

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Vol. 42 No. 2162

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IN a letter which appears on another page, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is accused by Mr. Henry Clark, M.P., of irresponsibility, of a long course of destructive criticism, of

Accused By M.P.

being out of touch with the territories within its coverage, of never having proposed a practical alternative policy to Macmillanism, and of having failed to recognize the differences between Rhodesia and the countries north of the Zambezi. So comprehensive and generalized an indictment will, we hope and believe, fail to convince regular readers of the journal. Judging by the correspondence reaching us day by day—for a substantial majority of readers send with the renewal of their annual subscription private comments to the editor—they are overwhelmingly on the side of the paper, not of Mr. Clark. As he was in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika from 1951 to 1959, he ought to understand the feelings of the farmers, officials, merchants and others in Africa, including many Africans, who have considered themselves betrayed by politicians in Britain.

Challenging us to outline what we consider British policy should have been from 1959 onwards, our correspondent interpolates the assumption that Mr. Lennox-Boyd (now

Constructive Attitude.

Lord Boyd of Merton) was the last Secretary of State for the Colonies of whom we approved. That is perhaps the most accurate remark in the whole letter. We disagreed with Mr. Lennox-Boyd and his predecessor, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), on certain points, and said so at the time, but we regarded them as outstandingly good Secretaries of State. Realists who went to great trouble to acquaint themselves with the facts, they moved much more quickly than had been customary in the

Colonial Office. They were certainly not anti-African in any way, showed themselves to be enlightened and courageous, but not impulsive and reckless, and introduced a much needed dynamism in the affairs of Colonial Africa. They fully recognized the immense contribution made by Europeans and the need for a continuance of their services in all aspects of development, and both believed the multi-racial State to be not merely possible but highly desirable. Consequently they strongly supported the creation of the Central African Federation, as did EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Indeed, one of the two main purposes of its founder when he established the journal in 1924 was to plead the then novel case for a union of the British Dependencies in East Africa and a similar union of those in Central Africa. Was that not a highly constructive attitude? Had the policy been followed, how much happier the prospects would be for all Africa today!

What should have been British policy from 1959 onwards? Certainly not that of the jack-boot (a course apparently suggested by Mr. Clark's reference to the maintenance

Broken Pledges.

of civilized rule by the use of British troops), but equally certainly not abject appeasement of political clamour organized by a tiny minority of detribalized, town-dwelling Africans, scarcely any of whom had the warranty of achievement or experience of any kind, or even some standing among Africans in general. Advancement by merit was declared to be Britain's policy. That assurance was, in fact, reiterated in the lamentable wind-of-change speech of Mr. Macmillan, who, however, quickly repudiated by his actions what he had pledged in his address to the Parliament of South Africa. His Government's tally of broken promises was to rise rapidly and monstrously. We do

not recall that Mr. Clark protested. A minority of Conservative M.Ps. did for a time denounce the successive breaches of faith, especially in regard to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but all except a handful soon decided to toe the party line again.

If only the inside story could be told of the persuasions and pressures, hints and promises, used at that period by Ministers and their stooges, the revelations would shock even today's deplorably complacent public. The targets of the subversionists (for they were subverting

Calamitous

Appeasement.

professed aims of their own party; which formed the Government) were not restricted to Members of Parliament. Key men on the Press received at critical moments at least as much attention from a group within the Cabinet and the eager emissaries of some Ministers whose prestige and purposes were at stake. Disclosing some of these activities, we wrote that such influential and intensive lobbying of prominent journalists was perhaps unprecedented, and assuredly unequalled since the mid-thirties, when Mr. Neville Chamberlain and his close colleagues in the hierarchy set themselves the task (in which they were tragically successful) of preventing British newspapers from telling the truth about German plans and activities, especially the preparations for another war. No publication in Britain, or in Africa, then applied itself more assiduously to the duty of awakening public opinion to the dire danger of appeasing the wild men of the Reich than EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. It has likewise been one of the very, very few journals to emphasize, in almost every issue for years, the moral iniquity involved in Britain's breach of trust with the mass of Africans (and of course Europeans and Asians in African Dependencies) and the practical folly of abandoning a policy of progressive advancement by merit for helter-skelter retreat from Colonial responsibilities and opportunities.

In regard to the rabid racism both of the Nazis and the strident pan-Africanists, our stand, we insist, has been essentially constructive, for its whole purpose was to forewarn against the destruction

Unprincipled Surrender.

inevitably entailed in the unprincipled surrenders into which the political parties in Britain were prepared to plunge for reasons of temporary expediency. To turn from the general to the particular, our time-table for the fundamental changes of the future would

have had no resemblance to that imposed by the Macmillan-Macleod dictatorship. Its apologists pretend that the circumstances were inexorable, and that, as Mr. Clark implies, a respite could have been gained only by the extensive and continuing employment of military force. That *suggestio falsi*, so convenient for the publicists in Parliament and on the Press who bear the blame and burden of failure to challenge the sudden and cynical reversal of Conservative policy, is unhappily accepted as truth in ever-widening circles. It is fiction, not fact.

Events have moved so swiftly, and public memory is so short, that few people recall that from the mid-fifties until three or four years ago all East and Central Africa regarded

Twenty Years or So, Said Mr. Nyerere.

Mr. Nyerere, now President of Tanzania, as the outstanding African leader and the man most likely to set the political pace. The Macmillanites then and later disastrously dismissed as irrelevant what he declared again and again in 1956, the year in which he first put his case in the United Kingdom and the United States. What was his plea? — that Tanganyika should be granted self-government within twenty to twenty-five years. That meant between 1976 and 1981. By 1959 he had halved the transitional period, not of course on the untenable argument that the basic circumstances had changed, but because he had sensed the weakening of British principle, the defeatism prevalent in Westminster and Whitehall, and the vulnerability of Parliamentarians to pressure. In 1959 he made repeated appeals for self-government — not independence — in twelve years; that is to say, in 1971. But soon after Mr. Macleod had become Colonial Secretary the T.A.N.U. leader said in the Legislature in Dar es Salaam: "We want responsible government this year". Was the sudden change due to the expectation, perhaps suggested by friends in Britain, that Mr. Macleod, who had been so weak a Minister of Labour, would no more resist aggressive African politicians than trade union rabble-rousers?

Be that as it may, the new Secretary of State went to Dar es Salaam in December and capitulated. Instead of promising responsible government, he should obviously have negotiated with the

What Could Have Been Arranged. Tanganyika African National Union, the only African organization of any importance, a long-term plan for the gradual extension of African participa-

tion in all activities. Prominent Europeans in the country, officials and non-officials alike, who had known Mr. Nyerere for years, and with whom he had often talked freely of his hopes and problems, had no doubt that, if given proof of British sincerity in the matter, he would and could have won the consent of his party to arrangements for a transformation phased over about a dozen years. In that period there should have been a great expansion of secondary, technical, and academic education up to university standard, and an undertaking for progressive absorption of the Africans with this new background into the public service, the professions, and businesses of all kinds. The will to help African advancement in this way existed in many minds. Instead of fostering the development best calculated to serve all interests, Mr. Macleod recklessly rejected it. Had he understood Africa's need for patience in its progress, Tanganyika's entry upon self-government, though postponed by a few years, would have been immensely more propitious; and the precedent, if set in Tanganyika, would have beneficially influenced events in neighbouring countries.

* * *

We have shown that 1971 was Mr. Nyerere's approximate target date. The impetuous Macleod, nescient about Africa, but contemptuous of advice from men who had given their lives to that

A Decade Too Soon. continent, installed Mr. Nyerere as Chief Minister in September 1960. Still not satisfied with such fantastic haste, he thrust Tanganyika into independence on December 9, 1961—a full decade earlier than had been thought reasonable by the arch-advocate of African domination. Within six weeks of the independence ceremonies Mr. Nyerere had to resign because of deep disharmony in his party. A year later he was back in the saddle as President of a republic. Thirteen months afterwards came the army mutiny, followed by the merger with Zanzibar which opened the largest State in all East Africa to Chinese Communist infiltration.

* * *

Does this brief recapitulation suffice for Mr. Clark? Perhaps not, for his view of Africa is so badly out of focus that he asks what British reaction should have been to events in the Congo.

Victims of Folly And Faithlessness. That must mean that he still fails to recognize that the Belgian Government's abandonment of its responsibilities

in Tropical Africa was the direct consequence of the knowledge that the Macmillan Government had decided on that ignoble policy in the African territories over which it had jurisdiction. Belgian Ministers argued, very understandably, that if Britain, then still Great, was determined to retreat, it would be prudent for little Belgium to decamp more quickly. The Belgian withdrawal from the Congo is in that sense part of the price paid by Africa, and indeed the world, for Macmillanism. In Mr. Clark's protest we find no percipience or realism; no recognition of the abysmal folly of having taken at their own valuation the tiny minority of brash African political adolescents who were consequently able to push more sensible men of their own race into premature demands; no acknowledgement that British politicians of all parties have been criminally reckless over Africa; and no appreciation that Africans in their millions are the chief victims of British foolishness and British faithlessness.

"Is Harold Wilson a windbag?—and did Ian Smith know it all the time?"—*Africa Today*, published by the American Committee on Africa.

"Any Minister or Government that throws money down the drain should follow the money"—Dr. Ahrn Palley, speaking in the Rhodesian Parliament.

"Rhodesia's trade agreements with South Africa, Portugal, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland still operate".—Mr. B. H. Mussett, Minister of Industry in Rhodesia.

"Some co-operative societies in Kenya take as much as 20% of their members' money in committee expenses".—Mr. J. C. N. Osogo, Assistant Minister for Agriculture, speaking in Mombasa.

"Kenya does not want to be led by people who give jobs to their friends instead of to the best man for the job—who give agencies because of bribes or to their friends. Too many people still think that money can buy anything".—Mr. J. C. N. Osogo, Assistant Minister for Agriculture.

"The hon. Member for Mangwendi [Mr. I. H. Samuriwo] is fortunate to live in a state of great affluence".—Mr. P. Van de Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, speaking in the Rhodesian Parliament.

"Why should a person who corrupts a public servant get seven years' imprisonment while the corrupted servant gets only three years?"—Mr. Abu Mayanja, M.P., speaking in the Uganda National Assembly.

"Decay of principles is eating at the very vitals of free governments, and is a far more serious danger to our future than the risk of war. A decay of the individual's responsibility and share in government strikes at the roots of our human advance".—Mr. Wesley Niyenda, Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia.

"In the past 10 years the Rhodesian Government's expenditure on African education has grown from £1.6m., which was 12% of the budget, to £6.4m.—and this under a so-called right-wing reactionary Government. African education now takes more than 20% of the budget—not counting work by missionaries, many of whom also receive support from the Government".—Mr. M. H. H. Partridge, M.P., Rhodesia.

Party Manifestoes Refer Only Briefly to Rhodesia

Conservative Leaders Emphasize Need for Negotiations

RHODESIA has been briefly mentioned in the Queen's Speech at the dissolution of Parliament last Thursday and in the general election manifestoes of the three parties.

The Queen's Speech—which is written by the Government of the day—said: "My Government have vigorously pursued their policy of bringing the illegal régime in Rhodesia to an end so that a peaceful and lasting constitutional settlement, based on the rule of law and acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole, can be achieved. This policy received general endorsement at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers at Lagos in January".

Conservative Censure Motion

Before the House rose back-bench Conservatives tabled a motion of censure on the Government for its "cowardice" in preventing a debate on a motion, condemning the Prime Minister's so-called "peace terms" for Rhodesia, which in fact meant unconditional surrender.

The Socialist manifesto says: "The United Nations is mankind's chief instrument for preserving the rule of law. The Labour Government, by contrast to the habitual Conservative disparagement of the United Nations, appointed a Foreign Office Minister to lead the British delegation. It was at the Security Council of the United Nations that Britain explained her policy for ending the Rhodesian rebellion and won world support to make sanctions effective".

The Conservative statement emphasizes the need to "break the deadlock in Rhodesia by initiating talks with Mr. Smith and his colleagues for the purpose of obtaining a constitutional settlement, without any prior conditions on either side".

Harsh Statement by Liberals

The Liberals state: "The rebel régime in Rhodesia is not only defying the Crown and imposing an increasingly oppressive dictatorship. It is also poisoning race relations throughout Africa. Liberals therefore recognize the necessity of continuing pressure until the rebel régime can be replaced by an authority representing all Rhodesians, willing to work for eventual independence based on majority rule and backed by effective British guarantees".

In a television interview Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, claimed that sanctions were producing results in Rhodesia, where the economic situation was getting worse.

If a tanker carrying oil for Rhodesia approached Beira, "we would have to have recourse to international action to tighten the blockade".

He would be willing to talk to Mr. Smith if by talking he did not "sanctify the illegal régime".

Mr. Heath Wants Negotiations

Mr. Heath, leader of the Conservative Party, said in a television broadcast that he wanted negotiations with Rhodesia in order that that country might be brought back into allegiance to the Queen. If, as he believed, Rhodesians were prepared for talks about a constitutional settlement, surely that was to be encouraged. Continuance of the deadlock meant damage for Rhodesia and Britain:

"I should prefer the talks to start at levels lower than between the Prime Ministers. It is absurd to insist that there should be no talks with Rhodesians on the ground that they are rebels. British Governments have repeatedly talked to rebels. Only the other day Mr. Wilson pleaded in Moscow for talks with the Vietnam rebels.

"There should be no prior conditions for talks by the Rhodesian or the British Governments. If discussions led to a constitutional settlement—and nobody can be sure of success—there would be no illegal Government in Rhodesia. I strongly oppose the use of force".

Mr. Grimond, the Liberal leader, though opposed to the use of force, thought the Government had been right not to exclude it in all circumstances. There might be trouble all through Africa, and then force might have to be used. The Royal Navy ought not to intercept oil tankers. "We should first go to the United Nations".

If United Nations Decided on Force

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS HOME said in Crieff, Perthshire, that, if the United Nations decided to use force in Rhodesia, it was doubtful if a Labour Government in Britain would oppose it. It might even join in. The real issue was whether or not to speak to Mr. Smith's Government.

"My answer is that we must talk—without commitment except that the settlement, when reached, would be a settlement within the law which would bring Rhodesia back into partnership with Britain and, we hope, the Commonwealth. "Mr. Wilson and his Government have relied absolutely on sanctions to compel the Rhodesians to seek a settlement because their economy would be broken under the strain of sanctions. But sanctions will bring about a collapse, if at all, only after they have been operating for months, perhaps years; and possibly there will be no collapse. We must talk."

Mr. Mark Bonham-Carter, vice-chairman of the general election committee of the Liberal Party, said in Sutton Coldfield that he could not remember when a great party had so publicly refused to make up its mind as the Parliamentary Conservative Party had done when some of its members voted for oil sanctions, others voted against, and the rest abstained from the division. "The chances of the Rhodesian Government being prepared to return to a path of constitutional development has been significantly diminished by Tory words".

Mr. Howard Fry, Liberal candidate for the Wells division of Somerset, has proposed that informal talks should be started between 10 Rhodesian M.P.s and 10 British M.P.s. When making the suggestion he added: "If force eventually has to be used we should be criminal lunatics not to try negotiations first".

Widespread Distrust of Mr. Wilson

LORD LAMTON, M.P., wrote in *London Evening Standard* that the widespread distrust of Mr. Wilson could cost him the election, "for who wants a Prime Minister not trusted by his own supporters, who has cast aside all beliefs, broken sacred promises, and appears to have only one interest—to follow the road to power in whatever direction it may lead, putting his trust in expediency, not belief?"

He quoted a Socialist M.P., Mr. Silverman, as having recently written:—

"I find the Government's Vietnam policy shameful and loathsome; its immigration policy insupportable; its foreign policy in sharp contrast with its pledges and beliefs; its armaments expenditure crippling, unnecessary and unjustified; its handling of the trade unions irreconcilable with their true place even in a transitional society; its' wrongly based and inequitable. Discontent is widespread in the party".

"Imposing sanctions on Rhodesia will cost the UK, at least £75m. a year. We had a yearly surplus balance with Rhodesia of £25m. We exported £31. a year; now we shall not send more than £6m. of goods. That means another loss of £25. In addition we shall have to spend £25m. worth of dollars on tobacco from the U.S.A. That brings the loss to £75m. which the British people will have to pay because the whites of Rhodesia will not allow Wilson and Co. to rob them of their possession".

Rhodesians Will Never Surrender to Wilson Government

As Prepared to Resist As Britons Were At the Time of Dunkirk

MR. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information, said at a luncheon of Salisbury West Rotary Club:— "Much has been said of the need to negotiate to heal the breach between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. Few responsible people will deny the desirability. No one will say that hatred, or antagonism is anything but destructive. No sensible person would deny that there are far more pressing problems than the perpetuation of a vendetta between Mr. Wilson and Rhodesia.

"In letting our thought drift on these matters—I say 'drift' because there is no discernible indication that Mr. Wilson has any serious intention of coming to terms accept on extravagant conditions that no Rhodesian could contemplate—it would be well to bear in mind certain fundamental facts that affect our situation. They bear a remarkable resemblance to what occurred when the 13 Colonies of America sought to break their links with the erstwhile mother country.

"I have read that the American Revolution primarily came about because England tried to tighten the tenuous control she had over her American Colonies. It became a conflict between Imperial control and Colonial self-government, between the principle of authority exercised by King and Parliament and the principle of liberty.

The American Parallel

"Like us, the American Colonies had wide powers of self-government and a considerable degree of autonomy. Like us, they expected to acquire more as their country developed. Like ourselves, the Americans were high-spirited. They claimed the rights for which Englishmen had fought since Magna Carta. They would not be subject to the imposition of laws which had not their consent.

"The Revolution was fought not to obtain freedom but to preserve the liberties the Americans already had. Independence was no secret plot, but a last reluctant resort to preserve life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They were influenced by the principle of 'taking a stand at the beginning'—lest by one concession after the other you end in complete subjection. The Coercive Acts passed by Parliament in Britain were the final link in the chain of the bald assertion of power. From that day on the question simply was: 'Who would rule or have the final say?'. All other questions faded into the background. Congress of the United Colonies had to advise the people to arm themselves and recommended economic sanctions against Britain. Seven years it took the people of the American Colonies to place their independence beyond jeopardy.

"A noted English historian, Lord Acton, stated later: 'It was from America that came the plain ideas that men ought to mind their own business and that a nation is answerable to Heaven for the acts of the State, and the principle gained ground that a nation can never abandon its fate to an authority it cannot control'. How pertinent are these principles to the situation facing Rhodesia!

"In no circumstances will Mr. Wilson treat with our Prime Minister, notwithstanding Mr. Smith's overwhelming support in Rhodesia. He demands total, unconditional surrender. When he gets it—when he will institute a period of direct British rule. A government, representative of all races will be required to serve under Sir Humphrey Gibbs as an interim body, paving the way for 'unimpeded progress to majority rule'. All 'political prisoners' will be released.

"This amounts to subjecting Rhodesia to direct Colonial Office rule. This country has never been subjected to such rule. From 1890 to 1923 we were administered by the Chartered Company, a commercial organization. From 1923 to

this day we have had self-government. Mr. Wilson proposes that we place our necks beneath the yoke—subject ourselves to any Quislings who can be induced to come forward to run things while the structure is swiftly built for a handover to black African rabid nationalist rule.

"Release of the 'political prisoners' and their undoubted participation in Government would mean that men now restricted for having led movements responsible for the most damnable atrocities, which did not even stop short of burning people alive, would be duly ushered into the promised land. The fact that the movements they led purported to be political parties and that the crimes were committed for political ends, presumably makes these men political prisoners.

Red Carpet for Former Gangsters

"Once the new rulers have been installed in power, Mr. Wilson would gracefully bow out. Independence would be formally granted, and, as has happened so often in recent British Commonwealth history, a set of former gangsters would have the red carpet laid out for them. Some unfortunate member of the Royal Family would have the humiliation of hauling down the Union Jack, and the agreed Constitution left behind by Mr. Wilson would, if it contained anything remotely democratic, be smartly torn up.

"Rhodesia would be renamed Zimbabwe. One-party rule would be installed, and the one-time proud little country could look forward to sinking into the same morass of corruption, in justice and simmering violence that now envelops so many of the so-called 'free' States of Africa.

"This is what Mr. Wilson offers Rhodesians if they surrender. Is not this public declaration of so-called 'peace terms' an effective guarantee that, no matter what happens, Rhodesians will never surrender?

"Look back and see the parallel. Twenty-six years ago Britain, almost unarmed, faced the terrifying might of Nazi Germany. The odds were overwhelming. Dunkirk had reduced the armies to a shambles. The Home Guard was equipped with broomsticks. Without a single military ally, Britain stood alone. The rest of the world held its breath and waited for the defeat which so many thought to be a certainty. Yet little Britain stood firm. Defeat? It didn't exist. The people knew what would happen if they gave in. Hitler had made known his plans. Britain was to be denuded of her active manhood and the United Kingdom was to be Germanized once and for all.

"How could the British people give in to a fate like that? No matter what national characteristics helped to sustain them in their hour of adversity, they were fighting for survival. No matter how much they suffered, no hardship could match the horrors that would follow defeat. Any amount of blood, sweat and tears could never match the awful consequence of surrender.

Wilson Plan Resembles that of Hitler

"Jump a quarter of a century and look at another little country standing firm in the face of apparently overwhelming odds. Can you find a single reason why the people of 'rebel' Rhodesia should consider giving in to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, knowing what he has planned for them? Is there any reason why they should be less prepared than were the British people 25 years ago to face any suffering and any hardship when they know that the alternative is their own extinction?

"After Dunkirk, Britain faced apparently impossible odds. To the outside world today it must look as though Rhodesia faces impossible economic odds, with almost the whole world against her. Britain was not quite alone in 1940. She did have sympathizers willing to send in aid but without committing themselves officially. The same applies to Rhodesia today. Cruel as are Mr. Wilson's sanctions, trade goes on. Rhodesia continues to import and export. Petrol was severely rationed in Britain, but somehow it continued to come in. Petrol is rationed in Rhodesia today, but the oil somehow comes in.

"Hitler's plan was to deprive Britons of their homeland and obliterate them as a cohesive nation. Wilson's conditions amount to precisely the same thing for both black and white Rhodesians who do not bow to the rabid nationalist line.

"As Hitler's declarations 25 years ago were an effective guarantee that Britain would never surrender, Mr. Wilson's terms are equally an assurance that, no matter what happens, the Rhodesians will not, cannot surrender. No matter what hardships we may have to face, no matter for how many years we might have to maintain a siege economy, no matter how many of us did or did not actively support the declaration of independence on November 11, 1965—we know that there is no other choice."

Smith Government Virtually Unscathed

Leading British Newspapers Change Their Views on Sanctions

RHODESIA'S REACTIONS TO SANCTIONS are impressive, according to the correspondent in Salisbury of the *Financial Times*, which has given prominence to a long cabled report which said:—

"Whitehall claims that sanctions are taking their toll are greeted with amusement. Even anti-Smith Rhodesians have become extremely cynical about unrealistically exaggerated British claims of the success of sanctions.

"Many businessmen believe that the tobacco sanctions will be circumvented in the same way as the financial and oil sanctions. The inflow of petrol, now about 80,000 gallons a day, meets requirements. Paraffin and diesel fuel are also being brought in.

"The mining industry is experiencing an almost unprecedented boom despite the asbestos and chrome sanctions. Many buyers are queuing up for Rhodesia's output.

"Of the sugar output of 350,000 tons, 75,000 will be sold domestically, and the balance is reported to have been sold already to Portugal (about 40,000 tons) and France.

"Some experts estimate that the Tobacco Corporation will sell about 30% of the crop. Others reckon on selling 50%. Sales to South Africa, Portugal, and Spain are certain. One middleman now in Salisbury seems confident that he can sell to the Benelux countries. Others say France will turn a blind eye.

Tribute to Rhodesian Manufacturers

"Rhodesian manufacturers are diversifying their output to an astonishing extent. Some of the many new lines of goods are being exported to Zambia, South Africa, and Bechuanaland. Companies of international repute have allowed Rhodesian manufacturers to produce branded goods on their behalf.

"It seems likely that economic pressures will be at their height between July and September. While there is every reason to believe that great harm will be done by September, there is no indication that the damage will lead to a change of heart on the part of the Government; and by September, if sanctions have not worked, a number of countries will begin overtly to ignore the embargoes and do business with Mr. Smith. Perhaps people who take this view are wrong, but, seen from Salisbury, it appears that they have their feet more on the ground than Whitehall."

In a long leading article, the paper asked: "Can we afford to take a beating from the 200,000 whites who stand behind Mr. Smith? This would humiliate Britain and be a severe blow for the entire West; it would mean that the last great act of withdrawal from the Empire had been mishandled. The alternative—what the Americans would call an 'open-ended commitment in Southern Africa'—is also appalling to contemplate in view of its possible consequences."

The City editor of *The Times* credited the Rhodesian Prime Minister with three political successes: (1) the evident leak in the oil embargo through South Africa; (2) the failure of the Zambian trade boycott to materialize; and (3) the way in which Rhodesian financial institutions had continued to take his orders.

Having discussed the oil situation and the possibilities of finding buyers for this season's tobacco crop, the writer continued:—

"Rhodesian chrome ore is of metallurgical quality, easily distinguishable from South African chemical-quality ore. Rhodesian long-fibre asbestos is equally distinct from Canadian or other grades. The quantities involved are, however, smaller, and the scope for avoiding customs control at one or other of the world's consuming countries is thus greater than with tobacco.

"There is plenty of opportunity for passing off Rhodesia's next sugar crop as coming from another origin, even if it sells at half the Commonwealth price.

"On the trade front as a whole Rhodesia continues to export manufactured goods to Zambia and Malawi with impunity, and is paid in hard currency.

"Trade with South Africa continues as usual. The South African Reserve Bank accepts clearings in Rhodesian pounds from commercial banks dealing with traders in Rhodesian goods. Presumably a private understanding has been reached with the authorities in Salisbury to have any balances settled in hard currency, but the South African Reserve Bank can also help the Rhodesians to convert their earnings into other acceptable currencies."

Wilson Storm Has Been Weathered

Mr. John de St. Jorre reported in the *Statist* that the "overworked image of sanctions incising deep into the economic flesh of Rhodesia seem a bad joke in Salisbury, with its shops full to capacity, parking spaces at a premium, and restaurants and bars crowded with a free-spending public".

The first part of the Wilson storm had been weathered. Enough petrol was arriving to meet the ration and storage tanks throughout the country were full.

"Any patriotic but pessimistic businessmen think that by September it will be impossible to keep the economy going—certainly not to the present level of luxury living.

"Whether sanctions will then have the desired political effect is quite another thing. So far it has been the reverse. When a European loses his job he automatically blames Wilson, not Smith. Then if there is no chance of getting another one he leaves the country. The net political sum of this exercise is to leave the Smith régime virtually unscathed.

"There is no doubt that at present the whites are more solid behind the Government than ever before. As each day goes by, so does support for 'good old Smithy' grow. The next few months will test the true nature of this loyalty."

A Johannesburg correspondent of the paper reported: "Britain can bluster and threaten to carry her Rhodesian sanctions to South Africa, but in the end must face the hard fact that Britain has a more favourable balance of trade with South Africa than with any other country and just cannot afford to alienate this market".

The *Daily Mail* reported that "the French are leading a scramble for Rhodesia's tobacco crop; they boast that they will take the lion's share and resell to other market.

"Many buyers from France, Germany, South Africa, Holland, Italy, and Portugal, have arrived in Salisbury. If Rhodesia manages to dispose of even 40% of the crop she can survive. As an average tobacco farm supports about 150 Africans, including women and children, the 3,000 tobacco farmers support about one-eighth of the population, who would become destitute if British sanctions knocked the bottom out of the tobacco industry".

Mr. Whitney Straight's Report

MR. WHITNEY STRAIGHT, deputy chairman of Rolls-Royce, Ltd., said on returning to London from a brief visit to Rhodesia, which he has frequently visited in the past 35 years, that sanctions have still had little effect beyond causing a shortage of breakfast foods and zips for men's trousers.

There were still so many motor-cars in Salisbury that it was as difficult to find parking space as in London.

"Morale is very high, and there is a general feeling of unity in a common cause. The country is so peaceful that there is little sign of internal precautions. I found no guard outside the Prime Minister's office or at his home. Mr. Smith seems very confident and cheerful.

"Politically there seems no reason why Press censorship should not be abolished; but it is understandable on security grounds, for the Rhodesian position would be weakened if he would know about such matters as exports and oil imports."

There was widespread sympathy for Sir Humphrey Gibbs, who remains personally popular. "He is admired for the stand he has taken even by those who think that it may have been misguided. Nobody doubts that Rhodesia will win sooner or later".

Activities of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation

Britain's Complicity in Incitement to Murder, Arson, and Sabotage

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER is now following a deliberate policy of withholding from members of the Opposition details of the implementation of his Rhodesian policy. That being the case, members of the Opposition can have no knowledge of the following facts.

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation began systematic broadcasts by former leaders of the banned Rhodesian African nationalist parties inciting Africans in Rhodesia to commit acts of violence aimed at breaking down the rule of law and order. In those broadcasts Africans were told to kill chiefs, destroy crops, kill Africans who did not join the strikes, stone cars and kill their occupants, destroy electricity and telephone communications, maim and kill cattle.

At about the same time the British Broadcasting Corporation arranged with the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation to restart the relaying of B.B.C. news and talks programmes, beamed to Rhodesia. These relays had stopped shortly after Zambia became independent in 1964. Thus the B.B.C. began involvement with the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation in programmes aimed at Rhodesia.

Transcripts of the Z.B.C. programmes, some examples of which follow, were sent to the director-general of the B.B.C. in December, 1965, by the director-general of the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation, and at the same time the British Government's attention was drawn to the contents of the broadcasts by the Rhodesian Government. Thus both the British Government and the B.B.C. were made aware of the nature of the activities of their partner, the Z.B.C.

Squash Farmers As You Would A Fly

Examples of these broadcasts are:—

At 11.45 hours, 25.11.65. *Speaker: George Nyandoro. Language: Shona.*

"To continue telling you, children of Zimbabwe, what you should do: At the farms which are occupied by the Europeans, you who surround the farms, we ask you, children of Zimbabwe, to enter those farms. Drive away or remove the louse which is biting you by means which you know. You must not be troubled by one person and three or four of his children who are on the farm. Take that farm."

11.45 hours, 26.11.65. *Speaker: J. Z. Moyo. Language: Sindebele.*

"We say that all travelling vehicles must be stoned, must be hit with whatever you have in your hands. And to the people who are inside do what you are able to do. As you squash a fly or a mouse in your hand, do these sort of things."

11.45 hours, 26.11.65. *Speaker: George Nyandoro. Language: Shona.*

"We ask you to see that the tobacco does not grow on the farms, that the factories do not continue to function. Let them be closed. If they can be burnt, burn them. Those farms where tobacco is being grown must be burnt. The factories must be burnt."

11.15 hours, 28.11.65. *Speaker: James Chikerema (Vice-president of Z.A.P.U.). Language: Shona. Sindebele version by J. Z. Moyo.*

"This means one thing—take your bows and break the Government of Ian Smith and all his robbers, because it is true they are robbers, thieves. Take your bows, your axe, your spear, and smash that Government. If blood spills, even if blood is shed, that Government must be broken."

"Form groups at night and go to the European farms and cut down the tobacco which has been planted. Form parties at night, small separate groups, and go and cut down the Dutchman's tobacco which he covets. Kill many cattle, cattle

taken from our forefathers. Take the cattle. Go to the farms and take the cattle. If you are not able to take them, hamstring them. Children of the soil, do everything, go forward, cause chaos in Rhodesia."

11.45 hours, 10.12.65. *Speaker: J. Z. Moyo. Language: Sindebele.*

"The English troops will come if there is terrible disorder in our country. That is when they can come. That is when all nations can come. That is when our country can be freed. If there is peace and if their way of life which they are living in our country is not destroyed by you, the children of Zimbabwe, by whatever means you have, there will never be freedom, there will never be freedom in our country."

11.45 hours, 10.12.65. *Speaker: George Nyandoro. Language: Shona.*

"Children of the soil, rise up. Rise up, the black man. Take your country, policemen. Throw away your uniforms, and go and help your parents. They are pulling up tobacco. They are slashing maize. They are doing many different works in the kraals."

Rise Up, Black Man

11.15 hours, 12.12.65. *Speaker: J. Z. Moyo. Language: Sindebele.*

"Children of Zimbabwe at Sipolilo, children of Zimbabwe at Karoi, Mtoko, Mrewa, Zimunya and Gwanda in the last few days have done great work. The work of pulling up tobacco, the work of eating cattle, the work of destroying the Government of the rebels. Many of you have not yet done anything. At Bulawayo and other places like these, rise up and do this work because our country cannot be freed by two or three people only."

Both the Zambia broadcasts by African nationalists and the relaying by the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation of the B.B.C. news and talks programmes have continued unchecked. It is evident that the British Government has been content to be a partner to the Z.B.C., however vicious its activities.

Meanwhile the British Government has itself gone on the air with a new transmitter at Francistown, broadcasting programmes obviously intended to create alarm and despondency in Rhodesia and to cause disaffection in Rhodesia's uniformed services.

Pretext for Military Intervention

However, the British Government was not content with waging its own psychological warfare against Rhodesia and being a passive partner in Zambia's vile outpourings. It decided to become an active partner to Zambia, and engage itself in a type of programme which it did not dare to broadcast from Francistown for fear of the British public's reaction.

The 7.45 p.m. news broadcast by the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation on Tuesday, February 8, included the following report, which was relayed promptly to London by one of the international news agencies:—

"It is reported from Livingstone that two medium-wave radio transmitters are now in operation there. These transmitters were supplied by the British Government for the purpose of carrying Zambian broadcasts into the Wankie area. Zambia Radio is being used extensively by former leaders of the outlawed Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. organizations, broadcasting in the vernacular, to incite Africans in Rhodesia to commit acts of sabotage, arson, violence, and even murder. The transmitters in Livingstone were supplied to Zambia despite the fact that the British Government had been made aware by Rhodesian authorities of the inflammatory broadcasts put out by Zambia Radio to Rhodesia."

It is significant that no denial has been forthcoming from the British Government.

The British Government has, in fact, become an active participant in the Zambian campaign, abetting it in inciting Africans in Rhodesia to murder, sabotage, arson, violence, and destruction. It is evident that the British Government is intent on the breakdown of law and order in Rhodesia, as a pretext for intervention with military force.

*This statement, issued from the office of the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, was mailed from Salisbury to all Members of both Houses of the British Parliament.

PERSONALIA

The trustees of the Kenyatta Foundation, which will award annual scholarships at universities and other specialist institutions to Kenya citizens, are to be the PRESIDENT of Kenya, Messrs. J. S. GICHURU, T. J. MBOYA, MBIYU KOINANGE, and CHARLES NJONJO.

DR. IAN MICHAEL, Vice-Chancellor of the new university of Malawi, and Mrs. MICHAEL are visiting the United States and Canada.

Four of the 37 Conservative M.Ps. who are not standing for re-election have shown interest in East and Central African affairs, namely SIR KENNETH PICKTHORN, SIR JOCELYN LUCAS, SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON, and SIR PETER AGNEW.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER, lately United Kingdom High Commissioner in Tanzania, is now on the staff of the Commonwealth Relations Office. MR. J. B. JOHNSON, High Commissioner in Rhodesia until U.D.I., and SIR JOHN RICHMOND, Ambassador in Sudan until that country severed diplomatic relations with Britain, are on leave pending appointments to new posts.

MR. JACQUES FISHER, president of the East African Chamber of Commerce in the United States, has spent three weeks in East Africa discussing the possibilities of further American investment.

MR. J. H. WATTS, chairman of United Transport, Ltd., a group with large Central and East African interests, sailed on Friday for Durban in the ORANJE.

PRESIDENT NYERERE of TANZANIA said a few days ago: "Africa must not lose heart because of the present wave of wrong revolutions. She must redouble her efforts to achieve the right kind of revolution. Africa is ripe for revolution. We must work out those revolutions in Mozambique, Angola, and all occupied Africa until the continent is free. We must not stop".

MR. MALCOLM NAPIER, a member of the London council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, said in a radio interview in Salisbury last week that a branch was being established in Rhodesia.

MR. J. D. MARSHALL, a regional manager of Rhodesia Railways leads the team which is to report on a connexion between Beitbridge and some point on the existing system, possibly West Nicholson or Rutenga.

DR. HELEN ROSEVEARE, a missionary who was about to be killed by the Congolese rebels when she was rescued 15 months ago by a "mercenary" detachment under COLONEL HOARE, has left by sea for the Congo to resume her missionary work.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS de GUINGAND, president of the South Africa Foundation, has said that he would accept an invitation to give evidence on apartheid before a Congressional Committee in the United States if the terms of reference were acceptable.

MR. EMMANUEL NSUBUGA is Vicar Capitular of the diocese of Rubaga, Uganda, pending the appointment by THE POPE of a new Archbishop in place of the late DR. JOSEPH KIWANUKA.

MR. DANIEL MEINERTZHAGEN, a managing director of Lazard Brothers & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers, has been elected a director of Longmans Green & Co., Ltd.

MR. F. S. MILES, who served in the British High Commission in Uganda in 1962-63 and was then Acting High Commissioner in Tanzania for just over a year, has left London for Ghana to take up duty as Acting High Commissioner for the United Kingdom. He has recently been in charge of the West Africa Department of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. J. K. MACGREGOR, president of American Metal Climax, Inc., has joined the board of Ndola Copper Refineries, Ltd. Following the resignations of SIR THOMAS CHEGWIDDEN and MR. W. FRASER, the vacancies have been filled by MR. C. H. B. PIPKIN, a director of British Insulated Callender's Cables Ltd., and MR. J. W. MILLS, a director of its Zambia subsidiary.

MR. NOEL COWARD, who contracted dysentery while recently in Seychelles and has since been under treatment in Italy and Switzerland, has arrived in London to act in three of his plays.

PRINCE PATRICK KABOYO, the new Omukama of Toro, Uganda, has taken the style of OMUKAMA PATRICK OLIMI III.

VISCOUNT THROWLEY, the 26-year-old son and heir of EARL SONDES, has said that he intends to go to Kenya to join the staff of a bank.

MR. H. F. SOMERVILLE has been appointed finance manager of Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., a group with large East and Central African interests.

LORD COLYTON is revisiting Rhodesia.

MR. J. A. LEMKIN, who has paid a number of visits to Central and East Africa, has withdrawn as prospective Liberal candidate for Cheltenham.

MAJOR ERNEST THORNTON, quartermaster of the 1st Bn. The Malawi Rifles, formerly The King's African Rifles, received last week from the Governor-General a bar to his Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. He has been in the Regular Army for 36 years. Bestowal of such a bar is said to be unique in recent times.

DR. WALTER ADAMS, principal of the University College of Rhodesia, is to fly to London this week to discuss its future.

MR. ANTHONY FAVILL TUKE, who has been appointed to the board of Barclays Bank D.C.O., was elected a director of the parent institution last year, being the third generation of his family to serve in that capacity. Both his grandfather and his father became chairmen of Barclays Bank.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, and LADY HAWKER, will leave London Airport today for East and South Africa. They will return in the WINDSOR CASTLE, sailing from Cape Town on April 13.

Passengers for Mombasa in the Kenya Castle include DR. and MRS. M. A. CHURCH, DR. and MRS. L. CLARK, MR. D. D. FAWCUS, BRIGADIER and MRS. J. F. MACNAB, the REV. and MRS. J. F. MOCKFORD, and MRS. J. STODDARD.

ARCHDEACON H. E. NORTON is on his way to Beira by sea.

MR. H. E. DARVILL, a vice-chairman of Barclays Bank, has been appointed chairman of Barclays Export Finance Co. Ltd.

MR. MAHGOUR, Prime Minister of Sudan, has telegraphed to PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE of Guinea in praise of his support for DR. NKURUMAH, adding: "We welcome your determination to continue the struggle against colonialism and for African unity."

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Letter to the Editor**M.P. Dislikes "East Africa & Rhodesia"****Mr. Henry Clark's Charges and Questions***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR,—I have read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA for the last 15 years and at one time considered it a responsible journal. However, continued destructive criticism of British policy in Africa since 1960 now leads me to believe that your editorial staff must be out of touch with the Africa of the 1960s.

I describe your criticism as destructive as I can remember no action on which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has suggested a practical alternative policy. In particular, you never appear to have recognized the deep differences between Rhodesia and the countries north of the Zambezi. In Southern Rhodesia a quarter of a million white Rhodesians have created a viable and thriving economy in partnership with the relatively small African population. Nowhere north of the Zambezi has there been any comparable European achievement. Even in Kenya the 60,000 Europeans were outnumbered 100 to one, and in Northern Rhodesia, apart from the Copperbelt, showed a minority even smaller than Tanganyika.

I will be most interested to know what you believe the British policy should have been from 1959 onwards. (I presume that Lord Boyd was the last Colonial Secretary of whom you approved). It would also be interesting if you gave details of the cost and number of British troops which would have been necessary to maintain British administration in East and Central Africa up to 1970 and the number of politicians you would have imprisoned.

Do you believe also that after such a regime any peaceful handover to an African or mixed Government would have been possible? What should British reaction have been to events in the Congo? Unless you can set out such a policy I consider that you would do better to accept Africa as it is and not as you would like it to be, or go out of business.

Yours sincerely,

House of Commons.

HENRY CLARK.

[This letter is the subject of a leading article in this issue. Since Mr. Clark wrote some time ago, Parliament has been dissolved. There are, therefore, no M.P.s. at the time of printing.—Ed.]

"High Praise for Objectivity"**Thanks of An American Subscriber***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR,—You may or may not have been curious as to why a Master Sergeant (Company Sergeant-Major in your army) has been anxious ever since 1959 to receive your magazine.

Mr. Negley Farson's last book, "Last Chance in Africa", mentioned your publication with high praise. Later when I saw an advertisement of your journal I decided to subscribe. It was an important step, since it opened up for me the whole world of British East and Central Africa.

At the time I subscribed I was working on a degree in night school. Since retiring several years ago I have been working toward a Ph.D. in history, with emphasis on African and European studies. My work is nearly completed and I shall be teaching American and African history at Memphis State University, Memphis, Tenn., starting this fall. It may be a couple of years before I receive the doctorate, since I must complete my

dissertation as yet, but at least—and at last—the class work is finished. So much for an extremely modest success story, and the part your journal has played in it.

While I seldom fully agree with your editorials, I read them as well as the rest of the paper. Incidentally, I met Mr. John Hatch at Chicago last October—the occasion was the annual African Studies Convention—and we exchanged comments about your publication. He was high in his praise for the objectivity of its news reporting.

Thank you for all the years of fine service and reporting.

Most cordially

Columbia, S.C.
U.S.A.

DALVAN M. COGER

[Mr. Hatch, who was for years head of the Commonwealth department of the Labour Party, is scarcely likely to agree with our editorial views. His tribute is therefore the more appreciated.—Ed.]

POINTS FROM LETTERS**Where Ignorance Is Bliss**

"FOR 15 YEARS I have subscribed to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. I have appreciated the journal throughout that period, and I still have no quarrel with its contents. I ask, however, for termination of my subscription because of your good coverage of events in these African territories! I must still live and work here in Kenya, but can no longer find interest in what is happening. Indeed, where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

Praise for the Juniors

"MY IMPRESSION as I have moved about Kenya is that the junior African officials are in most cases really trying to do their jobs. It is higher up the official ladder that there is real reason for anxiety. There can be no doubt that the old momentum in the Government departments is running down. The more sensible seniors not only recognize but admit this in private, and it would not be surprising if at no very distant date quite a number of white men, not necessarily Britons, are brought in to 'advise'."

Apprehensive

"RECENTLY I have spent a little while in Kenya, where I farmed most happily for many years. Many of my old friends have left the country, but I saw many others. Without exception, all of them are apprehensive on one count or another. Nowhere did I find a sense of real security."

The Pipe As Status Symbol

"IN ONE OF KENYA'S best-known hotels the other day I saw four Africans playing table tennis, each with a pipe in his mouth, and each pipe empty. For Africans, at any rate in the capital, the pipe has become a status symbol."

Honesty and Accuracy

"EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is always intensely interesting. It is a pity that the leading London daily and weekly papers do not publish factual news from Africa with the honesty and accuracy which you practise."

Mr. Odinga's Resignation Demanded

NINETY-NINE M.Ps. in Kenya have called for the resignation of the Vice-President, Mr. Oginga Odinga, who has spoken openly for years of his Communist sympathies and connexions.

On the previous day he had told journalists that some members of the Government (whom he did not name) were plotting to remove him from public affairs. There had been several recent attempts to unseat him, and neo-colonialists and imperialists had tried to discredit him by accusing him of planning to overthrow the Government, of building up a private arms cache, and of opposing President Kenyatta. He had been unfairly treated by colleagues who had worked relentlessly to provoke him. Some had "allowed themselves to be used to fight imaginary Communism".

Last year he had accused British and American envoys of interfering in Kenya's affairs. "Now we see the fruits of this international conspiracy against independence. This conspiracy was made in collaboration with a number of people among us to divert us from our policy of non-alignment".

The imperialists had, he declared, spent vast sums "to confuse our people and leaders about my role in the long march towards the economic liberation of our country". By clearing the air he hoped for a new phase in unity. "Our independence must not be sold to neo-colonialist intrigues which are a perpetual danger to Africa".

Insulted

Mr. Odinga complained that he had been insulted by the withdrawal of duties which had been entrusted to him as Vice-President, the latest deprivation being that of responsibility for elections.

Two days later Mr. Mboya, the general secretary of the Kenya African National Union, and an opponent of Mr. Odinga, was due to engage in conferences for the streamlining and re-shaping of the party. Mr. Odinga complained that the arrangements had been made without his knowledge, despite the fact that he was vice-president of the party.

On Friday, by 85 votes to 30, the party conference resolved to abolish the post of deputy president, held by Mr. Odinga, and elected eight vice-presidents, he not being among them. He left the meeting in anger.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, the former Leader of the Opposition, who had strongly opposed Mr. Odinga, is one of the new vice-presidents. Two others are Mr. Gichuru, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Sagini, Minister of Local Government.

President Kenyatta had told the party gathering: "There have been rumours that some people are trying to form a new party. If such people are powerful, let them come out and do so. Kenya has a Government stable and strong enough to deal with such elements. Anyone trying to play with the popularly elected Government of the people and to bring discord among the people will be dealt with firmly".

A first ballot for a vice-president representing the Central Province resulted in favour of Mr. Bildad Kaggia, a bitter critic of President Kenyatta, and the defeat of Mr. Gichuru and Dr. Kiako, Ministers of Finance and Labour respectively. After protests another vote was taken, and Mr. Gichuru was elected.

Mr. Masinde Muliro, formerly of the Kenya African Democratic Union, but now a member of K.A.N.U., contested the office of secretary-general, but received only 80 votes against 326 cast for Mr. Mboya.

Reports from Nairobi that Mr. Odinga had formed a Kenya African Unity Party were denied after Mr. Mboya had said publicly that any Minister who supported such a party would be dismissed. Dissident M.Ps. representing the Kenya African National Union, who claimed to have the support of some 20 country branches, had said that they were breaking away to form a new party, with the support of Mr. Odinga and several Assistant Ministers.

Mr. Paul Ngei, a Minister who was recently suspended and who was stated to be one of the leaders of the new party, denied having attended its inaugural meeting and declared that he still supported President Kenyatta and K.A.N.U.

Mr. Mboya said on Monday: "The big names in this game have put forward some unknown persons to start a party for them. They are waiting to see public reactions before coming into the open. Such tactics are dishonest, immoral and cowardly".

Negotiate, Say Man Petitioners

A PETITION addressed to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Lord of Man, by the Anglo-Rhodesian Association of the Isle of Man reads: —

"We the undersigned loyal subjects of Your Majesty living in the Isle of Man hereby petition Your Majesty to instruct your United Kingdom Government to negotiate with the constitutionally elected Government of Rhodesia with a view to the resolution of the tragic breach between the two countries, and further that they shall cease forthwith the punitive and vicious sanctions instituted against Rhodesia, which may end in the ruin of that fine, progressive country, and, in the opinion of Your Majesty's loyal subjects, are now endangering the economic and financial reputation of Great Britain".

There are fewer than 50,000 persons of all ages on the island, and the aim of the association was to obtain 1,000 signatures representing a cross-section of the community. So keen was the response, however, that 1,976 signatures were quickly obtained, representing about 6% of the adult population. Most of the signatories have no connexion whatsoever with Rhodesia.

Anglo-Rhodesian Association

The chairman of the Anglo-Rhodesian Association is Dr. W. L. Roberts, who was a medical officer in Rhodesia from 1946-1963 and has farmed in partnership with his son. He has children and grandchildren in Rhodesia.

Mr. W. H. Murray, the honorary secretary, who presented the petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1940, escaped the following year, and then became a chief flying instructor before being transferred to the Admiralty for research duties. He has been interested in Rhodesian problems for some years, and has made a special study of world Communism.

Another member of the committee, Mr. S. C. Glen Randolph, was in business in Sudan for 10 years and in Rhodesia and East Africa for nine and eight years respectively. He has also farmed in Rhodesia. He was with General Orde Wingate's column from the Sudan which attacked the Italian forces in Ethiopia.

Mr. H. P. Whitehead, another member, is a retired textile manufacturer. His son, a member of the B.S.A.P., was A.D.C. to Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, until he was released after U.D.I. for normal duties.

Mr. O. S. Swainson, who was active in starting the association and serves on the committee, was for nearly 40 years in West and East Africa, for most of the time in Government service. He saw war service with the Nigeria Regiment.

Mr. Hornby Attacked

An attempt to persuade the Tonbridge Conservative Association to reject Mr. Richard Hornby as their candidate because he had voted with the Socialist Government for the imposition of oil sanctions on Rhodesia failed on Friday. A motion of no confidence was moved by Brigadier R. F. Johnson and seconded by Dr. Campbell Harler. Mr. Hornby, who was joint Parliamentary under Secretary for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies in the last Tory Government, replied that Parliament would be useless if members followed the party line. Of about 500 persons in the hall, only 15 voted against his re-adoption.

Kenya Expels Six Communists

SIX COMMUNISTS, four of them diplomats and two journalists, have been expelled from Kenya at 24 hours' notice. They are understood to have engaged in political activities. Two were on the staff of the Russian Embassy and one was a member of the Chinese mission. Their names were not disclosed. The fourth diplomat was Mr. Stanislav Kozubik, Second Secretary in the Czechoslovak Embassy. The two journalists were Mr. Yuri Kuritsin, of the Novosty Press Agency, Moscow, and Mr. Z. Kubes, of the Czechoslovak News Agency.

Government's Policy Now in Ruins

THE GOVERNMENT'S RHODESIAN POLICY was now in ruins, Mr. Evelyn King, M.P. for Dorset South, suggested in the House of Commons last week, when he asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary if that was not due to the consistent receipt of inaccurate and false information from Rhodesia. Would the Minister strengthen the British High Commission for Salisbury, "which now consists of a man and a boy and is not capable of doing its work, although that is not its fault?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY replied that the information which he received from many sources was full and authoritative.

THE PRIME MINISTER said in reply to Mr. Wall: "The measures which we, together with a number of other countries have taken to deny the illegal régime in Rhodesia access to export markets and to ban exports to them are having a serious effect on Rhodesia's economy, and have already led the régime to impose strict import licensing, fuel rationing, increased taxation, and limitation of credit. Their effects can be expected to become rapidly more severe as the illegal régime's stocks and reserves are reduced".

MR. EVELYN KING asked if the Prime Minister would invite Sir Robert Menzies or some other Commonwealth-elder statesman to act as conciliator in the Rhodesian situation.

MR. WILSON: "I do not think this would be appropriate, certainly at present".

MR. MAWBY asked what was being done to stop incitements to murder and sabotage in Rhodesia in broadcasts in the B.B.C. Overseas Service by the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The question seems to be based on a misreading of a pamphlet circulated by the illegal régime in Rhodesia which mischievously suggests

B.B.C. involvement in certain broadcasts in the past from Zambia. I give a categorical assurance that no B.B.C. programmes, whether broadcast direct or relayed from Zambia, contain or have contained incitements to murder and sabotage. Broadcasts from Zambia are entirely under the control of the Government of that country".

Radio Incitement to Murder

MR. JULIAN AMERY: "While accepting the assurance that the B.B.C. has had nothing to do with this, will the Minister agree that if we are to give massive aid to Zambia we should insist that they do not incite to murder over their radio while we support them?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Perhaps the rt. hon. gentleman will produce evidence to support what he has just said".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Commonwealth Secretary to make representations to the Government of Zambia against the use of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation for incitements to disorder in Rhodesia.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "I understand that the allegations that Zambia Radio is being used to incite disorder in Rhodesia are based on information which is out of date".

MR. PATRICK WALL suggested that the Overseas Service of the B.B.C. should cease psychological warfare in Central Africa.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The B.B.C. broadcasts conform with its consistent policy of accuracy and objectivity. It is broadcasting facts to Rhodesia which the illegal régime would much rather the general public there did not know. I welcome and endorse its efforts to bring the truth to the knowledge of Rhodesians, whose local papers, etc., are subject to censorship".

MR. WALL: "Is it not a fact that, although very unwilling, the B.B.C. has become part of the Government's propaganda machine in the assistance which it has given in the past to Zambia Radio and some of the tendentious programmes now going out over Francistown Radio?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "That is a most improper statement for the hon. gentleman to make, and I hope that the B.B.C. will remonstrate with him".

BRIGADIER CLARKE, who asked how much trade Britain had lost through sanctions, was told that a satisfactory estimate could not be made. In the first 11 months of last year the monthly average of U.K. exports to Rhodesia had been £2.7.; the December figure was £1.8m., and that for January about £500,000.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD suggested that grave damage would be done to the economy of the United Kingdom and Zambia until there was a settlement in Rhodesia.

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations: "Certainly a settlement in Rhodesia is desirable not only from Zambia's but Rhodesia's point of view, and the sooner the rebel régime is brought down the better for all concerned".

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that British civil and R.A.F. airlifts of oil into Zambia to February 22 had cost £1.7m.

Disgraceful Waste

MR. COOPER: "Is not this a disgraceful waste of our resources? Is it not high time that the Prime Minister overcame his vanity and entered into negotiations with Mr. Smith to reach a settlement?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "I am sorry to hear that the hon. gentleman thinks it a waste of this country's time and resources to help a fellow member of the Commonwealth".

MR. BLAKER: "In view of our aid to Zambia, is it not extraordinary that she should choose this time to abolish our Commonwealth preferences? Is the Government simply accepting this?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "It is the policy of the Government to get better trading relations with Commonwealth countries. The forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference will have that in mind".

MR. EVELYN KING asked what protest was being made against the intention of the President of Zambia to declare British journalists prohibited immigrants.

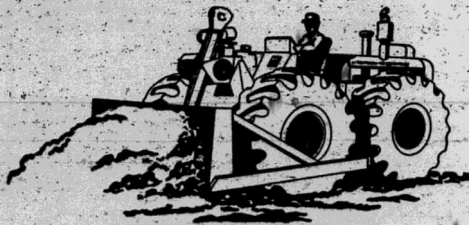
MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES: "I am not aware of any such intention. Two journalists have been expelled from Zambia, one British. There is no censorship of material sent from Zambia".

MR. KING: "Has not Parliament devoted large sums of money to that country, and if the Press is to be muzzled and reputable British journalists expelled, has the hon. gentleman made a protest?"

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MR. HUGHES: "The Press is not being muzzled. It would be quite improper for me to comment on a decision of the Zambian Government. The expulsion of journalists from Zambia is a matter for the Zambian Government to decide".

MR. HENRY CLARK asked the policy of H.M. Government with regard to the restriction of the supply of drugs to Rhodesia, in particular of P.P.D. for inoculations against tuberculosis and rabies vaccine.

MR. CLEWDYNN HUGHES: "It is H.M. Government's policy to allow medicines, drugs surgical equipment and veterinary medicines to be supplied to Rhodesia".

MR. CLARK: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that I have information from Rhodesia that drugs, particularly for inoculations against tuberculosis and rabies vaccine, ordered in November and paid for in advance in dollars, have still not been delivered? Is any purpose served by someone dying from hydrophobia or for the tuberculosis rate in Rhodesia to be increased?"

MR. HUGHES: "There is no embargo on these drugs and they are passing through freely".

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "Will the hon. gentleman look at the arrangements for the financing of the Medical School at Salisbury University. There is a feeling that we are impeding this, which does our image no good in Rhodesia".

MR. HUGHES: "I shall be very glad to look at it".

Pensions

Asked about payments to the Central African Pension Fund, MR. HUGHES replied: "H.M. Government's policy is that payments should continue in accordance with the various instruments concluded at the time of, or shortly after, the dissolution of the Federation".

REAR-ADMIRAL MORGAN GILES: "Why is this not happening?"

MR. HUGHES: "The responsibility—and this is a matter which had been discussed for a long time before U.D.I.—lies primarily with the Rhodesian authorities. Calls on the fund have for some time exceeded its income, and last summer the trustees asked the authorities in the three territories to assist. The Governments of Zambia and Malawi have been uniformly helpful".

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "Although I am not saying that the fault lies solely with H.M. Government—there are certainly faults on the other side as well—is the Minister aware that this is a matter which needs clearing up and that there is a feeling that we are stopping funds going, although this may be for technical reasons?"

MR. CALLAGHAN said that payments due under life insurance policies to the widows and dependents of Rhodesian subjects were subject to the general stop on payments to Rhodesia. Pensions due in respect of previous employment, however, were being paid.

MR. HUGHES: "We stand by our commitment to contribute 25% of any necessary replenishments should the present actuarial investigation which is going on reveal a deficit. We shall be very ready to examine any constructive proposals".

MR. HUGHES said in reply to two questions that British non-residents who had left Kenya since June 11 had been free to repatriate all their assets. The British High Commissioner had asked the Kenya Government to allow U.K. citizens who had left before that date to have the same concession.

Mr. Wilson's Hypocrisy

MR. J. WRATHALL, Rhodesia's Finance Minister, has sharply attacked the British Government for refusing to release £1½m. from the country's funds in London with which to pay for maize imports for the feeding of Africans suffering from drought in tribal trust areas, Rhodesia having arranged to buy the maize from a country in the Sterling block. When Mr. Wilson spoke of a gift of maize for that purpose the Rhodesian reply was that, as always in the past, Rhodesia would care for the needs of its people. The world, Mr. Wrathall said, would be shocked by this latest evidence of the British Government's hypocrisy and disregard for the welfare of those whose interests it claimed to uphold. Mr. Wilson's alleged concern for Rhodesian Africans was now revealed as a pretence. Far from providing assistance, the Wilson Government would not even allow Rhodesia to use her own funds for the relief of famine.

Suits Against Uganda's P.M.

SIR EDWARD MUTESA, Kabaka of Buganda, has filed a plea in the Uganda High Court for a declaration that DR. OBOTE, the Prime Minister, acted illegally in suspending the Constitution and abolishing Sir Edward's post as President.

THE LUKIKO (Parliament) of Buganda has passed unanimously resolutions declaring that it will not recognize any act of the Uganda Government since the suspension of the Constitution on February 24 and authorizing the Buganda Government to seek a High Court declaration that the suspension was illegal.

Mr. Ocheng, the Opposition M.P. who made the allegations of corruption against Ministers and the Deputy Commander of the Army, returned at the week-end from a brief visit to London. He attended the judicial inquiry on Monday, and gave a list of 51 people who had, he said provided relative information or could do so.

That day Mr. Justice Fuad began hearing *habeas corpus* applications for the production of the five former Ministers arrested on the Prime Minister's orders on February 22.

On Sunday Dr. Obote said that he had had meetings with heads of kingdoms and local governments, except that of Buganda, to discuss the restoration of normal conditions. Though he has assumed all governmental powers, he has not introduced emergency legislation or censorship.

"Telecommunication engineers in Britain are waiting to come to Zambia, but if we bring them before there is proper accommodation their union will complain and shut out Zambia completely. I hope to find people in Sweden who would be prepared to 'sleep under canvas'".—Mr. Lewis Changugu, Minister of Information and Postal Services.

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Rhodesian Brevities

MR. WILSON'S handling of the Rhodesian situation had been "quite disastrous", and he had conducted the negotiations with Mr. Smith "brusquely and almost perfunctorily", Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said in Wirral, Cheshire, on Monday. "The Prime Minister's sensational headline-catching trip to Rhodesia was a failure".

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS said on the same day that there would have been no illegal declaration of Rhodesian independence if Mr. Wilson had dealt "in a more straightforward way" with Mr. Ian Smith, who had had "too much double-talk" from the Prime Minister and Mr. Bottomley. Britain's prestige had never been so low. "Even in the Commonwealth our influence is at its lowest ebb. The African countries never miss an opportunity to insult us and push us around". He described the Prime Minister as the Artful Dodger.

M. JEAN-PIERRE MAIRE, secretary-general of the recently formed Franco-Rhodesian Society, said on returning to Paris from a visit to Rhodesia that he estimated that 90% of black Rhodesians and at least 90% of white Rhodesians support Mr. Ian Smith. The position of the black population was better than that of Africans in many of the independent countries. He dismissed as absurd that Rhodesia was a police state. The council of the society includes a member of the Chamber of Deputies and two generals.

In order to give publicity to Cape Town University's rag day, students "kidnapped" Kenneth Gibbs and Robert Smith, the 18-year-old sons of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, and Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister. Both are engineering students at the university. As part of the stunt, telegrams were sent to their fathers demanding that they should meet within 24 hours to discuss the independence issue.

A High Court case which contests the legality of Rhodesia's 1965 Constitution was on Monday postponed for two months in order to give the Solicitor-General time to prepare the Government's reply. The application was for release of an African prisoner on the ground that the Constitution is invalid.

Lord Salisbury is to speak on Rhodesia tomorrow evening at a meeting in Salisbury, Wiltshire, organized by the local branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. The chairman will be Lord Cranborne, Lord Salisbury's son. Lord Coleraine and Judge Gerald Sparrow will also speak.

The Brighton branch of the society will hold a public meeting in Hove on March 26.

The B.B.C. programme "Top of the Pops", hitherto supplied to Rhodesia, is henceforth to be broadcast from the new B.B.C. propaganda station near Francistown, Bechuanaland.

The Bank of England announced on Monday that funds had not been received from Rhodesia to pay the half-yearly interest due on the Southern Rhodesia 3½% stock 1967-69, the 5% stock 1975-80, and the 4½% stock 1977-82.

After a five-week sitting the Rhodesian Parliament has adjourned until mid-April.

Madagascar Base for R.A.F.

FRANCE IS RESISTING a move by the British Government to obtain aircraft landing and re-fuelling facilities in the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) in connexion with the watch for tankers bound for Beira.

When the British request was received the Malagasy Government said that under its defence agreement with France there would need to be consultations with Paris. The British Ambassador in Tananarive was told later that the advice from Paris was to refuse the requested facilities—despite the fact that France had hitherto co-operated in the application of sanctions against Rhodesia. Further representations have been made to the Malagasy and French Governments.

On Wednesday it was announced that the R.A.F. would be granted facilities.

When the oil tanker allegedly due in Beira early last week did not arrive, it was suggested in official circles in London that the reports had been put about as part of the psychological warfare conducted by the Rhodesian Government. While that was being said in Britain, reports arrived from Salisbury that four Greek tankers had been chartered to carry oil to Beira.

Royal Navy Task Force

The Ministry of Defence announced in London that a Royal Navy task force was watching for tankers off the coasts of East and South-East Africa, and that among the ships were the 43,340-ton aircraft-carrier ARK ROYAL, two anti-submarine frigates, an air stores support ship, and a 15,000-ton tanker. It was stated that three vessels suspected of carrying oil for Rhodesia had received "indications" from the ARK ROYAL that they should not proceed to their destination. The aircraft-carrier was known to have been engaged in the search for tankers for weeks before there was any official announcement on the subject. She carries 48 aircraft, six being long-range Gannets.

Hunter and Javelin aircraft based in Kenya and Zambia have also been engaged in the sea search. If bases in Malagasy Republic were obtained they would have much shorter distances to fly.

Mr. A. H. Ball, chairman of Lonrho, Ltd., said after a meeting in Lisbon last Thursday of directors of the Mozambique-Rhodesia Pipeline Company that the British directors had emphasized the wish of the U.K. Government that the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia should be closed, but that it had been decided to adjourn the meeting, which could, however, be re-convened at 24 hours' notice.

The Portuguese directors, who number five, against four British, had refused in January to agree to closure of the pipeline. The Portuguese Government's attitude is to permit the transit of oil to Rhodesia, Malawi, or Zambia, and to do nothing to weaken the economy of any State served through Mozambique.

Before the meeting in Lisbon directors of Lonrho had had discussions at the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Ministry of Power, Mr. R. W. Rowland, the joint managing director, and Mr. J. A. Caldicott having flown to London from Salisbury.

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Company Report

THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED

Vigorous Development Programme

Earl De La Warr on Value of Company's Training Schemes

THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED will be held on March 24 in London.

The following are extracts from the circulated statement of the chairman, the RT. HON. EARL DE LA WARR, P.C., G.B.E.:—

When, in my last report, I gave my opinion of the progress to date for the year to 31st August, 1965, I told you that our current year had got off to a good start but that weather could adversely influence our crops. Events have since shown that there was ideal weather for growing cotton but this, at the same time, hampered the production of tea and coffee and the dry spell lasted much longer than we would have liked. However, we have taken the rough with the smooth and have succeeded in showing a small increase on last year's overall group profit.

Cotton and Motors

This is Uganda's oldest cash crop, stemming from our own introduction of seed in 1903, which led to the first export of 54 bales in 1905. We have been closely associated with the cotton ginning industry ever since.

Recent years, however, have seen a great spread of the organization of cotton growers into co-operatives formed for the purpose of ginning their own crops, and quite rightly the Government has favoured the co-operative movement in the allocation of shares of the crop. We consider this to be a symptom of the growing maturity of Uganda, and we have decided to close our Kireka ginnery and put the premises to more profitable use.

In recent years our motor business has expanded to such an extent that it has become necessary to modernize and streamline the assembly of trucks and the preparation of cars for sale. We have, therefore, converted the above ginnery into a modern and comprehensive central assembly and service depot, which already shows every sign of enhancing the Company's reputation for giving efficient service to our customers.

We have been assembling heavy commercial vehicles in Uganda from semi-knocked-down condition since 1924. This ensures that the customer gets the greatest possible value owing to the economies which can be obtained in shipping costs. It also provides employment to Ugandans in assembling the trucks on the spot.

Trading

This side of our operations showed a further improvement in turnover, including a considerable increase of business from our smaller customers with a consequently greater expense in effecting sales but also with a broader foundation to our trade and a smaller dependence on landing one or more large orders for ginning equipment. I am pleased to be able to say, however, that Platts ginning machinery is by far the most popular in East Africa, and already in the current year we have received substantial orders for the provision of new ginning equipment.

As I indicated above, we had a dry period which extended into most of the second half of the year. Fortunately in Uganda it was restricted to the eastern half, but it was particularly severe in Western Kenya. As a result our estate at Mityana did not quite reach

our expectations and our Nandi estate suffered severely from drought and hail. However, thanks to the wide spread of our tea estates, we produced a heavy crop in Western Uganda, and our total production of 7,606,395 lb. of tea was some 450,000 lb. higher than our 1963-64 total crop.

Coffee and Tea

Our coffee crop on our estates at Nsimbe and Lubowa also suffered from the dry weather and only produced 212 tons compared with 257 tons the previous year.

Last year I warned you that coffee prices had fallen heavily and that we could not expect a repetition of the profits achieved. In fact, with the smaller crop and lower price, the profit was cut by half. Tea prices were also about a halfpenny per lb easier during last year for most of our estates; Nandi, of course, suffering a somewhat greater reduction owing to the damage occasioned by hail and drought. It is, however, now producing leaf again at a higher rate than ever before and the bushes have recovered extremely well.

It is tempting to claim that we have virtually completed our programme of modernizing our factories but there can in fact be no end to such a process in a live and enterprising business. There is always bound to be something new required every year, if not to reduce costs and improve efficiency in the use of labour and machinery, then to improve the quality of leaf.

On the growing side of our tea activities, shareholders will be glad to know that the size of the crop is likely to continue increasing for some time owing to the greater maturity of our plantings. Concentration on improving quality is, however, at least as important as increasing our quantity.

Once again we have extended the markets to which we export teas from Mombasa. The number of individual contracts was significantly greater than the previous year, but, in a market which has grown more difficult and competitive, our margins were smaller and our profit on this part of our operations was down compared with last year.

Thanks to the Staff

This year has been unusually difficult, with dry weather severely restricting some of our crops and a quieter produce market. It is a tribute to the enthusiasm of our staff that our trading results have been maintained. I am sure I speak for all of you when I thank them for their loyalty and hard work.

When we declared the interim dividend last August, the accompanying announcement stated that the introduction of Corporation Tax and the withdrawal of the reliefs which the Company had enjoyed as an Overseas Trading Corporation made it virtually certain that serious extra tax burdens would in future fall on your Company.

Most of our liability to the U.K. Corporation Tax will probably be extinguished against our liability to Uganda tax, because of existing double taxation relief agreements. In consequence, the principal extra burden that will fall on this Company arises from the fact that from April 5 onwards our dividends will be declared gross, and, although the shareholders will still receive his dividend after deduction of income tax, the Company will have to pay to the Inland Revenue the tax so deducted instead of being able to retain it.

In the early years we shall get some measure of transitional relief, which will be a varying and decreasing sum over the next seven years. At its peak (which will be for our financial years ending August 31, 1967, and August 31, 1968) our present calculation suggests that we could receive up to £35,000 in each of those years.

The above figure of maximum relief must be contrasted with the fact that a repetition of this year's 12½% dividend would, on the face of it, cost the Company £127,000 more than under the past arrangements. It will be clear to shareholders that an additional levy of this magnitude is a very serious matter for a company of this size, although, naturally, we are doing everything we can to increase the Company's earning power to offset it.

Last year showed the difficulty of making a forecast for the year which is in progress. I can certainly say that we have improved on last year's very good start and that the first few months have shown better results across the whole field of our activities. However, so much depends on the weather—and there is still more than half the year to go—I must not say more than that we hope to continue the rising trend of profits which we have achieved in the past few years.

New Projects

Last year I made reference to our joint venture with McCormick & Co., Inc., of Baltimore, U.S.A., in the building of a vanilla factory. This factory has now come into production and processed the small autumn crop which proved to be of outstanding quality. The bulk of the vanilla crop is not expected until March/April, when the true value of the process will make itself apparent. Already it has been shown that we can process beans within a week, whilst conventional methods of processing take a matter of months.

Our estate at Mityana has proved to be very well suited to the production of vanilla, and we are expanding our acreage of this crop on that estate. This is an important spread of locality and once again has brought a further cash crop to an area where it has never been grown before.

We have fenced 200 acres of land at our Lubowa Estate and have already cleared a great deal of it for pasture and we are building up a dairy herd. To date we have purchased about 100 heifers, most of which are in calf, and have installed a milking parlour which incorporates the latest developments both in hygiene and efficiency. I am pleased to be able to say that the milk produced is of satisfactory quality.

In addition to the above we have continued to experiment with new crops in order to find strains which are well suited to the Ugandan climate. We have a small plantation of a new strain of rubber tree which is looking quite healthy and we hope will prove to be more productive than existing strains in Uganda. We are also growing experimental crops of pepper and maize.

Whilst we have spread our net very widely in Uganda, your Board is determined to expand the Company as a whole in order to increase its effectiveness. We have taken an opportunity, which has presented itself, of making an investment in a cotton development in Ethiopia and a tea project in Ecuador. Both of these are bold new adventures to utilise natural resources never before harnessed in these areas.

Training

Last year I mentioned that we have revised and streamlined our training department under the supervision of an experienced training officer. This year it has really made its presence felt throughout the length and breadth of the Company to an extent that we have never achieved before. Not only were there scores of our employees taking correspondence courses sponsored

by the Company, but three senior Ugandans have been assisting the training officer by giving job relations courses on all of our tea estates and in our motor showrooms and service departments. They have been instrumental in explaining to the bulk of our employees the whole meaning of training within industry, and they have instilled a great enthusiasm for the training programme amongst them. Members of our staff have also attended extra mural courses in first aid, job safety, and health in industry, the latter presented by the Ross Institute. In addition field workers have been given conducted tours round the tea factories on each estate and visits have been made to the Tea Research Institute. All this has greatly improved the feeling of unity within the Company since each employee now has a much better idea of "how the other half lives" and appreciates how the end product for which he is striving is reached.

The wives have not been overlooked in our training programme. You may remember last year that we showed you a photograph of housewives who had attended a course on how to be a good hostess. The principle has, with the assistance of the Y.W.C.A., been extended to the wives of our field workers who have been given instruction under an "Agricultural Nutrition" scheme. The aim of these courses is to encourage the wives to cook, both for their husband and their children, meals that contain a balanced diet and to show them how a wide range of foodstuffs may be grown in their own garden. It entails, of course, the Company making land available for gardens. This is being done.

These courses have become so popular that they are consistently over-subscribed and we are having difficulty in keeping up with the demand. In this connection we must express our thanks to Mrs. Bihemaiso, the wife of our staff doctor in Western Uganda, and Mrs. Odero, the wife of our welfare officer at Nandi; both of whom have taken over from the Y.W.C.A. as instructors in these courses. Their enthusiasm and spirit has infected the wives of our field workers and we are sure that the improvement in health and the team spirit will become more and more evident.

Housing

Our housing programme is going forward with great vigour and we are converting our older type houses to a new and improved design which is proving most popular.

Your Board is convinced that the steps that they are taking to improve the training, housing, medical care and nutrition of our labour should not only prove to be major factors in building up a more stable and efficient body of workers but should also maintain, and even increase, the respect with which your Company is regarded in Uganda. Your Board is deeply conscious that security is at least as, if not more, important to shareholders than high returns and that true security can only be won by being known to contribute to the life of the country, both economically and socially.

To sum up, it is the intention of your Board to press forward with and extend its training programme, both technical and social, to continue to bring selected members of the senior African staff over to the United Kingdom each year and to complete the present programme of improvement of all staff and labour housing within the next 18 months to two years.

I am pleased to be able to say that we have received nothing but courtesy and helpfulness from both the Uganda Government and the Uganda Development Corporation. On our side we always endeavour to carry out schemes of development which we know will be welcome to those responsible for the running of the country. On their side they give both advice and understanding of our problems that make us feel that we are dealing with friends who think of us as friends.

Commercial Brevities

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., produced 1,685 tons of sisal in February, making 13,209 tons since July.

E. S. & A. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., a Bristol group with a Rhodesian subsidiary, report net profits after tax for 1965 at just over £4m., against rather more than £3m. in the previous year. A 12½% dividend (11%) takes nearly £1.8m.

James Warren & Co., Ltd., a group with a Kenya subsidiary, are paying a second-interim dividend of 3½%, making 6%.

Forestral Land, Timber & Railways Co., Ltd., a group with Rhodesian and Kenya subsidiaries, have acquired more than 90% of the issued capital of Liverpool Borax Co., Ltd.

Shell Transport & Trading Co., Ltd., report net income after tax for 1965 at £224.4m. (£210.1m.). Distributions total 1s. 6d. per 5s. share, of which 1s. 4½d. is tax-free. In 1964 there was a total of 1s. 6d., tax-free.

The Tobacco Industry Board of Zambia has placed a contract in the United States for what is described as the most up-to-date tobacco processing plant in the world. It will cost more than £1m. Work is to start immediately on a site beside the tobacco auction floors in Lusaka. The plant, which will process and pack next season's crop, will be able to handle about 1m. lb a week.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd., owners of the Allen-Wack and Shepherd companies in Rhodesia and Zambia and of two other companies in Rhodesia, report net profit after tax to October 31 at £104,942 (£85,184). A 10% dividend (the same) takes £33,509, and the carry-forward is £278,683 (£244,752). Issued capital totals £770,375. Fixed assets appear at £483,332 and net current assets at £898,455. Mr. L. E. Robinson is the chairman.

Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., a world-wide group of which the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd., Kenya, is a subsidiary, reports group income after tax in 1965 at £78.6m. (£61.2m.). Dividends require £32.7m. Issued capital amounts to £472.6m. Fixed assets total £760m. and net current assets £159.8m.

Kisumu Spinning Mill

Platt Bros. (Sales), Ltd., have received a £232,000 order for a 6,000 spindle cotton spinning mill for Kisumu Cotton Mills, Ltd., Kenya.

Britain's purchases from Malawi last year are reported to have reached £6,821,000. At £3,541,000, her exports to Malawi were little more than half.

Rosehaugh Tea (Holdings), Ltd., a group with Eastern African interests, will pay an interim dividend of 7½% less tax.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd. produced 115 tons of sisal in February, making 292 tons for two months (272 in 1965).

Williamson Tea Holdings, Ltd. sold in the 12 months to February 11 from their East African estates, 1,331,604 lb of tea in London at an average price of 50.44d., and 474,303 lb in Nairobi at an average of 36.72d.

Blantyre and East Africa Ltd. report profits after tax to September 30 at £40,569 (£21,748). Ordinary shareholders receive 12½%, taking £33,047, and the balance forward is £44,696. The issued capital is £457,656. Fixed assets appear at £471,795 and net current assets at £254,732. Mr. Allen Ross Stark is the chairman.

Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd. reports pre-tax group profits for the last six months of 1965 at £2,363,000 (£2,194,000). An interim dividend of 1s. 6d. per share less tax will be paid on March 31. For 1965 there was an interim of 9d. and a final distribution of 2s. 3d.

Schweppes, Ltd., a group with East and Central African subsidiaries, report profit after tax for 1965 at £2.8m. (£2.1m.). Shareholders receive 14% (13½%), taking nearly £1.6m. (£1.3m.).

Taylor Woodrow (Overseas), Ltd. has changed its name to Taylor Woodrow International, Ltd.

C.D.C. Finance

The Commonwealth Development Corporation is financed on too rigid a basis, Lord Howick, the chairman, said last week when addressing the Royal Society of Arts. It was the only State-owned development corporation which received its money wholly by way of loan. Yet 40% of its investments were in ordinary shares.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga is to be allowed by the Government of the Congo "a modest return on the capital invested" in consideration of an undertaking to continue to develop production and increase foreign currency earnings. A dividend declared in 1961 has still not been paid because transfers from the Congo have not been permitted.

Decimal currency will be introduced in Rhodesia in February 1969.

Rhodesia's tobacco crop, previously estimated at about 200m. 1 lb., is now thought likely to be nearer 250m. 1 lb. as a result of good rains.

Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd. announce that 26% of the group exports are to Africa, 26% to Australasia, 23% to Asia, 16% to Europe, and 9% to the Americas.

Under legislation now tabled in Malawi, no one in that country may trade under the name Banda. Mr. A. A. Banda had announced that he would establish an £80,000 textile factory under the style Banda Industries, Ltd.

Zambia will have its own decimal currency two years hence. The new unit, worth 10s., is to be called a kwacha, a word meaning "dawn of freedom".

The Government of Zambia has signed a £5m. agreement with the Fiat Company of Italy for the establishment of a Zambia National Road Transport Corporation, capable of handling about 250,000 tons of traffic a year.

A survey of Uganda tourism is to be undertaken for the Government by Maxwell Stamp Associates, Ltd.

Tourist Development Corporation

A Kenya Tourist Development Corporation, with power to borrow up to £7½m., has been appointed by the Minister for Natural Resources, Wildlife and Tourism, who has commissioned an expert on hotel management to re-classify the country's hotels.

For road and bridge construction in Mozambique plans costing £2.5m. have been approved. About four-fifths will be spent on a new road network in the northern districts of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete, and Zambezia.

National and Grendays Bank, which has branches in East and Central Africa, reports group profit after tax and allocations to inner reserves of £1,444,109, almost double the 1964 figure of £771,810. Reserves are increased by £775,000, dividends take £969,510, and the carry-forward is £260,700 in the books of the present company and £108,896 in those of subsidiaries. Issued capital is £5.7m. The group includes the National Bank of India. Lord Aldington is the chairman.

News Items in Brief

A Minister of State for Resettlement is to be appointed in Zambia under the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources.

Rwanda refugees returning to their country "can in no circumstances reclaim the land he previously occupied or worked if it has been occupied in the meantime or taken over by the authorities."

Ten African women in Rhodesia have joined the police after six months' training. They were selected from 80 applicants.

An appeal by the mayor of Bulawayo raised £200 in a day to pay the secondary school fees of 50 African children.

All entries for a competition for an emblem for the Organization of African Unity having been rejected as unsuitable, new suggestions are invited on a member State basis. The three best designs from each country will be submitted to the Council of Ministers. The winning design will qualify for an award of 1,000 U.S. dollars.

A motion to admit women to the Kenya House of Representatives has been defeated. One speaker said that no M.P. would like to see his wife sitting in the chamber—and that any woman who had failed to get a husband was not worthy to sit in Parliament. Women are not debarred from Parliament by the Constitution.

White Mercenaries Jailed

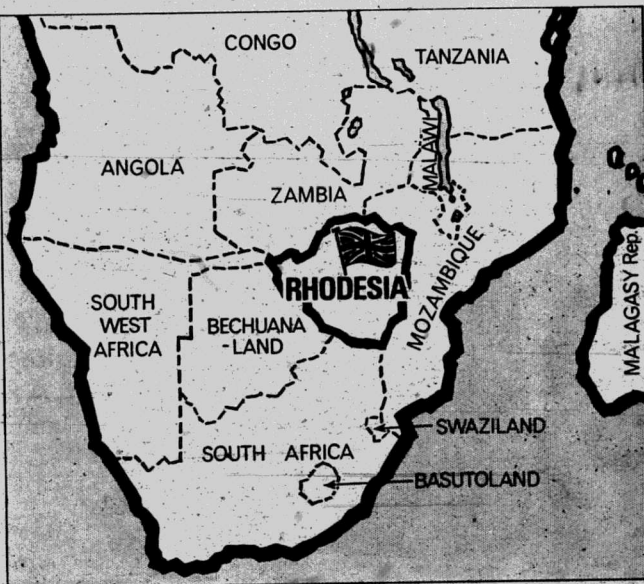
Three white mercenaries who served in the Congo under Colonel Hoare have been jailed for four months in Tanzania for entering the country illegally, failing to report to an immigration officer, and not surrendering their arms. One is a South African. The other two are Germans.

For plotting against the State, three men have been sentenced by a military tribunal in Mozambique. One, Matias Zafarias Boas, described as the leader in Swaziland of Fredimo, the revolutionary organization acting against Mozambique, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a sixth year of preventive custody. Two others were sentenced to 23 months' and 12 months' imprisonment respectively, plus a year in preventive custody.

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, has told the National Assembly that the Government has recognized the new régime in Ghana because to withhold recognition would be tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of another African State. Malawi had previously withdrawn her High Commissioner in Accra and asked the Ghanaian High Commissioner in Malawi to leave by March 6. He had not done so by that date, and it is believed that diplomatic relations will be re-established. When they were severed it was officially stated in Malawi that the reasons were shortage of personnel and the need for economy.

"Our mission is to create civilised conditions here on a non-racial basis so the time may come when we will not have to think of our Government as a European or African one, but as a Rhodesian one - provided it is based on merit."

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



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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 24, 1966

Vol. 42 No. 2163

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper

52s yearly post free

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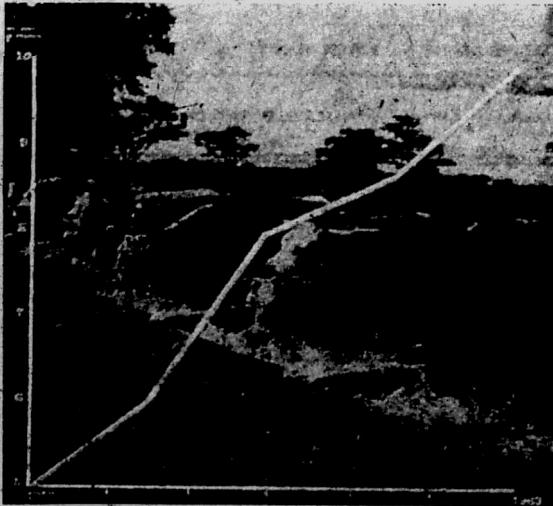
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1966

Vol. 42

No. 2163

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

RHODESIA has at last become a very live issue in the general election campaign. Unfortunately, that has happened with only ten days left for discussion, and there has been little attempt as yet to tell the public the real truth.

Both Parties

Gravely Guilty

The fact, of course, is that neither the Socialists nor the Tories wanted Rhodesia's assumption of independence to be closely examined, for both parties are gravely guilty. Almost all Members of the Parliament which was recently dissolved are culpable of active or passive complicity in the folly and faithlessness, recklessness and shame which have characterized British actions in Africa, especially throughout the last six years. Few of them had the prescience or the courage to resist the erosion of principle and the abandonment of trusteeship enjoined by their misleaders. They now know, but dare not make generally known, that the declaration of independence by the most loyal, successful, and promising of all former British Dependencies in Africa was the product of the determination of Rhodesians, black as well as white, not to accept a deadly *Diktat* from the political lightweights in Westminster whose abysmal ignorance and treacherous self-assurance have strewn East, West, and Central Africa with wreckage, incited rebellion, mutiny, and/or civil war in almost all the farcically misnamed "independent" States, and opened them to Communist intrigue and activity. Such are the fruits of the Macmillanism of which Mr. Iain Macleod was the eager executant and the Labour Party the equally enthusiastic supporters—for what the Conservatives did from early 1960 onwards had been Socialist doctrine for half a lifetime. With so disreputable a record throughout this decade, it is not surprising that both parties should have hoped to be spared serious controversy about their gross incompetence in

dealing with major African problems, and in particular that of Rhodesia.

* * *

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which has been almost alone in constructive criticism throughout the six years (and much earlier also), has frequently condemned the Press and the broadcasting authorities for

When Mr. Wilson

Took Fright

their persistent refusal to assess events objectively and afford adequate opportunities for their case to be put by leaders, black and white, who have always held that sound political progress in Africa can be made only by developing individual merit. That, basically, is the issue in Rhodesia: that rule by a Parliament with a white majority must continue until there can be general confidence that the country's future may be safely entrusted to a House with a non-white majority. Even Mr. Wilson was belatedly and reluctantly driven to recognize the essentiality of that principle; but instead of seizing the occasion to translate his pronouncement into practical terms, he promptly flew away from Salisbury to discuss his discovery that an African majority must come "not by clock or calendar but by achievement" with two West African leaders—one of whom was shortly to be brutally murdered by his political opponents and the other deposed by those who had for years sycophantically proclaimed him the "Redeemer" of Ghana. The only construction which Rhodesians could put on the Prime Minister's flight (in both senses of the word) was that he was afraid of his party's reception of his admission, and that Rhodesia must consequently expect another episode of double-crossing by politicians in the United Kingdom. They were soon to have proofs of Mr. Wilson's vindictive enmity.

In its "Panorama" programme on Monday the B.B.C. showed millions of viewers a Rhodesian film which contrasted greatly with its previous documentaries. To his credit,

**Impressive
Documentary**

Mr. Mossman presented a recognizably accurate report on the situation. The film, which made nonsense of the daily declarations of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Callaghan, and the other party parrots, demonstrated that sanctions have little material effect even in their fifth month; that there is no prospect whatsoever that they will bring down the Rhodesian Government; that Mr. Smith has overwhelming support, including that of his erstwhile political opponents; and that Rhodesians are resolved that their country shall not be ruined by politicians in Britain. In contrast to past practice by B.B.C. units, a white farmer was given time to speak sympathetically and persuasively of his happy relations with Africans. Many other white men, trade unionists prominent among them, and almost all of them English or Scottish by birth, said emphatically that they would fight if British or other troops attempted invasion. Their references to Mr. Wilson could not have been more caustic. Most of them called him a Communist. "Why has he been to Moscow twelve times? Was it to get orders?", asked one of them. All blamed him personally for the breach with Britain.

* * *

If the film was effective in presenting Rhodesian opinions, the subsequent exchanges between three United Kingdom politicians were disappointing. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd

**Political
Pretence**

endeavoured to expose the absurdity of the Socialist demand for unconditional surrender, but Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, and a Mr. Kellock who spoke for the Liberals wasted most of the time in repetition of their party *clichés*, presumably because they feared real argument with the only Privy Councillor who has visited Rhodesia since November 11. They must have sensed that if Mr. Lloyd were given time for serious discussion he would be likely to persuade large numbers of people, perhaps hundreds of thousands, to accept his insistence on the urgent need to begin talks without the stipulation of pre-conditions by either side. Mr. Stewart disclosed, perhaps accidentally, that the senior official of the Commonwealth Relations Office who flew to Salisbury last week was available for discussion (though it had been officially explained that his purpose was to examine the office accommodation of the United Kingdom High Commission!); but that tiny glimmer was

promptly smothered by further reiterations of the Wilson formula, which Mr. Lloyd rightly stigmatized as tantamount to a demand for unconditional surrender and therefore worthless. It is preposterous for any politician to pretend, as the Wilson *claque* does, that Rhodesia, having rejected dictation from London, would now accept it. Mr. Lloyd was emphatic that his talks with Mr. Smith left upon him the conviction there is a possibility of negotiating an acceptable settlement. For the Government to continue to neglect that opportunity is to betray the public interest—that of Britain no less than of Rhodesia. It is fantastic that a Prime Minister who advocates talks in Vietnam without prior conditions should be allowed to prevent a similar exploration in quest of a settlement in Rhodesia.

Statements Worth Noting

"Rhodesia could absorb 40 million people".—Mr. E. J. Mhlanga, M.P. for Matabeleland South.

"The Rhodesian consumer is getting the cheapest beef in the world".—Colonel G. H. Hartley, M.P. for Victoria.

"One-man-one-wife is family planning. According to African custom a man is not supposed to have only one wife".—Mr. M. L. Kandengwa, M.P. for Hunyani, Rhodesia.

"Tilapia grow to an average size of 10 lb. in Lake Rudolf, compared to an average of 2 lb. in most other African lakes. Nile perch of 200 lb. are very common in Rudolf".—The Minister for Natural Resources, Wildlife and Tourism in Kenya.

"The Minister [Mr. Wrathall] is probably the nicest Finance Minister Rhodesia has ever had. In five or 10 years we might have a relative of Old Nick himself sitting in his position".—Mr. J. R. Ryan, M.P., addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

"While the University College in Salisbury has only 10 students in the senior agricultural course, the University of Natal in Maritzburg has attracted 65 Rhodesian students for the same course".—Mr. W. M. Irvine, M.P., speaking in the Rhodesian parliament.

"Without any hesitation I give the assurance that censorship will not be used in order to protect the Ministry of Information or the Administration from justifiable criticism".—Mr. P. Van de Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

"When they sell their maize crops and get £500 a number of our new African farmers think they have enough money to live on and need work no more. Laziness will not be tolerated. It is a disease which, if it spreads, can sabotage the efforts of the Government to improve the standard of living of the masses".—President Kenyatta of Kenya.

"Kenya's acreage under tea increased from 39,300 in 1960 to 60,400 last year, and is expected to reach 93,000 acres by 1970. The share of African smallholders has increased to 23% and should be about 44% in five years, when smallholder tea growers will number about 30,000, compared with 20,000 now. Smallholder tea is of very high quality, and on the London market fetches the highest prices among Kenya teas".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

Rhodesia Now A Live Issue in the General Election

Prime Minister Denounces Conservatives As Irresponsible

THE PRIME MINISTER has made Rhodesia one of the main issues in the general election campaign.

In Southampton on Sunday he scathingly denounced the attitude of the Conservatives, whose speeches had, he said, stiffened the resistance of the Smith regime, which had been holding on for two months in the hope of a Tory victory, to be followed by appeasement, indeed surrender.

"This is irresponsibility almost without parallel. The Tories have finally thrown over the national stand which some of them, including their leader, tried to maintain; and they have done it for party reasons".

Earlier in the crisis Mr. Heath had shown considerable courage, but little command over "the atavistic wing of his party in the Commons and the Lords". Five months of divided counsels were now ending in fractious but uncertain criticism, party divisions being plastered over to give Tory candidates some protection against their extremists.

When Sir Alec Douglas-Home and his colleagues had refused to compromise with Rhodesia, they had been supported by the Parliamentary Labour Party, which had to deal with the problem on attaining office. The first hint that the bi-party approach would be abandoned had been given at the Conservative Conference in Brighton last October. If the Tory leaders had then stood firm they would have won the day.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had been sent to Rhodesia to find some compromise which, however meaningless, would enable his party to unite against the Government. The speeches of Conservative M.P.s and their leaders, and above all the Selwyn Lloyd manoeuvre, had stiffened the resistance of the Smith régime.

"If Mr. Smith has any proposals to make which would advance and safeguard the five principles on which the British Government has insisted he can make them tomorrow. We shall consider them. What we will not do—and I am shocked at a Conservative Party which has always stood for the rule of law even proposing this—is to legalize an act of rebellion against the Crown, against the British Parliament, against world opinion, and, I believe, against the conscience of mankind".

Mr. Heath's Reply

MR. HEATH promptly told the Press: "Mr. Wilson has not yet got a policy on Rhodesia and is just slandering his opponents. He has misjudged or deliberately misled the public about the timing of the effect of sanctions, and now all he can do is to make slanderous attacks".

The Conservative proposal for talks with Rhodesia without prior conditions meant that the British Government must not insist on unconditional surrender and Mr. Smith must not insist on British acceptance of illegal independence. There could and should be talks on that basis in search of a constitutional settlement which would take account of the interests of the Africans and of development towards majority rule.

He could not understand the Prime Minister's argument that because a proposal had been rejected last September and a year earlier there was no point in talking about it again. Frequently in the past there had been settlements after talks with "rebels".

It was deplorable that Mr. Wilson should just sit and do nothing. "But he has sent out an official from the Commonwealth Relations Office—and not just as a furniture inspector". [An official announcement had said that the visit was in connexion with a dispute over the office accommodation in Salisbury of the British High Commission.]

Mr. Wilson had said in Chiswick, London, three days earlier that Conservatives were supporting rebels in Rhodesia against the Crown. Mr. Heath condemned that statement as "a disgraceful slander", and as ill recompense for the support given in difficult circumstances to the Government and for refraining from criticizing "many of the things that could be criticized".

The Prime Minister should tell the country whether the official from the C.R.O. had gone to Salisbury to start talks with the Smith régime or to measure up office space. If it was for the former purpose, Mr. Wilson should say so clearly—and admit that he was conducting the policy which had been urged upon him by the Conservatives.

"Mr. Wilson's remark about support for rebels was a reflection on my own loyalty and position as a Privy Councillor. That is why it is so disgraceful. We don't need any loyalty in loyalty from Mr. Wilson. I have shown my loyalty".

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd Again Advocates Talks

MR. SELWYN LLOYD denied on Friday that he had ever said that the crisis could be quickly solved or that sanctions should cease before talks started. His conviction was that talks should begin promptly and without prior conditions. Before he left Salisbury a distinguished Rhodesian had said: "Get it into their heads that they must deal with Smith. The Prime Minister had acted brusquely and peremptorily in his discussions with Mr. Smith. Neither side could win; bitterness was increasing; and talks to break the deadlock were essential.

"If you think you will get unconditional surrender from the Rhodesians you are absolutely wrong", Mr. Lloyd said in Smethway next day.

MR. JONATHAN AITKEN who accompanied Mr. Lloyd to Rhodesia and was present at the discussions with Mr. Smith, denounced as "untrue and a smear beneath contempt" Mr. Wilson's assertions that Mr. Lloyd had been concerned only to find a compromise which would unite the Tories and that his manoeuvres had stiffened Rhodesian resistance. Mr. Aitken said: "Mr. Lloyd made it emphatically clear that in the view of the Conservative Party U.D.I. was wrong, and that any solution involving white minority rule indefinitely would be totally unacceptable to the Tory front bench".

MR. SELWYN LLOYD referred at his adoption meeting in Willaston, Cheshire, to his visit to Rhodesia, saying:—

"I came back quite convinced that Mr. Wilson's handling of the affair, far from being the brilliant success which he claims, has been quite disastrous. His conduct of the negotiations in October in London was brusque and almost perfidious. His sensational headline-catching trip to Rhodesia was a mistake and a failure.

Mr. Wilson's Blunders

"At every stage—in his television performances, his speeches and his statements—he has seemed to be thinking much more of the British electorate than of a settlement in Rhodesia. He has made the controversy into a personal issue between himself and Ian Smith. The bitterness against Wilson even from Rhodesians who are opposed to U.D.I. is intense.

"Even moderate white Rhodesians have construed Mr. Wilson's 'peace offer' of January 25 as a demand for unconditional surrender. The Prime Minister has also miscalculated the effect of sanctions, which are strengthening Rhodesia's determination. The time has come for talks to achieve a constitutional settlement, so that Rhodesia can proceed to lawful independence. The talks should be without prior conditions and without any limitation on what should be discussed".

"Force first: talk later" and "Treason trial for Selwyn Lloyd" were two slogans which were repeatedly chanted by a small group of young men and women at an Edinburgh meeting addressed last week by Sir

Alec Douglas-Home, who began his speech with an emphatic demand for talks with Rhodesia in quest of a settlement which would be just to both black and white.

Elsewhere Mr. IAIN MACLEOD called on Mr. Wilson to swallow his "silly pride" and start talks with Rhodesia. He accused the Prime Minister of impertinence in referring to Mr. Smith, who had fought for Britain as a fighter pilot, as a "frightened little man". Mr. Wilson, he said, refused to negotiate with Rhodesia mainly because of his vanity.

Prime Minister's "Dishonesty"

Mr. MAUDLING, Deputy Leader of the Conservative Party, said in Swansea on Monday that the Prime Minister was "increasingly dishonest" about Rhodesia. He saw himself as a field marshal suppressing a rebellion, whereas the need was for prompt discussions in the hope of reaching agreement. For the two parties to the dispute to continue to sit apart and refuse to talk could do no good to anyone in Rhodesia, of whatever race.

Mr. PATRICK WALL, the Conservative candidate, said at his adoption meeting in Beverley, Yorkshire:—

"In March last year President Azikwe of Nigeria said that only five of the 35 independent African States had effective Parliamentary oppositions; since then eight African Governments have been overthrown by military *coups d'état*—Nigeria, Ghana, Congo, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Central African Republic, Burundi, and Algeria. In one small State all the Parliamentary members of one particular tribe were taken away and shot.

"This is the background against which one must look at the Rhodesian crisis. It is true that in Rhodesia some 400 people are detained without trial, and that the Press and wireless broadcasts are censored, but Rhodesia is at war. We in this country imposed censorship and detained people without trial when we were at war.

"The effect of sanctions on Rhodesia has been to unite the people behind Mr. Smith. As sanctions bite more deeply, there is a growing hatred of Britain.

"The story is that Mr. Wilson is restraining President Kaunda, who calls for warlike operations against Rhodesia. In fact, the position is rather different. In spite of what he says, the last thing President Kaunda wants is military action from Zambia against Rhodesia. He knows that any such action would cause the majority of Europeans to leave his country, with a disastrous effect on its economic life.

Costly But Vain Battle of Sanctions

"Sanctions are costing Britain at least £150m. a year, plus the possible take-over of British assets, valued at over £100m., and ever more long-term effects endangering our third best overseas market in South Africa, which imported over £261m. last year.

"Yet Mr. Wilson is losing the battle of sanctions. Oil is the key; and Rhodesians are receiving oil through South Africa and the Portuguese territories. Mr. Wilson's oil embargo is not effective. I believe a good deal of this year's tobacco crop will be sold. There seems, therefore, to be little use in continuing long-term economic sanctions which will become increasingly disregarded by foreign Powers.

"Mr. Wilson may hope for an African revolt, incited by propaganda from Zambia and elsewhere, as an excuse to send in British troops. But an African revolt seems to me most unlikely. The most likely course, if Mr. Wilson wins the election, is for him to request the United Nations to invoke mandatory sanctions, which could well lead to a demand for a naval blockade of the whole of Southern Africa.

"That would be possible only if it had whole-hearted American support; and I do not believe the Americans, involved, as they are, in Viet Nam, would wish to get equally involved in another continent.

"The British electorate must understand the danger that Mr. Wilson may take us to war with Rhodesia either directly or through the United Nations. The only possible answer is for talks to start now—talks designed to give fair political and

economic advance to Rhodesian Africans and to give Rhodesia immediate legal independence".

Mr. GRIMOND, the Liberal leader, suggested in Manchester on Saturday that the British Government had not enforced sanctions sufficiently firmly and that the United Nations should be asked to make them mandatory on all member States.

—Mr. GEORGE WIGG, one of Mr. Wilson's close associates, said in Croydon: "I do not think that the whites in Rhodesia are worth the loss of a soldier's life. In the long run Mr. Smith cannot win. What he is seeking to do is something as old as the hills, something that was tried by the Pharaohs and Hitler—that is, force the will of a minority on to the majority. The name for that is slavery".

Mr. MICHAEL FOOT, Labour candidate for Ebbw Vale, said in Tongwynlais: "Messrs. Heath, Selwyn Lloyd, Sandys, and the rest of the Tory leaders are now urging in unison that Britain should abandon the attitude towards the Rhodesian problem agreed by all parties last November. If they have their way British policy would suffer the worst fiasco since Suez, and the most painful humiliation since Munich".

End This Foolish and Vicious Policy

In Salisbury, Wiltshire, on Friday, at the inaugural meeting of the Salisbury branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society LORD SALISBURY appealed for an end to vindictive sanctions and asked his audience to press all candidates for Parliament to pledge themselves to oppose the use of force by British or United Nations troops.

There should be an end to Mr. Wilson's foolish and vicious policy. "We should sit down and discuss our difficulties like civilized men".

LORD COLERAINE said that if Mr. Ian Smith had been a black Rhodesian, not a white Rhodesian, he would now be recognized by Mr. Wilson.

JUDGE GERALD SPARROW said that Mr. Smith had recently told him in Salisbury that he foresaw a completely integrated society in Rhodesia within 20 to 30 years.

"Mr. Wilson Wobbles" was the heading selected by the Conservative Research Department for the following comment:—

"Many people think that Mr. Wilson has failed in his objective of bringing down Mr. Smith's Government through economic sanctions. Facing questions on this aspect of his Rhodesia policy in 'Election Forum', Mr. Wilson merely repeated that 'he intended to make sanctions effective' and that he believed that the crisis would end 'by a voluntary return to the rule of law'. The bankruptcy of his policy of course stems from his refusal to talk with Mr. Smith on any basis other than unconditional surrender.

Danger of Setting Africa Alight

"Although Mr. Wilson's words on 'Election Forum' were as ambiguous as ever, there were signs that he may be beginning to shift his ground. He said: 'We are prepared to talk to any representative people in Rhodesia, and as I said in the House of Commons, including Mr. Smith, who accept the rule of law as the basis for the future of Rhodesia. We cannot go and sanctify what is a very dangerous and illegal act which has been in danger of setting Africa alight'.

"Depending on what is meant by 'accept the rule of law as the basis for the future of Rhodesia', this could imply that Mr. Wilson is moving towards talks with Mr. Smith; but it is impossible to know what he really means. The key question is 'Does the Labour Party still insist on a prior renunciation of U.D.I. before any talks can take place?' In other words, 'Does the Labour Party still insist on unconditional surrender?'

"There can be no doubt that the white Rhodesians will not surrender until the situation in Rhodesia is desperate. The economic and political chaos which might follow such a surrender could well lead to bloodshed. Does Mr. Wilson agree with Sir Winston Churchill that 'jaw-jaw is better than war-war?'"

Report of American Mission to Rhodesia "Planned Myopia" and Muddle of Misinformation Denounced

AMERICAN POLICY ON RHODESIA represents the triumph of ideology over actuality.

To excuse the American intervention in what should be the purely private conflict between the British Government and Rhodesia it is argued that the chain of circumstances leading to Rhodesian independence was improperly motivated—the result of a racist philosophy and a uniquely selfish economic interest. This position is based on a profound ignorance of the forces at work in Rhodesia—as well as in the rest of Africa.

The aim of Britain and the United States is to bring down the constitutionally-elected Government of Prime Minister Ian Smith and replace it by a puppet regime, to be followed precipitously by a one-man-one-vote formula—thus applying in an undeveloped continent a highly sophisticated Western political system divorced from the realities of the present situation in Rhodesia.

Since that country has been significantly in the news for many months, it might have been expected that the American Press would have sent numerous able reporters to report developments there at first hand. Instead, news reaching the United States has come almost exclusively from British circles taking their lead from Labour Party publicists. Dubious sources at the United Nations have added their mite to the muddle of misinformation.

False Charge Against Rhodesia

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams used what influence remained at his disposal in Washington to discourage on-site inspection by responsible legislators and newspaper correspondents who believe that United States foreign policy should lead from the strength of knowledge rather than the fanaticism of *a priori* judgment. Important publications have been told that the Rhodesian Government is not admitting accredited journalists—a totally false charge. The Rhodesian Government is not only willing but anxious to open its doors to those able to report what their eyes and ears register. "We have nothing to hide", Prime Minister Smith told our mission when asked if he would receive a Congressional delegation.

Planned myopia seems to be the technique of American policy-makers—the same planned myopia which led millions of Americans to accept with no attempt at verification the myth that the Chinese Communists were "agrarian reformers" and Mao Tse-tung the George Washington of the Far East.

A new myth now prevents a careful reading of the Rhodesian situation and halts debate by describing that country as a crumbling bastion of white supremacy which must "inevitably" fall before the progressive onslaught of African nationalism. To the propagators of this myth the petrol bomb used by Rhodesian nationalists to intimidate their fellow Africans has seemingly become just an instrument of democratic persuasion, acceptable despite the terror it engenders.

Before any approbation or opprobrium of Rhodesia be meted out, there surely must first be an accurate estimate of the situation. It cannot be valid unless it answers the following questions, which have been largely ignored by policy-makers, the mass media, and those who derive their positions from both:—

Is the Rhodesian Government of Prime Minister Smith stable?

* *The American-African Affairs Association recently sent Congressman John M. Ashbrook, Dr. Max Yergan, and Mr. Ralph de Toledano to Rhodesia as a fact-finding mission. We are glad to be able to publish their report in full.*

What degree of active or passive support does it have from the sanctions which Britain has imposed and America accepts?

If these sanctions succeed, who would suffer most?

Can the country survive a political and economic collapse, yet still continue a respectable member of the family of nations?

Is the philosophy of the present Rhodesian Government racist?

What, in fact, is its philosophy, and where does it lead?

What are Rhodesia's strengths and weaknesses as a nation?

What is the nature of the African population?

Most important of all, would the enshrining of the one-man-one-vote principle in Rhodesia be possible today without subjugating the country to the chaos, despotism and barbarism which have all too often taken over in the so-called developing nations of Africa?

Rhodesia A Way of Life

Americans, in contemplating the Rhodesian situation, are either unaware or refuse to take cognizance of its complete uniqueness among all the other colonies, possessions, or participants in the system set up by the European Powers in Africa. Few know that Rhodesia moved directly from its status as a chartered region to self-government. Until 1887—two years before the Crown granted a charter to the British South Africa Company—the area now called Rhodesia was the battleground for bloody tribal wars between the militarized Matebele and the relatively peaceful Mashona, whom an ancient and endless conflict had kept in a constant state of physical terror and economic uncertainty. These wars and the incursions of disease and early mortality had held down the African population to about 300,000. It has now risen to some four million—and it is estimated that, barring starvation, cataclysm, or the kind of "freedom" which Britain strives to impose, it will double in the next 20 years.

The white settlers who emigrated from Britain or South Africa were not looking for fast profits in gold and emeralds. They came to live as farmers, homesteaders, and businessmen. Rhodesia for them was not a station on the road of Imperial convenience, but a way of life.

Under the governance of the British South Africa Company, they built cities, established trade, opened up the land, set up a school system, and organized the country with the same goals of permanence that European settlers carried with them to America. They did this with a minimum of damage to the tribal system and its customs. They did not act with the rapacity which led settlers on the American continent to wipe out entire indigenous populations or to take over the entire area in their civilizing course.

By free choice, after a referendum, the Rhodesians voted in 1923 for responsible self-government as a member of the British Commonwealth, rather than for joining the Union of South Africa as a fifth province.

The status was replaced by an assertion of full sovereignty by a legitimate and legally elected Government in 1965, at a time when the British Government—with the blessing of the United States—was systematically granting independence to all sorts of former possessions with little or no training or tradition in self-government.

British Government Not Consistent or Fair

The outcry at No. 10 Downing Street over Rhodesia's unilateral act of disassociation may be understood in terms of Commonwealth interest and the general inclinations of Prime Minister Harold Wilson. But to argue "constitutionality" under the circumstances, or to insist on the right of the British Government to determine the internal organization of the withdrawing State, should have sounded strange to Americans who seized their own independence by force of arms and set up their own Government without the permission of George III or his Ministers.

The test of legal validity will not be found in the animadversions of Britain's Labour Government. Despite the reservations of Prime Minister Wilson, it remains a fact that the Rhodesian Government of Mr. Ian Smith was elected by an overwhelming vote of those who held the franchise. It remains a fact that the 14 African members of the Rhodesian Parliament, elected in the same election—there are 65 M.P.s in all—do not favour the surrender of the country to the African nationalists, and it remains a fact that the present Constitution differs only in non-essentials from the 1961 Constitution which Mr. Wilson holds so dear.

For Britain to attempt to inject itself into the internal affairs of Rhodesia and especially its political life, when it has signally refrained from doing so in many former British possessions that are now frankly African police States, is hardly consistent, let alone fair.

Salisbury, the other cities of Rhodesia, and the agricultural countryside are tranquil to a degree unknown in many sections of the civilized world. The streets are policed by African officers far more relaxed than their law-enforcement counterparts in New York, Los Angeles, or Washington. Crimes of violence, an index to social malaise and instability, are relatively few.

Political crimes—consisting mostly of incinerating people in their beds by tossing petrol bombs on to thatched roofs—ceased almost entirely when the perpetrators were arrested, much to the relief of the African population. The tell-tale signs of racial tension are nowhere to be seen. Neither is that atmosphere of repression so visible in States where power is held against the will of the governed.

Sanctions have consolidated the hold of the Smith Government by winning over to its side such scattered opposition as existed before their advent. For many of the Africans the fear is not of more white Government but of a return to that brief period when nationalist terrorists, financed by Peking, Cairo, *et al*, were allowed to employ the "pursued" of bomb and knife.

Rhodesian Minister of Law Desmond William Lardner-Burke told our mission in this regard what others later confirmed. "We don't stop people from speaking", he stated. "The only time we get cross is when there is a bit of subversion".

There was a heightening of the subversion when the African nationalists themselves split into two factions, each vying for the financial support of the Committee of Nine (the O.A.U. "Liberation Committee") in Tanzania. During that period, with a cash subsidy of \$30,000 set aside by the committee, African fought African with gasoline bombs and hand-grenades. Much of the violence was directed against children, and the schools were virtually closed as a result of nationalist threats.

When witchcraft was invoked to silence witnesses against the terror, the Rhodesian Government had no option but to disregard the finer points of law. This was admitted by Mr. Lardner-Burke when he said: "You cannot allow complete chaos because of due process". In the United States this would be heresy. For the population of Rhodesia, black and white, it was a stark necessity.

(To be continued)

Sharing of Power the Only Sound Constitutional Basis

Mr. Hardwicke Holderness Criticizes the All-or-Nothing Principles

POWER SHARED between white and black Rhodesians was the only basis for a really reliable Constitution, Mr. Hardwicke Holderness, a Salisbury lawyer and former M.P., wrote last week in the *Rhodesia Herald*. The censor had made only one minor change, to which the author did not object.

Mr. Holderness said, *inter alia* :—

"If U.D.I. leads to the adoption of a Constitution specifically based on the sharing of power, it will have been well worth while; but if it leads to a reversion to an all-or-nothing Constitution, with further endless bickering about the franchise and whether whites or blacks will govern at the next stage, we shall have learned nothing from it.

"It is impossible to achieve a Government in which whites and blacks have confidence on the basis of the 1965 or the 1961 Constitution, or any Constitution which, like them, works on the typical British principle that members of the Government are drawn only from the party which has a majority in Parliament.

"At the present stage of Rhodesia's political history that type of Constitution inevitably results either in the representatives of the whites having all the political power and the representatives of the blacks having none, or in the blacks having all the political power and the whites having none. Such a Government is incapable of commanding the support of both black and white. This has been proved by experience.

Basic Fault of Present Constitution

"Many people still claim that the 1961 Constitution offered to blacks real participation in Government which the blacks could have made good use of had the African nationalists not decided to boycott it. But this is not true. Africans had the alternative of expressing their aspirations through a white political party, or of forming a black nationalist party to express them. Some tried joining the white governing party. The result was that the more the white members tried to liberalize the party's policy in order to accommodate the blacks the more ground the party lost with the white electorate."

"Had the Africans formed a black nationalist party they might have won 15 or more of the 65 seats, but they would have had no hope of obtaining a majority in Parliament by themselves or in combination with any other group. The more their speeches expressed black aspirations the more solid would have been the white majority against them.

"Some say that nevertheless the 1961 type of Constitution is fair to the blacks because as their qualifications increase they will obtain more and more influence, and one day they will obtain a majority in Parliament. In fact they would not get any more real influence in Government until the actual time came—*if* the whites allowed it to come—when they actually did obtain a majority and were able to form a Government. Then they would suddenly get it all!"

Such a situation was as bad for the whites as for the blacks, for if the whites allowed the blacks to obtain a majority, they would find themselves in as impotent a position as the blacks were now—and indeed a worse position, because the new black Ministers would have had no experience of office and the sudden change-over would probably be accompanied by disruption of the civil service.

Independence At Any Price

"This is the real reason why whites have been so determined to achieve independence at any price. They know that the 1961 Constitution works on the all-or-nothing principle: they are told it will produce an African majority at some undefined time in the future.

"They know this would place in the hands of the black Government power as absolute as the white Government now has. They have a deep conviction based upon the official picture presented by successive Governments over the years of the African nationalist politician as a kind of monster, both evil and incompetent; and they are determined to be in a constitutional position to prevent absolute power from falling into his hands."

A Government specifically based on the sharing of power must be composed of people in whom the whites and the blacks had confidence, people who were compelled to work together to find solutions to Rhodesia's bread-and-butter problems.

"In case of deadlock, there must be a chief executive authority—perhaps called a President—with ultimate executive power, as distinct from the merely formal power held by the Governor.

"The Legislature, which might consist of more than one chamber, must be so constituted that laws passed have to have the support of a majority, both of the black representatives and of the white representatives in Parliament. The principal chamber must be made up of representatives half elected by whites and half elected by blacks."

A system based on those principles was the only one capable at the next stage of Rhodesia's development of serving the interests of both whites and blacks.

"Under it the whites who regard Rhodesia as their permanent home—and on whom the administrative, economic, and financial systems depend for capital and know how—can continue in the confidence that they are no longer threatened at some indefinite date with political impotence. The blacks can have real participation and experience—starting now, instead of at some indefinite date in the future.

"And other countries will have confidence in the knowledge that Rhodesia's stability is based on real partnership and the rule of law."

The proposal has been welcomed by almost everyone to whom Mr. Holderness referred it, including members of the Rhodesian Front and staunch African nationalists.

President Kaunda Reviews Zambia's Problems and Progress

No Confidence Whatsoever in Economic Sanctions Against Rhodesia

THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAMBIA has continued to reiterate to the British Government that it has no confidence whatsoever in the use of economic sanctions as the best means of bringing down the illegal regime in Rhodesia:

That statement was made by President Kaunda when he opened the third session of the National Assembly. In the course of a long speech he said:—

"Force in Rhodesia may, even to the British Government's mind, become inevitable, but, alas, it may be so late as to involve a considerable loss of life, which we in Zambia have stood against

"This may sound paradoxical in that we have been advocating for force in Rhodesia by the British Government, but the whole basis of our advice for the use of force in the situation has been that the longer the British Government waited and was later forced by the circumstances of the situation to use force, the more human life would be lost. It has not been our wish to embarrass the British Government with our advice, but we felt bound to advise as members of the Commonwealth who are closely involved in the crisis. Because of our belief in fair play, however, we have given the British Government an opportunity to prove their claim that economic sanctions will work.

"This Government remains convinced the British Government has no political, indeed no moral right to keep the majority of people in Aden down by the use of force and at the same time allow a band of unprincipled and racily-minded men to get away with it. The passing of time will never make Africa accept what is happening in Rhodesia. Those concerned would do well to take note of this.

Transport Developments

"We have no option but increase our economic independence. The Industrial Development Corporation, in conjunction with the Italian firm of Fiat, have concluded an agreement to establish a national transport corporation with capital in excess of £5m. We shall establish the nucleus of our transport organization from Zambia to the sea—of course, in addition to other transportation firms already in existence. It is expected to carry into Zambia an estimated 250,000 tons per annum. We hope the Tanzanian Government will join us in this venture.

"We are more than ever determined to complete an all-weather road to bitumen standard from Kapiri Mposhi to Dar es Salaam in the shortest time possible. £8m. has already been allocated to this project. The road project does not mean the lessening of our determination to build the Tanzanian railway. We deny that it is political. It will be, perhaps, the only economic railway ever built in Africa.

"We again call on the British Government to take its responsibility in regard to the common services, Rhodesia Railways, Central Africa Airways, and the Central African Power Corporation, failing which they must expect the responsibility to reimburse Zambia for her losses. These transactions, done completely against our will in 1963, were only grudgingly accepted by us on assurances from the British Government that they would stand as guarantors. The time has come for them to accept this guarantorship.

"The economic, industrial and social developments which have taken place in Zambia in the past 12 months are impressive by any standards. The transitional development plan, begun in January, 1965, is proceeding at the pace originally intended. During the first six months public capital expenditure amounted to £9.8m. During the

second six months it was £13.3m. We expect to spend the full £35m. in the 18th months.

"On the industrial development front investment of nearly £40m. will be made in the next four years. Among those projects about to start or already started are the clay pipe project in Kitwe, expansion of Nakambala sugar estates, international hotels in Lusaka and Livingstone, the textile mill in Lusaka, a project worth £4m., and we are investigating the establishment of a copper-fabricating industry.

"Almost all senior administrative posts in Government are now occupied by Zambians. More than 65% of the executive and clerical grades are held by Zambians. Only up to 13% of the technical posts have been Zambianized, and practically all professional posts are occupied by expatriate officers.

"Zambianization is not for the sake of the individual Zambian officers; it is for the good of Zambian people as a whole. Where Zambian officers in high places fail to satisfy the need for service to our own people, it is my duty to pull them down. Practically all ranks in the Police Force were Zambianized during the year. In the Army there are now a reasonable number of Zambian subalterns.

Copper, Coal and Iron Ore

"Copper production achieved the record level of 673,000 tons in 1965, very nearly double the 1963 production of 342,000 tons, and a substantial increase over the 1964 figure of 633,000.

"The first coal from the new Nkandabwe field was produced on February 18. Thus within four months of the first tree being felled Zambia's first coal mine was in production. This must be something of a record in mining history. Geological investigations are continuing not only at Nkandabwe but also on the Kafue Flats and elsewhere in the Zambezi Valley, with a view to placing coal production in Zambia on a permanent basis.

"I should mention the work by a team of Yugoslav geologists on the very promising iron ore deposits in the Mumbwa district. Their job is to make a final assessment as to whether or not these deposits can be exploited economically. An iron ore mine would establish the basis for the fully integrated iron and steel industry which my Government plans to establish in the near future.

"It is in the field of public works that our development is most easily visible to the man in the street. During 1965 the Ministry of Transport and Works let contracts to the value of over £15m. and itself spent over £1m. in maintenance and other works. This total is nearly four times that of new works launched by previous Governments in any one year.

"Thirty-three new schools, of which 27 are secondary, are being built. A new military camp is being provided at Broken Hill at a cost that will eventually exceed £1m. A start has been made on a 600-bed hospital at Ndola.

"Work on Lusaka's new airport is proceeding extremely well. It will be the most up-to-date in Africa, capable of handling all existing aircraft types operating now and those planned in the foreseeable future. The completed airport should be open to all trunk route and domestic carriers early in 1967, little over three years from the start of the initial planning. That, I am informed, is a record for a comparable undertaking anywhere in the world.

Improved Medical Services

"The maximum priority in the field of preventive medicine has been the all-out attack on smallpox. In 1964, there were 2,214 cases notified, of whom 189 died. During the past 12 months this figure has dropped by over three-quarters to 528 cases, of whom only 59 died. Nearly 14m. vaccinations were carried out, an average of 4,000 a day. Over 85% and nearly all the deaths occurred in children under the age of five.

"In this struggle we have been greatly assisted by friendly countries. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has been most generous in giving Zambia 24m. doses of free-dried vaccine, the type best suited for large campaigns in rural areas.

"Twenty-nine doctors, including five specialists, were recruited. Fifteen doctors, including two specialists, resigned. This net gain of 14 medical staff is a fine achievement in view of the world-wide shortage of doctors. One hundred and seventy-five qualified nurses were recruited during the past year and 142 resigned.

"A year ago the Government School of Nursing started in Kitwe to train fully qualified nurses to the standard of the State registered nurse in Britain. There are now 62 girls training. Our first Zambian nurses will graduate in 1968.

"It will be seen that our transitional development plan has been a resounding success. We can expect greater heights to be achieved as we all make more serious and determined efforts to serve to meet the requirements of the common man—God's most precious gem. May God's blessings accompany you in all your work! God save the Republic!"

PERSONALIA

LORD REA is visiting Rhodesia.

MR. AND MRS. A. S. P. NEISH arrived back from South Africa on Monday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

SIR MARK TURNER has been appointed deputy chairman of Kleinwort, Benson, Lonsdale & Co., Ltd.

MR. CHIDZANJA, Minister of Local Government in Malawi, is spending 10 days in Britain.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE has accepted an invitation to visit Trinidad and Tobago at a date still to be settled.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME is to receive the honorary LL.D. of Aberdeen University.

MR. F. E. L. H. COLLARD, an administrative officer in Zambia, is on leave pending retirement.

SIR MALIN SORSBIE, chairman of the Munitalpa Foundation, has given the Kenya Government a motor vessel for use on Lake Rudolf.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY has succeeded MR. ANGUS LAWRIE as chairman of the East African Board of the Standard Bank.

MR. IAN MACGREGOR has been elected president of American Metal Climax Inc., a U.S. group with large interests in Zambia.

MR. H. H. THACKSTONE, a director and chief general manager of the Midland Bank, has joined the board of the Standard Bank.

THE VEN. G. H. MARTIN, Provost of All Saints' Cathedral, Khartoum, and Archdeacon of the Northern Sudan, will shortly retire.

THE REV. E. J. COLLINSON, deputy secretary of the Rwanda Mission of the C.M.S., has been appointed Vicar of St. George's Tiverton, Exeter.

DR. F. R. S. KELLETT has been appointed director of the World Health Organization's malaria eradication training centre in Lagos, Nigeria.

PROFESSOR ROGER WILSON has arrived in Malawi to spend six months as visiting Professor of Education at the new university.

LIEUT.-COLONEL K. J. LOVAT-FRASER, lately manager of the Ridgeway Hotel, Lusaka, now manages the Shire Highlands Hotel, Limbe, Malawi.

MR. D. R. N. CLARKE will on July 1 succeed SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM as chairman of the British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., which has large East African interests.

DR. ADOKO NEKYON, Minister of Planning and Community Development in Uganda, and MR. SHABANI NKUTU, Deputy Minister for Education, are making the pilgrimage to Mecca.

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London, W.C.1.

THE RT. REV. ADONIYA SEBUNUNGURI and the RT. REV. JOHANA NKUNZUMWAMI have been enthroned respectively as Bishops of Rwanda and Burundi. They had been assistant bishops in the former united diocese.

MR. J. H. R. SNAPE has succeeded MR. D. A. W. LOVELL as manager of the Northumberland Avenue branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., at which many visitors to London from Central and East Africa transact business.

MR. FRANCIS R. GAFFA, aged 27, is the first African to hold the appointment of Deputy Registrar to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. He graduated LL.B. at Exeter University in 1964, and last November was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple.

SHAYKH MUKHTAR MUHAMMAD has been elected President of the Somali National Assembly by 69 votes against 42 cast for SHAYKH MUHAMMAD HAJI IBRAHIM IGAL. SHAYKH RASHID SULTAN ABDULLAHI was elected Second Vice-President.

DR. GORDON CURRIE, who has been engaged in the treatment of leprosy in Malawi for 19 years, first as a medical missionary at Livingstone, and since 1953 as a Government medical officer, is about to leave the country. DR. DAVID MOLESWORTH is his successor in charge of the leprosy control project.

MR. JOSEPH PALMER, for the past two years Director-General of the United States Foreign Service, has been appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in succession to MR. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, who has resigned to stand for election to the Senate. Mr. Palmer has served in Kenya and Rhodesia.

MR. H. R. ASHBY, chairman and managing director of United Africa Motors, Ltd., will retire next week after 18 years' service. MR. A. J. MEMMOTT, chairman of the United Africa Mechanical and Electrical, Ltd., will be the new chairman, and MR. R. F. C. DAVIS, general manager of another United Africa division, will become managing director.

MR. T. J. HENDERSON, president of Atomspheric Incorporated, of Fresno, California, has arrived in East Africa to help in the study and evaluation of the hail suppression experiment in which the East African Meteorological Department, the Tea Research Institute of East Africa, and the Highlands Produce Co., Ltd., of Kericho, are co-operating.

MR. I. H. M. MASON, who is about to retire from the board of the British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., served the group in East Africa for many years before he returned to London in 1954. He was appointed to the board two years later. MR. STEWART LOCKHART, who has been elected a director, was until recently chairman of the subsidiaries in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

SENATOR MUNYI has called upon the Kenya Government to instruct all ambassadors in the country that they must make any gifts through official channels that would "overcome the diabolical activities and plots by some notorious foreign intelligence agencies", and frustrate the several foreign ambassadors in Kenya who took unwarranted trips into the country and for political purposes made gifts to individuals and groups.

The first non-white police constable to be enrolled in Britain for whole-time service is MR. MOHAMED YUSUF DAAR, who was a probationary sub-inspector in the Tanganyika Police until he preferred to come to Britain at the time of independence because he was not prepared to sacrifice his British nationality to become a Tanzanian citizen in order to remain in the police. He left a factory job at which he was earning £30 a week for a £16 a week appointment as a policeman in Coventry. He was born in Nairobi of Indo-Pakistani parents.

Obituary

Dr. G. Noel Humphreys

DR. GORDON NOEL HUMPHREYS, who has died in South Devon, aged 83, had been a surveyor, a pioneer airman and a well-known mountaineer and botanist before he qualified as a medical practitioner in middle life.

After leaving Cambridge with a science degree he undertook surveying, cartography, plant collecting, and mountaineering in Mexico, and on returning to England in 1912 began flying. He commissioned in the following year in the Royal Flying Corps Special Reserve, and in 1915 was shot down in France and was a German prisoner for three years. Then he joined the Survey Department of Uganda, where he climbed all the highest peaks of the Ruwenzori Range, discovering unknown lakes and plants. He was one of the first men to fly over Ruwenzori to which he made four separate expeditions in 1932. For his activities in Uganda he received the Murchison grant of the Royal Geographical Society.

He had qualified as a medical practitioner at St. Mary's Hospital, London, and was both senior medical officer and a climbing member of the Mount Everest Expedition of 1936.

EX-REGIMENTAL SERGEANT MAJOR RAMATHAN, who has died in Jinja, Uganda, at the reputed aged of 98, served in the King's African Rifles in the 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars. He was the father of 30 children.

MR. CYRIL STANLEY ROBINSON, who has died in Kitwe, aged 70, had for almost 30 years lived in the Solwezi district of Zambia as a farmer, trader, and transport contractor in partnership with a brother, MR. L. H. ROBINSON.

MR. FRANCIS EDWARD DARCUS, who has died in Malawi, aged 75, had been a tobacco grower in that country since 1919. As a young man he played hockey for Ireland, and had expressed the wish that a hockey stick should be placed in his coffin.

MISS PATRICIA HUTTON, one of the stewardesses killed in the B.O.A.C. crash on Mount Fuji, Japan, had been on the clerical staff of Rhodesia House, London, until about two years ago. She had lived with her parents in Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire.

SIR YUSUFALI KARIMJEE JIVANJEE, who died in Dar es Salaam last week, aged 84, was senior director of the family group of companies, which has commercial, industrial and plantation interests. He was knighted in

THE RT. REV. JOSEPH KIWANUKA, since 1961, Archbishop of Rubaga, who has died in Uganda at the age of 66, was brought up in one of the first African Christian homes in the country. He was the first Uganda African to become a White Father and the first to be made a bishop, being consecrated in Rome in 1939, ten years after his ordination.

MR. A. M. HAWKINS, B.Sc., A.M.I.C., who has died in Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, aged 58; joined Rhodesia Railways in 1948 after experience on railways in England, Mozambique, and South Africa. He was made assistant chief engineer in 1955, chief engineer in 1957, and soon afterwards divisional manager for engineering and supplies.

Owing to the risk of cholera infection, Sudanese may not make the pilgrimage to Mecca this year.

Medical and dental expenditure in excess of £36 in the year on behalf of himself, his wife, and his dependents is to be an allowable abatement for income tax in Rhodesia.

Zambia is to buy helicopters to provide extra mobility for its army, which is to be developed to brigade group strength. The Air Force has now four Caribou, four Dakota, four Chipmunk, eight Beaver and two Pembroke aircraft.

Bishop Rebukes Mirfield Superior

Uncharitable to speak of "Illegal Régime"

THE RT. REV. CECIL ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, has declared that use of the expression "the illegal regime" to describe the Rhodesian Administration "contradicts the principle of charity".

He has circulated the text of the sermon recently preached in Salisbury Cathedral by the Rev. Hugh Bishop, the new superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield. Thirty members of the congregation left the cathedral in protest. Commenting on the sermon, the Bishop has written:—

"It was a deep and moving sermon on the word from the Cross: 'They know not what they do,' calling us to self-examination on the myriad hurts we do to others through ignorance and insensitivity to their situations and feelings; we rarely put ourselves in others' positions or in their skins. . .

"Unfortunately the preacher's own sensitivity deserted him—insensitive, I think, to the courtesy owed to the Dean of at least consulting with him about matters of great public feeling; to the fact that he was an unknown shepherd speaking to sheep he did not know; and to the occasion for which they were met; and knowing (as he admitted to the Press) the divisive character of what he was to say, he quoted first parts of the recent Roman Catholic pastoral and then a long exhortation to Rhodesia from a letter in the *Zambia Times*.

"It is the latter, with its reference to 'the illegal régime in Rhodesia', 'one man one vote', and 'indiscriminate beatings, the use of torture, and even the killing of Africans are reported', which caused deep hurt.

"The Zambian letter originated, I gather, with members of the Society of Friends, who gathered an impressive number of signatories, communicated it to the *Zambia Times*, and sent it to all ministers of religion in Rhodesia.

"On November 14 I said that it was agreed on all sides in Rhodesia that the act of November 11 was unconstitutional; that there was great and sincere division of opinion as to whether it was right; that members of the Church had every right to try to decide this, provided it was with real thought and prayer and examination of their real motives; and to come to different conclusions.

"We trust that no preacher in church will within this diocese use the expression 'the illegal régime', which contradicts this principle of charity.

"The dictum one-man-one-vote is not a part of the Christian religion. Christianity is concerned with justice in human affairs, and must judge political devices and arrangements by the standard of justice. Perfect justice is unattainable.

"In modern times it has come to be thought that the nearest approximation to it is by means of universal franchise so that no citizen, and certainly no taxpayer, is without some voice in the common life. The Church must say that deliberate refusal to grant votes on grounds of colour is unjust; but that does not apply in Rhodesia.

"Where there are serious franchise qualifications, justice demands that they should be as low as responsible citizenship demands, and that there should be no deliberate retardation of the advance of all to the required standards."

Turning to the expression "the tyranny of a police State", the Bishop says that Christians must condemn and expose evil practice wherever it exists, but they must be the most careful of all citizens to be sure and precise about their accusations.

"In my judgment 'indiscriminate beatings, the use of torture, and even the killing of Africans are reported' is simply not good enough. Unless the preacher had very sure information, this was an improper quotation to make from a pulpit."

Support for Dr. Obote

THE KATIRO OF BUNYORO telegraphed last week to Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda: "Bunyoro Rukurato, assembled here today, send congratulations on the way you have led Uganda through crisis. We pray that God gives you wisdom and courage to lead this country to prosperity and stability".

Uganda's Worst Earthquake

THE WORST EARTHQUAKE in living memory was experienced in Uganda on Sunday. Originating in the Lake Albert area, it destroyed the township of Bwamba, Toro, killing more than 100 people. A heavy landslide across the only road into Bwamba hampered rescue operations. Medical teams and supplies were flown in by helicopter. Shocks were felt as far away as Kampala and Entebbe.

Rhodesians Double-Crossed by British Politicians

"White Rhodesians as Loyal to the Crown As Any of Us"

LORD BALFOUR OF INCHRYE has credited the Rhodesian assumption of independence to exasperation at the "double-cross of successive British Governments and British politicians". He wrote in a letter to *The Times* :—

"The Rhodesian issue cannot be tucked away for election time. Danger lies from argument and provocation which will lead to the taking up of entrenched positions from which it will be difficult for parties to extricate themselves. I have just returned from the Far East, where I listened to the views of many, official and unofficial. The great majority felt that common sense dictated the need for talks to begin with Mr. Smith before the position worsens.

"In the House of Lords, Lord Shepherd, speaking for the Government, deplored the Opposition use of the phrase 'unconditional surrender'. Equally one can deplore such expressions as 'rebels against the Crown', 'traitors' and 'treason'. The white Rhodesians are as loyal to the Crown as any of us.

"They have revolted because, as a people, they are exasperated at what they feel, rightly or wrongly, is the 'double-cross' of successive British Governments and British politicians. In so doing, they have taken the step of U.D.I. It is wrong and regrettable that they have done this, but under the circumstances surrounding them this is fairly understandable. They are not now going to withdraw and eat humble pie at the behest of Whitehall, but would rather face the privations resulting from sanctions.

Other Revolts and Settlements

"Revolts and subsequent settlements make interesting history, though of course circumstances and conditions vary for each case.

"We had a revolt in Ireland. Our peace was with the so-called traitors and rebels. We had a revolt in Cyprus. We deported the chief rebel leader. Today Archbishop Makarios rides high. We had revolt in a section of Kenya. We imprisoned the leader. Today Mr. Kenyatta rides high. We had trouble in Nyasaland and banned Dr. Banda. Today Dr. Banda, rides high in the new Malawi.

"Who are we to say that a spirit of reasonableness and wish to start afresh would not evoke a response in Mr. Smith and his followers, and finally lead to honourable settlement?"

In an article in the London *Evening Standard* LORD LAMBTON recalled the letter written by Mr. Wilson on October 2, 1964, to Dr. E. C. Mutasa, a Rhodesian African nationalist, in which he said: "The Labour Party is totally opposed to granting independence to Southern Rhodesia so long as the Government of that country remains under the control of a white minority".

Mr. Wilson had, however, contradicted himself in the House of Commons on November 11, 1965, when he said: "On the last outstanding point which held up agreement, namely, the extent to which each Government would give an assurance in advance that they would accept a unanimous report from the Commission, we made a proposal to the Rhodesian Government which will fully meet every demand they had made".

Mr. Wilson's letter to Dr. Mutasa, said Lord Lambton, had enabled Mr. Smith to persuade doubtful Rhodesians that the Labour Party in Britain was committed to a one-man-one-vote policy and that Rhodesia's only chance of stable government was by a declaration of independence.

LORD ARRAN said in the *Daily Mail*:—

"Mr. Bernard Levin's nasty little piece condemning

six elder statesmen, including Lord Salisbury and Lord Swinton, for warning against further sanctions in Africa was both foolish and impertinent.

"Foolish because premature African rule in Rhodesia could lead to a blood-bath, as in the Congo or in India during partition (21 to 3 million Indians and Pakistanis were murdered). Impertinent because Lord Salisbury in particular was bravely and successfully fighting Fascism when Mr. Levin was still a little boy. In terms of service to humanity Mr. Levin is not fit to lick Lord Salisbury's boots.

"I do not know who or what is right over Rhodesia. I know only that I would not like to have the conscience of any Government which for doctrinaire reasons and in the names of liberty and democracy gave the opportunity to thousands to massacre one another".

If Foreign Mercenaries Attacked Rhodesia

SIR PATRICK DONNER wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*: "Mr. Harold Wilson, quite rightly, has recognised the military junta which has seized power in Ghana as the *de facto* Government of that country, but he still refuses to talk to (let alone recognise) the *de facto* Government of Mr. Ian Smith. Should not Mr. Wilson now be pressed to give a categorical assurance that he will at no time use force to overthrow the Government of Rhodesia and that he will, if necessary, veto and neither countenance nor incite the United Nations to use such force?

"His own use of it would be an act of civil war, while intervention by the United Nations—when Mr. Wilson has stated that the Rhodesian problem is solely a United Kingdom responsibility—would have the appearance of military action by foreign mercenaries in this (to Rhodesians) their finest hour."

Mr. H. B. Barwise suggested in the *Economist* that the Rhodesian issue had been "monstrous good luck for Mr. Wilson; that is why he has blown it up to such gigantic proportions. In one interview he claimed that this was the most difficult question of the century. Presumably 1940 was just a little local difficulty".

Mr. Wilson's Absurdly Inflated Reputation

MR. GEORGE GALE sharply attacked the Prime Minister in the *Daily Express*, arraigning him as a "flanneller" who took few decisions but made it appear that he had taken many. He wrote (in part):—

"Wilson has Rhodesia to thank as much as anything else for his absurdly inflated reputation. He has looked as if he knew what he was doing. He didn't, of course; but he looked as if he was ruling.

"Wilson's Rhodesian policy is wrong and improbable of success. The point of British sanctions, as Wilson used to remind us a couple of months ago, has been to cause sufficient damage to the economy to bring about a change in the political situation in Rhodesia. Our sanctions have failed to produce any change in the political situation save a slight hardening of support for Mr. Smith—precisely the opposite effect from that intended.

"There's something like silence on this issue because the Tories when in power before U.D.I. threatened Smith with precisely the penalties Wilson is exacting. The Tories have been wrong to be silent. It would have been easy for them to argue that all their pre-U.D.I. threats were justified as sincere efforts to prevent Smith doing what they thought to be a mistake.

"There are two possible ways out of the Rhodesia dilemma. One is to come to some sort of terms with Smith. This assumes Wilson has the strength to admit failure, which is a rash assumption. The other is to crush Smith by military power.

"Three British brigades ferried from Germany by American planes could doubtless conquer Salisbury and Bulawayo. But they could not pacify the country. Britain would be entangled in an African imbroglio more sordid and more wasting of our resources than the American involvement in Vietnam.

Best Régime in Africa

"To engage in some such commitment is what Wilson demands, without saying so, of the British electorate. He wishes to destroy, for racialist reasons, probably the best, the most liberal, and humane Government in Africa and replace it with direct and violently hated British rule. The Smith régime is by no means ideal. It happens, however, to be the best in Africa.

"Give me," says Wilson, 'a majority to govern'. He means, 'Give me a majority to conquer and rule'. If Wilson had his way he would be the biggest little gun-boat diplomatist of the 20th century."

PRESIDENT NYERERE of Tanzania writes in the current American quarterly *Foreign Affairs* :—

"The Smith régime represents the forces of racialism, fascism, and, indeed, colonialism in Southern Africa. Africa is waiting, with some impatience, to see whether the West really intends to stand on the side of human equality and human freedom. If the West fails to bring down Smith, or, having defeated him, fails to establish conditions which will lead to majority rule before independence, then Africa will have to take up the challenge". Then there would be no question of a transition to majority rule.

Sanctions against Rhodesia must be made mandatory under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

MR. HAROLD SOREF told readers of the *Daily Telegraph* that South Africans, because of their sympathy with Rhodesia, were increasingly disinclined to buy British goods.

"The revulsion against British products is widespread. I frequently heard shoppers protest against the sale of British goods and ask whether other products were not available.

"In Rhodesia the Rhodesian Products Promotion Centre is organizing a Buy Rhodesian campaign. Small-scale manufacturing businesses are making articles formerly imported. Whisky is not scarce yet, but Rhodesians are drinking South African brandy instead.

"British manufacturers have lost trade at the annual rate of over £30m. British insurance companies are suffering acutely. The main victims are U.K. shippers and confirming houses. Many have had to lay off staff in London. Some may be forced out of existence. But the goods they previously shipped and financed are rapidly being replaced. It is highly improbable that the British pattern of trade to Rhodesia will ever return.

Industrial Upsurge

"Business people who were opposed to U.D.I. are doing their best to make it work. There is a 'beat the ban' campaign and an industrial upsurge. There is considerable feeling over the failure of Britain to supply spare parts for British-made plant.

"The Salisbury Board for Industrial Expansion is being inundated with suggestions for import substitution from a public now utterly determined to see things through. The biggest projects recently announced are the £230,000 extension of the Salisbury plant of the Rhodesian Sugar Refineries and the £250,000 investment by Mr. Garfield Weston in an old-established Rhodesian milling firm.

"Rhodesia is convinced she has won the first round of sanctions in her struggle as an independent State standing alone with the unofficial sympathy of her two principal neighbours".

MR. PETER YOUNGHUSBAND, Salisbury correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, who is at present in London, has scoffed at the reiterated assertions of Socialist Ministers that sanctions are fulfilling their purpose. Mr. Wilson, he recalls, expected Mr. Ian Smith's régime to begin to crumble in March, but, with March nearing its end, there is no sign of wilting. The "embargo is leaking like a sieve". He continues (in part) :—

"Whitchall, in a state of fuddled illusion on the sanctions, is putting out a perpetual smoke-screen to conceal its ignorance of the facts. The truth is that Mr. Smith is beating the sanctions and getting stronger every day.

"Three months ago the experts said Rhodesia had only six weeks' supplies of petroleum. They claimed that by the end of this month the fuel would be finished, the currency collapsed, exports withered almost completely away, and the

country stark with want. Instead, Rhodesia has no more than the appearance of a country going through a difficult economic phase.

"Petrol is flowing in at about 80,000 gallons a day—enough to maintain a fairly comfortable scale of rationing. The currency remains stable. Rhodesian bank managers were unanimous three weeks ago that exports—except some products—were only slightly below the level of last year's figures for the same period.

"Local manufacturers are diversifying to remarkable degrees. There have been no abnormal price increases. Unemployment has nothing like approached the forecast of 10,000 Europeans by March 31; the figure is little more than 1,000.

Why Sanctions Have Failed

"Sanctions have failed. One reason is that South Africa and Mozambique are more than friendly. The other is that the British Government has established a profit motive for international operators expert in exploiting situations such as these.

"The French Government, for instance, agreed to the Rhodesian boycott. Yet representatives of the French firm Peugeot were in Salisbury last month exploring the possibilities of setting up a motor assembly plant to capture trade from Ford and B.M.C., who cannot market their products in Rhodesia. French middlemen are reported foremost among agents gathering in Salisbury to buy banned Rhodesian tobacco.

"South African businessmen have moved in quickly to offer themselves as agents for Rhodesia on world markets for exports and imports. The end result will be that Rhodesia will become closely linked with South Africa's powerful economy".

MR. J. SWANN wrote in the *Guardian* :—

"I have voted Labour nearly all my life, but if I lived in Rhodesia I should have voted for Mr. Smith because I should have known that, given half a chance, any British Labour Government would rob me of my possessions.

MR. B. HUTTON-WILLIAMS asked in the *Financial Times* : "What is the purpose of the £100,000 operation from the new B.B.C. station near Francistown, Bechuanaland?"

"Is it to win the hearts and minds of the white Rhodesian electorate for constitutional government? Is it to overcome the censorship imposed on the Rhodesian Press by the Rhodesian Government? Is it to put into proper perspective contentious views expressed by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation on current Anglo-Rhodesian affairs? Is it a combination of these suggestions, or, is it just another relay station?"

"At present it seems that Francistown broadcasts in English into Rhodesia may at times be provocative but are unlikely to be effective".

Wounds From A Friend

The strongly pro-Labour *Daily Mirror* has written editorially :— "The Government persistently kid us that Mr. Wilson's sanctions are succeeding in Rhodesia, that the rebel régime will soon be pleading on its knees. The snag is that nobody is kidding Mr. Hlegal Smith, of Salisbury. People of spirit rally, rather than crumble, under duress. Mr. Wilson was wrong to jeopardize his personal reputation in this vastly distracting sideshow; wrong to fly to Rhodesia, and then offer to fly again to meet Smith half-way in Malta".

RADIO MOGADISHU has a programme in Somali in which men of that race from the North Eastern Region of Kenya, the old Northern Frontier District, make short statements. One, introduced as Hajj Saeed Ahmed, and nicknamed Hajj Kono, said the other day:

Africa 1966

"We, the N.F.D. people, vow to skin some people, make parchment from their skins, draw blood and use it as ink, use their bones as pens, serve up their flesh as our rations, and never give up our fight for independence". Recently an M.P. in Malawi, a supporter of Dr. Banda, said in Parliament that those who revolted against his regime would be skinned; he hoped that the skin of one such renegade would be stuffed and exhibited in the National Museum.

Letters to the Editor

STRIFE CAUSED BY PARTY POLITICS

If Independents Were Elected by Guilds

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir—If people would only think they would begin to realize that strife throughout the world is caused by the existence of the political party system, which consists of bodies of men hankering after control of government, vilifying each other in order to gain votes. They split populations into mutually hostile groups, which gives rise to agitators, intimidation, rioting, and occasional rebellion.

A political party gains power because it has secured a majority of seats, even though sometimes by a minority of total votes. It is likely to legislate in its own interests, to oppress its rivals, even to eliminate them, as the Communists have done, or start a one-party State with a dictator at its head. It is likely to be friendly to a neighbouring State with a similar party in control, and to be hostile if a contrasting party is ruling it, with a tendency to war.

The political party system is full of stupidities, as any thinker who has not been brain-washed can discover. It is not necessarily a good thing that a country should have leaders dominating it. For every one such who is an asset to his country there are half-a-dozen who are the reverse. Every country should be ruled by the best men and women that it can generate. They should be experts with wide experience of the world, and independents answerable only to their electors.

How are they to be sought? By splitting the population into guilds according to occupation—farming, mining, etc.—and letting the qualified voters of each guild elect one of the qualified members to represent them and be answerable only to them. There would cease to be a need for more general elections or swollen Parliaments, and there would be a great saving of cost.

Marandellas,
Rhodesia.

Yours faithfully,

A. M. CLOSE.

From Tanzania to Rhodesia

African Support for Mr. Ian Smith

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir,—Lest your readership think that the statement which you have published from Mr. Lewis was that of an exceptional missionary with such views in Rhodesia, I enclose a letter circulated to friends and supporters by Mr. and Mrs. Renshaw, of Elim Mission, near Inyanga.

The references to the contrasts between conditions in Rhodesia and Tanzania are striking.

Yours faithfully,

Brightwood,
Tring

RUTH CRAUFORD,
Publicity Secretary.

Hertfordshire Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

The letter written by Mr. and Mrs. Renshaw states, *inter alia* :—

"As missionaries we do not dabble in politics, but so many misrepresentations have been made about Rhodesia that something ought to be said about the situation.

"The independence issue lay in the idea that the only Parliamentary system for this country should be the 'one-man-one vote'. Mr. Smith no doubt looked at the African States which had achieved independence with majority rule and saw that the system fails in Africa. As someone said on the radio, it has come to mean 'one-man-one-vote once', after that there is one-party rule or a Communist controlled dictatorship. The vast majority of the people are uneducated and fall an easy prey to a few clever leaders, who stir them up with all sorts of threats and promises in order to obtain their votes.

"It has been put about that this country is ruled by a few hundred white people who keep the Africans like slaves. This is completely untrue. The average African in town has a decent wage and good clothes and is in fact more civilized than the people we knew in Tanganyika. Even in the bush the people are much better dressed than the bush people of that country.

"There are a large number of Europeans who have been born and bred in this country and regard it as their own. Mr. Smith said that he was not willing to see the way of life that the early pioneers had built up ruined because of the clamour of a few nationalists. And it would be ruined.

"We saw a decline in educational and moral standards in high places in the short time we were in Tanzania after independence. Contrary to reports, this country is not in a state of chaos. There are no riots, strikes, or anything of that sort. Most people are carrying on as normal in spite of the pressure of sanctions and the abuse of other countries. The Government action enjoys the support of a large number of Africans as well as Europeans who want to see the best for their country. We who are British citizens feel like hiding our heads in shame at the vindictive actions of the leaders of our homeland.

"The greatest enemy this country is fighting is Communism. It is creeping across Africa and clutching at our borders. Communists do not fight out in the open unless they are forced to, and by insidious means they have gained a foothold in Tanzania and Zambia. This Government is determined to keep them out.

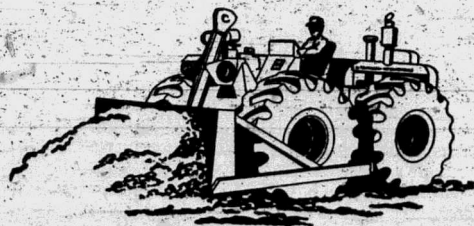
"As Christians we should be alive to what is going on in the world, for it dramatically affects the progress of the Gospel. The door is fast-closing in the countries north of Rhodesia. Here we have freedom to preach—the Gospel goes over the radio every day—and the Government assists the missions in their work in the educational and medical fields. If this Government should fall and the nationalists take over our work here would no doubt be terminated".

"The sturdy individualism which inspired progress in the past, which made Rome, which made Zambia, which has created all our best human values, seems to be decaying in the atmosphere of lassitude and disillusion of our day".—Mr. Wesley Nyirenda, Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia.

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Rhodesian Brevities

RHODESIA has laid plans for the acquisition of oil which will prove successful. MR. MUSSETT, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, said in a broadcast last week; but "there was and is no phantom tanker at or near Beira".

It was regrettable that when the censorship regulations were relaxed the local Press promptly began to speculate about oil supplies. It would be more accurate for Rhodesians to speak of petrol conservation than of petrol rationing.

"I want to thank our neighbours for the spontaneous and heartfelt generosity. How do we tell our friends over the border all that their great-hearted deeds have meant to us? How do we find the right words to express to them what their assistance has meant, not just in terms of economic but in terms of human gratitude? It is not enough to say we are grateful. Our feelings go far deeper. Today we are aware of a greater sense of comradeship towards the people of South Africa than ever before.

Rhodesia Will Remember

"From all parts of the Republic help has been forthcoming, and the great thing is that it has been a people-to-people movement, none of it the result of Government negotiations. For obvious reasons I cannot give details of the volume of aid we have received. So many people all over South Africa are rallying to Rhodesia's assistance that it would be invidious to pick out individual examples; but I must say how profoundly moved we have been to receive gifts from Johannesburg orphans.

"Today is our testing time. I pray that our South African friends may never have to face any similar ordeal. But if ever they do, let them know that we Rhodesians have long memories. In Rhodesia's hour of need the people of South Africa came to our aid. If they ever need us, we shall be ready and willing. I believe I am expressing the feelings of the whole Rhodesian nation when I say: 'We shall remember'."

"A problem for our merchants has been the consumer resistance in Rhodesia to British goods already in the country. These are not moving off the shelves. While this attitude is understandable, the nation is nevertheless left holding the goods for which she has paid good Rhodesian currency. If these goods are not sold, the Rhodesian merchant suffers. There has been a heavy strain on the merchant communities of Rhodesia, but it is remarkable how they have adapted themselves to change and how they have been able to conduct their businesses with the minimum retrenchment of staff.

"The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has been reorganized to meet the new conditions. Close liaison has been established with such private organizations as the Co-ordinating Centre of Industry and Commerce, the Rhodesian Products Society recently formed in Fort Victoria, the Board of Industrial Expansion in Salisbury, and Mr. Cochran's cottage industry scheme, to ensure that any capacity or skill which can be employed is not allowed to remain idle. Import permits have been issued for more than 30 new manufacturing projects, ranging from a sawmill to the production of cotton thread."

Hate Generated by Mr. Wilson

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said in Fort Victoria on Friday that hate was being generated by Mr. Wilson, who had been guilty of the most puerile and destructive behaviour. Britons would change their attitude if they knew of the wonderful co-operation between people of all races in Rhodesia. Twenty-seven chiefs and headmen had just told him that since independence everything had been peaceful in their areas.

Later in the day Mr. Smith told the chamber of commerce that Rhodesia would overcome sanctions. There had been much talk about a tanker for Rhodesia being due in Beira. "No such tanker existed, but some day our ship will come home, make no mistake about it".

Though sanctions had hit Rhodesian Africans, Mr. Wilson believed that he had their support. His Government, however, had been very badly advised about the independence issue, about Rhodesian

resistance, and about relations between white and black Rhodesians. "If there is one country where partnership between the races has a chance to succeed it is in Rhodesia".

Despite British protests, the Japanese will import in the next two months or so 54,000 tons of Rhodesian sugar and about 30,000 tons of iron ore, worth £1m. and £100,000 respectively. The Japanese Government insists that as the contracts were placed before U.D.I. they should be fulfilled.

A trial shipment of 133 tons of beef has been made from Rhodesia to Portugal.

Miss Todd's Testimony

MISS JUDY TODD, daughter of a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said on her arrival at London airport after spending several months with her family, that the sanctions against Rhodesia were not working, and that not many Rhodesians shared her father's opinion that the British Government's policy would succeed.

The interviewer reminded her that she had spoken very critically of the Rhodesian Government when in England last year, and that she had said before flying to Central Africa that her family and friends had tried to dissuade her because she was likely to be imprisoned. What, in fact, had happened?

"Nothing", she said; "everybody has been perfectly charming".

Members of Durban Chamber of Commerce have been urged to seize the opportunities for greatly increased trade with Rhodesia caused by the U.K. Government's actions. They have been told that as South Africa will also have greatly increased scope for trade in Zambia because of the disinclination in that country to buy from Rhodesia, industrialists in South Africa should not seek to frustrate Rhodesia's effort to find new markets for her manufacturers in the Republic.

The Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa has denied reports that it had made a takeover bid for the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation or for investment in that enterprise. It has, however, contracted with R.I.S.C.O. for the supply of 3,000 tons of steel a month for the next six months. Dr. H. J. Van Eck, the chairman, is visiting Salisbury this week.

C.B.I. Protest Against Sugar Order

An Order-in-Council banning the export of sugar from Rhodesia and the sale of sugar in Rhodesia with a view to its export was issued in London last Thursday. The Commonwealth Relations Office announced:—

"This Order reinforces the ban which has already been imposed by Britain and other countries on the importation of Rhodesian sugar by now making it illegal for speculators or others to buy sugar and hold it in Rhodesia or elsewhere in the hope of selling it at a profit when legal Government is restored. Purchasers of sugar 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 in Rhodesia that are aimed at the export of sugar are invalid, whether the export is to take place immediately or in the future".

Zambia and Malawi, hitherto substantial buyers of Rhodesian sugar, were stated to have promised their co-operation which is not expected from Mozambique or South Africa.

A spokesman for the Confederation of British Industry said that it objected in principle to the method employed for a sugar embargo, as it had objected to it in the case of the earlier embargoes on the export of Rhodesian tobacco and chrome. The British Government should not put individuals in the position of committing a criminal offence under British law if they exported an article from Rhodesia when they might be breaking the Rhodesian law by refusing to do so.

Friends of Rhodesia Very Active

The Friends of Rhodesia Association, which has now more than 120 fully operative branches in South and South West Africa, has received donations for its petrol-for-Rhodesia fund from Zambia, Malawi, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom. Mr. Fred Barnard, president of the association, Mr. Ray Ferguson, vice-president, and Mr. John New, national liaison officer, visited Salisbury last week for discussions with the recently formed Rhodesia National Trust, of which Sir Charles Meredith is chairman.

The people of Ladysmith, South Africa, have sent to Rhodesia 1,000 gallons of petrol, 12 dozen golf balls, some tennis and hockey balls, sewing cotton, and zip fasteners.

A bus conductor in Johannesburg, having collected from children in 18 orphanages in and near the city enough of their pocket-money to buy a 44-gallon drum of petrol, towed it to the Rhodesian capital behind his motor scooter.

Three South African housewives from Pongola, on the Natal border, collected from 180 families in the district enough money to buy 3,000 gallons of petrol, which they delivered in Fort Victoria, each driving a five-ton lorry.

Mr. H. Schwarer, a company director of Johannesburg, has made a personal gift of £500 to the Petrol for Rhodesia Society.

Mechanics in Bulawayo, headed by Mr. R. Burns, a Rhodesia Railways foreman, have formed a group to make voluntary repairs to any vehicles bringing gift petrol from South Africa which need attention by day or night. They are ready to operate anywhere between Bulawayo and Beitbridge.

A Canadian Oil for Rhodesian Fund has been started in Vancouver, where a large public meeting addressed by Mr. Eric Butler, director of the Australian League of Rights, passed a resolution condemning the Canadian Government's attitude to Rhodesia and expressing best wishes to Mr. Ian Smith.

Ships Complain of Buzzing

The Swedish Consul in Beira, Mr. A. Martin, a British subject, complained on Friday to the British Consul, Mr. Taylor, that the captain of a Swedish vessel bound for Beira had been "buzzed" in the Mozambique Channel by British aircraft and Royal Navy corvettes and destroyers. Some Swedish captains had reported that buzzing had caused panic and that they had feared collision between their ship and naval vessels.

It was reported from Durban that two cargo vessels flying the South African flag, one a British ship on charter, had been buzzed by British aircraft north of Lourenco-Marques and near Beira, and that in one case a British frigate had appeared next day to check identity and destination.

A Defence Ministry spokesman in London denied other reports that boarding parties had stopped two ships bound for Beira.

An R.A.F. spokesman said that aircraft had instructions to identify all ships in the area, and flew at sea level in order to read the name. "That is not 'buzzing', but to anyone on board it could look like buzzing and lead to misunderstanding".

Mr. Duncan Watson in Salisbury

MR. DUNCAN WATSON, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office in charge of the Central African department, who arrived in Salisbury last week, was stated by a spokesman for the Ministry in London to have gone "to check on the accommodation and administrative arrangements for the residual staff in Salisbury of the British High Commission". Suggestions that he might make political soundings were denied — after reports had reached London that he had had discussions with Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Sir Hugh Beadle. He afterwards met officials of the Ministry of External Affairs.

The area under coffee in the Eastern Districts of Rhodesia, now 1,125 acres, has almost doubled during the past year.

Zambia's decimal currency unit, worth 10s., is to be known as a kwacha (meaning "dawn"). It will be divided into 100 ngwe ("bright").

British Pension Pledge Repudiated

SIR ATHOL EVANS, former Secretary for Home Affairs in the Federal Government, Sir Henry McDowell, who was Secretary to the Federal Treasury, and Mr. J. B. Ross, lately chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission, have written jointly to *The Times*:

"Three years ago the British Government decided upon the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In the circumstances which gave rise to this decision it was clearly proper that the British Government should be associated with the three territorial Governments in guarantees designed to ensure that obligations, assumed *bona fide* by the Federal Government, were honourably discharged.

"The arrangements which were agreed upon for securing the payment of Federal pensions, and the undertakings upon which they rest, are embodied in the relevant sections of the British Order in Council dissolving the Federation, in a joint trust deed appointing trustees in London for the Federal Government's pension fund, reconstituted by the Order in Council as the Central African Pension Fund. And in a Central African Public Officers' Agreement between H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland.

"Clause 7 of the trust deed states that the four Governments severally undertake that they will place no hindrance upon the transmission between the United Kingdom and the respective territories or between any of those territories of any of the assets of the fund whether in respect of capital or of income as the trustees may require from time to time, to transmit for the purposes of the fund.

"It has been announced that the British Government take the following view of this undertaking: 'The British Government recognize that in ordinary circumstances Clause 7 of the trust deed prevents any obstacles being placed in the way of transfer of trust funds from London to Salisbury. However, in the existing circumstances the British Government consider that they are no longer bound by Clause 7 in so far as it relates to the transfer of funds to Salisbury'.

"We write, as officials of the Federal Government who participated in the joint planning of arrangements for the dissolution of the Federation, to express our deep concern at learning that the British Government do not regard the terms of the Order in Council as binding, and have been the first to justify the repudiation of a solemn undertaking incorporated in the trust deed, and subsequently endorsed in the Public Officers Agreement.

"That agreement reaffirms, without qualification, the undertaking of all four Governments that the pensions, allowances and other payments payable out of the fund shall continue to be paid out of the fund as provided by the Order in Council, and that the arrangements for trustees for the fund and for the pension agency as contained in the Order in Council shall be maintained.

"We feel that many whose pensions have been earned in the service of Governments in Africa now extinguished, and who regard their pensions as safeguarded by the operation of Public Officers Agreements, will share our concern that a precedent has been created for treating the undertakings enshrined in those agreements as subject to renunciation in the context of political dispute".

Rwanda Threatened

MR. HABYARIMANA, Rwanda's Minister for National Security has said that Tutsi terrorists in Burundi are preparing to invade Rwanda. Other reports estimate their number at 2,500 and say that they are armed with Chinese weapons and commanded by men trained in guerrilla tactics in Peking. Wives and children of members of the staff of the United States Embassy have been evacuated to Nairobi.

Burundi Offers to Explain.

THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT has offered to discuss its execution of trade union leaders with the International Labour Office in Geneva which had arraigned Burundi for repeated violations of fundamental human rights, including the execution without trial of two senior officials of the Burundi Christian Trade Union. At least 84 other prominent persons are believed to have been executed since October. I.L.O. complains that six separate requests for information have been ignored by the Burundi Government.

Banks Loyal to Rhodesia

Minister's Tribute to Their Services

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE, Mr. J. J. Wrathall, has issued the following appeal to Rhodesians:—

"I have observed a recent tendency amongst Rhodesians to apply their own individual sanctions against the British Government. *Inter alia*, these have taken the form of denying banking business to banks which are Rhodesian branches of British banking institutions. This is understandable but nonetheless regrettable, and in the national and individual interests. I feel compelled to say something on the issues involved.

"The banks operating in Rhodesia have long had local boards with complete responsibility for local affairs; they have been, and are, subject to the monetary policy laid down by the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia. The dependance of the British banks on their head offices in London has been relatively slight, and is now non-existent. The staffs of these banks are almost wholly Rhodesian.

Banks Working in National Interest

"The banks have always associated themselves very closely with the economic development of this country, and they are continuing to do so to an extent that demonstrates their loyalty to Rhodesia.

"It may be not sufficiently well known how much the banks have done to overcome the financial sanctions imposed by the British Government, which were intended to cripple our economy. Since November 11 banks in Rhodesia have had to face, and survive, the complete severance of a long-established payments system. A new system has had to be set up and operated.

"If the Rhodesian public as a whole were to decide to switch their banking business simply in protest against Mr. Wilson's policies, great harm could be done to our banking system. Clearly no one wants this—except Mr. Wilson and his Government. I therefore ask every Rhodesian to continue to play his part in our national effort. All our banks in Rhodesia are working in the national interests of Rhodesia."

Congo Government's Request to Britain

Assessment of Sanctions Wanted

The Government of the Congo has delivered to the British Ambassador an expression of its great concern that months are passing without any appreciable improvement in the situation as regards the application of sanctions against Rhodesia.

"Numerous reports about the supply of petroleum products tend to prove that the considerable assistance from South Africa enables the Salisbury Government not only to meet its most pressing needs but to secure sufficiently large and regular supplies to make any hope of ending the rebellion by means of such measures completely illusory.

"The Congolese Government, which by accepting the principle of economic sanctions associated itself from the start with the measures taken by Great Britain, and which has been helping Zambia to alleviate the consequences of sanctions, now has doubts about the practical effectiveness of the present decisions.

"Bearing in mind that the British Government remains legally responsible for the political situation created in Rhodesia, the Congolese Government requests the British Government to inform it as soon as possible of the exact position regarding supplies of petroleum products; the extent to which this affects the Rhodesian economy; the importance of the official or clandestine aid being given to Salisbury by certain racist countries; the measures taken to put a stop to this assistance and to tighten the oil blockade, and finally to bring about more speedily the downfall of the Smith régime and the return of a legal government really determined to work for the early establishment of an African majority in Rhodesia."

Staff Join Students' Boycott

Politics at University College

TWENTY-THREE LECTURERS and about ten times that number of African students, together with a few Asian and five white students, boycotted lectures at the University College of Rhodesia, Salisbury, for days last week in demonstration against the refusal of the college authorities to protest against Rhodesia's declaration of independence.

The principal, Dr. Walter Adams, nevertheless flew to London at the week-end in fulfilment of an earlier arrangement. He said at London Airport that the boycott by teachers and students was temporary; that he had given instructions that teaching must continue; that students who continued to refuse to attend lectures would be individually subject to discipline; and that he had made it clear that the college could not declare itself against U.D.I.

He would report on the demonstrations to the Universities of London and Birmingham, with which the college is associated, but would not discuss the matter with the British Government. Dr. Adams added:—

"It is horrible to have police on the campus, but so long as it is just for the immediate purpose of stopping any student action escalating into violence I do not think it is too serious. Had it been an invasion of the life of the university by the Smith régime it would have a very serious matter and I should not have left Salisbury."

Lecturers Risk Dismissal

The vice-principal, Professor Harper, notified 23 dissident members of the staff on Sunday that if they did not resume work by noon next day they would run the risk of dismissal. That evening Mr. Ian Henderson, acting head of the Department of History, and Mr. Ismail Mulambo, a student, left by air for London "to put our case". A spokesman for the disaffected lecturers told journalists that work would not be resumed until the police left the college precincts.

After student demonstrations throughout Thursday members of the staffs of the art and social studies faculties issued a statement denouncing the Smith régime, stating that an overwhelming majority of them sympathized with the views of the students and "re-affirmed their non-recognition of Mr. Smith's administration and their rejection of the illegal declaration of independence and its consequences". Forty professors and lecturers were said to have attended the meeting at which the statement was discussed. Members of the science and medical faculties, however, held emergency meetings at which they demanded action against indiscipline in the college.

Dr. Adams is reported to have appealed to the 120 members of the college staff to maintain its equilibrium, and to have expressed the opinion that the presence of the police did not constitute a breach of the charter. "Flanked by policemen, he afterwards read to noisy demonstrators a police notice prohibiting meetings on the campus. The demonstrations had then lasted two days.

It was estimated in Salisbury at the week-end that about 35 lecturers sympathized with the students, and that a few of them, in common with some students, hoped to get the college closed by way of protest against the political situation. On Monday the number of lecturers on strike rose to 29.

Students Insult Principal

"Adams is a Fascist" was one of the slogans chanted by the students. At one period about 200 took part in a sit-down demonstration outside the principal's residence. There are some 300 Africans among an enrolment of about 900.

Banners declaring "We hate you" were waved in the face of Dr. Adrian Eve, assistant dean of the science faculty. Students banged on the doors of unpopular professors and chanted slogans against them.

Sir Henry McDowell, former Secretary to the Federal Treasury, and a member of the college council, has said that the £250,000 annual grant from Britain could now be spent only in the United Kingdom, but that as only about half that sum was normally needed for that purpose there could be financial difficulties later in the year.

Mr. Henderson said on arrival in London: "The time has come for the college to make it quite clear that it does not accept U.D.I. Dr. Adams has not come out one way or the other. The situation is rapidly deteriorating."

The 23 striking lecturers represented only one-fifth of the staff, but Mr. Henderson claimed that the majority favoured the strike though they would not join it.

Asked about sanctions, he replied: "They are not working. You can buy anything in the shops. I was not in favour of U.D.I., but loyalties to the Smith régime are strong."

Incitement by Radio

SUBVERSIVE BROADCASTS by Rhodesian African racials now resident in Lusaka have been blamed by Mr. Lardner-Burke, Rhodesian Minister of Law and Order, for an increase in cases of malicious damage to crops. In the three months to February 10 there had, he said, been 36 cases of malicious damage to crops and seven of malicious harm to farm animals, whereas in the same period a year earlier there had been only three cases of damage to crops and none to animals. Three of the 43 farmers affected were Africans. Subversive propaganda was now also being "poured" into Rhodesia from the transmitter erected near Francistown, Bechuanaland, at the cost of British taxpayers.

K.A.N.U. Office-Bearers

THE EIGHT VICE-PRESIDENTS elected by the Kenya African National Union are Messrs. Kibaki (Nairobi), Khasakhala (Western Province), Sagini (Nyanza), Jubat (North-Eastern Province), Gichuru (Central Province), Ngala (Coast), Nyagah (Eastern Province), and Moi (Rift Valley). Mr. Mboya was re-elected secretary-general, with Mr. Matano as assistant secretary-general, Mr. Munoko as organising secretary, and Mr. Gachago as his assistant. Mr. Ole Tipis is the national treasurer, and Mr. Malu the assistant treasurer.

Communists and Others

DR. MUNGAI, Kenya's Defence Minister, has denied that he recently stated that a Communist coup had been uncovered in Kenya. He had, he said, emphasized that anyone who might attempt to "play about" with the Kenya Government, whether a Communist, a local individual, or a group aided by external forces, would have to fight the army, the police, and the people of a republic standing strongly behind President Kenyatta.

The Mine Workers' Society of Zambia has accepted new contract terms offered by the mining companies. Its members may sign three-year agreements or continue on their present terms of employment.

A Canadian trade mission of 37 members is visiting Ethiopia.

New premises in Lusaka for Barclays Bank D.C.O. have been opened by President Kaunda.

Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend to June 30 next of 2s. 6d. net per £1 share (the same).

Zambian Anglo American, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 4s. net per share for the year to June 30 (the same).

Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., reports profits after tax for 1965 at £1,047,000 (£1.6m.). Dividends totalling 1s. 9d. net per 5s. share take £812,000 (the same).

British Insulated Cables, Ltd., reports net profits after tax at £11,583,000 (£8.2m.). The dividend is raised from 16% to 17½%, taking £4.3m.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., report group profit for 1965 at £40,893,000 (£39,379,500 in 1964) after tax of £16.5m. (£14.8). After deducting outside interests in the profits of subsidiary companies, the net profit attributable to the parent company is £36.4m. (£34.8). A final dividend of 70 South African cents per share makes 100 cents for the year, against 90 cents for 1964.

The African Investment Trust, Ltd.—of which Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., and the Central Africa Co., Ltd. (formerly the British Central Africa Company) are subsidiaries—reports consolidated profit after tax to September 30 at £45,036 (£101,474), production from the tea estates having been seriously affected by adverse climatic conditions while the price for sisal fell by an average of £23 per ton. The 12½% dividend takes £31,211. The issued capital is £425,000. Fixed assets stand in the books at £2.6m. and net current assets at £50,677. Mr. A. H. Ball is chairman and managing director.

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., report a loss to September 30 last of £4,700 after tax of £12,628. For the previous 15 months there had been a profit of £297,566 subject to taxes totalling £134,479. No dividend is recommended. Sisal production from the four estates in Tanzania totalled 8,610 tons. During the year 80,000 ordinary shares of 10s. in Riddoch Motors, Ltd., were bought at 12s. each. The issued capital of the Central Line group is £888,750. Fixed assets slightly exceed £1m., and net current assets total £226,025. Mr. F. S. Sykes is the chairman and Mr. R. W. Bryon the managing director. The other members of the board are Messrs. A. H. Ball, A. J. B. Ogilvy, G. Percy, and R. W. Rowland. Mr. A. T. Dembeniotis has resigned.

BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY LIMITED



REPORT 1965

PROFIT SUMMARY	1965	1964
	£ millions	
Group Profit before Taxation ...	90.4	76.0
Group Profit after Taxation ...	47.6	35.7
BAT's Interest therein ...	42.2	31.7
Retained by Subsidiaries ...	22.3	16.5
BAT Net Profit (including dividends from Subsidiaries) ...	19.9	15.2
Dividends ...	14.5	13.2
GROUP NET ASSETS	414.7 - 387.7	

If you would like a copy of the Report & Accounts for 1965 and a copy of Sir Duncan Oppenheim's Speech at the Annual General Meeting held on 17th March, 1966, please write to The Secretary at 7 Millbank, London SW1

Extracts from Sir Duncan Oppenheim's speech:

Your Company's history can justly be described as an outstanding demonstration of the long-term benefits to the United Kingdom of balance of payments which result from investment abroad.

In the year under review, the Company's net favourable contribution to the United Kingdom balance of payments, calculated by subtracting the total of expenditure on imports of raw materials and new overseas investments from the total income from dividends received, exports of manufactured goods, machinery and supplies, and certain other sources, amounted to no less than £33,000,000.

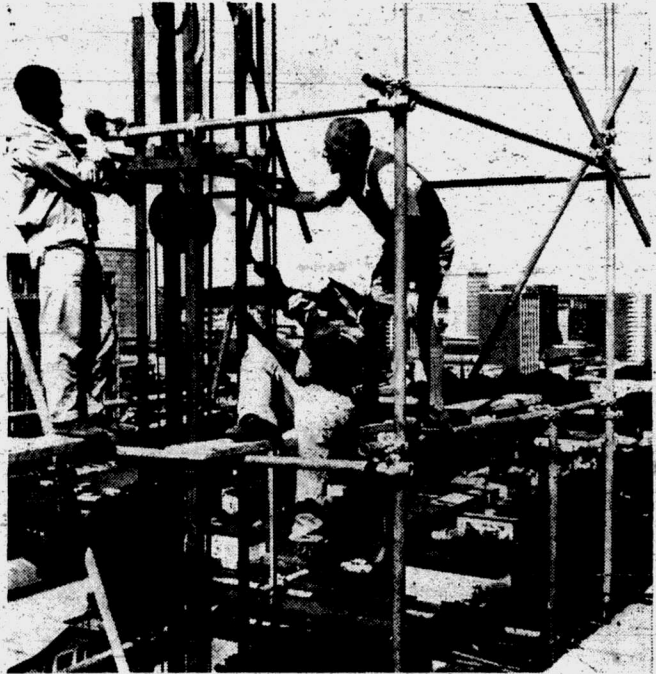
The upward trend of the Group sales has continued since the end of last year and the total volume of cigarette sales for the five months to February 1966 shows a satisfactory increase over the same months of the previous year.

Present indications are that, taking account of the further reduction to be expected in the U.K. tax charge on the Company as distinct from its stockholders, BAT's interest in the Group Net Profit dealt with in the Accounts of BAT and its U.K. Subsidiaries should be larger than last year.

In determining the dividend policy we must take account of the new tax system over a period of years and I cannot go further than to repeat that the Board has reasonable expectations of being able to maintain the current rate of dividend over the next few years, subject to any change in the system or burden of taxation, including that arising from the revision of Double Taxation Treaties.

Because of the provisions of Section 83 of the Finance Act 1965, the first interim dividend has been declared at the rate of 1/10d. gross per 10/- unit of Ordinary Stock. It is the present intention that the second interim dividend, normally payable on the 30th September, will be at the rate of 8d. gross.

Steady Growth in Africa



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- * 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

In addition, Rhodesia is the second industrial power in Africa

THE DEVELOPMENT CONTINUES

We bend

over backwards

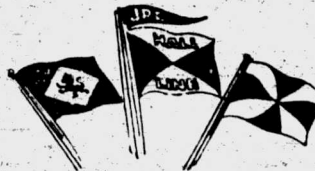
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 31, 1966

Vol. 42 No. 2164

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1966

Vol. 42

No. 2164

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE that the Rhodesian issue should have been thrust almost out of sight and hearing during the general election campaign which has just ended. Not one of the political parties gave it the prominence which it deserved, and indeed demanded. It should not have been treated as just an item in a hotchpotch catalogue from which the disputatious might select a topic for cursory argument. It was, and remains, a matter of high principle. It could involve war; that worst of conflicts, civil war. It could finally disrupt the seriously shaken Commonwealth. It might affect the national finances, and might quite easily deprive this country of overseas earnings running into hundreds of millions of pounds, not merely through the direct loss of markets in Rhodesia and insurance and other good business in that country, but indirectly on account of the sympathy of South Africans, so many of whom are already expressing their sense of solidarity with their friends north of the Limpopo by refusing to purchase British goods or continue their customary commercial contacts with Britain, increasingly to the detriment of London as the world's greatest financial centre. Day after day the political contestants and commentators have challenged the public to use the franchise to decide on Britain's economy and place in the world. Nevertheless there has been this astonishing conspiracy to regard the problem of Rhodesia as having no real bearing on these aspects of life today and tomorrow, when in fact Rhodesia deeply concerns the country from every standpoint—that of honour, of principle, of security, of prestige, and of finance, trade and investment.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home has been the only senior spokesman on either side who clearly and constantly kept Rhodesia prominent in his speeches. He was the sole front-rank Conservative who said day after day precisely what he meant when he emphasized the urgency of talks with the Rhodesian Government; but even he refrained from admitting that his party has been gravely guilty in its African policy in recent years. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has repeated on innumerable occasions that until there is a candid admission of the folly and faithlessness of United Kingdom politicians of all parties in African affairs there can be no expectation of successful negotiations with the leaders of Rhodesia, since every responsible person in that country knows that the origin of the present situation was the premature abandonment by Britain of her trusteeship in and for vast areas of Africa, the tragic consequences of which drove Rhodesians to look to their moat. It is hopelessly unrealistic to expect Rhodesians to abandon the policy of self-defence thus thrust upon them. Mr. Wilson, or any other political spokesman for Britain, cannot hope to succeed if he attempts to take a false stance of innocence. There will be a prospect of a mutually acceptable solution only if British negotiators say quite frankly that Britain's share of the blame is recognized to have been a prime factor in the present unhappiness and a major reason for Rhodesian determination to be free of interference from Westminster (so very few of whose pundits have the knowledge or experience to prescribe dependably for Rhodesia).

* * *

Apart from these questions of principle and background, it is astonishing that, even from

the standpoint of tactics, the organizers of the Conservative campaign, few of whom are unsympathetic to Rhodesia, should have neglected their opportunities to exact from candidates of all the parties, in particular the Socialists, a specific pledge to oppose the use of military force against Rhodesia, either directly by committing British troops to so odious an operation, or indirectly by a decision not to exercise the United Kingdom's right of veto in the Security Council against United Nations intervention. Tory leaders have repeatedly declared that continuance of Mr. Wilson's policy must result in bloodshed within a few months if the financial and economic sanctions which have been imposed do not bring down the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia. In such circumstances what possible excuse can there have been for allowing the Rhodesian issue to be relegated to a position of little significance in the television, radio, platform, and outdoor exchanges of the past three weeks? What justification can be advanced for leaving electors and candidates indifferent to a threat of war between Britons in the United Kingdom and Britons in Rhodesia (many of whom have served in one or more campaigns in or beside British troops)?

Three weeks ago we offered four straight questions which should, we suggested, be put at their public meetings to all candidates, whose replies should be communicated by the questioners to local newspapers, the Anglo-Rhodesian Society and this journal, in order that the attitude of each aspirant for the public's confidence might be known and noted. Had such a campaign been waged with deliberation and determination, and we hoped with relentlessness, a very large majority of the candidates would certainly have found it expedient to pledge themselves to oppose the use of British troops, to press for Britain to veto any military intervention by the United Nations, and to urge prompt discussions with Mr. Smith in search of a settlement. It should have been possible to obtain such promises from many Socialist candidates, especially those in marginal constituencies, who would have recognized that adverse answers, if properly utilized by the opposition, would be likely to mean defeat. A large number of Labour Members of the House of Commons might thus have been brought to a stand at variance on Rhodesia with that of their own leader. He might even have found that a majority of his Parliamentary colleagues had stated publicly that they wanted talks and would resist any use of force.

Such a development would have served the cause of Britain and Rhodesia—and, if the election had gone his way, so opportunistic a political technocrat as Mr. Wilson could be counted upon to contrive means to reverse his policy. After all, he could cite the disreputable precedents from the Macmillan-Macleod era. Unhappily, the chance of bringing such pressure to bear has gone almost unutilized.

Who can say that even Mr. Wilson might not have wished it were otherwise? When for short periods he drops in privacy his posture of infallibility he must realize that all his expectations and prophecies about Rhodesia have been falsified, and that nothing points to their fulfilment in the measurable future. He cannot believe that there is division in responsible quarters in Rhodesia, or that delay—and there is another Commonwealth Conference to be faced in July—will bring a successor to Mr. Smith with whom negotiations would be easier. From every standpoint, therefore, the sensible course would be to seek a quick settlement by negotiation. Nothing would do more to prepare the way than for the Prime Minister of tomorrow—and almost everyone believes that it will again be Mr. Wilson—to say without delay: "Rhodesia has not been prominent during the election. The issue, however, is very serious, and will grow worse if not now tackled. It is pointless to pretend that all the fault is on one side. For months leaders of all parties in Britain have condemned Rhodesia's seizure of independence. Some now argue that there should be discussions without prior conditions. Others have held that there ought not to be talks until the Smith régime has admitted and retracted the illegality of its action. What has not been said is that illegal action was taken, perhaps in desperation, because Rhodesians feared that their country would suffer occurrences similar to those in the past two or three years in the former British Colonial Dependencies to the north to which independence was granted—in their conviction prematurely—by Conservative Governments, with the full support of the Labour Party. Many people now believe that the transition from Colonial rule was too swift. Whether that be right or wrong, if we were Rhodesians we should inevitably take into our reckoning the unhappy developments in Central and East African States which have recently become independent under one-man-one-vote and then one-party rule.

Healing Words from The Prime Minister

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"From the standpoint of Rhodesians, British politicians of all parties are gravely

blameworthy. It is not only Mr. Smith's party which holds that view. Scarcely any elector in Rhodesia disagrees with it. So it is pointless to ignore it as a fact. **Making Amends** Indeed, it must be a factor in any settlement—and it might have been wise to make this admission long ago. I make it now, and hope that it will not remain merely a party admission; I should welcome, as I am sure Rhodesians would do, a statement in somewhat similar terms from the Leader of the Opposition. We both know that the Conservative and Labour parties have blundered very seriously in Africa. Let us try to make such amends as are possible, beginning with talks with the Smith Government—and without recrimination. If I have said some harsh things about Mr. Smith, I have been equally direct in comment about other people in public life with whom my personal relations

are quite amicable. I should wish a resumption of friendliness with Mr. Smith. If nominees of the two Governments can in private discussions find a promising basis for a settlement, negotiations could then be carried forward between Ministers, and, at the appropriate moment, in order to emphasize that I am neither vindictive nor obstructive, I would gladly return to Salisbury for final discussions with the Governor, Mr. Smith, and all the other representative persons who should be brought into a final settlement". If some such pronouncement were made from 10 Downing Street within a few days, it would be of splendid augury for the new Ministry. Bickering has had too long a run. It should give way to statesmanship. That requires abandonment of the pose of British blamelessness.

Political Leaders Play Down the Issue of Rhodesia

"Opposed to Force to Get A Constitutional Solution", Says Mr. Wilson

THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN was nearing its end before the party leaders gave prominence to the question of Rhodesia. So unexpected was this development that on Tuesday *The Times* ran a headline right across the page (a very exceptional occurrence in that publication) reading: "The Election: Rhodesia Flare-Up As Campaign Approaches Climax".

MR. WILSON had said at his Press conference on the previous day: "We have no intention of using force in Rhodesia. The only possible thing mentioned last November was that if it is necessary to enforce law and order as asked for by the Governor, we should have to consider that question. That doesn't say we should do it.

"On the use of force for getting a constitutional solution, I have always made it clear we are opposed to it. Most of our struggle over these past few months has been to keep the situation in our own hands, to deal with it by economic and other pressures, rather than allow anybody else to consider using force in Rhodesia. That has been the whole object of our operation".

He expressed surprise that the Rhodesian issue should have been raised at all in the election by the Conservatives, for in order to plaster over the splits within the party they had turned to "the old war-horse, Selwyn, and sent him to Rhodesia; and he came back with this formula, but no indication at all that there was any willingness to talk on the other side or that there was anything to discuss.

"Not Interested in Talks"

"I can now say to you quite frankly that had the Rhodesian régime wished to talk they had every facility for talking during the past few weeks. There was a high official of the Commonwealth Relations Office there to whom they could have expressed any views. He did in fact have talks with high officials, and they made it clear they were not interested in talks. This was the lesson of Mr. Smith's statements on Saturday and Sunday. It makes nonsense of what Tories have said on Rhodesia in this election, and nonsense of the vague lead produced by Selwyn Lloyd".

MR. HEATH said on Monday that there must be talks without prior conditions on either side; Britain must not insist on unconditional surrender or ask Mr. Smith to give up illegal independence. Throughout his life-

time the Labour Party had always said in difficult situations: "Get round the conference table and talk". They had said it when British troops were being shot in Cyprus and during the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya.

"The only place about which they will not say it is Rhodesia. You will not achieve anything by just sitting in your dug-out, which is what Mr. Wilson is doing".

There were schemes to be explored, including one by Lord Malvern. Moreover, power undoubtedly lay with the Smith régime. Therefore there must be talks with Mr. Smith.

MR. HEATH had told a "confrontation" with a group of students from Birmingham University that the use of force in Rhodesia would split Britain, with the majority against force. In such a situation the loyalties of the armed forces would be "severely tried".

Discussions Or Catastrophe

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME has continued to insist in his speeches on the importance of talks with Rhodesia without prior commitment on either side. He said a few days ago in Huddersfield: "If the sanctions designed to crush Rhodesia's economy are carried to their logical conclusion, they would end in force, either by neighbouring African countries taking action or by the United Nations. One way or the other Britain would be involved.

"Nobody suggests that you accept U.D.I. before you talk. What we suggest is that we talk without commitment, and that the aim accepted by both sides shall be to return to a constitutional relationship between Britain and Rhodesia. If sanctions continue, either the white racialists would succeed and dominate, or the country would be handed over to black nationalist African rule. Either course would be a disaster. The whole purpose in Rhodesia has been to establish a multi-racial society".

Speaking later in Fort William, Sir Alec said that Mr. Wilson never ceased boasting that sanctions had been imposed in order to crush Rhodesia's economy; but he seemed not to understand that that must end any relationship whatsoever between the blacks and the whites in Rhodesia, for one or other race would become so intolerant that the multi-racial experiment would end. Unless there were talks there would be catastrophe.

MR. MAUDLING, referring to the Prime Minister's accusation that the Tory Party showed irresponsibility over Rhodesia, asked: "What is irresponsible about saying that force must not be used and that the solution must come through discussion? The sad fact is that Mr. Wilson has made this a personal contest between himself and Mr. Smith".

MR. GEORGE BROWN, Minister of Economic Affairs, said in Birmingham: "We have lived through one Congo, but in order to try to snatch a vote or two the Tories are willing to take the risk of having Congos all over Africa".

MR. IAN LLOYD, Conservative candidate in Portsmouth, said on Monday evening that just before Parliament rose the Prime Minister had refused to see "two emissaries" from Mr. Ian Smith.

What the Liberals Want

MR. GRIMOND, Leader of the Liberal Party, said that steps were now required which will be short, sharp and serious enough to bring down the Smith régime.

"Our aim is not to hand over at once to an African majority in the legislature. It is to improve the education of the black Rhodesians, to increase their representation until, within a time which remains to be discussed but which must be fairly short, they have a majority.

"The policy is totally unacceptable to Mr. Smith. To recognize Mr. Smith as the *de facto* ruler of Rhodesia would be to go back on every principle which this country has proclaimed. Liberals support the measures taken by the Government. We have always stressed, however, that if these measures were not effective the Government must be prepared to go further. They are right to press through the United Nations for wider sanctions. The financial restrictions on Rhodesian balances in London may have to be tightened.

"The time has come for the Government to lay before Parliament its views on how the 1961 Constitution should be amended or whether the time has come to abrogate it."

MR. ERIC LUBBOCK, Liberal Chief Whip in the last Parliament, has written in the *Statist*: —

"Liberals regret that tighter sanctions were not introduced earlier. There should be a build-up of military forces in Zambia. These forces should be ready to enter Rhodesia only in the event of a break-down of law and order, following the collapse of the rebel régime.

"Liberals would recognize and support wholeheartedly a moderate Government in Rhodesia, which advocated an interim period, of perhaps 10-15 years, during which time there would be a white majority in Parliament with an African minority playing its part fully. The word 'independence' would not be stressed, but 'majority rule' would be the end principle. During this period Britain would retain overall control of Government services".

Sanctions Failing, Miss Todd Confirms

MISS JUDITH TODD, daughter of a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who has campaigned for the Liberals, told journalists in the Portsmouth constituency that sanctions were failing, and that the only course left to Mr. Wilson was to ask the United Nations to make sanctions mandatory on member States.

She thought force would be inevitable "unless the Government let Mr. Smith get away with it; and force would be better used sooner than later". If white Commonwealth troops were used, the clash would end quickly. Unless the British Government got rid of Mr. Smith, Africans would start something like a Mau Mau movement, which would hurt many more people than an active military force.

Mr. Smith was growing stronger politically day by day, helped by Conservative statements, and especially by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's visit, which had sadly demoralized the Rhodesian opposition.

MR. TOM STACEY said when interviewed in England for Rhodesia Television that there was a great deal of latent support in the United Kingdom for Rhodesia, which had been helped by the "smear campaign" conducted by Mr. Wilson, who had been concerned to paint Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues in the worst possible colours, describing them as everything from frightened little men to liars and racists. British public

opinion, though confused by Mr. Wilson, nevertheless felt that Mr. Smith was an upright man and that his cause was basically righteous.

Mr. Wilson Encourages Republicanism

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON said in Fyfield, Essex: "The Rhodesia issue is far greater than the petty pride and pique of Harold Wilson. Even a man of promises, he says he will not use force—but that he might use force if law and order break down. Since anarchy is the only success that sanctions can achieve, what is that promise worth?"

"War in Southern Africa, where lie one of the greatest British markets and raw materials indispensable to British industry, could push sterling over the edge and destroy the strategy of the West.

"Is Mr. Wilson blockading the territory of Britain's ally, Portugal, or is he not? Are aircraft-carriers O.K. against the Queen's subjects, but no use against the Queen's enemies? Would a Socialist Government veto and oppose the use of U.N. force in another Congo adventure?"

Mr. Biggs-Davison telegraphed to Mr. Smith on Monday:—

"As Parliamentary candidate consistently urging early talks with your Government, I beg you, despite provocation and pressure, not to countenance republicanism. Let Britons and Rhodesians seek reconciliation under the Crown".

Having read the text at an election meeting, Mr. Biggs-Davison said:—

"By involving the Crown in this tragic conflict of loyalties Mr. Wilson has encouraged extremism and helped to create a republican movement in the only African State in which the Union Jack still flies and 'God Save the Queen' is still sung".

Mr. Wilson's Distortions

The Conservative Research Department has circulated a commentary on Mr. Wilson's speech in Southampton, which contained, it says, an almost incredible amount of distortion and misrepresentation even for him.

"Mr. Wilson said: 'The Rhodesian problem was allowed to drag on unsettled by the previous British Government. The problem, like so many others, was left to the Labour Government to settle'. In the same speech Mr. Wilson said: 'I felt on November 11, 1965, that neither we nor our predecessors were to blame for the position in which Mr. Smith and his Government then found themselves'.

"Mr. Wilson said: 'Let it be realized that the Conservatives who now, for election reasons, seek to criticize those negotiations (before U.D.I.) supported all we did, all we proposed, at the time'. Mr. Heath at the Conservative Conference at Brighton on October 16, 1965: 'The handling of the negotiations is the Government's responsibility alone. They have not, and cannot have, a blank cheque from us on that. We are free to criticize the conduct of the negotiations, and the Government themselves need to look again at the psychology of their handling of these negotiations and their relations with Rhodesia'.

"Mr. Wilson in referring to the telephone conversation between him and Mr. Smith on the morning of November 11 said: 'Indeed, he (Mr. Smith) said repeatedly that the fault lay not with our Government, but with our predecessors'. The published text of the telephone conversation contained no reference whatever by Mr. Smith to Mr. Wilson's predecessors (the Conservative Government).

"Mr. Wilson said: 'Our opponents have never recognized that this is a matter of deep international concern, that could have set Africa in flames and divided the world'. Mr. Heath in the House of Commons on December 21: 'We have realized the impact of Mr. Smith's action on Africa and on all the developing countries. We have taken this into account, and we have recognized the dangers that are inherent in this situation—which, in fact, we always pointed out forcibly to Mr. Smith'.

"Mr. Wilson said: 'In the Parliamentary Debate after U.D.I. the Conservative leader spoke in purely bilateral terms and was at pains to oppose even the tobacco sanctions'. As was his duty as Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Heath made searching inquiries into the scope of the Government's measures in the debate on November 12. However, he did not oppose tobacco sanctions as such, and in the event the Conservative Party gave their support to this measure.

"Mr. Wilson said: 'The speeches of Conservative M.P.s and

leaders, and above all the Selwyn Lloyd manoeuvres, have stiffened the resistance of the Smith régime. What we will not do—and I am shocked at a Conservative Party which has always stood for the rule of law, even proposing this—is to legalize an act of rebellion against the Crown, the British Parliament, against world opinion, and I believe against the conscience of mankind". As Mr. Heath said at his Press Conference on March 21: "By his (Mr. Wilson's) speech yesterday he broke the remaining national unity on Rhodesia. He has descended to accusing the whole of his opponents of aiding

and abetting rebellion—a false accusation for which there is absolutely no justification whatever".

"Mr. Wilson said: 'If Mr. Smith has anything to say, any proposal which would—in contradiction to his attitude when he took U.D.I.—advance and safeguard the five principles we have insisted upon, he is free to put them forward at any time. He can do so tomorrow. We shall consider them'. Mr. Bottomley in the House of Commons on December 7: 'We cannot deal with Smith in any way—because he is not a man to be trusted'".

Report of American Mission to Rhodesia

"Force Under Two Divisions Would Be Wiped Out"

ANY APPREHENSION on the part of the white or black population of Rhodesia does not derive from the steps taken by the Smith Government to put an end to violence and subversion. The fear is that Rhodesia's course towards a viable and responsible multi-racial State will be interrupted by some overt military move against the country from either the British or a neighbouring African country—with or without the support of the United Nations.

These military adventures might take the form of out-right invasion—which Britain's allies in Africa have already threatened, should economic sanctions fail to topple the present Government. Neutral observers in Salisbury, London, and Paris discount the possibility of British military intervention, however. Such a manoeuvre would profit Britain little and cost her much.

A former American official noted that if the British were to send in anything less than two divisions they would be wiped out. An overwhelming force, moreover, would find a devastated country, put to the torch in "scorched earth" fashion. At least half the white population, with Africans at their side, are ready to fall rifle in hand—a phrase heard with startling regularity in Rhodesia. The balance of the white population would probably leave the country permanently, emigrating to South Africa or to other countries which could make use of their pioneering skills.

Zambian Incitements to Violence

The African country most vocal in its incitements to violence is Zambia, which shares a border along the world's greatest man-made lake and also the hydro-electric installation at Kariba. But the Zambian economy has been sadly sapped by the sanctions which were to destroy Rhodesia in "a matter of months", and its Government has so far survived only because of substantial aid from Britain, Canada, the United States, South Africa, and to some extent Rhodesia.

Though demagogic passion often burns with a hard, senseless flame, it seems unlikely that the Zambian Government will risk its own downfall by launching an attack across the Kariba Dam against the well-trained and determined Rhodesian army and air force. So far there have been no overt acts to disturb the calm along the Zambia-Rhodesia border. On the Zambia side there are no border guards, and the curious can cross over from Rhodesian territory without being challenged or molested.

In the Rhodesian interior Zambian workers continue to hold their jobs. They have made it plain that they do not want to return to the relative poverty of their Zambian homes.

** The American-African Affairs Association recently sent Congressman John M. Ashbrook, Dr. Max Yergan, and Mr. Ralph de Toledano to Rhodesia as a fact-finding mission. We are glad to be able to publish their report in full. The first instalment appeared last week.*

There is, however, some concern that the more hot-headed African nations may mount a massive infiltration of saboteurs and activists whose aim will be to cause the kind of economic disruption which can be publicized abroad as "proof" of political unrest and a reaction to Rhodesian "tyranny". But here again the Government is prepared.

An increase in unemployment, already making itself felt as a result of economic sanctions, can create the kind of unrest which feeds subversion. But with little official prompting, Rhodesian farmers and industrialists are spreading the work so as to lay off the fewest number of people. And unemployment will cease to be a problem if the Smith Government is given time to re-arrange the economy sufficiently to take up the slack. This rearrangement is already taking place as Rhodesia moves to manufacture at home many products once imported from Britain and the rest of the world.

Rhodesia Will Gain Economic Strength

Here again the loser will be Great Britain. Though Rhodesian trade is not a major factor in the British economy, its loss is of sufficient importance to increase a balance-of-payments unfavourable to England and to force further retrenchment in an already distressing situation. Rhodesia, on the other hand, once she has survived this transition period, will find herself economically stronger and less reliant on the vagaries of Commonwealth politics.

Even in the matter of oil, often called the lifeblood of a modern State, Rhodesia is not as pinched as Prime Minister Wilson or the American State Department had hoped. What stocks of oil existed at the time sanctions were imposed is a State secret. So, too, is the amount of oil coming in from Portuguese Mozambique and independent South Africa. There are still cars on the streets, however, and South African "neutrality" has not prevented a small but steady stream of oil from pouring across the border. At the same time the Rhodesians are preparing to convert their transport, if necessary, to the use of industrial alcohol for fuel—and, since there is an abundance of sugar, this may be the ultimate solution.

The present danger to the Rhodesian economy is to be found elsewhere. Sixty per cent of the country's export trade was in tobacco. It is its major cash crop, and Britain was Rhodesian tobacco's major customer. To soften the blow, the Rhodesian Government has set up a corporation to buy at a fair price the entire tobacco crop—but this will put a considerable strain on the budget. Unless a substitute market is found, this will be a source of trouble for Prime Minister Smith.

There are signs, however, that Rhodesia may have found an ally in Britain's tobacco industry. London has already reported considerable perturbation over the ban on Rhodesian tobacco. Grade for grade, it is considerably cheaper than American tobacco. If the ban is maintained, the profit margin will either be wiped out for British cigarette manufacturers or they will have to raise prices, which they feel will bring

serious complaints from smokers who have already sustained a long series of increases.

In other areas British sanctions have failed to cause any real pinch. Stores in Salisbury are well stocked with luxuries and necessities. There is no inflation so far, though Rhodesian businessmen bemoan the fact that the greatest boom in their history was cut short by Britain's action. Food is no problem; Rhodesia raises its own. To date there has been no hoarding of food or of other consumer items—a tribute to the self-confidence and the self-discipline of the Rhodesians.

When Britain's Prime Minister Wilson declared economic war on Rhodesia there were expectations that this would (1) drive a wedge between the Smith Government and the people; (2) cause widespread defections in the civil service and the military establishment; and (3) encourage the Africans to rise up. Points (1) and (2) were dismal miscalculations. The effect of sanctions was simply to bring the people together.

Point (3) continues to intrigue those who seek the overthrow of Prime Minister Smith and the ouster of his Rhodesian Front party. Yet here again their hopes are based on false premises and a profound ignorance of the attitudes and desires of the Africans in Rhodesia. In conversations with African members of the Opposition in Parliament and with the one white oppositionist M.P. it became abundantly clear to us that no one in Rhodesia wants to see the kind of upheaval which the African nationalists and their foreign supporters seek.

African Attitudes

Among those Africans who have risen to public prominence there are of course some who demand instant application of the one-man-one-vote formula. But for the most part the desire to rule is tempered by the knowledge that at this point in Rhodesia's development the precipitate introduction of Western political ideas would benefit no one.

P. H. Mkudu, chief whip of the Opposition, has freely conceded that his people need much training before they can take over the reins of government. He puts the time period required at "not less than five years", and calls for increased educational opportunities and an end to social discrimination. He has small patience with his colleague in Parliament I. H. Samurigo, who insists that the Africans should be given the opportunity to rule and then be trained to administer the Government and the economy of the country.

The African Opposition as a whole calls for a five-point programme: (1) Change the franchise; (2) institute a crash programme in education; (3) institute a crash programme of agricultural development; (4) change ownership rights and property rights; and (5) end social discrimination.

What these points mean and how rapidly they are to be implemented are another matter. Specific proposals are shunned. Nor are the five points advanced as a panacea for Rhodesia's problems. The most articulate spokesmen contend that the acceptance of the five points will ensure tranquillity and prosperity for Rhodesia.

The strongest argument offered in their favour is simple: without the change that is demanded, the country faces bloodshed and turmoil. With it, there is "a possibility" that these eventualities can be avoided. But the demands for a "crash programme" in this field or that fail to take into account the cultural context of the country.

The changes that Rhodesia requires to make it a truly multi-racial nation cannot come into being overnight. In a society as technologically sophisticated as Rhodesia, integration must take place gradually on an individual basis, and the gauge must be merit: not than colour of skin. Merit, moreover, must be measured by objective standards.

The philosophy of the Rhodesian Government—and it is shared almost universally by the white population—is derived from these beliefs and from the practices that have evolved from them. But beyond this there is a concept of the rôle of the races in Africa which commands respect. It is, as the Prime Minister has insisted, completely divorced from any trace of *Herrenvolkism*, as well as from the *apartheid* policy of South Africa.

Reverse Racism

Rhodesians see the one-man-one-vote principle as a form of reverse racism, for in practice it would destroy the white community completely and deprive the country of all the techniques of a modern society.

Mr. P. K. Van der Byl, the Minister of Information, points out: "In Rhodesia there are two distinct societies. One is Western Parliamentary, and democratic. The second is an African tribal society. This tribal society is authoritarian and hierarchical. In between there is a no-man's-land, an intermediary African group, for whom the tribal system has lost much of its meaning. This group belongs neither to the tribal nor the Western system. They are the problem in Africa today".

Like most other Rhodesians, Mr. Van der Byl believes that the whites have no right to tamper with the tribal society "except by example and persuasion". To take this view, however, does not mean that the Rhodesian Government will sit idly by and see its institutions destroyed, nor that it can condone violence and disregard of the law.

"We must put a damper on such things as the killing of one of twins. But the Africans must be the arbiters of their own destiny. It would be morally and pragmatically wrong for Western society to impose its own mores. On the other hand, we will put no obstacle in the way of those who wish to leave the tribal society and join the Western system. There is no inhibition on an African getting the vote. But it is our belief that the franchise should call for a high degree of education or other qualifications".

The experience of the other "new" African nations would seem to confirm Mr. Van der Byl's contention that if those qualifications are forgotten or mechanically lowered to produce an overwhelmingly large percentage of enfranchised citizens, "it debases the entire system". It therefore boils down to two questions: (1) Is the electoral system theoretically impartial; and (2) Is it also impartial in practice?

The Rhodesian whites have worked very hard at setting up an electoral machinery which will apply to all three categories of its population. There are two voting rolls—the A roll, which is dominant and which elects 50 members to the Parliament; and the B roll for those in the transitional stage, which elects 15 members. The qualifications for the A roll are higher than those for the B roll; but there are Africans in the A category and white men in the B category. Within the Parliament members elected on either roll have the same rights and privileges.

(To be continued)

Greeks Protest

A SHARP PROTEST against the Greek Government's attitude to Rhodesia was telegraphed to the Greek Prime Minister on Friday by more than 7,000 members of the Rhodesian Greek community. The message read: "Rhodesians of Greek origin and Greeks in Rhodesia deplore the Greek Government's subservience to British direction in attitude towards Rhodesia. Your action is betrayal of Greek traditions and honour, and an insult to the memory of heroes who died in Greek war of independence and to save Greece from Communism". A copy of the telegram and a list of the signatories was presented to the Prime Minister, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Wilson's "Deliberate Distortion of the Truth"

Rhodesian P.M. Says That His Approaches Have Been Rebuffed

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said in a nation-wide radio and television broadcast on Sunday that Rhodesia's doors were always open to ideas, suggestions, and negotiations, but that "the ultimate decisions made on behalf of Rhodesia will, of course, be made by Rhodesians."

"They believed in that principle before independence was assumed on November 11. Now that we are independent—in fact, a reality of life, which is proven for all to see—we are even more adamant, with right and reason to support us, that henceforth Rhodesia's future will be determined by Rhodesians and Rhodesians alone."

While there was no wish to appear ungrateful for ideas or suggestions made by other people to help Rhodesians, because of their remoteness from the scene and of ignorance of Rhodesia and its problems, the contributions towards settling Rhodesia's internal affairs rather aggravated the position "and delay us in finding the correct solution to our problem".

The time taken by Britain to recognise other Governments in Africa which had assumed power by various means, "usually violently and with bloodshed and loss of life", would probably be found to work out at an average nearer four hours than the four months during which Rhodesia had already waited.

"Incidentally, in our case there was no violence, no bloodshed, and not even anyone was hurt. It was the most peaceful operation of its kind in the history of the world. Can anyone ask for greater justification for its acceptance by all Rhodesians?"

Four Months of Vain Waiting

The door was always open for negotiations with the British Government to provide the safeguards necessary for the entrenched clauses in the 1961 Constitution, but for more than four months Rhodesia had waited in vain. Now Rhodesians must get on with the work themselves. There were plans, probably for some type of commission which would take evidence, consider, and advise.

Rhodesia had never closed the door, Mr. Wilson had been doing that for four months; "and if he tries to come in now he will find that he is too late".

Referring to public speculation about Rhodesia becoming a republic, the Prime Minister said that "the country should not be stampeded into hasty actions."

"But one must be realistic. If the Queen is to be used continually and blatantly as a cog in the Labour Party machine, thus bringing her name and the idea for which she stands into disrepute, we may reluctantly be forced into this line of thinking."

On many occasions he had indicated willingness to discuss matters with the British Government. "However, we have waited in vain. Could anything be more absurd than the British Government insisting that they have a right to a say in our internal affairs when for the last four months and more they have obstinately refused to talk to the Government of our country? Well, they have missed this opportunity. We are now making our own plans."

"I am surprised to read Mr. Wilson's recent statement that the British Government had been prepared to receive any proposals I cared to put forward. That is not so. On many occasions I have indicated my willingness to talk. All approaches have been rejected

out of hand. Mr. Wilson's claim is a blatant and deliberate distortion of the truth. This sort of thing makes it very difficult for me to believe that any good can come of further discussions with the British Government."

Referring to the criticism of Rhodesia in the speech made by the Queen at the opening of the Jamaican Parliament, Mr. Smith said that he thought that it was probably inserted at Mr. Wilson's instigation. It was another shocking example of how the Queen was being dragged into politics.

"I believe that this is part of a plan of intrigue to bring the Queen into disrepute in the eyes of Rhodesians, for, although we have severed our relations with the British Government, the retention of our link with the Crown and the Commonwealth is an embarrassment to Mr. Wilson."

Reply of Commonwealth Relations Secretary

MR. THUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, issued a statement saying that in his opinion Mr. Smith was interested in negotiations only for the purpose of confirming Rhodesia's illegal independence.

"In talking of negotiations Mr. Smith really means the passing of the necessary Acts of the British Parliament to confirm and ratify his independence. It is no good Mr. Smith calling for negotiations unless he will specify what he will be prepared to offer in these negotiations."

"Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on his return from Rhodesia admitted he could see no significant willingness on the part of the Rhodesians to negotiate. Indeed, he had barely left Rhodesia when one of Mr. Smith's Ministers said that if the Conservative Party thought Rhodesia would accept a middle-of-the-road policy, it should think again."

"Since November 11 many channels of communication have been open to Salisbury. Many Rhodesians, some of them Rhodesians of prominence, have visited this country. Many of them have produced ideas on which a settlement might be based. Many reported the views of the Smith régime. Many M.P.s and businessmen have gone from this country to Rhodesia and have reported to me on their return what they have discovered about the prospect of negotiation."

"In addition the Governor and Sir Hugh Beadle are in constant touch with the thinking of Mr. Smith and his followers. We are, therefore, very well informed about the Smith régime's attitude to negotiations."

"All these reports have been most carefully studied. Many of these contacts have been given no publicity in case they should offer real prospects of negotiations which might be damaged if prematurely revealed. But they all add up to one thing—that at the moment the Smith régime is not interested in negotiation except for the purpose of confirming their illegal independence."

"We have stated repeatedly that we will be prepared at any time to continue negotiations on the basis of the five principles, to which we have added a sixth—that any settlement must safeguard the position of the minority, that is the Europeans."

The problem was whether a small minority were to confine the Africans perpetually to an inferior position, politically and socially.

"If we were to agree to such a state of affairs and reach a settlement on such a basis, the international consequences would be grave indeed. The United Nations, and certainly all the other African countries, would refuse to accept such a settlement and would take such measures as they could to overthrow the Rhodesian régime."

Zambia At War With Rhodesia

MR. KAMANGA, Vice-President of Zambia, said in Parliament on Friday that Zambia considered herself to be at war with Rhodesia. Commenting on the statement in a radio talk from Salisbury, Mr. Denis Gaunt said that the Government of Zambia, with very good reasons, suspected white Zambians of pro-Rhodesian sympathies. Europeans had been leaving Zambia at the rate of about 10,000 every 18 months, and that rate had increased since Rhodesia's declaration of independence. Of about 65,000 Europeans in the country, only 2,000 had taken out Zambian citizenship. More than 600 who were automatically entitled to it had renounced it.

PERSONALIA

Obituary

Sir Victor Robinson

MR. ARNOLD TOYNBEE is visiting Ethiopia.
SIR FOSTER LLOYD ROBINSON has returned from his visit to Southern Africa.

MR. T. A. HARRISON has been elected a director of Tozer Kemsley and Millbourn, Ltd.

LIU CHI-PING, Chinese Vice-Minister for Education, is leading a four-member delegation to Tanzania.

A Russian Orthodox Church delegation led by ARCHBISHOP ANTONY of Minsk is touring East Africa.

MR. JUSTICE M. W. DENNISON, Chief Justice in Zambia, and MRS. DENNISON arrived on Monday in the S.A. VAAL.

MR. R. J. CARUTH, managing director for Central Africa of Associated Electrical Industries Ltd., and MRS. CARUTH arrived in London on Monday.

M. JOSEPH KABEMBA took leave of the Queen on Friday on relinquishing his appointment as Ambassador for the Congo.

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL, formerly High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, and now chairman of the Rhodesian board of the Standard Bank, has arrived in London.

MR. FRANK RZECHORZEK, chairman of the Mufulira Branch of the Mineworkers' Society of Zambia, who on February 26 was taken to Mporokoso and ordered to remain there in restriction, was released last week by order of President Kaunda.

MR. DAVID MORGAN, Minister of Works and Communications in Bechuanaland, the only white member of DR. SERETSE KHAMA's cabinet, has resigned owing to the pressure of his business interests, but will retain his seat in the Legislature.

MR. A. S. THOMAS, lately general manager of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Ltd., a company with large Central African interests, has been appointed joint managing director with MR. D. A. B. WATSON, who is also chairman.

MISS POLLY TOYNBEE, daughter of MR. PHILIP TOYNBEE, the novelist, and granddaughter of PROFESSOR ARNOLD TOYNBEE, the historian, has been required to leave RHODESIA. She has been working for Amnesty International.

MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA has been elected leader of the United People's Party of Rhodesia, the all-African official Opposition in Parliament, in place of MR. JOSIAH GONDO, who had led the party since last May. He is now deputy leader.

DR. ROBERT BIRLEY, a former headmaster of Eton, and for the past two years Visiting Professor of Education at Witwatersrand University, South Africa, has agreed to inquire into last week's demonstrations at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury.

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SIR VICTOR LLOYD ROBINSON, C.B.E., Q.C., who died last week at the age of 67 while on holiday at the Cape, was chairman of the Constitutional Council of Rhodesia and formerly Attorney-General in the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Born in Bulawayo, he was educated at Hilton College, Natal, and the University of Cape Town. He came to England, joined the Artists Rifles in 1917, was commissioned in the 7th City of London Regiment, and served on the Western Front for two years. On demobilization he went to Keble College, Oxford, as a Rhodes scholar, taking a degree in agriculture. When he returned to Rhodesia, farming was so depressed an industry that he joined the civil service.

Later he read law, was called to the Bar, became Solicitor-General of Southern Rhodesia in 1944 and Attorney-General five years later. He held that office in the Federal Government from its inception until he retired in 1959. Then he undertook the revision of the laws of Southern Rhodesia. He was a Federal Government nominee to the Monckton Commission, and when the new Rhodesian Constitutional Council was established four years ago he was appointed its chairman. He had been knighted in 1959. He played cricket for Rhodesia on several occasions.

In 1923 he married Marguerite Beck. They had one daughter and one son. Lady Robinson has been a member of the Rhodesian Board of Film Censors and active on behalf of the Queen Victoria Memorial Library.

Sir Richard Costain

SIR RICHARD COSTAIN, C.B.E., who died at his home in Farnham, Surrey, on Saturday, aged 63, had for 20 years been chairman of the Costain group of companies, the interests of which he greatly extended, not least in Central Africa.

Born in Liverpool, he was educated at Rydal School and the Merchant Taylors. Before joining the firm founded by his grandfather he trained as a building craftsman and worked as a joiner and bricklayer. Then he took an architectural course in Rome. He joined the firm in 1920 and became joint managing director within seven years. He built in London the largest block of flats in Europe: Dolphin Square cost about £1m., a very substantial sum in those days, and was sold in 1958 for £2½m.

Costain, a very determined and dynamic head of his group, was nevertheless friendly and good humoured. After valuable war work in the Ministry of Works, he greatly expanded the overseas interests of his group, which in subsequent years did a great deal of important civil engineering in Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South America, Pakistan, and elsewhere.

Among the companies which he founded were Costain Holdings, Ltd., in Rhodesia; Richard Costain (Africa), Ltd.; Costain (Northern Rhodesia), Ltd.; and Richard Costain (East Africa), Ltd.

SIR ARCHER BALDWIN has died at his home in Worcestershire aged 82. A memoir will appear next week.

Letters to the Editor

POINTS FROM LETTERS

Background to U.D.I**British Folly and Faithlessness**

TO THE EDITOR OF EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—Having spent more than 42 years in East Africa, I have the deepest sympathy with the Rhodesians in their struggle for their independence as a civilized State.

They have the examples of what has happened in Kenya both to the European settlers and the majority of the Africans as a result of the premature granting of independence — the broken pledges of successive British Governments; the Constitutions imposed on the country by Britain which were supposed to last for 10 years without alteration, each of which was arbitrarily discarded after a year or two; the refusal by H.M. Government to allow a general election in Kenya before the Lancaster House Conference in 1960 for fear that those Members of Legislative Council who could be relied upon to support the policy of H.M. Government would be unseated; the promise made to the settlers that they would receive the 1959 values of their farms when these were compulsorily purchased to make way for African settlers; and the breaking of this promise to the extent that, with a few fortunate exceptions, many of whom were foreign nationals, the prices received have been anything from a quarter to two-thirds of those 1959 values; the bribery and corruption which have entered all branches of public services in the "emergent States"; the tearing up of the Constitutions under which the principles of self-government were granted; the introduction of one-party Governments and suppression of opposition parties; the loans and grants-in-aid from the pockets of the British taxpayer, much of which has been squandered on frivolous prestige symbols; the handing over of power to African "leaders" who had committed acts of sedition, subversion, or rebellion, with, in the case of Kenya, the handing of power to the convicted leader and manager of Mau Mau, the foulest cult yet produced in Africa; the intimidation of the African masses; the wholesale murders of Arabs, Africans and Asians in Zanzibar. These are but a few of the circumstances which may have decided Rhodesia to declare U.D.I. before their country suffered the same fate.

In addition there was the knowledge that the Communist Powers are taking full advantage of the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the former Colonial Powers to penetrate the new States. Illustrations of this are shown in Tanganyika and Zanzibar (now "united" as Tanzania), Somalia, and until recently Ghana. This process of penetration with the object of undermining Western influence goes on unceasingly. The Rhodesians, South Africans and Portuguese, alone of the Western powers, are aware of this danger to a continent which holds the greatest potential in the world today for the raw materials in minerals and agricultural produce of all kinds.

As for the attitude adopted by H.M. Government of not negotiating with a so-called "rebel" Government, surely, starting with the American Colonies and ending with the case of Kenya, Britain has had plenty of practice in negotiating with "rebels".

Yours faithfully,

C. T. TODD.

Brockenhurst,
Hants.

Only Fair Coverage

"EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is the only British newspaper which provides a fair account of Rhodesia for the British public. No other paper even mentions moderate African opinion".

Bias Affects America

"THE IDEOLOGICAL BIAS of the Press of the United States is very much like the bias of the London newspapers; and, unfortunately, just as British publications took their lead on Goldwater from the New York papers, so the Press of America has taken its view of Mr. Ian Smith from the London dailies. Reaction in the United States to Rhodesia's declaration of independence has consequently been one of opposition. Even the more conservative publications have taken a neutral stand at best".

Unscrupulous Smear Camp

"HOW IT GALLS ME to listen to the slick chatter of Labour politicians on radio and TV. What pups some of them are. And why have Conservative leaders done everything they can to build up the Wilson image? They should be better employed in countering the unscrupulous smear campaign against Rhodesians in U.K. newspapers and over the air. One of the leading papers has refused to publish a letter of mine asking in what way Mr. Smith has committed treason or rebelled against the Queen".

Australian Interest

"PRO-RHODESIAN SENTIMENT is increasing in Australia — and increasingly worrying the anti-Rhodesian Press. Our local paper is firmly pro-Rhodesian, and I am happy to have had a hand in producing this result, having been greatly helped by the articles and reports in EAST AFRICA and RHODESIA. A friend who is a Federal M.P. tells me that he subscribes to your air edition and finds it very helpful in spreading the truth amongst his colleagues in the Australian Parliament".

United and Determined

"RHODESIANS become more united and determined week by week. Nobody wanted U.D.I., but we refuse to throw overboard all that we have striven for and accomplished over the years. To relent now would constitute the greatest possible disservice towards the Africans, who will require the white man's guidance for many more years. Having worked very closely with them for 14 years, I know that the last thing the vast majority want is for us to hand over to the Nkomos and Sitholes".

Escalation

"IT IS CONVENIENT for the Prime Minister to keep talking about the risk of 'escalation' of events in Central Africa; and the newspapers, as usual, fall into the trap and write as if that were inevitable. There would be no such risk if the Socialist Government had had a policy and controlled its end of the situation. Instead, it has been overtaken by events ever since U.D.I., and now allows itself to be pushed around by the noisy black politicians whose representatives recently made utter fools of themselves and their countries in Addis Ababa. That would have given any self-respecting British Government the opportunity of telling the independent African States very bluntly in private, and more tactfully in public, that, having behaved so foolishly, they must not expect Britain to pay attention to their propaganda and agitation. Mr. Wilson would not have hesitated to talk in that way to Rhodesians if their spokesman had acted so stupidly. Because the offenders were 35 black African Foreign Ministers scarcely anything was done to expose their immaturity and unreliability — though to have done so would have eased the pressure on Britain at the United Nations".

Lord Hastings on the Issue

Facts Which Labour Will Not Face

LORD HASTINGS, who has just spent five weeks in Rhodesia (in which he farmed from 1951 to 1957, and which he has since visited each year), has written to *The Times* :—

"The choice put to the public by the Conservative and Labour parties is not, as you say, 'between starting talks at some level with the Smith régime and refusing to talk until the Smith régime returns to constitutionality'. The choice is between starting talks and the use of force, because the Smith Government does not intend and indeed has no need to return to constitutional rule before talks are resumed, and the Labour Government either do not have the power or will not use their power to prevent the United Nations from taking action once the latter are convinced that sanctions have failed."

"You say that the Conservatives by agreeing to 'negotiations without prior conditions on either side' encourage Mr. Smith. This is also untrue, because Mr. Smith gets all the encouragement he needs from his own people, even from those Europeans who are most against him and yet are doing their utmost to defeat sanctions with a remarkable degree of success."

"That sanctions have failed and will continue to fail in their main purpose, which is to bring down the Smith Government, is virtually certain, and in Rhodesia this is considered even by Mr. Smith's enemies as an established fact."

Force the Only Alternative to Talks

"Therefore any future British Government will have to decide between starting talks and either using British force or allowing the United Nations to use force. Mr. Wilson has repeatedly said he will not use British force unless law and order in Rhodesia should break down, and from all I saw and heard there seems to be no reason whatsoever why that should happen. If this is the case, then his present policy will lead to the use of United Nations force."

"It ought to be made clear to the British public that the use of force in Rhodesia by the United Nations would have the following results: (1) the ruination both politically and economically of Rhodesia itself; (2) the eventual ruination of the Union of South Africa and the Portuguese territories, probably after a most bloody war; (3) the loss of hundreds of millions in British trade and investments throughout Central and Southern Africa; (4) the loss of all British influence in the same regions, including the loss of the vitally important supplies of copper from Zambia."

"I should make it clear that I am not and never have been a supporter of Mr. Smith's party. When living in Rhodesia I was an active worker for Mr. Garfield Todd."

"Finally, it should be realized in this country that there seems to be a universal wish in Rhodesia, even among Mr. Smith's opponents, including Africans, that negotiations should start at some level without making it a pre-condition that the Smith Government must first return to constitutional rule. That does not mean giving in to Mr. Smith by any means; and it is the path of common sense."

MISS JUDITH TODD replied :—

"Lord Hastings has made one cardinal error in his assessment of the Rhodesian political situation. Mr. Smith's opponents have no desire to see H.M. Government resuming negotiations with the rebel régime. This would be regarded as yet another act of treachery against the majority of the Rhodesian population. It may well be that the only realistic solution to the problem would have to be imposed on the tiny rebel section of our community by force, but this does not necessarily mean the use of United Nations troops."

"Mr. Wilson has said that he would use force if there was a breakdown of law and order in Rhodesia. What most people fail to comprehend is that there has already been a breakdown of law and order. This is demonstrated by the fact that Rhodesia is ruled under emergency regulations, by a group of men who have themselves broken the law and who attempt to maintain a semblance of order by imposing censorship, restricting the Press from certain areas, and using legislation which enables them to by-pass the courts in dealing with their opponents."

Mr. Garfield Todd's Position

"Lord Hastings states that he is not a supporter of Mr. Smith and that he used to work for my father, Garfield Todd. It is obvious that their political views have diverged greatly since that time, as my father is utterly opposed to any form of negotiations with the régime, and, far from supporting the Conservative policy on Rhodesia, has said that 'I still believe in Wilson, and he has done probably all he could do under the political circumstances which surrounded him. Now he is doing the next important thing in changing his political surroundings, and I hope he gets a great victory and then uses his power to some purpose.'"

From the Rhodesian capital Messrs. N. A. F. WILLIAMS, A. D. BUTLER, and W. A. F. BURDETT-COUTTS wrote jointly :—

"We elected office-bearers of the executive of the Rhodesian Constitutional Association regard with a cynicism shared by many Rhodesians the present Conservative manoeuvres over Rhodesia."

"Members of our Association include many political opponents of the Rhodesian Front, and the association is derived from the United Federal Party of Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, the Rhodesia National Party of Sir Edgar Whitehead, and latterly the Rhodesia Party led by David Butler at the last Rhodesian elections in May, 1965."

Conservatives Created the Problem

"The Conservatives are now condemning Labour for not solving a problem on which they themselves made no progress over many years of negotiations and to which they offered no solution. In fact, the Conservatives largely created the problem."

"We who have no love for Socialist philosophies find as a fact that only Mr. Wilson's administration had the courage to face world opinion by stating that (a) one-man-one-vote was not the immediate issue; (b) progress towards majority rule must be governed by merit and achievement and not against any laid-down time scale; (c) the African nationalists could not expect Britain to impose majority rule on Rhodesia as a precondition for independence."

"Had past Conservative Governments been prepared to negotiate on the above principles the present crisis over Rhodesia would not have arisen, and the path of moderation not abandoned for the time being."

"The Conservative Party now say 'negotiate', but they do not say on what terms an independent Rhodesian Constitutional Government would be acceptable to them; the implication is, however, that they would give more ground than Mr. Wilson. Does this mean the Conservatives consider Labour should give way to Mr. Smith on points they were not prepared to concede when they had the power to do so, and when by so doing they could have changed the whole course of events in Central Africa since 1960? If there are such points, let them be stated. If not, let them be silent."

MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HUTSON wrote to the *Sunday Times* :—

"When the Federation broke up in 1962 there disappeared forever the possibility of multi-racial government. This left only three possibilities: apartheid, African nationalist rule, or African majority rule reached by transition through the existing constitution."

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"Considered opinion in this country and in Rhodesia accepts only the third as a tolerable solution. But does Mr. Wilson? The policy he is pursuing is destroying the first essential for orderly transition to majority rule. It is turning goodwill into hatred, trying to drive the white and black Rhodesians apart, and by ruining the country's economy is preventing African material advancement. One has to assume that *apartheid* is not Mr. Wilson's aim. Is he then intending African nationalist rule?"

"This would not be the first instance of a British public's blind acceptance of its Government's policy and of realization of where it was leading only after the point of no return had been reached. There must be many persons in this country who have hitherto kept silent on the Rhodesian issue but who have the knowledge and the standing to ensure attention to their views. Surely these persons should now speak out and help the man in the street to a proper appreciation of the situation".

Sanctions Got Round in a Hundred Ways

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia and still lives in Zambia, has revisited Rhodesia and written in a report to the *Guardian* :—

"White Rhodesians live in a police State which most of them welcome. They are illegally governed by a Cabinet containing only two or three men of any ability, a Parliament of low calibre, with an Opposition of totally unrepresentative Africans of little understanding, and one man of courage, humanity, and perception—Dr. Ahrn Palley. If Rhodesia can be saved Dr. Palley will be there to help.

"The Rhodesians are led by a man who believes he has a messianic mission to save white civilization and Western democracy in Africa against savagery and communism. If he wavered in his task he would be succeeded by a lesser man. The Rhodesian Front is well financed by rich men and well organized from the smallest branch upwards.

"The African population was divided between two poor leaders. It now has no leaders and is politically fragmented. A Mau Mau is unlikely unless a shooting war starts with British or any other invading troops. That prospect is beyond contemplation.

"Salisbury hotels are full of industrial and commercial representatives from nations pledged to help Britain—West Germany, France, Italy, Scandinavian countries, Japan, and the rest. They are willing and able to buy, sell, or barter anything, and are doing so. 'If you're going to tell Britain about the naughty West Germans,' said a businessman, 'tell her to investigate the activities of some of her own firms. Business is business'.

"Rhodesian industry is fighting back with ingenious adaptability, making things it never thought it could. Sanctions are being got around in a hundred ways.

Products Not Identifiable

"Raw asbestos from the mines is unidentifiable. So is any mineral ore, and-sugar, meat, maize, and most raw products. Once they reach South Africa they can be labelled to anywhere from anywhere. The same tactics may be applied to imports".

Referring to frequent statements that "if anybody tries force on us we will fight to the last ditch and scorch the earth", Mr. Franklin commented in conclusion :—

"From some these are brave words; from others simple truth. In Africa it is either white rule or black, and when the first slackens the second follows fast. The white Rhodesians know this. They say, hopelessly, that there is no answer".

MR. SELWYN LLOYD said in Willaston, Cheshire :—

"What had the Church to say about police violence during and after the revolution in Zanzibar? Political opponents of President Nkrumah in Ghana lie in gaol: were they persuaded to go there by official eloquence?"

"A military revolt has overthrown the Government in Nigeria, in violation of the sacred principles of 'one man, one vote', and 200 people have died, in contrast with the one death which resulted from the Rhodesian revolt. When does Canon Collins propose that we launch the holy war against Nigeria? In five or six French-speaking African States, where Christianity is long established, military *coups* have overthrown the elected Government. What are the bishops doing about it?"

"A group of Zambian Christian leaders offer us their country as a model of good government. But President Kuanda threatened to arrest a British Member of Parliament

if his plane touched down at Lusaka—simply because of his public support in Britain, of Rhodesia. Yet in Rhodesia itself visiting M.P.s of any colour are free to parley with replacements of Mr. Smith and even to address public meetings.

"Since Zambian politics clearly has its intolerant aspects, will its Christian advocates explain how this is attained without police ruthlessness?"

"The truth would appear to be that we are in the presence of a new ecclesiastical *realpolitik*, based on recognition that the white man can be written off as a political force north of the Zambezi, and that if the Church is to flourish on the African continent she must add her own fuel to the hatreds which are the main unifying factor among the power-groups now in control of the greater part of it. This is a reasonable assessment of the position, even if not inspired directly by the Holy Ghost.

"Church history offers the Bishop of Matebeleland, Canon Collins, and other promoters of anti-Rhodesian feelings excellent authority for swimming with the political tide, and it has often in the past been a great consolation to the victims of ecclesiastical policy to know that their persecutors were men of the highest integrity. But it is really impossible to imagine in regard to Rhodesia a more enlightened Christian policy than the present one of remaining silent upon its achievements and legitimate case while giving the maximum publicity to its unsavoury aspects?"

Results of Rhodesian Petition

More than 70% Want Negotiations

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, president of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, and the vice-president, Brigadier A. W. A. Llewellyn Palmer, sent the following letter to the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties on Monday :—

"As president and vice-president of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, non-party political organization, we are writing to let you know the results of a recent inquiry made by the society on the twin subjects of the use of force against Rhodesia and the re-opening of negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia.

"In January a petition in the following terms was devised and sent out to the society's members, who are fairly uniformly scattered over the whole country:

We, the undersigned, would never in any circumstances agree to the use of force against Rhodesia. We believe that it is Mr. Wilson's duty, as our elected Prime Minister, to re-open negotiations immediately with Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of the elected Government of Rhodesia.

"By March 15 it is estimated that, with the resources at the disposal of the society, it proved possible to approach about 150,000 people. The result of these approaches, over the length and breadth of the country, have been as follows: signatures, 117,347, that is over 70%; refusals, slightly under 30%. To these figures should be added a number of signatures received since March 15; but it is not possible to give any definite figure for these as they are still coming in. There are also those who have expressed sympathy with the aims of the petition, but who did not actually sign. These have, of course, not been included in the figures given above.

"Reasons given for not signing include the following: (1) membership of civil or military services; (2) inadequate knowledge of the Rhodesian problem; and (3) disagreement with the policy of U.D.I.

"It seems to us in the Anglo-Rhodesian Society that if the results of the society's petition were to be projected over the whole adult population of the country an overwhelming majority would be found to be in favour of both the propositions of the petition.

"We should add that the society's members and the signatories of the petition represent a complete cross-section of all social classes, political groups, and religious denominations".

Beira Oil Might Be Pumped

Mr. A. H. Ball's Statement

MR. ALAN BALL, chairman of Lonrho, Ltd., the United Kingdom group which has a 62% holding in the Portuguese company which owns the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia, said in London on Sunday that the Portuguese directors of that company were not interested in the "squabble" between the British Government and Rhodesia and might decide to pump oil to Rhodesia; the Portuguese had "a distinctly commercial outlook".

There are five Portuguese directors, as against four British, one of whom is Mr. Angus Ogilvy, husband of Princess Alexandra. The British directors, Mr. Ball emphasized, "have done everything within their power, and quite a lot beyond what is in our power, to prevent the pumping of oil to Rhodesia."

"We have been in touch with the Government ever since the Order in Council came out some months ago. At that time we were warned of the implications. A repetition of the implications was given to us this week. If the company decides to pump oil it will be against our wishes. I have repeatedly told the Government that the simple answer is to prevent a tanker coming into Beira".

Referring to the possibility that the British directors might be sent to prison if the ban were broken, he continued: "They could fine us or send us to jail only if we aided and abetted the pumping of oil, and this we have been at great pains to prevent. If they decide to send us to jail I shall bring a very big law suit against the British Government".

If a tanker reached Beira a board meeting would be called in Portugal at 24 hours' notice.

According to the *Sunday Express*, Mr. Ogilvy has told his colleagues that "if the Government should order their arrest he would go to jail rather than leave them and the company's employees in the lurch. Business associates were quoted as having said that he would not resign from the board unless the Queen made a personal request.

The report continued: "Mr. Ogilvy has not entered into these negotiations so far, but an authoritative source told me that he feels he has been sitting on the fence too long. The informant said: 'He has been very busy trying to get compensation for the company from the Government, and he feels, as do his fellow directors, that a lot of unwelcome publicity has been avoided by his keeping in the background.'"

**Names you have
learned to trust**

Gloria FLOUR

Atlas ROLLER MEAL

Rhomil STOCKFEEDS

Rhodesia Doubles National Service

Training Increased from 19 to 35 Weeks

AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE, the national service training period of young white Rhodesians, hitherto 19 weeks, is to be increased immediately to 35 weeks.

Re-registration on a national scale is now in progress, Lord Graham, the Defence Minister, said in a national broadcast on Friday:—

"Since I took over the Ministry of Defence I have had innumerable approaches from people who, having no specific defence commitments, nonetheless wish to make sure that their names are noted as wishing to offer their services in the various ways in which they feel they can best be used in the event of an emergency. Such people include, of course, those over the age for the territorial forces and those who, because they are foreign born and have not been obliged to register under the Defence Act and for various other reasons have not registered.

"Furthermore, the Man-Power Co-ordinating Committee have told me that they would like a re-registration from the man-power potential angle—that is to say, trades, skills and so on of everybody in the country—not only those uncommitted from the defence angle, but of every man in the country, inclusive of the territorial forces, police reserve, and R.R.A.F. reserve: in fact everyone not in the regular forces.

"The Defence Act did not make it possible to conduct such a registration, for it is limited to those between 17 and 50 and those of British, Rhodesian, or South African nationality. However, the long-forgotten National Registration Act of 1939 still comes under my ministry. In the next few days forms for registration under this act will be sent to post offices, police stations and district commissioners' offices.

It is then obligatory for every man in Rhodesia between the ages of 17 and 60, no matter where he was born, to complete such forms in duplicate.

"Many over three score years feel that they can make a very useful contribution to the nation's man-power in one way or another, and I have therefore instructed that similar forms in green ink should be made available to anybody over 60 who wishes to fill one in.

Not A Call-Up

"This is not a call-up. It is merely a registration of man-power to be used as and when required in the national interest. Changes of address must be immediately notified by those obliged to register.

"The Chief of Staff have pointed out the desirability of an extension of the national service period, or, as it is called officially, the peace training period. Such an extension will not only give us much more efficiency throughout the battalions when these men are posted to the active territorial force, but will provide us with young officers coming up to replace many of those whose experiences go back more than 20 years to the days of the war and who, having given many years of splendid service, are now approaching the age limit. It would also give us much more highly trained specialists who will have been able to round off their depot training and training in the field.

"In the circumstances in which we find ourselves today I believe it would be the height of imprudence not to take appropriate measures to bring our available forces to maximum efficiency. It has therefore been decided after very careful consideration by Government to extend the period of training from 19 to 35 weeks. This will not apply to the present intake under training, but will take effect from the next call-up—in April. Every endeavour will be made to call up young men for service as soon as possible after they leave school.

"The extension of national service will inconvenience some people, particularly in business; but the impact on the economic life of the country will be felt least if the training is carried out in the early stages of a young man's career; and in many cases the technical training received during national service will be of great help to him in his future everyday life".

The new regulations will not apply to African citizens.

Congo Rebels Still Active

SIX "MERCENARIES," one of them a Rhodesian, have been killed by a booby trap in the Eastern Congo, where rebels are still active. They continue to receive supplies from Tanzania, and, it is believed, Uganda. The main pockets of resistance are in the Bukavu, Uvira, Fizi, and Paulis areas and to the east of Stanleyville.

Rhodesian Brevities

DR. VERWOERD, Prime Minister of South Africa, said last week that he hoped that vessels flying the South African flag would decline to disclose the nature of their cargo if challenged by ships of the Royal Navy or aircraft of the Royal Air Force. In patrolling the seas near Beira in her endeavour to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia, Britain was not acting in accordance with international usage.

Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Progressive Party of South Africa, has expressed support for Dr. Verwoerd's handling of the Rhodesian situation. He denounced boycotts and sanctions.

Sir Albert Robinson, a former Federal High Commissioner in London, said when re-visiting Salisbury from Johannesburg that African majority rule and the creation of "independent" African States had proved to be no guarantee against corruption, tyranny, and financial chaos. What purported to be "democracy" was no suitable substitute for the rule by the former Colonial Powers. Sanctions against Rhodesia were likely to fail, and talks for reconciliation between Rhodesia and Britain were urgently needed.

Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, said in a recent broadcast that the United States Government was acting foolishly in supporting the British policy of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Mr. Harvey Ward, of Jackson, Mississippi, president of the Citizens' Council Forum, told an interviewer during a visit to Salisbury that that body had about 250,000 members and had urged the U.S. Government to extend diplomatic recognition to Rhodesia.

More Determined Than Ever

Mr. Robert Huntley, for the past three years a stockbroker in California, but previously an officer in the Rhodesian Army, has been re-visiting the country after an absence of three years. He told an interviewer in Salisbury that he had found Rhodesians more cheerful and determined than ever, and that there was an enormous reservoir of goodwill towards Rhodesia in the United States.

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, told his Parliament that as Africans received as brothers and sisters Arabs who were often as white as white people, it was illogical to refuse to accept the whites in Rhodesia as fellow Africans.

U. Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, told its Committee on Colonialism that he hoped for rapid progress by Britain in bringing down the Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Walter Levey, the oil consultant who was invited by the United Nations to report on the oil situation in Rhodesia, recently visited that country, Mozambique, and Angola under an assumed name, according to a report received by *East Africa and Rhodesia*.

Mr. Drew Middleton, United Nations correspondent of the *New York Times*, said in Rhodesia last week in a television interview that his impressions were of a people in good heart, firmly behind their Prime Minister, and in a situation much more stable than was understood by the outside world. He had found no evidence that sanctions were hitting Rhodesia hard, and did not expect pressure at the United Nations to result in the dispatch of a military force against Rhodesia. Endeavours to impose mandatory sections under Chapter VII of the Charter might be vetoed by France which would, he thought, be the first country in Europe to recognize the regime in Rhodesia.

Mr. Nelson Samkange, London representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, an organization proscribed in Rhodesia, said in a B.B.C. Television interview that if he went back home he would be arrested and perhaps killed for having spoken against

the Government outside Rhodesia. Sanctions would never work.

"Only force can remove the Fascists. They are determined to carry on with their policy of *apartheid*".

He wanted a one-man-one-vote majority immediately, and insisted that there could be no solution of the problem until Rhodesia's African leaders were consulted. It was pointless for Britain to talk to Africans like President Kaunda and President Nyerere. The discussion must be with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole.

The Friends of Rhodesia Association in South Africa has appointed as its first three trustees Professor A. Malan, lately Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly; Dr. M. S. Louw, a veteran economist, and Mr. J. C. McIntyre, vice-chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The chairman of the association is Mr. Fred Barnard, until recently private secretary to Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister.

Rhodesians Respond to Savings Appeals

A £5m. five-year loan at 5% was fully subscribed on issue, the number of applications from private individuals being a record for any Government issue, the Finance Minister announced. Independence Bonds have been selling at an average rate of £100,000 a week, this also being a new savings certificate record.

Referring to the British Treasury allegation that the Rhodesian Government might not incur legal obligations on behalf of Rhodesia, a Rhodesian Government spokesman said: "That statement, aimed at the Independence Bonds, was naive. Rhodesians, having no such delusions, have subscribed wholeheartedly to the bonds and the loan. Subscriptions to the Independence Bonds have been quite remarkable."

When opening the National Savings Campaign, the Prime Minister asked Rhodesians to save not only through Government issues but also through the banks, building societies, and life insurance. He welcomed the support of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Association of Rhodesian Industries, the Rhodesian National Farmers' Union, and the Chamber of Mines.

School children are enthusiastic for the savings drive, most of them eagerly subscribing a shilling a week from their pocket-money.

Major M. Morton, of Gwelo, presented an ox for the savings drive. Forty-one bids raised £1,150. The day's sales reached £15,000, and Mr. J. A. G. Kirstein, the auctioneer, transferred the whole of his commission to Independence Bonds.

Loophole in Greek Decree

King Constantine has signed a decree banning the transport of petroleum or petroleum products to Rhodesia via Mozambique or South Africa in ships flying the Greek flag. The maximum penalty is a fine of 2m. drachmae (about £24,000). For a second contravention an offending vessel may be struck off the Greek register.

It has been emphasized in shipping circles that the decree proscribes only the transport of oil cargoes to ports in Mozambique and South Africa if the ship's papers give Rhodesia as the destination, and that it does not prevent oil shipments to Mozambique or South Africa if Rhodesia is not so specified.

A £3m. order for 36 diesel electric locomotives placed with the General Electric Company of America by Rhodesia Railways will not be affected by the more stringent sanctions regulations now announced by the U.S. Government.

An engineering company in Pretoria, Katco (Pty.), Ltd., which had asked the Supreme Court to compel British Petroleum Southern Africa, Ltd., to deliver 2.4m. gallons of light diesel oil for which it had contracted, has withdrawn its action because its order from Rhodesia had been cancelled owing to undue delay in delivery. The company indicated that it would claim costs and might press for damages. B.P. had offered to deliver 21,000 gallons a month, whereas Katco wanted 80,000 gallons a day four days a week.

Mr. Edward Liso, deputy leader of the African National Congress Party of Zambia, said in the National Assembly on Friday that it was embarrassing that Zambia should have been so condemnatory over Rhodesia, considering that she was so dependent upon that country. Though very vocal since U.D.I., Zambia had received from Rhodesia almost everything she needed except petrol.

Mr. French Expelled for "Espionage"

MR. NEVILLE FRENCH, First Secretary in the British Mission in Salisbury, was expelled from Rhodesia last Thursday for "espionage directed at undermining Rhodesia in economic and security matters".

He left by road for South Africa, and is returning to London by sea. He had been ordered to leave Rhodesia within 48 hours.

The Ministry of Information in Salisbury said on Friday night that Mr. French had abused his position by taking part in espionage directed at undermining the country in economic and security matters, and had acted in collusion with Mr. William Black, and a civil servant who had been recently dismissed after attempting to obtain officially classified information for the British Mission. There was conclusive evidence that Mr. French had indulged in affairs which went far beyond his normal diplomatic duties.

Mr. Black had defected to Britain in December, and had then been closely watched until his dismissal by the Rhodesian Government towards the end of January. He was discharged when sufficient evidence had become available to establish irrefutably the complicity of himself and Mr. French in undercover activities. Mr. Black had confessed his complicity when dismissed, and had offered to name other persons who were involved in return for an undertaking that he would not be prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act. That offer was accepted. Then he was allowed to proceed to South Africa by rail.

The British authorities in Pretoria recognized his defection and had him flown to London, where he now served on the propaganda staff of the Commonwealth Relations Office. He had already taken part in B.B.C. propaganda programmes attacking Rhodesia, and, "among other lies, has stated that he smuggled himself out of Rhodesia in the lorry of an African; the plain fact is that he had defected to the British Government, and, when his actions had been revealed, had not hesitated to compromise others with whom he had been involved".

A C.R.O. statement said: "We deny that Mr. French had any connexions with Black and that Mr. Black is employed as a propaganda official in the C.R.O."

The Rhodesian Government is understood to have asked for the recall of Mr. Stanley Fingland, head of the British Mission in Salisbury.

Mr. Duncan Watson, an Assistant Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office, who has been in Rhodesia and Zambia for the past fortnight, is due back in London this week. Though his journey was officially stated to be concerned with the accommodation of the U.K. High Commissioner in Salisbury, he has in fact been dealing with the request of the Rhodesian Government for withdrawal of two senior British officials. He has had several conversations with Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

Mr. James Biddulph, a British journalist who has lived in Rhodesia for about 10 years, announced on Thursday that he had been given a week's notice to leave the country with his wife and three young children. He is a partner in a news agency in Salisbury which represents several British and non-British newspapers, news agencies, and broadcasting services.

Rhodesian Tobacco Sales Open

THIS YEAR'S RHODESIAN TOBACCO SALES opened on Tuesday on the Salisbury auction floors, to which admission is being drastically restricted in order that the identity of buyers may not be disclosed.

Support prices for 273 grades have been published. They range as high as 4s. per lb. In trade circles in Rhodesia at the week-end it was being suggested that the average might prove to be about 26d. per lb., or only 7d. below last year's average and about equivalent to the figure in 1964, when there was a very heavy crop. Since U.D.I. growers have discussed an average of between 22d. and 24d. per lb.

The support prices, though well below the average in recent years, will enable the great majority of producers to cover their costs at least, and so enable them to plant again in September. If substantial sales are made above the minima there will be later distributions to the growers.

No official estimate of the crop has been published. Guesses range from about 220m. to 240m. lb. Though a reduction on the output in the last two seasons, it is above earlier expectations, unusually wet weather in February having increased yields.

In some quarters it is believed that considerable quantities of tobacco were sold before the sales opened. There have been repeated reports of purchases by South African and French buyers.

One possibility is that South Africa may export an abnormal proportion of her own production and buy Rhodesian leaf in compensation. Imports into Britain of South African tobacco rose from about 2m. lb. in 1964 to 6.5m. lb. last year.

Portugal and Spain are thought likely to buy from Rhodesia, and West Germany and Holland are known to resent the British sanctions on Rhodesian tobacco.

British Apology to Portugal

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has apologized to Portugal for "any inadvertent violation" in Portuguese territorial waters by Royal Navy ships and aircraft while patrolling off the coast of Mozambique in the search for tankers carrying oil to Beira for Rhodesia. Complaints had been made by the Portuguese Government on March 10, 22 and 25, either of "buzzing" of ships in the area (i.e., mock attacking runs) or of "unwelcome surveillance". On March 14 aircraft were stated to have interfered with the Swedish cargo ship MADELEINE when she was clearly inside territorial waters. It was officially stated in London on Monday that the Ambassador in Lisbon had conveyed a British apology, but that British naval authorities had reported that the MADELEINE was eight miles offshore and outside territorial waters when the approach to identify her was made.

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Active Subversion in Kenya

£400,000 Spent in Eighteen Months

MR. ARAP MOI, Minister for Home Affairs in Kenya, said in Nakuru last week that more than £400,000 was known by the Government to have been used in attempts to "subvert the popularly elected Government of Kenya" in the 18 months between June 1, 1964 and the end of 1965. He continued: —

"I warn those who have been undermining the Government, be they citizens, politicians, farmers, businessmen, or members of the public, that the time has come for them to realize that loyalty to the head of State and the country is very important. Foreign ambassadors pledge themselves to work for the betterment of good relations between their home countries and Kenya. When they establish themselves here they should not take that opportunity to subvert the Government with which they are pledged to work".

Ambassadors Warned

"Should diplomatic privilege be misused to subvert the Government, we shall not hesitate to take all appropriate measures to safeguard Kenya's integrity and independence. The Government will no longer tolerate any action which would interfere with the normal progress of the people. It will not hesitate to act drastically against anyone who breaks the law."

Turning to proposals for the formation of a new political party, the Minister said: "It is a pity that those who are behind the formation of a new party are not courageous enough to come into the open. Instead they are using youths and people who are not known to form the party. If they succeed in getting support from the people they would then jump on the band-wagon".

Later Mr. Moi declared in Nairobi that some corrupt politicians were misleading civil servants in order to make use of them.

Peace-loving Kenyans wondered how subversive activities were being carried out. He could say that saboteurs were depositing money in certain restaurants, hotels, and other public places in which many people had been entertained in

connexion with a campaign to discredit the Government. The Government knew those places and was watching them closely. Hotel and restaurant owners must be careful if they wished to avoid confiscation of their licences.

That day 14 members of the National Assembly, including two Assistant Ministers, signed a request to the President to re-convene Parliament so that it might discuss Mr. Moi's statements on subversion.

Kenya Expels More Communists

FIVE RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS (three of them journalists and one a businessman), two Czech diplomatists, and a member of the Hungarian Embassy in Nairobi have been expelled from Kenya. A few days earlier six other Communists had been ordered out of the country.

A Chinese Youth delegation has been visiting Zanzibar and Tanzania.

Experts from Britain are to visit Seychelles in connexion with plans for an airport suitable for jet aircraft.

The Kenya Police dog "Pony", who has died in Nairobi, had made 1,138 arrests.

An island in Lake Kariba, Redcliff Island, is now being used for tsetse fly research.

For the first time in Uganda, a woman, an 18-year-old African, has been appointed a forest guard.

Lions in the Singida district of Tanzania have killed six Africans and 45 head of cattle within a few weeks.

A 10-storey building costing £250,000 is to be erected in Kampala as regional headquarters in Uganda of the East African Common Services Organization.

All domestic servants in Zambia are to be brought within the workman's compensation scheme. Employers will pay £1 annually.

The Netherlands Government has given Kenya a medical research centre which is being managed by the Royal Tropical Institute of Amsterdam.

Fifty thousand tons of wheat are to be supplied on long-term credit by the United States Government to the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Political parties in Zambia are to be prohibited from receiving aid from foreign countries. A new law will impose penalties up to £500 or two years' imprisonment.

For falling to stop their cars for the entourage of Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, a European and an Asian have been fined £5 each.

Forty-five new secondary schools for Africans have been provided in Rhodesia in the past three years, the Minister for Education has stated.

Rhodesia Railways are using dogs for guard duty. Among 14 recently recruited were Alsations, an Alsatian-Collie cross, Boxers, and Dobermans.

All correspondence since 1962 has been taken by thieves from the London offices of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, which has been proscribed in Rhodesia.

African schoolchildren in Rhodesia are being encouraged to obtain birth certificates, possession of which is to be made a condition for taking the Standard VI examination.

A 20-year-old British-born policeman in Rhodesia has been sentenced by the High Court to four years' imprisonment for shooting an African, all-white jury having convicted him of culpable homicide.

The judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption against the Prime Minister and others in Uganda has completed its hearings. The findings are not expected to be delivered for several weeks.

Vandalism in the British Council offices in Dar es Salaam in January has now been attributed by a spokesman for the Tanzania Police to a British woman who had been employed by the council but has recently left the country.

The director of sport and culture in Malawi, having been put on bail on a charge of theft while in the public service, was arrested outside the court and charged with a second similar offence.

Forty arrests in three years were made by an Uganda police dog which has died of tick fever. He had been bought in Britain for £150. In last year's East African Dog Show he won two cups and seven certificates.

When a lioness in Wankie National Park died last year her four cubs were taken over by a foster mother with four cubs of her own. Now, six months later, the family of nine is reported to be thriving. They are often to be seen near the park's main camp.

Another two white rhino, a young male and a female, have arrived in Rhodesia as a gift from the Natal Parks Board, which paid the cost of transportation and sent enough petrol for the round trip of 1,600 miles. Rhodesia has now 11 white rhino in the Kyle Game Reserve and four in the Matopos National Park.



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Commercial Brevities

An Import-Export Council is to be established in Zambia. A Soviet trade union delegation is visiting Somalia.

Drastic cuts in the Congo budget are expected to reduce the deficit from 29,000m. Congolese francs to 5,000m.

More than 550 new motor vehicles were registered in Rhodesia in January.

The Russian and Chinese Governments have offered to buy large quantities of Sudan cotton.

A trade mission from Singapore is visiting East and Central Africa.

A European Common Market delegation has left the Somali Republic for other East African territories.

The Maurer group of Geneva, in association with the Chase Manhattan Bank, is to build a textile mill in Zambia costing £3.8m.

Copper shipments from Kilembe Mines, Ltd., Uganda, realized almost £9m. last year, a record, though the exports of blister copper were about 1,000 tons below the 1964 total. The general manager is Mr. A. E. Pugsley.

Anglo American Investment Trust, Ltd., is paying a final 65 cents per share, making 100 cents for 1965. The 1964 distribution of 105 cents included a bonus of 15 cents. Profit after tax was £5,563,000 (£5,758,500).

The Thomson Organization, Ltd., which has publishing interests in Central and East Africa, reports net profits after tax for 1965 at £3,874,444 (£3,148,334). The 28% ordinary dividend is maintained at a cost of £1,994,098. The carry-forward is more than £9.6m.

Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd., report net profits after tax for the second half of 1965 at £3,586,000. For the first and second halves of the previous year the figures had been £3.1m. and £3.1m. An interim dividend of 2s. 3d. per share, less tax (the same) has been declared.

About 4,000 Africans struck work on Monday at the Nchanga mine on the Copperbelt of Zambia, despite the fact that interruption of work in mining had been declared a criminal offence. The ban on strikes was removed by the Government after the Africans had defied it. They demand largely increased pay rates.

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., which has large Central African interests, reports group profits after tax for 1965 at £14,621,000, compared with £13,730,000 in the previous year. Ordinary shareholders receive 13s. (12s.), taking £8,275,000. General reserve is increased by £61m. (£6m.) and the carry-forward is £1,139,500.

The fine-cured tobacco sales in Zambia opened on the new auction floors in Lusaka last week, the average price during the week being just under 27d. per lb., less than had been locally expected. The Tobacco Association has already announced that if prices do not rise considerably production may need to be reduced for the next season by as much as 50%.

The African Investment Trust, Ltd., reports net profits after tax to September 30 at £40,605 (£225,859). A 12% dividend takes £31,211, and the carry-forward is £93,661. Group fixed assets appear at £1,668,407, interest in subsidiaries at £513,483, and investments at £1,474,399. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £50,677. The issued capital is £425,000. Mr. A. H. Ball is chairman and managing director.

Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd., report group profit after tax to September 30 at £61,566 (£117,748). A 10% dividend (the same) takes £54,226. After a loss of £31,477 on the liquidation of a subsidiary the carry-forward is £223,580. Issued capital totals £923,004. Group fixed assets amount to £420,356; investments have a book value of £551,220, and net current assets appear at £453,536. Mr. A. H. Ball is the chairman.

The Central Africa Co., Ltd. (formerly the British Central Africa Co., Ltd.) reports consolidated group loss after tax to September 30 at £13,210. In the previous year there had been a profit of £4,029 on tea production and of £6,825 on sisal. The price of which dropped heavily. The issued capital is £747,500. Fixed assets appear at £586,785, holdings in subsidiaries at £499,867, investments at £19,119, and net current assets at £93,403. Mr. A. H. Ball is the chairman and Mr. R. W. Rowland the managing director.

The Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd., a group with large Central African interests and large holdings in many parts of the world through the British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., reports group profit after tax to October 31 at £24,952,000, compared with £18,945,000 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 21% take nearly £11.4m. The issued capital is just over £90m. in ordinary shares and £12.9m. in preference shares. Current assets are just under £207m., fixed assets total £52m., and trade and other investments £35m. Mr. E. J. Partridge is the chairman.

Rhodesia in Election Addresses

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, for the past 11 years Conservative M.P. for Chigwell, Essex, wrote in his election address:—

"Sanctions against Rhodesia endanger an area of the world vital to British strategy, industry, and trade. Rhodesia fought with Britain against the Nazi-Fascist Axis.

"I opposed sanctions from the start. They have made the City of London dishonour contracts. They have lost Britain a good and expanding market. They have hurt Africans most. They have strengthened Mr. Smith—and they have failed. The danger now is war. The Socialists have embittered loyal Rhodesia. Let Conservatives make peace."

MR. RONALD BELL, who has represented South Buckinghamshire for 16 years as a Conservative, wrote:—

"The handling of the Rhodesian situation by Mr. Wilson has been horrifying. He has allowed this to develop into a personal issue. His declaration in January that he will have talks to Mr. Smith only on terms of total surrender meant in practice that no negotiations are possible while Mr. Wilson is Prime Minister. Thus deadlock is bound to slide into disaster.

"War in Africa, long, bitter and disastrous to all, would be likely to follow a Socialist victory on March 31. It is even possible that Mr. Wilson would invite United Nations intervention, with the risk that the horrors of the Congo would be re-enacted upon the British in Africa. A Conservative Government would initiate talks with Mr. Smith, without prior commitment on either side, to find a constitutional settlement."

Uganda Church Association

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA, the Most Rev. Erica Sabiti, and his predecessor, the Most Rev. Leslie Brown, now Bishop-elect of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, will speak at the annual meeting of the Uganda Church Association on Friday, April 15, when the Rt. Rev. L. C. Usher-Wilson, lately Bishop on the Upper Nile, will preside. The meeting will be held in the Church House of Holy Trinity Church, Brompton Road, London, S.W.7. There will be a buffet lunch at noon, followed by the meeting at 1 o'clock. Archbishop Sabiti will be in England for only six days.

Mr. Michael Haddon Charged

MR. MICHAEL FENTON HADDON, honorary treasurer of the Southern Rhodesian Legal Aid and Welfare Fund, was charged on Monday in Salisbury with stealing £2,700 from the fund and defrauding a mineral company of about £14,000. A former chairman of the Legal Aid Fund, Mr. Clutton-Brock, said in evidence that wide discretion in disposing of money had been left to Mr. Haddon, as it was felt "dangerous" to have too much in the fund's bank account at any period.

Change in Ethiopia

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA has announced that he will no longer appoint Ministers directly. He will continue to nominate the Prime Minister, who will henceforth submit to His Majesty names for appointment to portfolios. The Emperor concluded: "It is possible that in future we shall further modify or improve this new system after we see how it works."

Colonial Service Memorial Plaque

THE QUEEN attended a service in Westminster Abbey on Wednesday of last week and unveiled in the Cloisters a memorial tablet to the Colonial Service. Dedicated to "All Those who Served the Crown in the Colonial Territories," it carries the inscription: "Whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant."

President Mobutu Assumes All Power

GENERAL MOBUTU, Head of State in the Congo, has assumed all legislative powers. He has announced that he will rule by decree, communicating to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate the text of such decrees within two months of their signature.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

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

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



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† CROFTER	—	—	Apr. 4	Apr. 7
‡ CLAN MACINDOE	—	Apr. 13	Apr. 18	Apr. 21
† CITY OF PRETORIA	—	Apr. 27	May 2	May 5

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

‡ also PORT SUDAN and ADEN.

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