

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1966

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

CONSERVATIVE COMPLIANCE with the dictatorial decisions concerning Rhodesia of a capricious, self-contradictory, publicity-seeking, and power-hungry Prime Minister

### Peace Offensive Against Rhodesia.

ought, we wrote last week, to give place to the overdue duty of critical analysis of his statements, intentions and actions, and exposition of their errors: convenient expediency should be abandoned for principle. While the words were being printed there were debates in both Houses of Parliament and, as the long reports in other pages make plain, the new statement of Government policy on which Mr. Wilson had worked for days came under sharp and sustained attack. Like so many of his pronouncements, it was ambiguous; his answers to major criticisms did little to lessen the confusion, but much to raise the temperature and bruise the spirit of conciliation. What was supposed to be a peace offer was an offensive—in both senses of the word. The Prime Minister went back on some of his own earlier assertions and those of his Commonwealth Relations Secretary, but, fortunately for him, the Opposition, which has been so astonishingly ineffective over the Rhodesian question throughout, was not sufficiently alert to make anything like maximum use of the opportunities which it has been offered by Mr. Wilson's gyrations.

Mr. Heath extracted clarification on two manifestly important issues—that Mr. Smith would not be automatically excluded from those with whom the Governor would discuss constitutional changes, and that there was no longer a plan for a period, short or long, during which Rhodesia would be administered under orders from London. That absurd

notion—absurd because it would have been anathema to all responsible Rhodesians, whatever their attitude to the unilateral declaration of independence—had certainly been talked about for weeks in Government circles, and it had been “leaked” to and discussed by journalists in close touch with Socialist leaders. It was evidently the visit of Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, which made it clear to Ministers that that conception was futile, for the simple reason that Rhodesia had never been under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office and would never accept submission to a Department of State with so appalling a record of folly in Africa in recent years. At least that part of Sir Hugh's advocacy succeeded. It so happened that Mr. Wilson had not expressed himself very explicitly in public on the matter, and that made it easier for him to hedge; but many people in London and in Africa know what he had contemplated. If the idea of sending out former members of the Colonial Service to administer Rhodesia has been dropped, there is still equivocation on other essential aspects of the problem. The present intention is that the Governor should be the real head of the Administration, with advice from an inter-racial council of Rhodesians. As a temporary measure that might prove acceptable if it were certain that power would rest in the hands of a widely trusted Rhodesian, such as the present Governor. Ministers say privately that he will remain in office, but Rhodesians would not trust such assurances from a British Government, which might send out a successor who would be regarded as Mr. Wilson's agent. That risk Rhodesians would not accept. They have governed themselves for forty years, and cannot be expected to submit to dictation from a Secretary of State in London who maybe ill-informed, ill-disposed, impervious to advice, and more concerned with the party line than with Rhodesias' future.

Next, of course, there is the question of Mr. Smith's position. Before Christmas the Commonwealth Relations Secretary assured Parliament that H.M. Government would

**No Longer  
"Untouchable".**

"never" talk to Mr. Smith, and his political chief, who with equal stupidity had referred to "little, frightened men in Salisbury", had to try to rescue his colleague from his predicament. Now, after much hawing, the Prime Minister has to admit that Mr. Smith and his Cabinet are not to be treated as "untouchables", and the Government's spokesman in the Upper House, Lord Longford, conceded that Mr. Smith might serve in a new Government commissioned by Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor. Every responsible person in Rhodesia, irrespective of his personal view of U.D.I., knows the Governor to be a good Rhodesian, sympathizes with him in his unenviable and difficult situation, and expects him to receive from the Socialist Government in Britain enough evidence of the spirit of conciliation to enable him to do what is possible to ameliorate the circumstances. Instead, in this one debate Mr. Wilson referred twice to Rhodesia as a "police State" (which it manifestly is not), to its Parliament as "racialist and semi-Fascist" (no less ridiculous an exaggeration), to "the racialist ideas of the Rhodesian Front" (which is in fact administering Rhodesia's non-racial Constitution), and to "legalizing the swag of illegal action". Do not such words demonstrate that "rancour and recrimination" which the Socialist leader has repeatedly declared to have no place in his Government's attitude? Does he imagine that such insults will improve the prospects of a response from the Smith Government or of a favourable reaction from Rhodesians in general? Cannot he understand that they are much more likely to ask, in the words of Churchill at the time of Dunkirk: "What sort of a people do they think we are?" And, like Britons under German bombs, Rhodesians will be determined that it will be their enemy, not they, who will fail.

Mr. Wilson is, in their view, the enemy, and not surprisingly. His frequent abuse, his insistence from the outset on personalizing the issue, his self-projection as the nation's knightly champion (when he is no more than a calculating

**Mr. Wilson  
The Enemy.**

politician, whose subservience to pan-African extremists was demonstrated again last month by his foolish decision to attend the half-Commonwealth conference in Lagos)—these are some of the recent reasons for Rhodesian mistrust. It is,

however, of long standing. For decades the party which he leads had ardently advocated the idiotic one-man-one-vote system in the fatuous assumption that it would transplant "democracy" to Africa, where tribal cohesion has been built on the precisely contrary principle of strong leadership and firm discipline. Because that simple but basic truth meant nothing to our mainly shallow, vain, unteachable politicians in Britain, a catastrophic pseudo-democracy has in the last few years been thrust into the eager hands of black political careerists in East, West, and much of Central Africa. The result has been dictatorship, mutinies, rebellions, the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Africans by Africans, quickly spreading corruption, and other calamities which have prepared the way for Communist intrigue and infiltration.

Rhodesians, having to live with the results of their politics, were very sensibly determined to have no truck with processes which were doing such immeasurable damage over vast areas of Africa. During

**What Rhodesians  
Will Not Tolerate.**

his visit to Salisbury three months ago Mr. Wilson admitted the rightness—in our view also the righteousness—of the Rhodesian stand when he publicly conceded that government by the African majority could not come by clock or calendar but only as a consequence of political achievement. Had he and his party—or for that matter the Conservatives—said and meant just that some years earlier, Africa would have been spared five rebellions in West Africa since last October; and in the last two years it would not have had to suffer three mutinies in East Africa, which were promptly quelled by British troops; a bloody revolution in Zanzibar, in which at least ten thousand innocent men, women and children were killed in cold blood; a still bloodier revolution in Southern Sudan; indescribable chaos in the blood-soaked Congo; continuing inter-tribal warfare in Rwanda and Burundi; a rising in Zambia which cost perhaps a thousand lives; an abortive rebellion in Malawi; and, of course, prodding by the political leaders of these turbulent member States of the farcical Organization of (non-existent) African Unity for Britain to start a war in Rhodesia—partly because they resent the idea of a successful multi-racial State anywhere in Africa, and partly because they need to divert attention from their own malpractices and failures.

The gravest of all charges to be brought against Mr. Wilson is that he ran away from

the solution when he had reached it, and thereby forced the Rhodesian leaders to regard his words as untrustworthy.

### Gravest Charge Against Mr. Wilson.

Would any man who really meant that he was at last ready to accept the Rhodesian claim that the progressive increase of black African representation in their Parliament should depend upon more and more Africans becoming qualified for that responsibility have failed to settle the issue there and then? That was the crucial test of Mr. Wilson's sincerity. Instead of clinching matters after unburdening himself of his new slogan, however, he flew off to talk to President Nkrumah, than whom Africa has no greater political adventurer or white governed Africa a more vociferous antagonist. True, Mr. Wilson left behind the Commonwealth Relations Secretary; but, after a few hours of futile talk, he also took to the air with the ludicrous excuse that he must attend a Cabinet meeting in London — but he nevertheless found time to break

his journey for talks with the political leaders of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. How in such circumstances could Rhodesians believe that their problem and their needs were the British Government's prime consideration? The only possible deduction was that Mr. Wilson, having conceded the Rhodesian case, had immediately taken fright at his own imprudence and was more concerned to settle with the pan-African extremists who were likely to organize clamour than to sign a final agreement with Rhodesia. By his recklessness he threw away the settlement which could and should have been signed in Salisbury, subject only to ratification by both Governments and Parliaments. It is staggering that this fact has not been driven home by the Conservatives, and that they have allowed this greatest of all Wilsonian follies to fade from public memory. His vacillation at the crucial moment caused the unilateral declaration of independence on November 11. Indeed, no discussion of U.D.I. makes sense unless Mr. Wilson's personal responsibility be stressed.

## Complete Embargo Imposed on British Trade with Rhodesia

### Treasury Warning Against Grant of Credit to Rhodesian Government

**PRACTICALLY ALL TRADE** between Britain and Rhodesia has been banned as from yesterday by two Board of Trade announcements.

The world has also been warned by the Treasury that anyone extending credit to the present Government of Rhodesia, whatever the security offered, may risk losing his money. It is explicitly stated that the "eventual legal Government of Rhodesia" will be under no obligation to recognize and discharge such debts.

No British goods may henceforth be exported to Rhodesia without licence, and "in general applications for licences will be refused", exceptions being made only when it can be shown to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade that the goods are "for the essential needs of Rhodesia Railways, Central African Airways, Central African Power Corporation (which are operated jointly by Rhodesia and Zambia), or for essential humanitarian purposes".

Up to and including February 21, however, previously permissible goods may be shipped to Rhodesia provided they were at the loading berth before January 30 or on the way to the docks at that time.

British exports to Rhodesia last year had a value of about £31m.

The second notice prohibits the import of such Rhodesian goods, mainly manufactures, as had previously not been forbidden, with exemption under special licence of fully-paid purchases by British importers which were in transit from Rhodesia up to January 30. All existing licences held by importers are cancelled.

Imports of tobacco, sugar, certain other foodstuffs, metals, and minerals from Rhodesia, representing about 95% of her exports to Britain, had already been prohibited. The remaining items of which import in now prohibited are mainly manufactured goods, including wood blocks, cotton textiles, and radio sets.

### Treasury Statement

The Treasury statement reads: —

"It should be clearly understood by all persons and bodies, whether public or private and whether inside or outside Rhodesia, that the present illegal régime in that country is not capable of incurring legal obligations on behalf of the Government of Southern Rhodesia and never has been so capable.

"Any person who lends money, or otherwise gives credit to or to the account of the illegal régime, or any agency or purported agency thereof, does so entirely at his own risk. He cannot expect to be able to have recourse for the satisfaction of his debt against any security which the illegal régime may have purported to make available.

"When constitutional government is restored in Rhodesia the lawful Government will not be bound to accept responsibility for any obligations which the illegal régime may have purported to incur, and it cannot be assumed that it will meet them.

"Such obligations include any authorities for the purchase of foreign exchange to discharge debts incurred by any resident of Rhodesia to persons or bodies resident outside Rhodesia."

Press representatives were told that the British Government had especially in mind the Independence Bonds which the Rhodesian Government is about to issue locally.

Official spokesmen expressed the hopes of Ministers that other countries, including in particular the United States, France, and the Netherlands, would likewise order the complete secession of trade with Rhodesia.

They stated that President Kaunda has been eager to suspend all Zambian purchases from Rhodesia, but had been restrained by Mr. Wilson, who was anxious that any such action should be deferred at least until alternative sources of supply made it clear that complete interruption of commerce would not harm Zambia more than Rhodesia. The intention, openly expressed, was that Zambia should give the economic *coup de grâce* some weeks hence.

MR. IAN SMITH received the text of the latest British statement shortly before he was due to leave for his farm, some 200 miles from Salisbury. He drove back next day and said in a broadcast:—

"With God's help, and with courage and determination we shall win through in this contest of wills. We sincerely believe that the spiteful gestures of the Wilson régime will be seen by all to be impotent and futile."

The Prime Minister is reported to have rejected a recent suggestion that Lord Alport, a former Conservative Minister and then United Kingdom High Commissioner to the Federation, who was on a private visit to South Africa, should return to London via Salisbury in order to have private talks as an intermediary for the Wilson Government.

Mr. Smith's refusal to see Lord Alport is stated to have prompted Mr. Wilson's idea of sending the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, an intention which was frustrated by Mr. Smith's stipulation that Mr. Bottomley would be welcome but must observe the normal protocol courtesies.

In the past few days several newspapers have suggested that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, a senior Conservative Minister who has not been directly involved in Rhodesian affairs at anytime, should go to Rhodesia on behalf of the Parliamentary Opposition. While approval of the proposal has been expressed in a number of quarters, Tory leaders do not consider this to be an appropriate moment for such an initiative.

### Britain's Vicious Vendetta

MR. J. J. WRATHALL, the Finance Minister said on Monday: "Rhodesia's financial affairs continue to be conducted in accordance with the laws in force before independence. The new 4½% tax-free three-year £1 Independence Bonds are issued under Rhodesian law and will be serviced and repaid under Rhodesian law. If there is ever any attempt at default it can come only under some law which the British Government may purport to impose on Rhodesia."

MR. I. F. MCLEAN, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, said in Bulawayo:—

"The British Government is waging a vicious and reckless vendetta against Rhodesia, a vendetta not inspired by principle but by political expediency and one man's egotism."

"The Wilson Government cares nothing for moral or material standards, but is bent on destroying Rhodesia's standards, even to the point of introducing chaos and the collapse of an ordered society, which it is prepared to reduce to the notorious level which is the rule rather than the exception in countries north of the Zambezi."

"The Rhodesian Government was soberly but perfectly confident of Rhodesia's ability to weather the storm and emerge stronger than ever, and ready to assume its rightful and merited place in Africa and the world as a bulwark against Communist penetration."

Mr. Brian Stringer, secretary-general of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia, said on the same day that the new sanctions imposed by London were "something of a damp squib, since Rhodesian businessmen have been organizing alternative lines of supply for months."

Spokesmen for the British Motor Corporation and the Ford Motor Company said that stocks in hand and on the water would ensure production at present levels for at least another six months.

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Daily Mail* telegraphed:—

"Britain's decision to cut off all trade with Rhodesia could turn the country into a South African satellite and greatly benefit South African industry."

"These new sanctions came at the peak of an upsurge of confidence in Rhodesia, which followed Dr. Verwoerd's assurance that supplies of fuel from private sources in South Africa would not be impeded. People believe that, as loopholes in the sanctions are found, things will begin to improve and that a more resourceful economy will emerge."

"Rhodesia is getting fuel supplies by various means, and the campaigns in South Africa to get petrol to Rhodesia, now being organised on a large scale, will boost Rhodesia's own clandestine supply routes."

"Businessmen say that exporting and importing are continuing at a level not realized by most people, and that there is little difficulty in negotiating international money transfers."

"The decision of Salisbury City Council to transfer £28m. of insurance from Lloyd's of London to a large South African insurance company has been hailed as the right way to treat Britain. More counter-measures are on the way."

"Further fillips to morale are reports that Mr. Garfield Weston is investing £250,000 in Rhodesia, and of corruption in the Zambian Government."

The *Daily Telegraph* commented:—

"Nobody will suppose that the cutting-off of the remaining 5% of Rhodesia's exports to Britain is going to topple Mr. Smith. If anything could do that, it would be the oil embargo—but there is not yet the smallest sign of this effect. As petrol rationing is tightened, so, it seems, is the régime's hold on the loyalties of white Rhodesians. This is likely to be increased by the last tiny instalment of sanctions; insignificant in themselves, they can be countered as a moral gesture by equally insubstantial stimuli to Rhodesian resistance, such as gifts of oil from South Africa and the Smith régime's easing of import quotas."

### With Mr. Smith Still in the Saddle

"The Rhodesian economy is already on the road to ruin; the additional sanctions can scarcely impel it much faster, but they may help to ensure that it reaches that end with Mr. Smith still in the saddle."

"Mr. Wilson talks as though the sanctions screw can be loosened as easily as it is being tightened. He implied in his statement last week that it would only be a matter of signing a few 'statutory instruments' to restore the Rhodesian economy. But the longer sanctions continue the slower will be the process of reversing their effect—and eventually it might be impossible. Though petrol could be made to flow again in a matter of days, markets for Rhodesia's tobacco, sugar and minerals might be found to have largely dried up."

"By pursuing a policy that would make economic ruin the certain prelude to any political settlement, the British Government risks permanent damage to the interests of all Rhodesians, black and white."

The *Times of Zambia*, controlled by the Government, wrote: "Everybody knows that Britain is making military plans. Mr. Wilson would achieve far more by fighting talk than soft soap. He might persuade the top ranks of the Rhodesian Army to stage a *coup* in preference to doing battle with their British counterparts."

The *New York Herald Tribune* felt that Mr. Wilson had left Rhodesians no choice but to surrender unconditionally or fight it out. The British Government's declaration meant that the Socialist Government would go all out to bring down the Rhodesians.

Mr. George Nyandoro, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, which is proscribed in Rhodesia, said in Lusaka that the British proposal for an interim Government in Rhodesia was "a vague piece of propaganda aimed at evading the establishment of immediate African majority rule."

Z.A.P.U.'s representative in London, Mr. Nelson Samkange, declared that the African nationalist leaders detained in Rhodesia would have nothing to do with direct rule by the Governor in a predominantly white Government.

### Mozambique Oil for Rhodesia

A LIBERIAN TANKER on its way to Beira, reportedly with oil for Rhodesia, was stated to have been intercepted last week by two R.A.F. bomber aircraft and a British warship and to have been "persuaded" to change course. A Greek-owned tanker with 18,000 tons of crude for Rhodesia was then believed to be on her way to Beira.

The orders given to British intercepting vessels and aircraft were not to take offensive action but to obtain and telegraph all details to London, so that persuasion might be exercised through the Government of the country in which each ship was registered.

The Portuguese-owned refinery at Lourenço Marques has built bulk storage tanks near the Rhodesian border, within five miles of Umtali. Petrol is being freely sold to Rhodesians who take it away in drums and other vessels—at 10d. per gallon under the Rhodesian price of 4s. 4d. The Portuguese authorities have waived the duty on petrol sales at Machitanda.

Drums of petrol from the refinery at the coast are being sent to Rhodesia by rail and road.

# British Government's Terms for Settlement with Rhodesia

## Conservative Criticisms Extract Explanations from Prime Minister

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Harold Wilson, told the House of Commons last week:—

"The first aim of the British Government is to bring the Rhodesian rebellion to an end as quickly as possible without lasting damage to the country. To this end, they will maintain and as necessary intensify economic measures with a view to a speedy settlement.

"But it is equally the purpose of the British Government to help the people of Rhodesia, without rancour or recrimination, in making a fresh start towards establishing—in the words of the Lagos *communiqué*—'a just society based on equality of opportunity to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential and from which it could enjoy the benefits due to them without discrimination or unjust impediment'.

"This fresh start must begin with an unqualified return to constitutional rule. It must also engage from the outset the capacities of all Rhodesians of good will in the work of overcoming the fears and antagonisms of the past and of setting Rhodesia on the road to independence in a spirit of inter-racial trust and collaboration.

"The illegal declaration of independence and the subsequent actions of the rebel régime have created a new situation. Rhodesia's future course cannot be negotiated with the régime which illegally claims to govern the country. There is no confidence inside or outside Rhodesia that they could be relied on to lead the country forward to an independence in which racial harmony would be ensured.

*"The Governor is authorized to receive from the régime any proposals about the means by which the rebellion is to be brought to an end. But discussion of Rhodesia's constitutional future must be with responsible persons representing all the people."*

### No Immediate Advance to Majority Rule

"Rhodesia obviously cannot proceed at one step from rebellion to independence. For all the reasons given by H.M. Government repeatedly inside and outside Rhodesia, and as I said at the United Nations on December 16, 'a return to constitutional rule would not and could not mean an immediate advance to majority rule'. That process must be renewed without delay or impediment; but it can come only with time—and time measured by African advancement and achievement.

"Once there has been a return to the rule of law and the Constitution, the British Government will immediately act to reverse the economic measures taken during the rebellion, in order to permit the resumption of Rhodesia's external trade, the reopening of markets for her exports, the inward flow of essential supplies such as oil and petrol, and the renewal of investment and the planned development of the country. The necessary statutory instruments are ready and could be made effective immediately.

"This will be the first step in a period of economic and political rehabilitation during which passions may cool, the economic and social strength of the country may be restored, and the energies of all Rhodesians may be enlisted in the tasks of reconstruction.

"Assuming that there is a speedy and peaceful return to constitutional rule, the best provision for the first stage after this return would appear to be for the Governor to form an interim Government of Rhodesians, responsible to him, comprising the widest possible spectrum of public opinion of all races in the country and constituting a representative Government for reconstruction. During this period, the police and military forces will come under the direct responsibility of the Governor.

"The first responsibility of this interim Government, as of any Government, will be the maintenance of law and order. This will require not only the normal precautions against domestic disturbance and illegality, but also, in the special circumstances of Rhodesia, guarantees to prevent a repetition of the rebellion and to protect human rights. The British Parliament will need to be assured about the adequacy and effectiveness of these guarantees.

"Urgent action will be needed to restore the Rhodesian economy. The British Government will be ready to contribute to the economic needs of the country, and, in particular, to assist in co-operation with other Commonwealth Governments with schemes for the advancement, education, and training of Africans, so that they may as soon as possible play their full part in the development of the country's economic and political institutions.

"Problems of political rehabilitation will also have to be tackled. Persons restricted or detained for purely political reasons will have to be released, provided that they give guarantees that their political activities will be conducted constitutionally. The aim is to create conditions in which, while law and order is maintained, political activities may be conducted in security and freedom from intimidation from any quarter.

### Interim Government May Be Long

"How long this period of interim government may last cannot immediately be foreseen; neither can the date at which parliamentary institutions can be restored.

"Clearly, the period of interim government will last until conditions can be stabilized and the social and political wounds inflicted on the country can be healed.

"The views of the people of Rhodesia will have to be sought on the amendments and changes necessary in the 1961 Constitution to secure a resumption of full constitutional government on the basis of the five principles which have been proclaimed by successive British Governments. To these must now be added a sixth principle, namely, the need to ensure that, regardless of race, there is no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.

"The course of constitutional development in Rhodesia after this towards independence must be based on the implementation of these principles, and it will be necessary in due course to consider the means of ensuring this—for example, by a Royal Commission in preparation for the constitutional conference which will in any case need to be held before independence can be achieved.

"The British Government have maintained throughout that, while Rhodesia is a matter of world concern, it remains a British responsibility, and they continue to accept their full responsibility. They intend to discharge their task in the interests of all the people of Rhodesia.

"The British Government are convinced that there cannot be lasting peace, freedom, or prosperity in Rhodesia until constitutional rule is resumed and the country is fairly set on paths leading to a just and democratic society in which full equality of opportunity is assured, racial discrimination is removed, and the rights of Europeans and Africans alike are safeguarded.

"Every week that passes while the rebellion continues increases the economic and political strains within Rhodesia and makes the eventual task of reconstruction more difficult.

"It now rests with all responsible Rhodesians who have the true welfare of their country at heart to bring the rebellion to an end before it is too late and to support the representative of the Queen in upholding constitutional law in Rhodesia."

### Talk to Mr. Smith

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition: "Is the Prime Minister aware that on this side of the House and, I believe, also in Rhodesia—the great majority of people in Rhodesia—it is believed that the Government ought to be prepared to talk to any in Rhodesia who demonstrate that they want to return to constitutional development, and that that includes Mr. Smith and any of the members of his group?"

"This is necessarily so, because the objective of the economic measures which have been taken, and which we have supported, is to persuade people to change their minds and to return to constitutional rule. To ask otherwise is to ask for unconditional surrender, which can only increase the bitterness and damage in Rhodesia. I therefore ask the Prime Minister to stop hedging on this point and to say that without qualification.

"Secondly, we believe that he should indicate quite definitely and clearly that there will be no question of direct rule from Westminster or through the Governor, and therefore that the statement in the Lagos *communiqué* does not hold good.

"When the Prime Minister included the sentence in his statement that the initial stage was a return to the rule of

law and the Constitution, to which Constitution was he referring? On the basis of his statement there is no Constitution to which the régime can return, and we therefore believe that the Government should indicate that there would be an immediate return to constitutional government with the Governor inviting all those who want to make such a return to serve in it.

"We are agreed that it is right that the offer of help for education and economic purposes should be made to Rhodesia."

### "Swag" Will Not Be Legalized

THE PRIME MINISTER: "When the rt. hon. gentleman talks about 'stopping hedging' on Rhodesia, I hope that that is his new year resolution.

"His first question was whether I was aware of a feeling in Rhodesia, in the House, and in the country that the Government should be prepared to talk to anyone, including Mr. Smith, and that anything else looked like unconditional surrender. I think the rt. hon. gentleman would not want to give the impression that what he was proposing was to give to Mr. Smith and his associates by negotiation what Mr. Smith had tried and failed to take by illegal action. If I have him right, what he is suggesting is that we should now legalize the swag of an illegal action.

"He knows that Mr. Smith is demanding as a condition of talks that we should first recognize the independence of Rhodesia and his Government. That is what Mr. Smith has said. If the rt. hon. gentleman wants us to accept that, he is asking the British Government and the rest of the world who are fighting against this illegal action to accept unconditional surrender to those who have started the rebellion.

"I have made it clear that the Governor is, and has all along been, authorized to receive any proposals from Mr. Smith and either discuss them himself or forward them to us. If those proposals are for a return to constitutional rule, they can be acted upon immediately.

"But if Mr. Smith is going to try and dictate from a position of rebellion—not through anyone except the Governor, because only the Governor is authorized to speak to him—to this Parliament and to this Government, to say nothing of world opinion outside, the terms on which Rhodesia can have her independence, or the terms of her constitutional future, that would be a surrender which we on this side of the House are not prepared to accept.

### Mr. Smith's Present Ideas Unacceptable

"Any proposals on the lines which he keeps airing in public, to say nothing of what he says in private, for a little fiddling with the 1961 Constitution—which he refused to accept in free negotiations, choosing the path of rebellion as an alternative—are unacceptable, because they do not provide a basis on which the future of Rhodesia under the five principles can be assured.

"I certainly agree with the rt. hon. gentleman about the issue of direct rule. There may have been misunderstanding before. It was never intended to be direct rule from Whitehall or Westminster. I think that that is clear from what I have said in the House on a previous occasion, when I said that it might be minutes or hours, depending on the conditions, and that what we had in mind was the Governor and not direct rule. I said that at the earliest possible moment—and I said that it might be minutes—there should be a Government responsible to him which was representative of Rhodesian opinion.

"The rt. hon. gentleman asked which Constitution I had in mind when I referred to a return to constitutional government. At this moment the answer must be the present Constitution, and the present Constitution is the 1961 Constitution, as amended by some fundamental changes to which this House has agreed. That is the proved and legal Constitution of Rhodesia today. That is the position from which the interim Government would start. I have set out the basis on which I think there should be further talks to get the Constitution in Rhodesia under which elections could be held."

MR. HEATH: "In his opening remarks the Prime Minister put into my mouth words which I have never used. While we may be accustomed to this, that does not make it any the less objectionable.

"The Prime Minister said that the Governor was authorized to receive from the régime any proposals about the means by which the rebellion could be brought to an end. The point is whether the Governor is authorized to discuss them with people who wish to return to constitutional rule, including Mr. Smith and his colleagues. That is what we want a clear answer about.

"The present legal Constitution, as the Prime Minister describes it, puts all powers in the hands of the Secretary of State and the Governor, and is therefore direct rule by

the Secretary of State and the Governor, unless the House were to return to the 1961 Constitution, in which case we could have constitutional government, in the Prime Minister's sentence, in its real meaning."

### "Illegal Régime Cannot Negotiate"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "There need be no misunderstanding about this. The rt. hon. gentleman has just quoted the sentence saying that the Governor is authorized to receive from the régime any proposals about the means by which the rebellion is to be brought to an end, and he asked whether that included Mr. Smith. That phrase has always included Mr. Smith. I have made it very clear on a number of occasions. I remember using the phrase 'nuts and bolts' in this connexion. If he wants to discuss the means of bringing the rebellion to an end and arranging what happens about troops, the civil service, the police, and so on, I do not see who but Mr. Smith could make such proposals.

"The next sentence says that discussions of Rhodesia's constitutional future must be with responsible persons representing all the people. The illegal régime cannot negotiate the future constitutional basis upon which there will be a return to constitutional government.

"The last point is that representations from any representative group, covering all opinions, including a member of the Rhodesian Front, provided that he is prepared to return to constitutional rule, would be contemplated. What there cannot be is negotiation exclusively with the Rhodesian Front. Negotiations cannot be on the basis that their racialist ideas will represent the future of Rhodesia.

"But if there were to be a group representing all sections of opinions, a very wide spectrum, it could include a member of the Rhodesian Front if he had forewarned rebellion and was prepared to agree to constitutional rule.

### "Racialist and Semi-Fascist Parliament"

"I was asked 'which Constitution?' I thought that the rt. hon. gentleman suggested that this would have to be the 1961 Constitution for this Government under constitutional rule, more or less from the word 'go'. I have pointed out the difficulties of the 1961 Constitution in previous exchanges in the House. Under the 1961 Constitution one has an elected Parliament. It is not a representative Parliament, but it is elected. That Parliament today would be totally unfit for handling the constitutional future of Rhodesia. It has sat in rebellion. It has promoted, perhaps even forced, a rebellion.

"One could not have a Smith Parliament providing the legislative side of the new Constitution. Nor in my view would it be a reasonable proposition to say that one should then elect a new Parliament on the basis of the present electoral provisions and franchise, or else this reasonable and representative Government under the Governor may become involved in an eternal clash with a racialist and, as we know, semi-Fascist Parliament.

"The interim Government would have executive power. The legislative power would be non-existent, except in so far as this House transferred legislative powers to the interim Government, which we could do under the Southern Rhodesia Act. I think that the House would want to insist on a tight control over questions of human rights and racial discrimination.

"After that there would be consultations throughout Rhodesia to find upon what Constitution free elections could be held, and then a return to full constitutional rule, not only executive but also legislative."

MR. GRIMOND: "Would the Prime Minister make clear beyond all doubt that this is not an offer of negotiation, but a statement of the British Government's aims? The statement makes it abundantly clear that, so far as the future of the country is concerned, the Government are not prepared to negotiate with the present régime. Would the Prime Minister also bear in mind, when looking to the future, that the 1961 Constitution gives extremely inadequate guarantees to Africans and that it would be impossible to go back to that Constitution unless it is amended in a very radical way?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "This was a statement of aims, a spelling-out in greater detail than before of the way in which we think that these aims should be pursued.

"I have said much which I have said before. On two separate occasions in December I spelled out more fully how



we see the interim Government and this very thorny problem of the question of legislative power.

"We cannot deal with an illegal régime anywhere, and the Leader of the Opposition very fairly said this when he was in Rome last week and challenged Mr. Smith on this and other points. I do not think that there is any disagreement about this at any rate. There can be no negotiations with the illegal régime.

"We can consider their propositions for ending the rebellion and give quick effect to them, but the negotiations as to the constitutional future of Rhodesia, even under interim Government, must be with a wider-spread and more representative group of persons.

"The statement of the terms for a settlement goes hand in hand with the tightening of the economic sanctions which occurred before Christmas went further last week, and will in due course be still further tightened."

MR. GOODHEW: "Negotiation under duress"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We are dealing with a rebellion, and the word 'duress' from hon. gentleman opposite is an extraordinary use of the English language. I believe this is the most reasonable course, the only honourable course so far as this country is concerned, and, more particularly, so far as the world is concerned. Some hon. gentlemen think that this is a problem only between Britain and Rhodesia. This is the biggest delusion under which not only Mr. Smith but they too are suffering.

"Mr. Smith can go to Government House at any time he wants; but he will have to get it clear in his own mind that he is going to see the Governor, because he believes that Mr. Dupont is the Governor, or legal representative. He can go to see the Governor whenever he wants; and he has had informal talks with him through Sir Hugh Beadle. No doubt this will go on."

#### Terms Unrealistic, Says Mr. Amery

MR. J. AMERY: "Is the Prime Minister aware that it would be quite unrealistic to believe that he will find any responsible body of Europeans prepared to co-operate with him on the basis of the terms which he has just announced? Can he clarify the reference he made, in the context of the security forces, to the need for certain guarantees? Can he clarify the statement he made about the need for certain guarantees to be given? He was speaking about the security forces. Is he thinking of the introduction of British troops after the rebellion had come to an end?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I cannot agree that it is unrealistic to feel that any responsible body of Europeans could accept these terms. I am not a defeatist about the Europeans of Rhodesia as he is. Is he really telling us that they are, all of them, a bunch of racists who will—"

MR. AMERY indicated dissent.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "His own leader joined with other party leaders before Christmas in referring to Rhodesia as a police State. I cannot believe that the majority of European Rhodesians want a police State and want to impose censorship.

"I cannot believe that the terms upon which they would insist for any breaking up of the rebellion must mean a rejection of these perfectly reasonable 20th century terms. If that is his definition of reasonableness, then it tells us much about him, as it does about the Rhodesian situation.

"Perhaps, because I was reading rather quickly, I did not make myself clear on the guarantees. I think I used the word 'guarantees' twice.

"In the context of security I said that we should require guarantees from detainees who had been arrested under the emergency regulations that they would pursue their political aims on constitutional lines and not have recourse to intimidation.

"The other use of 'guarantees' was in the context that this House would require guarantees about human rights and racial discrimination. I mean that when we delegate what I loosely call the legislative responsibility to the interim Government of Rhodesia I think this House would be right in seeking, as a condition of this, full guarantees about human rights, whether by making it an entrenched reserved position, covered only by the British Parliament, or in some other way."

DR. BRAY: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that his statement will be examined with the greatest interest by many people in Rhodesia who will see it as offering an alternative to the Smith régime, including many former supporters of the Rhodesian Front? It goes

as far as is practicable while maintaining the support of the African majority in Rhodesia."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I hope that my statement will have the effect which my hon. friend has said.

"It may well be that there are some who think that it is perhaps early to be making a statement of this kind, because while the economic measures are biting very deeply and quickly into the economic situation in Rhodesia it is a fact that they have not yet been felt to any great extent by the general public—with the possible exception of the petrol rationing.

"One hopes that this will all come to an end before the sanctions are felt more deeply and make more difficult the job of reconstruction. But there are some who feel that more people will have to be aware of these economic sanctions before that can be accepted. I hope that that is wrong.

#### "If It Is Not Accepted This Week"

"This was meant as a declaration of the terms on which we can return to constitutional rule. If it is not accepted this week, I hope it will be accepted next week, because each week which passes will make it more difficult politically and economically. This statement stands from today as a permanent invitation to those Rhodesians who want to return to constitutional rule as a means by which they can do so."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "I wish the Prime Minister had been with me in Rhodesia this month. He would then have understood the deep distress with which I listened to his words today.

"Surely his words will be interpreted in Rhodesia as meaning that, unless the Smith régime is overturned by internal action, sanctions will be applied to their ultimate and logical limit, with the complete destruction of the Rhodesian economy, leaving behind a legacy of unutterable bitterness which will never be retrieved or eradicated.

"Will not the rt. hon. gentleman, even at this late hour, think again and realize, as anyone who has been to Rhodesia will tell him, that if he does not negotiate with the Smith régime now there is nobody who can negotiate with him in the foreseeable future? By his words today he has condemned Rhodesia and possibly all that part of Africa to the most ghastly tragedy."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am sorry that my words have caused regret to the hon. gentleman.

"It would have been quite impossible for me to be with him in Rhodesia, because I for one, in common I feel sure with most hon. Members—and I am sorry about this, in view of the line which the hon. gentleman has taken in the past—would never have stayed with a Minister who is a member of an illegal régime while it was in illegal rule.

#### "Very Competent Brain-Washing Police State"

"It is not for me to say what pressures were put on. One gets so many reports from inside Rhodesia. But the message with which the hon. gentleman came back—it might have been better if he had perhaps remained more at arm's length from this very, very competent brain-washing police State. But the reports which one gets from other Members of this House who went there, and who did not come so closely into contact with this particular Minister, but met Mr. Smith, give a very different picture of the situation in Rhodesia.

"I agree with the hon. gentleman that it is very difficult. I agree with him that passions are very deep there. I must tell him that one of the main reasons for that is the systematic censorship, slanting of the news, and control of television and radio over a period of two years by the very men from whom he was getting the arguments which he has used this afternoon."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "The Prime Minister has made a personal attack if not on my integrity at any rate upon my sincerity."

MR. SPEAKER: "I listened very carefully to what the Prime Minister said. I do not think that he made any attack on either the hon. gentleman's sincerity or his integrity. It may have been on his judgment. But this is a matter of political argument between the hon. gentleman and the Prime Minister."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "I am very sorry, Mr. Speaker, but, with great respect to you, I cannot accept that. The Prime Minister said that I deliberately submitted myself to propaganda on the part of the enemies of this country. He implied that I made no attempt to see the Governor, Sir Hugh Beadle or anybody else."

MR. SPEAKER: "Order. I hope that when honourable and very respected Members of the House are saying something which is very personal and important to them the House will listen to them in silence."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I am truly grateful. I very much regret what the Prime Minister said to me. I hope he will withdraw the imputations. I assure him and the House that I kept a perfectly open mind

in Rhodesia and saw whom I liked. I was not brainwashed or propagandized in any way whatever."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I made no imputations against the hon. gentleman's integrity or sincerity. I made strong imputations against his judgment. I made strong imputations—and I would do so again—against what I considered to be a most serious error of judgment made by hon. Members in staying with someone who under our law is committing treason. We know that this is perhaps one of the problems of the legal situation, but I believe that it was wrong to do that."

"I never said that the hon. Gentleman did not see the Governor or Sir Hugh Beadle, because I knew perfectly well that he had seen the Governor and Sir Hugh. But I believe that when one comes in close personal contact from the beginning with a person as notorious as the one to whom I referred, this clouds one's judgment. Because of my respect for the hon. gentleman, which I have often expressed in the House, I expressed my deep regret that he should have spoken in this way today. It is a reflection purely on his judgment, which I am sure will be shared by other hon. Members."

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister referred to my hon. friend as having been brainwashed by the person with whom he was staying. Should he not withdraw that?"

MR. SPEAKER: "I have ruled that nothing out of order took place. I let the matter continue so that the personal feelings which arose in the mind of the hon. gentleman who raised it should be cleared by the hon. gentleman. I hope that they have been cleared. No point of order arises."

### Rhodesia's "Reluctant Patriots"

MR. ROWLAND: "Is the Prime Minister aware that any suggestion from any quarter of the House, responsible or irresponsible, that there should be negotiations with Mr. Smith has a profound effect in Rhodesia? It would encourage Mr. Smith to persist in the policy to which he has committed his country. Any such suggestions have to be regarded in this light. From conversations which some of my colleagues and I had with Mr. Smith, the situation is that Mr. Smith is interested only in negotiating something which would ratify the independence which he has seized."

"Is my hon. friend aware that his statement today that any future Government would be comprised of Rhodesians will be treated with the greatest pleasure by large sections of opinion in Rhodesia, not only those opposed to Mr. Smith, but what I call the present reluctant patriots who are going along with him because they know of no other course at present?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The first point about statements made by hon. Members is a very difficult one. I tried to deal

with it in the debate before Christmas. We all welcome the fact that as many hon. Members as are able to go to Rhodesia should do so, although there is always the dilemma of any hon. Member in making pronouncements there, with whatever degree of sincerity, giving the impression that this House as a whole is less than fully resolved in bringing the illegal régime to an end, and, therefore even taking the risk—I know that it would never be taken deliberately or consciously—of stiffening the régime or supporters of it to remain in this illegal posture longer than they would otherwise do."

"I agree that there has been misunderstanding about my hon. friend's second point. It was right to spell out the intention that the interim Government should consist of Rhodesians and not, as some mistakenly thought, of a covey of civil servants sent from this country."

### By Achievement, Not By Date

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "The objective of us all is that there should ultimately be majority rule. The Prime Minister said that the time that this will take will have to be measured by African advancement and achievement. I take it that there is no question of an arbitrary time limit."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes; that is absolutely right. This is really a repetition, which needs to be said again and again, of something which I said on my last day in Salisbury: that one cannot set a date by clock or calendar time. It has to be set by the extent of achievement, particularly the willingness of Africans to come into parliamentary government and to come into ministerial government, and the willingness of others to give them a chance to do it, as well as the point, which both sides of the House have so often stressed, of the need for education and training, particularly training in parliamentary work and in administration."

Appended to the Hansard report of the above exchanges were the "five principles" which were originally stated on November 1 last as follows:—

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

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

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

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

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

## Government Statement Debated in House of Lords

### Conservative and Liberal Peers Express Disappointment and Anxiety

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS the Government statement was read by the EARL OF LONGFORD, Secretary of State for the Colonies and Leader of the House.

LORD CARRINGTON said that the statement seemed to contain nothing new, and to be not at all clear in some respects.

"When it says in paragraph 2 that a 'fresh start must begin with an unqualified return to constitutional rule', what exactly does that mean? To what Constitution does that refer, if it refers to a Constitution at all? Or does it perhaps mean merely a retraction of the unilateral declaration of independence? We should know exactly what that phrase means."

"Does the statement that 'Rhodesia's future course cannot be negotiated with the régime which illegally claims to govern the country' mean that the Government will, or will not in any circumstances, negotiate with Mr. Smith or any of his Ministers?"

#### Is Direct Rule Intended?

"We are told: 'Assuming that there is a speedy and peaceful return to constitutional rule, the best provision for the first stage after this return would appear to be for the Governor to form an interim Government of Rhodesians, responsible to him'. Does that mean direct rule under the Governor? If so, it may well be regarded as an instrument of the British Government. This is very important, as any suggestion of direct rule would, I should have thought, be totally unacceptable to all shades of Rhodesian opinion."

"I imagine that the statement meant to be helpful and restrained and encouraging to moderate opinion in Rhodesia. I must say that I think some of the language used is not exactly likely to achieve that end; nor, indeed, that what

seems to be a demand for unconditional surrender is either sensible or very wise."

THE EARL OF LONGFORD regretted so pessimistic an impression.

Having quoted that "the Governor is authorized to receive from the régime any proposals about the means by which the rebellion is to be brought to an end", he said: "So some discussions are clearly envisaged as possible between the Governor and Mr. Smith and his colleagues as to how this rebellion is to come to an end."

#### No Negotiation with Régime

"The statement goes on to say: 'The discussion of Rhodesia's constitutional future must be with responsible persons representing all the people'. Perhaps I may go a little further and repeat what comes in paragraph 7. It suggests that the best provision for the first stage after the return to constitutional law, or legal methods, would appear to be for the Governor to form an interim Government of Rhodesians, responsible to him, comprising the widest possible spectrum of public opinion of all races in the country and constituting a representative Government for reconstruction."

"So when the noble lord asks whether one could negotiate with the régime, the answer is 'No', in the sense that he has in mind; but, equally, no one is excluded from the plan suggested. It is suggested that the Governor will form a council of representatives of all sections of opinion and no one would be excluded; although anyone who was included in the Governor's Council would clearly have to accept constitutional methods and, incidentally, accept the five, or as they are now six propositions."

(Continued on page 428)

## South African Petrol for Rhodesia

"Send Anything You Like", Says Dr. Verwoerd

MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, in other words, black rule, would lead to chaos and destruction, Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, told the Parliament of the Republic last week.

"I do hope that the British Government will realize that this is not only true of the immediate future but also for some indefinite future time which might come sooner or later than expected, as has happened elsewhere. The British Government's attitude so far has been beyond the South African Government's comprehension. This is probably because Britain does not understand the situation as the South African Government does.

"It is clearly in the interests of South Africa to have the conflict restricted to those directly implicated—the United Kingdom and Rhodesia. It is clearly in South Africa's interests that a solution should be found by those two countries alone. That, in fact, was the attitude taken by the British Foreign Minister when he brought the Rhodesian question before the Security Council of the United Nations."

It was in South Africa's interest to uphold the Smuts principle that she did not allow interference in her affairs; "and if we do not allow that, we must not interfere in the affairs of others."

The Prime Minister recalled that he had been attacked for saying that South Africa would be prepared to send coal to Zambia if it were ordered. But that action would be upholding in practice the principle by which South Africa stood—a fundamental principle to which she would continue to adhere.

### No Party to Boycott or Sanctions

The realistic attitude adopted by South Africa in regard to trade sanctions and boycotts was of great value to Rhodesia. If South Africa had become involved in the conflict, the results would have been unfavourable.

The Government would not prevent South Africans from sending gifts of petrol or oil to Rhodesia, because the prohibition of gifts of whatever kind would be a form of participation in boycotts against that country.

South Africa would not be a party to any form of boycott or restriction on the sale of fuel to Rhodesia. If petrol companies or traders wished to supply fuel to Rhodesia, the Government would not interfere.

South Africa had certain interests at stake herself, such as her transport system. Aircraft of South African Airways flew over Rhodesia. The Government was prepared to see to it that South African interests were fully assisted in the fulfilment of their tasks.

The Government would provide its representative and its office in Rhodesia with what they required. That was South Africa's business.

There had been suggestions in the Press of gifts of commodities to Rhodesia. It was not the business of the Government to interfere. If the Government were to prohibit gifts to Rhodesia of any kind—whether sugar, butter, petrol, or oil—it would amount to the application of a boycott, and that the Government was not prepared to do. Therefore the Government would not interfere with the dispatch of gifts of petrol.

"This is within our rights, and our attitude is clear and unambiguous."

Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, had asked for *de facto* recognition of the Smith Government and the exercise of South Africa's influence with her "true trading partners", Britain and Rhodesia, to reopen talks.

South Africa should not stand idly by while civilization was destroyed in Rhodesia.

## Rhodesia Bound to Win: Mr. Harper Shameful Doctrine As A New Morality

RHODESIA HAS BEEN SAVED from submission to the "shameful doctrine of the wind of change, masquerading as a new morality", Mr. WILLIAM HARPER, Minister of Internal Affairs, said in a Burns' Night speech to the Caledonian Society in Umtali.

The British Socialist Government and the sanctions it had imposed would not defeat Rhodesia.

"Leopold Scharzschild, whose book was made essential reading on the advice of Sir Winston Churchill during the last war, said that in life we have not only to fight to get what we want, but also to fight to hang on to what we have. I cannot think of a better description of the times in which we are living in Rhodesia.

"The issue between ourselves and the British Government is one in which we are bound to win, for we are fighting for our survival as a society, whereas the British Government are faced only with political problems as a result of November 11 actions. If Britain is armed with sanctions, we are armed with the moral strength of our cause. Sanctions could never defeat a people bent on the survival of their society and intelligently led.

"Of course there are people who would destroy us by dividing us. They are around us, some in most influential places. They try to make us unsure of ourselves, and they are constantly trying to destroy the idea that there can be such an entity as European or Western society here. They have sought to integrate the races to a point of revulsion, and destruction of our belief in ourselves, thus making us an easy prey for the Communism that inevitably flows when people become disillusioned with the lack of a protection they expected from a bulwark to the hoped-for safety of their democratic institutions.

"Are we now being taken to high mountains and shown all round us the fruits of making a deal with Britain? The British Government, I am told, are planning a metaphorical 40 day and 40 nights for us before such an operation. But one thing is sure: we need not be for sale if we do not wish it.

### Ignorance About Africa of British Leaders

"One cannot help being appalled at the enormity of the lack of conscience exercised to events in Africa by successive British Governments and their official Opposition. We have just had a performance in Nigeria which beggars description. Here is a country holding a conference of Commonwealth leaders for the express purpose of putting Rhodesia into further difficulties. Those who live in Africa know that, with the odd rare exception, we have to make considerable allowances for African States and their behaviour. Here a trio of Prime Ministers were wiped out, with other shootings by the bushel—all going on under the noses of silly people who are trying to tell us how to run our lives in Africa.

"The ignorance of European leaders about Africa is indeed frightening. I have, grown sick and tired of successive teams of leading British politicians, from Mr. Harold Macmillan onwards, holding up Nigeria as the shining example of an African State. When one reads in a House of Lords report of the Lord Chancellor extolling, pre-revolution, the stability of Nigeria because of the number of its lawyers trained in Britain, it shows how dangerously superficial is the knowledge of the British Government about Africa and Africans. The greatest safeguards are not in law books, but in the hearts of men and the minds of the mothers who bore them.

"I am the first to support that Africans are perfectly capable of running a country for Africans; but if you want a Western society you will have to have Westerners in charge. Good race relations will come only from a practice of natural courtesy and by recognizing differences between races and permitting all to flourish in safety. Doctrinaire British Government policies can play no part in good race relations.

"From years of experience I can say that we shall win, but we shall only win by implacable determination, the sort I so proudly see when Salisbury men and women prefer to walk to work rather than give the British Government the satisfaction of thinking they have the slightest hope of getting us down."

# PERSONALIA

MR. R. M. BLACKBURN has been appointed technical director of Platt Bros. (Sales), Ltd.

GENERAL CHAGAA, Secretary of State for Air in Portugal, is in Mozambique on a tour of inspection.

SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL has taken the title of BARON KING-HALL, of Headly in the County of Southampton.

LORD POLWARTH, who has been elected governor of the Bank of Scotland, visited East Africa a few years ago.

MR. S. ODAKA, Uganda's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Paris last week for talks with French Ministers.

AIR COMMODORE E. JAMES will next week succeed AIR COMMODORE I. N. MACDOUGALL as Air Defence Commander of the R.A.F. in Zambia.

MR. IVO SARAJCIC, Assistant State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Yugoslavia, is spending a fortnight visiting Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania.

MR. BABU, Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanzania, flew to India last week for a nine-day visit. He is then to go to Pakistan and the Middle East.

MR. B. ("BEN") GRINDEY, general secretary of the Public Services Association of Rhodesia since 1955, has retired from that office. The president of the association is MR. P. W. KENNEDY.

LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH, Governor of the Seychelles, his wife and other members of the family were thrown into the sea when their yacht was overturned. They swam to Rat Island, from which a fishing boat took them back to the capital.

SIR ROBERT MENZIES, who was Prime Minister of Australia until he resigned a few days ago, has denied newspaper reports that he had been asked to lead a Commonwealth delegation of Privy Councillors to see MR. SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

DR. J. M. KING, of the Department of Veterinary Clinical Studies at Cambridge University, who has spent three previous periods in Kenya, has been selected to direct a wild-life capture unit concerned with the dart-immobilization and translocation of endangered species and to make research into the reproductive physiology of the black rhinoceros.

MR. DAVID BUTLER, who for a short time before U.D.I. was Leader of the Opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament, returned to Salisbury last week from a holiday spent in England, on the Continent, and in South Africa. He denied having given any newspaper interviews in Britain or held any secret talks, saying that he had only spoken to old friends. His attitude, he said, was that of not wanting to comment on Rhodesia while outside the country.

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London, W.C.1.

BISHOP SABITI OF RUWENZORI was last week installed as ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

MR. H. A. SMITH, chairman of the British National Export Council's committee for exports to Africa, has just visited Zambia and Malawi.

MR. STEWART FITZ-FINNIS, Under-Secretary for Immigration, has retired after 35 years in the service of the Rhodesian Government. He will continue to live in Salisbury.

SIR CHARLES and the HON. LADY PONSONBY are on their way by sea to Rhodesia, where they will stay with SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, the Governor, a brother of LADY PONSONBY.

MR. ANTHONY CAYZER, a deputy chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, has been nominated for the vice-presidency of the Chamber of Shipping. He is a director of Clan Line Steamers, British United Airways, Martins Bank, Caledonia Investments, and Overseas Containers.

THE REV. H. W. BADHAM, area secretary for the Winchester and Portsmouth dioceses of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is to become organizing secretary in South Africa of the Society of Missionary Churchmen. He was an S.P.G. missionary in Portuguese East Africa from 1935 to 1940, and from 1942 to 1945 a chaplain with the East African Forces in Burma.

MR. MICHAEL HADDON has been charged in Salisbury on 12 counts of fraud involving £16,200 in connexion with a mining company of which he is a director. He was remanded in custody until February 9 after the prosecution had said that he had applied for an appointment in Ghana and intended to leave Rhodesia on February 17 for a preliminary visit and permanently by early April. He has acted for the Legal Aid Welfare Committee, which gives assistance to political prisoners.

## RHODESIAN CRISIS

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*Letter to the Editor***Conciliation or Chaos in Rhodesia  
Growing Hatred of British Government***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR,—I was in Rhodesia at the same time as the three Labour Party Members of Parliament whose letter you have published. During my stay I had an opportunity of talks with the Governor, nearly all the Cabinet, Opposition African M.P.s and most of the leaders of commerce and industry. I also visited the African townships and the rural areas.

My appreciation of the situation differs from that expressed by Mr. Ennals and his colleagues in the following respects. Sanctions will begin to bite in March/April, but provided oil continues to get through will not assume serious proportions until July/August. They are, however, having the effect opposite from that desired by Mr. Wilson, as even those Rhodesians who bitterly opposed Mr. Smith and his party have now come together in order to defend their country. It is therefore true to say that, though support for the Rhodesian Front may be lessening, the country is behind Mr. Smith in his capacity as leader of the nation.

I agree that the time has come for a new approach. Rhodesians are now willing to negotiate for a Constitution that would bring them legal independence, realizing that such negotiations would involve concessions. This attitude is not, however, likely to endure, as there is a growing hatred of the British Government, particularly among the young; and in a few weeks' time this could prevent any form of negotiations and have exactly the opposite effect to the "softening up" desired by Mr. Wilson.

What has firmly united the Rhodesian people is their determination to resist Mr. Wilson's suggestion of direct Colonial Office rule. Acceptance of such terms would not only mean putting the clock back 40 years, but would impose on Rhodesia a type of Government that has never before been attempted.

Because Mr. Smith has ended intimidation by Africans of other Africans, he has the support of a large number of Africans, and it is to be hoped that he will soon demonstrate that he has no intention of following the path set by the nationalists in South Africa. It is perhaps ironic that the business community, who were most strongly opposed to U.D.I., are now working hard, and with some success, to mitigate the impact of sanctions on their country.

I would agree with the hope expressed by Mr. Ennals that Mr. Smith should form a National Government, and thus demonstrate quite clearly that it is not possible to drive a wedge between him and the business community.

The effect of the continuation of this dispute on Southern Africa, Britain's fourth largest export market, is already damaging, and the long-term effect on our "invisibles," such as insurance and banking, could be very serious. The cost of the support given to Zambia by the British taxpayer has also to be borne in mind, together with the possible effect which deteriorating race relations could have on the white railwaymen and the miners of the Copperbelt.

I therefore doubt Mr. Ennals' praise for the way in which the Prime Minister has handled the Rhodesian crisis; but I am ready to concede that I may be wrong if Mr. Wilson now decides to negotiate a Constitution for independence. The alternatives to such negotiation are either to continue the economic war until it finally destroys the Rhodesian economy, which process may take much longer than is at present appreciated, or to use force, and so start a war in Central Africa which

would almost inevitably involve other countries and might spread throughout the world.

Conciliation or chaos—these are the choices in front of our Prime Minister. It is to be hoped that he will not continue to misjudge the Rhodesian character, which is a product of British and Afrikaans blood; and, in the face of adversity, the British and the Afrikaaners are two of the toughest races in the world.

Yours faithfully,

PATRICK WALL.

*House of Commons.***"Scrap Sanctions" Meeting**

THE MONDAY CLUB has arranged a meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, this evening at 7 p.m. at which the theme will be "Scrap Sanctions and Talk Now to Rhodesia". Among the speakers will be Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., and Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P. Anyone interested, whether or not a member of the Monday Club, is invited to attend.

**Britain Rebuffed By Rwanda**

THE GOVERNMENT of Rwanda announced a few days ago that it had received from the British Embassy a request that special English language transmissions might be broadcast from Radio Rwanda for the purpose of informing the population of Rhodesia of the British Government's attitude "towards the rebel and racialist régime of Mr. Ian Smith and the measures being taken against it", and that it had replied that it could not consent to the re-broadcast of programmes of unknown content. To make possible the closer co-operation proposed, Britain might instal in Kigali a telex receiving machine which would provide the texts before they were due to be transmitted by radio.

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## House of Lords Debate

(Continued from page 424)

"The phrase 'direct rule', I am told, subject to the Lord Chancellor's opinion, has not any clear legal meaning, and seems to have given rise to misunderstanding. There has been an implication in some minds that a number of people would come out from England and rule the country. It is clear here that the Governor would form an interim Government of Rhodesians."

**THE EARL OF SWINTON:** "Under the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or the Commonwealth Relations Office, or under the Governor without any direction from here?"

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD:** "The Governor of course is a servant of H.M. Government in these matters; but at any rate it would be a Government of Rhodesians. It may well be that the phrase 'direct rule', which may have been employed on some earlier occasion, is not the most happy one to describe what is intended and is set out clearly here."

**LORD REA:** "I would join Lord Carrington and say that I am indeed pessimistic and disappointed."

"It has been a month since we have discussed this matter, and it seems to me that we have not got a single step further forward. One of the last speeches made when we last met was by myself, when I said: 'What are we doing to get it across to the ordinary, normal, loyal Rhodesian what he can do to help to put things as they should be?' There are millions of them. I do not mean only the blacks. There are a great many whites, a tremendous majority, who are not satisfied in regard to this extremely uncomfortable and cruel position."

"No indication whatever has been given by H.M. Government in the whole of this month of what any man is to do. If any of your lordships was a private citizen in Rhodesia, what action could he take?"

"The noble lord tells us that the Governor is authorized to receive proposals. If that is news, it means that a month ago he was not authorized to receive proposals. Is there really any advance? I am sure he was authorized even in December. Nothing has been done—not enough to let the people of Rhodesia know what they can do. Sir Humphrey knows what he can do. He is doing his best. But what about the ordinary people?"

"Has there been no bridgehead made, either from a Government Department or through some other Commonwealth country, or, if necessary, through foreign countries, to let good people in Rhodesia know that we admire them, we like them, and we sympathize with them, and we want to see their house in order as much as they do?"

### Old Idea Clarified

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD:** "I am as disappointed at the observations of the noble lord as I was at those of the Leader of the official Opposition. In paragraph 7 we have this plan for the Governor to form an interim Government of Rhodesians, responsible, and 'comprising the widest possible spectrum of public opinion of all races in the country and constituting a representative Government for reconstruction'. If there is nothing else new, that idea is set out a great deal more clearly than on a previous occasion."

**VISCOUNT DILHORNE:** "I am not at all clear what this statement means about the return to constitutional rule, and I daresay that those who are intended to understand it will be in much the same difficulty."

"As I understand it, the first step to be taken before any progress can be made, is that 'a fresh start must begin with an unqualified return to constitutional rule'. Does that mean, as I think on the language it must do, a retraction of U.D.I.—namely, unconditional surrender? If it does not mean that, it is most important I should have thought that that should be made clear to the people of Rhodesia."

"It is vital to know whether or not the Government are prepared to talk with Mr. Smith. The answer which the noble earl gave does not add any clarity to the statement."

"Is this statement of Government policy one which has the support of the Governor of Rhodesia and the Chief Justice? I regard that as most important."

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD:** "I do not think it would be natural, normal, or in accordance with practice to answer the last question. I cannot say anything about the Governor. Sir Hugh Beadle has been in this country

and has made valuable suggestions. It would be wrong to commit him to these proposals in any way, but I should be much surprised if he was highly critical of them. But I think it would be quite wrong to tie up or associate any great public servant like Sir Hugh Beadle or the Governor with the proposals of H.M. Government."

"The learned viscount was not so acute as usual. Surely it was fairly obvious what was meant by 'return to constitutional rule'? He asked whether it would mean a calling off of U.D.I. That at least, certainly, I am sure that is what he would wish, because he has been as firm as any of us in regard to bringing about that result."

"If he wants to call that unconditional surrender I cannot stop him. But it seems to me that in this situation, if you are trying to persuade someone to undo the very foolish thing he has done, to call it unconditional surrender is not a service. I do not myself think that it is the best way to persuade Mr. Smith to see the error of his ways. I should be anxious to avoid what is only a phrase, and I think a dangerous one."

**VISCOUNT DILHORNE:** "I would point to the frequent use in this statement of the word 'rebellion' and 'rebel régime'. I should not have thought that that was helpful to a solution."

### Mr. Smith Could Serve in New Government

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD:** "I would not think it useful to drag in here the reference to 'unconditional surrender'. A return to constitutional rule must mean the complete cancellation of U.D.I. It follows that we cannot talk to Mr. Smith, except about ending the rebellion, in any negotiating sense while he purports to be the Prime Minister. He is setting himself up as the Prime Minister of a régime without any legal authority at all, and it would be impossible to negotiate with him, or with the régime, in that situation."

**LORD CARRINGTON:** "The Leader of the House would agree that if one is trying to make somebody undo something that was unwise, one must make clear to him one's point of view as to what one is prepared to accept."

"I think that the statement does not make clear what is the relationship between H.M. Government and Mr. Smith. Is it that the Government will not be prepared to negotiate with Mr. Smith until such time as he has retracted the U.D.I., but that, after U.D.I. has been retracted, there is nothing to stop Mr. Smith from taking part in the government of the country, under the Governor or anyone else?"

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD:** "That would, I think, be correct, with this qualification."

"It is the intention that the Governor should call together representative Rhodesians, and no individual, whether Mr. Smith or anybody else, would be excluded automatically. So that in that sense the noble lord has formulated correctly what is in the Governor's mind."

"But, as I said earlier, it must be assumed that anybody who is asked to share in the Governor's Council at that point is himself prepared to accept constitutional rule and the five principles. Therefore, it would not be right to say, in an unqualified sense, that Mr. Smith could serve; but with that qualification he would not be ruled out."

**LORD CONESFORD:** "The noble earl talked about the Governor collecting a responsible Government. Responsible to whom?"

"If they are a responsible Government, what can they do? Are they responsible for government but not under any Constitution, or are they under the control of Parliament here? What is meant by saying that the Governor would consider them responsible citizens?"

"The difficulty we feel is that, whatever else one thinks about Mr. Smith, he is an elected person. Somebody in Rhodesia has elected him. But this proposed responsible Government of Rhodesians will have been elected by nobody at all, but will merely be chosen by the Governor."

### All New Ministers Must Repudiate U.D.I.

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY:** "As I understand it, the interim Government envisaged by H.M. Government here would be responsible only to the Governor. Would this Government responsible to the Governor have also to repudiate U.D.I. before they could be negotiated with? I do not believe that the Governor will find anybody who will satisfy that condition."

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: "The answer would be 'Yes'. It is for the Governor to choose these individuals, and I assume that he would not choose anybody to serve on his Council who had not repudiated U.D.I. It would be inconceivable that he could choose somebody who still stood up for U.D.I."

LORD CACCIA: "To whom is the Governor responsible? My hearing of the noble earl's answer was that he would be responsible to H.M. Government."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "Yes, that is right under the Constitution of 1961, as Parliament has altered it."

THE EARL OF SWINTON: "Is it not clearly laid down in the 1961 Constitution that any theoretical right of interference or direction was deliberately abandoned by law under that Constitution for all time? In place of that, with the assent of all the Africans who took part in the negotiations in London, there was substituted for that theoretical right an absolute provision that the Government here could not interfere. Therefore, if we go back to the 1961 Constitution, which is the sensible thing to do, there would be no power under that Constitution for the Government here to give the Governor of Rhodesia any instructions."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "The noble earl is entirely wrong. The Crown never gave up our right in law to alter the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia."

"But we did consider ourselves bound by a convention that so long as they acted constitutionally we would not, in fact, interfere with their powers under the 1961 Constitution as it was then."

"Of course, Parliament since then, and after the illegal action which the régime took, has in fact made certain alterations in the 1961 Constitution and has suspended other parts of that Constitution; and the legal Constitution as altered or suspended recently by Parliament."

### Sir Hugh Beadle's Visit

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "Are we to have a White Paper giving what was said on both sides in the conversations with Sir Hugh Beadle? It seems to me very difficult to come to sensible conclusions unless we know what Sir Hugh Beadle—who, presumably, speaks also for the Governor—really said during his visit to London."

"Sometimes I have a feeling that we are told just what the Government think is good for us to know. We were told all about the telephone conversation with Mr. Smith, because the Government thought it good for us to know that. We are not being told anything about these conversations."

"I ask the Leader of the House to ask his colleagues to give consideration to whether Parliament does not have a right to know what were the views expressed by Sir Hugh Beadle."

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: "I will of course convey that request to the Prime Minister. But I should be surprised if, with all his experience, the noble marquess would seriously argue that, when a great public servant like Sir Hugh Beadle comes and talks in confidence to the Government, he would expect to see the conversations published. Sir Hugh Beadle also talked in equal confidence to leaders of the Opposition, so this is not a question of only the Government knowing the ideas of Sir Hugh Beadle."

LORD CARRINGTON: "In the interim Government would H.M. Government in the United Kingdom be able to give directions to those responsible Rhodesian citizens through the Governor of Rhodesia?"

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: "When we talk of giving directions, I take it that the Governor would be subject to our instructions, but these others would, of course, be free to join or leave his Government as required. They would not be under Government orders as citizens."

## Party Leaders in Angry Clash Over Rhodesia

### "No Honourable Settlement While Mr. Wilson Is Prime Minister"

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, declared in the House of Commons on Monday that the Government had completely failed to understand the situation in Rhodesia. He complained of Mr. Wilson's "continued abuse of those in Rhodesia", and asserted angrily that "so long as the Prime Minister is there, there can be no honourable settlement in Rhodesia".

Mr. Wilson, equally indignant, referred to "semi-Fascist" resistance in Rhodesia being aided by the hope of division between Government and Opposition in Britain.

#### No Interference with Books and Papers

The Prime Minister had summarized the new Board of Trade and Treasury statements, and added that there was no intention to interfere with the free movement of books, periodicals, newspapers, and films.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, having stressed that the economic ruin of Rhodesia could do no good to anyone, charged the Prime Minister with grossly over-simplifying the problem of restoring the economy if Rhodesia returned to constitutional rule.

MR. WILSON: "My statement last week envisaged that while we were continuing and intensifying the economic measures, making it impossible for the illegal régime to carry on, at the same time I was showing the basis by which there could be a return to constitutional rule. Every time the Opposition intervene it underlines what was clear some months

ago, that they are in favour of these sanctions as long as they are not effective.

"When Mr. Lloyd suggests that economic measures of this kind will stiffen resistance and delay a return to constitutional rule, I ask him to consider that the most potent force in that direction is the statements of some members on this question and the feeling in the minds of the illegal régime that the Opposition front bench are now moving into sympathy with the minds of some of their friends below the gangway."

#### Stop Abusing Rhodesians

SIR ARTHUR VERE HARVEY: "Irrespective of sanctions, is not now the right time to try and improve the relationship between this Government and the Rhodesian people? Would it not be a good thing if the Prime Minister and his colleagues stopped dealing out abuse to the white Rhodesians and tried to get a better relationship?"

MR. WILSON: "There has been no abuse of the white Rhodesians. We are dealing with an illegal régime, and I should have thought that all members in all parts of the House were willing to support a return to the rule of law."

MR. GRIMOND asked what other countries were doing about sanctions.

MR. WILSON: "We already had control of 95% of our normal imports from Rhodesia. This brings it up to 100%, following the action of a number of other countries who have already done that. The sanctions involve a considerable extension in export controls, although because of the financial control at both ends—not least the Rhodesian financial controls—the amount of goods exported from this country to Rhodesia has been falling in any case."

"The United States have followed the line we have taken, particularly in all those cases where we have applied Orders"

in-Council making it illegal to take imports of particular products from Rhodesia. More and more countries are now getting into the state of almost complete control of imports. There are one or two marginal cases, fairly important but small compared with the total, concerning which discussions are still going on.

MR. TAVERNE: "Is the Prime Minister satisfied that these measures cannot be weakened by goods going through South Africa? Is he satisfied that the previous tobacco sanctions have not been avoided by sales through South Africa?"

MR. WILSON: "The attitude of South Africa, as stated by the Prime Minister, is that they are not operating the boycotts but are not providing special assistance either; they are confining themselves to normal and not abnormal trade."

### Buying Rhodesian Tobacco

"There are stories that a number of merchants in various parts of the world are trying to buy up tobacco and store it in Rhodesia, hoping to make a fat profit when exports become possible. They are likely to run into very heavy financial loss if they play that game."

MR. PAGET: "Is the Prime Minister saying that private growers who have sold their tobacco are entering into an illegal contract? Last Tuesday the Prime Minister agreed that the point had now come in which negotiations, if they were to be real, had to include Mr. Smith, at least in his capacity as leader of the Rhodesian Front. If that be so, does it really make these negotiations easier to continue to insult him?"

MR. WILSON: "I was not saying that it is illegal for the Rhodesian tobacco growers to enter into contracts to sell their tobacco to private persons. I was saying that anyone who accepted I.O.U.s. or other forms of credit was taking a big risk for the reasons stated yesterday by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that those who speculate in tobacco might find when constitutional rule is restored that it has been an extremely bad speculation."

"The speculation about Mr. Smith was fully gone into last Tuesday. The real situation must be that we cannot have dealings with the illegal régime. What I said about negotiations was related to a wider spectrum of representation, covering the whole Rhodesian people, of whom a member of the Rhodesian Front, be it Mr. Smith or someone else, might be one."

MR. HUGH FRASER: "Will the Prime Minister look at the position of missionary societies and others who are not receiving their due in Rhodesia? There have been statements that missionaries are receiving only 75% of what they had last year."

MR. WILSON: "We are following this closely, and arrangements have been improved. Not only the missionaries but also the churches in Rhodesia have shown great courage—and paid a high price in consequence—over the action of the Rhodesian Front and the propaganda against them, for what they have done."

MR. SHARPLES: "Will the Prime Minister confirm that the Board of Trade is issuing instructions to firms which formerly traded with Rhodesia not to have contact with their opposite numbers? There are many in other quarters who are able and willing to take this up."

MR. WILSON: "Yes, but the numbers of those said to be able and willing to take our place are vastly exaggerated. The amount of substitution is very small indeed."

MR. EDWARD HEATH: "The Prime Minister has given no reason whatever for taking these particular measures at this particular time. Will he confirm that they are in no way the consequences of the visit of Sir Hugh Beadle?"

### Complete Failure of Psychological Understanding

"If these measures are of the importance which the Prime Minister has tried to indicate, why has he not taken them before? If they are of only marginal importance, as he has indicated today, why take them at this particular moment? Does it not indicate a complete failure of psychological understanding of the present situation that the Prime Minister should put forward a so-called peace offer and then follow up with these minor measures when the major economic measures have already been taken?"

"As a result of his behaviour in the House today and his continued abuse of those in Rhodesia the House and the country are rapidly coming to the conclusion that so long as the Prime Minister is there, there can be no honourable settlement in Rhodesia."

MR. WILSON: "If I had known, after the equivocal three-way split of the Opposition, that they wanted sanctions brought forward more quickly, we would have seen what we could have done about them; but they had to be properly prepared."

"It is necessary to deny to the illegal régime the munitions of rebellion. I thought the rt. hon. gentleman understood this. These additional sanctions will help to do that, while at the same time putting forward views on the basis on which Rhodesia can return to constitutional rule."

"The only thing in Rhodesia standing in the way—or which did stand in the way—of a diminution of the right wing and semi-Fascist resistance there, the hard core rallying round Mr. Smith—was their belief because of the arguments of Mr. Heath, delivered with increasing heat every time he gets to his feet, that the Conservatives were taking a different view from the Government of this country. This is the one thing they are clinging to—perhaps less after last Thursday, when they intervened from Rhodesia, with leaflets printed in Rhodesia, in the Hull election."

"We will not get very far with these exchanges across the floor of the House. If the rt. hon. gentleman's heat and feeling really represent his sincere views, and are not an attempt to play to those below the gallery, perhaps the next step should be discussions through the usual channels to debate the motion of censure which I am sure he is ready to put down."

### Prime Minister's Irresponsible Challenges

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister constantly displays an inability to deal with the real points which are being put seriously from this side of the House by irresponsible challenges to the Opposition to put down motions which would break any sort of bi-partisan approach. If the Prime Minister was in earnest in his desire to see a national policy, he would refrain from this continued abuse. [Loud Opposition cheers, Ministerial cries of dissent, and a shout of 'You can't take it!']"

THE SPEAKER: "Order, I hope we shall allow the duellists to fight it out themselves."

MR. WILSON: "These are not related to the visit of Sir Hugh Beadle. We were working on additional sanctions before Sir Hugh came. This was widely understood."

"So far as the rt. hon. gentleman's last outburst is concerned, the position is that of course we have sought, and we have very often had, support to secure a bi-partisan approach. I think his position has been made intolerable by some of his rt. hon. and hon. friends. But any pretence that he has been supporting the measures which we have taken disappeared when a considerable section of his party voted against our measures in December and when he and the whole of his front bench abstained."

### More Criticisms of Mr. Wilson

POWER has gone to Mr. Wilson's head, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Heath, said at the week-end.

Sir Spencer Summers, M.P., said in Chesham that sooner or later the British people would realize what a mess Mr. Wilson has made of the Rhodesian affair. If he was waiting to 'topple' Mr. Smith, he had a very long wait ahead of him.

Mr. Quintin Hogg, M.P., said that it was a fantasy, for Britain to think she was aiding under-developed countries. The humiliating truth was that "Britain under the Socialists is in receipt of more aid than India, Pakistan, Egypt, and Ghana put together."

Sir Gerald Nabarro, a prospective Tory candidate, speaking of deep splits in the party, referred to "Tory oil sanctioners backing Wilson, a larger bunch of anti-sanctioners flat against it, and Mr. Heath and his Shadow Cabinet in the centre."

Mr. Eric Lubbock, Liberal Chief Whip in the Commons, said on Saturday that Mr. Wilson would be encouraged by the Socialist victory in the Hull North by-election in his belief that publicity was a substitute for policy; that the important thing was to give the impression of frenzied activity all the time.

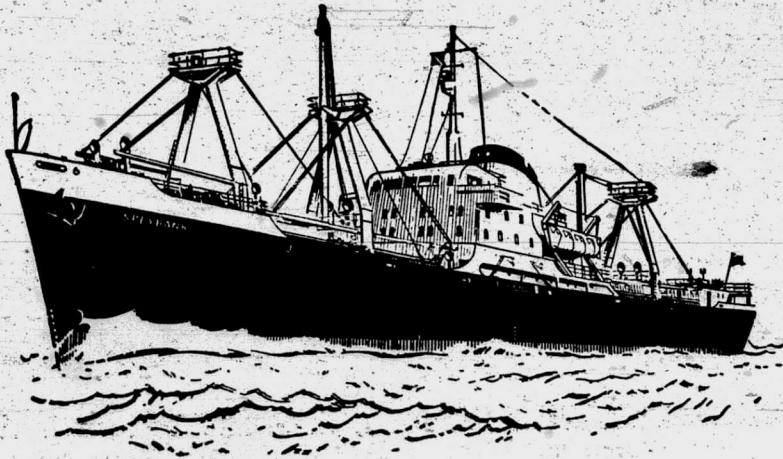
In a leading article, the *Observer* suggested that the Government "could come unstuck over confusion in Rhodesia."

"If there is to be a rebellion in Rhodesia, it should start with the police, the army, the judiciary, and the civil service, not with civilians"—Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda.

"It is wrong to interpret the Lagos Conference decision as giving the British Prime Minister several months' grace to test the effectiveness of sanctions against Rhodesia. Mr. Wilson is working on weeks rather than months"—Mr. Sam Odaka, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Uganda.



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## Would Follow Scorched Earth Policy Britain Being Prepared for Use of Force

**A**FRO-ASIAN PRESSURES upon the British Government would render impossible its latest ideas for Rhodesia's future, Mr. Pieter Van der Byl, Deputy Minister for Information, said last week when addressing the Salisbury branch of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries.

He referred to the British Prime Minister as a highly dangerous, ill-informed, and conceited little man, who would use military force against Rhodesia if he thought he could get away with such a plan.

The Minister said (in part):—

"On the assumption of independence it was forecast that there would be massive defections from the civil service, and that certain senior members of the service would not carry out orders from the Government. How confounded the enemy have been in all this! Nobody now disputes that the Army, Air Force, and Police are 100% Rhodesian, and 100% dedicated to prosecuting the affairs and the benefits of this country. The civil service, consisting of over 13,000 people, men and women, black and white, has stood firm as a rock behind the Government and carried out loyally and dedicatedly its functions in the normal manner.

"Wilson has now flatly refused to have any dealing, negotiations, or talks with the Prime Minister or with Mr. Smith's Government at this time or in the future. He was at one time of the opinion, and perhaps still is, that there are in Rhodesia many of what he described as 'good chaps' who would unite somehow under the aegis of Sir Humphrey Gibbs and form an alternative Administration to the present Government with which the British Government could deal and bring about what they term their interim direct rule from Whitehall, prior to what they further describe as unimpeded progress to majority rule.

### Britain's Bad Intelligence and Bad Judgment

"Even if a fairly large segment of the population were to go against the Government or lose their will to resist—and I don't believe they ever will—how would this situation be brought about with the armed forces and the civil service taking their instructions unquestioningly from the Government and carrying out the policy of that Government?"

"One can only conclude that Mr. Wilson means that this should be brought about by some form of *coup d'état*. Some of the people whose names have been mentioned as possible protagonists in this exercise are not made of the particular stuff which is required for turning out in the middle of the night with a pistol. But the idea throws light on one of the most dangerous and serious aspects of the whole affair—the lamentably preposterous information on which the British Government is basing its policy and activities.

"The deductions they draw even from accurate information are without exception very inaccurate indeed. There is a great and very dangerous lack of intelligence in the present British Government. Harold Wilson yesterday in the Commons paid me the somewhat dubious compliment of describing me as a highly competent brain-washer. My difficulty is to find the brains to wash in the present British Government.

"Sanctions will never bring Rhodesia down. Mr. Wilson, a highly dangerous, uninformed, and conceited little man, first said sanctions would not be imposed. Then he imposed them. He said that serious consideration was not being given to an oil embargo against Rhodesia. Then he imposed it. He now states that force will not be used. But there appears to be a clear shift away from this attitude since the Lagos conference.

"I believe that Mr. Wilson will be prepared to use force to settle the Rhodesian issue if he thinks he can get away with it. Every one of us should realize exactly what we have got to prepare for.

"The left-wing and liberal London Press started at least a week ago a steady campaign of slowly but surely conditioning the British public to the acceptance of the idea of the use of force in the Rhodesian issue. Those who scrutinize the London Press, as we do in the Ministry, realize that this is taking place. One must also not disregard the statement by the Prime Minister of Singapore at the time of the Lagos conference that he was very much against the removal of British troops from the Far East for duties in Rhodesia.

### "Wilson Will Stick At Nothing"

"In ceaseless conversations with the visiting Members of Parliament I came to the conclusion that Wilson will stick at nothing, including the use of force, to settle this issue, to crush this country if he believes that he can get away with it. Of course it would only be used if he believes that morale, disunity, division in this country would be such that he would merely have to put in a small force for the whole country to collapse—in other words, that he could come in quickly and in a short time deliver the *coup de grâce*. This is Napoleonic in conception; but there is no Napoleon, just this dangerous little man playing with issues which are too big for him.

"There is no alternative whatsoever to our present independent Rhodesia except native nationalist African rule. There will never be any question of an interim Government, or a régime run or directed from Whitehall, protecting the European from the immediate vicissitudes of an African nationalist majority Government. The Afro-Asians, the Communists, the Socialists, the left-wing Liberals and all the rest of them are dedicated to the proposition of black majority government in the whole of Africa in the shortest possible time. This is the fact of the matter, whatever they may say for the sake of short-term political expediency. This is their philosophy and their belief—a powerful African nationalist Government now.

"Mr. Humphry Berkeley, a member of the Conservative Party, said quite openly the other day, that he visualized an interim Government consisting of nobody of the present Government, which does after all represent over 90% of the electorate of this country, and including such people as Nkomo, Sithole, and other African nationalists. Could anybody believe that, if a régime of that sort were instituted, it would go gently along for a period of years while the country adjusted itself to the fact of an African nationalist majority?"

"We Rhodesians are resolute to stick at nothing in the defence of our integrity and our existence. Does Harold Wilson believe that we, who like others of our friends, are the descendants of Agincourt, Dunkirk and Passchendaele, have any less resolution than they? He had better realize that we have at least as much resolution as the Russians had when they retreated before the German armies in the last war, and if the Russians were able to effect great, discomfite and enormous hampering operations by a scorched earth policy, let no-one believe that we are not capable or willing to do precisely the same here.

### No Installations Would Be Left Standing

"If we were attacked, let Wilson know that we would defend this country to the very last, and that no installations or amenities would be left standing. The whole lot would be reduced by a scorched earth policy. This must be the temper of our resolution. Once he clearly realizes it I don't believe that he would ever dare to send British troops or anyone else into this country.

"The war, I believe, will remain economic. This is the time to manufacture more products locally. In my constituency a textile factory is seeking ways to expand production, to provide all sorts of materials and cloth that were never made here before either for export or internal consumption. That kind of thing is being done all over the country.

"Rhodesians realize that British Government guarantees are hollow and not to be trusted, for the simple reason that the Afro-Asian bloc within the Commonwealth is applying pressures on Mr. Wilson and would not let him get away with his suggested interim Government of all races. Immediately this was implemented African leaders, followed by the Communists, would howl for majority rule. It would be the Afro-Asian States which would decide the time factor, not the British Government. It is with this knowledge that Rhodesians treat all Wilson's statements and suggestions with distrust; and it is for this reason that the Rhodesian Government cannot see the benefit of talking or trying to come to terms with the present Wilson régime."

## Basic Misconceptions About Rhodesia

### General Ignorance of British Newspapers

**BASIC MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT RHODESIA** by the British Parliament and British Press have been examined by Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, in a long and important article in the *Spectator*.

The "general ignorance" of United Kingdom newspapers, in Sir Edgar's view, "one of the most striking facts about the Rhodesian crisis".

He wrote, *inter alia*—

"The picture commonly painted is of a white community who have gone out from Britain to seek a more graceful and affluent existence in Central Africa, but have omitted to fall into line with their counterparts elsewhere in East and Central Africa. Nothing could be farther from the truth. At the last census only 27% of the white population had been born in Britain. It would be far nearer the truth to describe Rhodesia as an outpost of South Africa.

"It has been suggested that after the collapse of the Smith régime there must be a temporary return to colonial rule. This is complete nonsense. Rhodesia has never been under colonial rule. From 1890 till 1923 Rhodesia was administered by a chartered company, and from 1923 onwards has been a self-governing Colony in which the powers of the British Government over internal affairs have been limited to a few subjects, and those purely negative. Those powers were terminated by the 1961 Constitution.

"The British Government plainly believed that economic sanctions alone would topple the Smith régime. This calculation was based on the misconception of the nature of the white Rhodesian population. Sanctions are no more likely to produce a change of Government in Rhodesia than in Cuba.

### Chaos, But No Change of Heart

"They may in the long run, if ruthlessly administered, completely destroy the interlocked economy of all Central Africa and produce chaos. They may over a long period of time drive out most of the European inhabitants. They will not result in a political change of heart amongst whites or blacks.

"These basic misconceptions have led the two major political parties in Britain into adopting a bi-partisan policy of imposing sanctions. The idea was that white Rhodesians, in the face of severe sanctions, would return to constitutional paths and that it would be possible to reinstate the 1961 Constitution with additional safeguards against abuse. A moderate multi-racial Government could be appointed by the Governor, an aided programme of African advancement could be undertaken, and in due course majority rule could be brought about in an orderly manner.

"This plan never had any chance of success. It was based on utter ignorance of local conditions. Sanctions have rallied the moderate Europeans behind the Government, and it will not fall until there has been a total economic collapse.

"Africans, after three years' experience of the Smith Government, would never accept another white-dominated Government of Rhodesians. Rumours in the British Press that certain individuals of high standing were prepared to take over from Smith never had any foundation in fact. They would have been regarded as "quissings".

"The next Rhodesian Government will be white supremacist if sanctions fail, or black supremacist if they succeed. The multi-racial and still more the non-racial approach is no longer practical politics.

"The basic error in British official thinking is that they believe political and racial attitudes can be altered by economic pressure. They have forgotten what they would have done to anybody in 1940 who had suggested that they must give in to Hitler because otherwise they would be subject to sanctions and shortage of petrol.

"Another major misconception is that the Rhodesian problem can be treated in isolation from the affairs of the rest of Central and Southern Africa. Only since U.D.I. has there been any realization that economically Rhodesia and Zambia have been Siamese twins since long before Federation.

"Mozambique never gets a mention, yet Mozambique could not survive if an African nationalist Government took over in Rhodesia and would be utterly ruined if the Rhodesian economy collapsed. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence over the fact that there is a large oil refinery at Lourenço

Marques, and there is obviously nothing to prevent refined oil products being continuously railed to Rhodesia.

"There is no mention of the aim of the African nationalist leaders to overthrow white government throughout Southern Africa. The Rhodesian U.D.I. has temporarily gained them the effective help of Britain and the West in achieving their objectives in Rhodesia and Mozambique. They will expect similar help against South West Africa and Angola before long. The final campaign against South Africa will be opened as soon as the others have fallen. If sanctions fail against Rhodesia, the African States will turn to the United Nations and probably to the Communist States for aid in their campaign against the white Governments of Southern Africa.

"Sanctions will destroy the Rhodesian economy before they topple the administration; and this process is not likely to be speedy. The Smith Government cannot negotiate except on the basis of recognition of its independence. The British Government committed itself at Lagos to the overthrow of the Smith régime.

### Incompatible Views of Tories and Socialists

"Most Conservatives want early negotiations for a settlement and are entirely opposed to the unlimited commitments for Britain which would be opened up by a period of direct rule. The two approaches are quite incompatible. If sanctions are fully effective, some form of direct rule will be inescapable after the collapse of the economy; therefore the Conservatives are really committed to seeing that sanctions do not produce this effect.

"Therefore the Rhodesian crisis will become a major political issue between the parties, and it is highly probable that the whole issue will pass from the hands of Britain to those of the U.N., and that a complete breach will take place between Rhodesia and Zambia, resulting in the closing-down of the copper mines for the duration of the crisis.

"The British Government has pledged itself to continue the destruction of the Central African economy until the Smith régime falls. It has been obvious along to those who know Rhodesia that a complete collapse of the economy will come before the fall of the régime, it at all. If Britain goes back on her determination now, the full wrath of the African and Asian continents will be turned against her, and the scorn of her Western allies who have backed sanctions at her request.

"Britain must either surrender to Smith with an agreement which will include some face-saving clauses or go on to destroy the political and economic stability of Central Africa for a generation—unless a completely new approach is made which can safeguard the legitimate interests of both races. The only solution which can maintain a bi-partisan policy in Britain and satisfy justice to all the people of Rhodesia is an Act of Union between Britain and Rhodesia".

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learned to trust

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**Atlas** ROLLER MEAL

**Rhomil** STOCKFEEDS

## Vice-President and Ministers Removed

### Major Changes in Zambian Government

PRESIDENT KAUNDA, under the pressure of financial and other scandals, has had to drop Vice-President Kamanga, Mr. Mundia, Minister of Labour, Mr. Nalilungwe, Minister of Commerce, and Mr. Andrew Banda, Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government.

The Vice-President, who led the Zambian delegation to the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos last month, and who is widely believed in Zambia to have opposed President Kaunda in and out of Cabinet, is to go to New York as leader of the Zambian delegation to the United Nations, supposedly for six months. The post has hitherto been held by a former schoolmaster and minor politician.

Some months ago Vice-President Kamanga's name was freely mentioned in Zambia in connexion with an affair of which no report appeared in the local Press.

### Political Influence for Personal Benefit

On the day previous to the announcement of Mr. Kamanga's removal, Dr. Kaunda stated that he had accepted the resignations of two members of his Cabinet and a junior Minister, all of whom had used their influence to obtain Government loans for businesses in which they had undisclosed interests.

The two Ministers are of the Lozi tribe, two other members of which, the Wina brothers, hold portfolios of Finance and Local Government. Mr. Sikota Wina is in America, but other Lozi are stated to have demanded action against the Vice-President if their tribal colleagues were to be sacrificed for the financial transactions.

One of the companies concerned, which dealt in timber, is now in liquidation. A court case is expected. About £118,000 is understood to be involved altogether.

Before President Kaunda announced the above changes the police guards were strengthened at State House, the British High Commission, and the residences of all Ministers and of the British High Commissioner. Sixty members of the police mobile reserve were brought from Kitwe for the purpose under British officers.

At that stage a Government spokesman in Lusaka said that two Ministers were likely to be dropped "because they have proved ineffectual".

President Kaunda, however, said: "I will not tolerate Ministers using their political influence and executive powers to obtain personal benefit. Ministers cannot go into the market-place and expect to remain servants of the State".

## Uncivilized Imposition of Sanctions

### Cornish Protests to Prime Minister

MR. LESLIE HICKS, of Newquay, Cornwall, has written to the Prime Minister:—

"Many of us down here in Cornwall are disturbed and much saddened by the policy instituted by your Government and directed against Rhodesia. We meet for free discussion of the problem and I am asked to forward to you a copy of a message we have sent to the people of Rhodesia through their Prime Minister.

"We have studied papers from many sources covering the negotiations which took place, and, if we are true to our consciences, we must express our conviction that the policy of the United Kingdom cannot react to the good of all Rhodesians, whatever their colour, race or creed. Our small efforts to present the whole picture will perhaps cause you little or no disturbance, but you should know that the whole country is not behind you in this matter.

"We are not in the slightest degree disloyal to our own country, and are motivated by one over-riding consideration—the saving of a prosperous, energetic, and valuable member of the Commonwealth by a policy of fair play for all its citizens through gradual progress towards 'majority rule', encouraged and helped by Britain, without interference or pressures from other sources either within or outside the Commonwealth.

"We appreciate that you and your colleagues face a most difficult problem and, whilst we congratulate you on your avowed intention not to agree to the use of force, we urge you to bring to an end the attempts to compel a dignified nation to its knees by sanctions which will also impose great financial burdens upon the people of our own country, and to use all the powers of statesmanship you possess to settle the

matter by direct negotiation with Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of the elected Government of Rhodesia".

### Sanctions Deplored

MR. REX LOMAS, of Mevagissey, had signed the letter to the Prime Minister of Rhodesia. It read:—

"As chairman of a meeting of members of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society and others held in Perranporth, Cornwall, I am privileged to be able to carry out the unanimous wish of those present to send you, sir, your family, your colleagues, and to all the people of Rhodesia our very best wishes during this period of trial.

"We deplore the uncivilized imposition of sanctions, bringing hardship to people of every colour, race and creed in your country, and will, by all means in our power, endeavour to persuade the British Government to discontinue this evil practice. We shall also oppose any suggestion that force against your people be threatened or used.

"We shall continue in our efforts to put a full and true picture of the situation, past and present, and your intentions for the future before as many people as possible, the majority of whom will have had no opportunity to hear and study your point of view, which has the unqualified support of very many citizens of the United Kingdom.

"We pray that the common rules of civilization will prevail, and that a solution acceptable to and in keeping with the dignity and rightful aspirations of all your people may soon be found.

"It is my pleasure to sign this message on behalf of your many friends and well-wishers in Cornwall".

## Will Sir Humphrey Gibbs Quit?

A SUGGESTION that Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, wants to be relieved of his post because of the British Government's policy of driving Rhodesia into unconditional surrender was made the main news story by the *Sunday Express*, which ran headlines across six of its eight columns.

The dispatch from Salisbury said (in part):—

"Sir Humphrey and his close friend Sir Hugh Beadle firmly believe that Mr. Wilson must relax his ironclad attitude in order to allow a start to be made in negotiations to end the crisis. They are just as strongly convinced that Mr. Smith, who has the support of 80% of the white Rhodesians, is the only man with whom the British Government can negotiate.

"Since Mr. Smith proclaimed independence on November 11, Sir Humphrey has continued to serve as Governor and to display unflinching loyalty to the Queen, uninfluenced by the feelings of his many friends in Rhodesia who support the Smith Government. Today Sir Humphrey is just as convinced as ever he was that Rhodesia must return to the rule of law.

"He is a Rhodesian farmer. He has been in the country since 1928. His family is Rhodesian. Like most Rhodesians, he is distressed at the effects which Mr. Wilson's sanctions policy is expected to have in the next few months.

"He believes that Britain must overlook no possibility of getting peace talks started. He is not prepared to go to the extreme of publicly criticizing Mr. Wilson, but friends say he is now uncertain if he can help Rhodesia by remaining at his post while British policy is completely against negotiations with Mr. Smith.

"A close friend of Sir Humphrey summed up his attitude for me: 'He is faithfully carrying out his duty to the Queen. He is also determined to serve Rhodesia to the best of his ability. He wants an end to this terrible crisis'".

## U.S. Still Buying Rhodesian Chrome

CHROME ORE from Rhodesia is still entering the United States, the two largest buyers, Union Carbide and the Vandanium Corporation of America, both of which own chrome mines in Rhodesia, having declined to engage in a voluntary boycott. At the week-end, however, the State Department announced that it had "requested American importers to honour the British ban on a voluntary basis". Senior representatives of both groups have recently visited Salisbury, and the State Department professed optimism that "when they have seen the situation they will come back and tell us that they can go along with us". U.S. imports of Rhodesian chrome have been worth about £2m. annually.

## "Just You Wait, Henry Higgins"

### Mr. Wilson's Unchristian Malignity

SIR ALAN HERBERT wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* : — "I do not know how much truth there is in the story of the American who looked at a Picasso and said: 'I shouldn't like it, even if it was good'. Even if we — or Mr. Wilson — 'win' over Rhodesia, most ordinary men will feel ashamed of the way we won.

"I am shocked by the unchristian malignity of Ministerial utterances: 'Ha, ha! they don't know what's coming to them!' etc. I see Mr. Wilson as Eliza Doolittle, hissing with bared teeth: 'Just you wait Henry Higgins; just you wait!'

"He petulantly complains of the 'intolerance' and 'boorishness' shown to his clumsy supporters in Salisbury. What does he expect from free Britons who for months have been called traitors, brutes, and thugs, and are now to be stripped and starved — red carpets?

"A year ago Mr. Wilson talked this country into an economic crisis. Now he has talked the world into a Rhodesian crisis, and is working hard to make it worse. Now, when 'Colonialism' is an eleven-letter word, we are, it seems, at vast expense, to impose it on a country which has never been a Crown Colony. We are to cancel a Constitution which we created (and saw that it was good) only five years ago, in order to make new genuflections to 'One Man One Vote' — which even here is only 16 years old, and in Africa has as much virtue as 'One Man One Baby'.

"Has our helpful friend Mr. Lester Pearson thought all this but? Canada owes her Constitution to the British North America Act, 1867, and her independence to another British Act of Parliament, the Statute of Westminster, 1931. She has racial troubles too; she has a large discontented minority; she has barbarous divorce laws, which for constitutional reasons cannot be changed.

"Suppose our wise Wilson the Conqueror decided it was time for a change. Technically, I believe, there is nothing to prevent us from changing Canada's Constitution for the benefit, as we might think, of the Provinces, and even modifying the Statute of Westminster. How would Mr. Lester Pearson like that? And, of course, if Canada gave trouble, we could get the United Nations to take a hand! "In any other free country in the world, after two months of orderly rule, we should have recognized the *de facto* Government and discussed the future in a civilized manner. Let us stop spitting and starving".

### Africa Mistrusts Mr. Wilson

MR. EVELYN KING, M.P., wrote : —

"It is necessary to be — as I have just been — in Rhodesia and other African States to assess the degree of mistrust of the Prime Minister now felt among Africans from Cape to Cairo.

"In the General Assembly of the United Nations African delegates walk out in disgust. President Kaunda keeps the Minister of State kicking his heels for 24 hours before he condescends to see him. Other Commonwealth States break off diplomatic relations. Tanzania insists that the White Ensign be lowered before a British frigate enters port.

"In Lagos Commonwealth representatives, including Australia, refuse to attend. With a Nigerian in the chair, Mr. Wilson is abused by Sierra Leone and put on probation by Canada. Britain is humiliated.

"So far as Rhodesian Europeans are concerned, all sections of opinion regard him without respect and call us 'the Brits'. It is the only point on which left and right unite.

"Like a weathercock the Prime Minister has yielded to every pressure, undone years of patient work, and reduced British prestige in Africa.

"He induced Parliament to pass an unprecedented Bill assuming direct responsibility for the Government of Rhodesia. That responsibility is used deliberately and as a matter of policy to create havoc, disrupt trade, and spread hunger, it may well be to the point of famine. The damage done is lasting.

"Despite all this I have up to now not opposed sanctions, and because I thought Mr. Wilson wanted to reach agreement I sought when I saw him to persuade Mr. Smith, and his Ministers, to make reasonable concessions. My belief is that they are willing to concede all, and more than all, that Mr. Wilson sought on November 10. Mr. Smith has seen

the Governor six times since the unilateral declaration of independence. Other intermediaries have tried and they have met a blank wall.

"I returned to hear Mr. Wilson in his deplorable statement of January 25 setting out terms which neither Mr. Smith nor I believe the Governor nor Sir Hugh Beadle nor any other responsible Rhodesian would be willing to contemplate. For many of us that statement represents the parting of the ways.

"The indiscriminate imposition of hunger and famine is in any event a horrible weapon. If it is to be used frivolously, then I for one can support it no longer. The blame now rests as squarely on Mr. Wilson's shoulders as on Mr. Smith's. It is inhumane and it no longer serves any British interest".

### Hell Hath No Fury-Like A Wilson Spurned

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW, M.P., chairman of the Conservative East and Central Africa Parliamentary Sub-Committee, was sharply critical, saying : —

"Mr. Wilson's ranking feud with Mr. Smith is assuming dangerous proportions. It is clear that Sir Hugh Beadle, whom Mr. Wilson was originally prepared to appoint as chairman of a Royal Commission to find a solution to the Rhodesian problem, came to this country to inform him of present-day conditions in Rhodesia as seen from Government House in Salisbury—a better position from which to sum up the situation than Whitehall.

"But Mr. Wilson apparently did not wish to hear anything which would upset his theories, and merely took the opportunity to deliver a long lecture on his plans to produce unconditional surrender. These were rehearsed in the House, and there can be little wonder if Sir Hugh Beadle returned to Rhodesia a depressed man.

"By insisting on conditions which he already knows to be unacceptable to the vast majority of Europeans in Rhodesia, and at the same time threatening a further tightening of the economic screw, Mr. Wilson is making it quite certain that no negotiations will take place until Rhodesia's economy has been entirely ruined.

"No-one can know how far the chaos and bloodshed will spread once law and order break down. Nor can anyone calculate the cost to Britain, not just this year but for years to come.

"Maybe 'hell hath no fury like a Wilson spurned' but are we all to stand by in the name of 'national unity' whilst this senseless tragedy is enacted merely to assuage one man's *amour propre*? It is time for the people of Britain to demand that a team of Privy Counsellors be sent to Salisbury to prepare the ground for a negotiated settlement—not under the threat of further retribution, nor, with qualifications as to who should or should not represent the Rhodesians, but with the simple objective of restoring sanity to a fast deteriorating situation".

### Does Mr. Wilson Want Negotiation or Capitulation?

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Commonwealth Relations Secretary in the last Conservative Government, said in his *Streatham* constituency that he had supported sanctions because he thought U.D.I. 'utterly wrong, but it was wishful thinking for Mr. Wilson to say that the Smith Administration would collapse in a matter of weeks.

"Though sanctions will hurt more as time passes, it does not follow that white Rhodesians will be forced to their knees. They are determined people. They feel their whole future is at stake. If they are asked to accept conditions which they consider intolerable, they are unlikely to hoist the white flag until the whole economy is in ruins and law and order has collapsed.

"Do we want to create a state of anarchy in which gangsterism will flourish and outside forces will be tempted to intervene? Mr. Wilson's so-called peace proposals amount to a demand for unconditional surrender. They do not offer any basis for the negotiation of an agreed settlement. Mr. Wilson must think again. Does he want the deadlock to be brought to an end by capitulation or by negotiation?"

"Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, gloats publicly over his own cunning"—Mr. Donald McLachlan, writing in the *Sunday Telegraph*.

"Lord Alport's letter about Rhodesia, so far as it says anything at all, is couched in terms of stifling complacency"—Mr. Victor Montagu.

"A less impressive Commonwealth Secretary than Mr. Bottomley has never been seen in these parts"—Mr. Harry Franklin, reporting from Lusaka to the *Spectator*.

## Rhodesian Brevities

SELECTING 500 PEOPLE at random from the telephone directory, a representative in Salisbury of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation found that 96.5% of the persons questioned backed Mr. Ian Smith, and that 79% said that they were more strongly his supporters now than before independence. Their comments indicated that "most white Rhodesians believe that they are fighting for the maintenance of civilization and Christianity against Communism".

Mr. Robert Kirsten, lately Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in South Africa, and at a previous period South African High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has expressed his conviction that the British sanctions against Rhodesia will fail.

An American missionary in Rhodesia, Mr. Robert Garrett, said in Port Elizabeth last week that chaos would follow if economic sanctions toppled Mr. Smith's Government. He did not believe that any good could be accomplished by destroying that Government. He called the sanctions imposed by Britain an act of stupidity. British and American attitudes towards the Rhodesian administration were governed not by rights or wrongs but by the U.N. and the Afro-Asian bloc.

Dr. Diederichs, Minister for Economic Affairs, told the South African Parliament last week that many applications for permits to export petrol to Rhodesia had been received from companies and private individuals. No such permits were required, however.

### Donations for Rhodesia

The Pretoria office of the Friends of Rhodesia Association stated last week that donations for petrol for Rhodesia were "pouring in". A garage proprietor and a city store contributed £100.

The Candour League of South Africa has opened a "Help Rhodesia Fund", to which contributions have been invited through leading newspapers. The proceeds are to be placed at the disposal of the Rhodesian Government or its nominee, primarily for the purchase of goods from South Africa. Because the League of Empire Loyalists may not start a similar fund in the United Kingdom, it has suggested that members should send donations to Miss M. Trail-Smith, 5 Albion Road, Rondebosch, Cape Town, marked "Rhodesian Appeal Account".

Mr. Peter Youngusband, *Daily Mail* correspondent in Salisbury, cabled last week: "British-led sanctions may ruin Rhodesia, but at present there is no indication that they will bring Mr. Smith down. The tougher sanctions become the more determined Rhodesians are to stick it out".

The diarist of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote of the day on which the House of Commons re-assembled: "Mr.

Bottomley and his abler aide, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, came under heavy fire. This is no matter for surprise. The rank and file of the Conservative Party in the country are broadly more critical of Mr. Wilson's policy and more sympathetic to Mr. Smith than their Parliamentary representatives. Many Tory M.Ps. have discovered the extent of the gap during meetings in January".

Argentina has announced that all trade relations with Rhodesia are to be severed.

Rhodesian asbestos may no longer be imported into the U.S.A. Her purchases had been worth about £1m. annually. Eight other countries, which between them took asbestos worth £4.9m. in 1964, have likewise forbidden its entry.

Kobe Steel Works, Ltd., announced at the weekend that, holding a majority interest in the Iron and Mineral Development Corporation of Rhodesia, which produced about 350,000 tons of iron ore last year, it had been forced by the tightening of sanctions to close the mine. Last year Japan had taken 150,000 tons of output, but import from Rhodesia was now forbidden. The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, which had bought some 200,000 tons of ore, had sold about 160,000 tons of pig iron to Japan. That trade was also now forbidden.

The Ford assembly plant in Salisbury has discharged another 45 Europeans and 60 Africans. Since December 17 the pay roll has been reduced from 550 to 350. The B.M.C. plant in Umtali dismissed 60 Africans before Christmas.

The committee of Salisbury City Council which is responsible for purchasing municipal stores has decided to boycott British goods, except British motor vehicles assembled in Rhodesia.

Mr. J. J. Wrathall, Finance Minister of Rhodesia, told three representatives of Lloyd's of London when they recently visited Salisbury that he saw no reason to disagree with the intention to cancel the registration of their organisation. Actions by the British Government having made it doubtful whether Lloyd's could meet their obligations in Rhodesia, it had become the duty of the registrar to protect the interests of Rhodesian residents. Lloyd's, however, could request review of any proposal to cancel the registration up to 60 days after receiving notification. Any such appeal would be fully considered.

## Government Twisting British Principles

MR. JOHN WRATHALL, Rhodesian Finance Minister, said on Friday that Mr. Bottomley's statement that the British Government did not possess the necessary authority in Rhodesian law to pay interest falling due in London on the Rhodesian public debt was a case of "twisting the principles of British justice to suit the political ends of H.M. Government". He continued: — "They have no compunction about passing laws aimed at crippling the Rhodesian economy, such as those which purport to prohibit the tobacco sales, prevent Rhodesian exporters from carrying on their businesses, and interfere with the import of oil into Rhodesia.

"They do not hesitate to don a spurious cloak of legality in order to plunder Rhodesia's foreign assets. Yet when it comes to meeting debt commitments in London, they shrug their shoulders and say that the legal responsibility for meeting Rhodesia's commitments lies with Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor. How much more threadbare can their pretence at legality become?"

"The really interesting feature of Mr. Bottomley's statement is that, in his own words, he and his colleague are not the lawful Government of Rhodesia. Mr. Bottomley also said that Sir Humphrey Gibbs was not the lawful Government."

Mr. Wrathall concluded: "It is apparent that Mr. Bottomley realizes at last that the only lawful Government in Rhodesia is that of Mr. Ian Smith."

In the House of Commons three days earlier the Commonwealth Relations Secretary had been asked by Mr. Turton what instructions he or the Governor had given for the payment of interest due on Rhodesian public debt held in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Bottomley replied: "The Governor does not himself possess the necessary authority in Rhodesian law to order the payment to be made of interest due on the Rhodesian public debt."

Mr. Turton: "It would appear from the debate on December 11 that the Commonwealth Relations Secretary has that responsibility. Is not this the first occasion on which a Secretary of State has connived at a default on Government stocks?"

Mr. Bottomley: "I have not that responsibility. The responsibility rests with the Governor; and he alone is not the lawful Government of Rhodesia."

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Mr. Ian Smith,  
Prime Minister,  
4th June, 1964.



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<u>1954</u>	<u>£161,500,000</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>£320,400,000</u>
1964 DOMESTIC EXPORTS		£119,465,000	(30.5m. to U.K.)
RE-EXPORTS		£17,993,000	
GOLD		£7,086,000	
TOTAL EXPORTS		<u>£144,544,000</u>	
1964 IMPORTS		£109,695,000	(33.4m. from U.K.)
FAVOURABLE BALANCE OF VISIBLE TRADE		£34,849,000	



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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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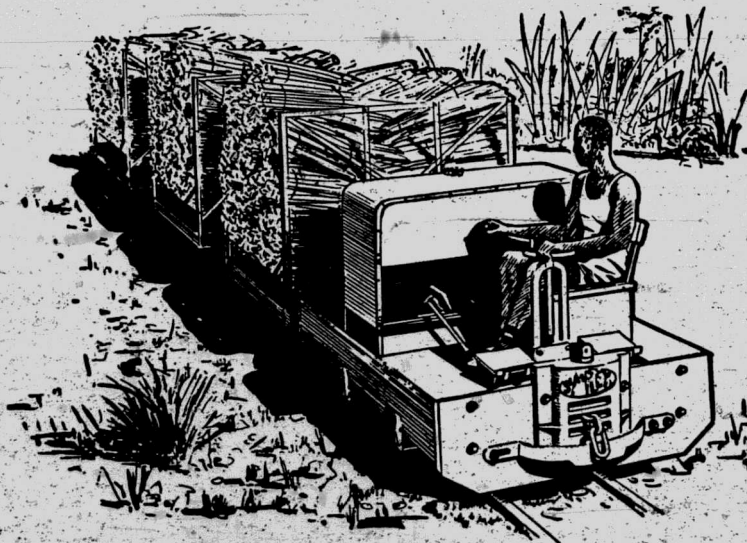
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Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's Visit to Rhodesia

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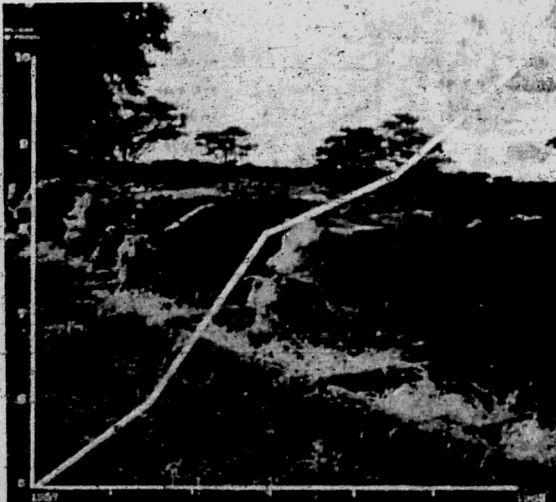
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**MR. SELWYN LLOYD'S VISIT** to Rhodesia is highly significant, for it clearly implies that the Conservative leadership is already so disillusioned by the Wilson Government's attitude to Rhodesia, as expressed by its policy of savage sanctions coupled with insults, that it is prepared to abandon the misguided attempt at bipartnership if it can be convinced that Mr. Smith and his colleagues are willing to discuss means of reaching a settlement of the quarrel—a quarrel which has had such tragic circumstances only because of the follies and faithlessness of United Kingdom politicians. Mr. Lloyd, a senior ex-Minister who has not been personally involved in the blunders of his own party, has the task of assessing the present situation and the outlook. When Sir Hugh Beadle, who is both Chief Justice and Deputy Governor of Rhodesia, recently visited London he conveyed to the Socialist, Conservative and Liberal leaders the view of the Governor that negotiations should be started as a matter of urgency, and several Conservative Members of Parliament and at least one Socialist and one Liberal who were in Rhodesia last month have since expressed their conviction that the issue could be solved if H.M. Government acted promptly and prudently, but that the prospect of reconciliation would be lost if the present opportunity be not seized, for as financial and economic sanctions press more harshly there will be so deep a growth of bitterness that Rhodesians will reject proposals for parleys. The only justification for sanctions, Mr. Lloyd emphasized before his departure from London on Sunday, was to induce a settlement; they ought not to be used to ruin Rhodesia. The pity is that that stand was not taken weeks ago by the Shadow Cabinet. It can, however, not go back on that principle now, for it has also been publicly proclaimed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home

and Mr. Sandys, and is believed to have been accepted by Mr. Heath. A safe prophecy is that it will receive emphasis as a result of Mr. Lloyd's exploratory talks. Only a Government can negotiate, but his discussions may well prove to be indistinguishable from mediation, for if he confirms that the *de facto* Government is still ready to talk, as he assuredly will, the message can be disregarded by Mr. Wilson only at his peril.

If that "blustering little bully" (to use Mr. Quintin Hogg's description) refuses to respond because of his absurd obsession that Rhodesia is near the point of collapse, the Parliamentary

### Bipartisan Policy Likely to be Scrapped.

Opposition will have to discontinue its collaboration with the Socialists over Rhodesia; and that will release explosions of relief throughout the land, for a substantial proportion of Conservative supporters, almost certainly millions, have with difficulty restrained their anger with their leaders out of a tortured loyalty to the party. If the party breaks with the Socialists over Rhodesia, as is quite likely to happen before this month is out, the emotions which found an outlet a few days ago at a large Monday Club meeting in London will find voice up and down the land. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has consistently criticized the Tory leadership for its toleration of the Prime Minister's ambiguities, contradictions, contortions, savagery, and complete misreading of the situation in Rhodesia, and has deplored the Shadow Cabinet's acceptance of actions by the Government which have made nonsense of the Prime Minister's own pledges. Now, three months after Rhodesia's assumption of her independence, sympathy is breaking through the propaganda, not only in Britain, but, significantly, in Australia and New Zealand, and of course in South Africa.

It is therefore all the more regrettable that the obviously necessary prolongation of the emergency powers should have been attributed in part to alleged activities of a group of so-called Quislings. Few Rhodesians will be persuaded that they have in their midst influential fifth-columnists engaged in conspiring with the Governor, himself a Rhodesian of nearly forty years' standing, to overthrow the Government, and Mr. Lardner-Burke's suggestion must have been received with scepticism, for it is absurd to assume that those who call at Government House, many of them old personal friends of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, thereby demonstrate antagonism to Mr. Smith and his colleagues. The indications are, in fact, to the contrary. Many Rhodesians prominent in public, professional and business life who were openly opposed to the Rhodesian Front are now staunchly pro-Government. Is that surprising? Was it not England's experience in 1914 and 1939 that most of those who had hated the idea of war with Germany joined one of the armed forces as soon as her behaviour led to the outbreak of hostilities? Mr. Amery must have been close to the truth when he declared in London last week that ninety-nine per cent. of white Rhodesians are anti-Wilson. There can, then, be little likelihood of any conspiracy of which Mr. Wilson would be the immediate beneficiary. Nor does it seem to us fair to pillory the Governor as the potential destroyer of Mr. Smith. Everyone, including the Governor and Mr. Smith, must recognize the inevitability of changes in ministerial personnel, but that by no means implies the exclusion from the next Administration of the Prime Minister and the best of his present associates. To attempt to ban the chosen leaders of the Rhodesian Front from an independent Government recognized by the Crown would be folly, for they have overwhelming support among the electorate.

\* \* \*

That very fact caused EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to urge Mr. Winston Field, and later Mr. Ian Smith, immediately on their attainment of the highest office, to operate Rhodesia's passage to independence through a National Government. We argued that such non-party or inter-party leadership would become inevitable, and that it could best be planned from strength, rather than later under the pressure of circumstances. The proposal, first made on the defeat of the Whitehead Government, has now a new validity, for, whatever may be the outcome in detail of the negotiations with Britain which

must sooner or later take place, one certainty is that there will be changes in the Rhodesian Government—not by clumsy imposition from London (which Rhodesians would rightly refuse), but by the will of wise Rhodesians, who will want as their leaders the best men whom they can persuade to accept the burdens of office. To condemn as Quislings patriotic Rhodesians who soberly consider and discuss the future is most unreasonable, as the Minister for Law and Order must now surely recognize. His few careless words, which have been headlined throughout the world Press and exploited by some of Rhodesia's bitterest enemies, have given a quite unnecessary and manifestly erroneous impression of the situation.

\*\*            \*\*            \*\*

**PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S POSITION** has clearly been weakened by recent events, which will encourage the intriguers in his party who have worked against him because he has not been extreme enough. **President Kaunda's Position Weakened.** To satisfy their reckless demagogy. He has dismissed two Ministers who are officially admitted to have been involved in financial scandals, and banished the Vice-President to New York, ostensibly for six months. For a long time these three persons have been named by Europeans and Africans in Lusaka as among the dissidents in and out of Cabinet (for some Ministers in Zambia talk very freely about proceedings in Cabinet). Though their disappearance will have pleased Dr. Kaunda's supporters, it brings him only limited comfort, for he has found it expedient to agree that two other extremists, Mr. Kapwepwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Mainza Chona, the Minister of Home Affairs, shall share the departmental duties hitherto exercised by the Vice-President. Moreover, few people would consider Mr. Sipalo, who has been appointed a Minister of State for Economic Development, to be a moderate. Mr. Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, has been given charge of Commerce and Industry also, and Mr. Sikota Wina, the Minister of Local Government, adds a new responsibility as Leader of Government Business in the National Assembly. These brothers, who have grown in stature in the past couple of years, have staunchly supported the President, who may have doubled their burdens in order to keep at arm's length some other claimants to office who would have increased the number of men in and near the Cabinet whom he could scarcely regard as dependable. The British Government, which has shown little prudence about Zambia, should be seriously concerned

at these developments! They reveal—what many people have known—that President Kaunda's position is not nearly as strong as his well-wishers would like it to be. He is not the only Head of State in East and Central

Africa who is considered expendable by some of his African entourage and those who influence and pay them. If the movement against him is to be checked, he will have to make other changes.

## 99% of Rhodesians Resent the Wilson Government's Policy

### Britain Does Not Support Prime Minister, Declares Lord Salisbury

NINETY-NINE per cent of Rhodesians are against Harold Wilson and his policy, Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., told an enthusiastic public meeting in London last Thursday.

Held in the Central Hall, Westminster, under the auspices of the Monday Club, it was addressed by Lord Salisbury, one of the club's patrons, Mr. Paul Williams, its chairman, Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., Mr. J. Biggs-Davison, M.P., Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., and Mr. Gerald Sparrow, a former judge.

When Lord Salisbury was seen to be among the party moving to the platform, the audience of about 2,700 rose spontaneously and cheered loudly; and when Mr. Williams, who presided, mentioned the name of the Prime Minister, there were loud boos.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON said in the course of a 20-minute speech:—

"This meeting demonstrates that Rhodesia stirs British feelings. The Monday Club has been consistent. While deploring U.D.I. [Shouts of 'Why?'. 'It was necessary', and 'They had to do it'.]—while deploring U.D.I. ['No, No, No'.]—we understand the reasons for it.

#### Monday Club Has Consistently Opposed Sanctions

"The Monday Club has always opposed sanctions. We were sceptical about differentiation drawn between what were called consequential sanctions and the punitive sanctions which quickly followed. We were even more sceptical when the Prime Minister gave assurances that he would not be vindictive. About the only sanction not now applied is the use of armed force; and that possibility and a civil war cannot be ruled out.

"Harold Wilson, pursuing a venomous vendetta against Mr. Smith, has dragged in the Crown and the Royal prerogative of mercy. He charges Rhodesians with Fascism—Rhodesians who have sacrificed more than many of us in the struggle to crush Fascism and Nazism.

"We cannot doubt the accuracy of Mr. Heath's statement this week that 'So long as the Prime Minister is there, there can be no settlement in Rhodesia'. The Prime Minister applies sanctions even against Christian missionaries. His embargo on oil hampers the rescue of cattle from drought-stricken areas and costs lives. Suddenly we heard a great deal about the Prime Minister's scheme for famine relief; but nothing has come of it except headlines.

"Sanctions are a mixture of sadism and sanctimoniousness. Harold Wilson tells us that they are beginning to bite. They are certainly biting Britain. They are besmirching the business reputation of the City of London and depriving Britain of export trade which it will be extremely difficult to regain; and Zambia, which Britain is aiding at such high cost, has deprived British goods of the old Commonwealth preferences.

"Sanctions are ruining the economic co-operation of the three inter-dependent countries in Central Africa. They matter more to the thousands of Africans who suffer from them than the pride of Harold Wilson, who demands Rhodesia's unconditional surrender to his will. We know the mettle of Rhodesians of all races who were our brothers in arms in two world wars. Sanctions have merely meant that men of moderate opinion, Africans as well as Europeans, have rallied behind Mr. Smith. Indeed, Harold Wilson has proved to be the best asset of the Rhodesian Front.

"Members of Parliament of all parties who have recently visited Rhodesia have returned convinced that Britain must talk with Rhodesia, and with her elected leader, Mr. Smith. Reasonable men can find within the 1961 Constitution grounds for acceptance of Rhodesian independence with guarantees for steady African advancement. Direct rule from Britain is out of the question in a country which has never known British rule and never had an Imperial garrison.

"We must change U.D.I. into B.D.I.—a British Declaration of Independence, or, if you prefer, a Bilateral Declaration of Independence. We must talk now, before mounting bitterness drowns the voice of reason".

#### Petrol Ration Higher than in Last War

MR. AMERY, who was greeted with two minutes of sustained applause, said that he had found every appearance of normality in Rhodesia and no evidence of any shortage except of golf balls and petrol; and the petrol ration was higher than it had been during the last war either in Rhodesia or in Britain.

As for Mr. Wilson's constant references to "police State," anyone losing his way in Salisbury would find it extraordinarily difficult to discover a policeman. (Loud laughter.)

There was the associated charge that Rhodesia was governed by Fascists. There were more semi-Communists in the Socialist Party in Britain than Fascists in Rhodesia.

"Compare the remarkable degree of racial harmony in Rhodesia with the ghastly genocide in the Southern Sudan. But the harmony could be disrupted by Harold Wilson's disruption of the economy. That could produce a sharpening of racial tensions never yet known in Rhodesia.

"Sanctions can threaten the work of three generations of Rhodesians, but they will not bring down Rhodesia. In food the country is self-sufficient. The Rhodesian pound still stands at the gold parity, which proves that trade is finding new channels. The small quantity of oil needed will be obtained. The Europeans will not play into Wilson's hands by dividing their raps.

"Many Rhodesians were strongly opposed to U.D.I., and many are today not supporters of the Rhodesian Front; but they are united in the determination to defeat the sanctions against their country.

#### Governor Against Unconditional Surrender Plan

"My estimate is that 80% are for Mr. Smith and 99% against Harold Wilson. 'Nobody, from the Governor down, will accept his plan of unconditional surrender and direct rule from Whitehall.

"Harold Wilson assures the country that sanctions will work in weeks rather than months and talks about a quick kill. But senior men in Whitehall now think of months rather than weeks. Wilson's problem is that if sanctions do not work now the international support which he has obtained will fall away. Then, faced with the failure of sanctions, he must make peace with Rhodesia or war on Rhodesia.

"He has given many pledges that he will not employ force, but has always left himself loopholes. There is a very real danger that he could resort to force. Our duty is to mobilize the nation against him, against a civil war which would make the Curragh Mutiny seem like a farce.

"We cannot be a party to begging Rhodesia into surrender. Our aim must be reconciliation. Leaders in Rhodesia are willing to negotiate. We should get down to talks immediately to determine the conditions on which Britain will pass an Act of Parliament granting Rhodesia independence, or, if you like, recognizing the independence that they already claim

It is not for us to decide who shall speak for a country which has been self-governing for 40 years. It will be Mr. Smith".

### Bad Behaviour of L.S.E. Students

At that point a group of about 150 young men and women, most from the London School of Economics, chanted for more than a minute "No, No, No, No". They had frequently interrupted noisily, and continued to do so throughout subsequent speeches.

Every few minutes they shouted "Out Smith, Out Smith, Out Smith", in the old Nazi "Sieg, Heil" manner. Some jumped to their feet from time to time and gave the Nazi salute. They ignored repeated appeals from the chairman for orderly behaviour and from time to time groups of stewards converged on especially unruly demonstrators, but great tolerance was shown and no one was ejected.

"Considering all that had happened in the last few years, or even in the last few months, in independent African States with black Governments, Mr. Amery continued, only a very bold man would argue that a delay of from 10 to 15 years was too short a time before African voters were in the majority in Rhodesia.

The problem was to give them the same safeguards under independence as they had under dependence, and negotiations to that end could certainly succeed. There would be objections to any settlement from African Governments, but their records were such that there should be no question of their protests overriding our judgment as to what was in the best interests of Britain and Rhodesia.

"British policy must not be governed by blackmail—some of it from countries which have severed diplomatic relations with us but continue to demand our aid. African States which threaten to leave the Commonwealth should be told quite bluntly that they gain more than we do from the association, and that they should put their own houses in order before they presume to discuss any arrangements we may make with Rhodesia.

### Mr. Wilson's Vanity and Vindictiveness

"The trouble is Mr. Wilson. How can you create confidence about negotiations when we have a Prime Minister who has talked about Rhodesia as 'my Cuba'? He has committed his prestige and his vanity. He approaches the issue with vindictiveness and rancour, talking of racialism and semi-Fascism and accusing Mr. Smith of being a liar. He should remember that at the time of the American U.D.I. the then Lord Selborne counselled Lord North not to use words like 'treason' and 'rebellion'.

"Has Harold Wilson shown himself qualified to negotiate? [Loud cries of 'No']. The best way to make peace would be change our Government. Anxiety is spreading through the land now that Wilson has made it plain that he intends to bring down the Smith Government, rule through the Governor from Whitehall, and have a constitutional conference which would bring African majority rule much too quickly.

"Some M.P.s. who were supporters of Mr. Wilson when they went to Rhodesia last month have returned with entirely changed views. This week's speech by Mr. Sandys is a great encouragement. So is today's news that Socialists have tabled a motion of censure on him in the House of Commons, for that will unite Conservatives in support of one of their most senior front benchers. It is excellent news also that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is to fly to Rhodesia on Sunday.

"Conservatives should now join together in open opposition to the Government's policy. ['And high time, too']. I hope that we shall take up Mr. Wilson's challenge to table a vote of censure. I should welcome an election on the Rhodesian issue. It would stir deep passion among our people. His policy is to starve and bludgeon Rhodesia and fasten upon her what has occurred in Zanzibar, Tanzania, Kenya, the Southern Sudan, in other States, and now in Nigeria."

Almost the whole audience, including the platform party, rose and applauded as Mr. Amery ended.

MR. GERALD SPARROW said that he was on the side of Rhodesia in this dispute between the Queen's Ministers in London and her Ministers in Salisbury. He believed that many people in all the political parties felt similarly.

"Our Parliamentary speakers tonight are Mr. Heath's loyal rebels. I am just a rebel. I did not condemn U.D.I. My amazement was not that it happened, but that, owing to the shilly-shallying of H.M. Government, the declaration was not made earlier.

"I do not believe the propaganda put out by the Government that the Monday Club is a right-wing Tory movement.

If there were a referendum tomorrow asking 'Do you wish the Prime Minister to talk to the Smith Government now?', the answer would be overwhelmingly 'Yes'.

"Mr. Wilson's record has not been consistent. At first he set up the cry of treason. When the journal of the Law Society pointed out that it was not treason to disagree with Mr. Wilson, we heard no more of treason, but of an illegal régime. He then asked why Rhodesia could not act like peaceful, democratic Nigeria or like one-man-one-vote Ghana. Now we have the fantastic idea of direct colonial government—with the ridiculous prospect of Wilson as Emperor and Bottomley as Viceroy. [Loud laughter].

### Cloud Cuckooland

"The final conception so far is that Mr. Smith should go on bended knee to the Governor and say: 'We still have the support of Rhodesians, but the great white chief in Whitehall does not like us, so we must resign'. That is cloud cuckooland. What will happen next? Not, I think, a civil war, but perhaps a war instigated by the United Nations.

"It is high time that Harold Wilson came off his high horse—or is it a mule? We must get the message through to the British people. Then millions of men and women will rally as they have not rallied to any cause in the last five years. It is a cause for which our M.P. speakers have taken their political future in their hands". [Loud applause].

MR. PATRICK WALL said that he had just had the news from Nigeria that before Sir Abubakar Balewa, the Federal Prime Minister, was killed, he had been tortured and his eyes had been torn out.

"I disagree fundamentally with British policy on Rhodesia", he said. "Mr. Wilson has made every possible blunder in psychology and in timing. He did not believe that U.D.I. could be effective. Then, when he went to Salisbury, he realized that it could happen. When he suggested a Royal Commission it was too late; but even then, if he had left a Minister behind in Rhodesia, U.D.I. might have been avoided. He is still receiving incorrect information. It is ridiculous for him to believe that there is in Rhodesia today any possible alternative Government.

"His psychology is all wrong. He does not take into account that the British and Afrikaner stock in Rhodesia is from the world's two toughest peoples in adversity, and that sanctions have therefore united Rhodesia behind Mr. Smith.

"I believe that a majority of Africans support their present Government. One reason is that it has reduced taxation of rural Africans. Another is that urban Africans are for the first time for years free of intimidation and petrol bombing. Africans like firm government if it is fair. Those who lose their jobs incline to blame Mr. Wilson.

### Chief Justice's Advice Rejected

"The Chief Justice, Sir Hugh Beadle, came to London to suggest that negotiations should be restarted. His advice was rejected. Mr. Wilson does not want negotiations. His intention is to destroy the European in Rhodesia. He demands unconditional surrender, and then direct rule from Whitehall through the Governor. Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, is a nice man, but nobody wants to be ruled by him. [Loud applause].

"British public opinion, which must resist the idea of unconditional surrender, must be told of the great cost of sanctions to this country. Southern Africa is our fourth most important market, and South Africa is closely watching what is being done in Rhodesia, where the Wilson policy is destroying Britain's financial and trade connexions.

"Mr. Wilson is gambling on bringing Rhodesia down by March/April through lack of oil. I don't believe that that will happen. Sufficient oil will get through. If we have not begun negotiations before March/April, Rhodesian hatred will have grown so strong that there will then be no chance of negotiations. Mr. Wilson's alternatives will be to destroy the Rhodesian economy by the continuation of sanctions or war—and we are now marching on that path.

"Zambia's economy could collapse before Rhodesia's. Race relations in Zambia are already deteriorating rapidly. What happens if President Kaunda falls? [A voice: "Kapwepwe"]. Yes, Mr. Kapwepwe would certainly like to be Prime Minister. If there were disturbances British troops might be sent to Zambia—and then moved to Rhodesia. It must be shown that the British public will not tolerate the use of British troops.

"We should start negotiations now—without discussing whether the United Kingdom should recognize U.D.I. or whether Rhodesia should repudiate it. The important thing is to work out a Constitution which would be mutually acceptable. There is a willingness in Rhodesia for such discussion and a readiness to make concessions".

Questions were then taken.

In answer to one about the meeting in Salisbury during which three Socialist M.Ps. from Britain were manhandled, Mr. Wall said that he had been present, and that the incident arose from disturbances which were no worse than those which the present audience had just witnessed.

"Is Harold Wilson guilty of treason?", another questioner asked. Shouts of "Yes, yes" came from all parts of the hall.

To an inquiry how the country could force the Government to prompt negotiations, Mr. Amery replied: "We shall get our way if you and people up and down the country write to their M.Ps., their local newspapers, and the party associations and hold meetings and stir up opinion. I do not believe that we in the Monday Club are any longer a minority in the Conservative Party".

When invited to explain why the Rhodesian Government had refused financial help from Britain for an expansion of the education of Africans, Mr. Amery said: "Mr. Smith has said repeatedly that he will accept such help if it is coupled with economic aid. His point is that Rhodesians do not want a great increase in the output of Africans with higher education unless there are jobs for the young men and women so educated. That makes good sense to me".

### Gimmick Government

LORD SALISBURY, who was again cheered vociferously, said that he had decided to break a silence of months because he resented the sniping at the Monday Club by those who believed in gimmick government. Its principles ought to be acceptable to anyone who believed in integrity.

It was characteristic of the Prime Minister to describe the club as a "semi-Fascist organisation". Unfortunately, he not only believed whatever he said three times, but also expected other people to believe his assumptions. The Monday Club, which was in fact less Fascist than his own brand of Socialism, stood for traditional Conservative principles, principles to which a great part of the country had been devoted long before Fascism had ever been heard of.

Another defect in Mr. Wilson's thinking was the belief that he had the country behind him on Rhodesia and in the policy of punitive sanctions. He also believed, quite erroneously, that the Smith Government would collapse in a few weeks.

"This country was not behind him. I receive a great mass of correspondence from all parts of the country, and that is my conviction. The policy of vindictive sanctions causes pain to thousands of men, women and children in Rhodesia who have had nothing whatsoever to do with Mr. Smith's policy, and there is not the slightest sign that sanctions have had any effect on Rhodesian resistance except to consolidate it behind the Government—in a way in which the Wilson policy has not consolidated British opinion behind it.

"We were told at first that all that was necessary was to ban purchases of Rhodesian tobacco and sugar. Then 95% of the trade was stopped. Then came the oil embargo. Despite it all the spirit of Rhodesia is quite unbroken. Since all this does not bring down Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson thinks of direct rule by an occupying Power and terms imposed on a beaten people. That is his prescription for these most loyal people, who came to our aid in two wars. No wonder many of us in this country feel more ashamed than ever before.

### Return to the Conference Table

"What else has Mr. Wilson in store? Force? I became suspicious when I saw a photograph of a British general in full uniform on the Zambia side of the Kariba Gorge. But the use of force is too horrible to contemplate.

"The only alternative is to return to the conference table with Mr. Smith and hammer out terms for recognition of independence on conditions acceptable to both Governments. That is still possible, and it would accord with our capacity for compromise".

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS suggested that that meeting had shown an absolute determination that Rhodesia should survive, and a recognition that the British Government's policy had been and was profoundly dangerous.

"As to the accusation that Rhodesia is a police State, an African journalist, the editor of the *Daily Times* in Lagos, Nigeria, recently visited Rhodesia, and wrote on his return: 'The overseas picture of Rhodesia as a grim police State is a massive fraud'.

"What is there in the record of African nationalism north of the Zambezi which could be to the benefit of the African peoples in Rhodesia? Is there to be a repetition of the experiences of the Congo, of Zanzibar, of Rwanda, of Burundi, and of the Sudan? Is Rhodesia to be destroyed?

"Has Mr. Wilson learnt nothing from his experiences in Lagos; or from President Kaunda's complaint that the R.A.F. planes sent to his aid are out of date; or from President Nyerere's insistence that R.A.F. men loading oil into aircraft in Dar es Salaam for Zambia should get into civilian clothes?"

What kind of a Commonwealth did it become?—a Commonwealth in which Britain constantly listened to idiotic demands, submitted to blackmail, and dealt with leaders who had connived at murder?

The Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Balewa, had been murdered on the very morning of the Wilson visit—and the Wilson Government had almost immediately recognized the new régime, and virtually without expression of regret. Was Rhodesia to be destroyed for that sort of thing?

## Mr. Selwyn Lloyd Visiting Rhodesia Emissary of Conservative Leadership

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, M.P., left London Airport on Sunday to spend about a week in Rhodesia.

At Salisbury airport he was met by Mr. Van der Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, Sir Charles Cumings and Mr. G. R. Read, respectively a director of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank and its general manager, and Mr. N. A. I. French, First Secretary in the British High Commission.

The Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth affairs lunched with the Governor and Sir Hugh Beadle, spending three hours at Government House, and then saw Mr. Stanley Finland, the British Acting High Commissioner, for 90 minutes. He dined with Brigadier Michael Rowlandson, an old friend, who is chairman of the Rhodesian company of the Rio Tinto group.

Among those whom Mr. Lloyd saw on Tuesday were Sir Roy Welensky, the Bishop of Mashonaland, members of the Constitutional Council, Colonel W. M. Knox (chairman of the Rhodesian Front), Mr. Evan Campbell, and the editor of the "*Rhodesia Herald*," Mr. Malcolm Smith.

He was to see Mr. Ian Smith.

On Thursday evening Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, had issued the following statement:—

"I have asked Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, our spokesman on Commonwealth affairs in the Shadow Cabinet, to visit Rhodesia in order to make a personal study of the situation there, both political and economic. I hope that he will have the opportunity of meeting as many people as possible of all races and opinions, in order that he may be able to give a full assessment to the Shadow Cabinet on his return. There can, of course, be no question of Mr. Lloyd inaugurating or taking part in any form of negotiation".

The Prime Minister had not been consulted about the decision of the Conservative leader, but had been informed of it before the news was made public.

### Socialists Resent the Visit

Mr. Heath had said on a number of recent occasions that a leading Tory front-bencher would be sent to Rhodesia at an appropriate time. That time is now deemed to have arrived because of conflicting reports about the effects of sanctions.

Three Socialist M.Ps., Mr. Michael Foot, Mr. Ian Mikardo, and Mr. Mendelson, at once tabled a motion regretting that a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council should visit Rhodesia, and that Mr. Sandys, another Conservative front bencher, had in a speech "offered comfort" to the Smith régime.

Mr. Lloyd, who was accompanied by two secretaries, said before his departure that he would stay in an hotel in Salisbury and hoped to visit other parts of the country. He expected to meet African leaders now under restriction as well as representatives of all other sections of the community. "We have said from the beginning that sanctions should be used to induce a settlement, not to ruin the country, and dragging on this dispute does nobody any good". His purpose was to find out the facts, not to negotiate, but he hoped that the visit might help negotiations to start. On his return he would report to his colleagues and to the Labour Government.

"I cannot understand why some members of the Government should think my visit a dangerous intervention at a critical time. I shall certainly tell them whatever they wish to know. Whatever I learn will, I think, help us to re-exert our influence as a useful Opposition".

# Internal and External Threats to Law and Order in Rhodesia

## Minister's Candid and Confident Report to Parliament

**ENCOURAGEMENT OF SUBVERSION** in Rhodesia, especially by member States of the Organization of African Unity, was stated by MR. D. W. LARDNER-BURKE, Minister of Justice and of Law and Order, to be the chief reason for the Government's decision to extend the Emergency Powers Act for another three months.

He told Parliament emphatically that the Act had not been introduced in connexion with the assumption of independence. Indeed, when the state of emergency was declared negotiations concerning independence were continuing.

Mr. Lardner-Burke gave a sharp warning to persons whom he indicated as a local "Shadow Cabinet".

In the course of his speech the Minister said:—

### Emergency Not Declared to Help U.D.I.

"The state of emergency was declared on November 5 to provide the necessary powers for the security forces to deal with the influx of saboteurs, mainly from Zambia, and with subversive activity in various parts of Rhodesia, particularly in the Bulawayo area.

"Rhodesia is now a sovereign independent country. The declaration of the state of emergency had nothing to do with the assumption of sovereign independence a few days later. When the emergency was declared, negotiations regarding independence were still taking place and were reaching a delicate and decisive stage, with subversive elements and all those opposed to the granting of independence to this country making strenuous efforts to undermine our security and demonstrate that an explosive situation existed in Rhodesia which constituted, it was alleged, a threat to world peace.

"When we assumed our independence we used the emergency powers to give Government further extraordinary powers which then became necessary; it would have been foolhardy not to do so. But I reiterate that the emergency was not declared in order to assume our independence.

"Internal security is being well maintained, despite the efforts of many hostile elements whose object is to cause a breakdown in law and order in this country and bring about a paralysis of our moral fibre. Government appreciates the paramount need to maintain law and order and will take all steps necessary to this end, for if law and order break down a wonderful excuse for intervention in our affairs will be presented to hostile nations and organisations. The main threat to our security is external.

### Afro-Asian Clamour

"On November 25 I commented on the pattern of the Communist attack on the Western Powers, with particular reference to undeveloped territories. I said that we Rhodesians had seen the strategic position of the Western democracies gradually dissipated, and that it seemed that an appreciation of the true facts was even now not realized by their politicians, who were for the most part prisoners of their past policies. I also commented on the pressure exercised by Communists, particularly through the cover of vociferous ultra-liberal organizations.

"Rhodesia is now on the receiving end of many threats to her economic and territorial security, some concrete, others quite hysterical. The British Prime Minister has busted himself with implementing his previous threats of sanctions. The Afro-Asian bloc has been in the forefront of the propaganda war. The hysterical outpourings from the Afro-Asian capitals have been designed to bring influence to bear on the major Powers, both East and West, to use force against Rhodesia.

"The British Prime Minister is very much alive to the dangers of such action. This, however, has had little effect on irresponsible, self-seeking politicians in the countries to the north of us. Their clamour continues, with meetings con-

vened all over the place. The emptiness of their military threats is obvious, but responsible persons and Governments must ensure that the Afro-Asian bloc is restrained from initiating any-armed attack against Rhodesia in the interests of peace on the African continent.

"It is highly likely that the Communist bloc will do their utmost to encourage such action, so that they can rush to the aid of these African countries when they suffer the certain defeat which would face them if they were so foolhardy as to indulge in a trial of military strength with Rhodesia. This is the great fear which faces Mr. Wilson. We have no fears.

### Propaganda War Intensified

"The propaganda war mounted by the Afro-Asian bloc and Britain is increasing in intensity day by day. We have reached a position which is quite farcical. For example, Ghana and Tanzania, both members of the Commonwealth, who have been providing either training facilities for saboteurs or transit facilities for them on their way to and from Rhodesia, have now severed diplomatic relations with Britain, but have no scruples in accepting vast amounts of aid to maintain their tottering economies.

"It is fantastic that the British people appear prepared to accept such a premeditated insult to their national pride and at the same time continue to find the wherewithal to keep these undemocratic Governments in power. The fact that such extraordinary mental acrobatics on the part of the British Government are for the present acceptable to the British electorate can only be ascribed to the great power exercised by the propaganda machine which is directed against Rhodesia.

"A publication brought to my notice, called the *Zimbabwe Review*, describes itself as the official organ of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.P.U.). The 12-page review is printed and published by Anglo-Overseas Publishing Company, of 30 Mansell Street, Aldgate, London, E.1., for Z.A.P.U., Lusaka, and their U.K. office at 374, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. What interests me in this all-too-familiar scurrilous propaganda sheet, volume one, number one, of January, 1966, is that there are nine advertisements. Everyone extols the pleasures of life in a Communist country or refers to some such country. That indicates the Communist backing for Z.A.P.U. in Britain.

"Quite apart from the text of *Zimbabwe Review*, these advertisements give a pretty clear indication that Z.A.P.U. is Communist controlled, financed, and inspired. It also gives a very good idea of what Britain allows to be printed and published under her very nose. In trying to bring Rhodesia to her knees, Britain is helping international Communism. This is made very clear in an article in the review which quotes a speech about Rhodesia made by Mr. Collan, who is the general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

### Communist Exaggerations

"Page 12 states: 'The number of African restrictees in Rhodesia since U.D.I. is now believed to be well over 25,000. Some are held in gaols, underground cells in disused mines, police camps, and in guarded farms where forced labour on the Nazi pattern is now operating. Some of the restrictees are loaned to farmers on payment of a fee'. There are, in actual fact, 383 restrictees in various camps in the whole country.

"Another farcical situation, if it were not so tragic, has occurred in Nigeria. The Prime Minister of that country called a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on Rhodesia. Attended by 20 out of 22 members, it ended on January 12. The more responsible Commonwealth countries did not consider that its importance or value justified representation by their Prime Ministers. On January 15 Nigeria was taken over in a bloody coup by the military. This so-called most stable and civilized of all the new independent countries of the Commonwealth went the same way as so many others have done. On top of that, Britain has recognized its military dictator régime. So, even in Nigeria, Western democratic ideals, have been dealt a death blow.

"To quote the *Sunday Express* of January 16, 'In these circumstances, how can Mr. Wilson persist in his bleak and arid Rhodesia policy? Can he not see why Rhodesia's Europeans will resist to the death rather than hand away political control prematurely?' That sums up our attitude fairly accurately. We shall not capitulate.

"It is very significant that straight after the events in Nigeria, we heard strong rumours last week of a coup in Zambia which was designed to unseat President Kaunda. Rumours of this coup were immediately followed up by the resignation of two Zambian Ministers, ostensibly involved in a



financial scandal involving £118,000, and the sudden transfer of the Vice-President, Mr. Reuben Kamanga, to a post outside Africa.

### Stifling the Pangs of British Conscience

"It would seem that, in the view of the British Government, Rhodesians, black and white, must be sacrificed on the altar of certain political dogmas in order to stifle the pangs of a conscience which should not exist. Rhodesians both black and white, must be sacrificed so that personal political reputations in the United Kingdom may be saved. These politicians in their folly are laying the seeds for the destruction of society as they and the British people know it to-day. They are doing the Communists' dirty work for them; but they will not succeed. Historians, in delivering judgment on present events, will no doubt give these people the ignoble place that they deserve.

"On the home front there has over the last three months been an increase in a type of incident which has been directly incited by scurrilous broadcasts by certain African nationalists who have been given the facilities of Zambia Radio. These broadcasts, which have been practically a daily feature since November 20 are direct incitements to violence and to attacks on property in this country. The agricultural areas particularly have suffered losses through the destruction of crops.

"I cannot minimize the effect these highly subversive broadcasts have had on our African population. They have worked their evil spell, and the newspapers show numerous convictions for crop-slashing, animal destruction, stoning vehicles, cutting telephone wires, incitement to strike, intimidation, etc., not to mention poisoning cattle and other malicious acts to property belonging, in the main, to European farmers.

"The broadcasts are virulently anti-white, extremely inflammatory, and contain insidious propaganda aimed at subverting the loyalties of African members of the police, the armed forces and the civil service—and these broadcasts are permitted by the authorities of a neighbouring Commonwealth country. We have protested, of course, but in this mad world nobody seems to take much notice of any such protestations. That being so, we have no option but to look after ourselves to the best of our ability. We must therefore have these continued emergency powers.

### Communist-Trained Terrorists

"On November 25 I mentioned that in the previous 12 months over 80 trained terrorists had been arrested by our police after their arrival in this country, that we had evidence that there were between 700 and 800 trained men or trainees outside Rhodesia who were awaiting orders to undertake their subversive activities inside this country. This number remains approximately the same.

"Our border control is as efficient as it can be, but we cannot hope to cover all of our long frontier all the time. Therefore the terrorists can and do infiltrate back, and the menace still exists. Sinister forces continue to gather beyond our borders in such countries as Zambia—forces which are endeavouring to extend their insidious and dangerous influences deep into the heart of this country.

"Extreme elements of such proscribed organizations as the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union continue to receive terrorist training in Russia, Red China, and certain African territories, such as Ghana, Algeria and Tanzania. Not only are these people taught the art of guerrilla warfare, but they are also indoctrinated with Communist ideology. Preparations by Rhodesian nationalists in the aforementioned territories for a campaign of violence against Rhodesia have already reached an advanced state.

"Indicative of nationalist plans for an armed insurrection in this country has been the recovery, since November 1, 1965, from parts of Rhodesia as far afield as Bulawayo, Salisbury and Kezi, of offensive material which includes three Russian hand-grenades, one automatic pistol, five sub-machine guns, and 241 rounds of assorted ammunition. It is known that nationalist leaders 'in exile' are giving top priority to the problems associated with acquiring war materials, transporting them to the Rhodesian border area, and introducing them into Rhodesia.

### Mau Mau Infiltration from Zambia

"During recent months the considerable build-up of Rhodesian terrorists in Zambia has continued, the majority being grouped in and around Livingstone and Lusaka, where they await the opportunity to infiltrate into Rhodesia where they can put into practice their terrorist training. Z.A.P.U. leaders in the north now favour the infiltration into Rhodesia of comparatively large groups of terrorists.

"Reliable information indicates that there are in excess of 500 trained terrorists in Zambia at present, and there is every reason to believe that this number is being progressively augmented as and when trained personnel return to the territory on completion of their various courses of instruction.

"Following reports that a Mau-Mau-type group of would-be

terrorists was planning to infiltrate into Rhodesia from Zambia in the vicinity of Chirundu during the Christmas holiday period, security patrols and observations were increased. The vehicle allegedly being used by the group was eventually sighted, abandoned, on December 24 some 11 miles from Chirundu and three days later was observed in Lusaka, which tended to substantiate subsequent information that the group had deemed it expedient to abandon the whole exercise.

"The only provision for detaining persons under the law is by virtue of the powers conferred by the Emergency Powers Act. We would indeed be foolish if, because a saboteur could not be brought before the courts for the reasons I have so often given, for example intimidation of witnesses, we let him loose on the public to blow up trains, pylons and bridges, and even to commit murder.

"We cannot let trained saboteurs run loose, and if they cannot be put out of harm's way by the courts, then they must be put out of circulation by being detained. Where imprisonment and detention are denied to the Government, then we fall back on restriction; but this is not entirely suitable for such dangerous people. The trained saboteur is a very, very real and ever-present danger, and must be crushed with every legal power we can muster.

### Guerrilla Courses in Tanzania

"Certain militant African States have recently pledged increased support for Rhodesian nationalists. Tanzania has offered to train Rhodesian Africans in guerrilla warfare, and it is reported that some 200 Z.A.P.U. members have been moved to Mbeya, preparatory to undergoing such training and instruction. There is also reliable information indicating that the Algerian Government has stepped up its facilities for the para-military training of Rhodesian nationalists.

"The Organization of African Unity, through the agency of its African Liberation Committee, has intensified its efforts to provide both Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. with increased moral, financial, and para-military assistance, and there are strong indications that it will extend the scope of training facilities already on offer to what are called freedom-fighters from Rhodesia.

"As time passes, and Rhodesia has not been brought to her knees in the economic and political sense, the Afro-Asian voice at the United Nations will become increasingly shrill in its demands for penal mandatory sanctions and military action against this country.

"Britain's military involvement in the Rhodesian situation is currently restricted to the posting to Zambia of a squadron of jet fighters, some transport aircraft together with Royal Air Force support personnel, and the deployment, ostensibly for protection purposes, of a company of British troops at the British Broadcasting Corporation radio transmitter near Francistown. Already there is a suggestion of a drastic increase in the size and character of British military detachments in Zambia, and whether or not the initial excuse for their presence in that country is for the purpose of safeguarding the Kariba hydro-electric scheme, we must have regard to the threat posed.

"Britain, with troops in Zambia, would like to see a complete breakdown in the maintenance of law and order in Rhodesia. To avoid such a position developing, and thereby providing Britain with an excuse for introducing troops into Rhodesia for the purpose of restoring peace, the emergency powers should not be withdrawn.

### Threats to Law and Order

"Internally, and quite apart from the continuing menace posed by Zambia Radio broadcasts, saboteurs, Communists, etc. Rhodesia during the last three months, though outwardly calm, has had its share of security troubles. However, many people, residents and visitors, have been amazed at how calm the country has been since November 11. In view of what happened then, and the numbers of our enemies, external and internal, I think we have done an extremely creditable job in maintaining law and order.

"The United Kingdom Government now seems to intend and desire to bring about a breakdown of law and order in this country.

"I refer again to the broadcasts from the Zambian Broadcasting Corporation. It must be assumed that these take place with the connivance of the U.K. Government, firstly, by virtue of the fact that the British Broadcasting Corporation has been using that radio for broadcasts of its ordinary news services and for other information it is endeavouring to get across, and, secondly, because the U.K. Government knows about the subversive and shocking broadcasts that are being relayed from that station. The matter has been raised in the House of Commons, yet they have apparently done nothing about it. We might also well ask what the real purpose of the new transmitter erected by the B.B.C. near Francistown is, if it is not for subversion.

"Then there is the oil embargo, deliberately brought about by the U.K. Government, which they hope would have the effect *inter alia* of curtailing the activities of our police and

army, so that if law and order break down—may I say a vain hope?—there would be a great difficulty in restoring it again because of the lack of means of transport.

"Talking of oil, it is a strange world—one in which Mr. Wilson and President Johnson have placed an oil embargo on Rhodesia, a peaceful Commonwealth country, while Mr. Wilson allows British ships to supply oil to North Vietnam, where it is being used to further a Communist war against American troops—a fantastic situation.

"The whole of the British Government's policy is to bring about a breakdown of law and order in this country. I believe they are most surprised that law and order has been so well maintained, and that this has upset their calculations. Their intention I say again is to break down the maintenance of law and order. That this would bring about the murders of Europeans and Africans appears to concern them little.

### Warning to Alleged Shadow Cabinet

"It has come to my notice that certain misguided individuals in this country, some in high places, some who have held political rank or have represented the Government in various capacities, have formed what has been colloquially referred to as a Shadow Cabinet. These individuals have met and discussed various matters, and it appears from the information I have received that they are trying to form themselves into a Government so that they can take over, if requested by Sir Humphrey Gibbs or Mr. Wilson.

"These people have to be warned. I now give them full warning, that if they continue with these nefarious works, if they continue with their endeavours to overthrow our Government here, we will have no hesitation in dealing with them in exactly the same way as we have dealt with anybody else who has endeavoured to cause bloodshed in this country. I want to warn them very, very seriously that they had better consider their actions in the future, because the Government will have no compunction in dealing with them, as we have no intention of allowing them to upset the present lawful Government of this country and the independence we have achieved.

"The House is also fully aware that a recent court action was brought by the *Central African Examiner* to embarrass this Government. I am now in a position to state categorically that the editor, Mrs. Eileen Haddon, who was one of the persons concerned in bringing this action, was in consultation with certain parties closely connected with the British Government. We know that she wrote to Mr. Ben Whitaker asking him to contact a Government authority in the United Kingdom for further instructions regarding the case in the event of an adverse judgment. This is another instance of the methods used by the British Government in their endeavours to prejudice our present constitutional stability.

"Canon Collins, a prominent member of the Christian Action Group, which has a branch in Rhodesia, has said that force must be used against us if sanctions fail. This is another reason why the state of emergency should be continued, so that we can control this fifth column type of individual in this country, these Quislings.

"All ranks of our magnificent police force have done a really sterling job. I have no doubt that all hon. Members will join with me in expressing the thanks of this House and of Rhodesia as a whole to the British South Africa Police. These thanks must also be extended to the Army, the Air Force, and all civil servants. The country is deeply indebted to all these people for the way in which they have carried out their duties in recent months."

## Conservative Critics of Their Own Party

### Mr. Heath's Errors About Rhodesia

BLUNT CRITICISMS of the failure of the Conservative Party, and especially its leader, to criticize the Socialist Government's statements and actions in regard to Rhodesia have been made by MR. and MRS. JOHN ROBINSON, formerly of Salisbury, who now live in London.

In a letter to the official secretary to the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Heath, they wrote:

"So many of us life-long Conservatives think that Mr. Heath and others on the Opposition side of the House of Commons have been almost wholly wrong to support what the Government have done in order to bring about a change of policy in Rhodesia. We believe that you have been wrong in the national interest and wrong in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole.

"That you should support Mr. Wilson and his régime in his intolerably bitter and vindictive economic mea-

asures against Rhodesia is utterly beyond the comprehension of millions of ordinary Tories.

"We could refute Mr. Heath's House of Commons statement on December 21 point by point. He said that he is opposed to permanent minority rule. So is Ian Smith. So there is no difference on that point.

"Mr. Heath said that he is opposed to *apartheid*. So is Ian Smith; and he has frequently said so.

"Mr. Heath said that he is 'opposed to measures which have the aspects of a police State'. That is the most cynically slanderous statement imaginable from a so-called Tory Opposition leader. It has given Mr. Wilson a weapon which he will go on using until his dirty work is done.

"Police State indeed! Yet three Socialist trouble-makers were on their own admission allowed to come and go freely wherever they wished and were free to talk to anyone they wished. And these three men were sworn enemies of Ian Smith, his Government and his supporters. In November, in a motion which they put down with some 30 others of their kind, they clamoured for the blood of white Rhodesians. Some police State!

### Some Police State!

"On the Rhodesian Declaration of Independence

- (a) There was no civil war;
- (b) No United Nations delegates were murdered;
- (c) Nobody was raped;
- (d) There was no general exodus;
- (e) There were no sinister human sacrifices;
- (f) No blood was shed;
- (g) There was no inter-tribal warfare;
- (h) Nobody screamed for aid from the West—or from Russia or China;
- (i) There was no ideological battle;
- (j) Normal and healthy economic development was guaranteed for all people, regardless of race or colour;
- (k) Law and order was maintained;
- (l) Progress was assured for all;
- (m) Peace was guaranteed in one small country in the middle of a Continent in turmoil;
- (n) No covetous eyes were cast on any neighbours;
- (o) No tribal feuds broke out;
- (p) That same small country sought and still seeks to trade with its neighbours, to carry their goods to seaports, to supply them with electricity, coal and technical aid.

"And all this in the Wilson-Heath-Grimond Police State!

"After the Lagos fiasco—about which the Opposition has done absolutely nothing—it seems a pity that there are not many more police States in this now bogus Commonwealth.

"We believe that there never was any real 'national unity' on the Rhodesian issue, and that the Opposition, and particularly its leader, were grossly remiss in not taking Mr. Wilson to task for the monstrous and false assertion at the United Nations that 'the whole British people are behind us in this matter (of sanctions)'.

"Time after time he has played into the Opposition's hands on this Rhodesian issue, and not once have they taken the slightest advantage of it. Not even when he taunts the Conservatives about 'abstaining' has their leader a word to say. Surely he was put where he is by millions of hopeful Tories to destroy Mr. Wilson, his régime, and all his works—instead of which he has meekly and weakly supported the man in evil policies aimed at the destruction of Rhodesia.

"Even over oil sanctions the Parliamentary Conservatives 'abstained'—with the honourable exception of 49 Opposition members and the dishonourable exception of 30 who actually supported the man whom as Tories they should have opposed.

"Our information from Rhodesia is that every move Wilson has made from the time of his becoming Prime Minister has bound Rhodesians closer together in antagonism, now verging on bitter hatred, against him and this country."

## Miserable Chapter in British History

### Rhodesians Asked for A Blank Cheque

**SHARP CRITICISM OF MR. WILSON** was made by Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., the former Commonwealth Relations Secretary, in an address in his constituency, Streatham, which was briefly reported last week.

As will be seen from the following amplification, the speech represented an all-out attack on the Government's attitude to Rhodesia.

Mr. Sandys said:—

"The extra sanctions against Rhodesia will add little to the pressures which are already being applied. They are intended primarily to satisfy African opinion. Like all previous measures, they will fail to achieve this purpose. Their only effect will be to increase bitterness among the white Rhodesians and consolidate them further behind Ian Smith.

### Sanctions Gleelessly Pursued

"It is time the Government took a fresh look at the whole Rhodesian problem. They are losing their sense of proportion. The policy of sanctions is being gleelessly pursued as a kind of holy war. The defeat of Smith seems now to be regarded as an end in itself, and the purpose for which sanctions were imposed is being forgotten.

"I have supported sanctions because I thought the unilateral declaration of independence to be utterly wrong, and that it was our duty to take all reasonable measures to bring Rhodesia back to constitutional rule. I say 'all reasonable measures', because we must be careful to see that in trying to restore a legal Government we do not in the process bring about a total breakdown of law and order.

"While endeavouring to ensure the continued evolution of Rhodesia towards a non-racial society, we must make sure that we do not inadvertently play the game of the racialists and stimulate anti-European prejudice throughout Africa and Asia. If not, we shall be in danger of creating a greater evil than the one we are seeking to remove.

"We have an obligation to the people of Rhodesia as a whole to do what we believe to be in their best interests. That alone should be our guiding principle. We should betray our trust if we allowed a desire to please or placate other nations to deflect us from the course which in our objective judgment we consider to be right and fair.

"Those States which are leading the attack upon us in Africa and at the United Nations include some which have virtually abolished freedom in their own countries and have carried the one-man-one-vote principle to the point where one man alone exercises all authority. Dictatorial rule may be the system best suited to their stage of political evolution. It is not for us to tell them what they should do.

### Stand Up to African Critics

"Still less is it for them to criticize the pace of democratic progress in Rhodesia. Nor are they in a position to lecture us for not dealing sufficiently firmly with the rebellion in Rhodesia, for in the last few years Africa has seen endless successions of political coups and military revolts, in which democratic Constitutions have been freely torn up and the members of lawful Governments have been imprisoned or assassinated. Almost without exception, the rebel régime has immediately been recognized by the other African States. It would not, therefore, seem that they have much to teach us about how to restore the rule of law.

"Some of our Commonwealth partners have gone to the length of breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain and have threatened to leave the Commonwealth. They must not think they are doing us a favour by being in the Commonwealth. They have much more to gain from it than we have. We would deeply regret the withdrawal of any of our fellow members, but we should not allow threats of resignation to influence our judgment in any way.

"A solution which is in the best interest of the people of Rhodesia as a whole, Africans as well as Europeans, will most likely not be considered acceptable by African nationalist opinion elsewhere; but that should not deter us from going ahead and doing what we think right.

"The British Government must now decide if they wish the present deadlock to be brought to an end by capitulation or by negotiation. Mr. Wilson says he expects the Smith administration to collapse in a matter of weeks. That is wishful thinking.

"Sanctions are beginning to hurt, and as time goes on they will hurt much more, but it does not follow that they will force the white Rhodesians to their knees. They are a determined lot of people. They feel that their whole future is at stake. If they are asked to accept conditions which they consider intolerable, they are unlikely to hoist the white flag until the whole economy of the country is in ruins and law and order has collapsed.

"Do we wish to destroy all that has been built up in Rhodesia over the years? Do we wish to impoverish four million people, most of whom are Africans and have no responsibility for the present dispute? Do we wish to create a state of anarchy in which gangsterism will flourish and outside forces will be tempted to intervene? All sane people in Britain want to see this miserable chapter in our history brought rapidly to an end by the negotiation of a fair settlement.

### Negotiate Terms for Independence

"The purpose of the negotiation must be to agree terms on which Rhodesia's independence can be lawfully recognized. Any such settlement must take account both of the understandable desire of the Europeans to keep government in responsible hands and of the reasonable aspirations of the Africans to acquire an increasing share in the running of the country.

"Mr. Wilson said he was not asking for immediate African control, that he would be content to obtain safeguards which would ensure 'unimpeded progress towards majority rule' after independence. That seemed at first to imply that he was prepared to recognize Rhodesia's independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution, with such amendments as are necessary to ensure that the progressive widening of the electorate cannot be obstructed. It is probable that negotiations could be opened on that basis with some prospect of success.

"Unfortunately, the Prime Minister has added two further conditions which make any negotiation a complete farce: he has stipulated that before independence there must be a period of direct rule by the Governor, with some kind of advisory council, and said that Rhodesia will be given a new Constitution based on the opinions expressed at a subsequent conference representing all sections of the population.

"The white Rhodesians are thus asked to give the British Government a blank cheque. One, they have renounced U.D.I. and handed over control to the Governor, they will no longer have any bargaining power, and will have placed themselves totally at the mercy of Mr. Wilson, who could then impose upon them any Constitution he liked. This amounts to a demand for unconditional surrender, and does not offer any basis for the negotiation of an agreed settlement. Mr. Wilson must think again."

### Speech Criticized in Parliamentary Motion

Five Socialist M.P.s. tabled a motion in the House of Commons "That this House deplores the speech of the rt. hon. Member for Streatham on January 31, designed, it would seem, to offer comfort to the rebel régime of Mr. Smith, insult African Commonwealth countries, and delay the return to constitutional rule in Rhodesia."

Calling attention to that motion, Mr. Sandys asked for time for it to be debated, as it made grave accusations against him, amounting almost to a charge of treason, and directly impugning his honour and loyalty to the Crown.

The Lord President of the Council replied that he would be willing to discuss widening the proposed debate on Rhodesia in order that Mr. Sandys might have his opportunity.

Mr. Sandys: "In the case of Mr. Warbey exactly a year ago the Leader of the House said that as Mr. Warbey considered his honour and integrity had been impugned he had a right to a debate. The charges made against me are incomparably more serious. So why should not a clear opportunity be given for the House to express itself on the issue, rather than it being treated as incidental to a debate on another subject?"

Mr. Heath: "My rt. hon friend whose honour has been impugned has a right. The Leader of the House set the precedent himself. Surely he must agree that there must be time to discuss this item by itself, and not mix it up with other orders."

Mr. Bowden: "I will sympathetically consider this and see what can be done. There is considerable pressure on Parliamentary time."

### Copperbelt Protest

FIVE HUNDRED white miners at Kitwe and Chingola made Monday "a day of protest" and declined to work.

# PERSONALIA

SIR CHESTER BEATTY was 91 on Monday.

MR. A. A. P. ETHALSTON is revisiting Rhodesia.

PRESIDENT KAYIBANDA of Rwanda has just paid a four-day official visit to Belgium.

MR. ABOULA, lately Prime Minister of the Congo, has been appointed Congolese Ambassador in Brussels.

LORD ALDENHAM, an elder brother of SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, is about to visit him.

Monday was the 59th birthday of MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, M.P., Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

MR. MARIO CARDOSO, former Congolese Ambassador in Washington, is to be the Envoy of the Congo in London.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD flew to Lusaka from Nairobi on Friday for further talks with PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

MR. J. L. PEMBROKE, Commissioner of Income Tax in East Africa since 1962, has retired. His successor is MR. S. K. SABAGEREKA.

COLONEL DAVID STIRLING has obtained a franchise for his company, Television International Enterprises, Ltd., to operate a television station in Hongkong.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER has returned to Nigeria from Ethiopia, where he was a guest of the British Ambassador while recuperating from jaundice.

MR. G. P. BROWNIE, head of the African department of the Confederation of British Industries, will shortly spend some weeks in South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi.

MR. KENNETH MEADOWS, Public Relations Officer in the Kenya High Commission in London for the past three years, and previously for many years a journalist in Nairobi, has resigned. His successor is MR. P. WANGALWA.

The life of the RT. REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON as Bishop of Masasi was described by B.B.C. Television last week. The narrative was by MR. ERSKINE CHILDERS. He and the camera team had spent three weeks in Tanzania with the Bishop.

MR. WILLIAM STEER, a former Lord Mayor of Salisbury, MR. ALFRED LLOYD SPENCER, and MR. THOMAS ALLAN CRAIG, have been declared prohibited immigrants in Zambia, from which MR. HANS PETER ILG is officially stated to have been deported. No reasons have been given.

MR. WILLIS C. ARMSTRONG, Minister of Economic Affairs in the U.S. Embassy in London, addressed the Africa Centre in London on Monday evening on American policy in Africa. MR. RICHARD KERSHAW spoke on African reaction to that policy, and there was a discussion. MR. LAWRENCE VAMBE presided.

MR. ROWAN MARTIN, a piper from Rhodesia, should, in the opinion of a special correspondent of *The Times*, "make a name for himself."

MRS. M. C. SCHULLER-MCGEACHY, president of the International Council of Women, has paid brief visits to Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBRUY, Governor of Gibraltar, and at one time G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, is paying a private visit to London.

MR. DENNIS FROST, lately Commissioner for Community Development in Zambia, has been appointed Community Development Adviser in Swaziland.

MR. NOLAN GLENN WINSON, a Rhodesian, was last week ordered to leave Zambia within six hours for having displayed on his motor-car stickers showing support for the Smith Government in Rhodesia.

LORD CAMPBELL OF ESKAN, formerly SIR JOHN (JOCK) MIDDLETON CAMPBELL, has taken the oath and his seat in the House of Lords. His sponsors were LORD HODSON and LORD SAINSBURY, two Socialist Peers.

SIR ARTHUR CHARLES, lately Speaker of the Aden State Legislative Council, who was recently killed by a gunman, left £21,671 on which duty of £3,445 has been paid. He had previously been in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika.

MR. ERIC ROBINS, a British journalist, who is a correspondent of the American *Time-Life* magazine group, was last week declared a prohibited immigrant in Rhodesia, in which he had lived for 13 years. He left Salisbury for Lusaka.

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has appointed MR. R. L. HOWARTH to be her Parliamentary Private Secretary. He has been an M.P. only since the general election in October 1964. He is a past president of Bolton Labour Party and Bolton Trades Council.

SIR EDWARD PECK was received in audience by the QUEEN just before she left for the West Indies, and kissed hands upon his appointment as British High Commissioner in Kenya. Her Majesty conferred a knighthood upon him, and invested him with the insignia of K.C.M.G., LADY PECK was also received.

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister for Regional Administration in Tanzania, has been re-elected chairman of the African Liberation Committee of O.A.U. He is also chairman of its Committee of Five on Rhodesia. At a meeting in Dar es Salaam last week he claimed that "the liberation struggle is encouraging in Mozambique".

DR. AHRN PALLEY, the only white M.P. in Rhodesia elected for an African constituency, walked out of the House last week after questioning the legality of the Government. He refused to address the Minister of Law and Order as "the Honourable Minister", and he was allowed by the Deputy Speaker to refer to him as "the Honourable Member of the Executive in charge of Law and Order".

The Prime Minister of British Guiana has asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to submit to Her Majesty that SIR RICHARD LUYT, now Governor of British Guiana, should be appointed Governor-General of Guyana when the country becomes independent under that name on May 26. SIR RICHARD, who was formerly in the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia, would be prepared to accept the appointment for a few months.

THE RT. REV. LESLIE BROWN, until recently Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, is to be the new Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich. As a young man he was for some years a clerk in a book-selling company. Three years after ordination he went to India as a C.M.S. missionary, and spent 15 years in that country before going to East Africa as Bishop of Uganda. His wife is a qualified medical practitioner. On his recent return to England from Kampala BISHOP BROWN became an assistant bishop in the diocese of Southwark, London.

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London, W.C.1.

MR. YITSHAW PUNDAK is Israel's new Ambassador in Tanzania.

MR. DUNCAN LAWTON, president of the Round Table of Great Britain, has paid a short visit to Uganda.

MR. J. D. D. SHAW and MR. A. KIRBY have been elected to the board of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd.

MR. KENNETH YOUNG, a former editor of the *Yorkshire Post*, has arrived in Rhodesia for a visit of about three weeks.

MR. K. K. PANNI has presented his credentials to the President of Uganda, SIR EDWARD MUTESA, as High Commissioner for Pakistan.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, a former Governor of Kenya, who died in November, aged 54, left £27,404, on which duty of £1,517 has been paid.

HSU CHIEH, Deputy Minister of Geology in China, is leading a delegation to Zanzibar for celebrations of the second anniversary of the revolution.

SENATOR ANTOINE GIZENGA, the Lumumbist leader who was recently released by PRESIDENT MOBUTU, has been appointed High Commissioner for Youth and Sports in the Congo.

While continuing his work as inspector of roads and works in Mwanza, MR. ISAAC OMACH has been ordained as an Anglican deacon. The Ministry of Local Government in Tanzania consented on condition that he receives no pay in that capacity.

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL, who has been much interested in Central African affairs in recent years, has been awarded £5,000 damages and costs in a libel action against the satirical weekly magazine *Private Eye*, which had referred to him as "Lord Liver of Cesspool" in a reference of his books on German and Japanese war crimes.

MR. PEREZ M. OLINDO, who has been appointed Director of Kenya National Parks, is a Maragoli from the Western Province. He had been deputy director since last March, and holds a B.Sc. degree in wild life management. He succeeds COLONEL MERVYN COWIE, whose resignation has been accepted by the board of trustees.

MR. E. G. KASONDE, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Development in Zambia, has been appointed chairman of the new National Provident Fund Board. The other members are Messrs. N. A. JUDD (Associate Chambers of Commerce), W. L. LEWIS (Bookers), R. H. PAGE (R.S.T.), J. N. PRICE (Federation of Employers), M. W. STEPHENSON (Rhokana Corporation), L. B. IKOWA (National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers), M. M. KWALEYELA (National Union of Postal and Telecommunications Workers), A. MUGALA (National Union of Local Authority Workers), C. M. WEENE (Zambia Mineworkers' Union) and S. SITUMBA (National Union of Public Service Workers).

THE REV. E. B. CRUTCHLEY, a missionary on leave from northern Zambia, is to speak in the cinema of the Commonwealth Institute in London on the evening of Monday, March 14.

MR. A. E. W. CHILVERS, Chief Superintendent of Police in Kampala, and MRS. CHILVERS; MR. W. H. GREEN, export manager of Wigglesworth & Co., Ltd., and MRS. GREEN; and MR. D. E. SANDALL, Regional Commissioner of Customs and Excise in Tanzania, and MRS. SANDALL are passengers in the s.s. UGANDA, which sailed for East Africa from London on Monday.

## Obituary

### Colonel A. Tozer

COLONEL A. TOZER, C.B.E., M.C., T.D., M.A., who has died suddenly in hospital in Jersey at the age of 73, had been for some years a rancher and farmer in Kenya, which he left because he found conditions intolerable.

On graduating from New College, Oxford, in July 1914, he intended to join his father's legal firm in the City of London, but on August 4, the day on which war was declared, he tried to join the Honourable Artillery Company. Their quota was full. Next day, however, a letter from the O.T.C. of Oxford University asked for dispatch riders for the British Expeditionary Force, and he was one of 250 young men who were immediately enlisted in the Royal Engineers as corporals. Within 10 days most of them were in France, and he and many others were in the Mons neighbourhood.

He suffered a broken thigh a few months later, and in June 1915 was commissioned in R.E. Signals. He was in France and Flanders from the end of that year until after the Armistice, being demobilized as a captain and was in Marseilles when he joined the London Stock Exchange as a broker.

At the time of Munich he volunteered for the Officers' Emergency Reserve, and on the outbreak of war in the following year went to France on the headquarters staff of the Second Division. After being evacuated from Dunkirk he was at the War Office until the summer of 1941 and thereafter at G.H.Q., Middle East, and in Algiers and Italy until the end of the war.

Later he bought a ranch and farm in the Naro Moru district of Kenya.

Incensed by the Wilson Government's attitude to Rhodesia, he had been most active in recent weeks in emphasizing in letters to public men and the Press the extent of the damage been done throughout Africa by the premature grant of independence by ignorant and reckless politicians in the United Kingdom, and the very good reason which he believed Rhodesians to have for refusing to allow their country to be similarly victimized.

MR. ARTHUR A. BAERLEIN, C.B.E., Q.C., has died in Jinja, Uganda, aged 79.

MR. LOUISA MITCHELL, widow of the late DR. JOHN P. MITCHELL, formerly of Uganda, has died in Aberdeen.

MRS. ADA KEARTON, who has died in Surrey at the age of 87, was the widow of CHERRY KEARTON, the naturalist and photographer, with whom she travelled widely in East, Central and South Africa.

MR. YOVAN CHEMONGES, M.P., Kingoo of Sebei, Uganda, whose death at the age of 40 is announced, had at one time served in the Kenya Police. On returning to Uganda he was elected to the National Assembly four years ago, and soon afterwards attended the Uganda Constitutional Conference in London. He took a leading part in the creation of Sebei as a separate district, and was made Kingoo in 1963. He leaves 12 children.

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# ISLE OF MAN

Pearl of the British Isles

## Prime Minister Accused of Defamation Peers Probe Point About M.Ps' Meeting

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL put the following question in the House of Lords:—

"To ask H.M. Government which of the following versions of the conduct of the Special Branch police officers at the rowdy meeting in the Ambassador Hotel in Salisbury, Rhodesia, organized by three Labour M.Ps., is accurate, having regard to the fact that they are completely contradictory:—

"(1) The Prime Minister, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph* on January 14: 'This demonstration of intolerance combined with the obvious political instruction which had been given to the Special Branch to remain passive';

"(2) Mr. Rowland, M.P., as reported in the same newspaper on January 15: 'But in no time some Special Branch police officers emerged from nowhere and I was quickly surrounded and given perfectly adequate protection'.

"If neither version is accurate, what is the correct one?"

LORD BESWICK, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies: "The contradiction is only apparent. The Special Branch remained passive, presumably under instructions, until after the M.Ps. were attacked, at which point they surrounded them and gave them adequate protection."

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL: "That reply was not very illuminating and rather what I expected.

"The *Rhodesia Herald*, which is opposed to the Smith (I think you call it) rebellious Government, reported Mr. Rowland as saying: 'Very quickly members of the Rhodesian Special Branch moved up, and other Rhodesians round about shouted "Leave him alone" and moved in to protect me'. Does not the noble lord think it quite possible that somebody who was on the spot at the time would know more about it than somebody who at that particular moment was either in Lagos or on his way back from Lagos?"

### No Reply to Charge Against Mr. Wilson

LORD BESWICK: "Mr. Rowland was anxious to minimize the effect of the disturbance, and expressed appreciation for the assistance which had been given.

"But before that assistance was given, according to another man who was on the spot, the reporter of the *Daily Telegraph*, it is said that 'For an hour and three-quarters the M.Ps. tried hard to make themselves heard through an almost continuous uproar. Howls of 'Communist', 'Liars', 'Stupid nits', and 'You are yellow', drowned appeals for order'. I should not have thought that that was particularly tolerant behaviour."

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL: "Would the noble lord say quite explicitly whether he is agreeing that there was obvious political instruction given to the Special Branch to remain passive?"

LORD BESWICK: "I have not used the word 'obvious'; I used 'presumably'. I said that if the Special Branch did remain inactive through that time, presumably it was because they had instructions to remain inactive."

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL: "I know that the noble lord did not use the word 'obvious'. But according to the report the Prime Minister did use the word 'obvious'. Does the noble lord agree that that was so?"

LORD BESWICK: "I have no doubt that the noble lord is endeavouring to be helpful and produce an atmosphere of conciliation. I think I can best help him in his endeavour by not replying further to that question."

THE EARL OF DUNDEE: "The noble lord said that they remained passive before the M.Ps. were molested. Can he tell us what activities they were supposed to be engaged in before anybody was molested?"

LORD BESWICK: "There was a great movement of this crowded audience towards the platform. There were shouts. The whole proceeding was said by the Deputy Minister of Information to be illegal. Nevertheless, the Special Branch took no action."

LORD CONESFORD: "The Minister will agree, I think, that the remark admittedly made by the Prime Minister is defamatory of the acting Government, the illegal Government of Rhodesia. Can he say whether the Prime Minister made any inquiry from these M.Ps. before he uttered this defamatory statement?"

LORD BESWICK: "I do not know about the comment being defamatory. It is possible that there may be different standards of behaviour as between different people and over what they consider to be reasonable behaviour. I would agree with the Prime Minister that if a gathering of people attacked a visitor from another country and poured beer over his head, that was unreasonable and intolerant."

### Did Prime Minister Consult Socialist M.Ps.?

LORD CONESFORD: "I am sure that the Minister, who is very clear-headed, realizes that what the Prime Minister has admittedly said had nothing to do with the general conduct of the meeting, but related to instructions which he said had been given to the Special Branch. That allegation is defamatory of those about whom he was speaking and whom he wishes to induce to adopt a more reasonable frame of mind. Before the Prime Minister made this defamatory statement, had he, or had he not, asked these M.Ps. what took place?"

LORD BESWICK: "I do not accept in the least that this was a defamatory statement. I should have said it was a proper comment on reports available to the Prime Minister at the time."

LORD SEGAL: "Would not my noble friend agree that it is rather an unwarrantable reflection on three Labour M.Ps. to state, according to the wording of this question, that they organized a rowdy meeting? Surely the meeting was organized from the highest motives, and it was quite beyond their control that it happened to turn into a somewhat rowdy meeting afterwards."

LORD BESWICK: "From what I am able to gather, the real trouble is that it was not an organized meeting at all. The three M.Ps. had been asked to give their opinions on certain points, and they had so many inquiries that it was suggested that the people should come to the hotel where the M.Ps. could speak to them together. I think that the M.Ps.' motives were entirely honourable. It was unfortunate that proper method of exchanging of points-of-view developed in the way it did."

BARONESS HORSBOROUGH: "Is it not a fact that in this country police do not take any part in a meeting which is merely rowdy, or if people are screaming? They may go on screaming for an hour, as some of us may know; but the police come in only if there is physical violence."

LORD BESWICK: "I think this is perfectly true. Probably I have had as much experience of public meetings in this country as the noble lady. I should have thought that probably the uproar there was greater than that which one encounters in this country, except those organized by the Fascists. I should have thought it might have been expected that the Special Branch police, if they wished to damp down the enthusiasm of the Rhodesians, might have intervened a little earlier."

### British Government's Callousness

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS TUKER and SIR CHARLES MASTERMAN have referred in a joint letter to *The Times* to the callousness of the British Government to Rhodesia. They wrote:—

"Only a British Government thousands of miles from the scene of suffering could be so blind and callous as to 'shop' round the world to stop all oil entering Rhodesia when for months past the drought in Central Africa and its effects on crops and on the population, its flocks and herds had been well advertised.

"We were told that distant Australia and Canada had been asked to act urgently to prevent widespread suffering. Yet oil is still being dribbled by air into Zambia at great expense—expense in effort and money which could be better employed to keep the transport moving within the famine area where water, food and fodder must be sorely needed and where stock have to be shifted to grazing areas. Urgent action in famine times is a matter of days and at longest weeks, not months."

A Burundi national delegation arrived in Ethiopia last week.

A national news agency is to be established later this year by the Ministry for Information in Tanzania.

Sudanese dancers and musicians are about to appear in London, and then in Manchester and Birmingham, before going to the United States.

The Government of Zambia has announced that it will not send a team to the Empire Games in Jamaica in August if Rhodesians are allowed to compete.

## Governor Denies "Quisling" Charge No Talks with Named Politicians

SPOKESMEN for Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, denied on Friday that he had had talks with three Rhodesian politicians who have been named as opponents of Mr. Smith's régime.

The statement was made after Mr. George Brind had said that he had gone to Government House on the previous day to see Sir Humphrey, who had, he understood, also seen Mr. Evan Campbell, a former High Commissioner in London, and Mr. Butler, a former leader of the now disbanded Rhodesia Party. Mr. Brind, formerly a member of the executive of the Rhodesian Front, which has expelled him from membership, said that he had taken a letter to Government House offering to serve on a "Shadow Cabinet", but had not seen the Governor.

For Sir Humphrey it was said not only that he had not had talks with Mr. Campbell, Mr. Butler, or Mr. Brind, but that he did not wish to see Mr. Brind.

Mr. Butler told journalists and a television interviewer that suggestions of a Shadow Cabinet formed to replace the Smith régime was nonsense. There were people opposed to U.D.I. who might be prepared to form a Government if so asked, but it was ridiculous to suggest that a group of people had actual jobs to do as members of a Shadow Cabinet. He had often met Sir Humphrey, but there had never been anything like an official meeting of the kind indicated.

Recently Mr. Smith had asked him to submit proposals for a settlement of the crisis, and he had put forward an 18-point plan. It had been discussed and rejected by the Government.

## Refusals to Join A "Bottomley Cabinet" What Mr. Yates, M.P., Heard in Rhodesia

MR. WILLIAM YATES, Conservative M.P. for Wrekin, who returned to London last week after spending a fortnight in Rhodesia, told Press representatives that he had seen "practically everyone of any consequence, including the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Prime Minister, other members of the Cabinet, Church leaders, and representative Africans".

Two people whom he had met had been approached to join a potential "Bottomley Cabinet" in Rhodesia, and both had declined to have anything to do with the idea.

Having met Lieut.-Colonel Jardine, who commands the Royal Rhodesia Regiment, and Air Vice Marshal Hawkins, commanding the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, he had the clear impression that the armed services were not prepared to betray the present Government of Rhodesia, which they considered to have been duly elected. There was no evidence of any disaffection.

"Everybody knows that the Rhodesian Government wants to discuss the situation with the British Government. In my estimation, it would be prepared to substitute a constitutional declaration of independence for U.D.I. at an agreed moment after an Act of Settlement at Westminster. That is the only way of eradicating the bitterness that has crept into Anglo-Rhodesian relations".

A three-point formula was suggested by Mr. Yates: (1) an offer of reconciliation by the British Parliament, with an Act of Settlement; (2) agreement by the Rhodesian Parliament to re-negotiate the 1961 Constitution, with variations of the franchise qualifications and proportional representation; and (3) suspension of U.D.I. during a brief visit by Prince Philip as temporary Governor-General, and then a constitutional declaration of independence on behalf of the Queen.

An Austrian coffee grower has been expelled from Tanzania. An Ethiopian Airline aircraft carrying nine and a crew of three was forced by an armed passenger to land in Somalia.

The Bechuanaland Independence Conference will open on Monday next at Marlborough House, London. Mr. Serete Khama, the Prime Minister, will lead the Bechuanaland delegation.

A Mozambique official communiqué states that in the first fortnight of January 187 terrorists who had infiltrated into the country from Tanzania were killed, wounded, or captured, together with considerable quantities of Russian and Chinese war material.

## Rhodesia Wants Fireside Broadcasts Keeping the People in the Picture

SINCE INDEPENDENCE WAS DECLARED ON November 11 many letters have reached EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA from Rhodesia. All have indicated strong support for Mr. Smith and his Government, though many of the writers had opposed the idea of a unilateral declaration. Once that step had been taken, however, all felt it their patriotic duty to work with the régime.

Some correspondents are anxious for regular reports to the country about the course of events. A recent letter in that sense says (in part):—

"The second stage of petrol rationing is our first real deprivation. There will be others, and I have little doubt that many will be severe. How Rhodesians take them will depend on how much the Government keeps the public in the picture. People do not endure hardships for ever without being told why.

"The Government must be clever in the way they go about it. They could take as models some of the people who during the last war gave many very good fireside talks to maintain British morale. The severe drought means that many farmers are feeling the pressures more than others. Much will depend on their reactions.

"There is growing worry about an element which seems to be champing to do away with the Union Jack. It is reflected among people who have cut the Union Jack out of the Rhodesian flag flown on their cars, leaving a blank space. These people must realize that without the support of the British people in Britain our battle will be lost; and charging the Governor £250 a month rent and £1,000 a month for the upkeep of Government House has lost us many friends overseas.

"The motives of people who signed his visitors' book after U.D.I. have been misrepresented. Many who did so as a gesture of appreciation of Sir Humphrey's past services to this country nevertheless give all support to Mr. Smith. I pray that the Government will do everything to keep all Rhodesia's friends and nothing to antagonize any of them".

## Support for Rhodesia

MR. JOHN MONKS, an Australian special correspondent of the London *Daily Express*, who recently revisited the land of his birth, said in a television interview in Salisbury last week that perhaps 90% of Australians were pro-Rhodesian, and that under the new Prime Minister that sentiment was likely to be made more evident. The New Zealand Liberal Party—which was really Conservative—took the official line of backing the Rhodesian cause.

Yet neither country was well informed about Rhodesia, because their news originated in Johannesburg and London. The real need was to invite some Australian journalists to Rhodesia to see conditions for themselves, and to send some information men to Australia to give the facts.

While in London he had learned that more than 90% of the letters received by the *Daily Express* were in favour of Rhodesia. The *Daily Mail* had published the fact that some 85% of its correspondence from readers was on the side of Rhodesia.

LORD MONSON, who was a member of the Monckton Commission, said in a letter in the *Observer*:—

"You urge that British forces be stationed in Rhodesia after U.D.I., presumably to maintain order and protect the political and legal rights of black Rhodesians for so long as power remains substantially in white hands. Fair enough; but would you support the equitable corollary that the British military presence should continue indefinitely after black Rhodesians take over the positions of power, to safeguard the rights of white, Asian, coloured and, indeed, anti-nationalist black Rhodesians?"

"Where fundamental differences of outlook exist, the most solemn treaties and guarantees of minority rights are ultimately meaningless if the physical means of enforcement are inadequate as the Turkish Cypriots know to their cost".

## Parliamentary Questions and Answers

### Aspects of Sanctions Probed

**THE PRIME MINISTER** admitted in the House of Commons a few days ago that he had heard nothing which suggested that Mr. Smith was prepared to make concessions which would be remotely acceptable to British Parliamentary opinion.

**MR. WALL**, who had returned from Rhodesia a few days previously, asked if the Prime Minister was aware that sanctions were having the opposite effect to those intended and were banding white Rhodesians together and causing black Rhodesians to blame him for loss of jobs and hunger.

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "The hon. Member is entitled to his opinions, which were formed long before the facts were formed."

**MR. ROWLAND**: "Is my right hon. friend aware that in some business circles in Salisbury there are some people who believe that the tougher the sanctions the better, because they will have the effect of bringing this affair to an end quicker?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "I think it is generally agreed in the House that the policy we are pursuing is the right one for the results we are agreed upon."

### Rhodesia Ready to Make Concessions

**MR. EVELYN KING**: "As one who has so far supported sanctions, may I ask the Prime Minister if he can confirm the impression I have recently derived from Mr. Smith and other *de facto* Ministers that up to last week Mr. Smith's Government were prepared to make very substantial concessions to meet the will of this House?"

"Is the Prime Minister further aware that the statement he made on January 25 not only would not be acceptable to Mr. Smith but to scarcely any responsible European in Rhodesia? Is he also aware that if this is his last word there will be many hon. Members on this side of the House who will be unable to support sanctions any longer?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "Hon. Members will have to make up their minds and take responsibility when they have done so. I am not impressed by any of the views the hon. Member expressed. Certainly nothing said publicly or privately by Mr. Smith, as reported to me, suggests that he has any idea of concessions which would be remotely acceptable to the vast majority of hon. Members of this House."

**DAME IRENE WARD**: "Does not the rt. hon. gentleman think that in the British Parliament, irrespective of all others, the case for Mr. Smith ought to be stated there in this House?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "The hon. lady very much underates the contributions made by some of her hon. friends. In case she thinks it has not been made, I shall be pleased to send her a copy of *Punch*."

### Cost of Sanctions to British Economy

**MR. ENNALS**: "Is the Prime Minister aware that some of those who very recently spoke to Mr. Smith gained the impression that the only terms on which he wished to have discussions with the British Government were on the assumption that we already regarded his régime as an independent Government? Is he aware that very many responsible people in Rhodesia were waiting for just the sort of statesmanlike statement that he made on Tuesday? Can he tell us what steps are being taken to ensure that that statement is known and understood in Rhodesia?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "Of course I agree. I understand that, perhaps unusually, the statement made in the House on Tuesday was allowed to be published in the *Rhodesian Herald*."

To several questions about the cost to the British economy of the imposition of sanctions on Rhodesia, the **PRIME MINISTER** replied: "I have nothing to add to the answer given by the President of the Board of Trade on December 3. Additional costs to Government Departments up to December 31 amount to just over £1m."

**MR. LLOYD**: "Since the major cost is not that to Government Departments but the cost to the country as a whole, will the Prime Minister not enlist the assistance of institutions such as the Confederation of British Industries, the Electrical Manufacturers' Association, and many hundreds of others who could canvass their members and give him a precise and possibly dramatic idea of what the cost is?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "They might not be able to calculate the even more dramatic costs of what would have happened if we had pursued a different policy, and what the cost would have been to this country if we were to have lost the very important copper supplies from areas to the north."

**BRIGADIER CLARKE**: "Does the Prime Minister realize that the costs cannot be measured in pounds, shillings, and pence? Does he further realize that it will be entirely his responsibility if we have a lot of starving Africans on our hands and chaos in that country brought about by his own actions?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "I agree that one cannot evaluate these things purely in terms of money."

**MR. HEATH**: "This is a constitutional, economic, human, and, indeed, a moral problem. Ought not the Government to make an attempt to present the economic cost, because surely that will strengthen the Prime Minister's hand in impressing other countries with the length of the steps that we have been prepared to take in order to try and secure a solution to the problem?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "I am very glad that the rt. hon. gentleman says that this is a moral problem. I tried to tell him that in the debate just before Christmas. I agree that in discussion with other countries, many of which are making a contribution proportionately just as great as our own, it is important to make it clear to them as far as we can exactly what is involved for all of us. We have done that; but it is very difficult to measure in exact terms what the cost is outside the cost which falls on Government Departments."

"We did everything in our power to avoid this situation, and many facts that have come to light since have underlined that — not least the fact that the petrol rationing documents were dated October 25, the day before I arrived in Salisbury."

**MR. IAN LLOYD** asked what representations had been received from the oil industry on the implementation of oil sanctions against Rhodesia.

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "None, sir, but Departments are in constant touch with the oil companies, who are of course complying with the Order-in-Council and co-operating in the air and surface lifts for Zambia."

### Oil Embargo and South Africa

**MR. LLOYD**: "Was the Prime Minister advised that before he imposed oil sanctions at least two of the oil companies with major responsibilities for oil supplies in Southern Africa were South African registered companies, which then and now would be bound to take their instructions from Cape Town rather than Whitehall?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "There were rather broader considerations to take into account than that in the particular week in which the oil sanctions were imposed. We have had the very fullest support from oil companies in touch with the British Government, and the same is true of those in touch with the American Government."

"With regard to the difficult problem of those companies registered in South Africa, it is very much in our minds, and we are in constant touch with their associates in this country on those problems. In view of the attitude of the South African Government, I am bound to say that the difficulties have been much less, thanks to the altitude of South Africa, than the hon. gentleman might have expected."

**SIR D. WALKER-SMITH**: "Is the position still the same as we were told it was on December 21 that Britain is the only country in which the imposition of oil sanctions has the force of law, and that in every other country it is buttressed only by exhortation?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "The law is that no one can import oil into Rhodesia; and that has the force of law, on supplies from all parts of the world. It is the case that no other country has placed an export ban on oil, but most of the problems here are affected by the fact that most oil supplying countries have themselves placed a ban on the export of their oil to Rhodesia. What I think the rt. hon. and learned gentleman has in mind is those oil companies who do not come from oil supplying countries but act as distributors. In most of those cases there is no such law binding on them in their own countries, but they are following the law that we made."

**MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON** asked for a statement on H.M. Government's policy on the continuation of financial and technical aid to members of the Commonwealth who had severed diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. Had consideration been given to the advisability of re-directing such aid and technical assistance until those two countries recognized what the British Government was trying to do in Rhodesia and lent more, active support to the Government's endeavours.



THE PRIME MINISTER: "I do not think that it will be very long before those two countries realize that they have made a very serious mistake. But it is a mistake which is reparable. Aid means teachers, hospital staffs and others, and it cannot and should not be switched on and off like a tap, depending on grave diplomatic action of this kind. I hope that these two countries will be ready rapidly to restore relations with us."

BRIGADIER TERENCE CLARKE asked the Prime Minister if he would discontinue aid to countries which have broken off diplomatic relations with Great Britain; "countries which bite the hands that feed them?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have already explained why I think it right, subject to all the difficulties which are caused by the breaking up of relations, to keep on our teaching assistance programmes and other forms of economic assistance. It has always been the line of successive Governments in this country—and of the United Nations—that, when an effort is made to link economic aid which is based on sheer human necessity to political strings, both the economic aid and in the long run the political aims one has in mind are injured."

**Airlift to Zambia**

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES said that between December 19 and 31 the airlift of oil to Zambia had cost £100,000. R.A.F. Britannias were flying oil into Zambia within 48 hours of the announcement of an oil embargo.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Will the Government come to their senses and lift this heavy burden upon the British and Zambian peoples resulting from their policy of sanctions? Should not the Commonwealth Relations Office be concerned with trying to restore full co-operative relations between the inter-dependent States of Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia rather than with pursuing this disastrous policy?"

MR. HUGHES: "The hon. Member speaks of course for himself, as always. The three parties in this House are committed to bring this rebellion in Rhodesia to an end, and the airlift is part of that operation."

MR. COOPER: "Is not this a ridiculous waste of the nation's valuable resources? Is it not time, instead of the Prime Minister carrying on his personal vendetta, that the Government get down to the serious job of negotiating a settlement of this vital problem?"

MR. HUGHES: "The British taxpayer had to pay some pretty formidable bills when the party opposite was in power for much less worthy causes than this one."

MR. BAKER asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what consultations were held between H.M. Government and the Government of Zambia before the latter announced its decision to abolish Commonwealth preference.

**Zambia Withdraws Preference on British Imports**

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The Zambian Government informed us of their decision to introduce a single column tariff which removed our preferences. They maintained this position despite repeated representations."

MR. BLAKER: "In the course of the consultations before the decision was announced by the Zambian Government, did H.M. Government put forward any practical counter-proposals—for example, for improving Commonwealth trade links—of a kind which might discourage the Zambian Government from taking this step?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Yes, sir. I saw the Minister of Finance about the proposed changes and suggested to him ways in which we might make improvements in the trade between both countries. This is still being considered."

MR. J. AMERY: "Is the Secretary of State aware that he and his colleagues are really making themselves ridiculous by getting into the position where they are spending hundreds of thousands of pounds of British money on helping Zambia and getting kicked in the teeth for their trouble?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "What we want to try to do is to bring about the most happy relationships between the two countries. The hon. gentleman's behaviour, as usual, suggests that he is trying to stop that."

MR. JOHN HYNED asked whether it was intended to continue providing financial and other economic aid to Tanzania.

MR. GREENWOOD: "My predecessor informed the House on December 22 that we are prepared to continue our technical assistance to Tanzania and to meet existing commitments of financial aid, provided the necessary administrative arrangements could be made. So far as technical assistance and existing loan agreements are concerned, these administrative arrangements have now been made. Some of the staff who before the breach were dealing with aid questions in the British High Commission in Dar es Salaam are now working in the Canadian High Commission, who are responsible for representing our interests in Tanzania."

MR. HYNED: "Is it not rather absurd that we should continue to provide aid to a country which has broken relations with us

when so many other countries which recognise us are in need of aid? Is it not deplorable that we should provide technical aid to Tanzania and have to operate through representatives of other countries because we are not recognised, and cannot therefore intervene in the administration of the aid?"

MR. GREENWOOD: "Withdrawal of technical assistance might well create administrative and economic difficulties in that country which would not be in the interests of ourselves, of Tanzania's neighbours, or of the community as a whole. If development aid is to be effective, it must be on a planned and continuing basis. If administrative delays flow from the breach of diplomatic relations, which we hope will be temporary, this is certainly not our fault."

**Kariba**

In answer to questions about the Kariba Dam, Mr. Bottomley said:—

"The title to the dam is vested in the Central African Power Corporation, not in any nation. The Power Corporation is a body corporate under the law of Southern Rhodesia and is also under the law of Zambia, and its title, in so far as it derives from this, depends on the law of Southern Rhodesia in respect of that part of the dam which is within Southern Rhodesia and on the law of Zambia in respect of that part within Zambia.

"The terms upon which the corporation enjoys its title is that it should supply electricity to undertakings within the territories and continue to operate and develop the system for the generation and transhipment of electricity associated with the Kariba scheme. In carrying out these functions the corporation is under the general control of a Higher Authority on which the Government of Zambia and the Government of Southern Rhodesia are equally represented. The Higher Authority has the power to give the corporation directions of a general nature as to the exercise of its functions, and the corporation has to comply with any such directions.

"The British contribution to the Kariba Dam was £18m., of 22.5% of the total loan. This was divided into £15m. from the Colonial Development Corporation and £3m. from the Commonwealth Development and Finance Company."

"The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development's contribution was some 35.8% or £28.6m. Other contributions came from the former Federal Government, the copper companies, the Standard Bank of South Africa and a local contribution from Barclay's Bank D.C.O.

"The amount owing to the C.D.C. is £14.9m. and to C.D.F.C. £2.8m. The I.B.R.D. loan outstanding is some £23m. The securities and loans are covered in agreement with the Power Corporation, guaranteed 50% by the Government of Southern Rhodesia and 50% by the Government of Zambia. In addition, the I.B.R.D. loan is guaranteed 100% by H.M. Government."

**Rhodesian Projects**

Asked by MR. WALL about grants for Rhodesian development projects which had been cancelled or suspended, Mr. Greenwood said:

"The list below shows all the development projects operative at the time of the illegal declaration of independence for which grants had been agreed but had not been wholly disbursed, together with the amounts actually issued before I.D.I. The unissued balances amounting to £98,743, together with about £204,000 not yet allocated to specific projects, are being held in suspense pending further consideration.

"H.M. Government has also agreed to contribute £800,000 towards the proposed new teaching hospital in Salisbury. Action on this must follow the general decision to cease aid to Rhodesia."

Purpose	Grant £	Issued £	Balance £
University College			
Staff housing, library books, equipment, students' union, science building, agricultural laboratories	136,000	123,063	12,947
Science block extension, halls of residence, extension, library books, equipment, site works	180,325	180,250	75
Construction of staff houses	40,750	40,287	463
Extension of women's hall of residence	78,750	77,070	1,680
Residence of Marjorie Hodson Hall of Residence	268,000	268,251	749
Provision of staff housing	38,000	27,050	10,950
College Farm	5,250	4,970	280
Equipment and apparatus	50,000	47,656	2,344
Hall of residence—furniture and equipment	40,250	37,688	2,562
Site works	37,500	25,625	11,875
Library books and equipment	44,000	39,000	5,000
Extension to physics department	40,000	38,182	1,818
Education Wing (Arts Extension)	60,000	58,000	2,000
Completion of main portion of students' union complex	110,000	81,000	29,000
Extension to Agricultural Department	30,000	Nil	30,000
	1,146,825		98,743

## Rhodesian Brevities

"THE GOVERNMENT will not negotiate in any way with the illegal Smith régime, but any member of it can go to the Governor and say: 'We made a mistake; we want to talk'; and talks can begin on that basis". Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, said when addressing a Labour Party rally in Billericay, Essex. He hoped fervently that "we shall succeed in clearing out this revolutionary régime".

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Salisbury has just announced that foreign currency allocations for the import of goods from April 1 to July 31 will be 20% above that for the initial period.

Petrol continues to reach Rhodesia in substantial quantities. According to one report at the beginning of this week, current stocks, together with the amounts which can confidently be expected from South Africa and Mozambique, will suffice for six months on the basis of the present ratios.

Total exemption from petrol rationing of medical practitioners has, however, ended. Doctors now get a basic 15 gallons a week, with supplementary permits when necessary. Similar special arrangements have been made for veterinary surgeons.

Rhodesians who cross the border into South Africa or Mozambique to obtain motor fuel are not charged customs duty on the quantity necessary to get them back to their starting point, but they pay duty on petrol brought back in separate containers.

Motor fuel sent as gifts to individuals is liable to duty, and that arriving in bulk as a gift to the nation will become dutiable when distributed through normal commercial channels, the receipts being credited to a trust for the relief of distress caused by the imposition of sanctions. Associations supplying the fuel are to be consulted in that connexion.

### Prime Minister's Thanks to South Africa

Rhodesia's thanks to South Africa have been expressed by Mr. Smith in a message to the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which said:—

"I have been sincerely touched by the generosity of the organizations in South Africa which have donated motor fuel to Rhodesia. This gesture is typical of the traditional friendliness for which South Africans are noted. I assure all those associated with this endeavour that their gifts will be put to good use in Rhodesia's cause and will help us to conserve our vital fuel stocks.

"We are confident that we shall be able to ride out the storm of sanctions, though we do not pretend that we shall not suffer any hardships. Gifts such as these, demonstrating tangible evidence of the sympathy and understanding of our friends, will fortify us for the struggle ahead.

"After all, South Africa first incurred the wrath of the Afro-Asian group and many of the Western countries when she broke with the Commonwealth. It seemed at that stage that South Africa was headed for troubled waters as a result of the vicious sanctions imposed upon her. However, by the grit and determination of her people, she not only weathered the storm, but emerged a complete nation in every respect. Her secondary industries especially grew out of all recognition, until today they can compete on an equal footing with those of any country in the world.

"History has a habit of repeating itself, and Rhodesia today stands in the same position as South Africa in 1961. With God's help, and with courage and determination, we too shall win through in this contest of wills, and we believe sincerely that the spiteful gestures of the Wilson régime will be seen by all to be impotent and futile.

"We shall never relinquish that which we now hold. Our independence, which is being so dearly bought, is a sacred thing to us in Rhodesia, and we will never give it up."

### U.S.A. and Germany Still Trade with Rhodesia

The latest British estimate is that sanctions have now cost Rhodesia £69m. worth of exports, or 58% of the 1964 total. The losses are said to include 90% of normal tobacco markets, 70% in the case of asbestos, 60% in that of iron and steel, 57% in sugar, and 40% in chrome. Britain has banned trade of about £30.5m., Zambia £10m., West Germany £5.5m., Japan £4m., the Congo £1.5m., Denmark £0.5m., and France £0.3m.

West Germany still buys Rhodesian copper and asbestos. The United States is still a buyer of Rhodesian chrome and ferro-chrome, imports of which last year were about £1.7m.

The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee has asked that pressure should be put on the U.S.A., West Germany, Switzerland and Spain to discontinue the substantial trade which they still do with Rhodesia.

Mr. Archie Black, who farms near Salisbury, and who wanted to buy seven pedigree Hereford bulls in England last week for about £8,000, was told by the Ministry of Agriculture that he would not be given an export licence. He had come over as guest judge for the Hereford Breed Society.

The Congolese Government has decided to cut all economic and commercial links with Rhodesia. About 87% of the Congo's imports of coal and meat had been supplied by Rhodesia. Landing and overlying rights for aircraft on their way to and from Rhodesia are to be suspended.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, which has bought about 100,000 tons of coal and coke annually from the Wankie Colliery in Rhodesia, in which it holds about 500,000 shares, expects to import coal from the United States and other countries by the Benguela Railway through the port of Lobito.

The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company (RISCO) has closed two of its three blast furnaces and one of its two open-hearth furnaces. About 700 Europeans and 2,100 Africans have been employed by the company. Its main shareholders are the Rhodesian Government, the Anglo American Corporation, the Lancashire Steel Corporation, and the Stewarts and Lloyds group.

During the first two days of issue Rhodesia's Independence Bonds, which H.M. Government had declared to be valueless, sold briskly.

Rhodesian stamps overprinted "Independence 11th November 1965" were quickly sold out. At least one dealer in Britain flew out to Salisbury to buy supplies. He said on returning that the set, which had a face value of 43s. 10½d., was changing hands up to £6 on the day of issue and up to £8 next day.

A new definitive issue of Rhodesian postage stamps was placed on sale on Saturday. There are 14 denominations from 1d. to 20s. A 1s. 6d. stamp has been introduced for use on airmail correspondence to Europe.

Rumours that the dispatch of postal orders to Malawi had been stopped has been officially denied.

The Rt. Rev. Kenneth Skelton, Anglican Bishop of Matabeleland, said in Bulawayo last week that brutal methods had been used by the police against Africans who had started a resistance campaign.

### "Christian" Action

Canon John Collins, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, told a Press conference last week that if Mr. Smith's régime were not brought down by other means Christian Action would support the use of force. It planned a nation-wide campaign to arouse public opinion on the issues involved.

If force had to be used, it should be under international control. "We don't want to return to British imperialism. Britain should offer to the world through the Security Council of the United Nations such force as it has available to be applied to make sure that the Smith régime should cease and a sensible alternative take its place."

Christian Action has established a special committee on Rhodesia. Its members are Bishop Joost de Blank, a former Archbishop of Cape Town; the Ven. Edward Carpenter, Archdeacon of Westminster; the Rev. John Drewett, Rector of St. Margaret's Lothbury and Rural Dean of the City of London; the Rev. Kenneth Greet, a Methodist minister; a Jesuit priest who has served nearly the whole of his ministry in Rhodesia and wishes his name not to be stated because he will shortly return; Mr. Humphry Berkeley, M.P.; Mr. Tom Driberg, M.P.; and Mr. Richard Brown, lately a lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has been asked to preside at a meeting in London to launch the campaign, and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Mr. Bottomley, and Mr. Grimond have been asked to speak. At the time of the Press conference none of the four had replied.

"Was there ever such blatant hypocrisy as this, that the British Government professes deep and brotherly love for the African and yet obstinately persists in a policy which must inevitably lead to the deaths of thousands of them in Rhodesia from starvation?" — Mr. M. M. R. Haig, of Bulawayo.

"British party political divisions have been unreal for a generation. In this Rhodesian crisis it is for the party leaders, even at the sacrifice of personal ambition and personal obligation, to disregard them, and for left and right to exercise self-discipline. There has been no more insistent demand for national unity since 1940". — Mr. J. H. MacCallum Scott.

## Now Illegal to Export Tobacco

### British Warning to Growers and Traders

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has this week declared it a criminal offence under British and Rhodesian law for traders or speculators to buy and stockpile Rhodesian tobacco. Export of tobacco from Rhodesia was simultaneously declared illegal, and tobacco farmers were told that they would commit an offence if they sold their leaf while the Smith Government remains in power.

These declarations were made under the recent Order-in-Council which permits the British Government to prohibit Rhodesian trade in any specified product.

The Commonwealth Relations Office issued the following statement:—

"An order has today been made banning the export of tobacco from Rhodesia and the sale of tobacco in Rhodesia with a view to its being exported. This order reinforces the ban already imposed by Britain and other countries on the importation of Rhodesian tobacco by now making it illegal for speculators or others to buy tobacco and hold it in Rhodesia or elsewhere in the hope of selling it at a profit when lawful government is restored.

"Purchasers of tobacco in contravention of the order will acquire no legal right to it and will also not be able to get their money back. Participation in transactions forbidden by the order is a criminal offence both under the law of Rhodesia and under the law of the United Kingdom. From now on all transactions in Rhodesia that are aimed at the export of tobacco are invalid, whether the export is to take place immediately or in the future.

"When lawful Government is restored any stocks of tobacco which have been the subject of illegal transactions will, before they can be exported, have to be reauctioned on such conditions as may be laid down by the lawful government. Only tobacco which has been sold lawfully will be allowed to be exported; this will no doubt involve export licensing. Market conditions may make it necessary for tobacco to be stockpiled for orderly disposal.

"The United Kingdom normally buys over half the Rhodesian tobacco crop by value. For so long as may be necessary to counter any attempts at evasion, licences for the import of Rhodesian tobacco into the United Kingdom will be issued only for tobacco which can be shown to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade to have been sold legally. There will therefore be no question of tobacco sold illegally during the rebellion entering this country either from Rhodesia or from third countries.

"We are seeking the co-operation of other countries in refusing to import illegally sold Rhodesian tobacco even after lawful government is restored".

## Rhodesian Government Not Illegal

SIR RONALD WINGATE has denounced the practice of British Ministers of referring to the "illegal Government" of Rhodesia, saying in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"The continued use of the phrase 'illegal government' as applied to the present *de facto* Government of Rhodesia is to me incomprehensible.

"In Britain we have no written Constitution, and the courts can only pronounce as to a particular act by a particular legal person being against the civil or criminal law or practice. We have no such thing as a *Conseil d'Etat* as exists in most countries in Europe, which can pronounce on a particular act, or even proposal, being 'unconstitutional'.

"In Rhodesia the courts administer the civil and criminal law, and provided the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia is effectively a Government in Rhodesia, they will continue to do so. No question of the legality or illegality of the Rhodesian Government arises. Similarly if, by chance, in this country a Government on lines entirely dissimilar to the present régime was set up, which effectively controlled the country, the courts would continue to do their work.

"Nor does the recognition of a *de facto* Government by other States have anything to do with its 'legality' or 'illegality'. This is a matter for their own domestic policy. The last 50 years show more than 100 instances of the recognition or non-recognition by other States of Governments which at the beginning were 'rebel', but which gained *de facto* control.

"Rebellion is a matter which is in the purview of a Government which regards itself as being rebelled against, and it can take any action it likes, including negotiations with the 'rebels'—as occurred in 1776".

## CABLE AND WIRELESS

### (HOLDING) LIMITED

(Investment Trust Company)

Governor: Mr. S. John Pears, F. C. A.

CAPITAL (Authorised) .....	£47,000,000
(Issued) .....	£14,902,000
5% Debenture Stock .....	£5,355,000

In his statement circulated with the Report and Accounts for the year ended the 31st December, 1965, the Governor comments on the future as well as the results of the past year, which show:—

	31st Dec. 1965	31st Dec. 1964
CAPITAL (Issued)	£14,902,000	£14,902,000
EARNINGS (Net)	£1,815,000*	£1,618,000
DIVIDEND	13½%*	13½%
RESERVES	£7,393,000	£6,794,000
DEBENTURE STOCK	£5,355,000	£5,355,000
ASSETS	£69,824,000	£65,331,000
INVESTMENTS (Book Value)	£27,465,000	£26,963,000

\*The Directors also recommend the payment of a Special dividend of 1½% from abnormal income received in 1965, of which £119,000 (net) is not included in the above figure.

## Three Zambian Ministers Leave Cabinet Two Dismissed After Financial Scandal

DISMISSAL OF TWO ZAMBIAN MINISTERS was recorded last week. The official explanation, has now reached London. It reads:—

"A State House spokesman said tonight that Mr. Mundia, Minister of Labour and Social Development, and Mr. Nalilungwe, Minister of Commerce and Industry, have tendered their resignations as Ministers to the President and the President has accepted such resignations.

"Both Ministers had financial interests in companies which had received Government loans as a result of Ministerial directions. In neither case had the Ministers disclosed their financial interests in the companies. The amount of Government money involved was in one case £30,000 and the other £88,000.

"The President said: 'I will not tolerate Ministers of the State using their political influence and executive powers so as they may obtain personal benefit. A Minister is a servant of the people, and he must use his powers for the good of the common man and the development of the country. Ministers cannot go into the economic market-place and expect to remain serfants of the State. This has been realized by the Ministers concerned, who have in consequence decided to resign. I welcome their decision. They have done wrong, but at least at this stage they have decided to try and make amends by resigning. This is a sad affair. It is correct that the Ministers should leave public office, but I do not want to crucify them.

"I have decided that for an interim period the functions normally vested in the Minister of Commerce and Industry will be carried out by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Arthur Wina. I will appoint a new Minister of Commerce and Industry in due course.

"I have appointed Dr. Konoso to be Minister of Justice, and Mr. Sipalo to be a Minister of State for Economic Development. Mr. Justin Chimba has been transferred from the Ministry of Justice to become the new Minister of Labour and Social Development.

"Both Mr. Mundia and Nalilungwe have affirmed their loyalty and continuing support for the Government, the

United National Independence Party, and to myself as head of State and National president of the United National Independence Party.

"What has happened must bring sadness to the nation as a whole. There is a lesson for all of us: we must dedicate ourselves to the nation and the welfare of the masses and put away thoughts of personal advantage".

The next day there was the following announcement about the Vice-President:—

"A State House spokesman said today that President Kaunda had directed the Vice-President, Mr. R. C. Kamanga, to lead Zambia's delegation at the United Nations. The purpose of this exercise would be to enable the Vice-President to acquire a wider knowledge of the functioning of Governments in relation to the United Nations, with special reference to United Nations Technical Aid Programmes. The Vice-President will be absent from the country for about six months.

"During his absence the President is assigning departmental functions formerly exercised by the Vice-President partly to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. S. M. Kapwepwe, and partly to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Mainza Chona.

"The President has appointed the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr. Sikota Wina, as Leader of Government Business in the House".

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

## Medson Silombela Hanged in Public

MEDSON SILOMBELA, a leader in last February's revolt against the Banda régime in Malawi, has been executed in Zomba prison, where the hanging was watched by about 400 relatives of people whom he was alleged to have killed. He had been convicted of killing only one man, a branch chairman of the Malawi Congress Party, but confessed at his trial to the murder of seven other people.

Before the trial Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, announced that Silombela would be hanged in public. The Penal Code was later amended in order to permit hanging "in such a place as may be directed by the Minister".

There were demands by M.P.s. that the execution should be in a public stadium or a market-place, and one asked for the skull of the murderer to be kept on permanent exhibition in the national museum. Another wanted his skin to be exhibited.

Silombela was described during the trial as the chief lieutenant of Mr. Henry Chipembere, the former Education Minister, who is now in the United States.

## Congress Party Warned

Mr A. J. Mtalika Banda, M.P. for Nkhata Bay and a permanent official of the Malawi Congress Party—and no relative of the Prime Minister—has been suspended from office and membership for "disloyalty, double-dealing, and local unpopularity" and deprived of his seat in Parliament.

In making the announcement, a spokesman for the Prime Minister said that Ministers, M.P.s. and other party leaders and members had "time and time again been warned against engaging themselves in subversive activities which are incompatible with the principles of the party".

A firearms amnesty will last until the end of March. Anyone surrendering unregistered firearms meantime will not be prosecuted.

The Malawi Government last week sent to London Mr. John Msonthi, Minister of Transport and Communications, to discuss with H.M. Government and B.O.A.C. a proposal that the corporation should route its V.C.10 flights to Johannesburg through Blantyre. Because the East African territories have denied over-flying rights to any airline with stopping places in Rhodesia, direct services to and from Salisbury had recently had to be suspended.

"We have working here in Tanganyika people from 10 different countries, as different as Russia, Yugoslavia, and Canada, and applications for technical help have been lodged with 17 countries".—President Nyerere of Tanzania.

**MANUBITO S.A.R.L.**

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## "Loot" Charges Against Ministers

### Congo Gold and Ivory Worth £250,000

MR. DAUDI OCHENG, leader of the Kabaka Yekka Party, speaking in the Uganda Parliament last week, charged the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, and the Information Minister with receiving looted gold and ivory from the Congo worth about £250,000.

He made the accusations when proposing that Colonel Idi Amin, Second-in-Command of the Army, should be suspended while his activities were investigated by the police. He produced what he said was a photographic copy of Colonel Amin's bank account showing that £17,000 had been deposited within 24 days. That money was, he claimed, the proceeds of loot during military operations along the Congo border.

Altogether, he said, £250,000 was involved through gold and elephant tusks. He alleged that that sum had been "shared among the Prime Minister, Dr. Obote, the Defence Minister, Mr. Felix Onama, and the Information Minister, Mr. Adoko Nekyon".

Mr. Ocheng also stated that Colonel Amin and certain "prominent Government members" had been involved in a plot to overthrow the Constitution. He alleged that the colonel had provided revolvers to revolutionaries who were being trained in the Mount Elgon forests near the border with Kenya.

According to the Kampala correspondent of the *Observer*, the Defence Minister, Mr. Onama, said in Parliament that should investigation prove he was implicated he would resign.

## Kenya Warns Press Correspondents

MR. ACHIENG ONEKO, Minister for Information and Broadcasting in Kenya, said when addressing foreign correspondents in Nairobi:—

"It is in the interests of the Kenya Government that a large Press corps should be resident in our country. It ensures a smooth flow of news about our country, and the greater the flow of information the better the understanding between peoples—provided the information is fair.

"You have to write stories which will interpret affairs so that they may be understood and made interesting to readers with differing interests. The story going to one country will be angled differently from that about the same event going to another country. Nevertheless, there have been cases where journalists have gone beyond the point of fair interpretation and resorted to distortive, unwarranted reporting and the insertion of downright lies.

"My Ministry is on the lookout for such reporting. Kenya embassies keep a close watch on reports about our country sent back by correspondents. In most countries we have bodies of Kenya students who as unofficial representatives send information to us of unfair reporting. I hope that none of you will think that you can show a smiling face to us here and then file a critical and unfair story and get away with it".

## £10,850 Car for African Mayor

NAIROBI CITY COUNCIL has paid £10,850 for a Rolls-Royce car for the use of the mayor, Alderman Charles Rubia, who said after protests had been made in both Houses of Parliament and in the local Press that his present car was old and cost too much in repairs, and that a Rolls-Royce would maintain the dignity of the mayor of the capital city. A Senator replied that it would be more dignified for him to use a bicycle. When the car arrived on Monday city council employees began a go-slow movement in protest. The only other official in Kenya using a Rolls-Royce is President Kenyatta.

## Economy Drive

AN ECONOMY CAMPAIGN started in Kenya means reduced salaries for many European and African officials. A ceiling of £1,500 a year, except in the case of executive chairmen, is to be applied to members of such bodies as the Maize Board, Pyrethrum Board, Cotton Lint Board, and Agricultural Produce Marketing Board. Mr. Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning, said recently that the costs of the statutory boards had no relation to the work done. The West Kenya

## Conditions in Southern Sudan

### Rebels Say "War to the Death"

HALF THE POPULATION of the Southern Sudan has been "destroyed by murder, starvation and disease or has fled across the borders", according to Mr. Anthony Carthew, a special correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, who has recently spent 10 days in the country and seen so many burnt-out villages that "the smell of burning was always in my nostrils".

He estimates that 15,000 troops of the Sudanese Army are now in the Southern Provinces, opposed by a "tatterdemalion band of some 5,000 rebels, whose weapons range from a few automatic rifles and one bazooka to bows and arrows, spears, and axes.

"The rebels, the Anya Nya, are the Vietcong on a shoestring, without vehicles, radios, and precious little medicine, but they are good guerrilla fighters. Their discipline is strong and their desperation stronger. They are a magnificent rabble.

"The African is killing the Arab because he is an Arab. The Arab is killing the African because he is an African. The people of the South are dying in thousands. I have a list of 12,000 dead in 46 burnt-out villages. There is an estimate that the population has been reduced by about a third in the past two years. This means that something like a million people have died or fled the country.

"Joseph Oduho, the tubby and charming president of the Azania Liberation Front, which is behind the Anya Nya, says: 'We have had a thousand promises from the Khartoum Government. All have been broken or ignored. Now it is a war to the death. Now our demand is for complete independence for the South'.

"The politicians in Khartoum have lost control of their army, which is out of the control of its officers. Sudanese officers hate to be posted to the South. When there they make themselves comfortable in the towns, while allowing their men to roam the countryside shooting and burning at will. No man, woman or child can expect mercy. Likewise the Anya Nya is pitiless, taking no prisoners.

"The plantation run by a subsidiary of the British American Tobacco Company has been abandoned, leaving behind a crop worth £1m."

The Sudan Embassy in London has criticized the report as 'highly exaggerated'.

## Corruption and Peculation in the Congo

### Anti-Tshombe Reports Officially Denied

CORRUPTION by Congolese officials and misappropriation of public money have again been denounced by the Government, now by Mr. Michael Colin, Minister of Public Administration, who said that, despite the recent strong statement on the subject by President Mobutu, some civil servants still allowed themselves to fall into temptation; despite their considerable privileges, some officials continued to sell the services which they were paid to render to the nation. Those accused of corruption or misappropriation would henceforth be tried by military court.

A large cache of arms, including 15 sub-machine-guns, was discovered last week in a printing works in Leopoldville.

The Congolese military authorities have orders to arrest people attending secret political gatherings. Offenders are to be tried by military court.

Reports of a pro-Tshombe mutiny by Congolese troops near the frontier with Uganda have been categorically denied by the Foreign Ministry, which attributed such statements to enemies of the State.

Thirty-seven Rhodesians and 40 South Africans arrived in Albertville a few days ago to join the "mercenaries" under the command of Major John Peters, who recently took over the command from Colonel Hoare. Many of the men had done one or two previous tours of service in the Congo.

The West German Government having inquired into reports that Mr. Tshombe was endeavouring to recruit German "mercenaries" for service in the Congo, has stated that no such evidence was obtainable.

## Commercial Brevities

Zanzibar's current clove crop has been estimated at about 15,000 tons.

Uganda's coffee crop estimate for the current season is between 150,000 and 160,000 tons. The basic export quota to traditional markets is 107,000 tons.

Delays to ships at Mombasa are costing shipowners at least £500 a day, Sir Thomas Pilkington, a director of the Harrison Line, has said in London.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, sold 279,225 tons of coal and 19,954 of coke in January. The December figures were 291,739 and 18,079 respectively.

On the London Metal Exchange copper passed the £700 mark last week, an all-time record. By Tuesday the price had receded to £681 for cash, with £663 quoted for three months' delivery.

Cable and Wireless (Holding), Ltd., is adding to its maintained dividend of 13½% a special distribution of 1½% in respect of "abnormal income". Net profit after tax is £1,815,000, against £1,618,000.

The Exploration Co., Ltd., and the associated E1 Oro Mining and Exploration Co., Ltd., announce that profits and assets of both companies achieved records in 1965. It is hoped that 1966 dividends will be not less than 20%. Asset values of the shares are 4s. 7d. and 9s. 9d. respectively.

Assam and African Investments, Ltd., state that the tea crop from their estates in Tanzania total 661,107 lb in 1965, compared with 581,187 lb. in the previous year. An average price of 3s. 8d. was realized for the first 421,554 lb. sold, almost 2d. above the previous year's average.

B.P.-Shell Petroleum Development Company of Kenya, Ltd., has been granted a seven-year licence to prospect for oil in part of the desert area of North-Eastern Kenya in which Somali infiltrators are active. An aerial magnetic survey is being made, and deep test drilling is to be undertaken near Garissa.

### R.S.T. Profits

Roan Selection Trust, Ltd. and its subsidiaries estimate net profits before tax at £8,995,000 for the last six months of 1965, compared with £7,270,000 in the second half-year of 1964. Copper sales totalled 138,437 long tons (135,984), the average selling price being £281.6 (£244.3) and the cost of the sales £282.9 (£179.7), leaving a profit of £77.7 per ton (£64.6).

Kenya's coffee crop this year is expected to be not less than 884,000 bags, or at least 200,000 bags above the 1964 outturn which was affected by drought. Prices to the end of January had averaged £368 per ton, rather more than £20 above the 1964 figure. Exports are estimated at £17m. (against £14m.), which would represent about 35% of Kenya's foreign exchange earnings.

The price of coffee has been allowed to advance so far beyond its cost of production that there is no relation between the two factors, Messrs. Edm. Schluter & Co., Ltd., write in their market letter, which emphasizes that whereas the price last year of most major world commodities was two and a quarter times the 1939 price, that of coffee had risen five and three-quarters times.

Kenya's early introduction of her own currency will not, it is hoped by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Gichuru, interfere with membership of the sterling areas. He said recently that after Tanzania and Uganda had decided to establish their own currencies, Kenya had to follow suit. The future of the East African Common Market would depend on the three new currencies remaining at par.

The Tanganyika-Coffee Board's chairman said in Moshi last week that Tanzania might have to reconsider its position under the International Coffee Agreement if its application for an increase of 100,000 bags in its export quota were not granted. Whereas this season's estimated production was 600,000 bags, the total export allowable, including a waiver of 50,000 bags, was 460,000 bags. Moreover, there was a carry-over of about 250,000 bags from earlier years. He complained that Tanzania's initial quota had been based on two years of abnormally low production.

A.E.I. International, Ltd., has received a £2.25m. contract to supply hydraulic and electrical equipment for the new hydro-electric power station to be built at Kindaruma, on the Tana River, Kenya, as part of the Seven Forks project, which envisages a reservoir 30 miles long and in some places eight miles wide, from which all Kenya's electricity requirements might be met. Lord Renwick, chairman of the East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., Mr. V. A. Maddison, chairman of Tana River Development Co., Ltd., and Mr. C. R. Wheeler, chairman of A.E.I. International, signed the contract.

The 1964-65 Uganda cotton crop is now stated to have totalled 437,931 bales.

Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., report an outturn from their two Mozambique plantations in 1965 of 113,868 tons, compared with 96,794 from the 1964 crop.

Rhodesian Brick and Potteries Co., Ltd., report net profits to September 30 at £14,050, against a loss in the previous year of £12,220. A dividend of 3d. per share is to be paid.

Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, report payable ore reserves at the end of December at 29,980 tons containing 32,615oz. gold, the average value being 21.76 dwt. per ton.

Nkwazi Manufacturing Co., Ltd., a subsidiary of William Kenyon & Son, Ltd., of Great Britain, is manufacturing fishing nets, twines and ropes at Kafue, Zambia. The factory has cost about £75,000.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., Rhodesia, milled 283,400 tons of ore in 1965 from an outturn of 2,653 long tons of copper, compared with 2,865 in the previous year. The Messina mine had a copper output of 2,869 tons (3,967).

Proprietors of Hay's Wharf, Ltd., a company with an East African subsidiary, report net profits after tax to September 30 at £1,246,000 (£756,749). The dividend is raised from 11% to 13%, and a one-for-one scrip issue is proposed.

### Zambia University Contract

Costain (Zambia), Ltd., have received a £1.5m. contract to construct the second phase of development for Zambia University. It includes assembly halls, dining halls, a library, offices, student accommodation, and science and other buildings.

Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., which has large African interests, had net profits to August 31 last of £1,893,000 (£1,181,000) after tax of £893,000. The dividend is raised from 13% to 14%, and a capital bonus of 1% is recommended.

Bandanga Holdings, Ltd., are to pay 15% for the year to September 30, compared with 12½% in the previous year. There was a trading profit of £15,367 (£9,068) and tax liability of £4,432 (£2,100). After adding £5,000 to the reserve the carry-forward is £1,581 (£4,412).

Zambia's tobacco crop this year is to be sold on the new auction floor in Lusaka, on which, according to Barclays Bank D.C.O., the Government has already spent £262,000 in loans through the Tobacco Industry Board. The target set to Zambia growers is 25m. lb. of flue-cured leaf.

Kakuzi Fibrelands, Ltd., and Sisal, Ltd., two Kenya companies, are considering a merger on the basis of three Kakuzi for seven Sisal shares. Kakuzi's profits for the year ending on February 28 next will be "very much down", and those of Sisal for the year to April 30 fell about 25%. Kakuzi made a one-for-one scrip issue last year.

Tate and Lyle, Ltd., sugar refiners with large Central African interests, report group net profits after tax to September 30 at £4,758,631 (£4,696,364). A 10% dividend (the same) takes just over £2m. The carry-forward is £1.9m. The companies in Rhodesia, Zambia, and the West Indies made between them a pre-tax profit of £555,826, against almost £2.4m. in the previous year.

## Kenya Marketing Board Dismissed Gross Mismanagement and Extravagance

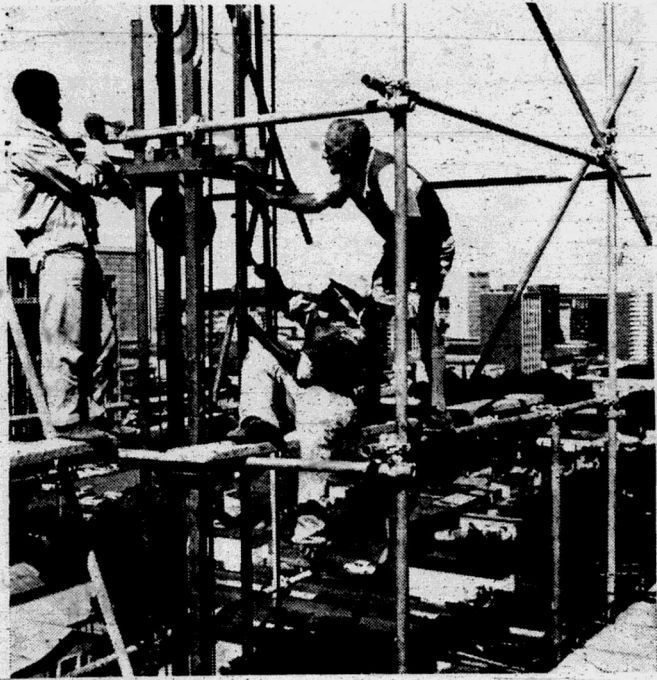
MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister of Agriculture in Kenya, and the only European in the Government, has dismissed every member of the West Kenya Marketing Board, which he appointed a year ago to market farm produce from Western Kenya, the former White Highlands.

He told the House of Representatives recently that in its first year of operation there has been a loss of £100,000; that the staff had been increased from about 200 to more than 600 with no increase in efficiency; that a Member of Parliament had been paid £2,250 for "public relations", according to a signed statement by the general manager, who had himself received £1,500 mileage allowance though most of his travelling had been done in a new vehicle bought for him by the board; and that all the staff, including junior members on probation, have been given loans to cover the full cost of cars, the total bill being £29,000. Mileage allowances had cost more than £13,000. One junior clerk had had his salary raised within the year from £268 to £916.

"I sincerely hope that certain people are being picked up by the C.I.D. at this minute. If and when the C.I.D. think fit, action will be taken. I presume people will be charged", said Mr. McKenzie.

He declined to give the name of the M.P. who had allegedly received money: "At present we have only the word of the general manager, who has signed a statement, and it would be wrong to give the name when it is quite likely that the man is not involved at all."

# Steady Growth in Africa



# RHODESIA

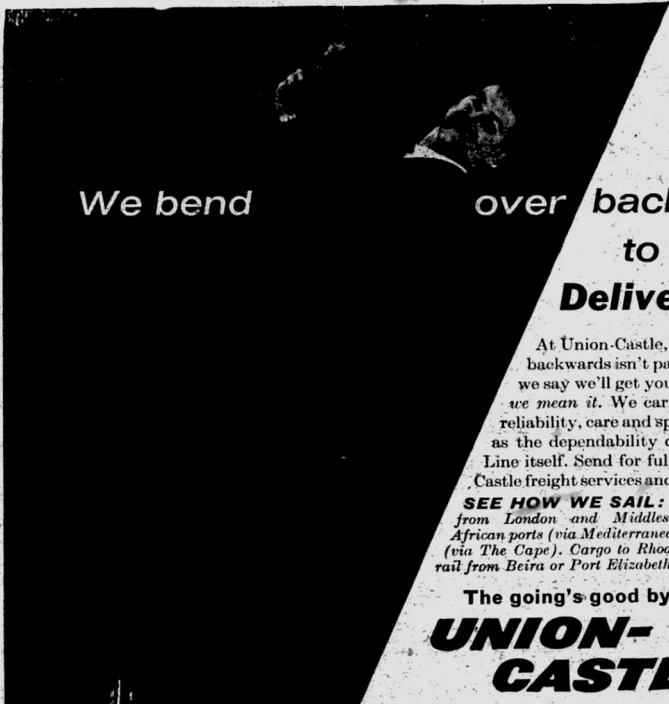
has increased her gross-domestic product from a nominal £2,500,000 in 1890 to over £306,000,000

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- \* amenities and opportunities for a fuller life for all its people
- \* employment for 720,000 people, of whom 634,000 are Africans
- \* education for over 680,000 enrolled pupils
- \* a tobacco industry exporting over £39,000,000 in 1964
- \* a mining industry producing more than 30 different minerals and metals, worth over £26,000,000 in 1964
- \* a cattle industry which makes Rhodesia the largest Commonwealth exporter of chilled beef to Britain

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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, February 17, 1966

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT**, and the sooner the better: that was Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's message to Britain on the third day of a visit which Rhodesians have certainly appreciated.

### Negotiate Now, Says Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.

Unlike some other transient political tourists, he has not only taken the trouble to meet representatives, black as well as white, of every aspect of activity, but has proved himself to be a good listener. On his return to London this week the Shadow Cabinet's spokesman on Commonwealth affairs will be able to give his colleagues the benefit of a most thorough survey, which will, we believe, make the Conservative Party leadership much more critical of Mr. Wilson's attitude to Rhodesia—for throughout the whole of the last few months the Socialist Government has been merely the instrument of the personal policy of its leader. It is not surprising that Mr. Smith should now reply in kind to the abuse repeatedly directed at him by Mr. Wilson and his obedient henchmen. If the Prime Minister tells the House of Commons that his opposite number in Rhodesia is a semi-Fascist, why should Mr. Smith not retort that his accuser is a Communist fellow-traveller—and for good measure add several pointed questions which are unlikely to be satisfactorily answered? Exchange of epithets between Prime Ministers is not, however, calculated to improve tempers, lessen tension, and restore normality. Mr. Lloyd's visit might do that if rightly used. Our reports indicate that he has created an excellent impression of friendliness and of realistic anxiety for the termination of a situation which is basically due, not to impetuosity in Rhodesia, as so many British politicians, journalists and broadcasters continue to assert, but to the incredible folly of United Kingdom politicians over many years. Recognition of Britain's share of the blame is an essential element in reconciliation.

The Commonwealth Relations Secretary has made the astonishing statement to the Foreign Press Association in London that the breach with Rhodesia occurred because Mr. Smith's Govern-

### Commonwealth Secretary's Astonishing Statement.

ment "was not prepared to accept any terms for independence which did not ensure the continued government of Rhodesia by Europeans for an indefinite period—terms which, of course, no British Government could have accepted". What Mr. Bottomley now pretends to have been unacceptable was in fact recognized to be reasonable by the Government of which he is a senior member when Mr. Wilson declared that majority (African) rule in Rhodesia "cannot come by clock or calendar, but only by achievement". As usual, not one British newspaper or public man has taken to task for such grossly misleading remarks a Minister who was in Salisbury with Mr. Wilson when he used the above phrase, which is now the slogan of the Socialists. It means no more and no less than the Macmillan-Macleod criterion of "advancement by merit", and that was merely a modernized version of the Rhodes principle of "equal rights for all civilized men". In no case was any attempt made to estimate a time-scale—for the simple reason that nobody has at any period been able to say in advance how many years would be needed to educate and train enough Africans for the efficient discharge of the heavy responsibilities involved, Africans in whose competence and character the general community, black and white, would have the requisite confidence.

\* \* \*

Only when there was the assured prospect of the continuance of civilized government should any Metropolitan Power have been

willing to transfer its trust to a Parliament with a majority of black members. Unhappily for Africa, that simple moral principle has been tragically disregarded by the politicians of the West, who, though almost all of them very completely ignorant of Africa, were nonetheless obsessed with the conviction that they could better solve the problems of that vast, complex, and perplexing continent than men who had given their lives to its study and service. The beneficiaries of European political foolhardiness and faithlessness have not been the millions of trustful Africans, but a tiny minority of pushful careerists questing for power. In dozens of countries they have exercised it so incompetently that in the past two years East, Central and West Africa have experienced a succession of rebellions and mutinies which have together cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and corruption, nepotism, and maladministration on so frightening a scale that African Ministers themselves now allow scarcely a month to pass without publicly denouncing such malpractices. But this evidence of their own imbecility continues to be blandly disregarded by the Westminster wreckers.

Because Rhodesians would have to live with the results, their responsible leaders, black as well as white, very reasonably refused to allow men temporarily in office in Britain to foist upon their peaceful, prosperous and progressive country the one-man-one-vote nostrum which had wrought havoc in varying degrees in every African territory upon which it has been inflicted by distant doctrinaires. As they brought Rhodesia to the brink of the slippery slope, the practitioners of calamity sought to soothe the intended victim with the assurance that there would be a delay of from ten to fifteen years before the slide need start, and that that would allow time to select Africans for the crew of the tobaggan. Rhodesians were neither impressed nor deceived. They remembered that one of the most senior Conservative Ministers had talked freely of a respite of only five years; and they knew that if that represented the attitude of the Tory hierarchy, the Socialists would want to halve the time, and that in their bid for speed they would have the backing of the noisy but futile Organization of African Unity (which is united about nothing except hostility to the white man) and of the Disunited Nations, whose Afro-Asian majority plots ceaselessly for the elimination of civilized government in Southern Africa. That, of

course, is precisely what is wanted by the Communist Powers, who covet the copper, uranium, diamonds, gold, and other precious and base metals of the Congo, Zambia, Rhodesia, and South Africa. If Mr. Selwyn Lloyd can force his Parliamentary associates of all parties to understand these basic facts his journey will have been very well worth while.

### Statements Worth Noting

"The Land Apportionment Act has been amended 134 times".—Mr. F. A. Alexander, addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

"University-educated Kenyans will have to learn to make a bigger contribution to society".—Mr. Mwai Kibaki, addressing the Kenya Association of University Women.

"Some co-operative societies in Kenya can pay out only about 40% of the proceeds of their sales of coffee, having spent 60% on things in which the members are not interested".—Mr. J. S. Gichuru, Acting Minister of Agriculture.

"The Kenya Government intends to plough about £55m. into fresh agricultural development by 1970. By then farm revenue should rise to at least £80m., compared with £48m. last year, and export earnings should swell to about £61m.".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

"There are far too many prophets of doom among the European communities on the Copperbelt. They have found willing supporters for their racist ideas among some prejudiced Rhodesian and South African journalists and businessmen who have visited Zambia".—Mr. John Mwanakatwe, Minister of Education in Zambia.

"To invest the Kariba power station would be to risk a shooting war. Who knows where such a conflagration would end? This is our only major point of disagreement with Zambia".—Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, addressing the American Correspondents Association in London.

"Mr. Smith's rebellion looks like bringing international aid to Zambia for its road and rail links with East Africa and its Kafue hydro-electric project much more quickly than it would otherwise have done. There is now real driving force behind the move for an East African Common Market".—Mr. Harry Franklin, reporting from Lusaka to the *Spectator*.

"The estimated total disbursement of British Government financial aid to Kenya during the four-year period beginning in April 1966 is £29m., including £18m. for land purchase and other development recently announced and £11m. from existing commitments. This sum does not include technical assistance or whatever may be made available for the purchase of farms on compassionate grounds".—The Minister for Overseas Development.

"Government officers should not in any circumstances commit themselves to remarks such as 'It has nothing to do with me', or 'Government has decided to do this', or 'Of course, should you ask me my personal feelings about it, they are completely different', as though there exists some invisible dividing line between the policy followed by Government and that acceptable to the officer or officers concerned".—From a circular letter addressed by the Government of Zambia to all civil servants above the rank of executive officer.

# Mr. Ian Smith's Sharp Attack on Mr. Wilson

## "Are You A Fellow-Traveller with the Communists?"

**A BITTER ATTACK** on the British Prime Minister was made by Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, in a nation-wide broadcast last Thursday which asked if the Socialist leader was a Communist fellow-traveller.

Rhodesia had, it claimed, beaten Mr. Wilson in the financial war and was beating him in the boycott war. If he tried to start a conflagration in Central Africa, he would discover the high efficiency of Rhodesia's armed forces. If it were not so tragic, the Whitehall farce, in Africa would be hilariously comical.

Mr. Smith said (in part):—

"Ninety days have passed since we declared independence. So far, things have gone better than we anticipated in most spheres. In the financial war, in spite of his unscrupulous, indeed, immoral actions, we have beaten Mr. Wilson, thanks to a magnificent combined effort of the Ministry of Finance and our Central Bank. In the war to boycott the purchase of Rhodesian goods, we are managing to beat Mr. Wilson every day, due to the quality of our products and the efforts of all those concerned. In the propaganda war, because of the wonderful spirit and the sound commonsense of the Rhodesian people, Mr. Wilson's efforts have been thrown back in his face. If there is one thing that Rhodesians have learned since November 11 it is that they cannot trust this man.

### Flow of Oil Is Increasing

"There is one major war left—the oil battle. This is still inconclusive. When I spoke last I told you that oil is going to flow. It was only a trickle then, and although more is coming in now, it is still only a small stream. There is a long way to go to reach our target of bringing in more than we actually consume. Only then shall we be able to claim victory. The significant point is that the flow of oil is increasing, not decreasing; and if all the schemes which we are planning materialize as I believe they will, we shall have beaten Mr. Wilson in the oil war.

"I am not trying to belittle the difficulties, problems, hardships, and sacrifices which have been made. We may have to face even harder times. Meanwhile, I appeal to you to carry on doing your particular job of work to the maximum of your ability. Also I hope you will not allow your money to lie idle. There is no safer place to invest it than with the Government. There it will be put to good use until you want it back. If you have an odd pound I don't think you will find a better buy today than our Independence Bonds.

"At the Lagos conference Mr. Wilson claimed that in weeks, not months, his sanctions would bring us to our knees. Well, time is running out for Mr. Wilson. It looks as though his Rhodesian mission is going to be as big a farce as his Vietnam peace mission. This man is working himself more and more into a corner over the Rhodesian question. He has certainly been beaten in everything he has tried on us so far. When a man finds himself in a corner with no room in which to manoeuvre, very often he finds it necessary to resort to something desperate in order to extricate himself.

"One possibility is a military adventure into Rhodesia, completely mad though it may sound. However, nations have been misled into mad escapades before today. It must be conceded that people in Britain have been misled very skilfully into positions which they had no intention of taking up on the Rhodesian issue.

### Model of Vindictiveness

"Mr. Wilson gave undertakings that sanctions would not be punitive or vindictive, and, indeed, that they would not be taken to the stage where they would harm the Rhodesian economy. What has happened? Mr. Wilson's actions have been a model of vindictiveness. If the word 'punitive' is inappropriate, this can only be because it is too mild for the circumstances. If the sanctions, which it is boasted are 100% effective, are consistent with Mr. Wilson's promise that his measures would not harm the Rhodesian economy, then either Mr. Wilson does not understand basic elementary economics or he had deceived the British electorate.

"I believe it is the duty of the people of Britain to take a greater interest in their Government's policy on the Rhodesian question. It is all very well to say that no one but a lunatic would suggest a fratricidal war between Rhodesia and Britain and thus become responsible for one of the most evil crimes in the annals of contemporary history; but such madness has been seen before, and history records many stories of desperate action committed by desperate men.

"Already, because of the actions of one man, bitterness has been engendered in Rhodesia against Britain. This man is also responsible for severing the very strong economic links which have been built between our two countries over the past 75 years. The same man is responsible for bringing into disrepute the good name of British banking institutions and trust houses.

"I am convinced that the estimate made in Britain that this Rhodesian exercise will cost the British nation £300m. per annum is an understatement. The same man is prepared to squander on an abortive face-saving exercise this considerable sum of money which he has taken away from the British taxpayer. How much longer are the people of Britain prepared to continue giving this man a blank cheque to continue his vendetta against Rhodesia, causing bitterness and resentment when none existed before, and breaking down an economic and trading structure which has taken so many years and so much time and money to build?

### British Distortions and Half-Truths

"And what more does the blank cheque cover? Is it not time for the House of Commons to insist that any further acts against Rhodesia should receive its blessing? Is it not time for the House to insist that these further actions should be constructive and not destructive just for a change? Even more pertinent, has the time not come for the people of Britain to insist that we be left to run our own affairs and that the call should go out 'Hands off Rhodesia'?

"I do not believe there will be any attempt at military intervention. There is a lot of loose talk about this, deliberately promoted from Britain as part of a psychological war and an attempt to intimidate Rhodesians. This is just a small part of the plan conceived by the Machiavellian brain behind the British Government's thinking today.

"However, in spite of the tremendous distortions and the half-truths made by the British Government's propaganda machine in order to turn British public opinion against Rhodesia, it is my belief that the people of Britain would never stand for military action against Rhodesia. The sort of operation carried out by British troops based in a Commonwealth country which is now a republic, no longer acknowledges the Queen or flies the Union Jack, against a fellow member of the Commonwealth which has no wish to become a republic—unless of course the Commonwealth abandons the ideals upon which it is built—still shows loyalty to the Queen and is proud to fly the Union Jack, is to me incomprehensible.

"If any man was to attempt to start such a conflagration he would earn for himself the lasting contempt of all decent Englishmen, and, indeed, all the civilized world. Moreover, in case anyone is suffering from any false illusions, let me place it on record that, while our armed forces have been termed 'pocket-sized editions', they are nevertheless highly efficient and well equipped, and indeed eager for an opportunity to flex their muscles. In addition, I believe the British Government are well aware of certain other eventualities which would come into operation the moment anyone attempted to violate our territorial independence.

"Up to October of last year Mr. Wilson had never set foot

in Rhodesia. He spent five days here, confined to conference rooms in Salisbury, and evidently thus qualified as the only man in this world capable of producing a solution to the Rhodesian problem. Those of us who have lived here all our lives are for some reason or other not fit to make decisions for our own country.

"Of course, if Mr. Wilson did make a wrong decision for Rhodesia and we were foolish enough to accept this, and as a result things went wrong here, we would suffer, not Mr. Wilson. No matter what happens in Rhodesia, he will go on living in the safety and comfort of his home in England. Why is it, I wonder, that so long as an Englishman remains in England he is fit to make decisions on behalf of Rhodesia, but once he comes and lives in Rhodesia he is no longer fit to do this?"

### Rhodesians Know What They Want

"We in Rhodesia know what the Rhodesian wants—to be left alone to get on with his work and solve his problems; and since November 11 he is even more certain, more definite in his mind about this. Fortunately, this applies not only to the European but to the African as well. The feeling which is growing through all sections of our community is that we are all Rhodesians and we all live in Rhodesia, so let's get together and sort out our future free from outside interference.

"If we Rhodesians were to start meddling in the internal affairs of Great Britain, I am sure the British would take exception—and quite rightly so. One lesson that most people learn sooner or later in life is not to interfere with other people's affairs. Regrettably there are some who have yet to learn this lesson.

"We have many problems to face, as have all countries. Unfortunately this year all our problems are being aggravated by the worst drought we have ever known. In certain of the very dry parts of the country the indigenous Africans are facing a tremendous problem of trying to find adequate food, and the Government is carrying out many famine relief schemes. Regrettably, in keeping with our predictions, sanctions have hit the African first, causing some unemployment; and these people are not always willing to move away from their own locality in order to obtain work which has been made available. Of course Mr. Wilson and his colleagues, due to their ignorance of Rhodesian conditions, are unaware of these problems.

"Moreover, certain of the extremist African nationalist leaders have sent out orders telling their followers not to accept famine relief from the white man. Some of these poor primitive people, who are still susceptible to witchcraft and other questionable practices, are following these instructions even when their children are hungry and suffering from malnutrition.

"Of course, once again Mr. Wilson and his colleagues, due to their ignorance of conditions in Rhodesia, are unaware of these facts. I wonder if it gives them any comfort to know that their sanctions are aggravating the misery and the suffering of these poor, inarticulate people who don't even know where England is, let alone who Mr. Wilson is?"

### Leave Us to Solve Our Problems

"In the circumstances, could anything be more reasonable than our request to the nations of the world to leave us alone and give us a chance to solve our problems?—problems which Britain has failed, and failed miserably, to solve in her experiments on the African continent. Ghana was the first held out to us as the example of Britain's successful policy. However, this came unstuck, with the sacking of High Court judges which did not give the right political decisions, a bankrupt financial policy which ruined the country's economy, and the abandonment of all principles of democracy.

"Tanzania is offered as the next example to prove the case. However, this rapidly came adrift with the gory revolution in Zanzibar and the gradual take-over by the Communists.

"Something had to be done quickly, so a real face-saver was trumped-up to prove once and for all the rightness of Britain's policy. A mature, stable country, with one of the oldest civilizations on the African continent, was presented to us, Nigeria. We are all aware of the recent tragic happenings in this country, where the Commonwealth Prime Ministers met recently to consider a solution to the Rhodesian problem. I should think that now they all regret that their time and energies had not been devoted to solve the problems of the country in which they were meeting. However, I will not dwell on this because it gives us no comfort to gloat over this misfortune of others.

"I am sure that all of you, like me, now eagerly await the next thrilling instalment in this British Whitehall farce, which would be hilariously comic if it were not so tragic. Will the next example perhaps be Zambia, or have even the British Government realized that things there have deteriorated too far already?—this tragedy, of this newly-independent country,

without even being given a chance to get on its feet, being dragged down into ruin and political chaos in order to satisfy the whims of certain British politicians.

"I have been told that it is British policy in Zambia to promote the economic collapse of that country's economy, so that when the time comes the British can throw up their hands in despair and allow O.A.U. or the U.N. to walk in and relieve them of their responsibility. To this effect they have talked the Zambian Government into declaring a complete trade embargo along the Zambesi at a certain given moment. Already, there is ample proof to show that Zambia and its economy are mere pawns in the game as far as British politicians are concerned.

"How can any offers made by these people to Rhodesia be treated seriously? No, we have made up our minds, all of us Rhodesians, black and white, that this is our country, the problems herein are ours, and we alone can solve them. Others may interfere and impede us, but, no matter how difficult they make the road, they will never, never divert us. Their only success will be to drive a wedge between Britain and Rhodesia and create hate—and hate is such a useless, sterile thing.

"The outstanding fact that comes out of all this is that the democratic forces aligned against Communism are now fighting amongst themselves, thus opening the door wide for the Communists to get in. Is it not therefore appropriate to ask Mr. Wilson a direct question? Is he a fellow-traveller?"

### Questions to Mr. Wilson

"If not, why does he allow the British ships to pour in British provisions for the Viet Cong, thus assisting them to wage their deadly war against the Americans, Australians and New Zealanders? If not, why is he aiding and abetting the Communists' forces in their march down the African continent? If not, why does he continue to supply and assist the Communist revolutionaries in Cuba? If not, why does he continue to aid and finance with British taxpayers' money the openly Communist countries of Ghana and Tanzania, in spite of their withdrawal from the Commonwealth; accompanied as it was by the hurling of vile insults at Britain?"

"If not, why, when Rhodesia is holding the front line against the Communist forces in Africa, is Mr. Wilson boasting and bragging about his efforts which are calculated to bring us to our knees? If he is not a Communist, perhaps he could tell us precisely what he is doing to combat the spread of Communism in the world today on the one hand, and on the other hand what he is doing to promote democracy and democratic institutions in the world, and particularly in Africa.

"It is over five weeks since I last spoke to you. Some people feel this to be too long a gap. The reason is that things have been going so well I felt no urgent need to speak. In other words, no news is good news. On the other hand, I realize the importance of keeping you fully informed, particularly as I am aware that certain evil forces are working within our country deliberately distorting the truth in an attempt to undermine our position.

"There is, of course, the lighter side—such as the Shadow Cabinet-in-waiting. 'Shadow' is such an appropriate word for this vague, mystic, far-away, pale-pink mirage. The truth, which is conceded even by our enemies, is that the people of Rhodesia have never before in our history been so united in their support of a Government. A sample survey by a visiting Canadian journalist revealed 96% support for our Government. This should be no surprise to anyone who knows what the alternative will be.

### Illogical Rantings

"It was made very clear in a letter sent by Mr. Wilson to a prominent African nationalist shortly before the Labour Party came to power; and this has been Labour's consistent policy ever since—namely, that the 1961 Constitution, with its evolutionary process, is too slow and must be changed to a pattern of rapid handover as soon as possible, even if this means a repetition of the breakdown of civilization and democracy such as we have witnessed to our north; even if this means that Communism takes another step forward on the African continent.

"We all know that the decision we took on November 11 was the only possible one open to us if we are to maintain our country and our civilization. That day saw the true birth of our Rhodesian nation. With every day that passes we are becoming stronger and more united.

"The complete unreasonableness and illogical rantings of Mr. Wilson, supported by the Communist forces which are entrenching themselves so successfully on the African continent, are strengthening the bonds between all true Rhodesian patriots who are ready to fight for our rights and fight for our freedom. To quote the appropriate words of Richard Webb: 'Let no man make light of patriotism, for it is again the question either of serving our country or having no country to serve'."

# "We Do Not Ask Much of Rhodesians", Mr. Bottomley Claims

## Commonwealth Relations Secretary Denounces and Then Pleads

**MIXING BLAME AND CAJOLERY**, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, said when he was the guest at luncheon of the Foreign Press Association in London:—

"Regrettably, recent violence in Nigeria has been put to use by the rebels in Rhodesia to further their campaign of calumny against independent Africa.

"Smith's illegal declaration of independence was, of course, the culmination of a long series of historical processes dating back to 1890. Indeed, there are many who believe that the rebellion was the inevitable outcome of the anomalous relationship between Colony and Metropolitan Power—a situation in which Britain had continuing responsibility while exercising no control.

"In our negotiations with Mr. Smith's Government before I.D.I. it became very apparent that he was determined upon European domination. He was not prepared to accept any terms for independence which did not ensure the continued government of Rhodesia by Europeans for an indefinite period—terms which, of course, no British Government could have accepted.

"When the rebellion took place we were faced with a clear-cut choice—to take steps to end it or to make a gesture of disapproval and then to accept it as a *fait accompli*. We chose to accept our responsibilities and to take action to end the illegal régime. We remain quite convinced that, even had we disregarded the rebellion and let it go by default, peace could never have come to Rhodesia—so long as the country was ruled by an unconstitutional white minority Government.

### Police State

"The pressures inside and outside Rhodesia over the years have necessitated repeated declarations of states of emergency, and have finally compelled the régime to establish the whole apparatus of a police State. These pressures will not lessen.

"To-day, we read of further measures to strengthen the censorship of the Rhodesian Press. They are not allowed to print blanks or reveal in any way that they have been censored. Two years' imprisonment is the penalty for doing so. The censor can alter any material or headlines he pleases. These measures must be as shocking to you as they are to me. Even during the war we in this country did not take steps like these. The Press continued to criticize the Government freely, and no measures were taken to stop them—for this sort of freedom was what we and the Rhodesians at that time were fighting for.

"There is only one reason for muzzling the Press—fear of the truth. Lardner-Burke and those who think like him are afraid of letting the Rhodesian people know the truth. Either it is an insult to the intelligence of the Rhodesian people, or the facts of Rhodesia's situation are much worse than the people suspect and Lardner-Burke is frightened to let them know the truth. It is a sad commentary on what a small group of irresponsible men can do to a freedom-loving country.

"Meanwhile sanctions have been imposed which now cover nearly 100% of British imports from and exports to Rhodesia. We have been very heartened by the degree of voluntary co-operation that all Rhodesia's major trading partners have shown in participating in our campaign, for the quicker we can show Mr. Smith's supporters that illegal independence simply will not work, the sooner we can end economic hostilities and get on with the vital job of reconstruction on a multiracial basis.

"Fixing a deadline for the ending of the rebellion is not a realistic proposition. It all depends on how long it takes the white Rhodesians to come to their senses. It is to be hoped that rising prices, the closing of firms, increasing unemployment, and the progressive decline in overseas trade will speed this process. Sanctions will be decisive sooner or later. How is Rhodesia to carry on without any oil or petrol? This situation is certain to arise sooner or later, for small free gifts of petrol cannot possibly meet all Rhodesia's needs.

"I beg all Rhodesians who value the future of their country to recognize that sanctions will be decisive in the end. If they

will recognize this, then now is the time to call a halt, to call off this whole tragic business, before serious damage is caused to their country. If they will return to the path of constitutional government and progress, they will not find us ungenerous.

### Tremendous Contribution of White Rhodesians

"The British Government has no desire for a vendetta or for harshness and bitterness. We have always recognized the tremendous contribution the Europeans have made to the progress of Rhodesia. We have always recognized their legitimate desire to play a part in shaping their country's future.

"We do not ask very much of them. We ask only that they should throw their undoubted talents, energy, and pioneering spirit into the task of building a society in which all races can play their part and in which they and their children will have an essential and valued rôle. There is so much they can do to help their African fellow-countrymen to build up such a society.

"The Rhodesian Europeans have pioneered tremendous achievements in Rhodesia. Let them complete the task by pioneering a new era of racial co-operation and progress. This would be a goal worth striving for—a far better task than wasting their energies and resources in a hopeless fight which can never be won against the whole world and the inevitable tides of progress. Let them work for a bright future rather than cling hopelessly to the past."

Mr. Bottomley omitted from his prepared script of a speech in Chatham on Saturday a reference to Mr. Lloyd's visit as "ill advised" and "a pointless and potentially dangerous mission".

He told journalists who had been given the text that the omission was his own decision, and that the draft had not been seen by the Prime Minister.

## Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's Visit to Rhodesia

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, the Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth Affairs in the House of Commons, was due to leave Salisbury yesterday for London via Lusaka, where he hoped to see President Kaunda.

An air trip to an African reserve which had been arranged for Monday had to be cancelled owing to bad weather, and it was replaced by a tour of the African townships of Highfields and Harare, near Salisbury. Mr. Lloyd had previously visited other African townships there and at Bulawayo.

He dined with the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, on Monday, had his third and final discussion with the Prime Minister on Tuesday, and then saw the Governor once more. Among those met on Monday were Lord Malvern and Mr. Winston Field, two former Prime Ministers; Mr. John Wrathall, the Finance Minister; Mr. William Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs; and Mr. Evan Campbell, High Commissioner in London until last summer.

On Saturday Mr. Lloyd had lunched privately with Mr. Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government. Fellow guests were Lord Graham, Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Howman, Minister of Information, Mr. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Justice, and Mr. Rudland, Minister of Agriculture. That evening Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Dupont had a private talk.

The visitor lunched with the Mayor of Salisbury on Monday, and afterwards saw Mr. Stanley Morris, chairman of the Public Services Board.

During his stay of more than a week he met many businessmen and representatives of the African nationalists, the Churches, the civil service and armed forces, the staff of the University College, the trade unions, and the Press. He went into the country to meet individual farmers and to attend a meeting of about 50 of them.

# Bechuanaland Independence Conference Opens in London

## Dr. Seretse Khama Speaks of Unnecessary Racial Conflicts

**BOTSWANA**—the new name of Bechuanaland when that country becomes independent on or about September 30—would be a non-racial society of men and women of different colours living in mutual respect and understanding, and beneficially influencing the unnecessary conflicts between black and white elsewhere in Southern Africa, SERETSE KHAMA, the Prime Minister, said on Monday at the opening of the Bechuanaland Conference at Marlborough House, London.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in welcoming the delegates:—

"Until 1961 Bechuanaland's Constitution rested on instruments made as long ago as 1895. In 1920, two Advisory Councils, representing respectively the European and African inhabitants, were established, and in 1950 a Joint Advisory Council with both African and European members was set up. When the time came for more radical change the form of the new Constitution was worked out locally in a representative committee which reached unanimous conclusions.

### Colonial Secretary's Tribute

"When the time for further change came there were once again local discussions in which all the political parties and important groups were represented, and again it was on the unanimous conclusions reached in those discussions that the present Constitution, introduced in March last year, was based. This conference will consider a well-thought-out set of proposals for an Independence Constitution. Drawn up locally, they have already been given a general blessing by your Legislative Assembly and the House of Chiefs. As an example of orderly constitutional progress Bechuanaland must be a model.

"With the 1965 Constitution Bechuanaland moved without any fuss from parity between the European and African populations in non-official membership of the Legislative Council to a Constitution in which there was no provision for separate representation on racial grounds and under which the franchise was based on one man one vote. This did not prevent the election of a European candidate on a party ticket at last year's general election or the inclusion of further Europeans in the Assembly under the arrangements for specially elected members.

"These developments are indicative of the harmonious race relations which have developed in Bechuanaland between the Africans and the relatively small European population. They have particular significance in view of your country's geographical position, surrounded as it is on three sides by South Africa and South West Africa, where the policy is one of *apartheid* or separate development, and in the north by Rhodesia, where racial problems have led to the present unhappy situation.

### Disastrous Drought

"We feel very great sympathy for the people of Bechuanaland in the disastrous drought and consequent famine, and are very pleased to hear that the drought has now broken and the country has had heavy and widespread rain. We share your bitter disappointment that it comes too late to relieve the famine.

"Relief measures are necessary for one in five of the population, and it is now clear that the famine situation will continue through 1966 and on into 1967, with the prospect of the proportion rising to two out of every three. Your cattle industry, on which the economy is almost wholly dependent, has received a serious blow, with the loss so far of about a quarter of the national herd. Coping with this situation has been a tremendous task for your Government and officials. The World Food Programme is helping with food supplies, and the British Government have been glad to provide funds for distribution costs, the provision of stock feed, and other matters. A tremendous effort will be needed to enable Bechuanaland's already precarious economy to recover from this most serious setback.

"Independence is not a magic carpet to Utopia, and the

Government of Botswana, as your country is to be called on independence, will face serious economic and social problems. There is an urgent need to broaden the base of the economy, and in particular to develop water resources and the agricultural potential. Much has to be done in the field of education to provide a proper output of qualified people to man your public service at all levels and take their places in enterprises important to the country's development. The British Government will, of course, always be very ready to consider what they can do to help within the overall limits of the resources available."

### Gratitude to Britain

DR. SERETSE KHAMA, the Prime Minister, said in the course of his reply that he was especially glad to have with him Chief Bathoen, the doyen of Bechuanaland chiefs, and Mr. Matanto, Leader of the Opposition.

"If our discussions are satisfactorily resolved—and I have every hope they will be—this will deeply affect the future of Bechuanaland and its more than half-a-million people. Bechuanaland has had good cause to be grateful for the sympathy and understanding with which the British people have viewed its aspirations. This has become more so in the past five years because of the rapidity with which my country has been permitted to progress constitutionally.

"The sympathy and understanding shown to us in respect of political advancement has been extended also to other fields. Financially, since 1956 we have had given to us steady and increasing aid to a point where, had it not been for the disaster of the present drought, one could view the economic future of the country with a considerable measure of confidence. Even in the present gloomy situation, if in our proposed new status we continue to receive friendly aid from Britain, and possibly from other sources, I have every hope for the future.

"I wish to say a special 'thank you' to the United Kingdom on behalf of my people. The drought and its attendant famine problems have been severe and are likely to become more so. We have had the most generous assistance from the World Food Programme and from very many charitable organizations and private donors in Britain, in Bechuanaland itself, and elsewhere; but whenever such assistance required supplementing for one reason or another, or whenever it was delayed, the United Kingdom unhesitatingly and without quibbling came to the rescue. Without this willing generosity the plight of Bechuanaland would be very grave indeed. As it is, we can look forward in the not too distant future to getting on our feet again.

### Hope of Influencing Other Countries

"There may have been criticism of my putting forward proposals for independence when Bechuanaland is staggering under the impact of drought implications. That I felt it possible to proceed stems from the fact that, with United Kingdom, World Food Programme, and other assistance, I believe that Bechuanaland can get on its feet and demonstrate to the world its ability in time to match political and constitutional advance with economic progress.

"Our proposals, I sincerely believe, will go far to further the spiritual and material interests of my people, and also the spiritual and material interests of other people. I need not dwell on the racial tensions in Africa, in Southern Africa particularly. It has always been my belief that Bechuanaland, small though it may be, has a rôle to play in Southern Africa and in the unnecessary conflicts between black and white.

"My proposals aim at establishing a non-racial society, in which each individual will have an equal right of expression and of opportunity, no matter what his race or colour. It will be an essentially democratic society, in which men and women of different colour will live together in mutual respect and understanding, as indeed they are now doing under the present Constitution.

"It is my profound belief that, with God's help, this process will continue. It may be that, again with God's help, the establishment of such an independent non-racial society in Southern Africa may serve as an example to other people. We believe in persuasion by example. What we hope and firmly intend to achieve can, with good will, be achieved by others. I earnestly hope and fully believe that this will be the case."

Chief Bathoen II has held the chieftainship for 37 years.



*Letters to the Editor***Starving Rhodesia into Submission****Harking Back to Hitlerism***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR,—The British Government's vicious imposition of sanctions upon Rhodesia is a most ruthless example of man's inhumanity to man. That 95% embargoes and sanctions are already imposed on those who helped Britain to their utmost in the two world wars makes it yet more disgraceful—and, to rub salt into the wounds, the final 5% is now threatened.

The intention is to starve the peoples, black and white, into submission. Starvation for any cause is abominable. It harks back to Hitlerism and Changi gaol. Can anyone understand why Rhodesia has been denied independence for so long? Now it has been taken under provocation.

The long-standing and bitter disagreement between India and Pakistan has been settled by negotiations. So surely this purely domestic squabble with Rhodesia should never have gone beyond the British conference table—much less have been dragged around the world. Now, before it is too late, is the time to drop these expressions of petty power-politics and deal with Rhodesians in a statesmanlike manner. Mr. Smith is their chosen leader, and it is not likely that negotiations would be successful by by-passing him. Sanctions and neo-Communist treatment breed bitterness.

Burstow,  
Surrey.

Yours faithfully,  
HAROLD T. WHITWORTH.

**Points from Letters****Leaning over Backwards**

"SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said during the recent Commons debate on Rhodesia that the Opposition had 'leaned over backwards trying to assist the Government'. Why? The Conservatives would have done better to stand up to the Government as it shifted its position again and again and got into ever deeper water. That the party leaders on both sides should have praised themselves and each other for bipartisanship over Rhodesia is a measure, not of their wisdom, but of the continuing and tragic failure to put first things first."

**Tory Misjudgment**

"IT IS ASTONISHING, as you have pointed out, that the Conservative Parliamentary Opposition, instead of examining critically the statements and actions of Mr. Wilson, should have praised him in connexion with Rhodesia with such lack of discrimination as to help greatly in building up his personal ascendancy in the House, in the country at large, and even in his own party, elements of which would certainly have voiced their own misgivings had the Tories shown themselves less emotional and more practical. Considering how much all the political parties in Britain are to blame for what has happened in Rhodesia, one might have expected more humility and more understanding of the Rhodesian case from the Shadow Cabinet. But perhaps not—for when did politicians show humility? And the Conservatives certainly showed no understanding of the Rhodesian case when they formed the Government."

**Miracle Worker**

"THE BRITISH DECISION to continue substantial financial aid to Tanzania despite his breaking off diplomatic relations with London has saved President Nyerere from the criticism which might otherwise have developed. Indeed, it has brought him kudos as a worker of the miracle of cutting adrift from Britain and yet receiving both undiminished help and continuance of the customary compliments from Ministers in London who were expected to resent his action, which amounted to a declaration of no-confidence in them."

**Anger in Tanzania**

"POLITICIANS IN TANZANIA are probably more critical of Kenya and Uganda now than ever before. The feeling here is that President Nyerere acted honourably in severing diplomatic relations with Britain, as was decided by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at the special session in Addis Ababa, but that Kenya and Uganda, by refusing to act on that unanimous resolution, have let down their own people, Tanzania, O.A.U., and independent African States in general. Relations between Tanzania and her northern neighbours have been strained for a long time, but bitterness is now at its peak. Men who still thought federation of the three territories possible fairly soon are now convinced that it cannot occur for years, if ever."

**Public Opinion Disregarded**

"UNITED KINGDOM NEWSPAPERS have praised Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, for having demonstrated skill and toughness in holding his followers in the House of Commons to support of the Socialist Government in its actions over Rhodesia. Not one has considered whether the public good was served by pressures from their leaders upon worried Tories to abstain from voicing the anxieties which they knew to be widespread in their constituencies. Which is Mr. Heath's primary responsibility—to make things easy for the Government, or to compel it to face the fact that very many people, perhaps even a majority of the electorate, are opposed to the policy of what is now called 'toppling' Rhodesia to satisfy African dictators whose public statements show that they want bloodshed in Rhodesia? I have no doubt that there is a far greater volume of sympathy for the line taken by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, and in Parliament by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Wall, than for Wilsonian lurching from one sanction to another."

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# PERSONALIA

LORD HAILEY was 94 on Tuesday.

MR. FWANYANGA MULIKITA, Zambia's representative at the United Nations, has been in Lusaka for consultations.

SIR EVELYN HONE, lately Governor of Northern Rhodesia, has joined the staff of the West Africa Committee.

MR. MARK PATRIDGE, M.P. for Greendale, has been appointed Minister of Local Government and Housing in Rhodesia.

MR. HERBERT CHITEPO has resigned the office of Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanzania in order to work for the Zimbabwe African National Union in Zambia.

MR. and MRS. A. S. P. NEISH are passengers in the EDINBURGH CASTLE for South Africa, from which they will return in the same ship, being due back in London on March 24.

HERR PAUL WILPERT, Deputy Minister of Transport in the East German Republic, has led a delegation to Zanzibar for the celebration of the second anniversary of the revolution.

The first official reception of the Officer Administering the Government and MRS. DUPONT, held at Governor's Lodge, Highlands, Salisbury, was attended by some 400 guests.

ARCHBISHOP ALFRED POLEDRINI, Apostolic Pro Nuncio in Zambia, has presented his credentials to PRESIDENT KAUNDA. He had previously spent seven years in the Philippine Islands.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Special Representative of H.M. Government in East and Central Africa, left London on Saturday to return to Nairobi. He had arrived from Lusaka earlier in the week.

DR. D. K. KONOSO, the recently appointed Minister of Justice in Zambia, and MR. J. CHIMBA, Minister of Labour and Social Developments, are in Dakar, Senegal, for a United Nations seminar on human rights in developing countries.

Three Conservative M.Ps., MR. PATRICK WALL, MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, and DR. WYNDHAM DAVIES, are to address a "teach-in" on Rhodesia at Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth, Birmingham, on Saturday week. MR. PAUL WILLIAMS will preside.

MRS. A. M. MILNER, wife of the Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs and the Public Service in Zambia; MRS. N. MUNDIA, wife of the former Minister of Labour and Social Development; and MRS. D. C. MULAISHO, and MRS. M. M. NALUMANGO, the wives of the Permanent Secretaries in the Office of the President and in the Ministry of Health are visiting Britain as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

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London, W.C.1.

MR. LEWIS CHANGUFU, Minister of Information and Postal Services in Zambia, has arrived in London and will go on to Sweden, from which he hopes for aid in telecommunications. He is accompanied by MR. E. C. WELLS, Assistant Director of Telecommunications.

By 164 votes to 107 the House of Commons has given a second reading to the Sexual Offences Bill introduced by MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, a Conservative Member with close East and Central African interests. The Bill seeks to legalize homosexual acts committed in private between consenting adults.

In the Rhodesian Parliament last week MR. J. W. PITHEY asked whether it was right for the country to pay a pension to SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, a former Prime Minister, whose policy had done so much damage to the country. MR. WRATHALL, the Finance Minister, replied that SIR EDGAR'S length of service in Parliament entitled him to a pension, which ought not to be withheld by any Government merely because it had political views different from those of the recipient.

## Obituary

### Mr. R. de La Bere Barker

MR. RONALD DE LA BERE ("RUFUJI") BARKER died recently in Dar es Salaam, aged 77.

A New Zealander who as a young man went to Australia to teach, he was visiting the United States when war was declared in August 1941. He left at once for London in order to enlist, joined the Frontiersmen Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, and served with it throughout the East African campaign. Attracted by the country, he chose local demobilization, and was then employed by the Kenya Government on elephant control duties.

After wandering all over East Africa, he began to write articles and stories for newspapers and magazines in a number of countries, at first using the pen-name "Barca" and later "Rufiji", since he lived for many years beside the Rufiji River. It was about that part of Tanganyika that he wrote "Jungle Hermit" and "The Crowded Life of a Hermit", which was translated into Afrikaans, Danish, and Swahili. A number of his shorter books about wild life had large sales in their Swahili translations.

"Rufiji", an observant, reflective, retiring, yet friendly person, hated town life, and when he occasionally visited Dar es Salaam he was always eager to get back to the bush. He had been twice married.

He had been an occasional contributor to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

MR. ROBERT ALEXANDER WARD, M.B.E., has died in Kenya, aged 60.

PRINCE YOSIYA KITEHIMBWA, who was Omukama of Bunyoro, Uganda from 1899 to 1904, when he was dethroned, has died in Hoima. He left sixteen children.

MAJOR-GENERAL J. F. C. FULLER, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., the pioneer writer on armoured warfare, who has died in Falmouth, aged 87, spent some months with the Italian forces during the Ethiopian War of 1935-36.

LORD HURD OF NEWBURY, who has died in the West Indies, aged 64, paid several visits to East Africa in connexion with the Tanganyika groundnut scheme. He was agricultural correspondent of *The Times* from 1932 to 1958, and Conservative M.P. for Newbury from 1945 to 1962.

MR. RONALD FLINT PALETHORPE, who has died in Whitestone, Hereford, aged 75, was educated at Hereford School and Keble College, Oxford, and in 1914 went to Kenya, then the East Africa Protectorate, as an assistant district commissioner. He transferred to the Colonial Legal Service in 1929 and eight years later was made an acting puisne judge. He retired in 1939.

## Sharp Attacks on Finance Minister

MR. GICHURU, Finance Minister of Kenya, was sharply attacked in the Senate a few days ago, when Senator Pogishio moved: "That in view of the fact that the Hon. James Gichuru, a member of the Kenya Cabinet, as leader of the Kenya delegation to the Commonwealth Conference recently held in Lagos stated that the Africans in Rhodesia were not well organized for majority rule, this Senate seriously demands an explanation as to whether this is the policy of the Kenya Government; as regards the entire freedom movement and struggle in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola."

If that were the Kenya Government's policy, it contradicted the policy of O.A.U. and demoralized the spirit of African Socialism. By what meter had the Finance Minister measured the fitness of Rhodesian Africans for independence? There were cheers at the remark that "some people are Africans in skin and Europeans in heart".

### Senator in Tears

East African Federation had failed because of an attitude which did not always advocate a one-man-one-vote policy, and the same attitude had prevented Kenya from severing relations with Britain though Mr. Wilson was cunningly supporting the Smith régime in Rhodesia.

Senator Munyi, who wept for a moment on rising, said that his tears were for African brothers in Rhodesia and because all Africa had been betrayed by the leader of the Kenya delegation to the Lagos conference. Mr. Gichuru had, he alleged, contradicted President Kenyatta, who on several occasions had demanded that all Africa must be freed from Colonial oppression.

In a brief reply Mr. Gichuru said that in a television interview he had been quoted out of context. The fact was that he had said no more than had been stated in the conference communiqué namely that on the collapse of the Smith régime Britain would give many educational scholarships to Rhodesian Africans in order to prepare them for majority rule.

Mr. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, insisted that the Government's policy was that freedom was the right of all people, literate or illiterate. The Government would continue to press Britain for freedom for Rhodesian Africans.

## That £10,850 Car for Nairobi's Mayor

PRESIDENT KENYATTA has refused to permit delivery of a Rolls-Royce car costing £10,850 for the Mayor of Nairobi, Alderman Charles Rubia.

The following announcement was made from State House: "On February 4 Mr. Laurence Sagini, Minister for Local Government, appealed to the President to stop the importation of a Rolls-Royce car ordered by Nairobi City Council. In consideration of the circumstances connected with this matter, the President has stopped delivery of the car to Kenya."

Heated debates in both Houses of the Kenya Parliament had denounced such extravagance. Mr. Ngala pointed out that Nairobi City Council already had debts exceeding £8m., and that the money to be spent on the car would pay for the education at Oxford or Cambridge of six students for three years or feed 50 people for 32 years.

About 3,000 employees of the city council began a go-slow movement in protest against the purchase. They wanted the money spent easing unemployment or on slum clearance.

## Egyptian Envoy Expelled

DR. BANDA, the Malawi Prime Minister, on Monday ordered Mr. F. S. Hilal, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic, and the whole of the embassy staff to leave the country within eight days. No explanation has been given, but Dr. Banda recently stated that Malawi rebels trained in Algeria had been seen boarding an Egyptian aircraft flying from Algeria to Tanzania. Another recent allegation was that officials of the embassy had offered bribes to Malawi civil servants.

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## Rhodesian Brevities

BRIGADIER ANDREW DUNLOP, Rhodesian Minister of Transport and Power, told Parliament on Friday that active-consideration was being given to the construction of a railway to Beitbridge, on the border with South Africa. For some weeks there had been rumours that work had started on the extension of the branch line running south from Bulawayo and leaving a gap of about 80 miles to the border. The present railway from South Africa to Bulawayo traverses Bechuanaland.

Much more petrol is reaching Rhodesia. Messages from Salisbury at the week-end referred to the arrival of about 140,000 gallons in 17 railway tankers sent from South Africa via Lourenço Marques. There were also two deliveries by road of gift petrol from South Africa, one of 17,000 gallons from Johannesburg, and the other of 1,400 gallons in drums from Bethlehem, from which the fuel had been driven by two young farmers.

The Petrol for Rhodesia Fund in South Africa has now branches in more than 60 towns.

The Cape Town Branch of the Friends of Rhodesia Association announced last week that it had issued 51,000 petrol coupons, and that the demand from all parts of the Cape Peninsula were increasing at a phenomenal rate.

The first consignment of petrol from the Candour League of South Africa left for Rhodesia on Thursday.

In Welkom the Rovers' Club has launched a fuel and oil fund with which to purchase supplies for dispatch to the Rovers' Club in Salisbury.

All social clubs in the town of Umtata, South Africa, are to meet to consider the formation of a "Petrol For Rhodesia Club".

### Oil Companies Reprimanded

South African subsidiaries of some large European and American oil companies were alleged to have instructed their depôts near the Rhodesian border not to sell to buyers from Rhodesia. According to the Press, the South African Government promptly told the companies that it would not tolerate such conditional sales of petrol and oil since the attempt to impose restraint constituted interference in the country's domestic affairs.

Letter stickers indicating Rhodesian thanks for gifts of petrol for attachment to letters sent to South Africa are now available from post offices.

Car stickers with the same message are available from the Immigration Offices at Beitbridge to motorists going south.

Because the Rhodesian hotel industry has been hard hit by petrol rationing, an additional allowance is to be made to persons wishing to stay at hotels over the Easter holidays.

Mr. F. Landseer, of Salisbury, has submitted to the Government a scheme for the reclamation of used motor oil. He estimates that half of the oil normally thrown away can be reclaimed by his process and sold at 8s. 3d. per gallon.

Broadcasts from the Salisbury station last week said: "Britain has supplied two transmitters to Zambia to carry broadcasts to the Wankie area. This is one of the most discreditable of Britain's many discreditable acts in the present situation. Using the Zambian radio stations, exiled African nationalists, who are living in safety and comfort, urge Rhodesians to ruin crops, kill cattle, burn farms, huts and grain stores. With utter disregard for the safety and well-being of the people, they urge acts which can only lead to violence and even murder."

Nine senior members of the Council of Chiefs in Rhodesia have criticized the British Government for using the friendly neighbouring country of Bechuanaland for the dissemination by radio of propaganda hostile to Rhodesia, a policy which must damage the amicable relations subsisting between Rhodesia and Bechuanaland.

Sales of Independence Bonds in the first two days of issue were 30% above the total receipts for the first month of the previous issue of savings certificates.

All mail services to Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda have been suspended by Rhodesia. Those territories had previously announced that no telegrams or postal telecommunications from Rhodesia would be handled.

A new definitive issue of Rhodesian postage stamps has been on sale from February 9. There are 14 in the series, ranging from 1d. to 20s.

Since Friday week the Rhodesian pound has been valued in terms of gold and not in relation to sterling, as previously.

In the six weeks to mid-January the Government's employment exchanges in Rhodesia found employment for 556 Europeans, Coloureds, and Asians and 2,166 Africans.

Mr. Ian McLean, Minister of Labour, has said that the employment situation is far better than might have been expected, and that jobs have already been found for more than 1,000 young people who recently left secondary schools.

Except for residents in five districts near the border with Mozambique, employers in Rhodesia may no longer engage non-Rhodesian Africans. Africans returning to Rhodesia who previously worked continuously for at least four years in the same job are to be exempt.

Tobacco growers in Rhodesia may now make deliveries to the auction floors in Salisbury.

### Heavy Rains in Matabeleland

Heavy rains in the Bulawayo area have filled several of the largest dams in that part of the country. Owing to one down-pour the railway suffered a washaway on the West Nicholson branch line in a drought-stricken area of Matabeleland.

Only 386 persons are held without trial in Rhodesia, 30 of them in detention and the rest under restriction. The only two white residents concerned are Mr. Garfield Todd, who in October was restricted to his farm for a year, and Mr. L. Baron, a Bulawayo lawyer, who was arrested on Independence Day. The Gazette lists 22 persons as having been restricted between December 14 and 24. Restrictees are usually sent to Wha Wha, near Gwelo, or to Gonakudzingwa, near the border with Mozambique.

The Canadian Government has announced an embargo on all trade with Rhodesia except for essential requirements for Rhodesia Railways, Central African Airways, and the Central Africa Power Corporation. Special consideration will, however, be given to applications to export medical supplies, food, and other goods for humanitarian purposes.

The Canadian Minister for External Affairs has said that Canada's monthly bill for her share of the airlift of oil to Zambia amounts to about \$1.5m.

Rhodesian goods in the hands of traders in Kenya must be disposed of before June 8, the Ministry for Commerce and Industry has announced.

Japan is studying the possibility of revoking contracts for 50,000 tons of Rhodesian sugar.

The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., has closed two blast furnaces, and some 200 employees are expected to become redundant by the end of this month.

A cargo of 9,080 tons of Rhodesian sugar unloaded in London a few days ago had been bought by the Tate and Lyle group before H.M. Government banned such imports. The consignment was worth almost £200,000.

### Like A Bunch of Children

President Nyerere said in Dar es Salaam last week that the independent African States had lost the initiative "by behaving like a bunch of children over Rhodesia"; Mr. Smith had been right when he said that they talked a lot but did nothing. What Britain was now doing to help Zambia merely enabled that State to survive, but not to fight back. That irritated President Kaunda, who did not want to be put in the position in which he wanted to join in the sanctions but could not.

A broadcast from the Kampala radio station in Uganda said: "Unfortunately, signs from Britain and Rhodesia show that sanctions will not work. The rebels are getting all the oil they want from South Africa and Portugal."

Mr. David Ennals, Socialist M.P. for Dover, said in London last week that an early general election was desirable in order to make Mr. Smith's Government, which now received hope and encouragement from the Conservatives, understand that it would have to deal with Labour in the foreseeable future.

Dr. Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark, said in a recent sermon: "Mr. Smith claims that his Government is the bastion of Christianity, whereas his attitude makes nonsense of everything Jesus taught. We can be thankful that our Government, which is rooted in a Christian tradition, is resisting the evil policies of Mr. Smith."

[Bishop Stockwood has frequently professed his support for Socialism.—Ed.]

The British Council of Churches and the Conference of British Missionary Societies have stated that ministers of religion have not been allowed to visit the Gonakudzingwe restriction area of Rhodesia.

Lord Lambton, M.P., said in Ford Castle that the Conservatives should press Mr. Wilson to make a new approach to Mr. Smith.

There is now an Anglo-Rhodesian Association in the Isle of Man.

Four Rhodesian Africans employed as drivers by a transport company in Salisbury, acting on their own initiative, and without instructions from their employers, refused to disown their Government as a condition of entering Zambia, though the Rhodesian authorities, regarding any such statement as made under duress, had given public notice that no action would be taken against Rhodesian citizens who signed such non-allegiance pledges. The four men declined to change their attitude, and relief drivers had to be brought in to take the vehicles across the border.

### New Zealand-Rhodesia Society

A New Zealand-Rhodesia Society has been formed in Auckland to promote a better understanding of Rhodesia and its problems. A member of the inaugural committee, a former tobacco grower in Malawi, appealed for pressure on the New Zealand Government to recognize and assist the Smith Government.

Mr. Donald King, a Rhodesian tobacco grower, who recently visited England, said in a broadcast from Salisbury that he had not met one person who was not sympathetic to Rhodesia. All had wanted an early solution, and none whom he had met believed that Mr. Wilson was right.

Mr. Arthur J. Smith, lately assistant establishment officer in the Rhodesian Treasury, who has returned to the United Kingdom with his wife and family, has said that he was allowed to bring out only £500 after resigning his post in protest at U.D.I., and was taking action to recover about £2,500 left behind in the bank. He first went to Rhodesia in 1948.

Two Rhodesian Africans who were alleged to have received military training outside the country have been committed for trial in the High Court.

The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the London Missionary Society, and the Methodist Missionary Society, which between them sent £117,500 last year to support 137 missionary workers in Rhodesia, and the British and Foreign Bible Society have issued the following joint statement:—

"Neither the missionary societies in Britain nor the Churches in Rhodesia with which they are in relation wish the Church to be given special privileges at a time when others are suffering. At the same time they believe that the pastoral care exercised by the Church in a time of spiritual tension and her service to African education form a vital contribution to the future peace of Rhodesia. In the circumstances the missionary societies consider the level of remittances authorized by the Government to be reasonable and fair. They have received every consideration from the Government in the discussion of their problems."

Mr. David Lardner Burke, who is now resident in London and recently re-visited Rhodesia, has written in the *London Evening News*:—

"Rhodesia is winning. Unity is absolute. Behind a curtain of secrecy Rhodesia is being assisted on a massive scale. Could it be that even now, after Sir Hugh Beadle's visit, Mr. Wilson does not fully appreciate the tremendous unity and determination of the country and that every time he waves his big stick he consolidates it the more? It seems possible that Mr. Wilson's enormous pride and his belief that Mr. Smith's stand is a personal affront have slowly begun to affect his judgment.

"Rhodesia is not fighting the world on her own. She has friends, and friends who believe in her stand. The policy of sanctions is not going to work. Only force is left, and this country will not stand for that."

### Wilson Strengthening Smith's Laager

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Statist* cabled: "Mr. Wilson's terms seem likely to drive more, rather than less, Rhodesians into the Smith laager. There appears to be no possible basis for compromise acceptable to any white Rhodesians if Mr. Wilson has his way. Apart from being unacceptable, the Wilson plan is unrealistic. He seems to imagine it possible to form an interim Government in Rhodesia embracing the white and black extremists. One would like to see how well Mr. Wilson would get along in Downing Street if he had a Cabinet which included the right-wingers from the Monday Club and his own anti-Vietnam left-wingers.

"Mr. Wilson's problem is that he is destroying the Rhodesian economy but not affecting Mr. Smith's position to any material extent. Indeed, the firmness with which Mr. Harper and Mr. Van der Byl have spoken reflects a hardening on Mr. Smith's right. The British Prime Minister has still to produce a viable alternative which white Rhodesians can contemplate. He has not got anywhere near this, and the longer he fails to do so the graver is the suspicion that he really does not want a viable alternative—merely a speedy hand-over to majority rule."

### U.K. Censoring Mail for Rhodesia

OFFICIAL DENIALS in London that mail for Rhodesia was being censored have been dismissed as untrustworthy by the Postmaster-General of Rhodesia, Colonel Dickenson, who said last week in a broadcast interview that suspicion had been aroused at the undue delay in the arrival of air correspondence and that the postal investigation branch has discovered by the use of a stereo-microscope that about one letter in 10 from Britain has been opened. Some had been re-sealed with "foreign" gum. He had no doubt whatever that about 10% of the mail was being censored in Britain.

A few days earlier the Ministry of Information had warned Rhodesian civil servants and members of the public that "the British Government is censoring mail to and from Rhodesia. All concerned, particularly officials and executives engaged on matters of policy and those connected with commerce and industry, should be discreet in their correspondence and other forms of communication, even to their relatives. In view of the trade embargo imposed by the British Government on Rhodesia, commercial and industrial firms and business houses who have dealings with principals or agents are advised to exercise the greatest circumspection in all communications."

THE ANGLO RHODESIAN SOCIETY asks that all organizers of the petition against the use of force in Rhodesia and in favour of talks between the Rhodesian and British Governments should return their forms to 1 Dover Street, London, W.1, by March 15.

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## Criminal Incitements from Zambia

### Saboteurs Using Communist Weapons

SCATHING COMMENTS on Mr. Harold Wilson and on incitements to violence from Zambia have been made in the Rhodesian Parliament.

Mr. J. W. Pithey referred to the British Prime Minister as a vicious, implacable enemy of Rhodesia at the head of a régime which had set itself to sabotage the country's economy by savage trade sanctions, which would not succeed, and was endeavouring to split Rhodesians by "the greatest campaign of distortion and falsehood which the civilized world has known since that arch-liar Goebbels".

"While the Wilson régime makes an all-out effort to destroy responsible government there and bring Rhodesians into bondage, the atrocities in Nigeria which culminated in the murder of that great supporter of Britain, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and the take-over by a military dictatorship have been accepted by Mr. Wilson and his Government without condemnation, and the revolutionary Government has retained the recognition given to the Nigerian Federation even though the Constitution has been thrown overboard."

"While Britain denies Rhodesians oil, even to the extent of maintaining a sea and air patrol off Beira, the Wilson Government has been countenancing the delivery to Hanoi of oil and other war materials while not only American troops, but Australian and New Zealand troops, are dying fighting the Communists in Vietnam."

Mr. R. H. James emphasized that Rhodesia was not at war with the British people, but with the Wilson régime and its egocentric, megalomaniac leader, who did not object to Radio Zambia inciting Africans in Rhodesia to violence and sabotage. His purpose was to stir up strife.

### Vicious Radio

"Acts of agricultural sabotage in Rhodesia have been incited by the vicious Zambian radio. In an area with which I am acquainted the pattern of the sporadic outbreaks has been that the schoolteacher listens to Zambia and is incited. He rounds up his children; they get into a five-ton truck; are taken to the property of some unfortunate farmer; and the children are given a task of slashing so many rows of crops. If a child does not slash purposefully, he is punished by the teacher. The children do not like being punished, and often complain to the police."

Mr. T. M. Ellison had no doubt that the British Government's policy was to cause a breakdown of law and order. It suited Mr. Wilson, "who has a subtle, slimy, insidious mind" to talk of a "state of emergency". It would therefore be better for Rhodesia to speak of a "state of precaution".

Mr. T. A. Pinchen said that the wireless station in Bechuanaland built by and under the direction of the British Government was "giving out the most terrible, most untruthful, and most diabolical statements in several languages".

Mr. S. A. Wilmot referred to the Public Works Department having spent "a fantastic sum of money" in building in the grounds of State House, Lusaka, what was called a pavilion but was in fact an air raid shelter.

Mr. D. W. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Justice and Minister of Law and Order, said in winding up the debate on his motion for extension of the state of emergency for a further three months, that incitements from Radio Lusaka had led to cattle maiming and crop slashing in the Rusape, Filabusi, Silombela, Wedza, and Kezi areas.

At Filabusi 198 head of cattle had been killed by drinking from troughs which had been poisoned with arsenic, and 72 calves had died because their mothers had been killed by the poisoned water.

In a broadcast from Lusaka a Mr. Matotwa had said: "African people were shot and killed by Smith's policemen yesterday at Mpopoma, Bulawayo. Another shot at Chabalala also died. In Que Que many people were shot. Although the criminal police of Smith are cruelly treating the African people, all of those people are determined to fight until they have obtained the country of their ancestors. A group of brave indigenous people raided the police camp at Cashel

and killed four Dutch policemen. They themselves left behind only a few casualties."

In another broadcast from Lusaka James Chikerema said: "From today there is no law in Southern Rhodesia which must be obeyed by a black person or a white person who owes allegiance to the Queen. There is no law. Take your bows and break the Government of Ian Smith and all his robbers. Take your bow, your axe, your spear, and smash the Government."

"Form groups at night. Go to European farms. Cut down the tobacco which has been planted. Form parties at night, small separate groups. Go out and cut down the Dutchman's tobacco which he covets. Kill many cattle. Go to the farms and take the cattle. If you are not able to take them, hamstring them."

### Dastardly Crimes

Mr. Lardner-Burke continued: "Because of these incitements dastardly crimes have been committed by individuals who in all cases have stated that it was because of the incitement from the Zambian radio."

"In the case of 28 saboteurs who were trained in Ghana and charged and sentenced in the High Court, every one of the 28 stated that he had been enticed over the border on promises of advanced education in different parts of the world."

When Mr. Chigogo intervened and said "Give higher education here and they won't go out", the Minister retorted: "There are vacancies for secondary education in this country but not enough Africans to fill them."

"Saboteurs are using Russian hand-grenades and pencil plastic 879, which is Russian, Chinese, or Yugoslavian, all coming in through Tanzania. As a rule the saboteurs admit where they got the explosives and the poisons."

"There are more than 500 saboteurs in the Livingstone area of Zambia waiting to come over the border. They are building up their stocks of lethal weapons."

## Journalists Banned by Zambia

### President's Outburst Against Press

RHODESIAN NEWSPAPERS were declared to be prohibited publications in Zambia last Thursday, when President Kaunda said that he would deport a number of journalists for having made unwarranted attacks on the country. He said: "I have never seen such filth written about any country."

It was contrary to the public interest of Zambia for Rhodesian newspapers to circulate. Censorship made it impossible for them to express free opinions, and now they would be directed to publish propaganda for the Smith régime. Zambia's Press would continue free. He did not mind criticism if it were based on facts, "but I cannot allow these half-baked pressmen with no principles to try and disrupt this wonderful country".

The President added that he knew of the circulation of money from foreign sources being used for bribery and corruption in Zambia. Those who paid the money believed that once Zambia collapsed the forces of suppression and oppression would have advanced northwards instead of the forces of pan-Africanism having moved towards the south.

Zambia was now in the front line of the battle, and consequently there was an unprecedented campaign against Zambia in the Press and radio of Salisbury, Johannesburg, and London. Zambians, however, had responded magnificently to the call of the hour, and nobody could doubt their determination to keep off the forces attacking the country and its government.

If the Smith Government was still in power in Rhodesia in July, "Britain must allow us an opportunity to look beyond Britain for military force in that sad situation".

That day Mr. Robert Duncan, of the *Rhodesia Herald*, who was not then in Zambia, and Mr. Derek Lambert, of the *London Daily Express*, were declared prohibited immigrants. Mr. Lambert left a few hours later for Salisbury.

NEW REGULATIONS in Rhodesia make it an offence, punishable by up to two years' imprisonment and a £500 fine, to indicate that a publication has suffered censorship. All the newspapers nevertheless continued to leave blank spaces where cuts have been made by censors.

## O.A.U. Military Mission in Zambia

### Essential Goods Now Being Stockpiled

A THREE-MEMBER MILITARY MISSION representing the Organization of African Unity, led by Major-General Aferi, Chief of Staff of the Ghanaian Army, visited Zambia last week. His colleagues were Major Michael Ivenso from Nigeria, and Mr. Muhammad Hassinein from the Foreign Ministry of the United Arab Republic.

An official statement said that the purpose was to "make contact with Zambia's Army chiefs as the first step in achieving closer military liaison between African States", but the general impression was that the aim was to study the possibilities of launching an attack on Rhodesia from Zambia. General Aferi, however, denied that the visit had any connexion with the situation in Rhodesia.

The visitors called on Mr. Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister, who has consistently pressed for strong action against Rhodesia. He was Zambia's delegate at the O.A.U. meeting in Addis Ababa which resolved that all member States should sever diplomatic relations with Britain if the Smith Government had not been "toppled" within a fortnight.

### Scots Guards Stood Down

The 2nd Battalion The Scots Guards, which since January 23 had been on 72-hour standby duty, and were expected to be the first British Army unit sent to Zambia, were stood-down last week. The Commonwealth Relations Office then denied that an advance party of British troops was shortly to leave for Zambia.

It likewise denied reports that Mr. Malcolm MacDonald had brought from President Kaunda an ultimatum that the Rhodesian Government must be put down within a few days. Mr. Bostonley told a Foreign Press Association luncheon that Mr. MacDonald's arrival had no connexion with any deadline set in Zambia for action against Rhodesia.

President Kaunda said in a television broadcast on Thursday that Zambia must aim at a stockpile of essential and morale-building goods sufficient for at least three months, and Vice-President Kamanga said on the same day that all importers had been asked to stock up their requirements for at least three months; and that that included such articles as liquor and cosmetics. Banks had been asked to make credit facilities available to importers.

Announcing the appointment of Mr. G. O. Hoskins as Price Controller, the Minister of Commerce and Industry said that profiteers, black marketeers, and speculators who tried to fleece the public would be dealt with "ruthlessly". Except where substantially increased costs had occurred there should be no raising of prices.

### Cost of British Aid

Civil estimates published in London show that British aid to Zambia will have cost £4.3m. by the end of February, £2.3m. for the airlift of oil and other supplies, and £2m. to meet costs of other services, supplies and equipment.

R.A.F. units stationed in Zambia have been asked to pay for their accommodation.

Zambia has ordered from Japan 30 railway oil tankers, costing £150,000.

Twenty well-known Europeans in Zambia, headed by the Most Rev. F. O. Green-Wilkinson, Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa, and the Rt. Rev. Adam Kozłowiecki, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lussaka, have signed an open letter inviting "our brothers in Rhodesia" to visit Zambia in order to see that conditions for Europeans need not deteriorate under African rule.

## Invasion Threats to Malawi

DR. BANDA warned Malawi in a broadcast last week that rebels were preparing to invade the country at several points during the current rainy season. Malawians who had been trained in Algeria were now camped near Dar es Salaam in readiness for an invasion. Guerrillas from various nations who were quartered near the Tanzanian capital, numbered about 4,000; but there was unrest among them.

## Socialist Miscalculations About Sanctions

### Oil Embargo Not Likely to Succeed

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT WILL WIN unless military force is used against the country.

That is the conclusion drawn by Mr. David Adamson, the Salisbury correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, in a dispatch to which leader-page prominence was given. It said, *inter alia* :—

"More and more Rhodesians believe that force will be used against them, probably in the second half of this year, and quite a few, particularly among the farmers and the artisans of the towns, are prepared to fight back.

"There is less talk about what 'our kith and kin' are emotionally and economically incapable of doing to their brothers and a great deal more about their perfidy, hypocrisy, and ruthlessness. Britain has become 'the enemy' in a conflict as morally confused as the American Civil War.

"Extremist Ministers—who make the pace nowadays—no longer rage exclusively about sanctions and 'diabolical Wilsonian tactics'. They concentrate on concealed preparations by the British for invasion. If necessary the European over-layer must be scorched off the face of Rhodesia in a last stand, leaving only rubble for the British to take over and the Africans to inherit.

"British troops are already stationed—admittedly only in company strength—around the B.B. transmitter in Bechuanaland. The Royal Navy patrols the Mozambique Channel for pirate tankers, and on the Zambian side of the 'front line' at Kariba a British general appears on reconnaissance.

### Much Help from South Africa

"Sadly but inevitably, Rhodesia's radio and television programmes become more blatantly propagandist and blinkered, the censorship of newspapers gets worse, and open public opposition to the régime outside Parliament is a thing of the past. But, despite this slide to totalitarianism, there are a great many worse Governments in Africa than Mr. Smith's. His administration is efficient, and the courts remain impartial.

"Two things have upset British calculations. The first is the large stocks of goods brought into the country by apprehensive wholesalers and retailers before independence. As a result, business has not slumped as dramatically as forecast. The second is that the Rhodesian Reserve Bank has overcome the country's foreign currency problems—for the time being at least—much more easily than was expected.

"The Rhodesians have undoubtedly had a great deal of help from the South Africans, whose freezing of the Rhodesian reserves has been no more than a bookkeeping measure. Firms are still importing British goods through South Africa with the help of Continental wholesalers.

"Mineral exports continue. The prospect of obtaining nearly half this year's tobacco crop at the low reserve price of 2s. a pound has drawn possibly £40m. from anonymous sources which are prepared to gamble on getting the goods or their money back with a profit next year.

### Comparative Failure of Oil Embargo

"The main hope of bringing Mr. Smith to a bloodless defeat rests on the oil embargo. But here again one has to report comparative failure. Petrol and diesel oil are coming in from Mozambique and South Africa in considerable quantities. Rhodesia's petrol consumption is currently about 2.5m. gallons a month compared with 4.5m. before the rationing. It could be cut to very much less than the present consumption without business being brought to a halt. It becomes more and more doubtful whether Portugal and South Africa will allow sanctions to break Rhodesia.

"But supposing British sanctions and the closure of the Zambian market cause the economy to sink to 20% or 25% below its pre-U.D.I. peak, will that bring Mr. Smith to his knees and lead to the swift assumption of power by the Governor and the elusive Shadow Cabinet? The answer seems almost certainly 'No'.

"It might bring Mr. Smith to the negotiating table in a slightly more amenable frame of mind; but when he says that Rhodesia will never renounce her independence he means it."

Parliament**Questions and Answers About Sanctions**

**MR. BOTTOMLEY**, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has told the House of Commons that British economic and financial sanctions have cut off 95% of Rhodesia's exports to the United Kingdom, sales of the goods now excluded having been valued at about £30m. in 1964. Similar measures by other countries had brought the total export ban to £53.5m., or 45% of Rhodesia's 1964 exports of £119m.

Ghana had discontinued tobacco purchases from Rhodesia on January 7. The British Government welcomed that decision, but regretted that it was so long delayed.

Asked what instructions had been given to British companies operating in Rhodesia about payment of taxes to the illegal Government, Mr. Bottomley replied: "None".

**Mr. Box**: "A month ago the Prime Minister said that this matter was under urgent review. Is it not quite disgraceful that two and a half months after U.D.I. British firms paying taxes to the Smith Government should not know whether they are committing treason? Does this not demonstrate once again the utter folly and complete unpreparedness of the Government in their Rhodesian policy?"

To complaints about the inaudibility of radio reception in Rhodesia from the Bechuanaland station, Mr. Bottomley replied: "My information is that reception throughout the south of Rhodesia is apparently good. I understand that reception is poor in Salisbury, and I am having the matter looked into urgently. An expert team is out there reviewing the matter. I am fairly confident that we can improve reception."

**DR. BRAY**: "The wavelength is only five metres away from Radio Harare, a broadcasting service to Africans, the signal of which completely swamps any possibility of receiving the B.B.C. in Salisbury."

**MR. ST. JOHN STEVAS**: "Could not these difficulties have

been avoided if, instead of buying an American transmitter, H.M. Government had accepted the offer of the Marconi Company?"

**MR. BOTTOMLEY**: "We should have preferred the British transmitter, but it was not able to do the job required."

Replying to protests against the ban on money transfers to religious and charitable organizations in Rhodesia, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "Christian missions and charitable and similar organizations in Rhodesia are experiencing difficulties as a result of Mr. Smith's illegal declaration of independence. Steps have been taken to ensure that such organizations are not prevented from carrying out their work during the present emergency."

**MR. GOODHART**: "Is it not time for the Government to drop their economic war on missionaries and crippled African children?"

**MR. HUGHES**: "The measures taken by H.M. Government are very reasonable, and the Christian missions appreciate them. The general guiding principles are that missions and charitable, and similar organizations making remittances of a continuing nature will be allowed normally to remit 75% of last year's remittances. Once-for-all cash payments up to £250 will also be permitted."

**MR. SELWYN LLOYD**: "To permit only 75% is unsatisfactory. Is there not every reason for allowing the same amount as was sent last year?"

**MR. HUGHES**: "We think that the arrangements are very reasonable and generous in the circumstances."

**MR. PAGET**: "What is the attitude to amounts which did not arise last year—such as Oxfam relief to feed children in the famine areas, a contribution stopped by the British Government?"

**HON. MEMBERS**: "Shame."

**MR. HUGHES**: "I am fully aware of the splendid contribution which Oxfam and other organizations have made. I am not aware that the British Government have frustrated the attempts of these organizations. If my hon. and learned friend will give me the facts I will look into them."

**MR. GEORGE MACKIE**: "Is the Minister aware that a number of contributions sent through the Presbyterian Mission in Africa are salaries to European missionaries there who are teaching African children? Is he aware that these salaries are already far less than the salaries which these people would receive in this country, and that to offer them three-quarters of those salaries when they are away from home living on a subsistence level is quite unreasonable?"

**U.K. Subjects in Rhodesian Services**

**MR. ZILLIACUS** asked the Prime Minister to deprive United Kingdom subjects serving in the police, army, and air force of Rhodesia of their service pensions, and to warn them that if they continue to serve after one month's notice they would be liable to be tried for treason, whereas if they returned, home their pensions would be restored, they would be compensated for loss of property, and would be assisted to find suitable employment.

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "No, sir."

**MR. ZILLIACUS**: "Is it not a fact that one-third of the Rhodesian Army and Air Force officers and almost all the police officers are United Kingdom subjects, and so long as they draw Service pensions they do not believe that there is any real conflict of loyalties, whereas if the measure proposed in the question were taken, would it not bring home to the waiverers—there are many of them—that there really is a conflict of loyalties and compel them to choose?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER**: "The question of the conflict of loyalties is most difficult. We have debated it many times so far as Rhodesia's public servants, not only the police but others, are concerned. The answer that we have given is the most realistic way of dealing with the question. This was fully dealt with by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on December 14. It would be wrong to adopt my hon. friend's suggestion."

**MR. LOMAS** asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations if he was aware that Rhodesian students studying or training in this country were liable to ill-treatment by the illegal régime of Rhodesia when they returned home.

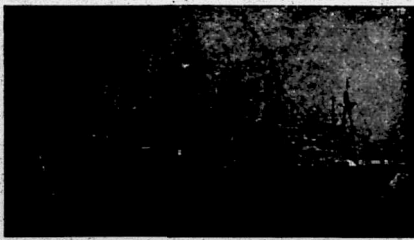
**MR. BOTTOMLEY**: "I am not aware of any evidence that Rhodesian students returning home from this country have been ill-treated merely because they have studied here."

**MR. LOMAS**: "Is my hon. friend aware that the fear of ill-treatment was strongly expressed to me by Rhodesian students at present at the Huddersfield Training College when I spoke to them some weeks ago? Is he in a position to inform the House what steps the Government intend to take to assist those students who are at present suffering great financial difficulties as a direct result of the illegal declaration of independence in Rhodesia?"

**MR. BOTTOMLEY**: "While the British Government have general responsibility for Rhodesia, I am sure my hon. friend will appreciate that I cannot in any way be responsible for the actions of Mr. Smith's illegal régime."

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## Corruption Charges Denied by Dr. Obote Is Dr. Nyerere's Attitude Changing?

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, told journalists in Entebbe on Sunday that allegations of corruption against him and of plots against the Constitution were a "frame-up". He said:—

"I deny absolutely that I have received money, gold, coffee, or elephant tusks, or any other gainful commodity out of last year's troubles along the Congo border. I have led the Government with clean hands and a clean heart. This frame-up to blacken my name and present me as the most dirty man in Uganda is an attempt by my enemies to persuade members of my party to lose confidence in me."

The Prime Minister had just returned from an 11-day tour of the Northern Region.

In his absence the Government had accepted an Opposition motion for the suspension of Colonel Idi Amin, Second-in-Command of the Army, pending investigation into allegations that he had received large sums of money from gold and ivory bought from the Congo.

Mr. Daudi Ocheng, leader of the Kabaka Yekka Party, also alleged that Dr. Obote and two other Ministers had shared £250,000 from similar sources.

Mr. Abu Mayanja, a back-bench M.P. on the Government side of the House, told reporters on Saturday that the Prime Minister had indicated that Colonel Amin had used gold brought from the Congo to buy supplies for Congolese rebels, and that that explained why large sums had appeared to his credit in the colonel's bank account.

At his Press conference next day the Prime Minister declined to comment on that statement.

On Monday Mr. Onama, Minister of State for Defence, and Colonel Amin denied the allegations made against them, and said that they would sue Mr. Ocheng if he did not withdraw his allegations.

## Hypocrisy When Compromise is Needed

MR. R. V. FENTON has urged the need for negotiations and compromise with Rhodesia, saying in *The Times*:—

"You give two reasons against any negotiation with Mr. Smith. Firstly, there is his racial policy. I do not like Mr. Smith's racial policy myself, but if it was reasonable to negotiate with him in spite of his racial policy before U.D.I., is it less reasonable now? Secondly you refer to 'the way they have behaved in matters of security and administration of the law'. Here you echo a favourite accusation of the Prime Minister, but is it not time that a journal of independent views examined the 'police State' argument a little more thoroughly?"

"Is it not now clear that all African States, whether white or black, must in the name of law and order adopt a tightness of security which is unnecessary and even repugnant in the less revolutionary climate of this country?"

"Is it not all the more necessary for Mr. Smith to do this when Britain has declared war on him by all means short (so far) of fighting, and with the declared intention of inciting the population to dissociate themselves (i.e. rebel) from his administration? It would be surprising indeed if in present circumstances there were no censorship, detention orders, etc., in Rhodesia."

"In any case we do not apply this argument of 'no negotiation with a police State' to Indonesia, for example, where the Government have condoned if not actually organized the death of 150,000 or more of its opponents without trial. One can think of other countries more accurately described as police States than Rhodesia (and some of them not so far from there) with whom we seem to be quite happy to go on talking."

"The English approach to diplomacy is usually, and I think rightly, pragmatic. The current high moral tone, so easily degenerating into hypocrisy, is leading to a rigidity of attitude which makes it difficult to reach any compromise—and surely it is compromise alone which offers any future to whites and blacks in Rhodesia."

"The air we breathe is called ozone. Remove the last letter and you have O.Z.O.N.—which stands for 'One Zambia One Nation'". — Mr. A. S. Masiye, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Postal Services in Zambia.

IS PRESIDENT NYERERE changing his attitude towards Communist China and pan-African "freedom fighters"? Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, asked in a recent broadcast.

When the West Germans refused military aid to Tanzania a year ago, President Nyerere "could not find enough mud to sling at them". Now the Premier of the West German State of Hesse had been welcomed in Tanzania with open arms and even allowed to visit Zanzibar.

One reason for Dr. Nyerere's changed attitude might be discouragement during his visit to Zambia, where he had been told that Zambia's industries would come to a standstill if the Portuguese conditions for an airlift from Beira were not accepted, one condition being the establishment of a consulate in Lusaka.

Another stipulation was for the cessation of all activities by organizations officially banned in Zambia; and that would mean a heavy blow at Tanzania's policy of confrontation with Portugal in Mozambique.

Moreover, Tanzania's relations with Kenya had come near to breaking point because President Nyerere had allowed the Chinese to use his country as a base from which to try to undermine President Kenyatta.

Finally, said Dr. Banda, while Tanzania's relations with Malawi and the Congo were far from good, unduly close relations with Communist China worried the Tanzanian leader.

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has banned the entry of *Africa and the World*, a monthly published in London and edited by Mr. Douglas Rogers, who commented: "Africa and the World's policy is to support the complete liberation and unification of Africa. We have strongly supported the Kenya Government against interference in its internal affairs, but the statement of Mr. Gichuru made in Lagos and shown to millions of people on British television is an international question. Mr. Gichuru should not be protected against criticism."

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## Strikes of White Miners on Copperbelt Concerned About Transfer of Savings

PROTEST STRIKES by white miners on the Copperbelt of Zambia spread last week from mine to mine, beginning with Roan Selection Trust properties, but they have now ended. At Nchanga about three out of four of the European workers absented themselves for a day, and at the same time artisans at the Mufulira and Rhokana mines stayed away. About 10% of the white labour force was affected. New contract terms offered by the companies—rather more than a month ago had been rejected, and increases of 25% were demanded.

Even more important than higher earnings from the standpoint of many of the men was a pledge from the Government that those who left the country might take all their savings with them. They have hitherto been allowed to take out about £6,000, any balance being transferable over several years. The fear is that exchange control regulations might freeze balances in Zambia.

Last week the Minister of Finance announced that non-Zambians working on contracts signed in the country would be allowed to send 33% of their salaries to countries in the sterling area, and that expatriates recruited outside the country might send half of their pay abroad. There could, he emphasized, be no concessions beyond that.

In forthcoming amendments to the tax legislation employees would not be adversely affected, especially in the matter of pension accruals and other terminal benefits.

Mr. Emrys Williams, president of the Mineworkers' Society, and Mr. L. Jackets, president of the Mine Officials and Salaries Staff Association, were asked to go to Lusaka to meet the Minister of Labour. Those bodies had urged that the mine pension funds, totalling about £9m., should be kept in banks outside Zambia.

## Commercial Brevities

A Tanzanian trade mission of 14 members is visiting Zambia.

**Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd.**, is paying a second interim dividend of 12½%, making 47½% for 1965, against 19%.

**Mini Mini Estate (Holdings), Ltd.**, tea growers in Malawi, have declared an interim dividend of 12% for the year to June 30 next.

**Lewis Sisal and General Investments, Ltd.**, are paying interim dividends of 14% on the preferred and 4% on the deferred stock.

**Shareholders of the Standard Bank** are to receive a second interim dividend of 10% for the year to March 31 next, making an unchanged 17½%.

**Richard Costain, Ltd.**, a group with large Central African interests, has declared a second interim dividend of 12% maintaining the total at 20%.

**The Uganda Company, Ltd.**, reports net profits of £283,100 for the year to August 31 (£282,663), after tax of £130,911 (£119,656). The dividend is maintained at 12½%.

**Turner & Newall, Ltd.**, a group with large Rhodesian interests, are negotiating for the acquisition of Engineering Components, Ltd., large suppliers to the motor trade, with pre-tax profits in 1964 of £1.1m.

**Net operating surplus for 1965**, of Benguela Railway Company amounted to Escudos 215.54m., against Esc. 207.04m. All the debentures and 90% of the equity are owned by Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd.

**Rhodesian Corporation, Ltd.**, reports profits after tax to September 30 at £80,222 (£69,162). A 5% dividend will take £31,751, and, because the company is managed in London, payment may be made to U.K. shareholders.

**American Metal Climax, Inc.**, which has large mining interests in Zambia, reports net earnings for 1965 at \$60.1m., an increase of 32%. Selection Trust, Ltd., has a 12.7% interest in Amax, the \$1 shares of which stand at \$117.

**Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd.**, which has large Rhodesian and Malawi interests, reports net profit after tax to October 31 at £24,899,000 (£18,957,000). The dividend is raised from 20% to 21½%.

**The Lancashire Steel Corporation's** annual statement by the chairman, Mr. Philip E. Holloway, discloses that in the year to October 2 trading results from the wholly-owned subsidiary Lancashire Steel (Rhodesia), Ltd., were the most satisfactory yet attained.

A West German company contemplates the establishment of a brewery in the Mwanza area of Tanzania.

**Sudan foreign reserves** are stated by the Bank of Sudan to have totalled £22,698,589 at the end of November.

**Sudan cotton exports to India** this year will, it is hoped, reach £8m., to be met by shipments of Indian manufactured goods.

**The British National Export Council** considers Uganda to be one of the two most promising markets in Commonwealth Africa.

**Assam and African Investments, Ltd.**, are paying an interim dividend of 6%, and do not expect a further distribution. In 1964 10% was paid.

**Nairobi Chamber of Commerce** is to complete transfer of its functions to the Nairobi Chapter of the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce at the end of March.

**A corrugated cardboard factory** with an output capacity of 30,000 tons a year is to be built in Dar es Salaam. The Tanganyika Development Finance Co., Ltd., will make a long-term loan of £90,000.

**"To prevent disruptive competition from cheap products manufactured overseas and to protect local industry"**, the Uganda Government has restricted imports of footwear, non-woollen blankets, and sweets. Licences for these articles are now required.

## Liebig's Report

**Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd.**, a group with subsidiaries in Rhodesia, Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya, reports profit after tax to August 31 at £1,987,000 (£1.2m). A 10% dividend takes £555,000. Funds employed by the group total £22.8m. Mr. K. R. M. Carlyle is the chairman.

**Unga Millers, Ltd.**, now merged with Maida, Ltd., and Kenya National Mills, Ltd., with Unga holding 50% of the equity, report profit after tax to July 31, at £178,751. A dividend of 8% takes £99,200. **Caplan D. A. Vaughan-Philpott** is the chairman and Mr. F. T. Holden the managing director.

**Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd.**, an engineering group with South African, Rhodesian, and Zambian interests, report profits after tax to October 31 at R1.2m. (R904,010). Ordinary shareholders receive 15 cents per rand share. Net current assets exceed R3.3m. Fixed assets are nearly R3m. The issued capital is R5.2m.

**Cable and Wireless (Holding), Ltd.**, whose results were summarized last week, have sold their assets in Rhodesia to Electra Investments (Southern), Ltd., and in Zambia to Electra Investments (Northern), Ltd. Mr. S. John Pears, governor of the company, states that the financial stake in those countries is less than 1% of the portfolio.

**Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd.**, which reported a loss of £64,349, for the year to June 30 last, more than covered expenses, including depreciation, in the subsequent six months. Prospects of an early resumption of dividend payments are stated by the chairman to be slender. Sisal production in January, totalled 1,636 tons, making 11,524 tons since July.

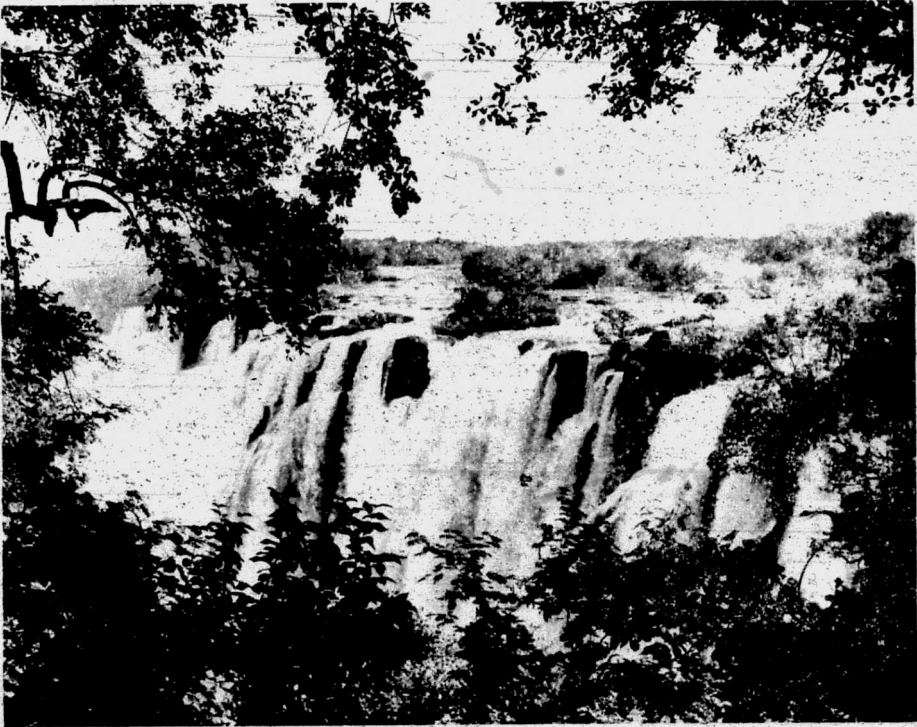
## Zambian Copper Mines

**Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd.**, which made a net profit after tax of £11m. in the year to March 1965, reports profit of £9.5 for the subsequent nine months, in which sales of copper were 192,678 long tons, the average operating profit being £93.8 per ton. Royalty averaged £49 per long ton over the nine months and £55 during the last quarter. In the previous year it had been £35.3.

**The R.S.T. group of companies in Zambia** is to buy two Hercules aircraft at a cost of about 7m. U.S. dollars. They will be delivered in March and April and will be operated by **Zambian Air Cargoes, Ltd.**, to augment existing transport facilities for copper and other essential imports and exports. The copper is expected to be exported through Beira, not Dar es Salaam, as was suggested at the time of the Lockheed experimental flights.

**Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Zambia**, which had a net loss of just under £1.8m. in the nine months to March, 1965, lost £579,000 in the subsequent nine months, but only £102,000 in the October-December quarter. Copper sales for the nine months were 27,011 long tons, compared with 23,995 in the nine months to last March. Whereas last year the average loss per ton was £81.1, it was reduced to £46.4 in the October-December quarter—in which royalty payments average £55 per ton.

**Rhokana Corporation, Ltd.**, reports net profit for the six months to December 31 at £4,557,000, of which no less than £3,645,000 was earned in the October-December quarter. For the 12 months to June last the net profit had been just under £9.2m. Sales of copper in the last half of 1965 totalled 48,808 long tons, for an average profit before tax of £50.3. Net investment income for the half year totalled £2.8m. Royalty to the Government of Zambia in the last quarter of the year averaged £54.2 per ton, as against £40.3 for the previous year.



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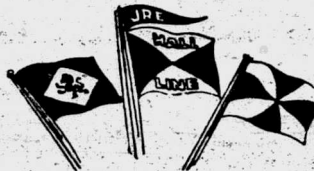
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