone yet further and put an embargo on asbestos, copper, iron, steel, chromium, and a multitude of other things, amounting to 95% of Rhodesia's products, so that now, as he says proudly, 'We, who were her best market, have virtually ceased trade with her'.

"Rhodesia will turn her trade to other countries, which will be very ready to assist. The Government tried to prevent such a development by bringing the matter before the United Nations. That has only made bad worse. While we maintained that this is a matter purely between the U.K. and Rhodesia we were in a strong position to resist interference from outside Powers. By bringing the matter to U.N.O. the Government opened a wide breach in our defences, and through that breach the Afro-Asians have been quick to pour, and are pouring through still.

In Queer Company

"We are beginning to find ourselves in very queer company. One, Tanzania, condoned or winked at the massacre of many thousands of Arabs in Zanzibar. In another, Ghana, the Leader of the Opposition, a man held in the highest repute, died in prison in circumstances for which no adequate explanation has ever been given. None of those countries enjoy the least semblance of democratic government as we understand it. Besides these things the worst misdeeds of the Rhodesian Prime Minister pale into insignificance. Yet the Lord Chancellor, who tremendously emphasized injustices in Rhodesia, never mentioned what happens in these other States.

"What about the funds of the Reserve Bank, the fruits of Rhodesia's providence and industry? Are they to be denied to their proper owners just because of the *ipse dixit* of the Prime Minister? We hear a great deal about the Police State in Rhodesia; and I expect under the stress of the emergency a great many things are being done there of which we should none of us approve. But it seems to me that we are getting very near a Police State here, too. Things are being done which

H.M. GOVERNMENT NOT ENTITLED TO CONTROL RESERVE BANK

nobody would have considered doing two or three years ago.

"The Prime Minister has described the present Rhodesian Government as 'a clique of small, frightened men'. That Government, which H.M. Government have pursued with such savage persistence, is a Government elected by a vast majority of the electorate of Rhodesia—indeed, a far larger majority than Mr. Wilson has. It was elected under a Constitution approved by, nay imposed upon Rhodesia by, the Government of this country. If Mr. Smith remains in power to-day, it is very largely I believe owing to the obduracy and lack of understanding of the present Government of this country.

"Surely the time has come to stop slinging mud at the Rhodesians and begin again to treat them as civilized beings, as indeed they are, and finally try to regain contact with them and see whether a bridge can yet be built from which a settlement of this unhappy dispute can be reached. There may be no personage in the world of politics here who would be of any use for this purpose, for personages of whatever political parties are viewed with very great suspicion by the Rhodesians to-day. But there may be some person highly respected outside the world of politics who can go out and sound opinion both inside and outside Mr. Smith's entourage, in all sections of opinion in the country. From that something might flow. At any rate, no harm would be done."

Legality Shallow-Rooted in Africa

LORD ALPORT said *inter alia*:—

"Legality and constitutional practice are shallow-rooted in Africa. The only security which European communities from the Mediterranean to the Cape have for the future depends upon the maintenance of constitutional propriety, respect for law, Parliamentary institutions and what we regard as the British system of equity and justice.

"Leaders of British communities in Kenya and Ethiopia realize that everything they own, and perhaps their lives, depend upon the maintenance of the forms and practices which are part of our constitutional and legal heritage. Once a European based Government such as the Smith Government carries through a revolution which runs exactly contrary to constitutional practice and established forms of legality there can be no future prospects of security for the European communities and others in Africa who look towards our leadership for the proper conduct of affairs.

"I do not believe that this problem of Rhodesia will be solved by this Christmas or next Christmas. It is going to be a much more long-drawn-out process than many of us had hoped. This is the view taken by the present régime.

"This is the most irrelevant revolution in history. Some weeks before U.D.I. when its date was planned by the Smith Government to be October 23, a committee of civil servants in Salisbury were instructed to plan to absorb up to 10,000 white unemployed which the Smith Government calculated would lose their jobs as a result of sanctions following U.D.I. This was when Mr. Smith and his colleagues and their propaganda machine were asking the people of Rhodesia to believe that this was going to be a nine-days' wonder and that they would be able to get through their difficulties without any hardships. The Government had realized that they could not afford any loss of European man-power. They therefore made plans to put an administrative wall around the country.

"The Europeans who will be hardest hit by unemployment, the artisans who form the backbone of the Rhodesian Front, will become more bitter against the Africans. African interests will be regularly subordinated to those of the poorer European. Mutual bitterness and oppression will increase, and there can be only one outcome—violence.

"Lord Salisbury referred exclusively to 220,000 Europeans. Apparently to him they are the Rhodesian nation."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "For years I fought for multi-racial government in Rhodesia. In fact, I was one of the architects of the Federation. Why I say what I now say is that I believe that U.D.I. under somebody not necessarily Mr. Smith, but under a perhaps more widely based Administration—is the best chance for the African as well as for the European. I should not like the noble lord to think that I do not think of the Africans. I fought for them for many years".

LORD COLYTON expressed amazement at H.M. Government's actions in regard to the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia. Hitherto money from abroad deposited in

London from whatever source had been regarded as 'safe—as the Bank of England'. Now that was not so.

"The funds of the Reserve Bank, now theoretically entrusted to a board in London, represent the accumulated savings of the people of Rhodesia, their overseas balances, their trading profits. These monies, the property of the people of Rhodesia alone, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as funds over which H.M. Government is entitled to exercise any control. I have heard it described as 'legalized theft' compared with which the great train robbery looked like the work of amateurs. I cannot imagine what led Lord Poole, Lord Harcourt, and Sir Norman Kipping to allow themselves to be associated with this dubious enterprise.

British Public Sympathy for Rhodesia

"From a large number of inquiries which I have made it appears that opinion in the factories, villages, shops, and streets is now increasingly in sympathy with Mr. Smith.

"As these matters unfold themselves there is greater bitterness growing between different sections of our people than has existed since the Civil War. Why are the Government pursuing this course? Is it solely to appease the Afro-Asians, the Organization of African Unity, or the United Nations?

"Why were not similar sanctions imposed against Castro, with 70,000 political prisoners rotting in the camps on the Isle of Pines and subjected to daily tortures and executions? Why were they not imposed against Zanzibar, whose legally elected Government asked Britain for troops, which were refused, and who themselves were then overthrown to the accompaniment of the slaughter of 10,000 to 12,000 Arabs and Indians?

"Why are sanctions not imposed against Papa Doc Duvalier, of Haiti, who to this day allows or orders tortures and shooting to go on nightly in the cellars of his Presidential Palace at Port au Prince? Why were they not imposed against the Soviet Government for the overthrow of the legal Governments of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia which we still recognize *de jure* and which are now held down by Russian force?

"Why is it that sanctions are imposed only against this last British territory in Africa where the Union Jack still flies?

"The Lord Chancellor told us that Mr. Smith had said he did not expect to see an African majority Government in his lifetime. Mr. Smith has again and again explained that what he meant by that was a purely black Government. He has repeatedly said that the policy of Rhodesia, unlike that of South Africa, is not *apartheid*, and that Rhodesians envisage the day when Africans will be playing their full part in the constitutional life of the country. Rhodesians are committed—as we were committed prior to 1960—to a policy of gradualism, a policy under which Mr. Macmillan said that the criterion should be merit and merit alone."

Sanctions Will Strengthen Rhodesia's Resolution

LORD BARNBY said that as a Yorkshireman who disliked being bullied he expected punitive sanctions to intensify Rhodesian resolution. It was disturbing that the Lord Chancellor's view of Rhodesia's 1961 Constitution should be the exact opposite of that expressed in an earlier debate by Lords Salisbury, Chandos, and Boyd, all previous Secretaries of State. Africans in Rhodesia were not being oppressed. There was a great deal of humbug and insincerity in statements on that subject.

VISCOUNT STONEHAVEN, who has worked as a contractor in Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South Africa and Swaziland, said that a close African friend of his recommended equal numbers of white and black men in the Rhodesian Parliament, not temporarily but permanently. Universal franchise would not then matter.

LORD HAIRE OF WHITEABBEY found it curious that Lord Coleraine should say that he did not support U.D.I. but yet paint the British Prime Minister as deceitful, hypocritical, and insincere.

Rhodesians seemed to him hell-bent on bringing about a clash of colour in the heart of Africa, while the 36 O.A.U. States tried to call the tune and threatened Britain. Must Commonwealth unity be sacrificed for a few power-crazy fools in Rhodesia? Not all the power-crazy fools were white; Africa had its Nassers and Nkrumahs.

Questions About Lord Graham Negotiate, Says Sir Alec Douglas-Home Prime Minister's Sarcastic Reply

THE RIGHT OF LORD GRAHAM, one of Mr. Smith's Ministers, to continue to sit in the House of Lords was questioned in the Commons a few days ago, when the Socialist Member for Fife West, Mr. William Hamilton, asked if the Prime Minister would introduce legislation to remove the privileges of peerage, including the right to sit in the Upper House, from any peer who acted as a member of a Commonwealth Government not recognized by Her Majesty.

MR. H. WILSON: "I do not think this would be appropriate, at any rate at this stage".

MR. HAMILTON: "It is intolerable when a rebel against the Crown could take his seat in the House of Lords next week. Can the Prime Minister say whether a sentence of impeachment by the Lords, sitting as a court of justice, could deal with the problem, or whether a bill of attainder would be better? I am in favour of reducing the House of Lords by any means at our disposal". (Laughter.)

MR. WILSON: "You do not use a steam-hammer to crack a nut—not this particular nut anyway. (Laughter.) If the noble lord, or duke—I do not think he uses his title in Rhodesia—were to seek to take his seat in the House of Lords I have no doubt that members of that House would know what to do with him. Those of us who have had a chance of observing this particular member of the illegal régime at close quarters will not treat him with quite so much seriousness".

"Mad Mike"

COLONEL MICHAEL ("MAD MIKE") HOARE, who has for some 18 months commanded a Commando force against Congolese rebels, left the Congo last week for his home in South Africa and a round-the-world voyage in his yacht. His force, at one period of about 400 men, consisted mainly of South Africans and Rhodesians, but among the volunteers were some from the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe. Colonel Hoare, now 48, was at one time a chartered accountant in London. He showed great initiative, dash, and courage in operations against overwhelmingly superior numbers of Congolese rebels and was responsible for rescuing well over 1,000 white hostages. His successor is Major John Peters, who was born in Leeds. In his farewell message Colonel Hoare told his men that their "glorious campaigns had changed the face of the Congo and the course of history".

Rhodesian Stamps Illegal

The Postmaster-General told the House of Commons a few days ago that he had given instructions that no stamps issued in Rhodesia to commemorate the illegal seizure of power by the Smith régime should be accepted by the Post Office. Letters bearing them would be liable to a surcharge as if they had been posted uncancelled. The stamps in question would have no postal value or validity. Stamp issues current before the illegal seizure of power would continue to be regarded as valid.

Asked what financial or other assistance would be given to Rhodesians wishing to come to the United Kingdom as political refugees, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, replied that any British embassy, High Commission office, or consulate would consider on its merits any applications for assistance, including financial assistance, from a Rhodesian citizen whether or not he was also a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies.

Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Overseas Development, said that grants from British sources to the University College in Salisbury in the four years since 1961-62 had been £186,866, £518,018 (including a loan of £355,000 for African education), £196,668, and £379,914.

Four Ways to Independence

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said in Glasgow on Monday that there ought to be an immediate attempt to break the sterile deadlock with Rhodesia. He suggested four pointers to independence by negotiation.

(1) Retention of the principle of uninterrupted progress towards majority rule, as embodied in the 1961 Constitution.

(2) Closure of loopholes against any diminution of African political prospects by amendments to the Constitution or a supplementary treaty of guarantee.

(3) Assurance against such erosion through the Privy Council, whose findings should bind both the British and Rhodesian Governments.

(4) A comprehensive programme of secondary and higher education and training to provide an adequate number of responsible Africans when majority rule was attained.

Prejudice Made Personal

Britain should negotiate with whomever in Rhodesia the Governor might recommend. Meantime everyone with influence in either country should help the processes of conciliation. Africans must be assured that majority rule would come, and Europeans in Rhodesia that it would be responsible government. A substantial programme of secondary and university education would qualify Rhodesian Africans to govern in an undefined but reasonable time.

Sir Alec expressed great concern with the actions of the Wilson Government, which had allowed "positions of prejudice to become personalized, rigid, and entrenched". He added:—

"If Mr. Smith's Government survive sanctions—and Rhodesians are rallying to him—then intolerance wins and Rhodesia will rely more and more on South Africa. There will be an armed frontier along the Zambezi and across the Continent. In relations between African and European we are rapidly reaching a point of no return—unless it is war".

Commonwealth Secretary's Outburst

"Mr. Smith Not To Be Trusted"

MR. BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, said in the House of Commons last week:—

"I was present at the Prime Minister's interview with Mr. Garfield Todd and at the talks which we had. What has been said is a lie. I went out of my way on one occasion to say of Mr. Smith, the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, that he was a man with some integrity and character, although in blinkers.

"It has been my experience since I said that, in negotiations with him, to find in fact that what I have just said has been confirmed not once but more than once. He has lied not only to me but to others. This is one of the reasons why we cannot deal with Smith in any way—because he is not a man to be trusted.

"I will tell the hon. gentleman what the Prime Minister and I said to Mr. Todd. My rt. hon. friend said, as I did, that we, the British Government, were determined upon unimpeded progress towards majority rule in Rhodesia on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. We will stand by it".

The Minister of State at the Foreign Office said: "Of countries with significant trade relations with Rhodesia, the following have already announced a complete embargo on trade: India, Malaysia, Sweden, Singapore, Norway, Jamaica, Trinidad, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and Libya. The following have announced a ban on imports of Rhodesian tobacco: Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Canada, France and Denmark. The following have announced a ban on imports of sugar from Rhodesia: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan:

PERSONALIA

LORD BUTLER has rejoined the board of Courtaulds, Ltd.

MR. C. C. DIGGS has led a United States Congress delegation to East Africa.

PROFESSOR CUNHA, Portuguese Overseas Minister, has just spent a month in Mozambique.

MR. J. BURKE KNAPP, vice-president of the World Bank, is to visit Rhodesia and Zambia.

MR. A. H. WALDRAM, Director of Telecommunications for Zambia, is at present in Britain.

MR. ALLAN R. STARK has been appointed Grand Librarian in the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

LORD COLYTON is to succeed CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE as chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd.

MR. A. E. J. EMMET has joined the board of Rosehaugh Tea Holdings, Ltd., a company with interests in Malawi.

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., has written a pamphlet entitled "Facing the Facts on Rhodesia" for the Monday Club.

A Government luncheon for MR. J. Z. U. TEMBO, Finance Minister in Malawi, was held last week at Marlborough House.

MR. SYDNEY BRICE is in charge of Rhodesia's Consular office in London. He served in the last war as an R.A.F. bomber pilot.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA motored to Arusha on Monday to meet PRESIDENT NYERERE of Tanzania and PRESIDENT OSMAN of Somalia.

SIR WALFORD SELBY, a former Ambassador in Lisbon, who died recently in Southern Rhodesia, left estate in England valued at £30,532.

SIR ISAAC WOLFSON, who has large East African interests, and LADY WOLFSON are on their way to the Cape in the WINDSOR CASTLE.

SIR JOHN MOFFAT has joined the Agricultural Marketing Board of Zambia, of which PROFESSOR ALASTAIR HERON is chairman.

SIR SAMUEL QUASHI-IDUN, who for the past two years has been President of the East African Court of Appeal, has returned to West Africa.

AIR VICE-MARSHAL P. C. FLETCHER who has been appointed A.O.C. of N. 38 group, R.A.F., was at one time in the Royal Rhodesian Air Force.

THE CROWN PRINCE OF ETHIOPIA has paid a private visit to Uganda as the guest of the President, SIR EDWARD MUTESA, and also visited Kenya.

MR. J. D. MSONTHI, Minister of Transport and Communications and Minister of Education in Malawi, was the guest at a Government luncheon in London last week.

MR. J. H. H. LOUWRENS has been appointed Director of Conservation and Extension by LORD GRAHAM, Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia. He succeeds MR. J. J. DUVENAGE.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, has said that when the Protectorate becomes independent next September it will take the title of Republic of Botswana.

MR. T. R. BAZARRABUSA, High Commissioner for Uganda, was the guest at luncheon a few days ago of the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

MR. KENNETH YOUNGER, director-general of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has declined an invitation to be chairman of a three-member Race Relations Board in the United Kingdom.

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, was host for H.M. Government at a luncheon given last week for MR. G. W. KUMTUMANJI, Minister of Natural Resources in Malawi.

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM and MRS. WILSON left London Airport on Saturday for Malawi, where they will stay in Blantyre with DR. SUSAN COLE-KING, their daughter. In January they will fly to Ceylon.

DR. L. W. HARTING, director of the German Volunteer Service, has revisited East Africa to examine the possibility of sending Germans for service under the East African Common Services Organization.

MR. GEORGE IVAN SMITH, who was until recently representative in East and Central Africa of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, has paid a short visit to the territories in connexion with the U.N. Economic Development Programme.

VICE-PRESIDENT ODINGA of Kenya said during a tour of the Coast Province that PRESIDENT KENYATTA and he recognized the danger of non-Africans sucking much of Kenya's wealth by acting as middlemen for the sale of Kenya produce to overseas markets.

DR. MUNGAI, Minister for Internal Security and Defence in Kenya, has said in the House that there were many rumours about people wishing to overthrow the Government. If clear evidence was found, even if against a Cabinet Minister, action would be taken.

BRIGADIER ANDREW SKEEN, lately High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, has been nominated as Rhodesian Front candidate for a by-election in the Salisbury constituency of Arundel on January 6, caused by the resignation of MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, lately Deputy Prime Minister, and now Officer Administering the Government.

MR. DAVID BUTLER, who was for a short while the last white Leader of the Opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament, has arrived in London on holiday. He has had talks with many members of the three political parties, including the Commonwealth Relations Secretary. He held a Conservative meeting that there was no likelihood of Mr. Smith losing support unless sanctions became totally effective.

"E. A. & R." As A Christmas Gift

For the best coverage of Rhodesian affairs is given by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

The journal can be sent as a Christmas or New Year gift to any address for £6 10s. annually for the airmail edition or 52s. for the surface mail edition.

Remittances should be sent to

Africana, Ltd., 26 Bloomsbury Way,
London, W.C.1.

Obituary

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES LLOYD RASHLEIGH GRAY, D.S.O., has died suddenly in Arusha, Tanzania.

MRS. GABRIELLE HARFORD-JONES, wife of MR. W. G. HARFORD-JONES, of Nairobi, has died in Mombasa.

COLONEL NANCY P. DE B. BAMPTON, Royal Red Cross, lately Principal Matron of Q.A.I.M.N.S., has died in Detri, Rhodesia.

COLONEL RALPH COBBOLD-SAWLE, who has died in his 97th year, commanded a mixed force in the campaign in Somaliland against the Mad Mullah.

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Idea

Act of Union Proposal Explained

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who recently suggested that the best solution for the problem of Rhodesia would be an act of union with Britain, has written in the *Statist* that his proposal is for a union as close as that between England and Scotland.

Rhodesia would adopt the same franchise as Britain and have in the House of Commons seats proportionate to the number of registered voters, probably about 20, since half of Rhodesia's African population are 16 years of age or under and about 500,000 are migrant workers and their families from neighbouring African States.

"The Rhodesian armed forces and civil service would be fully integrated into Home services, with identical rights and privileges. The local government officials and police would be given equivalent guarantees for their future. Transfers of personnel could be effected between the various parts of the new Greater Britain.

"Rhodesia, like Scotland, could retain her own legal system of common law, but statutes, unless expressly providing to the contrary, would apply to both countries. There would be only one national budget and one national plan.

"Local government on a county basis would take a few years to organize, and during the transition period would have to be undertaken by the civil service under the direction of commissioners. Urban local authorities could continue to operate with changes in franchise necessary to bring the two systems into line.

"Rhodesian farmers of all races would have free and unlimited access to the Home market, except of course where, as in the case of tobacco, an excise duty is payable. Land titles would be fully protected. For tribal lands a special national trust would be required.

"The technical-legal position in Rhodesia is that the Queen through the Governor has dismissed the rebel Government and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has become the *de jure* Government of Rhodesia.

"The *de facto* position is that Mr. Smith's Government is in complete control of the situation and likely to remain so unless slow-acting sanctions ultimately produce an economic collapse.

Strength of Mr. Smith's Position

"The strength of Mr. Smith's position is fourfold.

"First, he has the support of the army, air force, police and civil service because if he loses in the struggle they believe their homes, their jobs and their pension rights will all be forfeit.

"Second, he has the economic support of South Africa and Portugal, which makes the effectiveness of sanctions doubtful to say the least.

"Third, he has the support of the right wing of the conservative Party in Britain, who are trying to ensure that no effective action is taken against him.

"Fourth, the Rhodesian Africans are disarmed and disorganized and the nationalist leaders almost all in detention or exile.

"Fears for the future of both the Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia are not imaginary. They are absolutely real in both cases. An act of union would pull the rug from under the Smith Administration's feet. The Europeans would get more genuine security for their long-term future than ever before. The Africans would secure the opportunity of political freedom, equality of status, social and economic advancement, and a better chance for the education of their children and the improvement of health services than they had ever dared to hope.

"South Africa and Portugal would no longer feel that the fall of the Smith régime would involve the advent of an African régime bitterly hostile to them. No new enemy would be in a position to outflank Mozambique and South West Africa.

"After the passage of an Act of Union, Britain could warn off the United Nations. She could fairly tell South Africa and Portugal that any further support of the Smith régime would be regarded as a hostile act against Britain.

"She could win the warm approval of President Kaunda, Seretse Khama, and Dr. Banda. She could take really effective measures to end the rebellion because the Europeans in Rhodesia would for the first time be offered a fair alternative to the present régime.

"This overcrowded island, with its shortage of raw materials, could benefit enormously from union with a country the size of pre-war Germany and only four million inhabitants, a country ripe for development where investment of capital and labour can bring far richer rewards than in Britain. Africans from an empty country would not flock to Britain as they seek to do from the overcrowded West Indies or Pakistan: the reverse would be true.

"Peace and prosperity would be brought to Southern Africa instead of war and economic ruin. I know the difficulties of my proposals. I wait patiently to hear of one alternative which will avert disaster in Africa."

Dr. Banda Derides African Military Forces

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, told his Parliament recently when the use of African forces against Rhodesia was under discussion:

"Military force! African military force! O.A.U. military force! Let me really laugh again. What single country in Africa today has an army that can take on and beat the Rhodesian Army? Not one! The Rhodesian Army, next to the Army of South Africa, is the strongest and the most efficient. The Royal Rhodesian Air Force next to that of South Africa is the strongest and most efficient air force in the African continent.

"Don't deceive yourselves. Don't pay attention to what you read. Yes, when we go to these conferences we are entertained to all kinds of shows; but I am not a fool. It is all right to have all these uniforms...

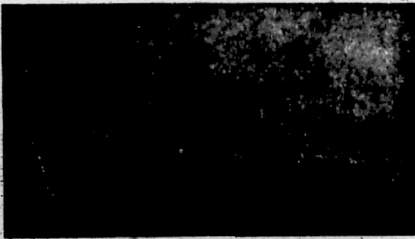
"It is one thing to impress, but quite another on the battlefield.

"Mr. Smith knows the quality of the so-called 'African Army'. Some of his boys were with the mercenaries in the Congo, weren't they? Ten mercenaries will fix 5,000 of a so-called 'army'. Do you think Mr. Smith is afraid of that sort of thing? The trouble is that the people who know very little about the Rhodesian situation, people who are thousands of miles away from here, are those who pose as authorities on the issue, are those who influence others in the conference from ignorance, when they do not know anything about the truth of the matter in Rhodesia.

"The Rhodesian Army, if Smith pushed, would conquer the whole of East and Central Africa in a week. The Rhodesian Air Force would reduce to ashes and dust all the capitals of East and Central Africa—Zomba, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Leopoldville, Brazzaville—within 24 hours. Neither the Ghana nor Nigeria Air Force, neither the Ghana nor the Nigerian Army, could do anything to rescue us."

MESSAGERIES MARITIMES

15, Bd. de la Madeleine, PARIS (8). Tél. OFE 9760, RIC 3340



M.V. "LE NATAL" — 9,300 TONS

Monthly service between:

ANTWERP . DUNKIRK . LE HAVRE

LA PALLICE . MARSEILLES

and

MOMBASA . DAR ES SALAAM

BEIRA . LOURENCO MARQUES

LONDON OFFICE (AGENT GENERAL FOR THE U.K.)
73/75 FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON, E.C.3

Telephone: ROYAL 8107-8-9

OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

LORD STAMP has suggested that a basis for agreement with Rhodesia might provide for majority rule in between 10 and 15 years. In a letter to *The Times* he continued:—

"Secondly, a crash programme of education should be established, to be financed not only by the Rhodesian Government but also by the British and American Governments and bodies such as foundations interested in international education.

"Thirdly, Rhodesian students should receive a very high priority in our universities and establishments for higher education and training in government and public services, and, as a corollary, a large number of trained teachers should be seconded to Rhodesia.

"Fourthly, adequate safeguards should be provided to protect the rights and reasonable claims of minorities and individuals, both in the transitional period and when majority rule has been established.

"If this may involve putting the needs of Rhodesia before those of other developing countries, it is, only because the urgency of the situation demands it. Such discussions, though, might give added impetus to consideration of ways and means of aiding the developing countries as a whole and, in particular, those led by men of good will and genuinely anxious to develop their countries along democratic lines".

Prime Minister Criticized

Mr. Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, has accused Mr. Wilson of playing the Rhodesian problem by ear and making no effort to look ahead and work to a settled strategy. Why had oil stocks not been built up in Zambia? "Had we at once deployed a few troops or police to support the Governor in Rhodesia, the Rhodesians would not have fired on them, and the illegal rebellion might have collapsed". Civil servants in Rhodesia should be assured that if they made a declaration of loyalty by a certain date their pension rights would be safeguarded or H.M. Government would give them a "golden handshake" if they wanted to leave the country after the attainment of majority rule.

He thought it was unfortunate that the Prime Minister should have said that he could contemplate sending British troops into Rhodesia only if there were a serious threat of interruption of copper supplies from Zambia to Britain, for that must seem to many people a cynical view—that Britain would use force to defend her commercial interests, but not even if the Governor were placed under restraint or Africans denied their due rights.

Challenged

THE PRIME MINISTER has been challenged by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., to repeat outside Parliament a reference to Conservative M.P.s. who "attended meetings under Fascist auspices". Mr. Biggs-Davison, chairman of the Rhodesia Emergency Committee of the Monday Club, regards the statement as referring to a meeting which it recently organized.

Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., said in Liverpool that the last Government had blundered in not giving Rhodesia independence when the Federation was dissolved. There should be negotiations now on a basis of reconciliation, not submission. The Opposition could not continue to share responsibility with the Government for a policy of sanctions, disorder and possibly civil war.

When the Lord Chancellor spoke at a Human Rights Day meeting in London, Mr. Rodney Legg interrupted that the proceedings were farcical considering that the Lord Chancellor's

colleagues in Cabinet were waging economic war against Rhodesia. Three other members of the League of Empire Loyalists also protested.

Mr. Brian Usher said before sailing for Rhodesia from Southampton on Friday that many Rhodesians in Britain, including nurses, physiotherapists and physicists, could not get back home because their bank accounts had been frozen. He was one of 60 Rhodesians, most of them from the staff of Rhodesia House, London, who were returning in the WINDSOR CASTLE.

Socialist M.P. Denounces Mr. Wilson

MR. REGINALD PAGET, Q.C., Socialist M.P. for Northampton, has sharply criticized the Prime Minister for his handling of the Rhodesian negotiations, saying that Mr. Wilson is the principal obstacle to success and that his visit to Salisbury made the worst impression on Rhodesians.

"If Mr. Macleod appeared too clever by half, Mr. Wilson seemed to Rhodesians too clever by at least three-quarters; he gave the impression of telling everyone a different tale", Mr. Paget has written in the *London Evening Standard*.

"Today many people in Rhodesia would accept the authority of the Queen, a lot would accept the authority of the Governor, but almost nobody would accept the authority of Mr. Wilson. He has become the symbol of everybody's dislike.

"Sanctions cannot conquer Mr. Smith. Rhodesia is not a city to be beleaguered. The most we can do is to depress the Rhodesian economy and cause unemployment. White Rhodesians can always get a job in South Africa. Unemployed Africans can go only to the reserves, where, where, after a five-year drought, they face starvation.

"It is nonsense to talk about treason and rebellion and quick, severe, effective sanctions. What is required is continuing inconvenience, not enough to cause heroic resistance but enough to make people say: 'Let's be sensible and settle this'.

"We should indicate terms which do not humiliate and ought to be acceptable if Mr. Smith and his colleagues are sincere in their assurances that they wish to accept educated Africans as equal citizens".

Lord Lambton's Report

LORD LAMBTON, Conservative M.P. for Berwick-upon-Tweed, who interviewed the Prime Minister of Rhodesia for the *London Evening Standard* last week, concluded his report with the statement that "I received confirmation of strong support for Mr. Smith from sources that were antipathetic to him. He and all his Ministers believe that they have some economic surprises up their sleeves that will be beneficial to the economy and unpalatable to Mr. Wilson. If they are right Mr. Wilson has made a serious miscalculation and will be faced with either having to invade the country and bring the régime down by force or in effect conceding defeat".

Mr. Smith's belief is that he has the support of 90% of the electorate and a united Government.

Lord Lambton said in a B.B.C. Television broadcast on Saturday that he had talked to nine of the Ministers and had found them all calm and confident. He had no doubt that white Rhodesians in general see Communism and disorder sweeping the world and their country as one of the few prepared to stand and say "Stop".

Saying that he hoped President Kaunda would not fall to the extremists, Mr. Smith added: "He is a reasonable man. That is why I supported Wilson's sending troops to Zambia; but I wish he would stop the propaganda which is coming out of his country and inciting people here to kill, kill, kill".

Lord Lambton wrote:—
"What Mr. Wilson and his Government regard as madness Mr. Smith and his Government regard as a stand for liberty against a gradual Communist take-over of Africa".

Rival Thirteens in Parliament Diametrically Opposite Views

THIRTEEN CONSERVATIVE M.P.S. wrote recently to *The Times*—

"A short time ago you were good enough to give prominence to an appeal by the undersigned that on Rhodesia a new attempt be made—without apportioning blame for the past—to bridge the gap between our two countries. We feel that this new approach is now a matter of urgency.

"Increasing punitive sanctions and extreme motions passed either at Addis-Ababa or the United Nations can only harden the determination of moderate opinion within Rhodesia to refuse to succumb.

"Apart from the most distressing incident in the African township of Bulawayo where an African was shot by an African policeman, there has been no violent reaction to U.D.I. It has been calmly received by all races.

"Surely this would be the moment for Mr. Ian Smith to implement the social legislation in Mr. Wilson's five points to which both sides agreed. It would show his intention to work within, and widen, the 1961 Constitution. It would equally enable H.M. Government to resume discussion on the remaining outstanding issues.

Last Opportunity for Reconciliation

"U.D.I. is a fact. To reduce Rhodesia by sanctions will help no one who lives there. At the best sanctions will retard the progress of the country by a quarter of a century. At the worst it will lead to civil war not only between the white peoples but between the rival African Nationalist parties. Perhaps this is the last opportunity for reconciliation before positions adopted here and in Rhodesia become unalterable through prejudice evoked by past actions".

The signatories were A. E. Cooper, O. E. Crosthwaite-Eyre, Roy Wise, Jocelyn Lucas, J. Langford-Holt, S. L. C. Maydon, Edward J. Brown, Airey Neave, Michael Clark Hutchinson, George Currie, G. B. Drayson, Charles Taylor, Ray Mawby.

Thirteen Socialist members replied:—

"You have published a letter from 13 Conservative Members of Parliament appealing for a settlement between the British Government and Mr. Smith's illegal régime. 'U.D.I.', they said, 'is a fact', and concluded that an attempt should be made to patch up the quarrel.

"We profoundly disagree with this conclusion. The illegal

declaration of independence is a fact—but it is a fact which is quite unacceptable to the vast majority of people in Britain and, less still, to the people of Africa. But, in our opinion, the major reason why Britain cannot come to terms with Mr. Smith is not his illegal rebellion against the Crown, but the refusal of the Rhodesian Front Party to make any concession to the essential objective of majority rule and multi-racialism.

"Mr. Smith's new 'Constitution' and the increasingly repressive measures to stamp out legitimate criticism and to worsen relations between the white minority and the black majority give no indication that Mr. Smith has changed his objective of permanent white supremacy.

"As the Conservative M.P.s. wrote, U.D.I. has not yet led to a violent reaction from the Africans; but this is only because the powers of a police State have kept every avenue of protest closed.

Total Commitment

"We fully support every measure that has been taken by the Prime Minister, who has acted with a deep sense of responsibility and with firmness and courage that has won admiration of people of all Parties in Britain. We are, however, convinced that one thing is now essential, a statement by Mr. Wilson that, come what may, we shall not abandon the task to which we have set our hands.

"While we profoundly disagree with the ultimatum presented to Britain by the African States in Addis Ababa, we recognize that it is motivated by an element of doubt, not only about the methods being implemented by the British Government, but about our total commitment to frustrate Mr. Smith's illegal and immoral objectives. In rejecting their unreasonable ultimatum, we must nevertheless satisfy their reasonable doubts.

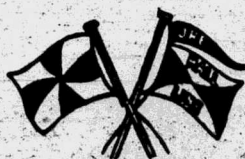
"Furthermore, we cannot expect loyal Rhodesians who oppose Mr. Smith to come out into the open and risk their liberty and livelihood if they have any doubt as to the outcome of the present struggle.

"We would welcome a new appeal to Rhodesian Europeans, but only if such an appeal were to follow a British Government declaration of absolute commitment, not only to the ending of the illegal régime, but to the task of planning an orderly and gradual movement towards eventual majority rule".

Those who signed were David Ennals, Geoffrey de Freitas, Shirley Williams, Arthur Blenkinsop, Dick Taverner, Cyril Bence, Colin Jackson, Merlyn Rees, Brian Walden, Tom Dalyell, James Johnson, Christopher Rowland, Ivor Richard.

JOINT SERVICE

HALL LINE HARRISON LINE



LOBITO, CAPETOWN, *MOSSSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN AND MAURITIUS (also Walvis and Luderitz Bay with transhipment).

Vessel

Glasgow

† S. Wales

Birkenhead

† if inducement. * With or without transhipment.

DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and BEIRA (also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with transhipment).

Vessel

Glasgow

Birkenhead

GOVERNOR

31 Dec.

11 Jan.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

ENQUIRIES to:—
THOS. & JAS. HARRISON LTD., Liverpool and London.
HALL LINE Limited, Liverpool.

Leading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

LATE NEWS BREVITIES FROM RHODESIA

UP TO LAST WEEK the Prime Minister of Rhodesia had received more than 1,000 letters and 2,500 telegrams since the declaration of independence. Only six telegrams and 12 letters were critical. Communications still average about 150 daily.

Rhodesia's independence stamps, sold briskly when introduced last week. Those of 2s. 6d. denomination, the first printed in Rhodesia, bear the effigy of the Queen, Rhodesia's arms, and the words "Independence: 11th November, 1965". The British announcement that letters bearing the new stamps will be surcharged is held to be a contravention of the Universal Postal Union Convention.

Hundreds of Rhodesians are reported to have sent to Mr. Wilson at 10 Downing Street letters protesting against the British notification that communications bearing the new 2s. 6d. independence stamp will be surcharged at double rate. All the letters bear the independence stamp.

A mailbag of Christmas cards was returned to Government House, Salisbury, last week with the intimation that the privilege of franking mail for free transit was no longer valid.

Many Rhodesians are writing to friends in England asking them to criticize the policy of sanctions and plead for good will towards Rhodesia.

Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Dickinson, the Postmaster-General, has denied that Rhodesia has any plans to jam B.B.C. broadcasts.

Zambia Broadcasts Incite to Murder

Mr. J. M. Helliwell, chairman of Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation and Rhodesia Television has said that between the relays of B.B.C. programmes from Zambia "there is poured in to the receivers of African listeners in Rhodesia a spate of hate and exhortation to destroy, maim, and murder. Speakers in Shona and Sindebele go to horrifying lengths to incite the Africans of Rhodesia to commit unspeakable crimes of violence. The B.B.C. must know with whom and with what they are associated in using the Zambia service for their programme relays".

Not once in his 18 months as chairman had he or the board been subject to any improper political pressures from any Rhodesian Government source.

It is now an offence to cause or permit to be heard in public in Rhodesia any subversive or seditious broadcasts likely to endanger public safety, disturb public order, interfere with the maintenance of essential services; or hinder the termination of the state of emergency, this regulation applying whether the broadcast be made from a transmitter inside or outside Rhodesia. The penalty may be a fine of £500 or two years imprisonment or both. The purpose of the regulation is to reduce the audience for the inflammatory broadcasts from Zambia.

The Lion's Club in Que Que, some 500 miles from the border with Zambia, invited the whole of the R.A.F. contingent in Zambia to attend a dance last Saturday. The invitation was telephoned to the president of the Lion's Club in Zambia for transmission to Air Commodore Ian MacDougall.

There has been no drop in tourist arrivals from South Africa since U.D.I.

Petrol bombs were thrown into four houses near Salisbury on Monday night. No one was injured and little damage was done.

Leaflets have been sent from Malawi to members of the police force in Rhodesia urging them to desert.

Reports from Zambia of the critical illness of Mr. Nkomo, the Rhodesian African nationalist leader, have been officially denied.

Hundreds of thousands of pounds are reported to have been paid in the last few weeks for farms, mainly tobacco farms, in Mashonaland.

Commercial banks in Rhodesia have been asked to prepare lists of shares held as official nominees for Rhodesian residents. Such securities might represent a second line of reserves as collateral for loans, perhaps from South Africa. Large numbers of South African shares are held in Rhodesia. A Rhodesian Marketing Centre in Johannesburg will operate from next month.

Lord Graham, Minister of Agriculture, has appealed to all

Rhodesia farmers with suitable land and water to grow as much wheat as possible. Hitherto almost all Rhodesia's wheat requirements have been imported.

The General Electric Company of America has informed Rhodesia Railways that it has not been instructed by the U.S. Government not to proceed with the supply of 36 diesel electric locomotives on order for Rhodesia. Delivery is due between April and June next.

The British Motor Corporation has dismissed 10% of its African labour force of about 400 in consequence of Zambia's increased tariff on cars assembled in Rhodesia. The B.M.C. and Ford plants in Rhodesia have hitherto sold about 30% of their output to Zambia, to which passenger car exports last year were worth £1.2m.

The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company has received from Spain, which the managing director, Mr. D. W. R. Hayson, recently visited, an order for 20,000 tons of steel blooms to be delivered during the first half of next year. The contract will earn for Rhodesia about £500,000 in foreign exchange.

A Portuguese order for 18,000 tons of steel ingots, worth about £1m, has been received by the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company.

The first consignment of Rhodesian beef bought by South Africa for many years has arrived in Johannesburg. Drought has reduced the marketing of South African and Bechuanaland beef.

The Kobe Steel Company, a Japanese enterprise, which has the major shareholding in an iron mine in Rhodesia, announced on Monday that its production of ore this year should be about 400,000 tons, of which Japan would take 40%.

Rhodesia's sugar output, planned at 350,000 tons for next year, is not to be revised. The local domestic price has been increased from 10d. to 1s. 10p. Consumption in Rhodesia and neighbouring markets totals about 125,000 tons.

The Panamanian freighter PERICLES, which sailed from Mozambique on December 10 with 10,000 tons of Rhodesian sugar for the United States, has been diverted to Hamburg. As Germany has a sugar surplus, the buyer is likely to be in another country to which imports pass through Hamburg.

Zambia, Not Rhodesia Explosive

Mr. P. A. WILLS, chairman of Fowle Reid and Wills, has written in the *Financial Times*:—

"My company and others in the same field are responsible for financing much of the flow of imports by Zambian industry and commerce. We have been anxiously considering our policy in the light of the political situation.

"It is surely obvious that since November 11 the potential point of explosion in the African situation has been not Rhodesia but Zambia. Communism cannot strike directly at Rhodesia, but must first attempt to produce a Congolese anarchy in Zambia, after which Rhodesia can be attacked with some chance of success.

"Thus it is a first priority for Rhodesia to do all possible to preserve a healthy and stable Zambian economy, and the first priority of the Communists to destroy it. In this matter British interests are identical with Rhodesia's.

"The attack has already started, with the sabotage of the power-lines near the Copperbelt as the latest example. The dispatch of a British force to Zambia is therefore urgently necessary to help her defend herself against her true enemies—both internal dissidents and saboteurs coming across her northern, not her southern, boundaries. In this light both Mr. Smith and the British public must welcome such a step. The failure to inform the British public on this crucial matter so far is incomprehensible.

"The part played by the London shipping house in this crucial battle is important: to keep open the lines of supply to Zambian commerce and industry. But this will not be possible much longer because E.C.G.D. cover is available only in the main in respect of U.K. exports, whereas other Zambian imports must continue if the Zambian economy is not to be disrupted.

"Our Government has given a general promise that they will do everything possible to prevent the Rhodesian situation damaging the Zambian economy. So far, on the negative side, they have instructed E.C.G.D. to cease cover for Rhodesian exports. They can now take a substantial positive step if they instruct E.C.G.D. to extend its Zambian cover for the duration of this crisis to all non-U.K. Zambian imports financed in the U.K."

MR. SMITH'S VIEWS WILL CERTAINLY BE SOUGHT

(Continued from page 300)

curring this matter against a very difficult world background. We have made it clear that we are not going to be pushed around in relation to what we think to be right, by resolutions or by extreme statements made by other countries, even Commonwealth countries. We have made that clear. The right hon. gentleman realizes the very urgent situation in the world, and we have got to look at things against that background.

"I am glad he accepted that we cannot be dictated to by this régime. I am suggesting that we cannot discuss with them the basis on which they are prepared to drop the illegal act. They must drop the illegal act. I believe the majority of white people in Rhodesia, even within the limited white electorate, want the illegality to be dropped as quickly as possible. But if we are going to have this hagglng that we had before, these arguments about entrenched clauses, when we now know that they were negotiating in bad faith, when U.D.I. was already decided when we know that despite their assurances about the 1961 Constitution they never meant to work the 1961 Constitution, that is why I say that we cannot negotiate with them now the basis of independence.

Cannot Be Trusted

"I do not think these people can be trusted to bring Rhodesia, in the much more bitter atmosphere that followed events of the last few weeks, into harmony and constitutional rule in the future. The fact that they have twisted the Constitution in the way that they have and have introduced a police State means that they are not people who can be trusted with this job. The only basis on which Mr. Smith is prepared to call off independence is on his terms.

"When we have a return to constitutional rule we shall then need more urgently than ever to seek the views of the Rhodesian people on the next steps, on the path forward to fulfil the five principles; and whether we do it by a constitutional conference, as proposed by the Prime Ministers' Conference, whether by a Royal Commission, is a matter that we shall have to consider against the background.

"Whatever method of consultation is taken, we shall want to seek the views of any leaders of the Rhodesian front who are prepared to seek a return to constitutional rule. Mr. Smith, although a private person, is the leader of a great political party there, and certainly his views will be sought. But as to entrusting to them, to that Government or to that Parliament, the conduct of restoration and reconstruction of affairs in Rhodesia—I think this would be absolutely intolerable.

"I hope the right hon. gentleman will be just as categorical and will say that he is not prepared to deal with Mr. Smith while he is in an illegal position, or to hand to these people who have so betrayed their trust and promises the responsibility for a harmonious and multi-racial Rhodesia."

SIR RICHARD GLYN: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the statement he has made today will be received with dismay by those Rhodesians who have been hoping that negotiations might have been reopened? Will he explain, if he does not regard Mr. Smith as the leader of Rhodesia, how is he going to negotiate with a quarter of a million individuals at second hand through the Governor? Will he take this opportunity of furthering the hope that negotiations could be reopened by taking the step of renouncing his letter to Dr. Mutasa which bedevilled the recent negotiations and which is a major difficulty in reopening them?"

Belief that Mr. Smith Voted Against U.D.I.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It never bedevilled them at all. I have done what no other Minister has ever done before. I have published all the exchanges, knowing that some hon. Member would want to go through them with a fine tooth-comb and find a split infinitive. The hon. gentleman has done very well.

"That was the basis in some of the angry letters that I was getting before last Christmas. After my first meeting with him on the day of Sir Winston Churchill's funeral this was discussed, and so were some absolutely unacceptable statements of his, including the statement that there would be no majority rule in his lifetime—for 150 years, he said. From then on we negotiated on the basis of the five principles. None of those points that the hon. gentleman mentioned were thought worthy of mentioning either by Mr. Smith or myself after January 30.

"As to the point about this being greeted with dismay by those who want to see negotiations, we really cannot go on from the point where we broke off on November 11. There was a perfectly clear offer, and many people thought that I went too far in what I offered on that occasion. I was con-

cerned to avoid all the horrors of U.D.I. for Rhodesia, Africa, and the world. That was not taken. It is now clear that what he said to me that morning was not said in good faith.

"It was widely believed in Rhodesia that Mr. Smith voted against U.D.I. in the final Cabinet decisions. If this is so, it is to his credit. It would have been more to his credit if he had gone to the Governor and formed a new Government. What he says now is: 'What we negotiated for we will now get, and we will get it by illegal means.' We must get a return to constitutional rule, and we will then deal with people in Rhodesia who can be trusted."

SIR G. DE FREITAS: "As soon as conditions make it possible, will the Prime Minister do everything he can to see that the white Rhodesians meet white Kenyans and learn from them at first hand that it is possible to have a multi-racial community living peacefully under a black majority Government?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I think that is a very good point. My hon. friend referred to it in the debate on November 12 and the message from these very distinguished white Kenyan citizens was published just before I went to Salisbury. I drew Mr. Smith's attention to it, because there is great ignorance in Rhodesia as to what does go on in the countries north. I suggested that he should send some representative Rhodesian citizens who have these anxieties—and I do not underrate the genuine depths of those anxieties—that they should go to Kenya and discuss the problems with the settlers there. I hope it will be possible. But the situation is now more terribly embittered."

MR. HASTINGS: "Is it true that the Prime Minister has had verbal messages, through the Commonwealth Relations Office, from the Governor, and Mr. Smith this week indicating clearly that negotiations can and should begin? If this is so, what is the point of prevaricating?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The hon. gentleman will always be given in this House the authority which his standing deserves, which is a good deal less than the authority that he is given in Rhodesia. It is not true that the Governor has this week communicated either with the Commonwealth Relations Office or myself saying that negotiations are possible. It is true that a little earlier Mr. Smith indicated that he would be prepared to call off U.D.I. if we would give independence on the same terms as those on which U.D.I. was declared. This is unacceptable."

What Does Government Intend?

MR. SPEAKER: "Order. I understood the hon. Member for Mid-Bedfordshire (Mr. Hastings) charged the Prime Minister with prevaricating. If I heard him aright the hon. Member should withdraw the word."

MR. HASTINGS: "Mr. Speaker, I did not accuse the Prime Minister of prevaricating. What I suggested was that if this story were true, not to begin negotiations would constitute prevarication. That I did say."

MR. SPEAKER: "I hope the hon. gentleman will note what I said. It is quite in order for him to accuse the Prime Minister of inaccuracy or foolish statements or impolitic statements. It is not in order for an hon. Member to accuse another hon. Member of prevarication, and I hope the hon. gentleman will withdraw the word 'prevaricating'."

MR. HASTINGS: "In the circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw the word 'prevaricating'."

MR. THORPE: "Could the Prime Minister give a little more information about what is meant by the procedural matters upon which he would be prepared to have discussions with Mr. Smith? Does he not agree that it is vitally important to spell out the sort of machinery which H.M. Government would like to see set up for negotiations? Has he considered the possibility of a Crown Council being appointed by the Governor consisting of persons with whom we could negotiate to form a caretaker administration which would presumably need a reform of the 1961 Constitution? Does he agree that the statement that H.M. Government are utterly determined that this illegal régime will not succeed is a vital ingredient for encouraging those Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia who have the courage to stand up to this illegal régime and, we hope, overthrow it?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "By procedural matters I meant, for example, certain problems of handing over responsibility, but above all it is right, if there were this approach, that Mr. Smith should indicate to the Governor that the command of the Armed Forces would pass into the hands of the Governor pending the establishment of a constitutional government again; and some assurances should be given about the rôle of the police who are a para-military force and among whom there are strong Fascist elements, though I would not like to suggest that all or even the majority are of that persuasion."

PLEDGE NOT TO IMPOSE ILL-PREPARED MAJORITY RULE

"On the question of machinery, obviously in the first instance it would mean direct rule by the Governor. The first responsibility would be that of the Governor. It would be for him, I think, to recommend to us, and we would have to decide quickly, whether he would have *ad interim* an executive council of the kind of people mentioned by the hon. Member. All of us know that these exist and are only too anxious to make themselves known at the right moment and identify themselves with constitutional rule.

"As soon as possible after that, there will have to be consultations with all shades of opinion about the changes necessary in the 1961 Constitution, such as were mentioned in our discussions with Mr. Smith. These are now clearly necessary, particularly in relation to the protection of racial minorities and even racial majorities in Rhodesia. I think that the House will have to be more concerned about these aspects than we were on the basis of the assurances given by Mr. Smith and his colleagues.

"On the question of the statement not succeeding and our having to continue our measures, I agree with the hon. Member that this is important, but I press every hon. Member commenting on this, within the fullest freedom to criticize—and I hope that we shall have full criticism as we go along—to realize the effect of his words being amplified by the highly selective system of amplification represented by the methods of communication and public relations in Rhodesia."

SIR KNOX CUNNINGHAM: "Will the Prime Minister say whether when the Commonwealth Secretary made his statement in the House he was aware of the views of the Lord Chancellor? Does the new policy enumerated in this present statement mean for Mr. Smith and his régime unconditional surrender?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, the Lord Chancellor and I discussed these very issues earlier that very day. As for unconditional surrender, I have made the position plain in a statement earlier this week. If by unconditional surrender, the hon. Member means that they are to surrender all that they have struggled for, including, for example, an assurance that there will be no ill-considered or ill-prepared majority rule, of course it does not mean unconditional surrender, and the more we can make this clear to them in Rhodesia the more quickly this business will end. If the hon. gentleman means that they must return to the paths of constitutional rule, there can be no half-measures about that; and I hope that there will be no dispute in the House about it. Certainly we cannot negotiate on the basis that 'We will do this for you if you agree to be legal'. That is not the basis on which one can deal with an illegal action."

MR. SANDYS: "The Prime Minister has said several times, and we all agree with him, that the first step must be a return to constitutional rule, and, he added today, a return to their allegiance. It is very important that people in Rhodesia should know what is open to them and what is not open to them.

"Is it open to the people of Rhodesia, through the Governor, to return to the 1961 Constitution as it now stands without any frills or modifications as a prelude to further negotiations on independence, when all these other points, such as the five principles and other matters, can be raised? Is it open to the people of Rhodesia to return, and know exactly where they stand, to the 1961 Constitution as it was before the declaration of independence?"

Prime Minister's View of the Future

THE PRIME MINISTER: "A return to allegiance means that they must first accept the authority of the Governor, who is the Queen's representative, and not the authority of a usurper, Mr. Dupont, who is claiming to have legal authority in that country. It is difficult to forecast the exact conditions under which this will happen. My view is that at first there will be *ad interim* a period of direct power by the Governor with the help and advice of Rhodesians. I hope of all races, who will place their considerable experience at his disposal. There are a lot of ex-Ministers and others with experience.

"During that period the 1961 Constitution will not be able to function because it can function only after we have a duly elected Parliament. It would not be possible for such a Government to work with the Parliament elected with a 100% Rhodesian Front membership committed to oppose the whole function of that Government. In all other aspects the 1961 Constitution would obviously remain. It will be then for them and for us, whether by constitutional conference or Royal Commission, to consider what amendments should be made in the 1961 Constitution for the purpose of getting full constitutional rule. We shall need now to entrench more strongly the provisions for human rights and minorities.

"The 1961 Constitution will be the law in Rhodesia, but, of

course, we have power to suspend and revoke, and we have done so on two aspects of human rights. We shall have to do that because we cannot have the Rhodesian Front giving orders to a Government of which it does not approve. Therefore these things will have to be sorted out in the period of direct rule on the basis of the five principles, when we shall have to decide what amendments are to be made to the 1961 Constitution; and these will have to come before this House and can be changed only by the authority of this House."

MR. SANDYS: "It is terribly important to distinguish between conditions for a return to constitutional rule still as a Colony and the conditions which would be required for independence. The five principles have all been related to independence. Does not the hon. gentleman feel that it is important to encourage all those who might wish to return to constitutional rule by letting them know exactly where they stand? The only clear basis on which they can be invited to return to constitutional rule is on the basis of the 1961 Constitution, with Rhodesia still a dependent territory, and then, as a second step, negotiations could be started for independence with another new Government. It is then, it seems to me, that the five conditions arise, and not before. Otherwise nobody will come forward and wish to form a legal Government if they do not know on what basis they will be able to do so."

Short Period of Colonial Rule

THE PRIME MINISTER: "That is perfectly fair. The hon. gentleman understands the difficulties of saying how long the period of direct colonial rule would be while all this was being established. [An HON. MEMBER: 'Why direct?'] Because in the first instance—it may be a matter of hours or days or longer, we do not know what the state of Rhodesia will be—there is first the question of the return to loyalty of the troops, the police, and the rest. It may be that the Governor will be able to find a Government. Perhaps many of us on both sides of the House could almost suggest probable members, but I do not think that they would be able to form a Government if they felt that they had to sit in a Parliament with 100% membership from the Rhodesian Front making their task impossible. While agreeing in principle with the hon. gentleman we have a problem to decide how quickly we can get the basis for new elections, and new elections which will more fairly represent the principles which we have to establish."

MR. HUGH JENKINS: "My hon. friend referred to the people of Rhodesia. I wondered whether he was referring to the whole people of Rhodesia or whether he indicated by that expression, as is sometimes indicated when some hon. Members use it, concern not for the people of Rhodesia as a whole but for the white minority only. Does not he agree that it would be very unfortunate if the impression were to go out from the House that, in speaking of this subject, we were concerning ourselves mainly with the white minority and not with the people of Rhodesia as a whole? Does the Prime Minister agree that the leaders of the people of Rhodesia are, in fact, in prison, and when he goes to the United Nations he will there be facing an Assembly representative of the peoples of the world, as a whole which consists of a multi-racial or coloured majority, and, in the circumstances will he take a message from this House that we are concerned for the people of Rhodesia as a whole and not for a minority?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I use the expression 'people of Rhodesia' in exactly the same way as it has always been used, under this Government and under the previous Government, as in the famous statement of the then Prime Minister in September 1964 and many times by the hon. Member for Streatham (Mr. Sandys), when they said that the terms of independence must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. I have never heard that phrase qualified by any hon. gentleman on either side of the House in terms of colour or race. That phrase meant what it said. I hope that there will be no doubt about it outside the House, in the United Nations or anywhere else."

Psychological Warfare

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "The Prime Minister referred to the selective character of Rhodesian propaganda. Will he tell us whether his own broadcasts to Rhodesia are objective or more in the nature of psychological warfare, and may we have transcripts in the library?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have done only one broadcast to Rhodesia, and that was immediately after the illegal declaration of independence. Considerable steps were taken to see that it did not get heard in Rhodesia, but my information is that it did get heard by a number of people. I should be very happy to put in the library the text of what I said in an interview on that occasion."

PRIME MINISTER'S TALK WITH MR. GARFIELD TODD

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "I beg the rt. hon. gentleman's pardon. I meant the Government's broadcasts".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am not sure what the hon. gentleman means by the Government's broadcasts. The B.B.C. broadcasts, and the B.B.C. has made clear both as regards the new transmitter and its existing broadcasts that it will continue to broadcast on the basis which it has always followed, that is, to put an objective view on world affairs. It is important that the people of Rhodesia should hear the B.B.C.'s world news bulletin, which they used to do but which has been cut off, and that they should, also receive some Rhodesian news. This will be in strict accordance with the high traditions of the B.B.C. in its overseas broadcasts, and it will not be used for what the hon. gentleman calls psychological warfare or what in the last war were known as 'black' activities—though that expression has other meanings now".

MR. ROWLAND: "Will the Prime Minister take it that in my view and that of many hon. Members his statement today, while being admirable firm, is also generous, in that it suggests a road of honourable retreat for Mr. Smith? Will he say what he thinks the prospects are for his statement by the Leader of the Opposition condemning the growing police State nature of Rhodesia getting through to Rhodesia?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I think that, with the broadcasting facilities now, more of what goes on in this country is being heard there; and, since my rt. hon. friend made the order outlawing the censoring powers which Mr. Lardner-Burke assumed, the Rhodesian régime has, I think, been a bit easier on censorship. Although there is some censorship, it has been eased. Therefore, I hope that everything said today in all parts of the House will be reported as fully as possible in Rhodesia".

Five, Ten or Fifteen Years?

SIR H. STUDBOLME: "I am quite certain that every rt. hon. and hon. Member believes that U.D.I. was wrong, and that anyone who thinks in 1965, that minority rule can continue indefinitely in Rhodesia must be living in a dream world; but when the Prime Minister said in Rhodesia that majority rule could not come tomorrow or next week, what did he really mean, and what did he tell the Rhodesian Government, who must have asked him? Did he mean five years, 10 years, or 15 years? As I see it, that is the stumbling block".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The hon. gentleman has made a very fair point. What I was trying to indicate is that, whatever the hardships caused by the illegal declaration, and by our actions, people will not fight it if they fear still more the unknown which would follow the end of the illegal declaration".

"What I said to the Rhodesian Government and the Rhodesian people in my broadcast, and what I said very plainly and several times to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, is that we could not agree to early majority rule. I said that time would have to be measured not by the clock or the calendar, not by weeks or months or years, but by achievement; and the real test of achievement—I said very very bluntly to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole—would be the willingness of the African nationalists to work within Parliamentary conditions and within the existing Constitution, to get themselves elected to the House under the B roll or the A roll, and, one hopes—I pressed this on Mr. Smith to get themselves accepted as members of the Government as Parliamentary Secretaries and as junior Ministers so as to gain experience not only in multi-racial Parliamentary activities but in multi-racial Government activities".

"Certainly H.M. Government—this is true of any party, I think—would require to be absolutely satisfied that there had been a long enough period measured not in years but in achievement, before we could agree to majority rule in Rhodesia. The more clearly it is understood among those who have, willingly or unwillingly, given their support to Mr. Smith, the sooner we shall see an end to illegal action".

Offensive Epithets Deplored

MR. DOUGHTY: "Does the Prime Minister realize that we want to get back, first of all, to a calm a situation as possible for negotiations to take place, and that remarks such as that Mr. Smith is a liar and not to be trusted, and the remark of Mr. Smith that the Prime Minister of this country is deceitful, do not help negotiation? This country wants to get back to negotiation with someone who can negotiate in that country and bind its people for the future".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "While Mr. Smith and I spoke very frankly to one another—I certainly used the expression 'police State' to him; and he took it—we did not get into the kind of epithets referred to by the hon. and learned gentleman. What led to the statement by my rt. hon. friend

the other night was the statement made by Mr. Smith, and repeated by an hon. Member opposite who apparently believes that Mr. Smith is the final expression of pure truth in this world, to the effect that he had heard from his intelligence sources that I had made certain remarks to Mr. Todd and certain remarks to someone else to whom I spoke".

"The statement of Mr. Smith was absolutely false. I have the whole record of my discussions with all these people, Garfield Todd, Roy Welensky, Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Sithole, Mr. Macdonald, and the rest. I never said anything of the kind; and my rt. hon. friend was present. I think that he was slightly nettled by the fact that not only had Mr. Smith perpetrated such a falsehood, but that some hon. Members here should go on peddling that falsehood in this House. That is why my rt. hon. friend used that phrase".

MR. MOLLOY: "Will not the Prime Minister agree that there is grave danger of this fine examination of legal and constitutional points being interpreted by the leaders of other British Commonwealth African nations as a substitute for resolute action and that we in this House may be leaning over backwards to accommodate an illegal régime? Might not this attitude in which we are involved this morning lead to the break-up of the British Commonwealth of Nations?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have never leaned over backwards, but I have certainly leaned over forwards, and so did my hon. gentleman opposite, to try to get, as far as we can, an agreed policy in this House, despite the difficulties. Detailed examination of legal and constitutional points is absolutely vital. What we need is a clear expression of principle and then the implication and working out as far as we can by constitutional means of what those principles mean. We need both. Sometimes we have had more of one than the other. Sometimes we have concentrated on the principle to the exclusion of the constitutional points".

"There are strong passions, and we have always understood the terrible strength of passions north of the Zambezi in Africa and the terrible pressures being put on this Government. I do not think that any Government have had to face such a cruel dilemma as we have had to face in this situation but we have made clear where we stand both about the principles and the possible detailed machinery for giving effect to those principles".

Direct Rule Would Be Very Brief

MR. HEATH: "No doubt there will be opportunities for further discussions about the details of the situation which may arise in regard to a return to constitutional rule. The importance of these exchanges is the influence that they may have on the people of Rhodesia. Will the Prime Minister therefore in the intervening stage give very careful consideration to one point that he made, that there will be a return for a period to direct rule?"

"All the messages that I have had from those of moderate opinion in Rhodesia have indicated that any suggestion that there will be this period of direct rule would prevent people coming forward to support the moderate people in Rhodesia. It is, therefore, essential to make plain to them that it would be a transference straight away to constitutional rule even though Parliament could be dissolved by the Governor and another Parliament elected. If the people of Rhodesia are ready for constitutional rule, the new Parliament would be a different one and it could be to the 1961 Constitution".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The period will be the very minimum necessary. It may be minutes, hours, days, or weeks. We might want to return to constitutional rule as quickly as possible, but there is the Parliamentary difficulty referred to by the rt. hon. gentleman. Whether a group of people emerges willing to work the Constitution during the interim period as the Governor's executive advisers pending their appointment as a full Government depends on the circumstances, and how quick it would be before they became the Government would also depend on circumstances. In the House we all share the desire for a return to constitutional rule as quickly as possible, and we all share the desire for getting into that Constitution the safeguards with regard to human rights and in other ways which are needed and are seen to be necessary".

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs said on Monday: "The Portuguese Government are considering our representations about collaboration in an oil embargo on Rhodesia. They have not recognized the illegal régime in Rhodesia and have said they do not wish to obstruct communications with Zambia. The South African Government have not recognized the Rhodesian independence either. They have said they will maintain normal intercourse with Rhodesia. We are continuing to make diplomatic representations to both these Governments".

B.P. Oil on Way to Rhodesia

Government Refuses to Interfere

H.M. GOVERNMENT has refused to prevent the delivery to Rhodesia via Beira of some 12,000 tons of oil carried by a tanker of British Petroleum, Ltd., a company in which the Government holds a 51% interest and to the board of which it appoints two directors.

In the House of Commons last week there were strong demands that the cargo should be diverted.

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe (Liberal) complained that the oil was to be pumped from Beira through a pipe-line owned by Lonrho, Ltd., a British company, of which a cousin of the Queen was a director.

The Prime Minister replied that an oil embargo must be comprehensive to be effective, and that it would do no good to stop the tanker in question because there were others "stacked behind it". Indeed, the indirect effect of isolated action might be to reduce oil supplies to Zambia.

There could be no effective oil sanction until it was clear that there would be no operation by privateers, who might collect oil from all parts of the world and divert ships in mid-ocean.

Incidentally, it was worth noting that "very many of the countries which are putting the greatest pressure on us at present about our actions in relations to Rhodesia have not yet begun to carry out the United Nations resolution, which we have done pretty thoroughly".

Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., report profits after tax to July 31 at £976,976 (against £880,580). A dividend of 9d. per 10s. stock unit will make £574,712 and a special dividend of 8d. per unit paid last March amounted to £510,854. The carry-forward is above £1.6m. The issued capital is £9.5m. and reserves total £4.6m. Fixed assets, mainly the large shareholding in Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, have a book value of nearly £4.4m. Interests in Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., stand at £445,000 and in other companies at nearly £1.2m., not counting the £5.2m. stake in the Benguela Railway Company, a subsidiary, and that of £1.2m. in Commonwealth Timber Industries, Ltd. Investments by a wholly-owned subsidiary stand at £1.4m., and current assets less current liabilities at almost £2m. Captain Charles Waterhouse, the chairman, who re-visited Katanga in December, expects increased profits in future years from Union Minière. Lord Colyton is to succeed him in the chairmanship.

Mitchell Cotts Group

MITCHELL COTTS GROUP, LTD., reports net profits after tax to June 30 at £1,039,983, against £661,842 in the previous year. Ordinary shareholders receive 22½% (20%), and the balances carried forward by parent and subsidiary companies total £3,621,149 (£3.4m.). Issued capital exceeds £4.6m., and capital and revenue reserves amount to £1.3m. and £7.6m. respectively. Outstanding loan capital totals £1.5m. Fixed assets appear at £7.6m., investments at nearly £2.3m., and net current assets at £7.1. Mr. H. C. Drayton is the chairman.

Rhodesia Katanga Co., Ltd., have declared an interim dividend of 5% less tax.

Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., are paying a net interim dividend of 6d. per share.

The Mabira Co., Ltd., reports group loss to March 31 of £4,556, compared with the loss in the previous year of £15,064. Coffee production rose from 1,214 to 2,931 cwt., and the tea output from 126,922 to 146,928 lb. The directors expect profits during the current year. The issued capital is £80,073. Mr. George A. Todd is the chairman.

Turner and Newall, Ltd., a group with large asbestos interests in Rhodesia, report net profits after tax to June 30 at £9,354,741, compared with £7,638,275 in the previous year. Dividends total 12½%, compared with 10½% in the previous year. In view of the embargo now placed on the import of Rhodesian asbestos into the U.K., the directors state that the situation will not affect the parent company's manufacturing operations for a long period and that it is expected that satisfactory arrangements will be made meantime for supplies of asbestos from other sources. Mining operations in Rhodesia continue normally.

Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. reports profits for the year to September 30 of £1,509,272, against £1,147,219, after providing just over £3m. (£2.64m.) for taxation and transfers to inner reserves. The reserve fund is increased by £1m., dividends taken £16m., and the carry-forward is £1.9m. (£1.5m.). Stockholders receive 11½% less tax. The issued capital is £24m., the reserve fund totals £20m., and assets exceed £1,205m. The statement by Mr. Frederic Seeböhm, the chairman, appears in full on other pages. The annual report is illustrated by excellent photographs in colour, many from East and Central Africa.

Barclays Overseas Development Corp.

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., reports net profits to September 30 at £274,506 after providing for tax and reserve for contingencies, compared with £201,132 in the previous year. The proposed dividend of 4% will take £141,000, the contingency reserve receives £75,000, and the general reserve £50,000, leaving carry-forward of £86,870. The issued capital is £6m., loans and other accounts total £8.6m., and investments appear as £1.9m.

Charter Consolidated, Ltd., are to pay a first dividend of 10d. per share.

Mzeru Radio Company of Malawi, Ltd., is to manufacture transistor radios.

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., are paying an interim dividend of 2s. 6d. net per share (the same) in respect of the year to March 31 next.

Taylor Woodrow & Co., Ltd., have won a £170,000 contract to supply 280 prefabricated primary school classrooms and 200 prefabricated teachers' houses to Tanzania.

The Benguela Railway announces that 845 tons of cargo for Zambia recently unloaded in Lobito reached a new record for any week. The previous record had been 816 tons.

Sisal Outputs in November: Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,581 tons, making 8,131 for five months; Central Line Sisal Estates, 451 tons, making 923 to date; Dwa Plantations, 111 tons, making 1,550 for 11 months (1,704).

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., has resolved at an extraordinary general meeting of shareholders held in Bulawayo to increase the authorized capital from £6m. to £10m. A one-for-five bonus issue is to be made.

Lex Hornby and Partners, Ltd., Wellington House, Strand, W.C.2, have been entrusted with the representation in the United Kingdom and Europe of the National Tourist Bureau of Zambia. Mr. L. F. G. Anthony, until recently a member of the bureau's head office staff in Lusaka, has come to London to join the staff of the company.

The International Coffee Council has again failed to fix quotas acceptable to exporting States. Twenty-two of the 35 exporting members countries having applied for increased basic quotas, special waivers totalling 1,357,000 bags have been added to the total of 43.7m. bags reached in August, leaving the fundamental issue for settlement next April or May.

A Tanzanian recruiting mission is now in London.

The Dutch Ambassador in Zambia is also to be accredited to Malawi.

Malawi and Mozambique have abolished visas for citizens entering the other country's territory.

When a bus in Kenya plunged into a dry river bed near Koru, 29 people were killed and another 36 injured.

On a vote of confidence in the Somali National Assembly, 86 votes were cast for the Government and 23 against. There were five abstentions.

The new Congo Government has been recognized by Zambia, Rwanda, Ghana, Chad, Gabon, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon and Poland.

Three African women and a man have been sentenced to death for killing the husband of one of the accused as a human sacrifice in a witchcraft rite.

The Burundi Government has warned all foreigners, "particularly all Protestant missionaries", not to intervene in affairs which do not concern them.

Another 236 farms in Zanzibar, the only ones not seized after the revolution in January of last year, have now been confiscated. Nineteen factories were recently sequestered by the Government.

The Somali National News Agency has announced that Kenya troops fired on peaceful Somali travellers in the Mandera district of Kenya, killing eight and wounding seven. Five of the dead were women.

Company Report**BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.****MR. FREDERIC SEEBOHM'S STATEMENT
FOR FORTIETH GENERAL MEETING**

THE FORTIETH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 5, 1966, at 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.

The following is the circulated statement by the Chairman, MR. FREDERIC SEEBOHM, for the year ended September 30, 1965:—

After the last annual general meeting Sir Julian Crossley retired from the chairmanship of the Bank. He held this position for seventeen years and had earlier served as general manager for eight and a half years. Stockholders will be aware of the great progress the Bank has made under his leadership. They may not know quite so well how he built up the family spirit, enthusiasm and loyalty of all those who work in the Bank, which is such a marked feature of our wide-flung organization. I am glad to have this opportunity of paying tribute to the outstanding service he has rendered to the Bank and to say how glad all his colleagues are that he is continuing as an active director.

New Areas of Operation

In his statement to stockholders last year my predecessor referred to our entry into a new area of operation in Central America and the northern part of South America through the interest we had acquired in the Bank of London & Montreal. I believe our partners fully share my view that a happy and workmanlike relationship is rapidly being built up between us which cannot fail to have beneficial results in the future. In Jamaica and Trinidad we have entered the field of medium-term and longer-term loans and mortgage finance through our participation with the Bank of London & Montreal, the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of London & South America in two new and separate corporations, both of which are able to undertake wider functions than those which are usually associated with a commercial bank.

Another development in keeping with our rôle as an international bank has been the registration of a separate bank in California, where we have combined with our parent bank to form Barclays Bank in California, with its first branch in San Francisco. At the same time the decision was taken to open a separate agency of our own bank in San Francisco which will operate from the same address.

Computers for London and Johannesburg

During the year a number of offices of the Bank has risen from 1,416 to 1,477. This expansion has taken place mainly by extending our services in our existing territories, but we have broken new ground by opening a branch in Tortola in the British Virgin Islands and we hope to start business soon in the U.S. Virgin Islands in St. Thomas.

The heavy programme of new building which has faced us over the last fifteen years to keep pace with the rapid expansion of our business everywhere has, I am glad to say, levelled off. However, there are always new developments which are necessary in the normal run of things. Of those which have been completed this year I would mention specially the modernization of our Independence Square branch in Trinidad, a new five-storey building in Broad Street, Lagos, to house our business previously carried on at 55 Marina, and the new premises for our growing business in Mbabane in Swaziland.

In Gibraltar we have moved our main branch from the premises which it has occupied since 1888 into new premises which have been adapted to our use in the Grand Hotel Building, Main Street, but we have left behind a sub-branch on the old site in Irish Town.

After careful studies we have decided to proceed with the installation of a computer in London and another in Johannesburg. In doing so we are following the lead given by our parent bank who were pioneers amongst the clearing banks in this field and the first bank to open a comprehensive computer centre in London. A great deal of preparatory work has to be done before a computer can be brought into use, but the one in Johannesburg is already operating ahead of schedule. The programme for the computer in London will be more varied, and preparatory work will take longer. The ultimate gains through the speed of handling day-to-day work and the saving of staff costs will, we trust, more than compensate for the initial outlay involved.

Deposits Exceed £1,000 Million

Our financial year which ended on September 30 has been full of new problems. Money has been tight both at home and overseas and competition for deposits has seldom been more fierce. It has been difficult to maintain the margin between the cost of money raised and the earnings on money lent, but fortunately our overall figures have expanded considerably, and this has enabled us to maintain our earnings and distribute rather more than last year to our stockholders. Deposits have increased by £106,269,673 to the record figure of

£1,038,921,753, and advances by £75,760,721 to £561,620,173. This is the first time we have shown deposits of over £1,000 million in the balance-sheet.

Commodity Prices: The Need for Prompt Action

The prosperity of the Bank and of our customers is always affected by the level of commodity prices. In some cases the current year has been disappointing and, in the case of sugar and cocoa, disastrous. Commonwealth sugar producers are to some extent sheltered by the negotiated price agreements but the cocoa producers have no such shield against the bitter wind of excess production. I hope 1965 will see some solution of the problem of cocoa. The world surplus last season was not more than 200,000 tons, which is approximately 15 per cent. of total production. Various attempts were made by producer countries to control sales, but unfortunately these eventually all broke down, and the price dropped from £190 per ton to less than £100 per ton, but later rallied to £130/£140 per ton by the end of September. This catastrophic fall in price caused consternation in West Africa and bitter condemnation of the richer countries.

There are various ways by which this disaster could have been avoided, but short-term rescue operations are frowned on by many 'experts' who prefer to make a cold appraisal of the long-term problem, little realizing the misery that can be caused by even one season's collapse in prices. It may be true that last season's surplus has by now been absorbed; it may also be true that the coming season may produce a smaller crop; it may even happen that prices will rise without any special measures; nevertheless, there are indications that manufacturers are overstocked and the Eastern bloc has also taken in large stocks at low prices. It is therefore urgent that a stand-by scheme is ready to come into action in the next few months to prevent a second disaster. This is a human problem as much as an economic one, and no statistics are available to show the measure of disillusionment and resentment that is caused by the failure of export crops to fetch reasonable prices in the developed countries which themselves continue to attain higher and higher standards of living.

The Case for Agricultural Co-operatives

I am very glad to see a change in emphasis by the World Bank and other aid-giving agencies towards finance for agriculture. It has become apparent that to use aid for the increase of those export crops where world demand is already satisfied is not a very intelligent exercise. Emphasis must now be given to directing finance into peasant agriculture in order to improve the quantity and quality of food for local consumption. There are some pictures reproduced in this report which illustrate vividly what is already being achieved. Only in this way can the standard of life of 80 per cent. of the population of Africa, for instance, be raised significantly, and only by this method can the way be opened up for the establishment of rural industries which eventually form the basis of economic growth.

It is my belief that an intensive development of agricultural co-operatives is necessary if progress in this field is to be accelerated. It is with this background in mind that the Bank is about to appoint its first agricultural adviser. He will be attached to the headquarters of our Overseas Development Corporation and will be available to advise not only the Bank but, in due course, our customers both private and public should they desire it. It is, I think, necessary to emphasize when considering the problems of the less developed countries that lack of control of population is the most

serious obstacle to economic growth and may well hold back any real increase in the standard of life for the majority of the people for generations. There is slender hope of improving the situation in many countries materially in the next 20 years, and the seriousness of the situation should be kept well to the fore in all national development plans.

Problems of the New Finance Act

Stockholders will be wondering what effect the new Finance Act has on the Bank, but I am sure they will appreciate the difficulty of making any firm estimate in this connexion until the rate of corporation tax in the United Kingdom has been settled and we can reassess how we stand under the double taxation arrangements in force with the various overseas territories in which we operate. Hitherto we have been able, broadly speaking, to offset tax paid overseas against our United Kingdom tax liability for income tax and profits tax combined. While the latter totalled over 50 per cent. the amount of tax paid overseas which was in excess of this level and therefore could not be offset has been negligible.

Under the new system stockholders will, as before, have tax deducted from the dividends paid to them, but we shall now have to pay over this tax to the Inland Revenue in addition to the corporation tax paid on the profits of the company. Therefore, although the amount of corporation tax for which the Bank itself is liable under the new system may be less than we have had to pay before, the total tax which the owners of the company, our stockholders, have in effect to bear, either here or overseas, on profits both distributed and undistributed, may well bear a very different look, depending on the level of tax rates overseas and the amount distributed here. It is for these reasons that the new system will press so hard on some companies whose activities are wholly or mainly overseas. How hard will of course depend on the particular circumstances and dividend policies of individual companies.

O.T.C. Status Should Be Restored

Much has been said and much more will be said on the subject of the changes in financial policy introduced by the Socialist Government. There is, however, one comment I should like to make. The cancellation of the so-called privileges of the overseas trading corporations seems to me to be quite unjustified. I cannot see why a company operating entirely overseas should pay any tax to the British Government. It derives no benefit from the social services or the welfare State. Moreover, it may well be paying local indirect taxes at a much higher rate although these will appear in the accounts in the form of heavy expenses, salaries and other locally incurred costs rather than in the form of direct company tax which may appear deceptively low.

The Chancellor's comment that our taxation arrangements have been "so fashioned as to give a positive bias towards overseas, compared with domestic investments" seems to ignore the fact that taxation, directly or indirectly overseas has in many countries been very heavy indeed in the past: there is a danger that his changes in the method of taxation may make some companies disappear through inability to compete with local companies or drive them to transfer control of management completely abroad, which can hardly benefit this country. I believe that a restoration of O.T.C. status would benefit our balance of payments in quite a short time. After all, any dividends paid by these companies to United Kingdom shareholders are liable to the full charge of British personal tax. I

fully realize the urgency of the short-term problem, but there is no indication that any serious attempt to assess the long-term value of our overseas investments had been made before these crippling changes were incorporated in the 1965 Finance Act. Meanwhile we are eating our seed corn.

Overseas Aid Must Be Continued

It is easy to be critical and I would like therefore to say how much I welcome the present Government's constructive policies regarding overseas aid. The creation of a Ministry of Overseas Development was overdue. The Minister's courageous defence of the present level of aid and the softening of the terms of aid are praiseworthy. Critics are very ready to ask how this can be reconciled with our balance-of-payments problems, but we have to remember that our future ability to export depends on the ability of our overseas customers to buy. Many of the newly independent countries are on an economic knife edge. A sudden running down of our aid could be disastrous. It could make a complete nonsense of all our post-war attitudes and policies towards the poorer countries. Even though it strains our balance of payments it is one of the long-term policies that we must stick to through thick and thin.

It may comfort our critics to know that the £190 million of aid forecast for the current year is by no means a net loss to our reserves. No accurate account of the cost in foreign exchange is available. Various estimates have been made which vary between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. My own view is that it is much nearer the former figure than the latter, and let us not forget that we benefit considerably from the rest of the world's multilateral aid, much of which is spent on our exports. It is disappointing to see that the National Plan refers only to restricting aid and does not envisage passing on any of the 25 per cent. increase in income to help the less developed countries.

The new arrangement for stepping up technical assistance is another welcome move. It is doubtful whether the underdeveloped world, with a few obvious exceptions, can absorb usefully financial assistance than is currently available without much more technical assistance. The White Paper on this subject introduces an ingenious and practical method of stepping up the number of experts from this country who will in future be available for short term overseas service.

The Year Ahead—An Uncertain Prospect

Long-term financial forecasts are no more reliable than meteorological ones. As far as one can see, however, there are not very many encouraging indicators. This country has still to put its house in order and to convince the rest of the world that it has done so. The United States of America will for some time continue their policy of restricting overseas investment. After several years of amassing reserves South Africa is now compelled to take severe measures to stop the outflow. These measures involve the restriction of bank lendings and also of imports, which must reflect adversely on United Kingdom exports.

In most of the territories in which this Bank operates, reserves of foreign exchange are shrinking and exchange control is in force. This situation is inevitable in the developing countries as their demand for capital goods exceeds the new funds made available by the richer countries in the form of aid or private investment. On

the other hand, the internal economies are growing and the demand for our services is steadily increasing. It has always been the policy of this Bank to provide a full banking service including a comprehensive network of branches wherever we operate. It is for this reason that we have seen such a steady and, at times, rapid growth in our funds. The growth in our savings bank funds is remarkable, and although it is expensive to administer it is probably the most valuable service we provide. Although, therefore, there may not be much growth of international trade during 1966, the Bank is not likely to stand still and we shall continue to open up wherever the opportunities seem favourable.

Board Appointments

Apart from Sir Julian Crossley's retirement from the chair there have been no other changes in the constitution of the Board since the last annual meeting, save that Mr. G. G. Money, a member of the Board since 1955 and chairman of the Caribbean Board, has been appointed a vice-chairman. With the expansion of our business in the Western Hemisphere, Mr. Money has assumed a special responsibility for our affairs in that part of the world. The many stockholders who know him will appreciate how well qualified Mr. Money is for this work.

We were delighted to learn in June that Her Majesty the Queen had appointed Sir James Robertson a Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle.

Stockholders will be sorry to learn that Mr. A. C. Barnes has informed us that he does not wish his name to go forward for reappointment as a director at the annual general meeting on grounds of age. After serving six years in Barclays Bank Limited he joined this Bank in 1927 and spent the following eighteen years in charge of our business in Egypt and other

DIRECTORS

Frederic Seebom, *Chairman*
The Hon. Sir Geoffrey Cokayne Gibbs, K.C.M.G.,
Deputy Chairman

Arthur Stephen Aiken
Donald Carter
George Gilbert Money *Vice-Chairmen*

Anthony Charles Barnes, D.S.O., O.B.E.
Willoughby Guy Bryan
Sir Julian Stanley Crossley
Paul Vychan Emrys-Evans
Captain Derek Fitzgerald
Cuthbert Fitzherbert
Richard Evelyn Fleming, M.G.
Alexander Ludovic Grant
Brian Fraser Macdona
Sir Eric Gustav Machtig, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., O.B.E.
Ronald Francis Medlicott
Harry Frederick Oppenheimer
Marshal of the Royal Air Force
the Rt. Hon. the Viscount Portal of Hungerford,
K.G., G.C.B., O.M., D.S.O., M.C.
Sir James Wilson Robertson, K.T., G.C.M.G.,
G.C.V.O., K.B.E.
Richard-Daniel Smith
Edgar Vernon Whitcombe, C.B.E.

areas in the Middle East, returning to this country in 1945 to serve for many years as deputy chairman. He will always be remembered for the calm and efficient manner in which he managed the affairs of the Bank in the Middle East during the war years, when communications with the outside world were at best difficult and frequently impossible, and for his wise and friendly counsel so readily available to his colleagues at all levels. His services have been of incalculable value to the Bank, for which he has so ably filled the rôle of elder statesman in recent years.

There have been several changes in our boards overseas. In South Africa, Mr. J. M. Barry has joined our board in Johannesburg, and we were very pleased thus to further an already close personal and professional association. In the Cape, on the other hand, it is with real regret that we said goodbye to Dr. R. W. Wilcocks, who has felt compelled to retire for health reasons after eleven years on our board in Cape Town.

I am also very sorry to have to refer to the loss we have experienced in Rhodesia through the death of Mr. N. Hyde-Jones in March last. He joined our board in Salisbury in 1958, and his death came as a great shock to us all, the more so as it was sudden and unexpected. The Hon. Geoffrey Ellman-Brown joined the Rhodesia board in June, and we are very pleased to have him with us.

We have suffered another serious loss in the death of Captain Antonio dos Santos Figueiredo, who had been a member of our Mozambique board since its formation in 1964. His contributions to our affairs in that territory were considerable, and he will be greatly missed.

In Zambia, Mr. S. H. Chileshe and Mr. G. W. H. Rely have accepted invitations to join our board in Lusaka. Mr. Chileshe, who is prominent in the affairs of his country, is the first Zambian to join the board there, and Mr. Rely has recently taken up an important appointment in Zambia. We welcome them both. At the same time we have been sorry to lose Mr. C. P. S. Allen and Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg, who have both retired from the Zambia board on ceasing to be resident in that country. We are grateful to them for the valuable services they have rendered to the Bank during the time they spent with us.

RHODESIA BOARD

Stanley Mortimer Pechey, C.B.E., *Chairman*
 Sir Andrew Strachan, C.B.E., *Vice-Chairman*
 Arthur Stephen Aiken
 The Hon. Geoffrey Ellman-Brown, C.M.G., O.B.E.
 Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.
 Charles Samuel Skipper

ZAMBIA BOARD

Geoffrey Reginald Burden, M.B.E., *Chairman*
 Safele Hannock Chileshe
 Sir Ronald Lindsay Prain, O.B.E.
 Gavin Walter Hamilton Rely
 Charles Henry Lungley Savage
 Charles Samuel Skipper

MALAWI BOARD

Walter Desmond Lewis, O.B.E., *Chairman*
 James Ralph Nkhinda Chinyama
 Charles Samuel Skipper

EAST AFRICAN BOARD

John Edmund Charles Innes
 Hubert George Aspinall

FINANCE

Paid-up Capital	£24,000,000
Reserve Fund	£20,000,000
Assets	£1,205,643,262

BRANCHES

1477 in 42 Countries

Southern Africa	813
Central Africa	121
East Africa, Mauritius and Seychelles	144

Mr. E. V. Whitcombe, whom many of you will have known when he was in charge of our affairs in Nairobi, and who has made frequent visits to East Africa as a director of the Bank and member of the local board since his retirement from the Bank's active service, decided in April to relinquish his seat on that board as he is now permanently resident in the United Kingdom.

In Ghana, Mr. F. R. Dolling has succeeded Mr. J. P. G. Wathen as chairman of our board there on the latter's appointment as deputy general manager (staff) in London, and Mr. C. N. Pearce has been appointed a local director.

In Cyprus, Mr. C. Carolides, hitherto known as our Cyprus manager, has been appointed local director and, as such, remains in charge of our affairs in that island.

In London, Mr. C. A. F. Blair has succeeded Mr. C. W. Escott, who has retired, as manager of our Goodenough House branch, and in New York Mr. W. S. Metcalf has taken over the management of our branch at 120 Broadway from Mr. Blair. In the West Indies, Mr. C. F. T. Tame has been appointed Jamaica manager in succession to Mr. L. C. Gregg, who has retired, and Mr. A. G. Woodcock has succeeded Mr. J. V. Gilby at the head of our affairs in Uganda in similar circumstances. Mr. K. J. H. Vinall has been appointed chief inspector in South Africa on the retirement of Mr. H. C. Riceman.

A Tribute to the Overseas Staff

I have been able to visit the West Indies, Bahamas, the United States and the three East African countries during the year. On each occasion I returned stimulated by the enthusiasm and high qualities of our overseas staff of all races, and have felt able to recommend still greater measures of decentralization which are now in operation. Not only does this keep our overhead costs to a minimum but it helps our overseas controls to give a better and quicker service to our customers. I know that stockholders will wish to join with me in thanking the staff for their highly efficient service during the year and in wishing them well for the coming year.

Rhodesia

Since completing this statement Rhodesia has declared her independence. It is too early to gauge the effect that this might have on the Bank, but I hope to make further reference to the matter at the annual general meeting on January 5, 1966.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

Rhodesia is packed with scenic splendours which make the heart of Africa a Wonder of the World. The Victoria Falls, where the mighty Zambesi tumbles into a chasm more than a mile wide and three hundred feet deep, are the greatest natural spectacle in all Africa. Within easy reach of the falls is the famous game reserve of Wankie which provides many modern amenities for the comfort of the visitor, in the heart of the African bush. Visitors are assured of seeing elephant, lion, antelope and many other species of wild life.

Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. These exciting places are not so far away as you may think! The V.C.10 will get you there on any day of the week in under 14 hours. A grand safari holiday is not beyond your reach when you take advantage of a package tour to this sunny land.



● TELL OUR ADVERTISERS YOU SAW IT IN "EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA" ●

We bend

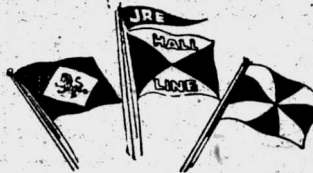
over backwards
to meet your
Delivery Dates

At Union-Castle, this kind of bending over backwards isn't painful; it's routine. When we say we'll get your freight there on time, we mean it. We carry your goods with a reliability, care and speed that's as famous as the dependability of the Union-Castle Line itself. Send for full details of Union-Castle freight services and see how we bend.

SEE HOW WE SAIL: Monthly sailings from London and Middlesbrough to East African ports (via Mediterranean) and to Beira (via The Cape). Cargo to Rhodesia can go by rail from Beira or Port Elizabeth.

The going's good by
UNION-CASTLE

Outboard Freight Dept., Greenly House, Greenchurch Lane, London, E.C.3
For details, clip coupon to your letterhead ing, then post:
To Union-Castle Line, please send full details of freight services
NAME _____
POSITION _____



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD to MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and if inducement MTWARA

	Closing	Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	B'head
‡ CITY OF PERTH	—	—	Dec. 20	Dec. 28
† WAYFARER	—	Jan. 5	Jan. 10	Jan. 13
§ TANTALLON CASTLE	—	Jan. 19	Jan. 24	Jan. 27

* if inducement. † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR).
‡ also PORT SUDAN and ADEN.
§ also by arrangement

RED SEA PORTS:—

PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

For particulars of sailings, rates of freight, etc., apply to

THE OWNERS or

THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., (OVERSEAS) LTD., MOMBASA

Loading Brokers:
**STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO.,
LIVERPOOL 2**

London Agents:
**TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD.,
LONDON, E.C.3**