

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, April 7, 1966

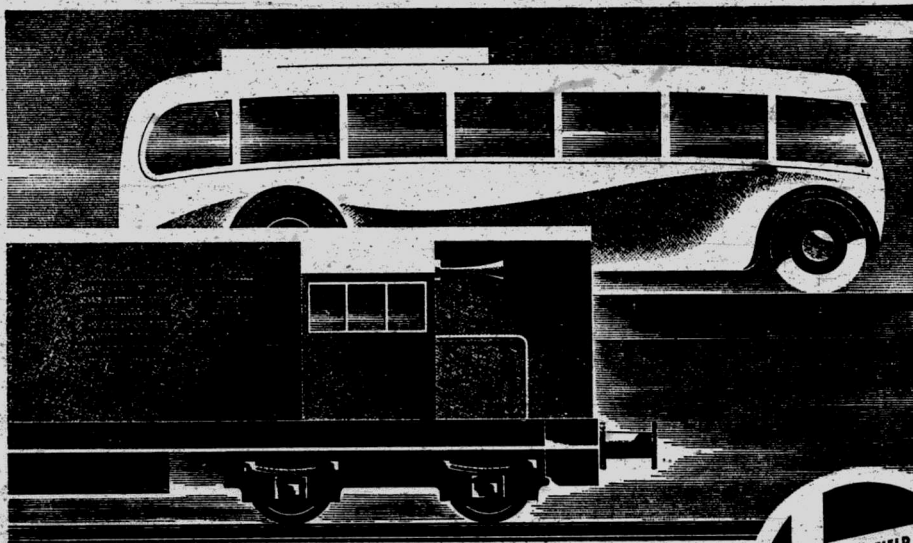
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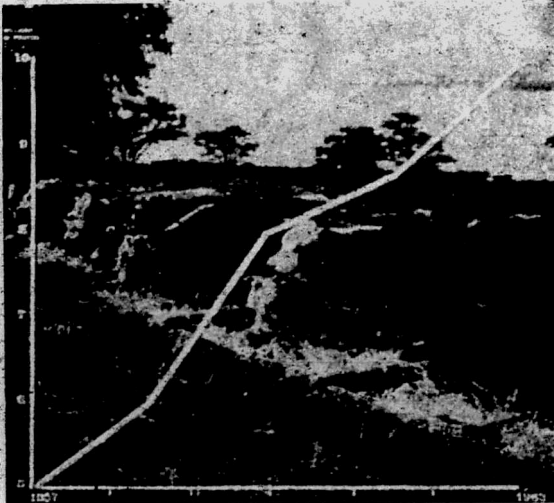
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. WILSON and his political and journalistic friends are past masters in pretence. The result of last week's general election has therefore been presented to the people as a land-slide victory for Labour. The simple truth is that that party had the support of only 47.9% of those who voted — and they were no more than 75.8% of the registered electorate. The system of so-called Parliamentary democracy which British Governments have tolerated for the sake of the politicians, certainly not that of the nation, and which they have so recklessly thrust on immature African countries, is in fact so undemocratic and unrepresentative that slightly more than 13 million votes have given the Socialists 363 seats in the House of Commons (one for every 35,917 votes), while just over 11.4 million Conservatives will have 253 Members (one for 45,136), and rather more than 2.3 million declared Liberals could send only twelve of their number to Parliament (one for 193,961). Though fewer than half of the voters wanted Mr. Wilson to remain at the head of a Government, the system empowers him to dictate to the legislature and the land for a further five years (barring accidents). Yet we shall, of course, have the usual double-talk about "the will of the people". That will, as expressed through the ballot-boxes, is 47.9% pro-Wilson and 52.1% against Mr. Wilson, his party, and his policy (whatever it may be). It is astonishing to record that after three weeks of electioneering nobody appears to know the nature of that policy, for he had evidently instructed his Ministers to be as uncommunicative as he was himself. Instead of putting before the country proposals, or even ideas, on the great issues of the time, he took refuge in generalities and widely misleading comparisons between "thirteen wasted years of Tory rule" and the "purposive, fearless, and gritty" achievements of his seventeen months as Prime Minister. He did not seriously discuss one of the great problems facing, indeed threatening, Britain.

Rhodesia, for instance, was mentioned neither in Mr. Wilson's election address nor in Mr. Heath's catalogue of twenty-six reasons for voting for the return of a Conservative Government. Yet neither **Leaders Evaded** leader and neither party **Rhodesian Issue** could possibly suggest that Rhodesia is not one of the most urgent and difficult of issues. Why, then, did both dodge it so deliberately? Mr. Wilson has blundered so badly and tragically that his wish to divert attention from his miscalculations and prophecies is understandable; but that makes it all the more surprising that the Leader of the Opposition should have obliged him by giving so little prominence to the topic — despite the fact that a few stalwart Tories, with Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd at their head, hammered away at the subject day by day, making opportunities to emphasize the need for discussions with the Smith Government and the iniquity of the idea of using military force against fellow-Britons in Rhodesia. Were it not the fact, it would be incredible that Mr. Wilson's manifesto to his constituents in Huyton said not one word about Britain's crushing burden of international debt; not one word about the frightening state of the economy as a consequence of rising prices, almost stagnant production, and unduly sharp increases in earnings; not one word about trade union reform and abandonment of the restrictive practices which so greatly damage the economy; not one word about the European Economic Community; and not one word about the Commonwealth. Such wholesale evasion made the Prime Minister's propagandist programme nothing more than an exercise in casuistry. Day after day, moreover, he was bluntly accused by Tory leaders, especially Mr. Heath and Mr. Hogg, of prevarication. On one single day the Conservative Central Office said of six separate statements of the Prime Minister "This is untrue; his words cannot be trusted"; his technique was described as that of "twisting everything." Another accusation was that

he always put expediency before principle—the irony (which no newspaper noted) being that the castigator was, of all people, Mr. Iain Macleod!

* * *

When the shouting had died and the contest was over, Mr. Wilson's verdict was that "We all have a clear duty to work together in partnership, the British Government and the

Wide Sympathy With Rhodesia

British people, to solve the problems that are still before us." Does that include Rhodesia? Presumably so. Having invoked the people, let the Prime Minister take account of the increasing evidence of public anxiety about Rhodesia. Practically every candidate must have had abundant proof during his three weeks of campaigning that the man in the street, and probably even more the woman in the home, resents the Government's attitude to Rhodesia since that country assumed its independence five months ago. Sympathy with Rhodesia is much wider and deeper than has been reflected in the editorial columns of United Kingdom newspapers, and, apart altogether from the merits of the case, that sympathy is certain to grow if still harsher measures are inflicted, if only because this country gives almost automatic support to the underdog. It hates oppression; and Mr. Wilson has behaved like a bully ever since his abortive trip to Salisbury in October—a trip which would have had a precisely opposite outcome if he had not taken flight at his own commonsense and sacrificed the solution which was within his grasp to the appeasement of black extremists, especially the preposterous and predatory Nkrumah. He has not dared to admit that colossal folly; and he has Mr. Heath to thank for a fateful failure to expose and capitalize it. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA denounced such misguided bipartisanship from the start, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's recent visit to Rhodesia has proved beyond dispute that our judgment was right and that of the Conservative hierarchy wrong. If the logic of that belated recognition be followed to its proper conclusion by Mr. Heath and his colleagues, they will henceforth strenuously resist every aggravation of the situation by Britain, and obtain maximum publicity for their insistence on discussions with Mr. Smith and their absolute opposition to any military adventure (or, more accurately, misadventure), whether or not British troops were involved.

* * *

A blockade-runner carrying oil which everyone believes to be intended for Rhodesia defied the orders of a British frigate on

Monday and was at the approach to Beira early on Tuesday. The United Kingdom Government was still pressing the Portuguese authorities to refuse unloading facilities when this issue went to press. It seems almost certain, however, that the Portuguese Government will not change its policy of refusal to take part in sanctions against Rhodesia and of insisting on sending whatever supplies may be available to buyers in the hinterlands of Mozambique, whether in Rhodesia, Malawi or Zambia. That the tanker, which is under time-charter to a South African company, should have been intercepted on the high seas by a ship of the Royal Navy is bound to become a subject of angry debate. H.M.S. PLYMOUTH told the Greek captain that he was not to proceed to Beira, "in conformity with the United Nations resolution of November 20, and with the knowledge of the Royal Hellenic Government." The United Nations resolution in question was, however, permissive, not mandatory, and the Greek Government had declined to give its authority for British interference with the ship. Was it calculated in Whitehall that her master would understand from the phraseology used that the United Nations resolution was automatically binding upon him? Was he expected to construe the reference to the Greek Government's "knowledge" as acceptance of the British point of view? If so, the plan—like all others since U.D.I.—misfired. The master of the tanker, evidently a most resolute character, allowed an officer of the frigate to come aboard, listened to his admonitions, made such reply as he deemed suitable, and then calmly proceeded to complete his mission of taking Mr. Smith's first blockade-runner into Beira.

* * *

The psychological effect in Rhodesia, and of course in Mozambique, South Africa, and elsewhere, will be tremendous. So is the blow to the pride, prestige and much advertised confidence of Mr. Wilson, for whom the complete denial of oil by tanker has been the acid test of his most expensive sanctions programme. If one ship can run the blockade, so can others. Moreover, tough men in nations which have been very reluctant to co-operate in the British policy of economic sanctions will be greatly encouraged to show other forms of enterprise helpful to Rhodesia. Among them must be potential buyers of substantial quantities of her tobacco and other products. In his chagrin Mr. Wilson will be tempted to ask the United Nations to make sanctions mandatory (despite his reiterated assertions that the issue is a British domestic matter). If that

step were taken through British complicity, the risk of the use of military force would be made greater. It would be iniquitous for Britain to act in a way which would be likely to provoke bloodshed. The sane course would be for Mr. Wilson to act promptly in the way suggested in last week's leading article. His open confession of the share of blame borne by all

political parties in Britain could still provide the most hopeful opening for talks with the Rhodesian Government. Military force being the inevitable ultimate alternative to talks, who in his right mind could refuse to talk? Pressure for prompt discussion should be raised and maintained from every appropriate quarter.

Rhodesia's First Blockade-Runner Reaches Beira

Greek Skipper Refuses to be Bluffed by Royal Navy

A TANKER with about 12,000 tons of oil for Rhodesia, the first to run the British blockade into the port of Beira, Mozambique, is likely to have ended its voyage while this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is being printed.

JOANNA V, owned by the Varnikos Corporation, registered in Panama, flies the Greek flag and has a Greek master. Two days after the Government of Greece forbade the transport of oil for Rhodesia by Greek vessels, she was sold while at sea to Varnikos, whose two principals are Canadians. The transaction, completed in New York, is said to have been financed by letters of credit of South African origin.

Sea Changes

The oil had been sold in the Persian Gulf by a subsidiary of the American Continental Oil Company to a Greek company in Piraeus which consigned it to A. C. Morrison & Company of Cape Town. At the time of loading, the name of the vessel was ARIETTA VENIZELOS. That, like her ownership, was to change during her passage.

She passed through the Mediterranean, bound for Rotterdam, but turned south for Dakar, where she bunkered. Sailing southwards on March 15, she was sold next day. At that time the opinion in London was that her cargo was for South Africa.

When she passed Cape Town the Greek Government, at the request of H.M. Government, wirelessly a reminder to the captain of the March 14 decree banning the transport of oil for Rhodesia by Greek ships. He is said to have replied that he was making for Durban. He passed that port, however, and last Friday morning a long-range reconnaissance aircraft of the Royal Air Force on patrol over the Mozambique Channel spotted the ship, which was thereafter kept under surveillance.

Resolute Ship's Master

The Foreign Office announced on Monday night that JOANNA V had been intercepted by H.M.S. PLYMOUTH (a frigate escort to H.M.S. EAGLE) on the high seas when she was clearly heading for Beira. The captain of the frigate told the master that, in conformity with the United Nations resolution of November 20, 1965, and with the knowledge of the Royal Hellenic Government, he had instructions which required the tanker not to proceed to Beira. The tanker stopped, and the master agreed to receive an officer from the frigate on board.

Just before midnight it was announced that another message had been received from the Royal Navy, saying:—

"The master of the tanker said he had been ordered to proceed to Beira for bunkering and provisions only, and had been ordered to discharge his cargo at Jibuti, French Somaliland. The master alleged he had received no instructions from his Government. He declined to

comply with the requirements of the captain of the frigate and stated his intention to proceed to Beira."

The interception is understood to have taken place outside the Mozambique territorial limit of six miles.

If the tanker enters the port and discharges her cargo into some of the five 3,000-ton tanks already completed by a Portuguese company financed from Rhodesia, the argument in the Portuguese-registered pipeline company (in which Lonrho, Ltd., London, has a 62% holding) between the five Portuguese and four British directors about pumping the oil to the Feruka refinery near Umatli, Rhodesia, must be resumed.

A British aircraft-carrier, accompanied by two frigates and other vessels, has been in the Mozambique Channel area since December.

"Washington Post's" Change of Policy

BRITAIN SHOULD NEGOTIATE because sanctions will not succeed and are uniting Rhodesians behind their Government. That is now the policy of the influential *Washington Post*, which, like most of the leading newspapers in the United States, had been strongly anti-Rhodesia since the declaration of independence on November 11. The leading article expressing the new policy said, *inter alia*:—

"Sanctions have not produced a political result, and there is no firm reason to believe that they will. Sanctions seldom have been decisive. The assurances many of us believed about their effect on Rhodesia's economy have turned out to be euphoric.

"Despite the co-operation of the United States and many other countries, the embargoes are considerably less than absolute, in part because of the non-co-operation of Portugal about oil leakage and the active support of Rhodesia by South Africa. Rhodesia has suffered only inconvenience and actually is manufacturing some products she had not produced before.

"Far from encouraging dissatisfaction with the policies on Mr. Smith the curbs have tended to unite the white population more firmly behind him. Obviously this outcome leaves Mr. Wilson in a nasty predicament politically in view of Opposition demands for talks with Rhodesia. Moreover, it leaves Britain in a bad spot with African members of the Commonwealth.

"African countries are almost sure to press for action in the Security Council in April. But what kind of action? If military intervention is out of the question—and no Government in Britain could support it, though there would be many African demands—the only evident alternative to sanctions is negotiations.

"With all the furor this would arouse elsewhere, the prospect is not pleasant to contemplate—and perhaps now is not the time.

"Sooner or later political leaders, African as well as British, are going to have to face the hard facts. The basic question is whether the defiance of Mr. Smith becomes stronger with time, or whether he is realistic enough to realize that Rhodesia's ultimate frustrations only increase the longer a fair chance is denied the Africans who make up 95% of the population."

"Four countries have failed to recognize Rhodesia's postage stamps—the United Kingdom, Zambia, Malawi, and Barbados".—Mr. J. Wrathall, Minister of Posts in Rhodesia.

Members of the New House Interested in Africa

Labour Party Gains Majority of 97 by General Election

THE NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS will consist of 363 Socialists, 253 Conservatives, 12 Liberals, one Republican Labour, and the Speaker. The Labour Party has thus an overall majority of 97, and of 110 over the Tories.

There were 1,707 candidates: 629 Conservatives, 621 Socialists, 311 Liberals, 57 Communists (all of whom lost their deposits), and 89 others.

Thirteen front-bench Conservatives were defeated.

At the dissolution the House of Commons contained 315 Socialists, 304 Conservatives, 10 Liberals, and the Speaker. Two seats were vacant.

The number of persons on the electoral rolls on March 31 was 35,968,385.

Those Members of the new House and defeated candidates whose names are given hereunder have shown special interest in the affairs of East and Central Africa.

ELECTED

- ALBU,** Austen H. (Lab.). Minister of State for Economic Affairs. Raised his majority in Edmonton from 5,128 to 7,725. Visited East Africa some years ago.
- ALLAUN,** F. (Lab.). Increased his majority in Salford East from 7,143 to 9,409. National chairman of Labour Peace Fellowship.
- BALNIEL,** Lord (Cons.). Retained Hertford, with majority down from 3,973 to 794. Has visited East and Central Africa. A Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs.
- BEAMISH,** Sir Tufton (Cons.). Held Lewes with majority of 12,968 (14,061). An opposition spokesman on defence. Former chairman of party's foreign affairs committee.
- BELL,** Ronald M. (Cons.). Re-elected for Buckinghamshire South with 16,992 majority (17,754). Has been interested for some years in East and Central Africa.
- BELLENGER,** F. J. (Lab.). Raised his majority at Bassetlaw (Notts.) from 8,445 to 10,428. Visited Kenya some years ago. Has taken moderate line on African matters. Surveyor and journalist. Has held seat since 1935.
- BENNETT,** Sir Frederick (Cons.). Held Torquay. Majority down from 15,149 to 12,099. Has visited East and Central Africa. Called to Bar of Southern Rhodesia in 1947. Joint vice-chairman of party's Commonwealth affairs committee.
- BENNETT,** Dr. Reginald F. B. (Cons.). Held Gosport and Fareham; majority 11,026 (14,048). P.P.S. to Mr. Iain Macleod while Colonial Secretary.
- BESSELL,** Peter (Liberal). Held Bodmin (Cornwall) against two opponents. Majority down from 4,172 to 2,023. Recently visited Rhodesia. Advocates discussions with Smith Government.
- BIGGS-DAVISON,** John (Cons.). Held Chigwell (Essex) with 2,568 majority (3,721). Chairman of Rhodesia emergency committee of Monday Club. Strong advocate of talks with Smith Government. Has visited Rhodesia. In Indian and Police Services 1945-57.
- BIRCH,** E. Nigel (Cons.). Held Flintshire West against three opponents; majority, 3,042 (5,217). Has held numerous ministerial offices.
- BOTTOMLEY,** Arthur G. (Lab.). Commonwealth Relations Secretary. Majority in Middlesbrough East raised from 16,515 to 18,984. Has paid several visits to Central and East Africa. Secretary for Overseas Trade, 1947-57. Previously Under-Secretary for the Dominions.
- BRAINE,** Bernard (Cons.). Retained Essex South-East; majority, 5,734 (8,201). Sometime Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office.
- BRAY,** Dr. Jeremy W. (Lab.). Increased his majority in Middlesbrough West from 1,145 to 3,893. Recently visited Rhodesia.
- BROMLEY-DAVENPORT,** Sir Walter (Cons.). Retained Knutsford with 13,711 majority (14,327). Has represented constituency since 1945.

BROWN, George (Lab.). Held Belper (Derbyshire), but with majority down from 6,312 to 4,274 in straight fight. Visited Kenya some years ago. First Secretary of State and Minister of Economic Affairs.

CALLAGHAN, L. James (Lab.). Chancellor of the Exchequer. Raised his majority in Cardiff South-East from 7,841 to 10,837. Interested in African affairs for many years. While in opposition was front-bench spokesman on Colonial matters.

CARR, Robert (Cons.). Held Mitcham; majority reduced from 3,912 to 528. Secretary for Technical Co-operation, 1963-64. Company director.

CASTLE, Mrs. Barbara (Lab.). Increased her majority from 6,893 to 7,248 in straight fight at Blackburn. Lately Minister for Overseas Development. When in opposition visited East and Central Africa as a journalist.

CLARK, Henry (Ulster Unionist). Retained Antrim N. Majority 22,986 against 35,948 in 1964 election. Was in Colonial Service in Tanganyika, 1957-59.

COSTAIN, Albert P. (Cons.). Retained Folkestone and Hythe; majority 7,402 (9,273). Joint deputy chairman of civil engineering group with large Central African interests.

CRADDOCK, Sir Beresford (Cons.). Held Spelthorne (Middlesex); majority 2,487 (5,433). Formerly a National Liberal M.P. At one time general manager in Uganda of the Uganda Co., Ltd.

Communism in Africa

CRAWLEY, Aiden M. (Cons.). Held Derbyshire West with 4,592 majority (5,266). Has travelled widely in East, Central, South and West Africa; especially interested in Communist activities in Africa. Was at one time a Labour M.P.

CROSTHWAITTE-EYRE, Sir Oliver (Cons.). Held New Forest; majority 13,032 (14,960). Has been much interested in African problems. Chairman of publishing company.

de FREITAS, Sir Geoffrey (Lab.). Increased his majority in Kettering (Northants) from 6,805 to 7,903. Was U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya until elected to last Parliament in a by-election.

DIGBY, S. Wingfield (Cons.). Held Dorset West. Majority 5,952 (7,210). Conservative whip, 1948-51. Then for six years Civil Lord of the Admiralty.

DODDS-PARKER, A. D. (Cons.). Re-elected for Cheltenham; majority 2,915 (5,240). Served in Sudan 1930-39. Former chairman of Joint East and Central African Board. Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office, 1954-55.

DOUGLASS-HOME, Sir Alec (Cons.). Held Kinross and West Perth with majority reduced from 11,972 to 9,582. Previous Prime Minister. While Commonwealth Relations Secretary for years paid several visits to Rhodesia. Strong advocate of talks with Rhodesia Government.

DRIBERG, T. (Lab.). Held Barking with majority of 15,410 (14,759 previously). A consistent critic on East and Central Africa questions.

FISHER, Nigel T. L. (Cons.). Held Surbiton, with majority of 5,428 (7,162). Joint Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, 1964. Had been Under-Secretary, Colonial Office.

FOLEY, Maurice A. (Lab.). Raised majority in West Bromwich from 4,278 to 6,874.

FOOT, Sir Dingle (Lab.). Increased majority against three opponents in Ipswich from 2,432 to 6,873. Has visited East and Central Africa in connexion with legal business. Strong sympathy with African nationalism.

FOOT, Michael M. (Lab.). Re-elected for Ebbw Vale (Mon.), the late Aneurin Bevan's seat, with 20,584 majority (20,271). Has Bevanite view on African issues.

FOSTER, Sir John, Q.C. (Cons.). Majority at Northwich (Cheshire) cut from 4,385 to 703. Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, 1951-54. Fellow of All Souls.

FRASER, Hugh (Cons.). Re-elected for Stafford and Stons; majority, 5,041 (6,786). Repeatedly visited Kenya while P.P.S. to Mr. Oliver Lyttelton when Colonial Secretary. Appointed Under-Secretary, Colonial Office, 1960, and Air Minister in 1962.

GLYN, Sir Ralph (Cons.). Increased his majority in Dorset North from 5,130 to 5,575. Much interested in African issues.

GODBER, Joseph B. (Cons.). Held Grantham (Lincs.) with 2,158 majority (5,864). Has been Minister of Labour and Secretary of State for War.

GOODHART, Philip C. (Cons.). Retained Beckenham; majority reduced to 13,865 from 16,732. Secretary of 1922 Committee, 1960-64 and thereafter joint secretary.

GOODHEW, Victor H. (Cons.). Held St. Albans; majority, 2,832 (5,391). A vice-chairman of party's defence committee.

GREENWOOD, Anthony (Lab.). Increased his majority in Rossendale from 3,141 to 4,109. Lately Colonial Secretary. Now Minister of Overseas Development. Chairman of Labour Party, 1963-64.

GRIFFITHS, James (Lab.). Re-elected for Llanely with majority of 26,531. Has represented constituency since 1936. Visited Central Africa when Colonial Secretary (1950-51) and agreed to study by officials of plan for federation. Threw over the plan after the party was defeated in general election, and thereafter strenuously opposed federation.

GRIMOND, J. Leader of the Liberal Party. Re-elected for Orkney and Shetland with 5,975 majority (7,900). Has criticized Mr. Wilson for not being forceful enough in his attitude to Rhodesia.

GURDEN, H. E. (Cons.). Retained Birmingham, Selly Oak; majority down from 5,211 to 777. Takes Monday Club view on Rhodesian issue.

HALE, C. Leslie (Lab.). Increased majority in Oldham West from 6,436 to 7,572. Visited Kenya some years ago with Mr. Fenner Brockway, whose general views on Africa he shared.

HARRIS, F. W. (Cons.). Retained Croydon N.W. Majority down to 2,696 from 5,610. Has had business interests in Kenya for many years and has frequently visited that country.

HARRISON, Sir Harwood (Cons.) retained Eye; majority 3,613 (5,426). Chairman, Commonwealth affairs sub-committee for Old Commonwealth, 1956-66.

Born in Rhodesia

HASTINGS, Stephen (Cons.). Re-elected for Mid-Bedfordshire with majority of 3,078 (5,318). Born in Rhodesia, the son of Major and Mrs. Lewis Hastings. Strong advocate of talks with Smith Government.

HEATH, Edward (Cons.). Leader of Conservative Party. Re-elected for Bexley; majority reduced from 4,589 to 2,333. Now presses strongly for talks with Rhodesia.

HILEY, Joseph (Cons.). Held Pudsey with 2,372 majority (5,481). Takes Monday Club view on Rhodesia. Former president of Leeds Chamber of Commerce.

HOBSON, Sir John, Q.C. (Cons.). Held Warwick and Leamington. Majority, 8,691 (10,884). As Attorney-General, 1962-64, closely concerned with Central African affairs.

HOGG, Quintin, Q.C. (Cons.). Held St. Marylebone, London, against four opponents; majority 8,061 (8,793 against two). Has held numerous high offices. Renounced Hailsham viscountcy in 1963 to return to House of Commons.

MORBY, Richard P. (Cons.). Held Tonbridge. Majority cut from 8,765 to 6,828. Had been criticized in-constituency for voting with Socialists for oil embargo on Rhodesia despite appeal from his party leader that Conservatives should abstain. Had held junior office in C.R.O. and C.O., 1963-64.

HUGHES, Cedwyn (Lab.). Re-elected for Anglesey; majority down from 6,537 to 5,298. As Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has visited Central Africa. Former chairman of Welsh Parliamentary Party.

HUGHES, Emrys (Lab.). Held Ayrshire South with 12,053 majority (12,403). Editor of *Forward*, 1931-46.

IREMONGER, Thomas, L. I. (Cons.). Held Ilford North; majority 3,344 (7,533). Formerly in Colonial Service in Western Pacific.

IRVINE, Godman (Cons.). Retained Rye. Increased majority from 16,976 to 17,099. Joint secretary of Commonwealth affairs committee, 1964-66.

JOHNSON, James (Lab.). Doubled his majority in Kingston and Hull West (6,030 to 12,265). Has organized African trades unions in Kenya in recent years. Had previously shown strong sympathy for African nationalism.

KABERRY, Sir Donald (Cons.). Held Leeds North West; majority 6,124 (10,997). Vice-chairman, Conservative Party Organization, 1955-61.

KERBY, Henry B. (Cons.). Held Arundel and Shoreham with majority of 18,096 (21,319 in 1964) in three-cornered contest. Has been keenly interested in East and Central African affairs.

KING, Evelyn M. (Cons.). Doubled her majority (935 to 1,877) in Dorset South. Recently visited Rhodesia. Strongly advocates talks with Rhodesian Government. Was Labour M.P. from 1945 to 1950. Joined Conservative Party in 1951.

LAMBTON, Viscount (Cons.). Held Berwick upon Tweed; majority down from 9,633 to 4,373. Has repeatedly visited East and Central Africa in recent years on journalistic assignments.

LEGGE-BOURKE, Sir Harry (Cons.). Held Isle of Ely, with majority down to 1,754 from 5,625.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's Advice

LYOYD, J. Selwyn, Q.C. (Cons.). Held Wirral; majority, 9,853 (14,639). As opposition spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, recently visited Rhodesia on behalf of his party. Strongly recommended talks with Rhodesian Government. Has held many high offices, including those of Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LONGDEN, Gilbert (Cons.). Held Hertfordshire South West; majority down from 6,077 to 3,192. Worked in India, 1930-36. Member of executive committee of British Council.

LUCAS-TOOTH, Sir Hugh (Cons.). Held Hendon South; majority, 4,056 (7,011).

MACLEOD, Iain (Cons.). Held Enfield West, with majority of 10,157 (10,727). Mr. Macmillan's Secretary of State for Colonies. Edited *Spectator* until recently.

MALLALIEU, J. P. W. (Lab.). Raised majority in Huddersfield East from 8,269 to 10,879. Recently appointed Minister of Defence for the Royal Navy.

MAUDLING, Reginald (Cons.). Held Barnet (Herts.) with majority reduced from 8,513 to 5,486. Former Secretary of State for the Colonies. Became deputy leader of Conservative Party last August, being second to Mr. Heath in ballot for the leadership. Director of importing companies.

MAYHEW, Christopher P. (Lab.). Increased his majority at Woolwich East from 11,855 to 13,443. Has visited Rhodesia. Recently resigned office as Minister of Defence for the Royal Navy in disagreement with Government policy.

MIKARDO, Ian (Lab.). Increased majority in Poplar, London, from 14,458 to 17,208. On Labour left wing.

MORE, Jasper (Cons.). Retained Ludlow; majority 3,480 (6,527). Takes Monday Club view on Rhodesia.

MOTT-RADCLIFFE, Sir Charles (Cons.). Re-elected for Windsor. Majority reduced from 11,642 to 8,330. Former Whip and Junior Lord of the Treasury.

MULLEY, Frederick W. (Lab.). Minister of Aviation. Held Park Division of Sheffield with majority increased from 16,380 to 19,533. Visited Kenya during Mau Mau Rebellion.

NABARRO, Sir Gerald (Cons.). Won-Worcestershire South with majority of 11,084. Strong advocate of talks with Rhodesia. Represented Kidderminster, 1950-64.

NEAVE, Airey M. S. (Cons.). Retained Abingdon (Berks.) with majority of 3,302 in three-cornered contest. Previous majority, 6,373. Escaped from Colditz in 1942. As harrister took part in Nuremberg trials.

NICHOLLS, Sir Harman (Cons.). Re-elected for Peterborough with majority of 3 after eight recounts. Previous majority, 2,617.

NOBLE, M. A. C. (Cons.). Held Argyll, majority reduced from 5,157 to 3,692.

Nobel Prize Winner

NOEL-BAKER, Francis (Lab.). Raised majority in Swindon from 9,813 to 10,443. Son of P. J. Noel-Baker.

NOEL-BAKER, Philip J. (Lab.). Raised his majority at Derby South from 6,012 to 9,576. Has long taken a Fabian view of African issues. Commonwealth Relations Secretary, 1947-50. Awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1959.

ORAM, A. E. (Lab.-Co-op.). Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Overseas Development. Raised his majority in East Ham South from 8,272 to 10,003.

ORR-ERWING, Sir Ian (Cons.). Re-elected for Hendon North; majority 600 (1,124). Has held various offices in defence departments.

OSBORNE, Sir Cyril (Cons.). Held Louth (Lines) with majority down from 7,039 to 4,092.

PADLE, Walter E. (Lab.). Chairman of Labour Party. Increased majority in Omgore (Glamorgan) from 23,928 to 26,673.

PAGET, Reginald T., Q.C. (Lab.). Increased majority in Northampton from 4,440 to 7,489, though publicly denouncing Labour Party policy on Rhodesia, which he recently visited.

POWELL, J. Enoch (Cons.). Retained Wolverhampton South-West with majority of 6,585 (9,856). Strong advocate of talks with Rhodesia. Professor of Greek at Sydney University, 1937-39. Former Minister of Health.

RAMSDEN, James (Cons.). Retained Harrogate with 13,414 majority (15,142). Former Secretary of State for War and Minister of Defence for the Army. Son-in-law of Sir Charles and the Hon. Lady Ponsonby.

(Continued on page 578)

PERSONALIA

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE is to pay a State visit to Jamaica from April 21 to 23.

MR. C. M. RAIT has retired from the board of the Chaterhouse Group, Ltd.

MR. M. E. H. MULHOLLAND has been appointed to the board of management of Gallaher, Ltd.

MR. J. T. L. DOVE and MR. S. MAPLESON have retired from the board of Hogg Robinson and Capel-Cure Ltd.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE has returned to Ireland from his annual visits to Kenya and South Africa.

LIEUT.-COLONEL KNOX, chairman of the Rhodesian Front, an Australian by birth, is re-visiting that country. He has lived in Rhodesia since 1948.

On B.B.C. television on Sunday there was an account of the translation of the Bible into Rundi by Miss ROSEMARY GUILLEBAUD.

M. MARIO CARDOSO was received by THE QUEEN last week on his appointment as Ambassador in London for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

BRIGADIER LLEWELLEN PALMER, vice-president of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, will leave later this week for Rhodesia.

DR. J. H. FISCHER, president of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, and two colleagues, PROFESSOR KARL W. BIGELOW and MR. CARL GRAHAM, are visiting East Africa.

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation Group, has joined the board and taken over the chairmanship of Marine Diamond Corporation, Ltd.

MR. HAROLD SMEDLEY, who has been re-appointed United Kingdom High Commissioner in Ghana, was at one time on the staff of the High Commission in Rhodesia.

MR. J. P. G. WATHEN, who has served Barclays Bank D.C.O. in East Africa, Cyprus, New York, Sudan and Ghana, has been appointed general manager (staff) in London on the retirement of Mr. F. A. BOREHAM.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has joined the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank on the resignation of LORD MALVERN, who has served for nine years.

MR. DESMOND LARDNER-BURKE, Minister of Law and Order in Rhodesia, who is president of the Rhodesia Rugby Union, flew to Cape Town last week to attend a meeting of the board of the South African Rugby Association.

MR. LIONEL CHEVRIER, High Commissioner for Canada in London, was last week recalled for discussions in connexion with Rhodesia. MR. ARNOLD SMITH, the recently appointed Commonwealth Secretary-General, was visiting Ottawa at the time.

SIR ARKU KORSAH, leader of the five-member Ghanaian delegation which has been visiting East and Central African States, said on reaching Malawi that some former representatives of Ghana in Malawi had engaged in actions to undermine the Malawi Government.

MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA, who has succeeded Mr. JOSIAH GONDO as leader of the United Peoples' Party of Rhodesia, the all-African official Opposition in Parliament, was a teacher until he entered politics. At one time he was a keen supporter of the Capricorn movement.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, a former Governor-General of Uganda, recently flew to Entebbe to discuss with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the chairman of the Uganda Scholarships Committee problems of adult education in which help might be given by the Lord Dulverton Foundation, with which SIR WALTER is now connected.

MR. DEREK R. SCORER has been appointed managing director of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., of which he has been commercial director for the past decade. He previously served the group in East Africa, and has travelled widely and repeatedly in East and Central Africa. He is a past president of the South Africa Exporters' Association.

SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM has joined the board of Equity and Law Life Assurance Society. He is chairman of British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., but will resign that office at the end of June, when he will become the president. He is on the boards of Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., and Lloyds Bank.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH has now 48 lions, lionesses, and cubs in a 97-acre compound in the grounds of his home at Longleat, Wiltshire. At a cost of about £60,000 Mr. James Chipperfield and he have had the compound provided with an inner six-foot electrical fence and an outer fence 14ft. high. Fifteen armed guards keep constant patrol. Staff, feeding and other costs are estimated at £1,000 a week. Visitors are charged £1 per car to drive through the park.

Obituary

Mr. James A. Gray

MR. JAMES ANDREW GRAY, who was editor of the London weekly newspaper *South Africa* (now re-titled *Southern Africa*) from 1934 until 1963, died in Wimbledon on Saturday at the age of 75. He had remained chairman of South Africa, Ltd.; African Publications, Ltd.; and the Scottish company owning the *Haddingtonshire Courier*.

As a young man he worked in the Parliamentary Press Gallery for the *Scotsman* and, after service in the 1914-18 war with The Royal Scots, for *The Times* until he went to South Africa in 1924 as editor of the *Pretoria News*. When he came back to London eight years later, he was on the *Hansard* staff in addition to his editorial work for *South Africa*.

Until recently he had been a regular attendant at gatherings in London concerned with Southern Africa. He had himself often written critically on South African issues, and he was pleased that his successor in the editorial chair, his son Alan, should show even greater readiness to protest when he thought it desirable.

MR. C. S. FORESTER, the novelist, best known as writer of the Hornblower sea stories, has died in California, aged 67. *The African Queen*, which he wrote in 1935, dealt with the 1914-18 campaign in German East Africa. It was filmed.

COUNTESS DE LA WARR, who has died at her home at Withyham, Sussex, was the wife of EARL DE LA WARR, and, like him, had been deeply interested in East and Central African affairs for many years and had repeatedly visited the territories. They were married in 1920, she being the daughter of the late Captain Gerard Leigh. There were three children, a daughter and two sons, one of whom was reported missing, presumed killed, in the last war.

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Letter to the Editor

Breaches of Faith with Barotseland Charges Against Zambian Legislation

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—May I state through your widely read paper some of the reasons why the Barotse people are opposed to portions of the Local Government Bill introduced in the Zambian Parliament?

Contrary to Barotse custom and tradition, and against the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement of 1964, the Bill takes away all the powers and rights of the Litunga as head of Barotseland.

It disconnects Barotse district councils from the Barotse Central Government. It destroys not only the Barotse National Council but the Barotseland Government and Cabinet. It gives the Minister of Local Government the right not only to appoint and control but to dissolve Barotse district councils, and also the right to control and allocate revenue raised in Barotseland from that country's natural resources. In all these matters the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement of 1964 are flouted.

The Bill dismantles the Barotse Central Treasury, making Barotseland a complete parasite depending entirely on the Central Government of Zambia. This robs the Litunga of his powers and rights to control the Barotse Treasury in accordance with Barotse custom and tradition. The abolition of the Barotse Treasury is against the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement, 1964.

The Minister's power to control and allocate revenue collected in Barotseland and to dissolve the Barotse Central Treasury could give him the power and right to control Barotseland's natural resources—contrary to Barotse custom and tradition and against the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement, 1964.

In recognition of Barotse custom and tradition, the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, gives the Litunga the power and right to appoint and dissolve the Barotse National Council, but contrary to this provision the Minister of Local Government dissolved the Barotse National Council and dismissed the Barotse Cabinet without full consultation and consent of the Litunga, chiefs and principal *indunas* on behalf of the people of Barotseland.

In recognition of Barotse custom and tradition, the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, gives the Litunga the power and right to control and administer the Barotse Treasury, but contrary to this the Minister of Local Government ordered the removal of the Barotseland Treasury, and, with his provincial staff, he divided the funds and assets of the Barotse Treasury into five separate autonomous district councils responsible to him only, not to the Litunga, in accordance with Barotse custom and tradition and the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement, 1964. He did this too without prior consultation with and the consent of the Litunga, chiefs and principal *indunas* on behalf of the people of Barotseland.

The Bill gives the Minister of Local Government power and right to establish and control a "Barotseland Local Government Fund", instead of the Litunga doing so on the advice and consent of the Barotse National Council and chiefs. This gives the Minister more power and authority in Barotseland than the Litunga, who has been termed in the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, as "the principal local authority in Barotseland". This too is contrary to Barotse custom and tradition, and against the spirit of the Barotseland Agreement, 1964.

The Bill aims at taking away the special status of Barotseland and thus place the country on the same level with provinces which had no agreement with Northern Rhodesia prior to independence. Without the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, and the assurance that the agreement was going to be permanently respected, Barotseland was not going to agree to integrate with Northern Rhodesia and march together towards independence as one country.

The Minister of Local Government has referred to Barotseland in Parliament and in the Press as "Barotse Province", contrary to and disregarding the term used in the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, which is more familiar and acceptable to the Litunga, the chiefs, the principal *indunas*, village headmen, and the majority of the country's indigenous population.

Although Britain is a unitary State, the four parts of that country are still officially known as England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Even in nearby Rhodesia people still hear of Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Manicaland. Why then should Barotseland be re-nicknamed Barotse Province—

the term which the Litunga, the chiefs, principal *indunas*, village headmen and the majority of the country's indigenous population had rejected during the period of British Colonial rule?

In recognition of the special status of Barotseland, during the British Colonial rule the Central Government of Northern Rhodesia, as well as the British Government itself, never interfered in the internal affairs of Barotseland or imposed any legislation on the country without full consultation and consent of the Litunga, the chiefs, the principal *indunas* and the Barotse National Council on behalf of the people of Barotseland. Barotseland was promised and assured of the same treatment in an independent Zambia. This removed the fear that the Litunga, the chiefs, the principal *indunas*, the Barotse National Council and the people of Barotseland in general had in the integration of Barotseland with Northern Rhodesia as one Zambia.

Therefore this Bill acts contrary to those promises and assurances as well as to the Barotseland Agreement, 1964. If the Bill comes into force without exception to Barotseland, the country will not only be denied the freedom it was promised in an independent Zambia but will lose also most of its powers, rights, privileges and traditions.

Although it is the responsibility of the Litunga to appoint and dissolve the Barotse National Council and to control and administer the Barotse Treasury, the Minister of Local Government dissolved these institutions not only without consulting the Litunga, the chiefs, the principal *indunas* and the Barotse National Council, but also before the Bill became law contrary to the normal procedure in any democracy.

The Minister of Local Government, a Muluzi and a son of a former Barotse Prime Minister (Ngambela), should be well versed in Barotse custom and tradition and should know and understand that the Barotse people had much faith in the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, as they had in the 1900 treaty. No Muluzi thought that the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, was only a passport to independence.

Should the Minister of Local Government find it fit to go ahead with the Bill without exception to Barotseland, some of the sons of Barotseland will find it their duty to try their country and people to challenge the Minister's action in a court of law. The Barotseland Agreement not being part of the Zambia Constitution, but a separate instrument signed by representatives of three countries, i.e., Northern Rhodesia, Barotseland, and Great Britain—thus making it an international agreement—the Zambia Parliament has no legal power or right to annul, amend, or change it on its own without the three parties to the agreement sitting together again round the table to negotiate and agree on a subsidiary or supplementary agreement or make the original agreement null. Any action against the terms and spirit of the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, will take back Barotseland and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) where they were before signing the Barotseland Agreement, 1964, with each deciding its own future independently.

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL M. MWIKISA, B.A.

Formerly of Aluyana Tukuongate Association,
Bechuanaland Protectorate Branch.

Bulawayo.

Certitude

WHEN MR. S. H. MILLAR, M.P. for Bulawayo Central, referred in the Rhodesian Parliament to "Government helping businesses that go for a loop", the Speaker asked what that expression meant. Mr. Millar: "Go broke, sir". Mr. Speaker: "What does that mean?". Mr. Millar: "Find themselves in financial difficulties, Mr. Speaker". Later when Colonel Hartley was speaking about the Cold Storage Commission, the Speaker expressed the hope that he was not reading from his notes. Instead of offering the customary excuse that he was referring to them, the Member for Victoria made the candid admission that "I am, emphatically, sir. I would like to be certain that I am delivering the correct speech". Mr. Speaker Stumbles: "The hon. Member certainly appeared to be making very certain. The hon. Member may proceed".

Copperbelt Standstill

ABOUT 30,000 AFRICANS employed at the seven copper mines in Zambia are on unofficial strike, demanding much higher pay. The cost to the country is estimated at about £1m. a day. Copper has risen on the London market to the all-time record price of £782 a ton.

Mr Smith Rebutts "Illegality" Charge British Promise At Victoria Falls

MR. IAN SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, said in a broadcast talk to the nation last week: —

"There is much talk of 'illegal action' when we assumed our independence. First of all, we have the assurance given to us by the then Prime Minister that if we accepted the 1961 Constitution and if the Federation came to an end Rhodesia would be granted Dominion status under the 1961 Constitution. This is quoted in *Hansard* of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly of June 20, 1961, and has never at any time been contradicted or denied by the British Government.

"Secondly, at the Victoria Falls conference of 1963 I was present with the Rhodesian Prime Minister when the leader of the British delegation made us a categorical promise that if we co-operated in the winding-up of the Federation the British Government would immediately thereafter deal with our independence to the other members of the Federation.

"I believe that any court of law would give judgement in our favour on this question. Unfortunately, however, no appropriate court exists for such a purpose. It cannot be denied from what I have told you that we are not guilty of any illegal act. On the contrary, we have merely assumed what was legally, rightly, and morally our own.

"The weeks which it was claimed were necessary to bring us to our knees have become months, and we are becoming stronger instead of weaker. Of course, our strength is growing because of our trade with countries other than Britain. Every week we are creating new trade links to replace those so destructively and vindictively broken by Mr. Wilson. Each week means an additional loss to British trade which is running into millions of pounds.

Model of Patience

"Waiting for over four months for someone to talk to us is surely a model of patience and reasonableness. Indeed, we have reached the position where some people are beginning to accuse us of procrastination. If one carried out an exercise to find out how long it is taking Britain to recognize other Governments in Africa which have assumed power one way or another, and usually violently and with bloodshed and loss of life, I believe the average would work out at nearer four hours than four months. In our case there was no violence, no bloodshed, not even was anyone hurt. It was the most peaceful operation of its kind ever known. Can anyone ask for greater justification for its acceptance by all Rhodesians?

"We have no wish to interfere in British politics, but to the extent that the British Government interferes in our internal affairs we have no option. As we dislike meddling in other people's affairs, so do we dislike others meddling in our affairs. Accordingly we have made a decision that this must come to an end.

"Could anything be more ridiculous than the British Government's insistence that they have a right to a say in our affairs while at the same time their Prime Minister is not prepared to talk to our Prime Minister, who was elected under the 1961 Constitution, a Constitution accepted by the British Government?

"When one sees how British policy has failed in so many countries to our north perhaps one should not be surprised at British reluctance to talk. Indeed, unless they are completely devoid of all human feelings they should be too ashamed to discuss the subject. In contrast, we in Rhodesia have succeeded for the very good reason that we live with the problem. We know how to deal with it. Far from changing to a policy which has failed disastrously, we are going to continue with our policy, which has succeeded triumphantly."

Mr. John Ashbrook, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, who recently visited Rhodesia, has described the British Government's policy on Rhodesia as "a blue-print for chaos".

Mr. Joseph Palmer, recently appointed Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the United States, is reported to have said last week that economic sanctions against the régime in Rhodesia could not achieve their objectives without resort to military force.

Tobacco Sales in Salisbury Transactions by Private Treaty

THE DAY AFTER THE OPENING of this season's tobacco auctions in Salisbury it was announced that sales were in fact, being made by private treaty, not by auction. That, however, did not necessarily mean that the auction method would not be used later. The decision to sell by private treaty has been taken in the interests of secrecy, it being recognized that British agents would find it easier to discover the identity of buyers at auction.

In a B.B.C. transmission beamed to Rhodesia Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, said: "If any speculators should be so foolhardy as to participate in the auctions we shall undoubtedly learn who they are and shall not hesitate to expose them. Any consignment of illegal tobacco will be recognized and pursued wherever it is sent. Dealers will risk prosecution in Britain".

In Britain the Gallaher and Carreras groups stated that they were looking to the United States to replace the tobacco which they had hitherto bought from Rhodesia. Carreras said that about one-third of its leaf supplies had come from Rhodesia.

A spokesman for the Imperial Tobacco Company said: "We are still hoping that the situation will right itself one way or the other". At the time of U.D.I. in November the group had about two years' supply of Rhodesian leaf in bond, its tobacco blend then being 30% Rhodesian, 44% American, and the rest equally divided between tobacco from Canada and India.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has received from the Ministry of Agriculture the support price fixed for each of 273 grades of flue-cured tobacco, i.e., the prices on which payments to growers will be based, not the minimum sale price to merchants.

The highest price for leaf grade is 46.5d. per lb., and the lowest 10d. For short leaf the range is from 25.4d. to 12d.; for smoking leaf, 48d. to 27d.; for cutters, 46d. to 18.5d.; for lugs, 46d. to 10.5d.; for primings, 37d. to 10.5d.; for strips, 33.5d. to 12.2d.; for scrap, 25.5d. to 10.5d.

"Observer" Reporter Ordered Out Appealing on Point of Law

MR. ROY PERROTT, chief reporter on the London *Observer*, who has been given seven days' notice to quit Rhodesia, is to challenge the legality of the expulsion order on the ground that by Rhodesian law it should have been made by the Governor. Mr. Michael Zander, a legal adviser to Amnesty International, left London for Salisbury on Saturday to assist Mr. Perrott in his application to the court, and also Mr. Antony Martin, of the *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, who on Friday was refused an extension of his temporary work permit.

Mr. Perrott's latest dispatch suggests that sanctions will not give Mr. Wilson a stronger bargaining position before the end of the year, and that it is doubtful whether Mr. Smith's hold on the white electorate will have been weakened six months hence.

Mr. Wilson, he telegraphed on Saturday, "has been losing badly in the propaganda war". The long report contains passages unlike those previously published by the *Observer*; as, for instance: —

"Rhodesia contains its due human proportion of excellent and industrious people, and a good many here, particularly among the farmers, have an admirable pioneering spirit of the sort which leader-writers vainly urge true Britons to recapture. Perhaps a reporter should have affirmed more often that most whites here treat their African servants with patience and even consideration, and do charitable work among them.

"It is true that most white Rhodesians want only to be left alone, and that, perhaps rightly, they feel that their country has gained more trouble than benefit from the British tie and that Whitehall has sometimes seen their difficulties through the wrong end of a telescope."

The United Kingdom Institute of Journalists has been asked to examine "the expulsion of the Rhodesian journalist, Mr. A. N. PITCH, from Zambia in July last".

Use Force, Say African States

Incitement to Rebellion in Rhodesia

DELEGATES from 11 African countries met in Nairobi last Thursday in a "good neighbour" conference; which lasted two and a half days.

President Kenyatta presided. The participants were Ethiopia (represented for part of the time by the Emperor), the Congo, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, and Zambia.

As President Kaunda could stay only for a short while Rhodesia came high on the agenda. The final *communiqué* recorded unanimous agreement to bring "maximum pressure, diplomatic and otherwise" on Britain to take effective and decisive measures against Rhodesia, "including the use of force against the Smith régime".

Noting with regret that sanctions have not so far proved effective, that the situation is deteriorating, and that oil sanctions had been undermined by the actions of certain countries, notably South Africa, the conference decided to appeal to the African nationalists of Rhodesia "to take action against the rebel government and intensify their fight for freedom".

It was decided to ask the Organization of African Unity to consider the application of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. Further aid to Zambia was pledged.

Disharmony

Dr. Banda did not attend, and Mr. Msonthi, his Minister of Commerce, said soon after the meeting opened that Malawi would not participate unless given an assurance by Tanzania that that country would no longer permit anti-Banda elements from Malawi to plot and receive military training in Tanzania. The assurance was given.

The Prime Minister of Somalia told Press representatives that his delegation had declined to participate in discussions of political propaganda and subversion.

There was discussion of plots against the Governments of their own countries by exiles who had been given asylum in Nairobi, including Congolese and Southern Sudanese. A resolution on refugees recorded agreement that they should in future receive only basic humanitarian rights and that they should be denied financial and military aid and access to the Press and radio.

When told that General Mobutu, President of the Congo, and his colleagues had been embarrassed to see two of the chief Congo rebel leaders, "President" Gbénye, and "Foreign Minister" Kanza, in Nairobi, the Kenya Government promptly ordered them to leave the country. They left at once for Kampala—though President Mobutu had said that he would visit Kampala on his way back to Leopoldville. Not many months ago they and other rebel leaders had been recognized as "nationalists" by the Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania Governments.

Correspondents have described the conference as a triumph for the Congolese President in winning the support of all the countries represented, which less than a year ago committed themselves to help the rebel movement. Dr. Obote, who took the lead in obtaining East African support for the rebels, accepted an invitation to visit the Congolese capital.

"Slave" Labour in Tanzania

DR. KIANO, Minister of Labour in Kenya, has warned those who have been illegally engaged in recruiting African children, mainly in the Kisii district, for work in the forests on Kilimanjaro that action is being taken to identify and severely punish the culprits. It seems that for several years boys of about 12 years of age and upwards have been lured from home by promises of good money during school holidays, that they have been transported to Tanzania by bus at night so that they would not know the direction, and then engaged in heavy labour, described as "slavery", for scarcely any cash wages, and without compensation for the injuries which are frequent. Government sources in Kenya estimate that about 250 children from the Kisii area are still at work in Tanzania under such conditions.

H.M. Government has given £1,000 to the Toro earthquake relief fund. The Emperor of Ethiopia has sent £5,000, the Government of Tanzania £3,000, and Kenya £100.

Retrogressive Dictatorship

Somali Support for Mr. Odinga

RADIO MOGADISHU, which had for some time suspended outright attack on Kenya, though continuing to assert that the Kenya forces operating in the North-Eastern Region were suffering heavy casualties in operations against Somali patriots, last week resumed the offence. It declared Kenya to be "a retrogressive country ruled by a dictator, President Kenyatta, who supports a minority bent on crushing all their opponents."

The broadcast praised Vice-President Oginga Odinga and criticized Mr. Mboya, who was said to "want the country to fall into the hands of colonialists". He was described as a "reactionary" responsible for the emergency party conference which had removed Mr. Odinga from office in the Kenya African National Union.

The commentary also said:—

"Some politicians in Kenya want a progressive non-aligned Socialist country. Others want the country to fall into the hands of the imperialists. The nationalists who desire Kenya's progress are led by the man second to President Kenyatta. Even before Mr. Odinga was removed from his post in the party leadership many politicians were dissatisfied with the way President Kenyatta was leading the country; and they are all members of K.A.N.U.

"Many facts prove that Kenya is a retrogressive country ruled by a dictator. The Government are now denied the right of self-expression. The Government is afraid of Vice-President Odinga, whom they have banned from talking, from informing his people.

Mr. Kaggia's Dismissal

Dr. Mungai, Kenya's Defence Minister and Acting Minister for External Affairs during the illness of Mr. Murumbi, denounced such criticism on the eve of the assembly in Nairobi of delegates of 11 African nations.

He accused the Somali Republic of encouraging *shifita* activities in the North Eastern Region and of "openly equipping those brigands with arms and ammunition for the alleged purpose of liberating the former Northern Frontier District", and wondered whether the references to Mr. Odinga and Mr. Kaggia meant that Somalia intended to set herself up as their protector. Was that being done with their permission? Had they authorized a foreign country to interfere in Kenya's internal affairs?

Addressing the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group, Mr. Kaggia denied any collusion with Somalia and challenged Dr. Mungai to substantiate his suggestion that Mr. Odinga and he had been in touch with Mogadishu.

Subversion in Kenya

MR. RONALD NGALA, M.P. for Kilifi South, and vice-president of K.A.N.U. for the Coast Province, has asked President Kenyatta to summon an emergency session of the National Assembly to discuss the statement by Mr. Arap Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, about subversion in Kenya being encouraged and financed by foreign ambassadors. The country should be grateful to Mr. Moi, he said, for revealing that within the past 18 months £400,000 had been "dished out to some politicians to subvert the Kenya Government". Kenya should know which embassy or embassies had engaged in such intrigues and why the Government had not taken drastic action against the politicians involved.

Three Chinese experts in bamboo handicrafts who had been lent to Kenya have returned home.

Two journalists from Tanzania are in Peking at the invitation of the All-China Journalists Association.

The Kenya African National Union offices in Gilgil, Njoro, and Elburgon have been closed after allegations by the Nakuru district chairmen that they had acted "in a manner contrary to the policy of K.A.N.U."

New House of Commons

(Continued from page 573)

- RENTON, Sir David, Q.C. (Cons.-Nat. Lib.). Retained Huntingdonshire; majority 5,228 (7,864).
 RUSSELL, Sir Ronald (Cons.). Held Wembley South. Majority reduced from 4,313 to 1,183. Former chairman Commonwealth Producers' Organization. Editor of *British Commonwealth Year Book*.

Negotiated 1961 Constitution

- SANDYS, Duncan (Cons.). Held Streatham, London, with 3,367 majority (7,323). Has visited East and Central Africa. As Commonwealth Relations Secretary negotiated 1961 Constitution with Rhodesia. Was also Colonial Secretary.
 SKEFFINGTON, Arthur (Lab.). Increased majority at Hayes and Harlington from 6,860 to 8,824. Past chairman of Fabian Society.
 SNOW, J. R. (Lab.). Raised majority at Lichfield and Tanworth from 3,816 to 4,134. As young man worked in Uganda for short period.
 STEWART, Michael (Lab.). Foreign Secretary. Held Fulham, London, with majority increased from 4,946 to 6,986. Has sharply denounced Rhodesian U.D.I.
 STONEHOUSE, John (Lab.). Increased majority in Wednesbury from 3,222 to 7,828. As young man spent short time in business in Uganda. Left-winger in African affairs—declared prohibited immigrant in Central African Federation.
 SUMMERS, Sir Spencer (Cons.). Held Gylesbury; majority out from 7,389 to 3,907. Former Secretary for Overseas Trade.
 TAPSELL, Peter H. B. (Cons.). Held Hornchurch (Lines.) with majority of 5,375 (7,785). Strongly pro-Rhodesia.
 TAYLOR, Sir Charles (Cons.). Held Eastbourne against three opponents with 9,293 majority (10,969 against two in 1964).
 TAYLOR, Edward M. (Cons.). Held Cathcare (Glasgow); majority 1,219 (3,005). Takes Monday Club view on Rhodesia.
 TEELING, Sir William (Cons.). Held Brighton (Pavilion) with majority reduced from 9,850 to 6,354. Consistent interest in African affairs.
 TILNEY, J. D. R. T. (Cons.). Held Wavertree, Liverpool. Majority 5,650 (8,260). Under-Secretary, C. R. O., 1962-63; later Joint Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies.
 THOMSON, George M. (Lab.). Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Increased his majority in Dundee last from 4,563 to 5,726.
 THORPE, Jeremy (Lib.). Liberal spokesman on Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs. Held Devon North, but with majority cut from 5,136 to 1,166. Has advocated sharper sanctions and possible use of force against Rhodesia.

Father of the House

- TURTON, Robin H. (Cons.). Re-elected for Thirsk and Malling. Majority 9,442 (13,957). Staunch defender of Central African Federation at all times. Most outspoken critic on African affairs of his party during Macmillan-MacLeod era. Chairman, Commonwealth Industries Association.
 VAUGHAN-MORGAN, Sir John (Cons.). Held Reigate with 7,514 majority (9,389). Former chairman of Commonwealth Producers' Organization.
 VICKERS, Dame Joan (Cons.). Held Devonport Division of Plymouth, with majority reduced from 3,626 to 319. Has visited Tanganyika on several occasions.
 WALKER, P. Gordon (Lab.). Won Leyton with majority of 8,646, having been defeated there in by-election after losing at Smethwick in 1964 general election. Former Commonwealth Relations Secretary.
 WALL, Patrick H. B. (Cons.). Re-elected for Haltemprice (Yorkshire); majority, 12,549 (15,771). Frequent visitor to East, Central and South Africa in recent years. Chairman, Joint African Board. Strong advocate of talks with Smith Government.
 WHITAKER, B. C. G. (Lab.). Won Hampstead in four-cornered contest with majority of 2,253 over Mr. Henry Brooke, a former Conservative Minister. Mr. Whitaker recently visited Rhodesia.
 WHITE, Mrs. Eirene (Lab.). Held Flintshire East against three opponents with 8,482 majority (3,956 against one in 1964). Has been Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Colonies since 1964. Former chairman of Fabian Society.
 WILSON, J. Harold (Lab.). Prime Minister. Increased majority in Huyton (Lancs.) from 19,273 to 20,940. Visited Rhodesia in October and Zambia after Commonwealth Conference in Lagos early this year.

WOOD, Richard (Cons.). Held Bridlington; majority reduced from 13,727 to 10,037. When president of Universities' Mission to Central Africa visited Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Lost both legs while serving in Middle East with King's Royal Rifle Corps, with which Royal Rhodesia Regiment has been closely associated since 1914-18 war.

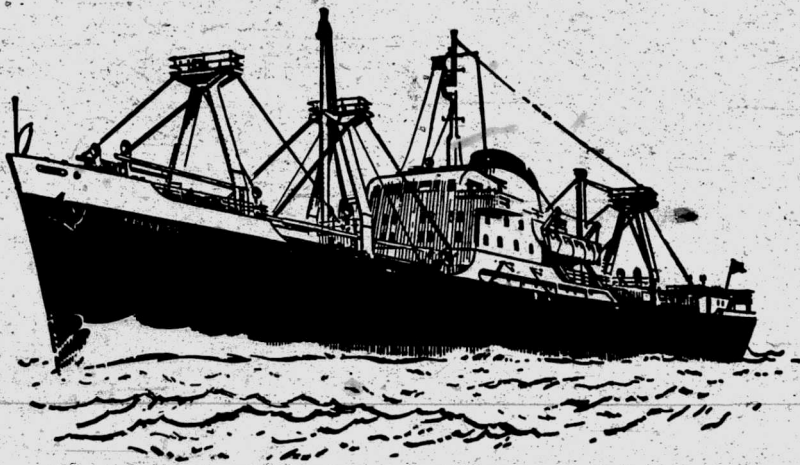
DEFEATED

- AMERY, Julian. Lost by 2,418 votes in Preston North, where his majority in 1964 was 14. Former Secretary of State for Air. Son of the late Leopold Amery. Has visited Rhodesia, and campaigned against punitive sanctions and in favour of talks with Smith Government.
 ANSTRUTHER-GRAY, Sir William (Cons.). Lost his seat at Berwick and East Lothian by 1,689 votes. Had had a majority of 625. Chairman of 1922 Committee of Conservative M.P.s.
 BALFOUR, C. J. J. (Cons.). Was unsuccessful in Gloucester, polling 15,678 against 20,951 for the Labour and 6,540 votes for the Liberal candidate. He holds Monday Club views on Rhodesia.
 BARLOW, Sir John (Cons.). Lost his seat at Middleton and Prestwich by 3,817 votes. Previously he had had a majority of 2,126. Has been interested in East and Central African affairs for many years.
 BERKELEY, Humphry (Cons.). Lost his seat at Lancaster by 1,811 votes in a straight fight with Labour. His previous majority was 2,481. On African issues his views approximated to those of left-wing Socialists.
 BOSCAWEN, R. T. (Cons.), who has been deeply interested in East and Central African affairs for many years, was unsuccessful in the Falmouth/Camborne Division of Cornwall, gaining 18,131 votes against 21,394 cast for the Socialist and 6,144 for the Liberal.
 CHATAWAY, Christopher (Cons.). Lost his seat in Lewisham, London, by 2,363 votes. His majority in 1964 was 343.
 CLARKE, Brigadier Terence H. (Cons.). Lost his seat at Portsmouth West by 1,227 votes. His majority had been 497. Visited Central Africa several years ago. Was strongly pro-Rhodesia.
 DAVIES, Dr. Wyndham R. (Cons.) who won Birmingham Perry Bar by 327 votes in a recent by-election, lost by 3,665 votes to a Labour opponent. He held Monday Club views on Rhodesia.
 EMERY, P. F. H. (Cons.) was unseated at Reading, where his majority had been only 10. The majority against him was 4,133. He had shown keen interest in African issues.
 FELL, Anthony (Cons.) was unseated at Yarmouth by 797 votes, his previous majority having been 1,929. He had shown great independence and spoken strongly on Rhodesia and other African issues.

Former Deputy Governor

- FLETCHER-COOKE, Sir John (Cons.), a former Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, lost at Southampton (Test) by 4,102 votes. His majority in a by-election had been 348.
 KEIGWIN, T. C. (Cons.) was runner-up to Mr. Jeremy Thorpe in Devon North, reducing the victor's majority from 5,136 to 1,166. Mr. Keigwin strongly advocated talks with Rhodesia.
 LONGBOTTOM, Charles B. (Cons.) lost his seat at York by 6,100 votes. His 1964 majority had been 1,093. He had been very much to the left of his party in African affairs. Concerned with the establishment of the Aerial Foundation.
 OAKESHOTT, R., who flew home from Zambia to stand as a Liberal in Darlington, polled only 3,891 votes against 19,546 for the Conservative and 23,909 for the Socialist.
 STACEY, T. C. G. (Cons.), contesting his first election, polled 24,040 votes against 27,256 cast for Mr. D. H. Ennals in Dover. Mr. Stacey, who was for a short while in the Colonial Service in Uganda, has travelled often and widely in East and Central Africa in his journalistic capacity. Is now Commonwealth correspondent of the London *Evening Standard*.
 TWEEDSMUIR, Lady (Cons.), lost at Aberdeen, which she had represented for 20 years, by 1,799 votes. Her 1964 majority had been 3,989.
 WISE, A. R. (Cons.), lost his seat at Rugby by 409 votes. His previous majority had been 1,689. Much interested in African affairs.
 YATES, W. (Cons.), was unseated in the Wrekin Division by 846 votes. His previous majority had been 2,687. Recently visited Rhodesia.

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Rhodesian Brevities

U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, had talks on Rhodesia in New York last week with Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

About 75 residents of Oklahoma City, U.S.A., including civil leaders, bankers, and businessmen, are shortly to visit Rhodesia to assess the situation for themselves. The organizers have said that they hope on their return to persuade the American Government to change its policy towards Rhodesia.

A Mexican daily newspaper, *El Universal*, has sent a correspondent to report on the Rhodesian situation. He interviewed the Prime Minister.

Mr. B. R. Wilson, chairman and managing editor of the *East African Daily Times*, Ipswich, has returned from a visit to Rhodesia.

Successful Savings Campaigns

A special drive to sell Independence Bonds in Bulawayo resulted in sales of £11,213 in two days.

The small farming community of Hartley has bought independence bonds worth £12,235.

By saving paper Rhodesians have been challenged to save £50,000 a year. Before U.D.I. the country imported about 2,000 tons of waste paper a month, part from East Africa. Now the Salisbury area is collecting more than 600 tons a month. Bulawayo about 150 tons, Umtali 35 tons, and Gwelo 20 tons. Elsewhere local authorities, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and other organizations are collecting paper.

Industrial Confirming (Private), Ltd., has been formed in Rhodesia under the auspices of the Industrial Development Corporation to finance the import of goods required by credit-worthy Rhodesian companies. This first major Rhodesian confirming house has some £750,000 at its disposal.

To help the local weaving industry in its plans for diversification, the Rhodesian Government has imposed restrictions on the import of cotton and synthetic fabrics, except cheap prints, denims, and sheeting materials.

Farmers in Rhodesia are urged by the Government to make maximum use of water during the approaching winter irrigation season for crops of wheat, lucerne, potatoes, and other vegetables.

The Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia has said that there is no intention of directing farmers, who should grow the crops most suitable to their environment, most economical to produce, and most likely to yield maximum profit. Though diversification is desirable within limits, any attempt to handle too many crops may increase costs and be in the interests neither of the individual nor of the country.

Farmers embarrassed by the drought are to receive Government help for the planting of next season's crops through a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. J. C. Graylin, a former Federal Minister of Agriculture.

Thanks to good recent rains, the Grain Marketing Board has been able to cancel one-third of its orders for maize imports, leaving 650,000 bags to be delivered.

Man-power regulations controlling the discharge and resignation of staff have been extended to the motor assembly plants in Rhodesia of the Ford, Rover and Rootes groups in Salisbury and the British Motor Corporation in Umtali. The regulations already applied to the tobacco industry, the Feruka oil refinery, and the Rhodesian Iron and Steel company.

Export Association Formed

Rhodesia's recently formed Export Association will concentrate initially on expanding business with South Africa.

A South African motor transport company has put at the free disposal of the Rhodesian Export Association 20 half-ton trucks for the transport of Rhodesian products for display in shops in Durban during that city's Rhodesian Fortnight (from April 25 to May 7).

Mr. W. Livesey, director of the Co-ordinating Centre for Commerce and Industry in Salisbury, has had numerous inquiries from overseas buyers for large quantities of sunflower seeds. Others wanted up to 100,000 tons of maize, 100,000 tons of millet, 50,000 tons of cotton seed, and copper, zinc, lead, and other minerals. Requests were received from Europe, North America, the Middle East, and the Far East.

A Friends of Rhodesia Association has been formed in Denmark.

The Friends of Rhodesia Association in South Africa intends to offer financial assistance to children at educational institutes in that country of Rhodesians whose incomes have been reduced by economic sanctions.

Reports that post-U.D.I. passports issued to Rhodesians were not recognized by Bechuanaland have been officially denied by that Government.

The offices in Salisbury of the Friends of Rhodesia Trust are now in Pax House, Union Avenue (P.O. Box 2552).

The Government of Rhodesia has given permission for ministers of religion to visit the restriction camp at Gonakudzingwa to hold religious services and hear confessions.

Gifts from South Africa

Polo players in South Africa have sent a truck-load of petrol and oil to the Rhodesian Polo Association.

Rugby football clubs in Durban have decided to send 200 gallons of petrol to Rhodesia in order that rugby clubs in that country may be able to fulfil their league fixtures.

Youth clubs in Johannesburg have sent a truck-load of petrol to Salisbury.

Residents in Petrusburg, South Africa, have sent a truck-load of dieselene to Rhodesia.

Townfolk of Pittsburg have sent 40 drums of petrol and oil.

The Randfontein-for-Rhodesia Organization will send its chairman and secretary to Gwelo, the Rhodesian town which it has adopted for the purposes of assistance.

The National Council of the Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union is to make counter-proposals to an offer of special contracts to induce members to work in Zambia. The offer of Rhodesian Railways was rejected.

The president of Amnesty International, Mr. Peter Benenson, has said on his return to London from a visit to Rhodesia that the accusation against Mr. Michael Haddon of stealing £2,700 from the Southern Rhodesian Legal Aid and Welfare Fund, of which he is treasurer, is not supported by any of the groups in Britain, on the Continent, or on the United States which had sent money to Rhodesia for the legal defence of detainees or the relief of their families. Mr. Clutton-Brock, the former chairman of the fund, had satisfied him that all the money sent by Amnesty groups had been properly applied.

Misled by Semantics

MR. JOHN WALTER, JR. wrote in *The Times* :—

"I submit to Sir Alec Douglas-Home that within the democratic system which he upholds there should be no room for the conception 'majority rule for Africans', but only a majority rule for Rhodesians. Here is an example of how semantics can influence—or reflect—an attitude of mind."

"The repeated use by speakers and writers of such expressions as 'black majority', 'handover' instead of 'majority' and 'full participation', suggests a racial rather than a democratic approach, and, although the end result may be a foregone conclusion, it is surely essential that it be based on the *intended* political philosophy, i.e. racial integration, under which Shona, Matabele, European and Asian can have their say".

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME had written :—

"Mr. Michael Foot may be quite sure that there is no betrayal of the principle that majority rule for Africans must be certain. The sentence in my letter of March 29 which read 'a programme of education which would ensure that when the Africans are ready to take over they would form a responsible government' is surely an explicit statement of the intention."

LORD HASTINGS replied to Miss Todd, saying that her letter largely confirmed his belief that present Socialist policy would lead to the use of force :—

"She argues that there has already been a *technical* breakdown of law and order; thus fulfilling the conditions that Mr. Wilson has laid down for the use of British force. If he is still Prime Minister Mr. Wilson may try to use this argument although in fact there has been no *actual* breakdown in law and order. Nevertheless I think it more likely that force will be used by the United Nations with the disastrous consequences both for Rhodesia and ourselves that I have set out."

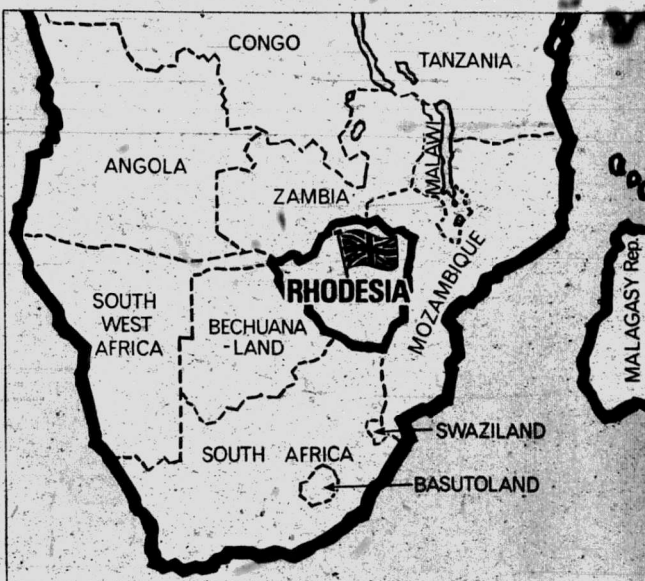
Miss Todd claims that : "Mr. Smith's opponents have no desire to see H.M. Government resuming negotiations with the rebel régime." My recent experience in Rhodesia taught me very clearly that most of Mr. Smith's opponents would prefer negotiations to the use of force, provided such negotiations would at some stage include, as they would have to, other interested parties.

"I have stated in public before now that in my opinion it was a mistake to remove Mr. Garfield Todd as Prime Minister in 1958. Since then, however, Mr. Todd's views have veered very considerably to the left—this is made clear in Sir Alec Douglas-Home's letter—and it must be said that Mr. Todd now has virtually no following among Europeans in Rhodesia today, regrettable though this may be."

DR. VERWOERD's ruling National Party won 126 seats in last week's general election. The South African Parliament has a membership of 170.

"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, April 14, 1966

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. WILSON—a casuist in the Macmillan-Macleod class, and in African affairs as nescient but reckless, stubborn and dangerous as they—has within a week of his re-election

Prime Minister's Pledge Broken as Prime Minister broken his repeated pledges to Parliament and the people that his Government would

not take the initiative in inviting the United Nations to resort to force in furtherance of its financial and economic sanctions against Rhodesia—whose crime has been to refuse Mr. Wilson's *Diktat*. A past master in double-talk even by party political standards (or, rather, by the betrayal of standards which has become common practice in politics), the Socialist leader provided himself with an escape clause from most of his references to the use of force, but in this particular matter he was quite specific when the subject was debated in the House of Commons just before Parliament rose for the Christmas recess. He then said: "We certainly do not propose to take individual, unilateral action to blockade Beira". If there were a seepage of oil through Mozambique, the Prime Minister continued, action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations would be urged by African States, "but we do not seek it and we shall not seek to promote it". Yet that is precisely what has now been done by the British representative on the Security Council, Lord Caradon, who was summoned to London last week to receive the Prime Minister's instructions.

The solemn affirmations at Christmas had been jettisoned before Easter. That was the season which Mr. Wilson and his associates ignobly chose for the invocation of international passion (on the manifestly

Portugal Bullied false pretence that the situation in Rhodesia threatens the peace of the world) and the intensification of the process of publicly bullying Portugal, the oldest ally of Britain, because she

has refused to abandon her policy of continuing normal trade relations with the countries which depend upon Mozambique for access to the sea. Mr. Wilson has used the port of Beira to increase supplies of oil through Mozambique and Malawi to Zambia; but he resents the maintenance of similar facilities to Rhodesia. Why should the Portuguese, who for decades have depended so largely upon trade to and from Rhodesia through Beira, be expected to destroy that important relationship because of a political wrangle between Britain and Rhodesia? From the Portuguese standpoint, the ceaseless diplomatic pressure upon her Government by Britain in recent months must seem to constitute intolerable interference and unpardonable dictatorship. It is small wonder that spokesmen at the United Nations of countries hostile to Britain should have contrasted the Wilson Government's readiness to ride roughshod over militarily weak (but politically staunch) Portugal with its discretion in avoiding (for the moment) a confrontation with South Africa, a great market for British goods and a State in which perhaps one thousand million pounds of British money have been invested.

Far from satisfying the extremist African leaders who for months have called for the shedding of blood in Rhodesia, the breach by Britain of another pledge by another of her

Use of Force Not Denounced Prime Ministers has merely increased their anger; first, because they had been trying to reach agreement on the

tactics to be used in demanding action by the Security Council, and consequently feel that the sudden intervention by Britain stole their thunder, and, secondly, because the resolution now approved by ten of the fifteen member States does not enjoin an invasion of Rhodesia. Instead of denouncing that idea as unthinkable, Lord Caradon—obviously knowing that he would not be reproved by the Prime Minister

—merely asked that it should be considered later, instead of being coupled with his application for international authority for the Royal Navy to violate that freedom of the seas which it had safeguarded for centuries. The African fanatics and their Communist *bloc* supporters can thus claim, and certainly will claim, that at the crucial moment Britain did not reject the use of military force. Can the present British Government be so naïve as to believe that its foolhardiness in invoking Chapter VII will

weaken the Smith Government, frighten South Africa, and win co-operation from Portugal? Its actions will, on the contrary, have solidified the common feeling of Rhodesians, South Africans, and Portuguese throughout Southern Africa, where responsible persons will take still greater precautions against further follies by Britain, the United Nations, or both, for what has been done in New York this week increases the risk of the ultimate crime of attempted invasion of Rhodesia.

Britain Refers Rhodesian Blockade Problem to U.N.

Five States Abstain from Voting in the Security Council

ON BRITISH INITIATIVE—though the Prime Minister had given a categorical promise to the House of Commons on December 21 that the Government would not take such a step—the Security Council of the United Nations has authorized the use of naval or other force by Britain to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia through Beira.

Very shortly after the resolution had been passed by ten votes to nil, but with five abstentions, a second Greek tanker bound for that Mozambique port was turned back by a frigate of the Royal Navy, which put an armed party aboard.

Early on Sunday, after hours of discussion, the Security Council authorized Royal Navy interception of vessels bound for Beira with oil for Rhodesia.

Lord Caradon, the British delegate, who had flown to London for instructions last week, had on Thursday asked for an immediate meeting of the Council, but Mr. Moussa Keita, of the near-Communist African State of Mali, who happened to be president of the Council (the office rotating month by month) resisted heavy pressure after he had announced that he would not summon the delegates for another 36 hours. He had presented his credentials as the representative of his country only three weeks earlier.

Mali Defies Security Council

He made no secret that the delay was intended to provide opportunity for all independent African States to consider the question and telegraph their instructions. So angry were the British, United States, and some other delegates that they staged a "sit in" in the debating chamber.

In a letter of protest to Mr. Keita, Lord Caradon wrote on Friday: "A grave and most serious precedent for the proper functioning of the Security Council in emergency situations was created by the failure of the President to fulfil the duties imposed upon him by the provisional rules of procedure. I must express my profound dissatisfaction at the failure to convene a meeting yesterday, having in mind particularly the fact that a majority of Council members asked for it."

Africans then took the line that the many African countries which are not members of the Security Council are more concerned with Rhodesia than the United Nations could be, and that it was therefore imperative to consult the 36 States which constitute the Organization of African Unity. That was the view of Mr. Keita, who was said to have stated that he would not be "pushed around by the Great Powers".

U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, urged Mr. Keita to hold immediately the meeting demanded by the majority of the members of

the Security Council, but the president would not budge. Representatives of Britain and seven other countries therefore repeated on Friday the "sit in" of the previous day. The participants were Argentina, Britain, China, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United States, and Uruguay.

The delegates of France and Jordan had indicated that they were ready to attend a meeting at any moment. Russia and Bulgaria, which had originally taken that view, afterwards supported the Mali decision that there must be delay. Uganda and Nigeria, the only other two members of the Security Council, at first supported Mali, but apparently agreed later to accept the decision of the majority—which the Mali president continued to disregard.

Not until Saturday morning did the discussion on Rhodesia start, Britain having meantime submitted a draft motion which for the first time in history invoked Chapter VII of the Charter.

Angry Africans

Mr. Kironde, of Uganda, who also acted as spokesman for other African States, wanted articles 41 and 42 of that chapter to be applied, so that all diplomatic, postal, radio, and other communications with Rhodesia should be cut, to be followed if necessary by any action by land, sea or air forces, including blockade. For that attitude there was strong Communist support.

On the eve of the British demand for a meeting of the Security Council the Committee on Colonialism (the Special Committee of Twenty-Four) had recorded its disapproval of Britain's "lamentable failure" to honour her commitments to black Rhodesians. The delegate of Tanzania on that committee was reported to have likened the Rhodesian situation to a malignant tumour, and to have called upon the United Nations to "tackle it with sleeves rolled up, as the butcher does with meat".

Almost all newspaper reports emphasized the intense bitterness among the African delegation at a British attitude which was deemed too weak.

The British resolution called on all member States to break off economic relations with Rhodesia and join in the oil embargo. It expressed grave concern at the arrival at Beira of one oil tanker and the approach of another, and emphasized that piping of oil with Portuguese acquiescence would greatly assist the Smith régime.

It asked the Security Council to determine that "the resultant situation constitutes a threat to peace"; and called upon the Portuguese Government not to allow oil to be pumped from Beira to Rhodesia, and not to receive in that port oil destined for Rhodesia. All States were asked to order all ships flying their flags which might be carrying oil to Beira not to deliver it.

The British Government was called upon to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, the arrival at Beira of ships reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Rhodesia. Britain was empowered to arrest and detain the tanker IOANNA V on her departure from Beira if she had discharged her oil cargo.

Amendments tabled by Mali, Uganda, and Nigeria on behalf of O.A.U. States, with Russian and other Communist support,

called on South Africa, as well as Portugal, to prevent the supply of oil to Rhodesia, and urged Britain to use all means, including force, to make the trade embargo effective and to bring down the Smith régime. African and Communist speakers accused Britain of hypocrisy in limiting the scope of its resolution to the Beira situation, arguing that oil was reaching Rhodesia in substantial quantities from South Africa.

Lord Caradon had to protest that the need was for "action, not insults". What the Council should do was to approve action now and discuss other proposals later. There was great urgency, since a second tanker, the 11,000-ton MANUELA, could reach Beira within 12 hours.

All five amendments having been defeated, the British resolution was carried by 10 votes—those of Argentina, Britain, Nationalist China, Japan, Jordan, the Netherlands, New Zea-

land, Nigeria, Uganda, and the United States. It had been thought almost until the last moment that Uganda, Nigeria, and Jordan would either oppose or abstain. Five countries did abstain—Bulgaria, France, Mali, Russia, and Uruguay.

For Uganda, Mr. Kironde, said that Africans could not agree that Britain had a monopoly of wisdom about the best means of ending the minority régime in Rhodesia. The root cause of the trouble was in Salisbury, not Beira, and Britain "might as well go the whole hog" and use troops to topple the régime.

Mr. Morozon said that Russia supported the African proposals and that British sanctions had been sabotaged by her allies, South Africa and Portugal. He alleged that payment for oil for Rhodesia was made through Dutch banks, and stormed out of the chamber after angrily denouncing the resolution as a hypocritical comedy.

Opposition Protests at British Breach of Faith Prime Minister's Disregard of Pledge Given to House of Commons

MR. ENOCH POWELL, M.P. for Wolverhampton S.W., Opposition spokesman on defence, protested strongly at the action of the Prime Minister in causing a resolution to be tabled at the United Nations to empower Britain to use force in preventing the arrival at Beira of vessels thought to be carrying oil for Rhodesia. He issued the following statement:—

"In tabling a resolution at the United Nations to empower Britain to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, vessels with oil for Rhodesia arriving at Beira, the Prime Minister has been guilty of a clear and grave breach of faith both with the House of Commons and with the country.

"In the House of Commons on December 21 he said: 'We have no intention of imposing a naval blockade around Beira and we never have done'. But he went further. Envisaging the possibility that the embargo might fail he said that the matter 'would then be raised at the United Nations and not by us'.

Solemn Promise Flagrantly Broken

"And he went on, in reference to a hypothetical United Nations resolution to place a couple of frigates outside Beira to stop oil tankers going there, to say solemnly and explicitly: 'We do not ourselves propose to seek such a resolution'.

"The Government could not have broken more flagrantly the pledge the Prime Minister gave to Parliament, a pledge relating to precisely the situation which has arisen. They are the same men who just before polling day were also giving the country assurances that they did not contemplate sending British forces to Vietnam.

"It is difficult to see how in future assurances from Mr. Wilson's Government can be accepted without reservation".

MR. MAUDLING, Acting Leader of the Opposition during the absence in Italy of Mr. Heath, also protested some hours later, criticizing the Government for having changed its policy on the use of force, and for having taken "a grave new step along a road fraught with danger". His statement read:—

"The Government's approach to the United Nations and their invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter amount to a grave new step along a road fraught with danger.

"They are inconsistent with the attitude previously adopted by the Prime Minister when he disclaimed any intention of making such an approach.

"The consequences cannot be foreseen, and Britain's control over developments in this serious British issue will be threatened.

Africa Imepilled

"The Conservative Party stresses again the perils involved for Africa and the whole Western world in the use of force in any guise whatsoever.

"They will wish to debate the whole situation urgently when Parliament meets".

The Prime Minister's secretariat replied to Mr. Maudling that in December Mr. Wilson had said that the Government did not "at this stage" contemplate a blockade, but that if there were any seepage or leakage of oil the matter would have to be further considered. Moreover, African States had been about to move a resolution under Chapter VII of much wider implications, calling for a full military blockade of Rhodesia, and that the only way of forestalling that action, "and thus maintaining British control of the situation", was to propose a limited naval blockade operated by Britain.

Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., said: "The Prime Minister is requesting the authority of the United Nations to resort to an act of war on the high seas. This is the beginning of the use of force against Rhodesia. Why did Mr. Wilson not at least consult with the leaders of the Opposition before he sought a mandate from the United Nations for armed action?"

Sir Gerald Nabarro, M.P., accused Mr. Wilson of "dishonesty", adding that "bipartisanship of British policy towards Rhodesia is now dead".

Tanker Berths at Beira Beside Pipeline to Rhodesia

Portuguese Affronted by British Reference to United Nations Security Council

THE TANKER IOANNA V, with a cargo of about 18,700 tons of crude oil, which for six days had been at anchorage off Beira some two miles from the wharf, moved alongside on Monday and made fast within 30 feet of the oil pipeline to Rhodesia. Many Rhodesians on holiday cheered as she berthed. Portuguese armed guards were on patrol beside the wire fences round the wharf area.

When this issue closed for press it was still not certain that her cargo would be pumped to the Feruka refinery. Though that was widely assumed there were repeated reports to the contrary.

While Captain George Vardinoyannis was quoted as saying that he had brought his ship to the berth only to take on water, the ship agents told inquirers that she had been brought from her anchorage only to unload enough oil for repairs to be made to the propellers.

In Athens it was announced that the captain had telephoned to say that he had moved into the harbour because of a fear that the ebb tide might capsize the tanker, and that he was under pressure from the authorities to unload so that the port might be cleared for other traffic.

A second tanker under the same ownership, MANUELA, had been intercepted about 150 miles from Beira on Sunday by the British frigate BERWICK, which put an 11-member naval party aboard. The boarding party was withdrawn early on Monday as the ship steamed steadily southwards, possibly for Durban, but perhaps for Lourenço Marques.

In the previous two months MANUELA had changed her name twice and her ownership once. Originally the CHARLTON VENUS, she was sold in February to the Varnima Company, which on March 8 transferred her registration from Greece to Liberia. Varnima is closely associated with the Varnikos Corporation, which also bought IOANNA V (the V being understood to stand either for Varnikos or Vardinoyannis, the family which controls both companies).

Master Loses Certificate for Life

As soon as it became known in Athens that IOANNA V had defied the Greek decree and taken her cargo into Beira, the Disciplinary Council of the Ministry of Shipping deprived the ship's master, Mr. Paul Haratides, of his certificate for life. He is a qualified chief mate, but on February 7 was granted a temporary certificate to take over the tanker as captain because of the shortage of officers with a master's certificate. It was stated that if he returned to his family in Greece he would be liable to prosecution and a jail sentence of six months.

A decision to strike the tanker off the Greek register was taken, and the consul in Beira was instructed to remove the Greek flag and all Greek documentation from the ship.

Denying claims by the IOANNA'S owners that the vessel had received no official warnings from the Greek Government, the Ministry of Shipping said that she had been warned four times by telegram between March 26 and April 2. On the first occasion there was a reply that the captain knew nothing about the ultimate destination of his cargo. No reply was received to the other three messages.

Mr. George Vardinoyannis said in Beira that he held a master's certificate and joined the ship in Dakar, taking over from Captain Haratides, who was, however, still on board. He (Vardinoyannis) had not previously held a command. He had spent about 18 months at the School of Navigation in Southampton.

He denied that he was in any way related to the owners of the tanker, and continued to insist that he had put into Beira for water and food and that after engine repairs had been completed he would go on to Jibuti to discharge his cargo (where there is no refinery to deal with crude oil).

The Portuguese frigate DOM FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA, formerly the Royal Navy frigate MORECAMBE BAY, arrived off Beira on Friday, and was soon afterwards joined by a sister ship.

Chartered aircraft from Rhodesia were forbidden to fly over the Mozambique coast because the Portuguese feared an incident involving British aircraft on patrol over the Mozambique Channel.

Portuguese Complain of Lack of Candour

On Wednesday of last week, Lord Walston, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, flew to Lisbon to bring renewed pressure on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He said on arrival that he had come to emphasize the danger of the situation which might arise if Portugal allowed oil to be pumped to Rhodesia.

In the same aircraft were Mr. Alan Ball, chairman of Lornho, Ltd., and two of his colleagues on the board of the Anglo-Portuguese pipeline company, Mr. Angus Ogilvy and Mr. J. A. Caldecott. After meetings lasting many hours the British directors returned to London without making any statement, except that Mr. Ball described the British reference of the issue to the U.N. as "having thrown a spanner into the works".

Lord Walston made three calls upon Dr. Nogueira, from whom he obtained confirmation of an earlier statement that the oil tanks being built at Beira would not be used for the storage of oil due to be pumped to Rhodesia.

Only after renewal of the promise, however, was any indication given to the Portuguese authorities that Britain had asked for an early meeting of the Security Council. Feeling that it had been treated without candour, the Portuguese Government thereupon announced that it considered the promise to be no longer binding, and that it made every reservation in respect of any decision which might be made by the Security Council. It expressed profound surprise that no hint had been given of the British action intended in New York.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the British Government's special representative in East and Central Africa, and Lord Caradon, chief British delegate to the United Nations, had at that time been summoned to London to attend meetings of the Defence and Overseas Committee of the Cabinet.

Simultaneously there was a meeting in London of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, at which East and Central African representatives pressed strongly for oil sanctions to be made mandatory and for Britain to use force against Rhodesia.

Press Comment

The tanker IOANNA V "had every right to call the bluff of the Royal Navy", the *Daily Express* wrote, adding: "It is a disgrace that the Fleet should have been exposed by Government order to this humiliation. Portuguese East Africa is not under blockade, and IOANNA V is certainly not a pirate".

"Strengthen sanctions", the *Guardian* pleaded yet again, saying: —

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(Continued on page 589)

Minister Denounces Propaganda Methods of British Politicians

Technique of the "Inspired Leak" to Journalists

Mr. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism in Rhodesia, said at a Gatooma Rotary Club luncheon that mankind was being made subject to deplorable thought manipulation. He continued:—

"Never in history has the process reached such staggering proportions. If it were devoted everywhere to education—in which case one might call it 'thought guidance'—no harm could come of it. If it were dedicated to informing in the true sense of the word, it would not be harmful. But in preponderance it is intended to persuade.

"Whether it is a question of harnessing cinema, radio, television and so on, of metamorphosing some mediocre creature with little or no real talent into a teenage idol; or someone like Mr. Wilson seeking for political ends to project a distorted picture of Rhodesia, it all amounts to much the same thing—propaganda, brain-washing.

"With the departure from the scene of Nazi Germany and the evil genius of Dr. Goebbels millions of people were lulled into the belief that the world was at last entering a clean, new era in which truth would prevail and it would no longer be necessary to be on guard against distortions, lies, and brain-washing. People hoped and believed that that evil had been purged from the world. They dropped their guard, and forces inherently as evil as those we had vanquished—forces with a far greater potential for evil—embarked on a propaganda offensive which made the Nazi propaganda war effort look like the work of bumbling amateurs.

World-Wide Conspiracy

"First there was the undercover planning and infiltration stage; and it did not matter to the dedicated authors of the world-wide conspiracy whether it took 10, 20, or 30 years for this part of the plan to mature. The idea was to capture from within not just those institutions formerly associated with the left, such as trade unions and other workers' organizations, but, much more important, institutions which were the very pillars of capitalist society and enjoyed reputations of impeccable conservative sobriety.

"The masters of the Kremlin and their high-ranking associates in other countries had woken up to the fact that outright Communist publications such as the *Daily Worker* were of limited value, and that if they were to topple Western society the real targets were not those which already leaned towards the left. Immediately after the last war they laid siege—quietly and without anybody realizing what was happening—to broadcasting corporations, influential newspapers, seats of learning, and even world Christianity.

"The plan could not be other than very long-term, but in recent years we have seen it coming to fruition. The cub reporter of 20 years ago may be the editor or assistant editor of today. The under-cover left-wing idealists who perhaps joined the B.B.C. in early post-war years may today be among that corporation's senior executives.

"I would not say that the conspiracy has been tightly knit and master-minded, detail by detail from Moscow all the time. It gets its initial impetus that way, and to that extent has been and is an unfolding plan, but it has really been a conspiracy in which all kinds of left-wing elements—Communists, Socialists, Fabians, and others—have tended to go along with each other without any precise direction or coordination. Probably many of the elements involved did not even realize that they were part of such a movement, though undoubtedly, there were the 'faceless ones' who knew the strategy and applied guidance and stimulation whenever they could.

"Among these I would include the Fabians. Unlike other left-wing movements, the Fabian movement is not interested in recruiting the masses to its banner. It is interested in quality, not quantity. It sees itself as the very cream of the intellectual left. A Fabian Prime Minister—and Mr. Wilson is one—is of more value to the movement than a million artisans. The Fabians may affect to despise the *hot polloi* of international communism, but fundamentally their ideology does not differ.

"All this explains, I think, why so much of the world's Press tends to be hostile to the cause of independent Rhodesia. If you say that the idea of such a long-standing conspiracy is too fantastic to accept, what else fits the facts?

"Fortunately, the conspiracy has not been all-embracing.

It has not won in every sphere. This makes it possible for Rhodesia, now a number one target in the cold war, to fight back with no small measure of success. Whether we liked it or not, we have had to plunge into the propaganda war—but the weapon we have used has been the truth. In putting Rhodesia's case we have sought relentlessly to hammer home the facts—facts supported by incontrovertible proof. This will continue to be our policy.

"It is paying real dividends, because people the world over, realizing now how ruthlessly they have been brain-washed for so many years, are showing signs of revolt. The truth can be something of a shock treatment. Get one piece of incontrovertible truth through to a brain-washed zombie, and you may suddenly turn him back to an angry human being—angry at the way he knows he has been fooled. This can make him hungry for more of the truth.

News Manipulation

"More and more people in Britain are beginning to realize how much of their Press is nothing more than news manipulation. Consider the 'inspired leak'. The technique is for Government to call in certain representatives of the Press and favour them with an inside tip-off, in return for which the docile gentlemen of the Press—docile because they look forward to further such favours—will write up the item in such a way as to suggest that they got it in spite of Whitehall reticence. They will write it up exactly as Whitehall wants it written up.

"The correspondents concerned get a so-called 'scoop'. The British Government can pretend that it does not know how they got it, and the British public is fooled into believing that it is reading a tasty bit of news which it would not have got but for the enterprise of free and independent newspapers.

"This can, of course, backfire. On more than one occasion the present British Government, having sought to fly some such kite, and having noted unfavourable public reaction, has gone back on the newspapers concerned and issued denials. For fear of losing future favours, which in the main will probably not be denied, the papers concerned may continue to play ball with the Government. Only if and when the papers indignantly hit back does the public begin to get an inkling that the whole thing was a put-up job. In the present propaganda war against Rhodesia the British Government is making constant use of this despicable practice.

"Another weapon is the manufacture of news. The Nazis pioneered this technique. It is now more cleverly refined. For example, three M.P.s come to Salisbury, hold a public meeting where drinks flow freely, provoke the audience, and cause minor violence to be visited upon themselves. The Press goes into action. Immediately Mr. Wilson reacts by sternly forbidding Mr. Bottomley to set foot in this terrible country where law and order have broken down. Thus Mr. Wilson is able to offer the British public proof of the allegedly wild state of affairs in Rhodesia. He improves his own image as a kind of father-protector in respect of Mr. Bottomley, while the latter gentleman emerges as a man of courage who would have risked his life in Rhodesia but for the wise intervention of his leader. We cannot say for certain that the whole thing was a put-up job, but certainly Mr. Wilson lost no time in screwing every ounce of propaganda value out of it.

Sinister Incidents

"More sinister incidents can be manufactured. For example, under-cover Communism will not hesitate to stir-up demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts—whether at a university college or anywhere else—to provide the world Press with ammunition it knows will be exploited to the full. It knows, without having to enter into any collusion with the British Prime Minister, that Mr. Wilson and the Press supporting him will make the fullest use of this as alleged evidence of police-State methods. This sort of thing is merely a variation of the Reichstag fire.

"We in Rhodesia do not need to employ such methods. Our very refusal to do so puts the stamp of authenticity and reliability on the material which we as a Ministry release. One of the greatest weapons in our armoury is the patent sincerity of our Prime Minister. By his simplicity of purpose, straightforward honesty, and directness he has sown dismay and confusion among those who have forgotten the basic concept of the word 'truth'.

"Rhodesia has embarked upon the course of truth, and nothing that may happen will cause us to deviate from that course, no matter how embarrassing or inconvenient it may be. Let us continue to stand for and by the truth. That way we shall win".

PERSONALIA

MR. ARCHIBALD B. YUILLE has resigned from the board of Aberfoyle Plantations, Ltd.

MR. MICHAEL F. BARFORD is in London from Rhodesia.

MUSTAPHA CHAKIR SALIM, now Ambassador in Khartoum for Iraq, is to be transferred to Ethiopia.

THE MOST REVEREND LESLIE BROWN, lately Archbishop of Uganda, is to be enthroned as Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich on April 21.

GENERAL MOBUTU, President of the Congo, and MR. MUHAMMAD MARGHOUB, the Sudanese Prime Minister, paid short visits to Uganda last week.

MR. ALIKHANOVE, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, has led a delegation to the Somali Republic.

MR. W. W. KALEMA, Minister of Works and Communications in Uganda, has been re-appointed chairman of Makerere University College Council.

MR. G. C. FLETCHER, a manager of Anglo-American Corporation since 1962, has been appointed to the board.

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL, chairman of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank, has returned to Salisbury from his recently visit to London.

MR. JAMES BIDDULPH, a journalist in Rhodesia for 10 years until he was recently declared a prohibited immigrant, has arrived in London.

A French expert, M. DANIEL CHARBONNIER, has been sent to Kenya for three months by the French Government to make a study of the deep sea fishing industry.

THE RT. REV. C. W. ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, has been awarded the Order of St. Mark by the Patriarch of Alexandria and of All Africa.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor-General of Malawi, will leave for the United Kingdom on July 6, when Malawi will become a republic.

DR. INYAMA MABOSHE, the fifth Zambian African to qualify as a medical practitioner, recently completed a six-year course at Warsaw Medical College, Poland.

MR. JOHN W. S. MALECELA, of Tanzania, has been elected one of the two vice-chairmen of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism.

MR. R. M. BELL, Conservative M.P. for Buckinghamshire South, who has been interested in African affairs for some years, is one of 22 barristers who are to be appointed Q.C.

MR. RICHARD ST. BARBE BAKER, who founded the Men of the Trees movement in Kenya, is to revisit that country shortly in connexion with a national tree-planting week.

THE REV. C. A. ROACH, for some years chaplain at the Royal Masonic Hospital, London, has been appointed chaplain of St. Michael's Mount, Marazion, Cornwall.

MR. AUGUSTINE NDAYESHIMIYE, Burundi Ambassador in Uganda, has been married in Rubaga Cathedral. The ceremony was conducted by the Vicar Capitular, MONSIGNOR EMMANUEL NSUBUGA.

MR. N. C. WHITE has been elected chairman of Rhodesia Chrome Mines, Ltd., African Chrome Mines, Ltd., Ore Sales & Services, Ltd., and other companies of which he is already managing director.

MR. I. H. M. MASON has relinquished his appointment as a director of British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd. He was for years on the East African staff of the group.

PROFESSOR ROLAND OLIVER is to address a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Society of Arts on the premises of the latter body at 2.30 p.m. on May 5 on "Bantu Genesis: An Inquiry into Some Problems of Early Bantu History".

PRINCESS MARGARET and the EARL OF SNOWDON have promised to attend the world première of the film "Khartoum" on June 9. The proceeds are to be divided between the Gordon Boys' Schools, the Royal Engineers Benevolent Fund, and the Army Benevolent Fund.

MR. T. L. CROSTHWAIT, who has been appointed the first British High Commissioner in Georgetown on the attainment of independence by British Guiana (which will be known as Guyana), was High Commissioner in Zanzibar for about six months in 1963-64. He is now Deputy High Commissioner in Malta.

MR. L. W. DUNCOMBE, administrative secretary to the Association of Rhodesian Industries, has been appointed secretary to the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia. He was on the staff of the Municipal Council of Kampala from 1954 to 1960 and then for two years with Blantyre and Limbe Town Council.

MR. J. K. OLE TIPIS, M.P., has been appointed chairman of Kenya's new Tourist Development Corporation. The other members of the board are SENATOR ARTSALWA, MR. R. S. ALEXANDER, M.P., MR. ONDIEK CHILO, MR. M. W. DUNFORD, MR. E. J. HOLLISTER, MR. D. K. JANI, MR. G. G. KARIOKI, M.P., SENATOR H. J. MALANGI, and MR. E. K. MBOGORI.

SIR JAMES FARQUHARSON will address the Royal Commonwealth Society at 1.15 on April 21 on "The Work of the Crown Agents". At the same time on May 12 the Premier of Mauritius, SIR SEEWOSAGUR RAMGOOLAM, will speak on his country; and on May 19 MR. G. W. ST. J. CHADWICK, director of the new Commonwealth Foundation, will describe its work and programme.

MR. IAN HENDERSON, who was awarded the George Medal for his services against the Mau Mau rebels when he was in the Kenya Police, will shortly leave London to take up an appointment as head of the C.I.D. in Bahrain. When Assistant Commissioner in the Special Branch of the Kenya Police, he was suddenly expelled without explanation by the Kenyatta Government in August, 1964.

MR. I. E. OMOLO, who has been appointed Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa, graduated LL.B. at the University of Bombay in 1956, was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple five years later, and for the past seven months has been under-study to the Commissioner, Mr. D. A. TYRRELL, who joined the department 20 years ago and is to remain as adviser on customs and excise matters to E.A.C.S.O. MR. OMOLO, aged 36, was born in Central Nyanza. His wife, a daughter of the Assistant Bishop of Maseno, the RT. REV. EVAN AGOLA, is a graduate of University College, Nairobi.

"E. A. & R." FOR YOUR FRIENDS

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The journal can be sent to any address for £6 10s annually for the airmail edition or 52s for the surface mail edition.

Remittances should be sent to

AFRICANA LTD., 26 Bloomsbury Way, London, WC1

Mr. Harley Drayton

MR. HAROLD CHARLES DRAYTON (who liked his friends to call him Harley) has died in London, aged 64.

He left school at 15, got a job at 7s. 6d. a week in a tobacconist's shop, but was soon an office boy in the City with an investment group of which he was to become head, and from whose offices he never moved, though he became chairman of nearly 30 companies, some very large, and a director of many more.

He specialized in investment trusts (one of which, Garda, has been under sharp criticism), was an early backer of independent television, and had large provincial newspaper interests. His group had many millions to invest (according to some estimates about £30m.) when its electricity, gas and bus companies were nationalized, and that at a time when many good shares were depressed by market conditions. He was largely instrumental in selling for £150m. railways in the Argentine which had been financed, built and managed from Britain.

As chairman of the Mitchell Colts Group he had very extensive commercial interests in North, East, Central and South Africa, and, through the British Electric Traction Co., Ltd., large investments in transport companies in East and Central Africa. He helped financially in the swift development of Lonrho, Ltd. One of those whom he nominated to the boards of companies operating in Africa was Mr. Angus Ogilvy.

He believed in a wide spread of interests, and once said that his companies had heavy commitments in more than 100 industries.

He was fond of music, collected first editions, and farmed in Sussex. He leaves a widow, but no children.

MR. EVELYN WAUGH, the novelist, who has died in Combe Florey, Somerset, aged 62, was a war correspondent with the Italian forces during their invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. Two of his subsequent books, "Black Mischief" and "Scoop", were set in Africa.

East African Motor Rally

OF EIGHTY-EIGHT STARTERS in the East African Safari motor rally over Easter only nine cars finished the course of some 3,000 miles. The winners were Mr. R. Shankland and Mr. C. Rothwell, of Tanganyika, in a Peugeot 404. Next came two Kenyans, Mr. V. Preston and Mr. R. Gerrish, in a Ford Cortina, followed by last year's winner, Mr. Joginder Singh, of Kenya, in a Volvo. The manufacturers' team prize went to Ford of Dagenham, which had three cars among the nine which finished.

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Mr. Wilson's Reconstruction

THE PRIME MINISTER has made 25 changes in the Government, from which 10 Ministers have departed.

One of two new members of the Cabinet is Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, lately Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, and now Secretary of State for Wales. He is to be sworn of the Privy Council.

Lord Longford, who has been Secretary of State for the Colonies for a short period, has been made Lord Privy Seal. He will continue as Leader of the House of Lords.

Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, who as Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs has been closely concerned with the Rhodesian problem, and has visited Rhodesia and Zambia, has become Secretary of State for Wales, in succession to Mr. James Griffiths, who, now aged 75, has retired to a back bench seat in the House of Commons. He is a former Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Frederick Lee, lately Minister of Power, is the new Secretary of State for the Colonies.

New Junior Ministers

Changes outside the Cabinet include the following:—

Mrs. Eirene White, lately Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, becomes Minister of State for Foreign Affairs—and the first woman to hold ministerial rank in the Foreign Office.

Miss Judith Hart, who has been Under-Secretary of State in the Scottish Office, is now Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Mr. Julian Snow attains office for the first time—as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Aviation. As a young man he was for a short while employed in Uganda.

Mr. John Stonehouse, who held the office now entrusted to Mr. Snow, has been made Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office. He also worked in Uganda for a short period as a young man. He has visited East and Central Africa and talked much about African problems.

Mr. David Ennals, who recently paid a short visit to Rhodesia, gets his first office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Army.

Mrs. Shirley Williams, the new Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, is a former secretary of the Fabian Society.

Dr. Jeremy Bray, who accompanied Mr. Ennals on his trip to Rhodesia, has become Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Power.

Mr. Fingland's Successor

MR. J. D. HENNINGS arrived in Salisbury last Friday to take charge of the United Kingdom High Commission in Salisbury, in succession to Mr. S. J. G. Fingland, whose withdrawal had been requested by the Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Hennings joined the Foreign Office in 1947, transferred to the Colonial Office two years later, spent several years in West Africa, and, after a further period in the Colonial Office, went to Washington in 1960 as Attaché for Colonial Affairs in the British Embassy. In 1963 he became head of the East and West Africa Economic Department of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

He is of the same rank as Mr. Fingland, who before U.D.I. was Deputy High Commissioner in Salisbury, where the British Government has now one first secretary, two second secretaries, and supporting staff. Their task is officially stated to be "to help United Kingdom citizens and look after British interests generally in so far as this is possible in the circumstances prevailing in Rhodesia"—to which definition is added the reminder that "the retention of British staff in Salisbury does not of course imply any recognition by the British Government of the illegal régime in Rhodesia".

Expelled from Uganda

MR. EDWARD JONES, for the past 15 years a journalist in Uganda, where he has represented several British newspapers and American news agencies, was expelled last week at six hours' notice. No explanation was given him of the order to leave the country.

No Aid Without Strings, President Kaunda Declares

Real Independence Will Take Another Twenty Years to Develop

RECENT REVOLUTIONS IN AFRICA, revelations of the corruption of African political leaders, the urgent need for educated Africans to serve their fellow-countrymen unselfishly, and unflattering references to the Great Powers were the main points of PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S address at the opening of the University of Zambia, of which he is the Chancellor.

He said (in part):—

"A very close friend of mine, whose intelligence I respect, has declared that it will take us another 20 years to be really independent. I agree with him. I am not now talking about freeing Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia, South West Africa, and South Africa. I am talking of other independent African States like ours.

"In a calm, friendly world our independence might have been real. We do not have the ideal world. Jungle law is still very much in evidence. Survival is for the fittest.

"Recent military coups on this continent do not surprise or frighten me. Some we might have avoided if we had behaved with more circumspection. There was absolutely nothing we could do about some of them.

Great Powers and Emerging Countries

"The Great Powers have very effective methods of avoiding a military take-over in their own countries. They have the means and the very clever ability to provoke situations in distant parts of the world. They divert a number of their leading military personalities to those distant parts on the pretext that their interests are in danger. They generate so much hatred for each other that their military people focus all their attention on what is happening in other countries. They organize thousands of men and women in various shades of uniform so that even within the ranks of their own military organizations there are sufficient checks and balances, and they have military scientists whose only job is to study their own forces.

"We so-called emerging countries are saddled with so many problems that to organize ourselves locally and internationally presents a Himalayan challenge. Most of our weaknesses derive from lack of finance and trained personnel. We are left with no choice but to fall on either the East or the West, or, indeed, on both.

"Some of us choose to be non-aligned, believing that this might give us a breathing space to work out our own systems, from which we might grow from strength to strength. In that case we are not trusted by the East or the West.

"When we go to any of the big Powers for help they readily give it. They say aid is being given without strings. There is no such thing as aid without strings.

"Take training. Wherever you send your people, they will be indoctrinated, consciously or unconsciously. They will be taught, very vigorously, to look at problems from the aiding country's point of view. In most cases we like to think of getting aid from both East and West, hoping against hope that this will be a shield against interference from either. We end up with a mixture of various explosive gases in one bottle. Inevitably, explosions follow.

"At home we have to build these extensive civil and military organizations to develop and defend our countries. We have no choice but to train our people at home. Some of our civil and military people are those very ones who were used by colonizing Powers to suppress freedom movements.

"When we make changes that do not conform to the pattern they have been used to, they take offence, and the people's Government is first of all doubted, deceived, and then overthrown. This often comes about with the help of countries and organizations outside our own borders. The sources will depend which side feels let down.

"Because certain things have been done in a certain way by certain people from whom we have taken over and we are trying now to redirect things in our own way, various vested interests will naturally react and cause difficulties.

We tread a very rough road, for we are not only trying to change the course of history but are also laying down a foundation. The path is clear in our own minds. 'Alas! the resources are limited.

"The corner-stone of our Constitutions, Governments, and peoples must be service to man. This is the all-in-all. Without man there is no Constitution, no Government, no law, no factory, no country. So for the leaders of the people the importance of man must be an obsession.

"We must think and think and think again about how best we shall serve—not about how important we are or how we can safeguard our own positions as leaders. We must remember we are not elected kings. If we believe in the importance of man, we must not devise artificial methods of bottling his feelings—and those who elected us and those who are our advisers must help their leaders by not doing things that will go to their leaders' heads so that they begin to feel that they are superhuman.

"Selfishness in leaders and followers inevitably leads to corruption. I cannot see, however, that uniformed men replacing elected leaders by killing them, imprisoning them, or sending them into exile is the answer. In some cases Africa has witnessed the release of thousands, and in a few hours their places were taken by tens of thousands.

Risk Which Africa Cannot Afford

"We should not be over-critical at this time, because with one or two exceptions those who have taken over have stated that they will hand power back to civil authorities. I do hope they do. If they do not do that, then I foresee the sad growth of a second Middle East or Latin America right here on this continent. Africa cannot afford that.

"Our task and challenge is to try and help establish Governments of the people by the people and for the people on the basis of 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you'—all the time bearing in mind the application of this to the common man.

"There is an obvious danger that leaders in Africa might become so frightened of what is happening as to be pre-occupied only with their own safety. Looking at the short list of my heroes, I see that they all have one thing in common, whether they were religious, philosophical, political, or military: this is that they served sincerely and relentlessly. All were misunderstood to the point where they died at the hands of the very people they served. Later generations understood, worshipped, and followed them.

"Of course, this cannot be the case with us if we suffer at the hands of our own people for corruptive practices. In other words, much as we deplore violent overthrowing of established Governments, our main concern is to leave behind us stable and genuine people's systems of government.

"The common man is defenceless in this complex world. Honour and respect his vote in the ballot-box. It is this we worked for; and so far it is the only safeguard the ingenuity of man has been able to work out. It must not be abused in any way. I am not saying it is the cure for all political ills; but, handled properly, it certainly goes a long way."

St. Paul's Admonition

In an admonition to the students, President Kaunda said:—

"Show respect for the human personality. Do not become so wrapped in your studies that you forget the people from whom you have sprung. Education is of little value if you lose the human touch. Education should not cut us off from the people, but increase our understanding of and sympathy for them, particularly those who have not had all the advantages that we have. There is eternal truth in the warning of St. Paul that, although we may 'understand all mysteries and all knowledge', yet if we have not love we are nothing.

"The fascination of history and politics, the beauties of literature, the secrets of the atom, and the wonders of the universe all pale into insignificance in comparison with the crucial problems of human relations. Unless we solve this problem the accumulated knowledge of the ages will be of no avail in overcoming greed, acquisitiveness, and selfishness.

"Many of you may be called upon to play a part in nation-building in the rural areas. I would like to think that, when the time comes, the sheer joy of service and dedication will cause the bright lights of the city and the amenities of urban life to lose much of their appeal and attraction.

"More than £430,000 has already been contributed to this university, and the money is still coming in. The response has been magnificent to the fund-raising appeals."

Press Comment on Blockade

(Continued from page 584)

policy of sanctions against Rhodesia as practised so far. The British Government evidently decided that the Royal Navy was powerless in international law to the rebellious British administration in Rhodesia—a questionable decision, but a vital one.

"The captain of IOANNA V may be deterred, by the Greek Government's threat of punishment from discharging his cargo at Beira, but other captains under less reputable flags may not now feel deterred. It was a mistake to let the tanker into Beira; would not a few practice bombs near its bows (dropped, of course, from unidentified aircraft) have achieved more than the appeal to Captain Vardinoyannis's good nature?"

"The Greek Government authorized Britain to use force against the tanker if it was satisfied that the sanctions called for by the Security Council in its resolution of November 20 were mandatory upon all members. The British Government has always taken the view that these sanctions were not mandatory (that is to say, did not fall within Chapter VII of the Charter, which provides for an eventual use of force if sanctions fail). It could hardly change its mind on Monday to suit the occasion."

Aggression and Perjury

"Peter Simple" retorted in the *Telegraph* :—

"It was a mistake to let the tanker into Beira; would not a few practice bombs near its bows (dropped, of course, from unidentified aircraft) have achieved more than the appeal to Captain Vardinoyannis's good nature?" This piece of cynicism, with undertones of perverted power-mania and rancour, appeared in a *Guardian* leading article. No doubt it will be overtaken, as the lunatic policies of the British Labour Government run their course, by even more outrageous pronouncements.

"It openly recommends the British Government to commit unprovoked aggression and perjury—for when the Greek Government protested against this aggression, we would presumably have to announce smugly that the aircraft must have belonged to the Rhodesian, Portuguese, or South African Air Force. And all in the name of the Rule of Law!"

The *Daily Telegraph* suggested that Mr. Wilson should feel supremely grateful that the blockade-running tanker had not reached Beira some days earlier, for the Prime Minister and the British electorate would then have had to face the inevitable consequences of "Britain's ill-judged oil sanctions against Rhodesia before the elections instead of after them". The leading article continued :—

"This ship may not pump the oil ashore, but the likelihood that some ship will break the embargo remains. Mr. Wilson is shirking the issue when he warns the Portuguese Government that a 'heavy responsibility' will rest upon it if it allows Rhodesia to get the IOANNA'S oil.

"Portugal has made it clear from the start that she will not get involved in the British embargo against Rhodesia. This is not an arbitrary decision, nor is it one lightly taken, or one likely to be reversed under pressure. It is based on the view to which Portugal, as a major Power in Central Africa, is firmly committed on African problems—a view less liberal than Britain's, much more so than South Africa's, in general sympathy with Mr. Smith's. The 'heavy responsibility' over the oil for Rhodesia rests not with her but with Mr. Wilson.

"Mercifully he desisted from the use of force against the ship. This is something that the Greek Government could not have tolerated, despite its chagrin at the apparent flouting of the instructions it is believed to have sent to the IOANNA'S master. Nothing is to be gained, if the warning to Portugal produces the expected negative result, by any petulant disruption of Anglo-Portuguese relations.

Sanctions May Cause Chaos

"This leaves Mr. Wilson with three choices—apart from the calculated use of force which, however equivocally he has renounced. The first would be to make even more strenuous efforts, with the aid of co-operative Governments, to close the gap. This may work for a time, but at best it will remain a precarious and uphill task. The next choice would be a request by Britain to the Security Council for mandatory sanctions.

"This would be a course so disastrous that the United States would dissuade Mr. Wilson from taking it. It would involve the use of force against the ships of Portugal, South Africa, and other Powers. France, for one, would be most unlikely to tolerate such action. N.A.T.O., already shaky, would get the *coup de grace*. Those who for years have been

trying to engineer sanctions against South Africa, carried out by the British Navy at the expense of British trade, would call the tune.

"The last remaining choice is the only sane, safe, and sensible one—negotiations in which Britain would deal with the *de facto* Smith régime as such, with recognition of U.D.I. Sanctions have not bitten so deep or so quickly as Mr. Wilson expected. Yet Mr. Smith must by now recognize that in the end sanctions may well cause chaos".

Word from The Silent Service

The Navy Branch of the Ministry of Defence had become quite talkative, the *Financial Times* reported, saying :—

"In tones that would be just as suitable for a glorious victory, it explained what had been happening in the approaches to Beira in the past month, under the command of Admiral Sir Michael le Fanu, C-in-C. Middle East.

"We obviously have more ships to spare than we thought—the carrier EAGLE, supported by the frigates PLYMOUTH and GURKHA, and the auxiliaries TIDEPOOL, RESURGENT, RELIANT and APPLELEAF (pródded, the Navy said about 2,500 men were aboard). Their task has not been easy. 'Continuous patrolling by day and night by sea and air are involved, and the ships taking part can have steamed almost 100,000 miles. Often the weather has been bad and conditions in the frigates uncomfortable'. The show went on, of course, though not quite in the old silent tradition.

"Gannet aeroplanes have maintained constant watch over an area of some 12,000 square miles, while Sea Vixens, Scimitars, and Buccaneers have identified all ships detected by the Gannets".

"Since the EAGLE took over from the ARK ROYAL on March 15, the Navy added proudly, she has maintained an average of more than 20 sorties a day, each of two hours. The result of all this? 'Most ships observed in or approaching these waters have proved innocent'.

"We know what happened to the one that didn't though for a time there was confusion about that little boarding exercise. On Monday night the B.B.C. reported that the tanker was steaming on. I.T.V. said she was not. In view of Mr. Wilson's estrangement from the B.B.C., it is worth recording where the two television news rooms got their information. The B.B.C. spoke to the Navy. I.T.V. spoke to 10 Downing Street. I.T.V. was wrong".

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Threats to East African Common Market

Obstacles to Industrialization

THE THREAT to the East African Common Market has been discussed in the *Overseas Review* published by Barclays Bank D.C.O., which says:—

"Far the most important of the signs of the common market being broken up is that each of the three territories is apparently determined to pursue independently its own policy of industrialization. This involves restrictions on the freedom of trade within the area, and is therefore an attack on the real foundations of the common market, a structure built on the foundation of a free trade area.

"It is understandable that the individual sovereign countries wish to think first of themselves in dealing with problems of providing employment for their growing populations and raising revenue for development. Unfortunately it is also a fact that the benefits of a common market are unlikely to be equally shared throughout the area in the short term, and it is by no means certain in the long term. This has been the cause of discontent within the East African Common Market for some time.

"The lion's share of industrialization has gone to Kenya, with Nairobi and Mombasa as the favoured areas. Kenya's exports to the other two territories have increased without a corresponding flow of trade in the opposite direction. There are two ways or removing this discontent without breaking up the common market. The first, which has been largely implemented as a result of the report of the Raisman Commission in 1961, is by a rearrangement of the sharing of the costs and revenue of the common services

(particularly customs and excise) in favour of Uganda and Tanzania.

"The second is by giving direct incentives to certain industries to be established in particular areas—rather on the same principle as the favouring of development areas in Britain: this may have been the intention of the Kampala Agreement of 1964 between the three independent nations. To the economic purist it is open to objection as it may tend to interfere with the establishment of industries in the best location, but it seems at last far preferable to interfering with the common market. The Kampala Agreement went further, however, by applying a system of quotas in order to limit exports from surplus to deficit countries. Whatever its intentions, the agreement has encouraged rather than halted the forces of disintegration.

Danger to Industrialization

"The break-up of the East African Common Market would do most harm in just that sphere in which the individual countries are most interested—industrialization. This depends on attracting the foreign investor to bring his capital and technical knowledge. The foreign investor can be attracted only by the expectation of operating at a profit. In every industry a minimum scale of output is necessary to meet fixed as well as variable cost before profitability is reached.

"The three East African territories form a market of nearly 27m. together: split them apart and impose tariffs and quotas and they become markets of 10m. (Tanzania), 9m. (Kenya) and 7m. (Uganda). There is a wide range of industries that can stand on their own feet in the wider market but can be profitable in one country only if protected and subsidized and charging high prices to consumers. It is not a question of attracting an industry to one country rather than another, but whether it will be established in East Africa at all.

"A less immediate threat, but one that might easily follow from other divergencies of economic policy, is that to the common services—railways, harbours, posts, airways, customs and excise collection, etc. Tification and division would add to the cost and greatly impair the efficiency of these services. All three countries would feel an increasing need for external aid for infrastructure, and the already acute shortage of administrators and technicians would be strongly accentuated. It is not too late for East Africa to cease to break up something which in other parts of the world is being slowly and painfully constructed".



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Strikers Rebuff President

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said in a radio and television broadcast last week that his Government sympathized with the "very real" demand of the 30,000 Africans on strike at all seven Copperbelt mines. The strike was then in its ninth day.

New conditions of employment recently negotiated between the companies and the trade unions could, President Kaunda said, not be a basis for industrial peace, because the agreement fell far short of the expectations of the men.

He had decided to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate disparities in pay between local and expatriate employees and to examine the possibilities of accelerating Zambianization in mining. The chairman would be Mr. Roderic Brown, Attorney-General in Tanzania, whom President Nyere had agreed to second.

"The mines are the economic life-blood of the nation. I ask you all to go back to work immediately. God bless the Republic! Long live the Republic!", the broadcast concluded. The appeal was completely ignored, the number of men on strike next day being no less than before the broadcast.

Some 17,000 miners resumed work on Monday, following an intensive propaganda effort over the week-end by the Government.

At the Nchanga and Bancroft mines of the Anglo-American Corporation group there were large turn-outs, but the stoppage continued at Rhokana. At three R.S.T. mines, Roan Antelope, Chibuluma, and Chambishi, work was fairly normal, but the strike continued at Mufulira and the Ndola copper refinery.

At Mufulira police had to use tear-gas to disperse demonstrators after they had stoned a car carrying Mr. John Chisata, Parliamentary Secretary for Commerce and Industry. A feature of the strike was that senior spokesmen for the ruling United National Independence Party were howled down at mass meetings.

The strike had lasted a fortnight. It is estimated to have cost at least £10m. in lost output.

At a cost of about £500,000, the Madhvani group will establish Uganda's first glass factory.

East African Airways Corporation, which now operates three Comet services a week via Aden to Karachi and Bombay, plans to extend the service to Bangkok, Hongkong, and Tokyo.

Though imports into Ethiopia had risen from £23m. in 1961 to £31m. three years later, Britain's share of the trade remained only £3m. Ethiopia's main suppliers are Italy, West German, Japan, and the United States, with Britain in fifth place.

Lonrho's Widespread Interests

LOHNRHO, LTD.—the parent of a group of companies operating throughout East, Central, and Southern Africa—reports consolidated net profit after tax to September 30 at £174,756 in the case of the parent company and £427,025 in that of the subsidiaries. In the previous year the comparable figures were £137,420 and £118,279. Dividends of 12½% take £189,037. The carry-forward is £16,266 by Lonrho and £660,868 by subsidiaries.

Issued capital totals £1.4m. Group fixed assets stand in the books at £10.7m. and investments at £1.9m. (though the market value is substantially higher). Net current assets appear at £564,749. Outstanding debentures, loans, etc., total £3.2m. Net assets are thus £9.9m.

The report reviews the mining, real estate, ranching, plantation, transport, motor trade, pipeline, brewing, publishing, building, investment and other interests of the group, of which Mr. A. H. Ball is chairman and joint managing director in London, Mr. R. W. Rowland, his colleague as joint managing director, being resident in Africa.

The other members of the board are Mr. J. A. Caldecott, Mr. F. E. O. Davies, Mr. J. N. Kiek, Mr. C. D. Mackenzie, the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy, and Mr. J. Whitehouse. There are two alternate directors, Mr. J. A. G. Mills, group general manager in England, and Mr. F. A. Butcher, group chief accountant. The secretary in London is Mr. J. M. F. Turner.

Mr. N. Kruger is manager in Rhodesia, Mr. G. Percy managing director in Malawi, and Mr. T. M. D. Mtine managing director in Zambia.

As part consideration for assets acquired in 1961 from Mr. Rowland, a company which he owns, was given the option to buy 2m. Lonrho 5s. shares at 7s. to August of this year. Because of recent political developments the board now suggests revised terms, namely 7s. to mid-August this year, 7s. 3d. thereafter to the end of April, 1959, and then 7s. 6d. for a further two years.

Unilever

UNILEVER, LTD.—among whose many subsidiaries in many countries are Lever Bros. (Pvt.), Ltd., Rhodesia, similar enterprises in Zambia and Malawi, and in Kenya Gailey & Roberts, Ltd., and East Africa Industries, Ltd.—report consolidated profit after tax for 1965 at nearly £65.5m., a reduction of rather more than £500,000 on the previous year, but after necessary adjustments the group net profit is up from £62.7m. to £63.7m. Dividends take £19.2m., and the carry-forward is £40.5m. Ordinary capital of the parent companies exceeds £98.0m., and preferential capital £82.4m. Loan capital totals £84.7m. Fixed assets appear at £490.8m. and net current assets at £335.8m. Lord Cole is the chairman.

The Central African Trade Fair will open in Bulawayo on April 29.

Maxwell Stamp Associates, Ltd., have been appointed economic and financial advisers to the Uganda Government. Shareholders of the Standard Bank are to receive an interim dividend of 10% less tax in respect of the year to March 31, 1967.

The Associated Chamber of Commerce of Rhodesia sent a six-member delegation to the Rand Easter Show for trade talks.

By a printing error the sisal production in February of Dwa Plantations, Ltd., was given as 115 tons. The figure should have been 155.

East African sisal prices have relapsed further, No. 3 long grade being now quoted in London at £78 per ton, a fall of £5 since the beginning of January.

Conference shipping lines serving Lobito, ports between Walvis Bay and Beira, and Mauritius, are to increase freight rates by approximately 5% on all cargo loaded on or after July 1.

Kilembe Mines, Ltd., Uganda, produced 16,870 tons of blister copper last year, the average price realized being 70.5 Canadian cents per lb., compared with 47.2 cents in 1964. Metal sales at \$27.3m. were up \$8.1 m., but higher costs led net profits at \$7.25m., an increase of only \$3.1m.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd., reports net profits for 1965 of £9,522,000 (£8,707,000). A dividend of 1s. 9d. is covered 2.4 times by earnings. Charter Consolidated will at the end of June exercise its right to convert £10m. of loan stock into R.T.Z. shares at 25s. 1½d. per share. The current market price is 34s. 3d.

Wankle Colliery Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, reports profits after tax to August 31 at £639,000 (£595,000). An interim dividend of 6d. tax-free has been declared. Owing to current exchange control regulations payment is not possible to residents in the United Kingdom or Zambia; sums due to them will be paid to trustees in Rhodesia.

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Company Report

LONRHO LIMITED

Review of Operations in 1965

THE FOLLOWING are extracts from the annual report of Lonrho, Limited, which was issued on April 5.

Financial Record.—The record for the past six years is summarised below:

Year	Company's Capital at	Consolidated Profit	Dividends Paid	
	end of year	before tax	Gross	Per 5s. share
	£	£	£	
1960	1,000,000	112,858	80,000	4.8d.
1961	1,375,000	157,777	125,000	7.5d.
1962	1,375,000	468,823	206,250	9.0d.
1963	1,430,069	302,199	262,179	11.0d.
1964	1,430,069	1,032,637	262,179	11.0d.
1965	1,430,069	1,823,300	321,765	1s. 1.5d.

Mining.—Henderson's Transvaal Estates, Limited, became a subsidiary on September 30, 1964, with the result that extensive coal mining interests in the Republic of South Africa were brought into the Group. The Henderson collieries have an annual saleable output of over two million tons of coal.

Coal mining for the year to September 30, 1965, accounted for £413,112 of the figure of £850,264 shown as the mining profit in the consolidated accounts.

A rationalization of the Rhodesian mining interests of the Coronation Syndicate Group was put into effect by transferring all mining properties, assets and liabilities into a single wholly-owned Rhodesian registered subsidiary which was re-named Corsyn Consolidated Mines Limited.

The Rhodesian mines recorded a year of not inconsiderable success. For the first time in many years the total ore reserves as at the financial year end showed an increase, rising from 547,000 tons to 627,000 tons. This trend is expected to continue. Despite a decrease in average value from 8.8 dwt. to 8.0 dwt. per ton, the gross gold content in the reserves increased by some 11,000 oz.

Production from the gold mines of the Group totalled 90,325 oz. of fine gold, equivalent to 16 per cent of the Rhodesian output. The resultant working profit for the year amounted to £396,544.

Land and Ranching.—The Group's land holdings in Africa comprise 928,000 acres of ranching land and 122,000 acres of other land. This total of 1,050,000 acres, with the buildings and improvements thereon, stands in the consolidated balance sheet at £1,803,427.

The ranches are situated in the Matabeleland and Midland areas of Rhodesia. At September 30, 1965, 45,523 head of cattle were held on the ranches, as compared with 45,630 at September 30, 1964. Sales during the year totalled 7,984 head, resulting in a gross revenue to the Group of £228,800.

Sugar.—The Sugar Corporation of Malawi, Limited, was registered during the year with a capital of £3,000,000. Outstanding progress has been made with the growing of cane under spray irrigation at Nchola on the Lower Shire River, and production is expected to begin in July of this year. To this date 2,000 acres of cane have been planted, all grown under spray irrigation. By August the total area under cane will have reached 4,300 acres, and this should ensure an annual production of about 30,000 tons of sugar. Internal consumption in Malawi is at the moment of the order of 20,000 tons per annum.

The sugar factory is now nearing completion and will embody some of the most recent developments in sugar extraction technique. One of the outstanding features of this project is that production will start only 18 months after bush-clearing of the land was commenced.

Oil Pipelines.—The pipeline owned by Companhia do Pipeline Mocambique-Rodesia, S.A.R.L., which runs from the port of Beira to Portuguese East Africa to Umtali in Rhodesia; where a refinery has been built by a consortium of seven oil companies, started operations in January, 1965, and in the first operational year 146,502,080 gallons of crude oil were pumped to the refinery. This represented a gross revenue of £2,091,094, from which compensation amounting to £1,607,927 was paid to the Mocambique railway company.

No pumping has been carried out since the end of December, as no crude oil tankers have off-loaded in Beira following on the sanctions imposed against Rhodesia.

The President of the Republic of Zambia has, on behalf of the Industrial Development Corporation of Zambia, recently invited Lonrho Limited to submit proposals for a major project. This involves the construction and operation of both an oil refinery complex on the Copperbelt of Zambia and a crude oil pipeline from the port of Dar es Salaam to supply the refinery. Survey work is now in progress, and international consultants to the oil industry have been commissioned.

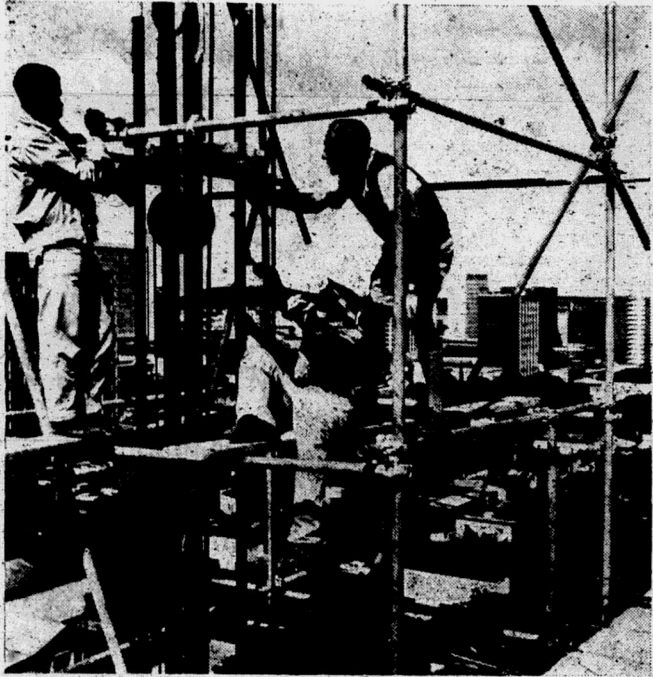
Motor Trade.—Through its subsidiaries the Group sells motor vehicles, spare parts and accessories, both wholesale and retail, throughout Central Africa and in Tanzania. The Group profits from motor trading increased to £410,094 in the financial year ended September, 1965, as compared with £189,706 in the previous year. This improvement was due to increased sales in Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi and to the acquisition of a controlling interest in Riddoch Motors, Limited, Tanzania.

Breweries.—Reference was made last year to the acquisition of controlling shareholdings in Heinrich's Syndicate, Limited, and H.S. Investments (Pvt.) Limited. These companies own and operate 21 breweries and distribute "Chibuku" beer throughout Zambia and Rhodesia. The products have great food value and thus enjoy considerable local popularity. Distribution is effected in bulk by a fleet of 110 tankers and some 70 other motor vehicles to established taverns, beer gardens, mines, industries, farms and estates. The market is being steadily extended into the rural areas. The Group also manufactures protein fortified non-alcoholic beverages and biscuits for retailing by trading stores.

Investments.—At September 30, 1965, the book value of the Group's outside investments was £1,568,510. The excess of market and directors' valuations over book value reflected an aggregate appreciation of £1,212,422. Profit on realizations, dividends, and interest received by the Group during the year, less interest paid, totalled £120,731.

Copies of the full annual report may be obtained from the Registrar, Lonrho, Ltd., Cheapside House, Ltd., Cheapside House, London, F.C.2.

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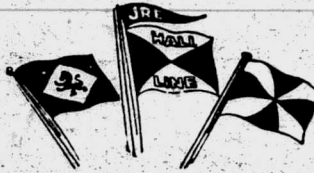
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, April 21, 1966

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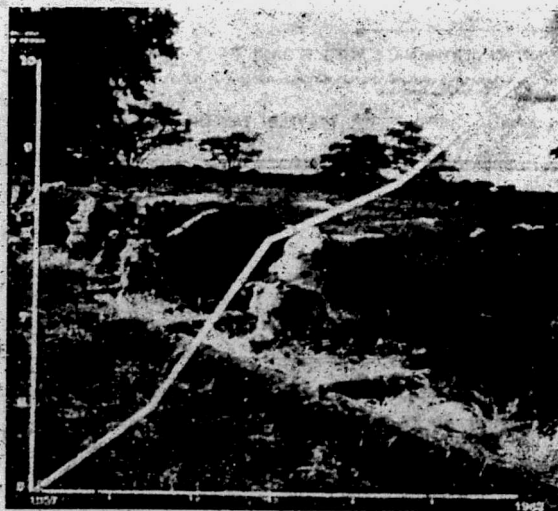
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE NEW PARLIAMENT having now assembled, the Conservatives should be determined to bring and keep Rhodesia under discussion. A vote of censure followed by complacent acceptance of whatever the Government may do or not do would be futile.

Tory Share of Blame Should Be Admitted

The manifest need is to compel the administration to explain its every act or failure to act. But the Tories have first to recognize that they have been gravely guilty for years of sins of omission and commission against Rhodesia and that their attitude since independence was declared by Mr. Smith on November 11 has been so incredibly inept that the party can now hope to win public confidence over Rhodesia only if its past blunders be candidly admitted. No leader relishes that kind of confession, but it is both essential and urgent if the respect of the country is to be regained. Only on that foundation of recognition of their own share of blame can Mr. Heath and his colleagues begin to build again.

Until Mr. Selwyn Lloyd paid his visit to Rhodesia, Sir Alec Douglas-Home was the only member of the Opposition front bench who day by day challenged his associates to face the realities of the situation. His lone stand was justified by Mr. Lloyd's report (which, incidentally, showed the accuracy of the line taken throughout by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and, unhappily, by scarcely any other publication). Parliament was dissolved before party policy could be brought into accord with Mr. Lloyd's firm recommendation that there should be talks with Rhodesia. Although the general election offered the Tories a wonderful opportunity of focussing attention on Rhodesia, and especially on the need for talks, the avoidance of force, or

reference to the United Nations, they amazingly threw it away, and in the three weeks at the hustings did little to expose Mr. Wilson's staggeringly bad judgment, stubborn vindictiveness, discreditable incompetence, and broken pledges, and nothing at all to show the country that he had had a mutually acceptable solution in hand while in Salisbury and had cast it away in fright that it would affront such fanatics as the then President Nkrumah and his satellites in many parts of Africa.

* * *

The courage of a Greek captain who refused to allow his tanker to be diverted from Beira by ships of the Royal Navy, and Mr. Wilson's reference to the Security Council of the United Nations of the problem of preventing oil from reaching Rhodesia through that port, followed quickly upon the Socialist victory in the general election. The Prime Minister had declared repeatedly that the Royal Navy would not blockade Beira and that Britain would not seek United Nations intervention. He was emphatic that the dispute was a domestic matter, concerning only Britain and Rhodesia. That insistence and his undertakings were cynically disregarded in pursuance of his policy of intimidation and boycott. Such behaviour was, of course, much to the liking of the Afro-Asian and Communist members of the United Nations, who were already screaming for the shedding of blood in Southern Africa. So the world organization broke its own very explicit rules in order to accommodate the ignoble initiative ordered by the Wilson Government. As is made clear in detail in other columns, the deceptions were deliberate. Indeed, the technical illegality of Rhodesia's U.D.I. was a model of restraint in comparison with the devious procedures at the United Nations. Moreover, while Rhodesia (falsely alleged to threaten world peace) is more peaceful than any of the black-governed States to the north,

Deliberate Deceptions

the antics of the United Nations and most of its members, especially the belligerent pacifists among them, do threaten Southern Africa with war—not because that would be a reasonable consequence of unreason in New York, Washington, London, and elsewhere, but because extremist Africans and their Communist comrades will exploit this instance of Wilsonian foolhardiness in their constant clamour for military measures.

Thirty-six member States of the fantastically misnamed Organization of African Unity (for there could not be a less united association) have thirsted for bloodshed since mid-November. The whole disorganization could not field a force which would have one chance in a million of over-

Black Africa In Disarray

coming Rhodesia. Their plan is to trap the Western world into sending an expeditionary army of Britons, Americans, Canadians, and Scandinavians and attach to it token contingents of Africans and Asians in order that politicians in the non-white world might strut about as champions of freedom (the freedom which they now deny in their own countries). The British Government's only sane course is to refuse to discuss so crazy and contemptible a concept and say bluntly that all the lamentations which may be organized will have no influence whatsoever upon its decision. It is ridiculous to pretend, as is done by many politicians, journalists, and broadcasters in Britain, that the independent African States represent irresistible forces. The former British territories in East and Central Africa are in more obvious disarray than at any time since Messrs. Macmillan and Macleod—backed, be it remembered, by the Socialists—prematurely thrust upon them an alleged independence, which was, in fact, an invitation to the Communist Powers to extend their activities to vast new areas. This issue reports up-to-date indications of the ferment and frenzy, discord and turbulence which now distinguish States which have been described to the British people as peaceable, progressive, harmonious, and happy.

Almost every publication in Britain except EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has for years enthused about a united Kenya, when its disunion was but thinly veiled. The President and Vice-President have now quarrelled angrily and flung bitter accusations at one another; Ministers and Assistant Ministers have withdrawn from a Government which was declared to be a band of brothers; the one-party State has been split asunder; and the tribalism which had allegedly

Disguises Torn Aside

been vanquished is once more dominant. In neighbouring Uganda a non-executive President who is also Kabaka (King) of the most popular, powerful, experienced and haughty tribe is ejected by the Prime Minister, who has become the executive President; and a Constitution accepted in 1962, after years of dissension, only because it was federal in nature, is scrapped overnight for a unitary substitute which, however desirable it may seem to Dr. Obote, the most astute and tough politician in all East Africa, makes nonsense of all past manoeuvres and agreements. Zambia's President, Dr. Kaunda—who has ceaselessly demanded that British troops should invade Rhodesia—is defied for a fortnight by thirty thousand black miners on unofficial strike, who rejected his appeals to return to work, attacked one of his Ministers, howled down other leaders of his party, and cost some ten million pounds to a country for which Mr. Wilson in his folly is providing almost limitless subsidies from British taxpayers. It is not often that Dr. Banda sets a good example, but Malawi's Prime Minister is to be commended for calling visiting African M.P.s from Rhodesia twice in the last few days that they can gain nothing by violence and should negotiate with their Government.

That is what Mr. Selwyn Lloyd urged weeks ago. It is also the message passed to the Press in Britain last week by Lord Bolton, not merely as his own conviction, but on behalf of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor in Rhodesia. Months ago his advice to the Chief Justice had brought that friend to Mr. Wilson, who, like so many politicians in office—prominent among them the unlamented Mr. Macmillan and still active Mr. Macleod—is not interested in advice unless it buttresses his own ideas. The less British politicians know about Africa—and few of them have anything but superficial information and usually unreliable hunches—the more confidence they appear to place in their own presumed sagacity. African politicians, realizing this ignorance and gullibility, seized the chance to extort power for themselves, which was given the guise of freedom for their people. Rhodesians, having abundant proof of the wreckage thus wrought throughout East, Central and West Africa by British politicians in the name of democracy, have very reasonably refused to allow their country to be similarly sacrificed. They prefer their own knowledge of their own circumstances to the *Diktat* of distant dictators.

Unwisely Rejected

Even Mr. Wilson should now know that his blustering and blundering have aligned South

Africa and Portugal with Rhodesia, and this despite the fact that the basic policies of the three States differ absolutely.

Mr. Wilson's His *collaborateurs* on national newspapers (who are better described by the French term **Mirage** than the English) are encouraging their readers to believe that Dr. Verwoerd will do as Mr. Wilson wishes if he is politely threatened with an oil embargo and the possibility of general sanctions backed by the use of force. Such expectations are childish. Nothing could make it more certain that South Africa will

refuse to change its policy than threats of pressure from the United Nations, with the eager ululations of backward, incompetent, often corrupt, usually envious, and always inimical black African Governments. Moreover, South Africans know that if Rhodesia were to collapse, their country would be the next target of the black racialists and their white inciters and financiers. Mr. Wilson's idea that South Africans will rescue him from his self-made dilemma is a mirage. They mistrust him and his devices; and they are determined to succour Rhodesia.

Breach of British Pledges and United Nations Charter

Rhodesian Prime Minister's Broadcast to the Nation

MR. WILSON'S BROKEN PLEDGES, his "deliberate distortion of the truth," and the "chicanery" by which the Security Council of the United Nations resolved, in breach of the Charter, to authorize the British Government to use force to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia—these were the main points of a broadcast to the nation made on Saturday by the Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

Mr. Smith said:—

"Most of you were as shocked as I was at the actions taken by the British Government to interfere with what is a part of normal world trade. Mr. Wilson is on record on many occasions, both in this country and in Britain, as giving an assurance that he would not resort to force over the Rhodesian issue; secondly, that there would be no blockade of the Mozambique ports; and, thirdly, that he and the British Government would not be responsible for referring the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations. Over the past week-end Mr. Wilson has broken all three of these solemn pledges which he made, and moreover which he repeated, to the British nation during the recent election campaign in order to secure their support for himself and his party at the election.

Deliberate Distortion of the Truth

"Further, in order to persuade the United Nations Security Council to permit him to use force in preventing oil reaching Rhodesia through Beira, he was prepared to resort to a deliberate distortion of the truth in order to mislead the other members of the Council into believing that conditions in Rhodesia today are a threat to world peace. As we all know—and, indeed, anyone else in the world who has taken the trouble to come here and see for himself knows—Rhodesia is, and has been ever since our day of independence on November 11 last, one of the most peaceful, one of the happiest countries in this world.

"There is one other piece of chicanery that I must refer to: the British Government invoked Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter in order to obtain authority to impose a blockade on Beira. However, the procedure for taking decisions is governed by Article 27 of the Charter, which states quite clearly that in order to secure an affirmative decision all the permanent members of the Security Council must concur in the vote. In fact, both France and Russia, who are permanent members, abstained from voting. Therefore the requirements of the article were not fulfilled. However, the British Government are prepared to ride roughshod over the Charter and place their own distorted interpretation upon the result of the meeting. It is to be regretted, indeed deplored, that the chairman of the Council is evidently prepared to turn a blind eye to this underhand behaviour.

"It is pleasing to note that in this case, as so often happens, there is a silver lining even to the darkest cloud, for the British Government by their very action of taking the Rhodesian question to the United Nations have, albeit unwittingly, acknowledged our independence. No one can deny that this is the inevitable result, the undeniable constitutional conclusion, that stems from their action.

Despicable and Cowardly Actions

"Because of the despicable and cowardly actions perpetrated by the British Government as portrayed in the story which I have just related, your Government has made two decisions.

"First, we have decided to close down Rhodesia House in London and recall our staff, and at the same time issued instructions for the British Embassy in Salisbury to be closed and for their staff to be repatriated. We do this reluctantly, because we believe that the maintenance of these two missions could contribute to something positive and constructive for the future.

"However, the recent British action, which is tantamount to military intervention in Rhodesian affairs, coupled with the plague of broken promises and distortions of the truth, and further aggravated by our uncovering only a few weeks ago a blatant case of espionage within the higher ranks of the British Embassy staff here in Salisbury—all of these things bring us to the conclusion that we have no option. Indeed, we would be showing weakness if we failed to take this step.

"Secondly, it must be obvious to all of us that if we proceed with our plan to pump the oil from the IOANNA V to Feruka in Umtali we are going to aggravate the position, indeed maybe even endanger the position of people other than Rhodesians. I am referring to the Portuguese in Mozambique and to those Greeks who are operating the oil tanker. After all, these people are only doing what the British Government itself is doing in countries such as Vietnam and Cuba. How hypocritical can people become!

Flagrant Violation of U.N. Charter

"It is for this that the holier-than-thou British Government is prepared to incriminate decent peace-loving people, and in fact create conditions in the southern part of the African continent which are a flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter, for they are guilty of interfering illegally in a part of the world where peace and security reign and of promoting in this area conditions which may well become a serious threat to the peace and security, not only of the area concerned, but of the whole world.

Blockade-Run Oil Not To Be Used

"Accordingly we have decided that we will not use the oil from the tanker IOANNA V. Nevertheless, I would like to place on record our appreciation and that of all the people of Rhodesia to all of those concerned with the IOANNA V. and in particular the brave seamen who have proved so convincingly that we can break the blockade and that we could if we wished pump the oil to our refinery at Feruka. This type of action shown by these merchant seamen who beat the blockade is the sort of thing that would make the hearts of most Britishers ring with approval and admiration. By the same token these people must despise the cowardly actions of those responsible for the attempted intervention for what can only be termed an attempt at piracy on the high seas.

"The fact that we will not obtain the oil from IOANNA V should not concern us very much. After all, as you all know, the use of a pipeline to transport our oil from the coast is a comparatively new development. Prior to that we got along very well using other means. So we will make do and continue by using these other traditional lines of supply.

"Finally, I would like to assure you that we are not complacent over our present position. For some time now we have been experimenting with a charcoal gas plant for adaption on diesel engines. Many of you will be aware that these have been used in different parts of the world on previous occasions, and in fact can still be found in operation in certain countries. I hope that the plans for this will be ready shortly, and thereafter available throughout Rhodesia for commercial production and sale to the public.

"Previously I mentioned to you the development of oil from coal. This exercise continues. In addition, a new prospect for oil, both more encouraging and more exciting, is under investigation. For security reasons I am unable to give you any further information about this.

Praying With Good Conscience

"I hope you agree with me when I say that things in Rhodesia are still going along pretty well. One of the main reasons for this is the strong determination and the high morale of the Rhodesian people. For this I and my Government are deeply grateful.

"Moreover, I would like to place on record our gratitude as a nation for the fact that the prayers which we have made since our independence have been answered. We are in the privileged position, fortunately, of knowing that when we pray we do so with the clear conscience of those who have nothing to hide, those who are honestly convinced that they are doing what is right and decent for all our people. I hope that you will continue to pray for help and guidance, and that you will give thanks that so far our prayers have been answered. Once again I say: God bless you all."

Mr. Smith told the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* this week that he is still ready for talks with Britain.

Sir Roy Welensky was reported as saying that "damned serious damage" was being done by sanctions to the Rhodesian economy. "Mr. Smith said U.D.I. would be a nine-day wonder. He was wrong. The effects are still with us, and there is no prospect of turn in our favour."

Correspondents in Rhodesia of British newspapers have attributed Mr. Smith's decision to close the British mission and Rhodesia House in London to pressure by right-wingers in his party.

A Commonwealth Relations Office spokesman said that the freehold of Rhodesia House would be held in trust until "a legal Government is set up in Rhodesia". Some time is expected to be required for the closure of the offices in Salisbury and London.

Need To Talk To Mr. Smith

Conservatives to Press Government

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, is to move a vote of censure on the Government in connexion with its actions over Rhodesia and demand negotiations.

He will criticize on three main grounds: (1) that Mr. Wilson has put forward no serious suggestions for a solution which could be expected to be acceptable to moderate Europeans in Rhodesia; (2) that, by using Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and labelling the Rhodesian situation "a threat to peace", the Government has forfeited British control and rendered itself liable to increasing pressure from outside for military action; (3) that Mr. Wilson has broken pledge after pledge given to Parliament about Rhodesia.

Governor's Message Through Lord Bolton

Lord Bolton, who has recently returned from a visit to his parents-in-law, Lord and Lady Forrester, in Rhodesia, said in Yorkshire last week that the Governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, had asked him to pass on to the British public the message that "the two sides should get round a table and talk, for that is the only sensible thing to do to solve the situation".

He had found Sir Humphrey in good spirits, but tired. He had also met a number of Ministers and many Africans, who were happy that the situation was more peaceful than it had been for years. Government action having stopped intimidation by African politicians and their thugs.

Abominable Incitement from Zambia

There were still outrages, however. On a farm near one on which he stayed the legs of two horses had been cut off during a night raid by Africans, who were incited to such abominable acts by propaganda broadcast by Radio Zambia—broadcasts which followed directly after B.B.C. news programmes with the consequence that many Rhodesians blamed the B.B.C. He (Lord Bolton) had complained to Sir Hugh Greene, the director-general, who had replied that the B.B.C. could do nothing about it.

Economic sanctions seemed to have had little impact on Rhodesia so far. Farmers had diversified their operations, many now growing maize, groundnuts and cotton as well as tobacco. In general their returns were still economic. The worst sufferers from sanctions were the African labourers who had had to be discharged.

"We believe that two wrongs never make a right. And in spite of the fact that the British Government has resorted to such immoral behaviour, in spite of the fact that they have incriminated other neutral, peaceful countries, in spite of the fact that they have bludgeoned so many other countries in the world to support them in their cowardly and bullying tactics against Rhodesia, it is not our intention to involve unnecessarily other countries and other peoples.

"Those who broadly favour the Rhodesian Europeans' case form a very considerable majority in Britain. In this matter Parliament does not represent the views and wishes of the majority of the electorate." — Mr. I. H. Stockwood.

"When Harold Wilson finds his squalid place in the history books, he will go down as the man who did more to debase the standards of British public life than any other Prime Minister of this century or the last." — Mr. Colm Brogan, in the *National Review* of the United States.

Rhodesia Will Not Be Crushed, Say U.S. Investigators

Mr. Smith's Government Has Virtually Unanimous Support

AMONG AFRICANS still living within their tribal organizations there is scant interest in the exercise of the suffrage. They are, therefore, pretty much represented by their chiefs, who have official status.

Eventually the Rhodesian Government hopes to institutionalize the rôle of the chiefs by setting up a second legislative chamber somewhat analogous to the American Senate or the British House of Lords—replacing the present Council of Chiefs. Such an innovation will enhance the status of the Africans and give them a greater voice in Government affairs without debasing the franchise. But this is secondary to a matter of far greater significance in assessing the Rhodesian system.

Are the whites sincerely dedicated to raising the educational and economic levels of the African population? Or are the inhibitions on the suffrage merely a polite way of preventing qualified Africans from using their numerical preponderance to take control of the country?

On this point the Opposition is most vocal. It claims that the Government of Ian Smith—or any other white Government—will simply create new impediments to granting the franchise as the level of the African population rises to meet the present inhibitions. This charge goes to the matter of motive and psychological imponderables. As such, it is almost impossible to weigh objectively. All the evidence at hand certainly points to an opposite conclusion.

Sincere Educational Policy

Has the Rhodesian Government really tried to bring education to the African? The answer lies in economic statistics and an analysis of the school population. At present Rhodesia's ratio of children in school to total population is comparable to Britain's—even though there is a wide disparity (in favour of Britain) in the national incomes of the two countries.

The following table of ratios tells a story which goes far to contradict those who reject the sincerity of the Rhodesian whites:

Great Britain	1 in 5
Rhodesia	.1 in 6
Malagasy	1 in 11
Tanzania	1 in 18
Dahomey	1 in 20
Mali	1 in 40
Ethiopia	1 in 80

African education is the largest single expenditure of the Rhodesian Government, and it has trebled in the last seven years. It is significant in this context that 98% of all direct taxation is paid by whites. Despite this financial inequity, the Rhodesian Government has been able to meet the demands of an African school population of some two million children under 17 for a primary education. As this demand is met, the Government has moved ahead to provide secondary school education for those who desire it.

But here the Government has run into several problems. First, the 10% of the primary school population which is female has been kept out of the secondary schools by parents who take their daughters out of school when they become nubile and "sell" them into marriage. Secondly, the demand for the admittedly few but steadily increasing places in secondary schools has yet to equal the supply.

**From a report issued by the American-African Affairs Association, on whose behalf Congressmen J. A. Ashbrook, Dr. Max Yergan, and Mr. Ralph de Toledano visited Rhodesia as a fact-finding mission.*

As a matter of education philosophy, moreover, the Rhodesian Government has subscribed to the Western idea of providing as much education as possible for all, rather than to the practice prevalent in former French and British colonies of training a small elite group and ignoring the rest of the African population.

The Rhodesian school system, moreover, is relatively young. (After all, the country has been under settlement for less than 75 years). Rhodesians note that in Britain, with its ancient traditions, only 34% continue to go to school after age 15; and in the United States, which boasts of its public education, there are today some 23 million adults who never went beyond elementary school.

Government Help for Students

The Opposition has criticized the Government for not providing more vocational schools. But the Rhodesian experience has been one of apathy among Africans toward this kind of training; and what demand there was has tended to fall off in the past year. The Government nevertheless has pressed for longer periods of education, particularly in the secondary schools. It has organized correspondence courses and night schools. There are, again, no discriminatory practices against Africans.

All African students at the University are eligible for Government support. At the present time, those African students at the University of Rhodesia receiving scholarships, grants, and loans would not have qualified had purely academic standards been imposed. Instead, the school authorities have "discriminated" in their favour—hardly a sign that there is official reluctance to raise educational opportunities for Africans. Nor is it a sign of foot-dragging that the amount spent for African education doubled between 1963 and 1964—with the figure still rising—and that African pupil enrollment has tripled in the past ten years, with approximately 700,000 students now attending school.

More Land for Africans

Simultaneously a strong effort—some of it governmental and some private—is being made to raise the economic level of the African population by introducing better methods of working the land and by opening up new land for African use. Since 1920 farm and grazing land assigned for African occupation rose from 21.6 to 44.3m. acres, whereas white acreage has been reduced by 12m. There are 5.9m. acres open for sale to either whites or Africans—but African lands (for which no rent or purchase price is paid in the tribal area) are protected from encroachment by the more prosperous white farmers. The opening up of increased acreage for African use has been a continuing process to meet demands by the Africans themselves.

What is done with that land is another matter. The charge has been made that the farm land occupied by whites is much better than African holdings. This, however, is not sustained by the facts. For example, a tract of "worked out" land was taken over by an agricultural school. On this presumably worthless sandveld proper farming methods have produced a high yield of corn. Yet African farms in the same area have remained on a subsistence farming level. Soils in the African area roughly match the fertility of those in areas being farmed by whites.

Studies have further shown that 37% of Rhodesia has a rainfall in excess of 28 inches—and half the African areas are within the preferred zone. The Government recognizes that it requires more than good

soil and adequate rainfall to produce cash crops. Capital is necessary, and this is provided to African farmers in loans and grants.

White Farmers Help Africans

White farmers have banded together to help the African farmer increase his yield. They have provided seed, tractors, and instruction in agricultural know-how to those willing to join the programme for a minimum period of three years. But they have run into what sociologists call a high leisure preference among Africans—as well as a tendency to retire from the economic contention once they have put aside enough money to provide subsistence for the immediate future.

To counter these tendencies, the Government and white businessmen have attempted to increase the level of consumer demand by stocking the shops with the kind of item which will be attractive to the wives of African farmers and to the farmers themselves—washing machines, radios, bicycles, etc. Whether this modified form of the Madison Avenue technique will provide the drive that Europeans and Americans take for granted is not yet susceptible of proof. But the fact remaining that more and more African farmers are able to buy new farms in the unreserved areas, to pay substantial sums in cash for homes and farm equipment, and to derive incomes equal to or better than those of the white settlers.

This previously steady development ran into trouble when the African nationalists began their campaign. An Englishman who has lived for some years in Rhodesia reported: "Agricultural agents would go to African farms to show how to improve the yield. Then the nationalists would follow and say: 'If you do that, we'll burn your house down.'" Since there were 35 petrol bomb raids a month before the Rhodesian Government clamped down, the effect on African farmers was considerable.

Terror

The terror was not only physical, for many of the Africans still under tribal sway have not relinquished their belief in witchcraft and in the "power of the spirit". The nationalists invoked these beliefs and powers, and would still be using them if the Government had not proved that it was impervious to nationalist magic.

That, in brief, is the Rhodesian picture. A stable Government commands the virtually unanimous support of the white population and the respect of a preponderance of the Africans. A sound and growing economy faces the threat of strangulation, but is moving energetically to adjust itself to new conditions. Should it fail, all Africa will suffer. For the black people of Rhodesia it would mean a return to the tribal wars which ended less than 70 years ago.

It would mean the collapse of the economy as thousands of white farmers, businessmen, and technicians either died in the convulsions of a forcible takeover or migrated to South Africa. In those circumstances the burnt-out case Rhodesia would become another and more terrible Congo. Chaos would inundate order, and Africa would not fail to read the message that Western civilization had abdicated. The joint achievement of white and African in Rhodesia would go up in acrid smoke.

It would be comforting to assume that sanity will prevail, that the ideologized fury of Britain's Prime Minister Wilson would be recognized for what it is, and not for the principled assault on the racism that it claims to be. It would be pleasant to believe that in American policy toward Rhodesia facts will triumph over ideological commitments, leading to the withdrawal of this country from participation in the sanctions Britain has imposed; that knowledge will vanquish ignorance.

It would be only human to hope that fanaticism over "majority rule" will bow to the realization that Rhodesia's four million Africans and 220,000 whites are not living in Chicago or Birmingham but are slowly evolving a sound and democratic compromise which will give a white minority a realistic chance of survival and the black majority re-opportunity, almost unique in Africa, of achieving political and economic equality.

Rhodesian Resolution

But these are not the reasons which lead to our conclusion that Rhodesia as now constituted will not be crushed by Mr Wilson and the Labour Government of England. There is a firm determination to stand up to whatever the British, the neighbouring African States, and the United States can throw at them. There is a conviction that Rhodesia is pointing the way to the kind of Africa which can develop its tremendous resources for the good of all; that it can sustain a deepening democracy against the totalitarian forces which one by one have taken over the less fortunate nations of the continent. Fire-power wins wars, but guns are sometimes loaded with more than bullets.

The Rhodesians will feed themselves and find new markets for their goods, whatever the effort may temporarily do to the way of life they have created on the African *veld*. They are pledged to this without drama, without vainglory, without hatred. Unless the world goes mad, this spirit of resolution is better than fire-power and stronger than economic sanctions. It alone can build the Rhodesia that is desired, and deserved, by all her people.

Africans Warned Against Violence

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, told a party political study conference in Blantyre last week that Africans in Rhodesia should negotiate with the Government and not use force.

Four Rhodesian African M.P.s were in the audience—Mr. Chad Chipunza, Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Gondo, his deputy, Mr. Mkudu, and Dr. Behane.

The Prime Minister said: "You Africans in Rhodesia can blow up bridges, but they will rebuild them. Violence will not get you anywhere. It will lose you your friends in Britain and elsewhere. In certain circumstances you will lose friendship with Britain. Do not listen to propaganda from Cairo. Those people will not help you. They are deceiving you. Nasser is not in position to help you. He might give some leaders a few thousand pounds to run about with women, but that is all.

"The only way for Rhodesian Africans to win their demands is by political discussions. They should be tough in their negotiations, but deep in their hearts they should also be ready to compromise at the right time."

He hoped the visitors would travel in Malawi and see Mr. Blackwood, the Leader of the Opposition, who would tell them how happily Africans and Europeans lived together in the towns.

He had welcomed three European M.P.s. to the conference, referred to them as "our friends"; and said their number would be increased to five when the country became a republic in July.

To loud cheering he said: "If we are a dictatorship and I a dictator, we are a dictatorship by the will of the people. If I am a dictator, I am a dictator by the will of the people, for the people, and by the people themselves. So far as I am concerned, this country is a democracy. What is democracy? What the people want. That is all. To do things the way people want". The democracy of Britain could not be transported root and branch to Zomba. Democracy in Britain suited only British conditions and circumstances.

The conference was attended by chairmen, secretaries and treasurers of the Malawi Congress Party, representatives of the League of Malawi Women and the League of Malawi Youth, and district council chairman from every district in the country.

Security Council Exceeded Its Powers

British Resolution carried only by Flouting Charter

AIR MARSHAL SIR GERALD GIBBS has suggested that the Security Council of the United Nations exceeded its constitutional powers in accepting the draft resolution of the British Government authorizing the use of force to prevent blockade-runners reaching Beira with oil for Rhodesia.

He wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Britain's resolution requesting United Nations authority to use force to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia via Beira is represented as having been accepted by the Security Council, although France and Russia—two permanent members of the Security Council abstained from voting in support.

"But a Security Council decision (other than on procedural matters such as arranging for meetings, etc.) must, under Article 27(2) and (3) of the United Nations Charter, be made 'by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members'—who are Nationalist China, France, Britain, the United States and Russia.

"That is to say—in accordance with the wording of the Charter—a contrary vote or an abstention by one or more of these five prevents a Security Council decision being made. There may have been certain easy-going precedents when these safety provisions, specially written into the Charter, have been ignored in minor matters; but this is a major matter, authorizing the use of force.

Hypocritical

"It is stretching things too far to pretend that these abstentions by two great powers, France and Russia, in such an important matter can be taken as concurring votes (in fact, the speech by the Russian delegate showed that he by no means concurred—he called the resolution hypocritical and a comedy), and therefore it would be very interesting to know on what grounds it can be argued that the resolution was passed.

"Many strange and harmful things have been done at the United Nations in the name of 'peace', but the letter of the Charter which governs its actions still stands as written—and without amendment—and so should its spirit.

"It would therefore appear that when challenged on the action we have taken—as no doubt we shall be—Britain's use of force rests only on her own responsibility, since United Nations authority for it has—according to the wording of the Charter—not been given.

"As regards the background to this sorry story, Britain has raised the bogey of the sending of oil to Rhodesia via Beira being 'a threat to peace'. But whence comes the threat?

"Britain pretends to take seriously the vapourings and threats of certain irresponsible and unstable African dictatorships, who are in fact without resources for a large-scale war or any understanding of what such a war means.

"Perhaps to pretend a threat to peace is only a cloak for what is something of a vendetta by the British Government against Rhodesia.

"It is extraordinary—or is it?—that those so tenderly against execution of murderers in order to protect the innocent can quite light-heartedly advocate the use of 'force'. Perhaps those without first-hand experience of war cannot grasp that 'force' means shooting, killing, and maiming on a large scale—and on both sides—and all the subsequent misery."

LORD COLERAIN amplified the criticism in a letter to *The Times* which said:—

"One would have expected that H.M. Government in seeking to combat what it regards as the illegal régime of Mr. Smith would have taken every care to see that its own actions conformed meticulously with all legal requirements. Its action, however, in submitting a resolution to the Security Council asking it to authorize sanctions under Article 42 of the United Nations Charter appears to disregard completely the procedures expressly laid down for such proposals.

"In the first place, Article 32 of the Charter requires that 'any State which is not a member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussions relating to the dispute'. Under this provision the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia ought surely to have been invited to attend the meeting of the Security Council.

"It can scarcely be argued that the provision can be disregarded on the ground that Rhodesia is not a 'State', as the Charter clearly implies (e.g. in Article 2 (5) and Article 50) that sanctions to be taken only against a State. In any case, it is contrary to the most elementary principles of justice that a Government however constituted should be condemned without being given an opportunity to defend itself.

"In the next place, Article 33 of the Charter requires that 'the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement . . . or other peaceful means of their own choice', and the Security Council 'shall when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by these means'.

No Attempt at Conciliation.

"Since the proclamation of U.D.I. there has been no attempt at negotiation or conciliation, and such action ought in the first place to be undertaken before sanctions can properly be considered.

"Thirdly, the Security Council has to determine 'the existence of any threat to peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression'. However illegal the Smith régime may be, it cannot be accused of having committed or threatened aggression against any country. Such threat to peace as exists comes from the Organization of African Unity and from the African States which have openly been training saboteurs and terrorists to create trouble in neighbouring countries and which are now demanding military action against Rhodesia. If the Security Council is to maintain any claim to judicial authority, this is a point which it ought surely to take into consideration.

"Finally, and most important, Article 27 of the Charter provides that decisions of the Security Council on all but procedural matters require, as part of any majority, 'the concurring votes of the permanent members' of the Council. As two of the permanent members (*viz* Russia and France) abstained on the recent vote, the resolution would not appear to have been validly carried.

"The British Government has, in the past, supported the view that abstention should not be regarded as a veto; but this view has never been formally recognized by an amendment of Article 27 and the legal position—especially as against third parties—is surely governed by the terms of the Charter. It may be added that under the proviso to that article it appears questionable whether Britain is entitled to vote on this dispute.

"From the outset H.M. Government has avowed that its policy is to keep the dispute with Rhodesia in British hands. Its action in promoting and supporting resolutions at the Security Council has thrown the initiative into the hands of the African States and whetted their appetites for military action, bringing us nearer and nearer to the precipice and rendering any solution more and more difficult.

"Can Mr. Wilson not be brought to realize that his policy is leading to an impasse if not to war?"

Refusing to Learn from History

LORD SALISBURY has asked if the Socialist Government in the United Kingdom is bent on making the same blunder over Rhodesia that this country made two centuries ago in regard to the American Colonies. He wrote in a letter in *The Times*:—

"The other day, while I was reading the *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, by that wise political thinker, Mr. F. S. Oliver, I came across a passage in the earlier part of the book which deals with the War of American Independence, headed 'The Quarrel with Great Britain', and this has seemed to me to be so relevant to the present quarrel between Great Britain and Rhodesia as to be worth quoting. It runs as follows:—

"The balance of legal right was almost as plainly in favour of the British contentions as the balance of common sense was against them. The Supreme Courts of Appeal in this country and the States, sitting in banc for a new trial of the issues involved, would probably be forced to decide, as a matter of law, that upon most of the essential points our ancestors were technically in the right. On the other hand, a jury of men of the world would almost as certainly conclude that imprudence rarely steered a more perilous course or followed it in a spirit less likely to escape shipwreck. It is difficult to believe that legal right really mattered a great deal to anyone."

"In the minds of the colonists, Mr. Oliver points out, 'the fundamental, paramount, determining cause of the war with Britain was the need of getting free from restraint, and this need was realized rather by a kind of instinct than by any

(Continued on page 606)

PERSONALIA

THE EARL OF SELBORNE was 79 on Friday.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P., a former Colonial Secretary, is writing his memoirs.

MR. J. H. WATTS, chairman of United Transport, Ltd., and MRS. WATTS have returned from Southern Africa.

MR. A. K. CHESTERTON, founder of the League of Empire Loyalists, has re-visited Rhodesia.

MR. HUGH FRASER, M.P., has been co-opted to the board of Mirrlees Watson Co., Ltd.

SIR CHARLES and HON. the LADY PONSONBY have returned by sea from their visit to Rhodesia and Malawi.

LIU WAI-PING, Vice-Minister of Education in Communist China, is leading an educational delegation to Zanzibar.

MR. JUCIAN POLNIWICZ, secretary-general of the Polish-African Friendship Society, is touring East Africa.

MR. P. A. JAMES, specialist thoracic surgeon in Uganda, and DR. P. N. WILLIAMS are on leave in this country.

DR. ARTHUR LAURENCE GRIFFITH, formerly of Nairobi, left estate in Britain of £21,364, on which duty of £3,213 was paid.

MR. FREDERICK ROGER GOODENOUGH has been appointed to the London Committee of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MR. L. G. SOUYAVE is acting as Chief Justice of Seychelles during the absence on leave of SIR FRANCE BONNETARD.

MR. A. S. DHAWAN, High Commissioner for India in Uganda since that country became independent, has left for New Delhi.

SIR WALTER COUTTS has been elected president for 1966 of the East Africa Dinner Club, whose annual dinner will be held on June 23.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Minister of Finance in Zambia, led a delegation to Tanzania last week for discussions about communications.

MR. BEN WHITAKER, M.P. for Hampstead, has been appointed P.P.S. to MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD, Minister for Overseas Development.

PRINCESS RUTH DESTA recently flew from Addis Ababa to Holland to visit a 33,000-ton ship built for an Ethiopian company.

DR. ARTHUR ILIFF, medical secretary of the Church Missionary Society, has recently visited Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Ethiopia.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, Kenya's High Commissioner in London, aged 35; and MISS BEATRICE NYINDOMBI, 22, of Fort Portal, Uganda, who is nursing in a London hospital, are to be married on May 14.

THE RT. REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, Bishop of Masasi, has been in England for a few days on his way to the United States to make a lecture tour. He is to speak at an U.S.P.G. rally in the Albert Hall on June 2.

MR. WALTER SIMPSON HARDACRE, treasurer of Berkshire County Council, has arrived in Nairobi to act as chairman of a commission which is to report on future arrangements for local government in Kenya.

MR. HARRY COWIE, who was the unsuccessful Liberal candidate in South Buckinghamshire in the recent general election, flew back from Uganda for the campaign.

MR. D. A. STEPHEN has succeeded Mr. J. A. PARRY as director-general of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, of which Mr. J. C. NEILL, hitherto chief accountant, has been appointed deputy director-general.

MR. D. H. CLARK has been elected president and MR. DAVID CATOR chairman of the Abercorn Club, Zambia, of which Mr. JOHN BUTTS is secretary and MR. J. S. FRASER treasurer.

SIR HENRY PHILLIPS, lately Finance Minister in Malawi, has been appointed managing director of Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation, Ltd.

MR. R. H. R. DAVIES, who has been appointed Director of the East African Directorate of Civil Aviation, has been in East Africa since he left the R.A.F. in 1948.

CHIEF CHIKWANDA, of Mpika, has been sworn in as President of the House of Chiefs of Zambia. PARAMOUNT CHIEF UNDI, of Fort Jameson, has been elected Vice-President of the House.

MR. GEOFFREY WILSON, a former director of the Colombo Plan Bureau in Ceylon, and later an Under-Secretary in the Treasury, has been appointed to a second post of Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Overseas Development.

MR. JOHN A. SAUNDERS has been elected president of Limbe Country Club, Malawi. The other members of the board are MRS. B. LAKIN and Messrs. R. S. STURGES, A. DAY, J. BROOKFIELD, S. SIMMONS, G. GLEGG and N. WILSON.

MR. J. F. GAYLARD, a former headmaster of Prince Edward School, Salisbury, and now Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education in Rhodesia, has been appointed to the Public Services Board. During the last war he served in the South African Forces in East Africa, the Western Desert, and Italy.

MR. A. P. COSTAIN, M.P., Conservative M.P. for Folkestone and Hythe, formerly a joint deputy chairman of Richard Costain, Ltd., has been appointed chairman of the group following the death of SIR RICHARD COSTAIN. LORD NETHERTHROPE continues as deputy chairman. SIR ROBERT TAYLOR is the chief executive.

MR. BERT SHANKLAND, driver of the winning car in this year's East African Safari motor rally, is a Scot who went to Tanganyika nine years ago as a mechanic with Riddoch Motors Ltd., by whom he was transferred to their Dar es Salaam branch in 1960. Three years afterwards he joined Tanganyika Motors Ltd., as service manager, a position which he still holds.

SIR ROBERT ADEANE, for many years a business associate of the late Mr. HARLEY DRAYTON, has become head of his group of companies. He has been elected chairman of Security Agency, Ltd., the issuing house which is the cornerstone of the group. PRINCESS ALEXANDRA and MR. ANGUS OGILVY attended Mr. DRAYTON'S funeral last Thursday in the village church at Wepstead, near Bury St. Edmunds.

MR. ROLAND BROWN'S colleagues on the commission of inquiry into wages and other conditions in the mining industry of Zambia are to be MR. KALYATI, Mayor of Kitwe; MR. MCLIVENNA, president of the Zambia Federation of Employers; MR. AUGUSTINE NKUMBULA, general secretary of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions; and FATHER QUINN, lecturer in economics in the University of Zambia. MR. BROWN was until recently Attorney-General in Tanzania.

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Obituary

Sir Archer Baldwin

SIR ARCHER ERNEST BALDWIN, M.C., who has died at his home in Tenbury, Worcestershire, was born in Tennessee, U.S.A. He left school in Herefordshire to work on a farm at the age of 14, and three years afterwards was articled to an auctioneer. Later in life he farmed and was also a partner, and later a director, of Russell, Baldwin and Bright, auctioneers.

Enlisting in the Royal Horse Artillery at the outbreak of war in 1914, he served in the next four years in France and Italy, being wounded and awarded the Military Cross. On demobilization he was active in many ways outside his business, and became vice-president of the National Young Farmers' Federation, a councillor of the Three Counties Show and of the Ryland Flock Book Society. He played hockey for Worcestershire in 1904 and 1905.

He was elected to Parliament in 1945, and soon afterwards became a member of the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board, of which he was elected chairman in 1952. He had meantime visited Kenya, and, believing that the ignorance and bias of politicians in Britain did much damage in that and other parts of Africa, he often pleaded, and worked behind the scenes, for a bipartisan policy in Colonial affairs.

Poisoned by overdose of Politics

He deprecated too much interference from this country in East and Central African affairs, considering Africa to be one of the most dangerous areas in the world, a target for the cold war. Economic should, he emphasized, precede political power for Africa.

"I love Kenya", he once told the writer, "but she seems determined to poison herself with an overdose of politics".

He served on the London Committee of the Voice of Kenya, and, being thorough in all he undertook, scarcely ever missed a meeting. When he was knighted in 1958 all who knew him felt that a staunch, sincere, and hard-working man, one of real principle, had been honoured.

He married in 1911, and there were two daughters and one son of the marriage. Lady Baldwin survives him.

MRS. BINGHAM, widow of the Hon. Albert E. Bingham, has died in her 102nd year in Rhodesia.

MRS. HIGNELL, formerly of Exeter, has died in her 96th year in Mbeya, Tanzania, in the home of her daughter, Mrs. Z. Kingdom.

MR. WILLIAM OLSON, a 24-year-old American Peace Corps volunteer, was seized by a crocodile and drowned while he and others were swimming in a river near Gambela, Ethiopia. The crocodile was later shot.

MR. HAROLD W. GILL, who has died at the age of 75 in Nairobi, was a former general manager of the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd., and a former chairman of the Kenya Dairy Board and general manager of the East Africa Timber Co-operative Society, Ltd.

DR. HERBERT LYNDHURST DUKE, O.B.E., who has died in Sussex at the age of 82, was chairman of the League of Nations International Commission on Sleeping Sickness in Uganda of 1926-27. Before the 1914-18 war he had served for three years on the Sleeping Sickness Committee of the Royal Society, and had afterwards been a medical officer in Uganda, and later director of its Human Trypanosomiasis Institute. He retired from the Colonial Medical Service in 1936.

Letter to Prime Minister

Protest Against Rhodesia Policy

A SUBSCRIBER now resident in Britain who farmed in Kenya for many years—and who mentions that "in spite of all the white-washing about Kenya, three of our friends in that country have been killed in *panga* (bush-knife) attacks in the last two years"—has written to the Prime Minister:—

"Having more than 20 years' experience in Africa, I must protest against your Rhodesia policy and the damage it is doing both to this country and Rhodesia. I can think only that your intelligence system is faulty, or that you ignore it at your peril.

"For years Conservative Governments had been warned by Europeans in Africa that to grant independence to totally unprepared African countries was the surest way of inviting Communism into Africa. Britain can be compared to a guardian with several backward wards of court, most of whom have been thrown into a hostile world quite unprepared to meet its challenge. Cheques have been no true substitute for true guardianship, though they may have been sent as conscience savers. Rhodesians now remind themselves of Britain's cynical abdication from the principle of true guardianship.

"The end result of your Rhodesia policy will be a Vietnam in Africa—but it will create in Southern Africa a political, military and economic block powerful enough to combat the evils which you are ignominiously unleashing; and the African will suffer most.

Britons in Africa Distrust Whitehall

"Now, before it is too late, drop sanctions against Rhodesia, cancel all aid to black countries which revile Britain, and send the money to Rhodesia to create there what was tried in Kenya but prematurely abandoned—a prosperous multiracial State, whose African citizens would become the envy of their less fortunate (but so-called 'independent') neighbours. You will have the certainty that the policy will meet with more success in Rhodesia than in Kenya, because in Rhodesia the reins are held by men of courage and wisdom.

"Let others leave the Commonwealth if they can afford to do so. The reality of Commonwealth died long ago in Africa. With very good reason, every Briton in Africa utterly distrusts Whitehall. The depth of their bitterness has been shown by their abandonment of British passports and British decorations.

"Until (if ever) I can extricate myself, my family, and my assets from the results of British faithlessness in Kenya—my 999-year lease of land from the British Crown having been torn up at independence—I am forced to sign myself 'Kenya Farmer'. I do that unwillingly, but because disclosure of my identity would bring retaliation from ex-Mau Mau thugs".

Disturbances at University College

MR. BARNETT POTTER, who has lived in East, Central and South Africa and travelled widely throughout the continent, said a few days ago in a broadcast talk in South Africa that he believed the origin of the disturbances in the University College in Salisbury to have been the recruitment in Britain of teaching staff who went to Rhodesia "oozing politics from every pore". Politics among the staff had encouraged politics among the students, with the consequence that public opinion in Rhodesia had become increasingly hostile to the university. There was comfort, however, in the fact that the dissentients on the staff numbered only about one-fifth of the total. Four-fifths of the staff and the overwhelming majority of the European students remained loyal.

The staff of the Teachers' College in Bulawayo have written to Mr. A. P. Smith, Minister of Education:—

"We deplore the actions of certain members of the tutorial staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in refusing to carry out their tutorial duties. While agreeing that at all times it is the primary responsibility of all teachers to maintain academic freedom to the best of their ability, we do not agree that recent actions of staff and students at the University College are in the interests of academic freedom.

"Indeed, such actions as have been taken at the University College by a minority of the staff and the students are not only not in the best interests of the profession but, in fact, seriously restrict the academic freedoms of the majority of the staff and students and put the continued existence of the country's highest institute of learning in serious jeopardy".

Mr. Oginga Odinga Resigns Will Lead Kenya Opposition

MR. OGINGA ODINGA resigned the office of Vice-President of Kenya last Thursday. He has left the Kenya African National Union, now the only political party in the State, but will keep his seat in Parliament and lead an Opposition.

He had said publicly a month earlier that he resented the reduction of his responsibilities. At a recent special congress of K.A.N.U. he was deprived of the vice-presidency of the party, which also excluded from the hierarchy his ministerial and other supporters.

It is thought that the new Opposition party, likely to be called Kenya People's Union, will at the outset have about 20 M.P.s among its members, including perhaps two present Ministers and two Assistant Ministers.

In a long and angry statement to a news conference after he had handed his resignation to President Kenyatta, Mr. Odinga said that he could no longer continue in a Government "ruled by underground masters serving foreign interests."

Mysterious Wealth

"Outside forces" — which he declined to identify — had, he declared, indulged in underground activity ever since Kenya became independent, their aim being to ensure Kenya's new African leaders by exploiting their weaknesses.

Many people in responsible positions in Kenya, he alleged, acquired mysterious wealth, and had become prisoners of the "underground masters", who, if allowed to assume control over the economy, would become a class similar to the colonial masters of the past. He had no quarrel with genuine help from abroad, but opposed transactions which enabled helpers to make prisoners of those whom they helped. The "underground enemy, moreover, exploited tribal sentiment.

"The underground enemy has temporarily succeeded in creating an invisible government in the country, at the hands

of whom senior people, both politicians and civil servants, are now helpless prisoners. This explains the apparent split personality of the Government. It has to serve two masters, whose interests are in many cases diametrically opposite."

The "invisible government" represented international forces which were concerned solely with the ideological colonization of Kenya, and represented commercial interests, largely foreign which thought primarily of big profits.

"The present enemy is far more ruthless and inhuman than the old colonialism against which we fought. The Congo and Vietnam should show clearly to what extent the enemy can go."

By constitutional means, Mr. Odinga said, he would dedicate himself to a struggle for complete economic, social, and political independence. He appealed to everybody to refrain from violence.

While he had thought that there was a chance of retrieving the situation from within the Government, he had resisted heavy pressures from people who had wanted to oust him from office, but the Government had now reached the point of no return and could do only what the underground master would permit. He therefore found it impossible to remain part of the Government.

The recent K.A.N.U. conference had "been rigged to suit the purpose of certain people."

It was at that conference, organized by Mr. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, and Mr. Odinga's strongest opponent, that it was decided to abolish the office of party vice-presidents, held by Mr. Odinga, and instead to have eight vice-presidents, one for each of eight areas of the country. Since that humiliation Mr. Odinga's resignation had been expected.

Challenged by Government

President Kenyatta, when he announced acceptance of Mr. Odinga's resignation, challenged him to disclose the identity of the alleged "underground masters."

"From Mr. Odinga's statements it seems that he alone has escaped the clutches of some foreign country. Mr. Odinga's own actions and public utterances speak for themselves. The Government is vigilant and determined to deal firmly with any person or group who may be tempted to undermine the stability, progress and authority of the Government."

The reference to "Mr. Odinga's own actions and public utterances" was generally understood to refer to his contacts in recent years with Communist countries, of which he has made no secret, and from which he has admitted receiving large sums. About a year ago he described Communism as "my food."

A Government statement included the following passages: —

"The public are aware that Mr. Odinga has been a member of the Government since the general election in May, 1963. He has publicly supported and pleaded for all Government policies and programmes, and even told the people to be patient for development. It is therefore puzzling and misleading that since the Limuru conference, when he failed to be elected to any position in the K.A.N.U. leadership, he should suddenly discover alleged failures in the Government.

"It does not require much courage to play on the fear, anxieties, and poverty among our people. What requires courage is constructive and effective planning and action to remove these evils from our society. This is the road which the Government will continue to pursue vigorously. It is easy for a man who owns large properties and lives well to exploit the conditions of misery among his fellow-men. But what Kenya needs is not a policy of distribution of poverty, but rather one of equitable distribution of wealth based on a growing and expanding economy.

"This Government will deal firmly and promptly with any cases of corruption, nepotism, or tribal or racial discrimination that may be brought to its attention. This point has been clearly demonstrated in recent months and will be pursued resolutely in the future. But so will the Government resist cheap slogans and political blackmails and other forms of intrigue intended to create suspicions, disunity and instability in the country.

"We promised the people material progress, but we also promised hard work and effective organization. There is no alternative for us but to build the Kenya based on our own philosophy and labour. Anyone who promises easy riches and who seeks to transform Kenya into a blue-print for some foreign ideology is betraying the nationalist cause. Anyone who appoints himself as a spokesman for foreign ideologies and countries has but himself to blame if he finds himself in conflict with the majority of the Members of Parliament and the leaders and people of Kenya.

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"Mr. Odinga referred to an invisible government and underground masters. This is a direct attack on the integrity and person of the President, all the leaders in the Government and the Parliament which is the only body responsible to the people of Kenya and elected by them. Such an attack cannot go unchallenged. The people of Kenya are entitled to be told in clear terms the precise accusations and who the invisible governments and underground masters are. It is not enough merely to make vague and general accusations.

"In effect, the public of Kenya is being asked to believe that all the Kenya leaders and nationalists now in charge of the affairs of this country are unfaithful, disloyal, and servants or stooges of some foreign countries. In other words, only Mr. Odinga has escaped the clutches of this foreign organization. Our people's intelligence cannot be that shallow.

"Mr. Odinga's own actions and public utterances speak for themselves. If he has failed to be able to convince his own colleagues, it is because he has tried to overlook that a country can only be developed through team-work. Personal ambition, which cannot be brought under restraint or control, is dangerous. It is nonsense to think that one person in Kenya is going to appoint himself the custodian of the welfare of the people of Kenya. Many of the sons of Kenya died so that this country may be free. Many others suffered and sacrificed for Kenya's *uhuru*. We owe them all one thing and that is: This freedom shall be for the good of the people and not a vehicle for individuals impatient for power or office.

"Running a country is not a one-man affair. It depends on team-work. This team-work is possible only when people can see the need to restrain their own personal likes and dislikes so as to promote general welfare. The moment an individual finds he is unable to do this, he must leave this task to others. There is not a single man in Kenya who is indispensable. The Government will continue to work for the people according to the mandate given to it by the people.

"Recent events in Africa may lead some people to think that there is time to play about with the established Government of the people. It must be made clear that, whereas this Government has exercised patience, tolerance and restraint, this must not be taken for weakness or lack of resolution. The Government is vigilant and determined to deal firmly with any person or group of persons who may be tempted to undermine the stability, progress, and authority of the Government.

Ruling Party's Statement

A K.A.N.U. party statement suggested that forces which Mr. Odinga had initiated had now become his master. It quoted the saying that those who rode a tiger might end inside it.

"It is easy for Mr. Odinga to accuse all his colleagues, including Mr. Kenyatta, of being in the pay of or under the influence of foreign forces. How can we be sure that Mr. Odinga is not merely trying to divert attention from his own position? This is a tactic very often employed by people once their own activities have been exposed.

"Mr. Odinga, more than any other Kenya leader, has spent most of his time defending or speaking for the Eastern bloc countries and trying to rationalize or apologize for Communists. Not once has he found fault or cause to warn against Communism or Eastern bloc intrigues in Africa.

"It is true that the West are imperialists, capitalists and colonizers. It is true that we must beware of neo-colonialism from the West and ruthless economic exploitation by financial and business groups in the West. But it is naïve and hypocritical to think that these dangers are confined to the Western bloc. This is precisely why K.A.N.U. is committed to the policy of non-alignment.

"Mr. Odinga, by his statements and actions, led the people of Kenya to believe that he is non-aligned towards the East. We all still remember the famous statement: 'Communism is like food to me.'

"Mr. Odinga speaks of being unwanted. This is strange coming from a person who is the only Kenyan leader to have attacked Cabinet colleagues and other leaders publicly and even gone further to engage in smear campaigns and attempts at character assassination of his own colleagues. He is the one leader who is reputed to have a network of supporters and contacts all over the country and who undermines other leaders and Members of Parliament. He has visited constituencies of Members of Parliament and even Cabinet colleagues at the invitation of opposing factions without even the courtesy of informing these leaders.

"It will be remembered how many times he has arranged tours to provinces just after an official visit by the President and without having even bothered to accompany the President on the official visit. He has made no secret of his contempt for Members of Parliament and Cabinet colleagues, some of whom he has called stooges. He has been known to think that present M.P.s. did not have the confidence of the people.

"His close supporters and associates have become publicly identified with a most questionable method of dealing with the other leaders. They publicly speak ill about other leaders, use

insulting language, and even threaten when talking of the Government, the President, and other leaders. Central Nyanza, the district which he claims to control, is well-known for the use of strong-arm methods, intimidation, and even violence in dealing with political opponents. This, then, is the man who now says he is unwanted. The public must ask whether this is the way Mr. Odinga thought he could win the friendship and confidence of the other leaders.

"A glance at the Luo weekly *Nyanza Times* controlled by Mr. Odinga must show the kind of political relationship that he tried to promote among the Luos. It is a newspaper dedicated to the personality cult, Odingaism, and regards anyone who had independent views or the courage to speak his mind as a stooge and no good.

Surrounded by Youth Gangs

"What about the people around Mr. Odinga? Every leader must lean on some advisers or friends; but Mr. Odinga is surrounded by gangs of youths whose identity is difficult to define. What is more, they do not have respect for other leaders. He has at times been known to refer some of his colleagues to see an executive officer in his office if they wished to discuss any matter with him, Mr. Odinga.

"Last, but not least, Mr. Odinga raises the question of tribalism. But he is the first national leader since independence who allowed himself publicly to be declared a tribal political leader. Since he announced his resignation, Dr. Ouko, Luo Union East Africa president, has offered him the tribal leadership of the Luo. Was Dr. Ouko's statement made without consultation? And this is not the first time for Dr. Ouko to try to involve the Luo people when Mr. Odinga runs into trouble.

"One person, he feels, is ordained to redeem Kenya; but the world has seen too many such people and they always brought misery to their countries and to themselves. If one has good ideas for Kenya, he must also be able to sell his ideas to his colleagues. If he fails in this, then he must re-examine his own conduct instead of blaming all around him. There is a saying that you can deceive all the people some of the time, some of the people all the time, but not all the people all the time. Mr. Odinga reminds one of the mother who went to watch a passing-out parade and, noticing that her son was not in step with the rest of the parade, said: 'Look, they are all wrong except my Johnny.'

"It is useful to analyse Mr. Odinga's resignation in the wider context. Could it be that his invisible friends and underground masters, finding their previous methods have failed, have now decided on new tactics to create confusion and may be using the occasion to disorganize the country?

Is Any Kenyan Wealthier?

"Mr. Odinga hints at the wealth of some of his colleagues and implies that he is the poor man's champion. What about his own wealth, properties, and investments direct or indirect? Is there any man in Kenya wealthier than Odinga?

"He implies that he could plan better for the poor people. But you can judge the future only by the past, and, judging by the past, we must ask whatever happened to the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation? Founded by Odinga in 1947, it has not, to date, declared any dividends.

"He speaks of nepotism. Okuto Bala, the Odinga recently arrested, and other close relatives were appointed to important posts. The saying goes that people living in glass houses should not throw stones. In any case, let Mr. Odinga substantiate his accusations instead of making vague charges. K.A.N.U. rejects politics based on cheap slogans. Those days are gone.

"Some of Mr. Odinga's supporters will try to create tension and panic among the people. They are reported to be planning a deliberate programme of resigning, one at a time, so as to create fear and uncertainty in the country. These tricks should be exposed now, so that they know that we know what they are after.

"Let the public remain firm, loyal and faithful to Mzee Kenyatta, the party, and Kenya itself. This incident will soon pass and life will go on as usual. Our task must remain to try to secure for the ordinary man a rising standard of life. *Wananchi* [the children of the soil] must beware of false prophets whose purpose is to generate emotional fear and use the *wananchi* to gain personal power. Unless *wananchi* are watchful, they will end up being used as mats on which people who have dirtied their feet walking in muddy waters come to clean their feet. The Luo people must beware lest they are made the object of hate by other tribes and are isolated for the sake of one person who did not consult every Luo when he committed them. Nor did every Luo share in the benefits and fruits which Mr. Odinga has enjoyed. Odinga was not elected Vice-President for the Luo, but for Kenya.

On Friday Mr. Ondiegi Marenja announced the formation of the Kenya African Party of Electors, with himself as interim president, but said that Mr. Odinga would be invited to accept the leadership. He claimed that the party had already more than 15,000 members. If the Government refused registration, Mr. Odinga would be declared "King of the United Kingdom of Kisumu".

Next day Mr. Tom Okello, Assistant Minister of Finance, and Mr. F. L. M. Waiyaki, Assistant Minister in the Office of the Vice-President, resigned from the Government.

On Sunday 13 well-known trade union leaders announced their resignations from the Kenya African National Union.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, vice-president of K.A.N.U. for the Coast Province, said that he would provide President Kenyatta with evidence that Mr. Odinga had held a secret meeting with a group trying to launch a Kenya People's Union. The meeting had been attended by several politicians from Tanzania, including one Minister and two Assistant Ministers.

Mr. Daniel arap Moi, Minister of Home Affairs, declared at the week-end that the security situation in Kenya was under control. A few days earlier he had referred publicly to £500,000 having been poured into the country by Communism for the purpose of subverting the Government.

Many more resignations

On Tuesday another 28 M.P.s and Senators resigned from the Kenyatta Party, saying that they would join a Parliamentary Opposition.

One of their number told journalists that more resignations from the Government party would follow.

Kenya Minister Acquitted

Comment on His Standards of Honour

MR. PAUL NGEI, who had been suspended from his duties as Minister of Housing pending investigation into charges against him, was on Monday cleared of allegations of having misappropriated more than £2,000, and the man who had made the allegations, John Patrick Oyende, former general manager of the West Kenya Marketing Board, was found guilty of stealing £2,250 from it last year. He was jailed for three years.

Mr. John Abraham, the magistrate, said: "I believe Mr. Ngei's denial that he had received any part of the money. Under rigorous and lengthy examination he revealed himself as a man who, though his standards of honour and integrity as a Minister or businessman might be open to many criticisms, is far from the type of deliberately dishonest man which he would necessarily have to be if Oyende's story were true."

Dr. Obote Now President

Uganda's 1962 constitution Scrapped

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, has become executive President of Uganda, which on Friday also abolished the Constitution of October 9, 1962, Independence Day.

He had recently dismissed the President, Sir Frederick Mutesa, who is also Kabaka of Buganda.

Dr. Obote, who was cheered when he entered Parliament, reviewed the events which had led to the suspension of the old Constitution, saying that it was providential that all his colleagues were still alive. He reported that the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, when President of Uganda had unconstitutionally made precautionary requests for foreign Powers to send troops to Uganda to bring down the Government. February 4 was, he said, the darkest Friday that the country has ever witnessed. Only by God's grace had it been spared bloodshed.

Innocent citizens had suffered because of the ambition of a man who was brought into the House through friendship, and who had promised that he would deliver Uganda on a silver plate to his master. He declared: "Let no one who comes into this place harbour any idea at all that he can use this place, that he can lie to this place, that he can try in any manner to persuade those who sit in this House in order to advance the ambitions of his friends or his own ambitions".

Attack on Kabaka

On March 4 a statement by the private secretary to Sir Frederick Mutesa told the whole world that requests had actually been made for military assistance. Why had Sir Edward not told his Ministers of the Central Government about the alleged precautionary requests for troops? On whose behalf was he making requests of that kind? Sir Edward had had no constitutional authority to make any such requests. The person making such requests in complete secrecy from the Government must have been working against the Government of Uganda.

A new Constitution for Uganda was adopted by 55 votes to four after the Prime Minister had spoken for three hours. It provides for a President who shall be Head of State and Commander-in-Chief, and shall not be liable for any proceedings whatsoever in any court. It directs that the executive authority of Uganda shall vest in the President and shall be exercised by him in accordance with advice tendered to him by the Cabinet and in accordance with the Constitution. The President is to be the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly.

The new Constitution, comprising 145 articles, treats Uganda as one unit. The old Constitution was federal in purpose.

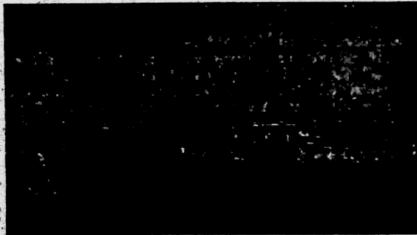
Dr. Obote said in that connexion: "The new document deviates very much from the previous document in one important aspect—that it carries the message that in Uganda we must be Ugandans, whereas the old document carried a message that Uganda must be divided, so much so that there is no Government that could ever be able to govern Uganda".

The President of the Congo Republic has called on "Congolese brothers in exile in friendly African countries" to return and work for national reconstruction, but has added that "the Head of State remains inflexible towards the rebel leaders, who will never be granted pardon because they incited the population to bear arms against the established order".

The Governments of Tanzania and Zambia have agreed to establish Zambia-Tanzania Road Services, Ltd., for the conveyance of Zambian exports and imports through Dar es Salaam, the partners in the enterprise being the two Governments and an associate of the Italian Fiat group, which will manage it. To deal with additional traffic, the capacity of Dar es Salaam harbour is to be increased. Use of the port of Mtwara is also under consideration.

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Rhodesia's University College

Trouble Over African Student

DR. ROBERT BIRLEY, Visiting Professor of Education at Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, and a former headmaster of Eton, arrived in Salisbury on Sunday to report on the recent troubles at the University College.

Two days earlier Mr. Justice Goldin had refused an application in chambers for the grant of a temporary interdict against the police and the Minister of Justice in favour of Mr. Josiah Maluleke, who had escaped from Gonakudzwa restriction camp and returned to the college. He is a 37-year-old former trade union leader and nationalist politician who was in his second year as a student of economics when he was sent to Gonakudzwa in February.

He appeared on the campus on Tuesday of last week, and next day as plain clothes police tried unsuccessfully to find him they were jeered by students, who later carried him shoulder high from a lecture room to a hall of residence. Police who saw the procession made no attempt to arrest him.

Dr. Adams Offers Resignation

The principal, Dr. Walter Adams, said later that he would not help the police to recapture a student who had escaped from a restriction area in order to resume his studies. He had, he said, been warned that to harbour an escaped, restrictee was a criminal offence involving liability to two years' imprisonment and a £500 fine or both. Nevertheless, he told members of the staff: "If I discover the whereabouts of Mr. Maluleke or am informed of it I do not intend to pass on the information to the police or disclose the source of any information I receive".

He then tendered his resignation to the college council. Three days later it was stated that 75 of the 120 lecturers and 19 of the 24 members of the academic board had indicated that they would leave in sympathy if Dr. Adams's resignation were accepted. That would mean closure of the college.

After recent disturbances 29 lecturers and some 200 African students, with a few white and Asian supporters, refused to attend lectures. They returned to work only when it was announced that a commissioner would be invited to investigate and report.

At a student union meeting on Thursday, African students threw eggs and wet bread at white students, whom they denounced as "white Fascists", after a resolution had been passed "deploring politics being brought on to the campus".

Eggs were also thrown at Mr. Ivor Benson, lately chief censor. He held a cushion as a shield, but was struck about eight times.

Mr. Maluleke said that he had escaped from restriction and returned in order to challenge "the legality of Mr. Smith's Government and the validity of my restriction".

There were two Gonakudzwa camps about a mile apart, one containing about 200 and the other 150 Africans, who were restricted to an area of 200 yards by 75 yards, which was floodlit at night and patrolled by armed police.

Rules Which Should Be Changed

Constitutional Council's Ruling

RHODESIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL has ruled that three sections of the recent Emergency Powers (Control of Publications) Regulations are inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights embodied in the country's Constitution.

Having commented that "the proper object or function of censorship is to prevent the publication of material deemed to be contrary to the public interest", it reports that it cannot envisage any situation arising during a period of public emergency which would justify the grant to a censorship officer of powers to control the printing and publication of altered material and to create the false impression in the mind of the public that such material is the work of the author or other persons responsible for the publication."

It consequently considers unconstitutional the regulation which prohibits blank spaces in news pages in order to indicate where material has been censored, the power of the censor

to alter headlines or the placing of material in a publication, and the power of the Director of Information to prohibit publication of an issue in which those regulations have been breached.

"Parliament, by a simple majority, could pass a resolution reaffirming in its view the validity of the regulations made by the Minister concerned. This course would not, however, eliminate the possibility of a court action challenging the regulations concerned, on the basis of the ruling from the Constitutional Council.

"It is possible for the ministerial authority now to amend the inconsistent regulations in ways which might meet the council's views.

"If this course is not adopted, the Constitution calls for the nullification by the Governor—or the Officer Administering the Government—of the regulations in question".

Newspaper editors in Rhodesia have refused to obey the regulations, continuing to leave blank spaces and to state that the contents of their papers have been subjected to censorship.

Problem of the Southern Sudan

North Must Gamble, Says Mr. Kyle

MR. KEITH KYLE told a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London last week that a solution of the problem of the Southern Sudan could be found only if the North were prepared to gamble on its ability to demonstrate to the South within not more than about five years that a federal form of Government could be as beneficial to the three southern provinces as to the country as a whole.

Independence, which the South now demanded, was absolutely unacceptable to the North, which feared that such a compromise would be used by Southern politicians to strengthen the demand for independence.

The only possible solution, he considered after a recent visit in which he had talked to leaders throughout the country, was for the North to take the risk of a federal form of government, with the proviso that in a referendum some five years later the people of the South should decide either on prolongation of that experiment or on independence. It would have no economic justification, but it had to be recognised that the propaganda against Khartoum was exactly the same as that which African politicians throughout East Africa had used against the Colonial Power.

Most Hopeful Personality

The Mahdi, the young "student prince," was the most hopeful personality, and might perhaps achieve what none of the leaders had been able to do since the Sudan became independent in January 1956—by its own U.D.I.

The Southern Provinces had then been promised that "full consideration" would be given to a federal status when independence had been achieved. The four Governments of the past decade had all failed the country, though the Military Government under General Abboud had been about to take encouraging initiatives when it was overthrown by mass demonstrations. Hopes then aroused among the people had been disappointed because so many of the representatives of the professional classes who then became Ministers were found to be Communists or fellow-travellers.

Mr. Kyle quoted the general commanding the Sudanese forces in the South as saying that a military solution was not to be expected.

"Rhodesia leads the rest of Africa in education. The 1964 U.N.E.S.C.O. Report said that 91.5% of the school-age population were at school, 627,806 being Africans and 35,770 Europeans. The next best percentage was 40.8% in Nigeria. The worst, Ethiopia, had 5%". — Mr. Edgar Matthews.

Comments in the Press

(Continued from page 599)

reasoning. It drew its main force much more from a vague fear of what might happen in the future than from any material damage or political injury that had actually occurred. As things then stood, the simplest and most obvious way out of the difficulty seemed to the one side coercion, to the other side revolt.

"And what was the result of the quarrel between the Home Government and the American Colonists, two centuries ago? A long war in which Great Britain was in the end defeated, and—yet more deplorable—an embitterment of feeling on both sides of the Atlantic which has not even now, after nearly 200 years, entirely died away. I would commend Mr. Oliver's words to your readers, and ask them this one simple question: Have we not even now learnt our lesson? Are we really going to make the same mistake once again?"

Vanity, Pettiness and Perfidy

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE AND FERRARD wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"If the Prime Minister wishes to go down to history as a statesman rather than appear (rightly or wrongly) as a vain and petty man ruled by political bias, now surely is his chance to achieve this end by reopening negotiations with the Rhodesian Government without prior conditions.

"As some of us prophesied in both Houses of Parliament during debates on oil sanctions, Mr. Wilson now finds himself out of his depth and being carried by the increasing current of events on a collision course with war—a war bereft of ideals or purpose, a war out of which could come nothing but chaos, misery and hate and the complete dominance of the Communist bloc in Africa.

"What is the Prime Minister's excuse for having let Britain slide into this miserable position? That he cannot negotiate with an illegal régime. This excuse is simply not good enough since British Governments, including the last Labour Government freely negotiated with Governments inside and outside Africa who have come into being through no known legal process but by murder, corruption, and intimidation.

"To compare the technical illegality of Mr. Smith's declaration of U.D.I. with the crimes against humanity of some of the Governments with whom we have dealings is to descend to the depths of perfidy—the perfidy that can argue before the Security Council that breaches of the Rhodesian oil embargo are a threat to world peace.

"Mr. Smith and his Government freely elected on a Constitution granted by Britain, are threatening nobody. On the contrary, it is they who are being threatened.

"It is perhaps not surprising that the U.N., bearing in mind its present-day membership, should stoop to such a despicable level, but that Britain should have been the instigator is indeed tragic and bodes ill for civilization."

Lunacy or International Bargain?

Harsh comment on the British Government's action at the United Nations has been made in the same newspaper by "PETER SIMPLE":—

"To be ashamed of one's own country, to be embarrassed that Lord Caradon should be its spokesman to the world, to hope that its Rhodesian policies may be frustrated, is no laughing matter. But it must be the condition of thousands of people in this country now. If they could only look beyond the moment, shake off their convenient indifference, it would be the condition of millions more.

"The day the left has long hoped for has come a long step nearer. Soon, if British forces are called upon, alone or as part of some marauding United Nations expedition, to fight our friends to further the purposes of our enemies, we may have to endure, on top of all this, its self-righteous boommings and shrieks of pseudo-patriotic glee. What more could this odious gang hope for?

"How has this astounding situation, this obvious contradiction of our national interests, come about? Is it plain doctrinaire lunacy?

"Or—since that the British Labour Government is collectively insane is hard to believe in spite of all the evidence—is it simply a part of some international bargain, whose terms and ultimate purposes we are not told?"

Wanted: A Million Letters

MR. R. F. DELDERFIELD wrote from Sidmouth:—

"Mr. Ian Smith must be getting some rum ideas about the British electorate and the kind of democracy that used to work over here as long ago as 1935, when Samuel Hoare was blasted from office by public opinion when with Laval he tried to sell Abyssinia down the river.

"How is Mr. Smith to know that a majority of British people would like to see him get his oil, and would like even more to see the rusty machinery of sanctions back in the lumber-room, whence it should never have emerged.

"The result of the March election may incline Mr. Smith to think otherwise, but I earnestly hope he takes two factors into consideration. In the first place the Rhodesian crisis was played down to such an extent that it was last but one on the published list of election priorities: in the second place, Mr. Wilson assured us in December that Britain would make no appeal to United Nations, and in March (repeatedly) that force would only be used to restore law and order.

"Public opinion here will certainly boil over the day news arrives that British Servicemen have been killed or maimed for life saving Mr. Wilson's face and rescuing his dignity. But is it necessary to wait that long? Why doesn't every pro-Smith voter sit down and write his protests to his M.P., whether that gentleman be left, right or centre? A million or so letters might have as much effect upon the Prime Minister as the bloodcurdling threats of African nationalists."

Majority Opposed to Mr. Wilson

MR. R. L. SKELTON wrote from Zeal Monachorum, Devon:—

"The great majority of the British people are bitterly opposed to Mr. Wilson's policy on Rhodesia. On the highways and byways of the West Country and in London I have found without exception the hope expressed that the tankers off Beira will discharge their cargo and that it will reach this stupidly beleaguered country.

"Albion has once again become perfidious. We are prepared to grovel to the black races who preserve a hypocritical friendship in the name of a Commonwealth which no longer exists. To preserve the vanity of one small man we may shortly be at war. This is not the will of the country. Why is this fact not made clear?"

MR. GEORGE MARTELLI pointed out that for five years Portugal had been coping with rebels in Africa under continuous British criticism:

"It was Mr. Wilson who announced that no British arms would be supplied to her. For him now to expect Portugal to assist Britain in suppressing her rebels can only be described as outrageous cheek.

"Portugal knows that a victory for Mr. Wilson would greatly increase her own difficulties. As your New York correspondent reported on April 5, the United Nations majority are insisting on immediate independence for Rhodesia on the basis of 'one man one vote', and they have made it clear that the overthrow of Mr. Smith is only a prelude to further attacks on the Portuguese. What interest, therefore, has Portugal in giving in to Mr. Wilson?"

From Deadlock Towards Chaos

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., has written in the *Daily Mail*:—

"The Rhodesian crisis slides swiftly from deadlock towards chaos. Mr. Wilson had no plans for oil sanctions: Mr. Wilson introduced oil sanctions. Mr. Wilson affirmed that he would not blockade Beira: Mr. Wilson blockaded Beira.

"Mr. Wilson says that if the blockade is breached other countries will raise the matter at the U.N.: Mr. Wilson orders it to be raised by Britain. Mr. Wilson will not ask for the use of force: Mr. Wilson asks for the use of force.

"Mr. Wilson, swearing at each stage he would never consent, consented. And if you, the British people, think that it is accident that this has burst into the headlines a week after polling day instead of a week before, you, the British people are more innocent than I believe.

"Our African policy is now being run by nationalist Governments and by the U.N. Step by step we have retreated, and the end is not in sight yet. Britain is beginning to lose control of events. Talk or force: there is no middle way."

LADY LISTOWEL and Dame Margery Perham wrote:—

"The Rhodesian issue shows dangerous possibilities of extension. Britain may have won a famous victory in New York in the last few days, but not one that holds out any hope that the issue can be contained, still less settled, by United Nations action. Yet direct negotiations between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith are not on the agenda.

Morally Unthinkable

"A British invasion of Rhodesia is politically and morally unthinkable. There is a possible fourth course, which can keep the issue between the two Governments—that of mediation by a mutually acceptable joint commission.

"The commission would have to include great constitutional experience and, perhaps, eminence in the world of finance and business. It is essential that one member should be an African. Here if it proved necessary to look outside the Commonwealth for members, the names of the Emperor of Ethiopia and the Presidents of Senegal and Tunisia come to mind.

"The essential qualification would be status, experience and courage to sign a report which took realistic account of the inexperience and disunity of the Rhodesian Africans. If necessary, other non-African members might be sought among those invaluable 'neutrals' in Switzerland and Scandinavia. The idea of mediation is put forward in the knowledge that it would be seriously considered in some quarters in Rhodesia.

"Lord Salisbury's opinion is that Britain's failure to come to terms with Mr. Smith is due to the same inability to understand the colonists' need of getting free from restraining that her negotiators showed in dealing with the Americans 200 years ago. Could Lord Salisbury and his supporters in the Conservative Party not observe that there are certain differences in the situation?

"In Rhodesia we are obliged to deal with one-sixteenth of the population. But the real issue is the future of the four million Africans and the stark fact that they share their desire of getting free from restraint of the white minority with the 220 millions in the 35 independent African States which geographically and ideologically press down upon their northern frontier".

LORD ASQUITH OF YARBURY, Lord Campbell of Eskew, Lord Reay, and others said:—

"Every moral and practical consideration combine to demand the quickest possible solution of the present tragic and dangerous situation in Rhodesia. We believe that the best means to this end are for mandatory sanctions to be enforced against the Smith régime, and we call upon H.M. Government to implement this policy through the United Nations as soon as possible.

"In the event, of any country defying such sanctions, the international community must be ready to take whatever further measures may be necessary to ensure compliance with its will. Those who do not favour the cause of mandatory economic sanctions must face the fact that the failure of more or less peaceful methods can result only in increasing the dangers of bloodshed".

Impressions of Fabian Visitor

MR. CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND, one of the Socialist M.P.s. who recently visited Rhodesia, has written to *Venture*, the monthly organ of the Fabian Society:—

"In Rhodesia Britain is regarded by many as a third-class Power driven into stern action because of her weakness in the trade of Afro-Asian pressure; in Zambia she is thought of as a major Power, reluctant to exert her full weight against people of the same race. In Rhodesia it is hoped that the cost to Britain of sustaining Zambia will prove unacceptable; in Zambia it is argued that the bills should and can be paid by a wealthy and responsible Britain.

"In Rhodesia a surprising number believe that Britain is an agent of Communism; in Zambia some think that Britain has all along connived with Mr. Smith.

"Mr. Smith seeks to convey an unflappable defiance that sanctions will be surmounted; across the Zambezi President Kaunda stakes much of his reputation on British assurances that sanctions will succeed.

"The supporters of Mr. Smith fall into three clearly identifiable groups—farmers who fear dispossession à la Kenya,

lower-paid artisans and civil servants (though highly paid by the standards of the Britain many of them left) who fear African competition for their jobs, and Afrikaners from South Africa.

"U.D.I. was an attempt to break through the straitjacket of fear. But few people like to admit to fear, and other arguments have to be put in its place—rational arguments, like the importance of the European to the maintenance of the economy, though if one agrees to this, proposition back comes the question: 'Then why are you trying to crush us?' Irrational arguments, like the influence of Communism in Africa, in Britain, in the United Nations. Rule-of-thumb arguments based on what has happened in African States to the north; the events in Nigeria have been the best fillip to grass-roots morale.

"Broadly speaking, European Rhodesians are fearful of what would have happened if they had not seized their independence. They are as yet remarkably unafraid of what that seizure has set in train. If one knew they knew the odds one would have to accord marks for heroism, however foolhardy; but not seeming to know the odds, they stand accused of stupidity, however heroic.

Plebeian Mainspring

"The mainspring of the Rhodesian revolt is plebeian; this is its strength and its weakness. The farmers are not gentlemen-farmers; the artisans are not deferential. Apart from the liberal moderates, the two most vehement critics of the régime I met were both impeccably conservative—an 80-year-old patriarchal pioneer and a middle-aged British officer and gentleman. To them the régime were disloyal upstarts unredeemed by any intelligent policy for their country.

"It is here where the present reluctant patriots—including some business leaders and military officers—can have a decisive rôle to play. At present they feel they must make the best of a bad job; after all, Rhodesia is their country. None that I know of are actively trying to frustrate the régime".

"The other possibility is that prolonged sanctions may reduce the country's economy to such chaos that riots and civil commotions would lead to a request to Britain to send troops to restore law and order. This request can come only from the Governor to give an air of legality.

"To cross the Zambezi in the face of strong opposition would be a D-Day operation; and would probably need two divisions—which we have not got—apart from logistic difficulties. When they have crossed the river and captured the Kariba power-house, the troops' task is still undefined. With two warring European armies and two hostile African parties, the country would be a super-Congo. Rhodesia would become a 'running sore' like Algeria or Napoleon's Peninsular War; for, once the troops are in, they can never be got out.

"The art of compromise is the greatest British virtue; and most of the Rhodesians are British too. Legal rights and moral duties are the first casualties in any war; and each side has been guilty of infringements though each thinks it is in the right. If these points are not over-emphasized and threats of future punishments are dropped, negotiations could begin; and the negotiators could strive to attain the possible, even at the sacrifice of the desirable. Otherwise a prosperous and progressive State will revert to barbarism".

Bitterness Would Never Pass

Mrs. Gorle, who teaches at Solusi College, Bulawayo, has written to the Monday Club: "It strikes us here that Mr. Wilson is conditioning his public to the idea of the use of military force against Rhodesia. This would be frightful, and would leave bitterness which might never pass; but it will not move us from our resolve. It is better to lose all while resisting oppression than to lose all through weak fear". Mrs. Gorle, whose late husband won the Victoria Cross in Flanders in 1918, is the grand-daughter of a missionary who arrived in the Bulawayo area in 1859.

The Rev. G. K. St. J. Porter, of Riverhead Vicarage, Sevenoaks, Kent, said in a letter to the *Guardian* that the disagreement between the British and Rhodesian Governments was basically over the pace at which the Africans should advance. Majority rule was a denial of rule by merit, for which it substituted rule by race. "We have to decide which of these two will advance all races to their mutual benefit and create a truly multi-racial society".

Company Report

THE CENTRAL AFRICA COMPANY LIMITED

Encouraging Current Outlook

THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL AFRICA COMPANY LIMITED was held on April 14 in London.

MR. A. H. BALL, the Chairman, presided. The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

It is unfortunate, and quite outside our control, that a period of low tea production in Malawi coincided with a year of poor prices for East African sisal. Already, since the close of the year under review, there is an encouraging improvement in the prospects for tea, and the indications are that for the year ending September, 1966, the Company will earn a satisfactory profit from this source.

Financial Results and Dividends

The consolidated profit from Estates and plantations for the year ended September 30, 1965, has fallen by £361,628 to £21,950, the reduction being mainly attributable to the results of the sisal subsidiaries. After charging expenses and taxation and after crediting dividends and interest, there is a group loss of £13,210; this figure being exclusive of minority interests. In these circumstances, no dividend is recommended.

Tea

During the year the two factories produced 2,204,607 lb. of tea, which compared with a figure of 2,717,018 lb. in the previous year. This was, of course, a most disappointing crop, and in fact it was the lowest annual figure since 1956. It resulted from a combination of severe drought immediately prior to the rains, the late arrival of the rains and inadequate amount of sun during the growing season.

The production of tea for the five months from October, 1965, to the end of February, 1966, was 1,640,293 lb., an increase of 62 per cent over the output of 1,010,370 lb. during the corresponding period to the end of February, 1965. The results for the year to date are rendered all the more encouraging by virtue of the fact that sales to the end of February, 1966, were 1,006,658 lb., as compared with 833,380 lb. for the comparable period of last year and the average price realized for these sales was 37.3d. per lb. as compared with 35.4d. per lb. last year.

In December, 1965, and January, 1966, our tea gardens were extended by a further 144 acres. The total area of the Company's land planted under tea is now 3,876 acres.

Sisal

During the year the group suffered a loss on sisal of £6,825 as compared with a profit of £362,321 earned in the previous period which included profits of two of the subsidiaries for 15 months. The steep decline in the selling price over the past two years was the cause of this reverse.

General

It is very gratifying that the Government of Malawi is concentrating on a variety of development schemes all of which are designed to improve the economic stability of the country as well as the standard of living of the indigenous population.

Business Brevities

Voluntary liquidation has been completed of Edm. Schluter & Co. (Tanganyika), Ltd.

Sisal Outputs for March.—Bird & Co. (Africa): 1,798 tons, making 15,007 since July; Central Line Sisal Estates: 420 tons, making 2,451 for the year to date.

The annual informal meeting in London of shareholders of Roan Selection Trust, Ltd. was held on Tuesday. Sir Ronald Prain, the chairman, gave up-to-date news about the group.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, sold 328,982 tons of coal and 20,681 of coke in March. The February figures were 281,983 and 17,012 tons respectively.

Russian cars are now being marketed in East Africa through Rootes (Kenya), Ltd. The first eight were sold to the Soviet Embassy in Nairobi and to Russians working on aid projects in the Nyanza Province. The car is named the Gorky Volga.

Mitchell Cotts Group Ltd., is maintaining the interim dividend of 7½% for the year to June 30 next. For the six months to December 31 profits before tax and other necessary reserves amounted to about £925,000, or some £40,000 below the corresponding total of 1964.

Spillers, Ltd., a group with a half share in the Rhodesian Milling Co., Ltd., report net profit after tax to January 29 at £4.6m., compared with £4,459,000 in the previous year. Tax takes £3.1m. Ordinary dividends need almost £1.9m., a final 3% maintaining the 13% forecast.

The Oil Company of Malawi, Ltd. has been registered with a capital of £100,000. Mr. Victor H. Gale, chairman of the Malawi Farmers' Marketing Board, is the managing director. The other directors are Mr. Manoel Cordo Boulosa (Portugal), Mr. Jorge P. Jardim (Beira), Mr. Richard Katanzea, and Mr. Jaime de Souza.

London confirming houses have criticized a proposal by the British Export Houses Association to send a trade mission to Zambia and Malawi. Two confirming houses promptly told the Press that they were closing their accounts in Zambia on account of the political situation. One gave £250,000 as his approximate annual turnover in Zambia.

East African Power & Lighting Co., Ltd. reports group operating surplus for 1965 at £1,814,448 (£1,826,312) and profit before East African tax of £302,490 (£240,063) at £1,192,391 (£1,169,853). Being domiciled abroad, the only U.K. tax is of £11,298 on interest. A final dividend of 5% makes 8% for the year, taking £697,320. The carry forward is £419,294 (£414,511).

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd. are paying a 3.75% interim dividend for the year to June 30 on ordinary capital increased by a recent scrip issue from £14m. to £16.4m. The directors hope for a total distribution of not less than 11.5%. Turnover for the half-year to December 31 rose by 9.3%, but pre-tax profit fell from £3.6m. to £3.2m. Lower tax charges, however, left the group net profit practically unchanged at £1.8m. for the half-year.

An Anglo American Corporation experiment of growing cigar wrapper leaf tobacco on the mine farm at Bancroft having proved successful, a large expansion of cultivation is to be undertaken in the Bancroft-Konkola area under Ministry of Agriculture auspices. The Government of Zambia plans to spend some £600,000 over three years, and hopes by 1970-71 to have about 500 acres in production and another 2,500 acres cleared for planting.

The North Charterland Exploration Co. (1937), Ltd. reports profit after tax to September 30 at £22,655 (£20,918). A dividend of 3½d. per 1s. share will require £14,261 and leave a carry-forward of £20,848. The issued capital is £76,696. Capital reserves total £233,938 and revenue reserves £105,109. Investments stand at £318,756 and current assets less current liabilities at £94,855. During the year the company acquired 80,000 stock units in Riddoch Motors, Ltd., 46,100 shares in Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., and 39,700 in Tweefontein United Collieries, Ltd. Of the holding 30.7% are in South Africa, 34.5% in the U.K., 17.5% in Tanzania, 14.5% in Zambia, and 12.7% in Rhodesia. Mr. F. E. O. Davies is the chairman.

David Whitehead & Sons (Holdings), Ltd., announce that plans to increase the spinning and weaving capacity of their two Rhodesian subsidiaries have had to be deferred because of the British Government's "baffling" policy. £600,000 on the £1.6m. project had been spent, £500,000 was covered by loans from the Industrial Development Corporation of Rhodesia, and the Whitehead Group is saddled with machinery costing £500,000, most of it manufactured in the U.K., which it may not ship. It cannot be used in Britain and would not be brought into production for at least nine months after reaching Rhodesia. The present position therefore "is not benefiting Rhodesia or the United Kingdom". Profits in Rhodesia were up about 40%.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

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

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



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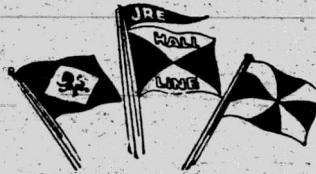
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