

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Principal Contents

	page	page	
Matters of Moment ...	609	Obituary	617
Party Leaders on Rhodesia	611	Former Prime Ministers on Rhodesia	618
M.P.'s and Senators Break with Kenyatta	613	Anglo-Rhodesian Society	619
Commission Proposed for Rhodesia	615	Zambian Copper	623
Personalia	616	Company Meeting Zambia Broken Hill Development Co. Ltd.	624

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE BRITISH PRESS has for years naively accepted at face value whatever has been said by President Kenyatta and the sycophants in his entourage who have vied with one another in declaring that all in the hierarchy were devoted to him, that the political climate of Kenya was splendid, that stability was the distinguishing characteristic of the Government, and that there was no cause for any kind of anxiety. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been almost alone among United Kingdom publications in rejecting as unreal the ceaseless self-praise which has been the stock-in-trade of most Kenya Ministers. The eruptions which have from time to time revealed the dangers beneath the general complacency have been almost immediately dismissed by commentators in Britain as little local difficulties. National newspapers and radio channels remained undisturbed even when news broke of preparations for factional clashes which were to be supported with modern weapons, of large sums of money from Communist sources being distributed to and by prominent Kenya African politicians and of the sudden expulsion of white men who knew Kenya so well as to be exceptionally likely to discover plots in their early stages. Journalists who were not content to confine their dispatches to matter which would be satisfactory from the Government's standpoint risked brow-beating or deportation. Yes the Press and the politicians in the West still showed no serious concern.

Even superficial observers have long known of the enmity between Mr. Odinga, whom Mzee Kenyatta had selected as his Vice-President, and Mr. Mboya, secretary-general of the one party permitted in the State and one of the most active, ambitious, and influential of Cabinet Ministers. That their rivalry was approaching

the point of crisis had become obvious. Mr. Mboya would not have dared to arrange public humiliation for the Vice-President at the recent party conference in Limuru without the foreknowledge and consent of the President, who had evidently decided that the time had come to dispense with the man who years ago began the agitation for his release after his conviction and imprisonment as leader of the Mau Mau movement. When the campaign had succeeded—because of the weakness of the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, who threw over the Governor of the day—Mr. Odinga obtained from Communist sources the lavish contributions without which the Kenya African National Union might not have won a critical general election. Mzee Kenyatta certainly owed his release and K.A.N.U.'s victory almost certainly to Mr. Odinga. Having fallen foul of the Head of State, he has now resigned his office and his party membership, and has been followed into opposition by about thirty M.P.s. and senators, representing many tribes and most parts of the country. The vaunted unanimity within the party and the State is thus exposed as pretence. Whether the dissidents will cohere remains to be seen. If they do, they are likely to attract the support of others in both Houses who have made their dissatisfaction known but have not yet had the courage to break away (some, it is generally believed, having gone back on promises to associate themselves immediately with the colleagues who have resigned). The President's predicament is manifest. To recognise an opposition party will be to admit the failure of the one-party system, which he has so extravagantly praised. To refuse registration to a new party would be to drive the movement underground—and his own experience shows how dangerous that might prove. Whichever decision be made, the consequences may be serious in present circumstances, and would unquestionably be extremely serious if President Kenyatta should die before an

acceptable successor were chosen and widely recognized.

Those who have broken away represent rather less than one in five of the members of the two-chamber Parliament, but their potentialities for mischief are disproportionate to their numbers, for they include some of the most extreme men in public life, among them Communists and fellow-travellers. It is significant that Mr. Achieng Oneko, whose intolerance has been obvious during his tenure of the portfolio of Information, should have delayed his resignation for a week, presumably the better to determine the prospects before the dissidents (as the seceders from K.A.N.U. are now dubbed in the Government and party denunciations). If that be the right interpretation of his delay, his decision indicates a wider spread of support for Mr. Odinga than has yet become apparent.

MR. WILSON'S recklessness in imposing wholesale sanctions against Rhodesia is largely responsible for the immense increase in the United Kingdom's adverse balance of payments which will result from the decision of the **Sharp Increase In Sanctions Bill** copper-mining companies in Zambia to abandon their practice of supplying the metal to regular customers at a so-called producer price of £336 per ton and quote instead the price current on the London Metal Exchange for delivery three months later. When the Anglo American and R.S.T. groups decided last week to make this change, one which they have resisted for years because it must intensify switching by fabricators to much less expensive substitutes, especially aluminium and plastics, and thereby endanger their interests, the L.M.E. quotation was £626, or £290 per ton above the figure at which they had been content to sell. A few days earlier a flurry in the London market had almost touched £800—admittedly for marginal quantities, which total rather less than one-tenth of the annual requirements of United Kingdom manufacturers. Chief among the factors which have caused the phenomenal rise have been the frequent serious strikes in Zambia and Chile and a fear that the Wilson policy of vindictive sanctions against Rhodesia may drastically reduce copper exports from Zambia. The Rhodesian Government has demonstrated its wish to maintain normal traffic, but shortage of diesel fuel has already caused it to give notice that it may be impossible to maintain the present level of railages. If Zambia were to discontinue the buying of Rhodesian coal or other imports, she could certainly not expect to send out her minerals

as hitherto and if preparations were made by the United Nations at the instance of African States for an invasion of Rhodesia—and no African has been more insistent on that course than President Kaunda of Zambia—traffic from the north of the Zambezi would obviously cease to be handled. All these possibilities are of Mr. Wilson's making; and they threaten Britain with heavy additional expenditure for which no provision has been made. Since no one can foresee the course of world copper prices, estimates can be no more than guesses; but at the beginning of this week market experts in the City of London were talking of an extra strain of between £40m. and £70m. this year on the balance of payments.

Not surprisingly, the Government of Zambia decided to squeeze from this serious situation as much additional revenue as possible. It immediately imposed an export tax of 40 per cent on the excess **Threat to The Future** between £300 and the average sale price month by month. If the price should settle at about £500, as London market opinion suggests, Zambia would receive £80 per ton in export tax, £59 in royalty, and income tax on the profits left to the companies—and it would surprise nobody if the rate were raised from 9s. to 10s. in the pound. Though the mines must make large short-term gains, their directors would cheerfully surrender that temporary benefit for stability at or near the previous £336 mark, for they recognize that every increase in price seriously aggravates the threat to the future of their industry. Several of the largest British buyers of Zambian copper had already decided to substitute aluminium and plastics wherever possible, and some expect their consumption of copper to be halved within three or four years. Since many manufacturers in other countries have taken or will take similar action in self-protection, a large and permanent switch to substitute materials is inevitable. In the not distant future, therefore, copper production might substantially exceed world demand. In that event no country in Africa would be worse hit than Zambia, which is still almost wholly dependent upon her mining companies. The heavy fall in price on the Metal Exchange on Monday will have delighted them, but the news will have been less gleefully received by some cock-a-hoop Ministers in Lusaka. Reflection should, however, encourage them to feel that a great and wholly unexpected increase in revenue today would be little consolation if it should be found that lasting damage had been done in their country's economic foundations.

Leaders of Major Parties Address Parliament on Rhodesia

Sharp Conflicts Between Prime Minister and Opposition Leader

RHODESIA—to which a brief reference had been made in the Queen's Speech—came under sharp discussion on the first day's sitting of the new House of Commons.

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, who said in the course of his speech: "I want to stop oil getting into Rhodesia", emphasized the need for immediate talks with Rhodesia. He accused the Prime Minister of breaking pledge after pledge and of having no clear policy on the issue.

MR. WILSON, some of whose retorts to criticisms were bitter, insisted that talks could have been held whenever Mr. Ian Smith wished.

The Government would forgive and forget much, but would not "legalize an act of rebellion or compromise on the principles laid down by two successive Governments of this country".

MR. GRIMOND could not see any reason to expect that talks with Mr. Smith would achieve anything.

The reference in the Queen's Speech read:—

"My Government will pursue the policy of bringing the illegal regime in Rhodesia to an end, so that a peaceful and lasting constitutional settlement, based on the rule of law and acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole, can be achieved."

Conservative Criticisms

MR. HEATH quoted that passage, and continued, *inter alia*:—

"There have been very important developments since we last met. Action has been taken by the Government. I think it was the Prime Minister's responsibility to have made public at the time an explanation why the Government were taking this action, in particular because it involves a change of policy by the Government.

"In the debate of December 21 the Prime Minister dealt with the problem of the oil embargo. I hope he will not say that he left a loophole which enabled him to take the action which he took while the House was not sitting. He declared that he did not intend to take the matter to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions. That is what happened. Why?

"I should like him to state not only why he and the Government took this step, but why other methods were not used in preference to it. At that time the Minister at the Foreign Office was attending a meeting in Lisbon to discuss these very matters. The Government took the matter to the United Nations while the meeting was going on, and without the Minister himself knowing that they were doing so. The consequence can be of the very gravest nature. The Prime Minister himself realizes this.

"This is the first time that action by the present Government has been taken under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is therefore the first time that the Government have declared that the situation in Rhodesia is a threat to peace. I should like the Prime Minister to explain precisely in what way the situation is a threat to peace.

"The matter has been declared to be no longer purely a British responsibility. We have always accepted, with him, that this matter was discussed in the U.N. because of its implications elsewhere, its important ramifications in Africa, and the impact on other countries. But all the time the Government declared their belief and intention that it shall remain a British responsibility. That is no longer the case as a result of the Government's action.

"I hope the Prime Minister will not say that he took this action to forestall worse action or worse resolutions by other countries. By his action he has opened the way to more serious resolutions and actions by other countries should they be determined upon it, because by declaring it a threat to peace it no longer remains a British responsibility.

"This may develop at the United Nations in the near future. If so, it can be stopped only by the use of the veto by the British Government. Hitherto the Government have had doctrinal objections to the use of the veto in any circumstances concerned with Rhodesia. But Chapter VII means that mandatory sanctions of the most severe kind can be imposed without the Government taking any action.

Immense Dangers to Southern Africa

"This foreshadows immense dangers for the whole of Southern Africa. This lends additional emphasis to the point that we have made for some time that the Government ought to instigate talks with those in Rhodesia.

MR. MICHAEL FOOT: "Will the right hon. gentleman tell the House whether he would have let the oil through to Rhodesia? If he was opposed to letting the oil through to Rhodesia, what steps would he have taken to stop it?"

MR. HEATH: "I propose to deal very fully with this point. What I want to do is to stop the oil getting into Rhodesia. This is why I am putting to the Prime Minister the question as to what the diplomatic position was at the time, why this action was taken in the United Nations before the conclusion of the talks between the Foreign Office Minister and the Portuguese Government. Other means were available to the Government through the pressure which they were afterwards able to bring on Greece and Portugal.

"The Government are apparently not prepared to make any balance between the consequences of taking mandatory action under Chapter VII and trying to secure the stoppage of the oil by other means. I believe that this is an all-important balance which has got to be struck. I ask the Prime Minister to tell the House what is the Government's view before we debate this subject fully, probably next Wednesday.

Talk Now Without Prior Conditions

"I believe that talks with Rhodesia should be entered into without prior conditions on either side in order to achieve a constitutional settlement. Lord Bolton has been reported as saying that this is his view of the Governor of Rhodesia. It has not been contradicted by the Government or the Governor.

"What exactly is the position about the Governor? We have had exactly the same information from other sources. The Prime Minister has constantly told us that he relies upon the Governor to guide him as to when there is an opportunity to carry on talks. What advice is he receiving from the Governor? The House should know. If the advice is exactly the same as has been stated publicly and the Prime Minister has rejected it, he should tell the House and give the reasons. We believe that talks should now be held.

"From the hasty way in which the Government acted in going to the U.N. they appear to have no clear policy for dealing with the Rhodesian situation. It has drifted, until now they have lost control of it as a British responsibility.

"The Prime Minister told his party that in this Parliament, for the first time since he became Leader of the Labour Party, he proposes to stop electioneering in domestic affairs. He felt, he said, that with five years ahead of him he could give up electioneering. Really? No more sudden aircraft flights? No more father-figure ministerial broadcasts? No more winter emergency committees? No more non-events? We find this very difficult to believe. Is it really wise for the Prime Minister to give up electioneering? What else will be left if he does? Will not the people realize that at last the Emperor has no clothes?"

THE PRIME MINISTER dealt with numerous other topics before turning in his reply to the subject of Rhodesia, on which he said, *inter alia*:—

"I hoped this issue would be kept out of the general election. At the beginning of the campaign three or four very senior members of the Opposition front bench insisted, however, on making it a party issue, attacking the Government. In the event I made a considered statement, hoping that this would end the argument.

"All parties in this House have condemned the illegal declaration of independence. Until a few weeks ago the Leader of the Opposition was saying that any negotiations should be preceded by the repudiation of that illegal act".

MR. HEATH indicated dissent.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I said that the rt. hon. gentleman took this view until a few weeks ago. His view was that the Rhodesian régime should repudiate the declaration before negotiations could be entered into. More recently he has said that talks should be unconditional—although I note that he has taken the view, which I welcome, that there should be no question of dropping the economic sanctions while the talks went on."

Prime Minister Still Believes in Sanctions

"I believe—and this is within the national policy on which we have been working together substantially in this House—that sanctions alone can bring the régime and its supporters to a recognition of the consequences of their act. My understanding of what the Leader of the Opposition was suggesting just before and during the general election was that there should be unconditional negotiations.

"I think that what he had in mind was that sanctions should continue, and that discussions, perhaps on a confidential basis, without publicity, should take place in which the British Government, while refusing to condone unconstitutional—indeed, rebellious—action, would be prepared to talk about future constitutional action, while Mr. Smith and his representatives, while no doubt pressing for the legalization of an illegal action, would not make such recognition a prior condition of the talks. I think that the rt. hon. gentleman had it in mind that this would be action against the background of continuing economic sanctions. Before Christmas some rt. hon. and hon. gentlemen opposite did not support oil sanctions, would not support a policy of sanctions that they thought would be effective.

"After the recess, in a statement to the House, I indicated the basis on which we would be prepared to seek a constitutional settlement. I believe that this is the right basis for a settlement acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. They are conditions on which all parties and successive Governments in Britain have insisted.

"On November 12—the day after the illegal declaration of independence—I argued that this was a matter of British responsibility but of international concern, and that only to the extent that we were seen to be discharging that responsibility could we prevent it from becoming a matter in which others would seek to take over our responsibility—and not necessarily on the lines that we would consider appropriate or wise, but perhaps on lines fraught with the gravest danger. We did not have the universal support of the House for that view. I put the position to the House again in January.

"I do not want to make too many debating points about the contradictory utterances of Mr. Smith on the question of whether he does or does not want to enter discussions. I think that the rt. hon. and learned Member for Wirral got the impression from his talks in Salisbury that, while negotiations would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, Mr. Smith might be prepared to talk. He reported to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and was very frank. But nothing in his report suggested that he had brought back any basis on which a settlement could be reached. Nor did his report raise any new points on which Mr. Smith was prepared to move forward from issues rejected before last November".

Challenge by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "I must challenge that statement. The rt. hon. gentleman has made it before. I shall seek to catch your eye, Mr. Deputy Speaker, when we debate this matter in detail".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have not been able to discover in what the rt. hon. and learned gentleman has said about his talks with Mr. Smith any hope of a forward movement which would enable us to solve this problem. If he has any points in mind which might be the basis of a settlement, even if he presents them belatedly now, I am sure that the House will welcome the chance to hear him.

"It has been very difficult to form any clear view about Mr. Smith's thinking on the possibility of talks. Two or three days before the general election he made a broadcast which seemed to imply a flat rejection or repudiation of any idea of talks whatever. Some people thought the broadcast designed to condition the votes of a few people during the general election.

Contradictory Utterances

"But a month before polling day Mr. Smith had suggested that if anyone now wanted talks, it was too late because the chance had gone several months ago. Leading members of

the Smith régime at that time were categorically calling for a change of Government in Britain and announced their intention to do their utmost to secure one. Thus Mr. Smith's statement could perhaps be put down as a kind of election fever caught from our own general election.

"On the other hand, last week-end, in an interview given to a Johannesburg paper, he is reported to have expressed full willingness to have talks. Those contradictory utterances are all that we have to go on in a public sense; and it would be wrong to under-rate the problems and pressures which Mr. Smith is facing in Rhodesia".

SIR J. RODGERS: "Surely the information that the Prime Minister has to go on about Mr. Smith's intentions comes from the Governor and not from newspapers".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, but not entirely; and we have published statements made in a public sense and not communicated to the Governor or anyone else, including the statement made last Saturday about the expulsion of the officials.

"Members of all parties in the House have their own views about Mr. Smith's political philosophy, but we will be unrealistic if we do not recognize that in the present pattern of Rhodesian politics, by contrast with many who exercise influence there, Mr. Smith has to be accounted a relative moderate. He is not a moderate by the standards of this House, not even by the more extreme standards of the House, but in Rhodesian conditions there are good reasons to say that by comparison with some who have power there he must be accounted a moderate.

Nothing to Prevent Talks

"The rt. hon. gentleman suggested talks. There has been nothing to prevent talks at any time since November 11. For a fortnight in March a senior official of my rt. hon. Friend's Department was in Salisbury. He went there because of the threat to expel senior British representatives from our Salisbury office. He was also able, obviously, and was specifically authorized, to receive any representations that the illegal régime or anyone else might have cared to make. Whether through the Governor or in any other way, Mr. Smith's administration were free to talk to him, as any other Rhodesians were, provided that did not imply recognition of the illegal action of November 11. Subject only to that condition, there was no inhibition on any talks taking place.

"Rt. hon. gentlemen opposite think as highly of Mr. Duncan Watson's discretion and soundness as we on this side do. Mr. Watson, who had to meet officials of the régime to discuss the problems raised by the threatened expulsion of Mr. Fingland, also had discussions with the Secretary of the Rhodesian *soi-disant* Cabinet and with other high officials, including the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs. From those discussions nothing whatsoever emerged which even remotely suggested a solution which could have been acceptable by any responsible Member of the House.

"But Mr. Watson was there. Indeed, he informed the high officials with whom he was dealing of his willingness not only to talk to them but to meet Mr. Smith or anyone else

(Continued on page 621)

Conservative Shadow Cabinet

MR. HEATH has reduced his Shadow Cabinet from 21 to 16 members, and his full front-bench team from 63 to 27.

Mr. Reginald Maudling, deputy leader of the party, will deal with Commonwealth, Colonies, and Overseas Development, with Mr. Richard Wood to assist him. Sir Alec Douglas-Home takes Foreign Affairs, with Lord Balniel as second spokesman.

Another former Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, will deal with Treasury and Economic Affairs.

Mr. Robert Carr, who will handle Aviation, but not as a member of the Leader's Committee, dealt with overseas aid in the last Conservative Government.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has retired to the back benches at his own request.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, a former Secretary of State both for the Commonwealth and the Colonies, and Lord Dilhorne, who as Lord Chancellor was closely connected with Central African affairs, have been dropped from the Leaders' Committee.

Kenya's Pretence of National Unity Ended

Thirty M.P.s and Senators Quit Kenyatta Party

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, who resigned from the Kenya African National Union to lead a Parliamentary Opposition, has been elected leader of the group of 29 other members of the House of Representatives and the Senate who quickly broke with the ruling (and then only) party.

Mr. Bildad Kaggia has been elected deputy leader. Mr. Achieng Ouko, for more than two years Minister of Information, resigned on Monday from the Cabinet and the party, and at a news conference sharply attacked President Kenyatta's policies, saying that they proved "ineffective in solving the problem of Africanizing the economy." He declared that personal gain was the guiding star of some of the K.A.N.U. leaders.

To decide to split with the President had been "agonizing," for he "cherished a wealth of personal regard" for Mzee Kenyatta, with whom he had spent nearly 10 years in detention. He ridiculed the Government's claim to be non-aligned, and asserted that it was bound to Britain by "military and defence arrangements." He wanted social, economic, and foreign policies to reflect the desires and aspirations of the people.

Two Assistant Ministers had previously resigned—Mr. Odongo (Finance) and Mr. Waiyaki (of the Office of the President).

Mr. J. D. Kali, chief whip of the Kenya African National Union, has also broken with the party, which has now lost 30 M.P.'s and Senators. Some have had their passports impounded.

Spokesman for Eastern Countries

After the first resignations became known K.A.N.U. issued a long statement which included the following passages:—

"Today a group of Members of Parliament announced their resignation from the Government to set up a formal Opposition in the National Assembly. This is the final stage in the recent campaign by a few power-hungry individuals who have made no secret of their plan to wreck the Government and destroy the unity of the people of Kenya under Mzee Kenyatta.

"The signatories are the same people who have been opposing the Government in all its efforts and nation-building over the last two years. They are well-known for their attacks on anyone who rejects Communism. They have set themselves up as spokesmen for the Eastern countries. These are the leaders who have done nothing to help with community development or to organize self-help schemes in their own constituencies.

"In other words, here we have a group of self-appointed missionaries who believe that development is possible by shouting slogans and who preach the gospel of getting everything for nothing. They do not believe in hard work, but in eating the fruits of the labours of the other people. They fight for increases in their own salaries and allowances and yet pretend to be the champions of the poor and the unemployed.

"The time for decision has come. The people of Kenya must decide whether to build this nation or sit back peddling foreign slogans and ideologies while remaining poor. Let those who believe in idle talk and who look down upon hard work and achievement join the Kenya *pombe* (alcohol) union to live in temporary drunken stupor and wake up the next morning confronted by misery and poverty.

"K.A.N.U. believes in *uhuru na kazi* (freedom and work) and *uhuru na umoja* (freedom and unity). K.A.N.U. stands for African Socialism and positive non-alignment. These are the pillars of our policy, programmes, and philosophy.

"In the statement issued today the public have not been told what these people stand for and how this differs from the K.A.N.U. manifesto. Not all people in Kenya can be

Presidents of the Republic or Ministers in the Government; but these Members are more concerned about positions and office than the service which every Kenyan must give to his country. Without this service there can be no fruits of *uhuru*. It will be for the people of Kenya to choose now which leadership to follow.

"In K.A.N.U., under Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, we have leadership with experience, courage, patience, and restraint. We have in K.A.N.U. leadership that has passed every test required of nationalists. Mzee Kenyatta had devoted all his life to Kenya's freedom, and is working ceaselessly, with his Ministers and the party, to lay a foundation upon which to build a strong Kenya nation.

Building on Sand

"There are other leaders who would like to deceive the people and promise quick riches and miracles. They would like Kenya to be built on foundations of sand. The public must know that a house built on sand cannot last. The unemployed people, the sick people, and the poor people of our country look to the Government for remedy and relief. This must be given them. They cannot eat words or slogans or empty promises.

"We must help our farmers with the means and loans to work on their land so as to produce more food and wealth. This is already being done all over Kenya; and it is planned to increase action each year. Our businessmen must be given loans and other facilities to become better businessmen and compete with those already established. This, too, is already being done. The workers must be given improved conditions and wages. Through the trade unions and the industrial court, the Government is each year improving the wages and conditions of the workers.

"The policy of Africanization is proceeding. More Government jobs, including the management of boards, are now in African hands, while more of our people are in training. Within the first two years of independence unemployment has been reduced. Free medicine has been introduced. Free education has started. Within these two years great constitutional changes have taken place, including the establishment of the Republic. These efforts have been carried out without oppression or political detention. This is the record of the K.A.N.U. Government. All promises in the manifesto have been honoured.

"We have promised to stand by the policy of positive non-alignment. The job of our K.A.N.U. Government is not to speak for or to support Russia, China, Communism, capitalism, Britain or America. Our responsibility is to the people who have elected us, the Kenya people. But those leaders who have resigned become restless every time we condemn Communism. They think that only Western imperialism is dangerous. We condemn both ideologies. We won our *uhuru* through sacrifice. We shall not allow it to be exchanged for a new colonialism.

"The National Assembly—the Lower House and the Senate—has a total membership of 171. So far those who have resigned are only 30. Their total is less than that which K.A.D.U. had when in opposition in 1964. You must not be misled by the noise made by this small clique of ambitious individuals. When A.P.P. (the African People's Party) was formed, some people thought the world would come to an end. This kind of political clowning does not change our goals.

"These people will try to appeal to the unemployed and poor to join them in their reckless action. Remember that while they feed the poor people on words, these M.P.s will always return to their homes to eat with their wives and children. Do not agree to be used as a tool.

"These people are out to create trouble and introduce another state of emergency. But when trouble starts it is the ordinary people who suffer, not these professional and salaried agitators. We must have the peace needed for the development of our country. This is the time to show these cowardly people the truth. Stand today with Mzee Kenyatta and our Republic. Expose these self-seekers as we did the imperialists."

Subversive Meetings in Rift Valley Province

MR. NYACHAE, provincial commissioner for the Rift Valley, said that day that elements from outside the province were organizing secret meetings within it with a view to undermining Government policies.

Mr. Akumu, deputy secretary-general of C.O.F.U. (Central Organization of Trade Unions) and three other members of the executive council were suspended. The secretary-general, Senator Lubembe, said that a meeting of the executive council held in Nairobi that morning had discussed a recent statement by certain officials of

"All parties in this House have condemned the illegal declaration of independence. Until a few weeks ago the Leader of the Opposition was saying that any negotiations should be preceded by the repudiation of that illegal act".

MR. HEATH indicated dissent.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I said that the rt. hon. gentleman took this view until a few weeks ago. His view was that the Rhodesian régime should repudiate the declaration before negotiations could be entered into. More recently he has said that talks should be unconditional—although I note that he has taken the view, which I welcome, that there should be no question of dropping the economic sanctions while the talks went on.

Prime Minister Still Believes in Sanctions

"I believe—and this is within the national policy on which we have been working together substantially in this House—that sanctions alone can bring the régime and its supporters to a recognition of the consequences of their act. My understanding of what the Leader of the Opposition was suggesting just before and during the general election was that there should be unconditional negotiations.

"I think that what he had in mind was that sanctions should continue, and that discussions, perhaps on a confidential basis, without publicity, should take place in which the British Government, while refusing to condone unconstitutional—indeed, rebellious—action, would be prepared to talk about future constitutional action, while Mr. Smith or his representatives, while no doubt pressing for the legalization of an illegal action, would not make such recognition a prior condition of the talks. I think that the rt. hon. gentleman had it in mind that this would be action against the background of continuing economic sanctions. Before Christmas some rt. hon. and hon. gentlemen opposite did not support oil sanctions, would not support a policy of sanctions that they thought would be effective.

"After the recess, in a statement to the House, I indicated the basis on which we would be prepared to seek a constitutional settlement. I believe that this is the right basis for a settlement acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. They are conditions on which all parties and successive Governments in Britain have insisted.

"On November 12—the day after the illegal declaration of independence—I argued that this was a matter of British responsibility but of international concern, and that only to the extent that we were seen to be discharging that responsibility could we prevent it from becoming a matter in which others would seek to take over our responsibility—and not necessarily on the lines that we would consider appropriate or wise, but perhaps on lines fraught with the gravest danger. We did not have the universal support of the House for that view. I put the position to the House again in January.

"I do not want to make too many debating points about the contradictory utterances of Mr. Smith on the question of whether he does or does not want to enter discussions. I think that the rt. hon. and learned Member for Wirral got the impression from his talks in Salisbury that, while negotiations would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, Mr. Smith might be prepared to talk. He reported to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and was very frank. But nothing in his report suggested that he had brought back any basis on which a settlement could be reached. Nor did his report raise any new points on which Mr. Smith was prepared to move forward from issues rejected before last November".

Challenge by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "I must challenge that statement. The rt. hon. gentleman has made it before. I shall seek to catch your eye, Mr. Deputy Speaker, when we debate this matter in detail".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have not been able to discover in what the rt. hon. and learned gentleman has said about his talks with Mr. Smith any hope of a forward movement which would enable us to solve this problem. If he has any points in mind which might be the basis of a settlement, even if he presents them belatedly now, I am sure that the House will welcome the chance to hear him.

"It has been very difficult to form any clear view about Mr. Smith's thinking on the possibility of talks. Two or three days before the general election he made a broadcast which seemed to imply a flat rejection or repudiation of any idea of talks whatever. Some people thought the broadcast designed to condition the votes of a few people during the general election.

Contradictory Utterances

"But a month before polling day Mr. Smith had suggested that if anyone now wanted talks, it was too late because the chance had gone several months ago. Leading members of

the Smith régime at that time were categorically calling for a change of Government in Britain and announced their intention to do their utmost to secure one. Thus Mr. Smith's statement could perhaps be put down as a kind of election fever caught from our own general election.

"On the other hand, last week-end, in an interview given to a Johannesburg paper, he is reported to have expressed full willingness to have talks. Those contradictory utterances are all that we have to go on in a public sense; and it would be wrong to under-rate the problems and pressures which Mr. Smith is facing in Rhodesia".

SIR J. RODGERS: "Surely the information that the Prime Minister has to go on about Mr. Smith's intentions comes from the Governor and not from newspapers".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, but not entirely; and we have published statements made in a public sense and not communicated to the Governor or anyone else, including the statement made last Saturday about the expulsion of the officials.

"Members of all parties in the House have their own views about Mr. Smith's political philosophy, but we will be unrealistic if we do not recognize that in the present pattern of Rhodesian politics, by contrast with many who exercise influence there, Mr. Smith has to be accounted a relative moderate. He is not a moderate by the standards of this House, not even by the more extreme standards of the House, but in Rhodesian conditions there are good reasons to say that by comparison with some who have power, there he must be accounted a moderate.

Nothing to Prevent Talks

"The rt. hon. gentleman suggested talks. There has been nothing to prevent talks at any time since November 11. For a fortnight in March a senior official of my rt. hon. friend's Department was in Salisbury. He went there because of the threat to expel senior British representatives from our Salisbury office. He was also able, obviously, and was specifically authorized, to receive any representations that the illegal régime or anyone else might have cared to make. Whether through the Governor or in any other way, Mr. Smith's administration were free to talk to him, as any other Rhodesians were, provided that did not imply recognition of the illegal action of November 11. Subject only to that condition, there was no inhibition on any talks taking place.

"Rt. hon. gentlemen opposite think as highly of Mr. Duncan Watson's discretion and soundness as we on this side do. Mr. Watson, who had to meet officials of the régime to discuss the problems raised by the threatened expulsion of Mr. Fingland, also had discussions with the Secretary of the Rhodesian *soi-disant* Cabinet and with other high officials, including the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs. From those discussions nothing whatsoever emerged which even remotely suggested a solution which could have been acceptable by any responsible Member of the House.

"But Mr. Watson was there. Indeed, he informed the high officials with whom he was dealing of his willingness not only to talk to them but to meet Mr. Smith or anyone else

(Continued on page 621)

Conservative Shadow Cabinet

MR. HEATH has reduced his Shadow Cabinet from 21 to 16 members, and his full front-bench team from 63 to 27.

Mr. Reginald Maudling, deputy leader of the party, will deal with Commonwealth, Colonies, and Overseas Development, with Mr. Richard Wood to assist him. Sir Alec Douglas-Home takes Foreign Affairs, with Lord Balniel as second spokesman.

Another former Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, will deal with Treasury and Economic Affairs.

Mr. Robert Carr, who will handle Aviation, but not as a member of the Leader's Committee, dealt with overseas aid in the last Conservative Government.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has retired to the back benches at his own request.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, a former Secretary of State both for the Commonwealth and the Colonies, and Lord Dilhorne, who as Lord Chancellor was closely connected with Central African affairs, have been dropped from the Leaders' Committee.

Kenya's Pretence of National Unity Ended

Thirty M.P.s and Senators Quit Kenya Party

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, who resigned from the Kenya African National Union to lead a Parliamentary Opposition, has been elected leader of the group of 29 other members of the House of Representatives and the Senate who quickly broke with the ruling (and then only) party.

Mr. Bildad Kaggia has been elected deputy leader.

Mr. Achieng Oneko, for more than two years Minister of Information, resigned on Monday from the Cabinet and the party, and at a news conference sharply attacked President Kenyatta's policies, saying that they proved "ineffective in solving the problem of Africanizing the economy." He declared that personal gain was the guiding star of some of the K.A.N.U. leaders.

To decide to split with the President had been "agonizing," for he "cherished a wealth of personal regard" for Mzee Kenyatta, with whom he had spent nearly 10 years in detention. He ridiculed the Government's claim to be non-aligned, and asserted that it was bound to Britain by "military and defence arrangements." He wanted social, economic, and foreign policies to reflect the desires and aspirations of the people.

Two Assistant Ministers had previously resigned—Mr. Odongo (Finance) and Mr. Waiyaki (of the Office of the President).

Mr. J. D. Kali, chief whip of the Kenya African National Union, has also broken with the party, which has now lost 30 M.P.'s and Senators. Some have had their passports impounded.

Spokesman for Eastern Countries

After the first resignations became known K.A.N.U. issued a long statement which included the following passages:—

"Today a group of Members of Parliament announced their resignation from the Government to set up a formal Opposition in the National Assembly. This is the final stage in the recent campaign by a few power-hungry individuals who have made no secret of their plan to wreck the Government and destroy the unity of the people of Kenya under Mzee Kenyatta.

"The signatories are the same people who have been opposing the Government in all its efforts and nation-building over the last two years. They are well-known for their attacks on anyone who rejects Communism. They have set themselves up as spokesmen for the Eastern countries. These are the leaders who have done nothing to help with community development or to organize self-help schemes in their own constituencies.

"In other words, here we have a group of self-appointed missionaries who believe that development is possible by shouting slogans and who preach the gospel of getting everything for nothing. They do not believe in hard work, but in eating the fruits of the labours of the other people. They fight for increases in their own salaries and allowances and yet pretend to be the champions of the poor and the unemployed.

"The time for decision has come. The people of Kenya must decide whether to build this nation or sit back peddling foreign slogans and ideologies while remaining poor. Let those who believe in idle talk and who look down upon hard work and achievement join the Kenya *pombe* (alcohol) unit to live in temporary drunken stupor and wake-up the next morning confronted by misery and poverty.

"K.A.N.U. believes in *uhuru* na *kazi* (freedom and work) and *uhuru* na *umoja* (freedom and unity). K.A.N.U. stands for African Socialism and positive non-alignment. These are the pillars of our policy, programme, and philosophy.

"In the statement issued today the public have not been told what these people stand for and how this differs from the K.A.N.U. manifesto. Not all people in Kenya can be

Presidents of the Republic or Ministers in the Government; but these Members are more concerned about positions and office than the service which every Kenyan must give to his country. Without this service there can be no fruits of *uhuru*. It will be for the people of Kenya to choose now which leadership to follow.

"In K.A.N.U., under Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, we have leadership with experience, courage, patience, and restraint. We have in K.A.N.U. leadership that has passed every test required of nationalists. Mzee Kenyatta had devoted all his life to Kenya's freedom, and is working ceaselessly, with his Ministers and the party, to lay a foundation upon which to build a strong Kenya nation.

Building on Sand

"There are other leaders who would like to deceive the people and promise quick riches and miracles. They would like Kenya to be built on foundations of sand. The public must know that a house built on sand cannot last. The unemployed people, the sick people, and the poor people of our country look to the Government for remedy and relief. This must be given them. They cannot eat words or slogans or empty promises.

"We must help our farmers with the means and loans to work on their land so as to produce more food and wealth. This is already being done all over Kenya; and it is planned to increase action each year. Our businessmen must be given loans and other facilities to become better businessmen and compete with those already established. This, too, is already being done. The workers must be given improved conditions and wages. Through the trade union and the industrial court, the Government is each year improving the wages and conditions of the workers.

"The policy of Africanization is proceeding. More Government jobs, including the management of boards, are now in African hands, while more of our people are in training. Within the first two years of independence unemployment has been reduced. Free medicine has been introduced. Free education has started. Within these two years great constitutional changes have taken place, including the establishment of the Republic. These efforts have been carried out without oppression or political detention. This is the record of the K.A.N.U. Government. All promises in the manifesto have been honoured.

"We have promised to stand by the policy of positive non-alignment. The job of our K.A.N.U. Government is not to speak for or to support Russia, China, Communism, capitalism, Britain or America. Our responsibility is to the people who have elected us, the Kenya people. But those leaders who have resigned become restless every time we condemn Communism. They think that only Western imperialism is dangerous. We condemn both ideologies. We won our *uhuru* through sacrifice. We shall not allow it to be exchanged for a new colonialism.

"The National Assembly—the Lower House and the Senate—has a total membership of 171. So far those who have resigned are only 30. Their total is less than that which K.A.N.U. had when in opposition in 1964. You must not be misled by the noise made by this small clique of ambitious individuals. When A.P.P. (the African People's Party) was formed, some people thought the world would come to an end. This kind of political clowning does not change our goals.

"These people will try to appeal to the unemployed and poor to join them in their reckless action. Remember that while they feed the poor people on words, these M.P.s will always return to their homes to eat with their wives and children. Do not agree to be used as a tool.

"These people are out to create trouble and introduce another state of emergency. But when trouble starts it is the ordinary people who suffer, not these professional and salaried agitators. We must have the peace needed for the development of our country. This is the time to show these cowardly people the truth. Stand today with Mzee Kenyatta and our Republic. Expose these self-seekers as we did the imperialists".

Subversive Meetings in Rift Valley Province

MR. NYACHAE, provincial commissioner for the Rift Valley, said that day that elements from outside the province were organizing secret meetings within it with a view to undermining Government policies.

Mr. Akumu, deputy secretary-general of C.O.T.U. (Central Organization of Trade Unions) and three other members of the executive council were suspended. The secretary-general, Senator Lubembe, said that a meeting of the executive council held in Nairobi that morning had discussed a recent statement by certain officials of

the union—a statement which had shocked members of the union as a deliberate attempt to cause chaos among the workers. The others suspended were Messrs. Makanyengo, Omido, and Vicky Wachira, all members of the executive council.

Another K.A.N.U. statement said that the resignation of the M.P. for Wajir North had not come as a surprise. He should state whether he supported Government efforts to eliminate the *shifita* menace. It was not the Government which had neglected the people of the North-Eastern Province but Mr. Khalif, who had completed failed to organize the elders in development groups.

Dr. Mungai, Minister for Defence, said that Mr. Khalif had stated that he had resigned because the Somalis in the North-Eastern Province were being treated as second-class citizens and were maltreated by security forces and detained without trial. The truth was that in spite of the *shifita* problem—which was costing the Kenya Government millions of pounds every year—normal economic development was proceeding in the province. The allegation that the security forces were maltreating loyal Somalis was ridiculous.

Chief Khalif Muhammad, father of the Member for Wajir, telegraphed to the President refuting his son's statement that the people were not accorded equal status with other citizens of Kenya. Chief Khalif said: "The people of Wajir are fully behind the Government, which has done a lot towards the development and harmony of the province."

"Commend the Kenya armed forces for protecting the rights of the citizens of the area and in combating *shifita* activities with great success. I therefore beseech my son to change his ideas and support the Kenya Government."

The chairman of the Wajir K.A.N.U. branch and the member for Wajir South in the provincial advisory council expressed their support for the ruling party and the Government.

President Kenyatta's Statement

The Office of the President later issued a long statement. It said (in part):—

"The dissident group of members of the National Assembly who have resigned from K.A.N.U. to sit opposite the Government has acted in sympathy with the former Vice-President, and not out of any policy disagreement or out of any belief that they could serve the public any better than the present Government.

"As soon as they had made their statement they announced that Mr. Odinga would be their leader. All we have now is a collection of frustrated individuals who have neither a party nor a policy. They are united only in their opposition to the leaders of K.A.N.U., and seem to be brought together through some mysterious underground force and past commitments. It is not clear why they should take so long to decide whether to form a new party or join the recently established Kenya People's Union. There can be no formal opposition in Parliament without a declaration as to which party the group belongs.

"The group has suggested that the President ignored a petition by a group of members of the National Assembly calling for the postponement of the K.A.N.U. reorganization conference. The facts are that while 52 M.P.s. signed a petition calling for postponement, 99 members petitioned for the conference to be held. The President called a full meeting of the Parliamentary Group to discuss these petitions. In the end, only 30 of 171 Members of Parliament supported postponement. The decision was taken by democratic process.

"When this matter was discussed on March 12 by the leaders of the 41 districts, only one district called for postponement. Again, when Mr. Odinga called for postponement at Limuru on March 13 the conference approved the new K.A.N.U. constitution by 328 votes to 15. The people who now claim that they have resigned because they did not support the Limuru conference all attended it.

"Mr. Okello Odongo nominated Mr. Muliro for a post of secretary-general. Mr. Anyieni scrutinized the votes on behalf of Mr. Muliro. Mr. Kaggia was the candidate for the vice-president from Central Province; he was defeated by Mr. Gichuru. Mr. Khalif nominated his own brother for vice-president for the North-Eastern Province; he was defeated by Mr. Jubat. Mr. Oduya nominated Mr. Shikuku for vice-president for the Western Province; he was defeated by Mr. Khasakhala. All these people sought office in K.A.N.U. under the new constitution.

"If we permit Kenya to be governed by a small clique who have failed to influence or win support, democracy will have been abandoned and decisions based on majority views will have no meaning. In that case we shall have anarchy instead of a Government.

"The dissident group has asked for a general election. A general election will take place in June 1968. The Government has the support of the majority in Parliament to be able

to govern until then. If the majority of Members were to remove their support from the Government and from K.A.N.U., the President would have to dissolve Parliament and arrange for a general election. But it is the dissident group which must now go back to the people to seek approval for their action. They must resign their seats and ask to be elected outside K.A.N.U. and in opposition to Mzee Kenyatta and the Government.

"We come to the charge that the Government has been moving further and further from the people. Everyone knows how many times the President has visited the different provinces, met the people, and addressed meetings. The Government is in touch with the people at all levels. All members of county councils, municipalities, locations, and area committee are elected by the people as part of the machinery of Government. Contact with workers, farmers and businessmen is maintained through the trade unions, farmers' associations, co-operatives, and chambers of commerce. It was through Government intervention that both the Central Organization of Trade Unions and the National Chamber of Commerce and Industry were formed. All of them have supported everything the Government has done until now.

Africanization

"As to Africanization of the economy, in order to help our farmers the following loans have been given: £650,000 to African smallholders and £1,800,000 to African farmers, mainly in the former scheduled areas, through the Agricultural Finance Corporation; £60,000 was lent to cotton growers; £1m. worth of credit to smallholder tea-growers and £870,000 to Africans for the purchase of former European farms.

"So long as the compulsory confiscation of other people's properties is advocated, everyone should be aware that sooner or later his own property may face the same fate. At the same time, the Government is not prepared to see our commerce and industry monopolised by non-Africans while the Africans remain only as customers and labourers. To achieve this the Government has already started the Industrial and Commercial Corporation and the Kenya National Trading Corporation. All the sugar agencies, which used to be an Asian monopoly, are in the hands of Africans. By December 31 last 1,629,000 acres of land had been confiscated and registered. The gross farm revenue of African farmers has increased from about £11m. in 1963 to £13.5m. in 1965.

"The question of the landless is an emotional issue which is all too easy to exploit. The fact is that the former White Highlands are no longer white. All over the so-called Highlands you find signboards with African names. Some of the dissident group themselves owe or have an interest in these farms. As to the settlement of landless Africans, 1,800,000 acres of land, at the cost of £15m., had been purchased by December 1965 for settlement.

"Kenya can be proud that it has capable local people to run its administration and look after its security. Today our own people occupy positions of responsibility in many departments as well as the police and the army.

No Fixation About Imperialism

"We reject any involvement with any of the power blocs in the cold-war. We reject Communism. We reject capitalism. We reject any fixation or obsession about imperialism. The dissident group condemn anyone who rejects Communism, and refer to such leaders as imperialist stooges. They show very strong symptoms of obsession about imperialism. They even talk about the need of Kenya to lean to the East.

"Perhaps the Members of Parliament will recall this passage in the address of the President at the State opening of Parliament on November 2. 'Our business here, in accordance with the manifesto of our party, is to fulfil the aspirations of our people. The Parliament of Kenya is elected by the people as a law-making body to administer the affairs of the State. Our people have the right to elect a Parliament to serve them, not only as a forum or a council of elders but also as an executive instrument. The Republic is the people. The Republic needs a strong Government. The whole process of nation-building rests upon the service and dedication of such a Government. It is equally true that the Government must be able to count on the maturity and vigour of Parliament. It must be the purpose of this Parliament to wield supreme power in a truly national spirit'.

"It is in the light of this that those Members of Parliament who have decided to resign must examine their own consciences and ask if they have truly fulfilled their responsibility to this nation and to their people. This Government intends to govern firmly and fairly. Any acts of provocation, intimidation or subversion shall be dealt with according to the law. Above all, we shall continue to serve the interests of all the people of Kenya by deeds and not just by words. We know we have the support of the people in this effort."

Dr. Daniel arap Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, announced:—

"On the evening of Saturday, April 9, Mr. Odinga and Sheikh Abd ar-Rahman Muhammad Babu, Tanzania's

Minister for Co-operatives, and two others got out of Mr. Wilson Okondo Onyango's car and entered the house of the former Chief Johnson Mweru at Marikani. They remained in the house for nearly an hour, then left again travelling in Mr. Onyango's car and drove back to Kwale through the reserve. Beside Mr. Babu and Mr. Odinga, others at the meeting were Mr. Kamaliza, Tanzania's Minister for Labour the T.A.N.U. organising secretary, and Mr. Wilson Okondo Onyondo Onyango.

That statement was denied by the Government of Tanzania, which said:—

"Mr. Moi's allegation that the Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives, Mr. Babu, and the Labour Minister, Mr. Kamaliza, attended a secret meeting in Mombasa is untrue. Mr. Kamaliza and Mr. Babu were not then in Mombasa. Mr. Babu was last in Mombasa at Christmas last year. Mr. Kamaliza has not been there since the East African summit held there last year."

Three-Member Commonwealth Commission

Work Out Recognition of Legal Independence, Pleads Lord Balfour of Inchrye

LORD BALFOUR OF INCHRYE, believing that the Prime Ministers of Britain and Rhodesia are too involved emotionally to be able to settle the Rhodesian problem, has proposed that it should be referred to a Commonwealth Commission of three statesmen of breadth of views, tolerance, and experience, one being an African. He repeats earlier suggestions that Sir Robert Menzies should be invited to be the chairman.

In a letter to *The Times* Lord Balfour wrote:—

"On March 17 you printed a letter of mine on the dangers of parties to the Rhodesian dispute taking up entrenched positions from which it would be difficult to extricate themselves, and stressing the need for talks now with Mr. Smith. Those fears have clearly been justified.

"Mr. Smith demands recognition of his act of U.D.I. Mr. Wilson refuses this, and lays down conditions and procedures that Mr. Smith considers as a demand for 'total surrender'. I fear both leaders are getting into that state which we are told doctors must always avoid: becoming emotionally involved with their patients and their problems.

"Each side must surely accept that some point of meeting is a vital need. May I sketch the outline of a plan aimed at getting talks going for the purpose of reaching settlement, fair and reasonable to all?"

Neither Side Would Lose Face

"Let Mr. Smith come forward calling himself Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Let H.M. Government for its part decline to recognize Mr. Smith as Prime Minister but not start off at the conference table by contesting Mr. Smith's claim. Refusing to concede, Mr. Smith could be accepted as the leading representative of white (and some part of African) Rhodesia. In this way we would start with neither side losing face, and constitutional proprieties be retained.

"To organize and lead talks there might be formed a Commonwealth Commission of three members. Surely we can find within the Commonwealth three statesmen of breadth, tolerance, and experience. One could hope that a world figure like Sir Robert Menzies might be persuaded as chairman. One of the three would have to be an African, not necessarily from Rhodesia but possibly from one of the African territories that have emerged with comparative calm to independence. The third would be of European race, not necessarily from the United Kingdom. The task of the commission would be to prepare a settlement acceptable to the majorities, if not all, in Rhodesia.

"Events in Rhodesia have gone too far to think we shall ever see a settlement based on reversion to Whitehall government through the Governor, even as a temporary phase. Mr. Smith has seized independence, and, illegal as it is, he has behind him those who fear neither force of arms nor starvation as the price of retaining independence.

"A commission would therefore have to start off with the purpose of working out recognition of legal independence but subject to an acceptance of an immediate time-tabled programme for African advancement over the whole political, social and economic fields. Fulfilment of this programme

would have to be written into it safeguards and sanctions for all and be subject to supervision by the commission. There would have to be provisions for failure by either side, and here the Commonwealth Prime Ministers might come into the picture.

"An essential starting off point would be that both sides agree to lop off their extremists and extreme views. White domination for all time as a national policy would have to go. One man one vote as an early practical step would be out. After the political amputations of extremists had taken place the way might be clear for the commission's main task of working out the programme of orderly progress to majority rule, not as a political right but as a practical and moral right based on experience and willingness of spirit.

"No doubt this outline can be improved upon, and no doubt it will be shot at, certainly by extremists of both sides. It is better to try for action and hammer out ideas rather than just keep on protesting at what is happening."

Avoid Doubtful Assumptions

LORD SALISBURY wrote that he, like Dame Margery Perham and Lady Listowel, wanted a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem, but was disturbed by their letter (which has already been quoted in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA). He wrote:—

"They base their case on the assumption that the whole African population of Rhodesia—all the four millions of them—have only one wish, to be free from the restraint of European rule, and that the 220 millions of Africans in the States to the north of them—not only the Governments, but the peoples—actively share this desire. But do they really think this?"

"Would they not, on reflection, be bound to agree that the vast majority of the 220 millions of whom they speak know little and care less about Rhodesia and what happens there? And are they so sure that even the great mass of ordinary Africans in Rhodesia are yearning to exchange the yoke of European for the far harsher one of African rule?"

"They are today protected by the law from intimidation and extortion; they are enjoying a steadily rising standard of life; and their children can get a far better education than the children of people like themselves in the African-ruled countries further north, as is borne out by the reports of Unesco.

"I assure Dame Margery and Lady Listowel that it is not my purpose to oppose their suggestion of mediation by a mutually acceptable commission, so long as the commission is really and in fact mutually acceptable. Let us neglect nothing which might lead to an agreed solution of this difficult and dangerous problem. But to base our whole policy on assumptions of doubtful validity will not help towards such a solution."

Lieut.-Colonel D. G. Moncrieff has written from Kinmonth, Rhynd, Perth, to the *Scotsman*:—

"Any thinking person knew that sanctions would fail and create hostility among the victims. It is unbelievable that a man of Mr. Wilson's intelligence and experience should think otherwise. Further, to have gone to the United Nations has ignited a dangerous fire while the matter is one for Britain and Rhodesia. Rhodesians are of British stock and will emulate our attitude of 1940.

"You infer that Mr. Smith is frightened. The boat seems to be on the other foot. Surely our Government have made a howling mess, incurring vast expenditure to the taxpayer. It is they who seem unwilling and frightened to come clean. Sanctions should be dropped now, and talks begin between those who know and understand Africa."

PERSONALIA

THE REV. FRANCIS COATES has resigned after 27 years' C.M.S. service in Uganda.

MISS MOLLY MORTIMER arrived back in London last week from her visits to Rhodesia and Kenya.

MR. PATRICK WALL returned from Australia at the beginning of this week.

MR. BOLIKANGO, Congolese Minister of Works, has been dismissed by PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

MR. H. D. CAYLEY, chief general manager of National and Grindlays Bank, has been appointed to the board.

MR. S. G. HOLLIMAN has been appointed a local director in Zambia of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

U THANT, Secretary-General of the United Nations is in London for discussions about Rhodesia.

MR. GODFREY BINAISA, Attorney-General of Uganda, is in London.

MR. JEREMY THORPE, Liberal M.P. for North Devon, left London on Sunday to visit Rhodesia and Zambia at the request of the party leader, MR. GRIMOND.

MR. J. K. DICK has been elected chairman of the Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd. His place as deputy chairman is now filled by MR. M. E. RICH.

MR. A. K. CHESTERTON, founder of the League of Empire Loyalists, has arrived back in Britain from visits to South Africa and Rhodesia.

LORD MOLSON, who was a member of the Monckton Commission to Central Africa, has undergone an abdominal operation in a London hospital.

MR. J. S. TRIVES, senior lecturer at Paddington Technical College, London, is to join the staff of the Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi, in May.

MRS. FATMA KARUME, wife of the First Vice-President of Tanzania, is visiting the U.S.A. at the invitation of the American Government.

DR. TOLBERT, Vice-President of Liberia, is visiting East Africa, primarily to attend a Baptist Church convention in Nairobi.

MR. J. S. TATTEN, a director of G. S. Martin & Co., Ltd., traders in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, is shortly due in the United Kingdom.

MISS NORAH WIGGINS has resigned from the C.M.S. after 33 years' service in Uganda, and CANON and MRS. W. NORMAN after 11 years.

MR. H. P. T. PRIDEAUX has joined the board of Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., a group with large Central and Eastern African interests.

SIR WILLIAM GORELL BARNES has joined the board of Douton & Co., Ltd. He is a director of the Royal Insurance Society and Limmer and Trinidad Co. Ltd.

MR. MICHAEL FENTON HADDON, a mining engineer and company director, has been committed for trial in the High Court of Rhodesia on fraud and theft counts involving £74,000. He denies all the charges.

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THE REV. ARTHUR AUST, who has joined the C.M.S. in Kenya, was an engineer in the postal service in that country after the war, in which he served as a sergeant in the Royal Corps of Signals.

The Rhodesian Front has nominated a Salisbury attorney, MR. J. PITLUK, as its candidate for a municipal by-election. He was a founder member of the party and is treasurer of its Salisbury West division.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, who left London on Friday for New York, had said three days earlier at a private luncheon party that that day was the 40th anniversary of his joining the R.S.T. group.

MR. V. LAVU, Education Attaché in the Zambia High Commission in London, lectured on Friday in Edinburgh, which has been asked to contribute to an appeal fund for the building of a women's hall of residence at the new University of Zambia.

MR. JONATHAN PINCUS, a graduate of the Universities of Witwatersrand and London, who has joined the educational and occupational assessment service established by the Government of Zambia, has been posted to the Copperbelt. He had been on the staff of Hatfield College of Technology.

MR. JOHN SPENCER WILLS has been elected chairman of the British Electric Traction Co., Ltd., a group with large East and Central African transport interests. He is chairman of Rediffusion Television, Ltd., a governor of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, and vice-patron of the Theatre Royal Windsor West.

MR. O. G. H. GALE, lately acting general manager of the Mfulira mine, has left Zambia on retirement after 36 years on the Copperbelt and in West Africa. He first went to Northern Rhodesia in 1929 to join the engineering staff of Roan Antelope. He had been at Mfulira for the past 15 years.

MR. BERNARD GLAZER, a financier and property developer resident in Johannesburg who has been interested in Rhodesian enterprises, was stated last week by the South African police to have paid £70,000 to kidnappers for the return of his wife and child. Three brothers have been charged with the crime.

MR. S. H. CHILESHE, the first African in Zambia to be elected to the board of a large mining company, is re-visiting London. He was the first Zambian African to be elected to the Legislative Council and the first African mayor of Lusaka. He was also one of the founder members of the United National Independence Party.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA has left Addis Ababa to visit Senegal, Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica, and Haiti. He is accompanied by H. H. RAS IMRU, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ABIYE ABEBE (President of the Senate), LADY SOFIA DASTA, PRINCE MIKAEL MAKONEN, PRINCE DAWIT MAKONEN, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of State for Information, the Deputy Minister of the Pen, and others.

Passengers for East Africa in the RHODESIA CASTLE, which sailed from London on Friday, include: MR. & MRS. C. DURNFORD, MAJOR S. EVANS, MR. J. GIBBERSON, DR. & MRS. B. H. GILLET, MR. & MRS. J. C. HOPKINSON, MR. & MRS. R. P. JENKIN, MR. & MRS. J. E. KEETON, MR. & MRS. L. KITLEY, MR. T. C. LITLER-JONES, MR. & MRS. D. G. LOUGH, MR. & MRS. J. M. PADDOCK, MR. A. L. PAYNE, MR. R. A. PORTER, DR. & MRS. J. B. SEWELL, MR. & MRS. J. R. SLEIGHT-TOLME, THE HON. MRS. D. J. TURNER, MR. A. V. TURNER, and DR. & MRS. J. R. WARD for Mombasa; and CAPTAIN & MRS. A. I. ROBERTSON, DR. & MRS. B. RUNGE, and MR. & MRS. R. V. STEPHENS for Dar es Salaam.

*Obituary***Mr. Timothy Bazarrabusa****Popular High Commissioner**

VR. TIMOTHY BYABASAKUZI BAZARRABUSA, M.B.E., Uganda's High Commissioner in London since that country became independent in 1962, was killed in Kampala on Monday when his car collided with a bus. He was on two months' leave in Uganda.

He was the ablest, most experienced, and most widely popular of the High Commissioners sent to the United Kingdom by any of the independent States in East or Central Africa. Though friendly, urbane, and diplomatically discreet, he felt strongly on some matters, about which he spoke freely with those whom he trusted. His death will be genuinely regretted by many people.

Born in 1912, he was educated at Nyakaswra Secondary School, Makerere University College, and Exeter University. He returned to Nyakaswra as assistant master, became head of a secondary school, came back to Exeter in 1949-50, was appointed supervisor in Toro of schools of the Native Anglican Church, and three years later entered the Legislative Council of Uganda as a cross-bench member, serving for seven years. Then he became Education Minister in Toro. Since 1939 he had owned and for a long period edited a vernacular magazine, and he wrote three small books in Lunyoro.

He was a keen mountaineer and gardener, and the first African to be elected to the Alpine Club. Only last month he re-climbed some of the Ruwenzori mountains.

In 1948 he had married Miss Estery Janey Kulubya, daughter of Mr. S. W. Kulubya, one of the best-known public men in Uganda.

Canon H. D. Hooper

CANON HANDLEY DOUGLAS HOOPER, who has died at the age of 75, was born in Kenya, a son of the Rev. Douglas Hooper, who had gone to that country in 1885 as a C.M.S. missionary. He was himself a missionary in Kenya from 1915 to 1926, when the Church Missionary Society called him to London as its African secretary, a post which he filled with distinction for 23 years. His son, Cyril, also later a missionary in Kikuyuland, is now on the headquarters staff in London.

In the 1914-18 war Hooper served in "German East" with the Carrier Corps. Returning to mission work when nationalism was beginning to be propagated by malcontents and misfits, his insight into African thinking and his patience enabled him to help many of those with whom he was in contact to judge wisely for themselves. Later he was to be a valued adviser to Christian leaders in Britain who were becoming seriously interested in African affairs, especially the then Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. J. H. Oldham.

When Hooper resigned the Africa secretaryship of the C.M.S. in June 1950, the general committee of the society passed a resolution of tribute which said (in part):—

"His genius for friendship, his ability to be an interpreter, has been remarkably demonstrated in the inner life of the society; his complementary gifts of statesmanship and complete integrity have unquestionably established him as one of the most significant personalities in the missionary enterprise in Africa in the past generation.

"The missionary societies have provided the foundations from which the whole of the Colonial Welfare and Development enterprises over the last 20 years have been developed.

But that did not happen by chance. It happened because a small group of Christian statesmen drawn from various societies saw the opportunity and won the confidence of the Colonial Office as well as of the Colonial Government. Mr. Hooper has in this regard given the most continuous service.

"Through his personal qualities, his ready friendliness of approach his grasp of principals, his ability to see issues in the large and yet pursue the details which achieve success, he has served well the whole Church of Christ in Africa and a generation of Africans. He has been a great public servant.

"In passing this resolution the society recognizes that his service cannot be separated from that of Mrs. Hooper, who has shared in all his ministry, whether in Africa or at home, and to whose self-denial and devotion so much of the achievement is most surely due."

Hooper then became Rector of Holton, near Oxford.

He was later made Canon Emeritus of the diocese of Mombasa, which then covered the Kikuyu country. It was at Kahuhui in Kikuyuland that the three generations of Hoopers served the C.M.S.

Sir Neil Fairley

SIR NEIL HAMILTON FAIRLEY, K.B.E., F.R.S., an Australian who has died at his home in Sonning, aged 75, was Wellcome Professor of Tropical Medicine in the University of London from 1946 to 1949. He had previously done a great deal of original work on malaria, blackwater fever, dysentery, and other tropical diseases.

That blackwater fever, for so long a scourge in East, Central and West Africa, has now become rare is attributable largely to his original work on the chemoprophylaxis and chemotherapy of malaria and on his new techniques for the suppression of malarial infection by drugs. His experience, methods, and strict supervision reduced the incidence of malaria among Australian troops in the Pacific Theatre in the last war from 740 per 1,000 to 29 per 1,000 within two years, an achievement of immense military importance.

Immediately after qualifying in medicine at Melbourne University in 1915 he had volunteered for war service, and within a year was senior physician in the Australian General Hospital in Cairo. There he began his researches into malaria, dysentery, typhus, and bilharziasis. On demobilization he studied at the London School of Tropical Medicine and then spent five years in India. After a spell in Australia during which he did research work on snake venom, he returned to London as a physician and a lecturer in the new London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

One of the outstanding tropical medical experts of his day, his many scientific honours included the Manson Medal of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, the Chalmers Memorial Medal for Research in Tropical Medicine, the Mary Kingsley Medal, the Richard Pierson Strong Medal of the American Foundation of Tropical Medicine, the James Cook Medal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, and the Buchanan Medal of the Royal Society.

The whole tropical and sub-tropical world was greatly in his debt.

Mr. George Houry

MR. GEORGE NAJEM HOURY, O.B.E., Q.C., died suddenly last week at his home in Dar es Salaam, where he had practised as a barrister since 1929. He had served on the Executive and Legislative Council of Tanganyika and on the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly. Having extensive plantation interests, he had been at different times a member of the Tanganyika Sisal and Cotton Boards, a founder director of the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, a member of the executive committee of the Sisal Growers' Association, chairman of its Central Line Branch, and chairman of several sisal growing companies.

Former Prime Ministers' Views on Rhodesia

Sir Robert Menzies, Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky

SANCTIONS HAVE FAILED in their purpose, but their continuance might ruin Rhodesia, greatly damage Zambia, split opinion in Britain, and drive all Southern Africa into opposition to the United Kingdom Government. That is the view of Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1958 to 1962.

In an article in the *Spectator* entitled "Rhodesia: The Road to Ruin", he has written, *inter alia* :—

"Sanctions have failed in their purpose. The expressed object was to bring a speedy end to the rebellion and make moderate opinion in Rhodesia anxious to get rid of the Smith régime. It is now quite certain that sanctions are not going to bring a speedy end to the rebellion and that they have had the effect of rallying many former moderates to help the régime by devising means of defeating sanctions.

"If sanctions on the present scale are continued and internationally supported over a prolonged period they may ultimately cause the collapse of the Rhodesian economy and so of the régime, but that was not the purpose. It was stated that there was no intention of destroying the economy.

"The principal sufferers are likely to be, first, investors from Britain and other overseas countries. How much Rhodesian capital is thought to be invested in such large-scale investments as the oil refinery and pipeline, the B.M.C. and Ford assembly plants, the Imperial Tobacco Company, British-American Tobacco and Gallaghers processing and packing plants for tobacco exports, Dunlop's tyre factory, David Whitehead's spinning and weaving mills, and a host of others?

London Judgments Absorb

"Second, all Rhodesian citizens, whether white or black, extremist or moderate, whether they support the régime or detest it. The black are likely to suffer more than the white because the white are relatively so few that they can be helped by job-sharing and other devices; the black are so numerous that it is probably beyond the resources of the régime to do much to assist them other than by returning as many non-Rhodesians as possible to Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia, thereby adding to the difficulties of those countries.

"Last November in London many people talked as though sanctions would quickly bring Rhodesia to ruin. Today many people talk as though sanctions are doing no damage. Both views are absurd. Damage is being done, but I doubt whether more than a third of the financial loss is falling on Mr. Smith's supporters. Sanctions are like indiscriminate bombing in physical warfare: the attacker does not know who will suffer.

"Extremist pressure on either side of the Zambezi or some regrettable incident could easily break the strained economic relations between Rhodesia and Zambia. The result would be a complete or nearly complete shutdown of the Zambian copper mines. It may be possible to import oil by airlift and road over great distances at enormous cost, but not a million and a quarter tons of coal and coke a year. Some may be got from opencast workings in Zambia, though of poor quality; a little may be imported by rail through Lobito Bay, but nothing like enough to keep the mines in full production. If most of the mines were to close a heavy exodus of Europeans would be inevitable. Cessation of copper production would have world-wide effects.

"South Africa and Portugal will do everything in their power to see that sanctions against Rhodesia do not succeed.

"If Rhodesia resisted to the bitter end and ultimately her economy collapsed, it is probable that the white population would have to move, and within a limited period an African Government would take over. The frontier between white and black would then be moved from the Zambezi to the Limpopo. The Portuguese position in Mozambique would become untenable. South Africa would lose her buffer State. South-West Africa would be outflanked.

"There will be a prolonged and bitter struggle on the Rhodesian issue. There is a real threat that it will cause a deep and bitter split in Britain, as happened at the time of the Spanish civil war. The bipartisan policy is ended.

"If British Governments had five years ago devoted half the thought, cash, and foreign exchange to making a real success of the 1961 Constitution which they are now spending on an

attempt to destroy the economy of Rhodesia, a moderate Government would still be in power in Salisbury.

"A quick solution will not be brought about by stating five or six principles and hoping the Rhodesian régime will accept them. It is possible only if Britain is prepared to make sacrifices for a constructive, as opposed to a destructive, policy. Both races must be assured that their vital and legitimate interests are guaranteed and protected by Britain. The solution must be one that can be accepted by Zambia and Mozambique, Malawi and South Africa. It must be a solution which will enable Rhodesia to be governed with the consent of the governed. I still believe an Act of Union between Britain and Rhodesia is the only way to creative peace in Southern Africa."

"Let's Have Reason on Rhodesia"

SIR ROBERT MENZIES has contributed a long commentary to the *Sunday Telegraph* under the caption "Let's Have Reason on Rhodesia".

His own Government, he wrote, had utterly rejected the insisted demands of most of the independent African States for the use of armed force against Rhodesia: it would have no truck with the idea of setting British troops against British troops. That act would shatter the new Commonwealth beyond repair.

"My personal belief is that the violence of these demands tended to accelerate Mr. Smith's declaration. Otherwise I find it difficult to understand why the process of negotiation between Britain and Rhodesia should not have gone on.

"The object of a military exercise would be to enforce a new Constitution providing for an immediate African voting majority—something which the British Government has not sought and which few factual observers would think practicable until after a substantial period of educational preparation.

"A war so entered upon and pursued would ruin Rhodesia and inflict untold miseries upon the Rhodesia Africans whose cause the advocates of force profess to champion."

In references to Commonwealth problems in general, Sir Robert mentioned that at the last two conferences of Prime Ministers which he attended he had for the first time heard "extreme and even violent and threatening expressions of opinion" and had proofs of "a growing tendency to interfere and sit in judgment upon the domestic problems of fellow members.

"There has been steadily increasing pressure to have formal resolutions and to carry them by a majority vote or a consensus. It is of vital importance that such pressures should be resisted.

"If Commonwealth conferences adopt procedures which encourage the recording of divisions and disputes they will find that the Commonwealth, instead of being an association of friendly equals, is becoming an instrument of pressures, with pressure groups formed and contending views advertised.

"It has been a regrettable feature of recent conferences that not infrequently speeches are prepared and handed out to public relations officers and issued to the Press before they are delivered.

"If Prime Ministers are speaking in closed conference, and therefore speaking frankly and confidentially, they can learn and they can perhaps persuade. And one of them may think fit to modify an opinion expressed earlier. A spate of publicity can do nothing except harden attitudes in the sacred name of consistency and produce acute resentments."

American Mediator

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the former Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, told Mr. Kenneth Rose ("Albany" of the *Sunday Telegraph*) in Salisbury last week: "I am an opponent of U.D.I., but I love my country. It's a hell of a position to be in".

He added: "We cannot be starved into submission. Even if all our oil were cut off we could still limp along. But the long-term effects would be most damaging".

His choice as a mediator between the British and Rhodesian Governments would be an American "of the stature of Mr. Dean Acheson".

Oxford Meeting Condemns P.M.

Anglo-Rhodesian Society Meeting

A PUBLIC MEETING in Oxford organized by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, adopted the following resolution by about 300 votes to three.

"That this meeting condemns Mr. Wilson's irresponsible and morally unpardonable action by breaking his election promises in seeking United Nations permission for the use of force directed against Rhodesia, and urgently recommends that he initiate negotiations promptly with Mr. Ian Smith, the constitutionally elected Prime Minister of Rhodesia, thus accepting the latest quoted advice of Sir Humphrey Gibbs".

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Harold Soref, chairman of the Africa Committee of the Monday Club, and seconded by Mr. David Lardner-Burke, son of the Minister for Justice in Rhodesia.

Reports Heavily Slanted

Mr. Soref said that he had been present at the "notorious meeting" in Salisbury addressed by Messrs. Ennals, Rowland and Bray; "like most events in Rhodesia, the reports appearing in this country, particularly on the B.B.C., were heavily slanted. If there was brain-washing anywhere it was in Britain".

The meeting had broken up in disorder on account of Mr. Ennals's "ridiculous reply" to an African questioner, who asked what protection Mr. Wilson's régime would offer Africans against intimidation and thuggery in the African locations. Mr. Ennals had replied that if the African Nationalist parties were not proscribed there would not have been such intimidation. "At such arrant nonsense the African was chaired by Europeans, and this was the cause of the disturbing scenes. Mr. Ennals and his colleagues denied that the British Government would use force against Rhodesia. Mr. Ennals is now Under-Secretary of State for the Army.

Monstrous Lie

"To suggest that Rhodesia is a threat to peace is a monstrous lie", Mr. Soref continued. "It is understandable that the most humane and liberal Government in Africa should want to pump commercial oil through a pipe-line. Why was it not a threat to peace when India, a Commonwealth member, invaded Goa?"

"At this moment Tanzania is an operational base for Communism. From that part of the Commonwealth jungle mass-

acres are being staged against Mozambique. The unprovoked military invasion of Goa was encouraged and applauded by those who now seek to destroy Rhodesia. Murder, corruption, and intimidation in the States north of Rhodesia are conventionally overlooked.

"In the present balance-of-payment difficulties facing Britain it is incredible that we should impose such self-inflicted wounds as the sacrifice of £30m. of British exports to Rhodesia and the heavier cost of Mr. Wilson's sanctions—which could easily result in ruining our profitable trade with South Africa".

Those who were shouting most loudly about the illegal Government and treason were those who were most selective in their double standards.

West Midlands Branch

ENTHUSIASM IN SHROPSHIRE for the cause of Rhodesia was made evident on Sunday when some 300 people gathered at Willey Park, Broseley, the home of Lord and Lady Forester, to consider the formation of a branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. After Judge Gerald Sparrow had spoken, it was decided to establish a West Midlands Branch. Major R. N. Topham (who at one time serve in the Army in Kenya) was elected chairman of the organizing committee.

Rhodesian Exhibition

THE REIGATE BRANCH of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society will hold an inaugural meeting on May 10, and in the next four days stage a Rhodesian Exhibition in the Old Town Hall. There will be sound films and a display of photographs. Those who are able to lend curios, colour slides, or other articles of Rhodesian interest are invited to communicate with Mrs. Peachey at Holmesdale, St. Paul's Road, Dorking (Tel.: 3557). Objects of value should not be sent. The exhibition may be continued in other areas.

Links With Sudan Restored

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS between Sudan and Britain have been restored, and Sir John Richmond has been re-appointed Ambassador in Khartoum. Sudan was one of nine countries which severed relations in December in accordance with a resolution of the Organization of African Unity that its 36 member States should take that action if Britain had not crushed Rhodesia by December 15. The only other State in East or Central Africa to obey O.A.U. was Tanzania. Consular and commercial relations have continued at Sudanese request, and Mr. R. W. Munro has had charge of the British Staff in Khartoum.

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Ethiopia's New Style Cabinet ✓ Everything Could be Lost

MR. AKLILOU HABTE-WOLD, who was recently appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor, has selected his Cabinet. Ministers had hitherto been nominated by the Emperor. The Prime Minister is also Minister of the Interior and Imperial Seal-Bearer.

He has promised reforms in land tenure, education, housing, and local government.

The oldest man in the 20-member Cabinet, Mr. Yilma Deressa, who is 59, continues as Finance Minister; Mr. Ketema Yifru, 36, remains Foreign Minister; and Lieutenant-General Merid Menguesha has been re-appointed Defence Minister.

The youngest appointee, Mr. Seyoum Haregot, 33, who is graduate of Harvard Law School, is Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office.

Mr. Haddis Alemayehu, 53, sometime ambassador in Britain and Ethiopian representative at the United Nations, has charge of the new Ministry of Planning and Development.

Mr. Endaklatchew Makonne, a graduate of Oxford University, and formerly Minister for Commerce, has been appointed delegate to the United Nations, with ministerial rank.

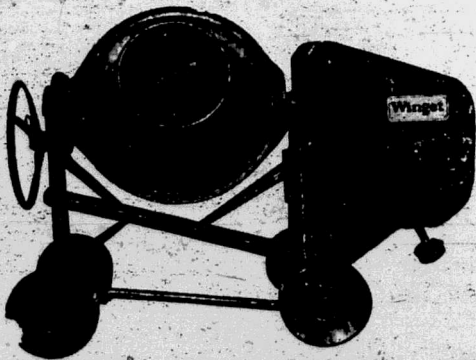
Rhodesia Pays in Dollars

PAYMENT of 185,497 U.S. dollars was made on Monday in New York by Rhodesia as its share of interest (\$78,518) and sinking fund contribution (\$80,567) on Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and 5½% External Loan Bonds, 1973.

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DR. SALAZAR, the Prime Minister of Portugal, said a few days ago that his Government was determined to defend Portuguese territories in Africa in order to strengthen Western civilization.

Another false step in the United Nations over the Rhodesian problem would start a large fire, which would involve risks for people who thought themselves safe because they were a long way from the flames. If passions were louder than reason, everything could be lost; but by wisdom everything could still be saved.

President Kaunda Warns Press

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told a national development seminar held at Chalimbana, and attended by 300 delegates, including Ministers, M.P.s, and U.N.I.P. organizers from all parts of Zambia: "I cannot tolerate the kind of Press we have in Zambia; I cannot—for the good of Zambia."

Certain sections of the Press had throughout the recent strike of miners wanted the Government to penalize the majority of Africans working on the Copperbelt. "The Press has suggested that my Government was practising racialism in the way it had solved the European strike and was solving the African strike and that the latter should be solved in the same way as the former was. What idiocy! What stupidity! What madness!" The striking African miners had a genuine case.

"Many forces are at work in Zambia to destroy the country. But these forces we shall fight; we are equipped to do so. There are some incorrigible people on the Copperbelt. The Government has no choice but to tighten up security. I am going to empower the police to record all that is said at public meetings, because some people have said a pack of lies against the Government and these people should be followed or forced to speak the truth as we do".

Expatriates fighting against the Government should be deported. The Government would consider the suggestion that no alien should hold a position in the Labour movements.

Resignations from the ruling party were not a worry, but a law would soon require any M.P. who resigned from a party to fight a by-election in order to retain his Parliamentary seat.

Rhodesia Warns Zambia

ZAMBIA has been warned that a shortage of diesel fuel in consequence of the British oil blockade may reduce the tonnage of copper carried by Rhodesia Railways. Rhodesia's Minister of Transport has asked for an urgent meeting of the Higher Authority for the Railways, consisting of two Cabinet Ministers from Rhodesia and two from Zambia, to discuss this and other matters. He has regretted "Zambia's intransigent and uncooperative attitude in ignoring repeated requests for discussions on common problems."

Kenya Beats England

Mr. George Collins, a former district commissioner in Moyale, northern Kenya, told reporters when he arrived in Mogadishu, Somalia, a few days ago that there were widespread objections by Africans in Kenya to the present situation, in which the Government was controlled by a handful of men. The Somalis of the North-Eastern Region of Kenya would continue to demand their rights, which should be granted. He emphasized that, instead of trying to reduce present tensions, Government leaders in Kenya were intensifying hatred and widening differences by their public statements.

Debate on Rhodesia

(Continued from page 612)

nominated by Mr. Smith. Despite repeated inquiries, and despite a return to Salisbury after some days in Lusaka, there was no response; and Mr. Watson was left in no doubt that the régime had nothing to say at that time—and I stress the phrase "at that time"—to him or the British Government. The House must draw its own conclusions.

"After Mr. Finlind was expelled another high official of the Commonwealth Relations Office was sent in his place—Mr. John Hennings. He arrived in Salisbury on Good Friday. He was authorized to follow up the initiative that Mr. Duncan Watson had, with full Government authority, undertaken. The Rhodesian régime, as we now know, have decided to expel Mr. Hennings and his staff—which we regret.

"But Mr. Hennings, I trust, is going to be there for some time yet. It does not take effect immediately. Therefore anyone in Rhodesia is free to approach him or the Governor, or both together, with proposals as to the basis on which a solution can be reached. But I want to repeat that that solution cannot be one which condones illegal or unconstitutional action. That is a point that I have fairly quoted from the rt. hon. gentleman.

Will Not Legalize Rebellion

"There is a great deal that we are prepared to forgive and forget. We are not prepared to legalize an act of rebellion against the Crown. We are not prepared to compromise on the principles laid down by two successive Governments and two Prime Ministers of this country and accepted as a basis for negotiation by Mr. Smith when he had authority to negotiate on behalf of his country."

MR. ANTHONY BARBER: "Since the rt. hon. gentleman has made public the advice which he received from a senior official of the Commonwealth Relations Office, will he also make public the advice received from the Governor?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have not made public any advice that I have received from a senior official of the Commonwealth Relations Office. I have been telling the House the instructions that he was given. We get advice and from time to time views from the Governor. Some are made public. But we have had no further confirmation of what the Governor said or is reported to have said to Lord Bolton.

"However, the possibilities were there when Mr. Watson was there, and they are still there with Mr. Hennings' presence, quite apart from the standing freedom of any Rhodesian—Mr. Smith or anyone else—to go to the Governor with any proposals or ideas that he wants to discuss."

SIR HARRY LEGGE-BOURKE: "When the Government learned that the Governor had said certain things to a member of another place, did not the Government check with the Governor about what he had said?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It would not be helpful if I said too much about the various methods of communication with the Governor or the frequency of communications or exchanges between us. The proposal of the Leader of the Opposition several weeks ago was for talks on a secret and confidential basis. Therefore I had to consider very carefully and seriously whether I was right in telling the House about the fact that these facilities were available in March and are available now. In saying as much as I have today, there is a danger that it might attract the glare of publicity, in the sense that the rt. hon. gentlemen quite rightly wished to avoid. I have been more forthcoming with the House than others might have thought right."

Governor's View About Talks

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING: "Is it true that the Governor believes that the time has now come for talks?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We have made clear on a number of occasions right from the beginning of November that there could be talks and should be talks. That was the view of the Governor, and it was our view. The Governor was there to receive representations and have talks in that way. There has been no change about the Governor in that matter.

"I want now to deal with problems raised by what was a very unscrupulous if ingenious attempt to defeat the oil embargo that was approved by the House last December, and which, having been approved by the House, has to be regarded as being the law not only of Britain but of Rhodesia. So let us assume that, whether we voted for it or not, all of us now accept that the oil embargo is the law of Rhodesia.

"The illegal régime, by methods and means more appropriate to the more fanciful flights of 007 than the kind of world in which the rest of us are living, have been trying to break the ban on illegal imports of oil.

"I hope that no hon. Member will under-rate the consequences if that embargo were to be broken, because, while H.M. Government throughout these past months have reiterated in this House, in the United Nations, and in Common-

wealth Conferences our determination to keep the issue within our own control and to do it ourselves, a breach of the oil embargo through the reopening of the Umfali pipeline would not only have been humiliating for Britain, it would have meant that everything that we had set out to do by keeping the issue within our own control had failed.

"Our naval forces had identified a tanker approaching Beira. The Government in whose country it was then registered—it changed its registration with a rather high velocity of circulation—had already issued a decree forbidding its vessels to transport oil destined for Rhodesia, and that Government made every effort to turn it from its course by repeatedly drawing the attention of the master of the ship to this decree and warning him of the consequences if its provisions were violated.

"Nevertheless we had no authority from the flag State ourselves to prevent the ship from entering Beira, the more so as the master had informed the British naval officer concerned that he had been ordered to proceed to Beira for bunkering and provisions only. We now know that this was a lie.

"In those circumstances, since the resolution of November 20 of the United Nations was not mandatory, it would in our view have been contrary to international law to have used force ourselves. For ourselves to have stopped that vessel going through into Beira on our initiative, not having been asked by the flag State to do so. Indeed, there was some doubt what the flag State was that afternoon, and, not having been empowered by a U.N. resolution, we decided, rightly or wrongly, to let that vessel proceed to Beira.

"This was in accordance with what I had told the House in December would be our policy—that we would not operate a unilateral blockade on tankers seeking to enter Beira with oil for Rhodesia. We are open to criticism for letting her proceed to Beira, but I will defend our decision.

"Behind the IOANNA were other tankers, some already chartered and loaded with oil, any one of which, or all of which might have tried to enter Beira after similar deception—and it was deception not only of ourselves but of the States to whom they were supposed to owe flag allegiance. If we had meekly tolerated this breach of the embargo and let not merely one ship through, but all the others—and there were two or three by this time—the whole issue would have been taken right out of our hands.

Action at United Nations

"In December I said that if there was a seepage or leakage through the embargo we would not act alone, but only with international authority. Even before the tanker entered Beira with oil for Rhodesia, action had begun on an international scale. The Committee of Twenty-Four had met. They were determined to call for a meeting of the Security Council. They and individual countries, both members of the Security Council and non-members, Commonwealth countries included, were determined on action. This was before the IOANNA reached Beira. The House can imagine what reaction there would have been if the IOANNA had reached Beira and started to pump oil.

"In these circumstances we decided to take the initiative with the United Nations.

"The rt. hon. gentleman rested his question this afternoon—a rather aggressive question—on the fact that in an interchange during that very noisy debate I said that we would not promote such action. Action had already been taken in the United Nations when we stepped in. Other nations were on their way to promoting a resolution which would have been unacceptable to us, and I believe to the whole House.

"Right hon. gentlemen opposite knew that a succession of tankers would have totally broken the oil embargo which this House had approved, and which was the law of Britain and the law of Rhodesia. They may or may not have known, but I can tell them, that six cargoes of crude oil had been purchased. We knew that; and there were reports that a number of tankers running into double figures had been, or were to be, chartered to break the embargo.

"Would the Opposition have allowed these tankers to go in unimpeded? If not, would they have intercepted them unilaterally on the high seas? I presume they would not have taken a purely British action; and I said on December 21, that I would not feel free to do that.

"Do they therefore not agree that we were right to feel that we should have international authority to deal with this problem? We were right to press our resolution, and right to reject amendments which might have had incalculable consequences."

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister did not say that he would proceed by international action. It was not an intervention; it was in the main part of his speech.

"He said: 'The House can be quite certain that it would then be raised at the United Nations, and not by us.' If there is a decision under Chapter VII in which it is suggested that a couple of frigates be placed outside Beira to stop oil tankers going through, this is what will happen, and it will happen by international decision. We do not ourselves propose to seek such a resolution."

"That is the operative part. The Prime Minister is not saying that he would seek it if somebody else went ahead, or that he would seek an international resolution. What the Prime Minister has done is to change his policy, and he should tell the House why.

"Is he saying that the country concerned was not prepared to allow the British Navy to intercept the tanker even though the country concerned wished to stop it going to Beira? I believe that it was the Greek Government. Secondly, is he saying that the Portuguese Government were not prepared to stop oil flowing even though the Portuguese were trying to co-operate in the sanctions? Is the Prime Minister saying that both those countries would not co-operate?"

Attitudes of Greece and Portugal

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I shall not attack our colleagues in that sort of language. I am not saying that they were not willing to co-operate.

"The Greek Government were highly co-operative. They had no naval forces there. There was considerable doubt as to the replies they were getting from the master, who swore blind that he was not going into Beira to unload oil for Rhodesia—though we now know that he was; and they had some doubt about whether they could accept what the master of the vessel told them. In addition, there was considerable doubt as to who was the flag State at the time.

"We had no authority from the Greek Government ourselves to use naval forces involving a boarding party or firing across the bows of the vessel concerned to divert that ship from Beira. But I would not like the rt. hon. gentleman to conclude that the Greek Government were unco-operative; they were highly co-operative; but I cannot say that they gave us authority on their behalf to intercept that ship by force.

"With regard to Portugal, we did not get then, and have not got now, any assurance whatsoever that they would agree to close the pipeline, whether as a result of a resolution of the company or by straight governmental action. There was no assurance whatsoever that if that ship and others went in the pipeline would be closed; quite the contrary."

MR. HEATH: "Were the Greek Government asked for authority to intercept, and did they refuse? That is the operative point."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Some of these matters are concerned with the most delicate issues and dealings between nations. The Greek Government have been very co-operative, but we did not receive authority to intercept that vessel. Therefore, we decided not to take unilateral action to stop that ship going there.

"The rt. hon. gentleman has read part of what happened on December 21—and in a moment I want to explain the consequences of this kind of semantic logic-chopping and word-chopping which is a large part of his contribution to the solution of the Rhodesia problem. He must take into account the reply that I made to Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

"I made it clear that we would not seek a unilateral British blockade. I said I hoped there would not be a seepage or a leakage, but that if there was there would be international action, and that it would not be raised by us, but by other people. I said that there would probably have to be a Chapter VII resolution, but that we would not promote it. I carried out these undertakings completely, by not taking unilateral action to stop that ship going to Beira; but we could not have continued in that position because we knew that other vessels were going there.

Danger of Race Explosion

"The matter was raised in the United Nations in a dangerous and devastating sense. The rt. hon. gentleman should study what happened in respect of the Committee of Twenty-Four concerning demands for a Security Council resolution that all of use would have found very dangerous. A meeting of the Security Council having been asked for, we tabled our resolution. I believe that we were entitled to promote the right resolution without going back on what I said in the House.

"Our action has been completely consonant with our international obligations. It recognized that we were dealing here with a vital moral issue. If we ought not to have taken the action we took, what action does the rt. hon. gentleman think we ought to have taken?"

"This is one of the most difficult problems which any Government have ever had to face in this country in this century—because the complications are due to the fact that Rhodesia is at the point of interception of a number of distinct circles which cover vital Commonwealth interests and vital economic interests for Britain, covering Britain's standing in the new world.

"This issue is at the centre of that area of the new world which is dominated by race conflict, racial intolerance, and the ever-present danger of race explosion. Wrong decisions here, or the failure to take the necessary action because of the fear that we had split an infinitive, could have touched off,

and still could touch off, a new division in world affairs based not on ideology but on colour. That is why these issues cannot be dismissed in terms of semantics and prblings."

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister said that he wanted to get the greatest possible accord in the House, but he could not have gone about doing so in a worse way. On December 21 he said that he would not seek a resolution. That is not logic-chopping or semantics. We want to know whether he did everything possible before undertaking the hazards of Chapter VII. We are not satisfied with his reply and shall go on pressing him."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The rt. hon. gentleman is entitled to do so. We were asked whether we would seek a resolution or not. We did not seek it; a resolution was forced upon us by the fact that once a ship was on the way, even before it got near Beira, other countries took the initiative within the United Nations.

"The Leader of the Opposition rejects the illegal act and has never been equivocal about that. He recognizes that once one rejects the illegal act, there are three main avenues of choice for this country.

"One would be unconditional surrender by this country to the illegal régime and acceptance of the act and all that would follow for Britain's standing in the world. The second—he has been completely consistent in rejecting this also—is the use of force in terms of a military intervention to impose a given constitutional settlement. He has opposed this and so have we.

"In the speech which he quoted I sharply distinguished between the use of force in that context with the measures which might be necessary on an international basis to deal with oil-running activities by international spivs. To say, as he has done, that we have gone back on our stand against the military use of force and saying that we have used it in this case is a complete twisting of our words in the House. When I refused the use of force it was in the first sense. He understood that last December. Why is he singling now, when I use the exact words which I used in that context?"

"If he rejects unconditional surrender and also military intervention to impose a constitutional settlement, it leaves us only with a third, middle course, which is repugnant and hurtful, that of gradually tightening economic sanctions to the point where the régime must recognize not only the virtually unanimous anger of mankind but the determination of mankind—and especially of Britain—to deal with the action which they have taken.

Logic of the Dispute

"He said this afternoon that in any talks with the Rhodesians sanctions should continue. Therefore, he cannot with any logic tolerate activities specifically designed not only to weaken but to destroy those sanctions. The logic of both our positions—they are close together here—is to see that these sanctions are not destroyed by action of the kind presented by the IOANNA and the MANUELA."

MR. HEATH: "I should like to ask the Prime Minister about his own logic. As oil is going out from South Africa to Rhodesia, will he therefore support a resolution in the United Nations for a blockade of South Africa—or the whole of Southern Africa? That is the logic of his position."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "When the rt. hon. gentleman gets into this sort of a state he always wants to make things as difficult as possible for good relations between this country and every other country. I have answered what happened about Portugal.

"We are in discussion with the South African Government. We have had two series of exchanges and there will be more. We must await the result of those exchanges. I will not be pushed on grounds of logic or anything else into stirring up unnecessary trouble with another country.

"Rhodesia is a vitally important issue of conflict between the parties. If rt. hon. gentlemen opposite want to push this matter forward in debate, we shall try to educate them to the importance of this issue. It was once understood by Mr. Maundling when he was Colonial Secretary, and by Mr. Iain Macleod when he was Colonial Secretary, but they seem to have forgotten the whole lesson of the wind of change which they used once to proclaim.

"Some editorial articles in last year's *Spectator* provided some of the most disgraceful interpretation of the issue and provocation to the extremist elements below the gangway in the Conservative Party which some of us have ever had the misfortune to read. The rt. hon. gentleman basically understands these things, whatever the temptations at that time, and I think that further debates will give us the opportunity to bring home to hon. gentlemen opposite what this means to Britain's standing in the world, for relations between us and other countries and for the colour question, which could explode in the most dangerous way, and where our duty lies in dealing with these responsibilities which, through no fault of ours, history thrust upon us."

Zambian Copper Price Change

Temporary Use of L.M.E. Basis

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION and the R.S.T. GROUP made known in Lusaka on Saturday that their price for term contracts would until further notice be based on the three months selling price for electrolytic wire bars quoted on the London Metal Exchange, that decision having been taken in consequence of the raising of the Chilean producer price from £336 to £496 per long ton. The announcement continued:—

"The Zambian producers continue to believe that the long-term interests of producers and consumers and of the copper producing countries will be best served by the maintenance of reasonable and relatively stable copper prices. They consider, however, that the endeavour of the majority of the world's producers to implement this policy has for the time being been nullified by the magnitude of the recent increase, and in these circumstances as a temporary measure they have decided that the best course is to employ London Metal Exchange forward quotations as the basis of their price until more normal conditions are restored to the copper market".

H.M. Government protested to the Zambian Government at the swinging increases; which it was known to have wanted.

The L.M.E. price was then £626. Dealings on Monday brought it down to £553, the turnover of 4,625 tons being the largest on any day since October, 1964.

There have been excited dealings in copper shares.

Zambia Broken Hill

THE ZAMBIA BROKEN HILL DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD. reports net profits after tax for 1965 at just over £1m. (£1.6m. in 1964), the tax provision having risen by no less than £420,000. Dividends of 25 per cent (the same) take £812,000, and after adding £250,000 to the general reserve the carry-forward is £281,000. Issued capital is unchanged at £34m. Fixed assets appear at £12.6m., stores at £507,000, and net current liabilities at £65,000. Investments total 86,000. The review of the chairman, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, appears on another page.

Sir Ronald Frairn's statement at the informal R.S.T. meeting in London is held over until next week.

News Items in Brief

Engineers from Soviet Russia are building a meat factory in Kismayu, Somalia.

The Royal African Society's annual meeting will be held on Wednesday, May 11.

A large wollastonite discovery in Masailand, Kenya, is considered to be of great importance.

An African maidservant in Uganda was last week acquitted on a charge of murdering a British air hostess in Entebbe in November.

The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation has published its report for 1965. Lord Derby is president and Sir Geoffrey Nye chairman of its council.

A Defence Council for the Armed Forces of Sudan consists of the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Local Government, Commerce and Industry, and the Kadä.

Rotary International District 220, which covers Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Madagascar, and Reunion, has held its 41st annual conference, meeting for the first time in Mombasa.

A projected Kenya/Ethiopia road is estimated to cost about £2m. and take about five years to complete. By the end of this year it is planned to have 900 men of the Kenya National Youth Service working on the road.

The Ruwenzori earthquake is now estimated to require at least £100,000 for restoration and relief measures. More than 100 people were killed, some 6,000 are homeless, and more than 2,000 buildings were damaged.

Documents, including membership lists, have been stolen from the London offices of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and of a London company which prints Zimbabwe Review, Kenya Vanguard, and Uganda Observer.

The Government of Zambia and the hotels division of Pan-American Airways are considering the construction of a £1m. hotel in Lusaka and of a Livingstone hotel with about 100 bedrooms, possibly with a casino and a golf course.

Two British boys in Nairobi, David Huckle, 17, and Stuart Adams, 19, are among gold award winners in the Duke of Edinburgh's scheme who have been invited to receive their awards from him at Buckingham Palace tomorrow.

Whereas the Uganda Government budgetted for £35,678,000 of recurrent and £14,663,000 of non-recurrent expenditure in 1964-65, the estimates for 1965-66 are up to £40,397,000 and £19,362,000 respectively, an increase of almost £9m., though the revenue is expected to rise by less than £5m. The shortfall is mainly due to reduced receipts from the coffee export tax.

Muslims in Malawi who had arranged to fly to Jeddah and then make the pilgrimage to Mecca were told less than 24 hours before their scheduled time of departure from Chileka that the Malawi Government had ordered the flight to be cancelled because of a cholera outbreak among pilgrims. Air fares of £140 had been paid by 130 persons.

A Malawi African, Alexander Alickson Banda, has been jailed for six years on charges which included an attempt to pass a cheque which he had stolen and forged in his own favour for £30,000. The magistrate described him as a "confidence trickster of the worst type". Before the trial the Prime Minister had described him in Parliament as "an imposter" who had talked of building a textile factory under a company called Banda Industries, Ltd.

The President of Zanzibar has now authority, in consultation with the Revolutionary Council, to distribute land for agricultural purposes for the life of a grantee and his wife, with power thereafter to pass the land to one or more of the direct blood descendants of the original grantee. The land, which will be liable to forfeiture at any time if certain conditions are not fulfilled, may not be assigned, sub-divided, or mortgaged.

KENYA, Uganda and Tanzania have raised their customs and excise duties on motor vehicles, piece goods, and sugar.

In Kenya the Finance Minister has said that further taxation must be expected in the June budget. The new tariffs would bring in about £1.2m., but Kenya required an additional £3m. in the next financial year.

In the case of passenger-carrying cars, including estate cars, station wagons, caravans, and mini-buses, the duty remains 30% for engine capacity up to 1800 cc. It becomes 40% ad valorem up to 2300 cc., and thereafter 50%.

On jersey; cardigans, shirts, made-up garments, and similar articles the duty is increased by 50%. On man-made fibres it is raised from 1s. to 1.25s. per square yard, and on silk material from 2.20s. to 2.75s.

Uganda's estimate is that the changes will bring in £627,430 in a full year.

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Company Meeting

THE ZAMBIA BROKEN HILL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LIMITED

(Incorporated in the Republic of Zambia)

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER WARNS OF INCREASED COSTS

The fifty-sixth annual general meeting of the Zambia Broken Hill Development Company Limited will be held in Lusaka on May 12th 1966. The following is from the review by the chairman, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, which has been circulated with the annual report and accounts:—

A firm demand for lead and zinc was maintained throughout 1965 and the satisfactory price levels, coupled with improved production, enabled the company to earn reasonable profits for that year.

The aggregate production of 67,762 long tons of lead and zinc (previous year: 59,137) was achieved mainly through improved operation of the Imperial Smelting Furnace, particularly in the second half of the year. While the total output for 1965 was a record, it is hoped that production during 1966 will exceed 70,000 long tons.

Sales of lead and zinc totalled 61,222 long tons compared with 62,149 tons in 1964, and accordingly there was a build up of stocks, particularly towards the year end.

The higher prices ruling for lead in 1965 and the steadiness in zinc enabled the company to realise an average of £112.2 per long ton of metal for the year, an increase of £5 per ton over the average for 1964. This improvement was more than offset, however, by an increase of £8 per long ton in the average cost of sales, from £76.9 per ton for 1964 to £84.9, mainly because of a substantial increase in labour costs, which accounted for £6 per ton.

Higher Tax Provision

Profit before taxation, amounting to £1,532,000, was £141,000 less than for the previous year. In 1964 the cumulative capital allowances brought forward from earlier years limited the provision for taxation for that year to £65,000. Relief in 1965 was confined to the capital and other redemption allowances applicable to the year under review and it has accordingly been necessary to provide the sum of £485,000 for taxation at the rate of 8s. 9d. in the £. The net profit for the year was therefore £1,047,000 compared with £1,608,000 in 1964.

The directors have appropriated £250,000 to general reserve and have recommended a final dividend of 9d. (net) per share, absorbing £487,000, which, together with the interim dividend of 6d. per share (£325,000), will bring the total distribution for the year to 1s. 3d., the same as in 1964.

Future Prospects

It appears unlikely at the present time that it will be possible to maintain the current level of dividends for 1966 owing to the lower prices for lead and zinc, increasing costs of production, and a substantial programme of capital expenditure.

Mainly because of a substantial improvement in output from Canada, total world production of zinc in 1965 exceeded 4,000,000 tons for the first time. Consumption during that year also exceeded this figure, but whereas further considerable increases in output, amounting to more than 250,000 tons, are expected in 1966, matching increases in consumption are not expected.

Total world output of lead in 1965 increased by about 150,000 to 2,700,000 long tons as against an increase in consumption, estimated at 50,000 tons, to 2,800,000 tons. In 1966 total output is expected to increase by a further 150,000 tons and after allowing for an increase in consumption of between 50,000 and 75,000 tons the demand/supply position may now come into balance for the first time for several years.

Secondly, labour costs will show a further substantial increase during 1966, resulting from recently completed negotiations, to which I refer later.

The third factor which will affect the 1966 position is the need to absorb part of the heavy cost of rehabilitation and modernisation which I foreshadowed in my review last year. The technical advisers estimate that over the next five years the company is likely to spend a total of approximately £2,500,000 under diverse heads, which include the ore shaft deepening, prospecting, concentrator and smelter plant, engineering services and housing. This substantial programme represents a combination of capital expenditure on normal projects and of replacement expenditure which in the main have had to be deferred in previous years, but must now be undertaken to ensure continuity of operating efficiencies and future production. A large part of the expenditure, amounting to nearly £1,000,000, will be incurred during 1966.

In view of the fact that the benefits of this programme on the maintenance of production will be reflected over a considerable period, it is proposed to apportion the cost over a number of years in approximately equal instalments instead of charging to cost of sales the amount actually spent in each year, as has been our practice.

The directors also propose to spread over a somewhat longer period than the next five years the appropriations from profits to cover the annual repayment of £500,000 of 6½ per cent notes.

The arrangements should, subject to the general level of metal prices and costs of production, enable the company to maintain a reasonable dividend pattern. It may, however, be necessary from time to time to arrange temporary loan finance to enable the company to meet all its commitments.

Labour Relations

Early in January this year, proposals for revised conditions of service for represented expatriates in the Zambian Copper Mining Industry were presented to the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association and the Mine Workers' Society and agreements were finally concluded with both associations in March. The company has separate agreements with M.O.S.S.A. and M.W.S. and although disputed, there has always been a differential between Broken Hill and Copperbelt conditions of service.

Nevertheless, as a competitive employer and the only large mine in Zambia apart from the copper mines, and recognizing the same trade unions, the company has little alternative but to follow the broad changes in Copperbelt conditions of service. In recognition of this, the company has given its represented expatriate employees the fixed period contract conditions which has been negotiated on the Copperbelt, but has nevertheless maintained a differential in basic wages.

I have referred elsewhere to the severe impact of increased labour costs on the company's profit structure, and the time could come when our employees will have to recognize that the company's continued viability will depend on their willingness to accept that their terms of service cannot be tied to conditions on the Copperbelt.

Copies of the annual report and accounts are obtainable from the London office of the company, 40 Holborn Viaduct, E.C.1.

"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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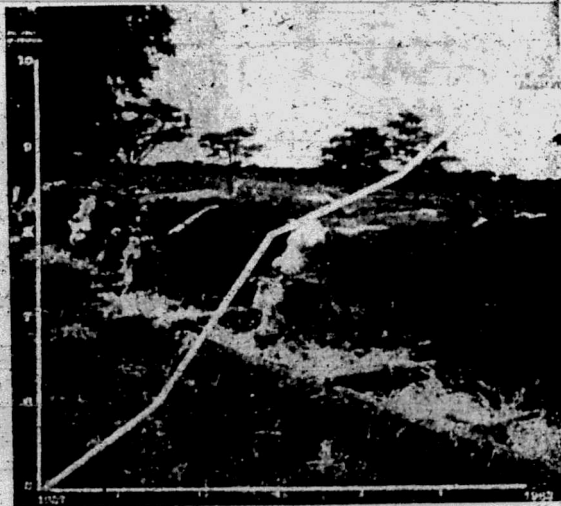
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Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	625	Kabaka Condemned by Dr. Obote ...	635
Talks with Rhodesia:		Terrorists from Zambia	635
Mr. Wilson's Statement ...	627	Kenya's Politics ...	638
Mr. Smith's Reply ...	628	Sir R. Prain's Address	642
German Bid for Rhodesian Trade ...	630	Company Meetings:	
Commons Speeches ...	631	Gallaher, Ltd. ...	643
		Unilever, Ltd. ...	646
		Lonrho, Ltd. ...	648

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

VERY BELATEDLY the British Prime Minister has recognized his need for talks with the Rhodesian Government. The admission was made in the House of Commons last week with characteristic double-talk, the statement opening with the innuendo that the approach had come from Mr. Smith. "As the Government has repeatedly made clear over the past five months", Mr. Wilson said soothingly, "anyone in Rhodesia is free to approach the Governor or the British representative in Salisbury with proposals as to the basis on which a solution of the problem can be reached. As a result of a recent report from the Governor, informal talks between officials have been arranged to examine whether such a basis exists". Mr. Wilson was careful not to say in so many words that Mr. Smith had taken the initiative, but that was clearly the impression given. It was strongly reinforced a little later by the triumphant assertion that the House would agree that "What has been decisive has been the oil sanction introduced in December and the action we took recently at Beira with the authority of the United Nations". Whatever Parliament may permit to pass without contradiction, we do not for a moment accept that interpretation, which implies that lack of oil has driven Rhodesia to surrender. The truth is that she has obtained, and knows that she would continue to obtain, sufficient oil from South Africa to meet all essential requirements. If Mr. Wilson had been candid he might have explained that the Prime Minister of South Africa had resisted all attempts to persuade him to order the cessation of supplies to his northern neighbour, and that the realization at long last that South Africa and Portuguese Africa would not withdraw support from Rhodesia had compelled the British Government to face the discontinuance of its vindictive policy of threats and sanctions and seek conciliation in place of coercion.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has urged for years, not merely since the unilateral declaration of independence, that the right course for any British Government, whatever its political persuasion, would be to acknowledge the guilt of politicians of all parties at Westminster, who by strewing Africa with wreckage and repeatedly breaking their pledges strengthened the determination of Rhodesians to safeguard their country from *Diktat* from Westminster. Mr. Wilson came no closer to healthy humility than to recall his remark that "There was quite a lot we were prepared to forget and forgive, but none of us would condone, or be prepared to accept a settlement that condoned, an illegal act" or failed to satisfy the principles laid down by the last Government and the present Government, principles which were accepted by Mr. Smith in the negotiations last summer. A few minutes earlier he had tried to explain that "These are not negotiations. H.M. Government are not negotiating with the illegal régime. These are informal talks to see whether there is a basis on which proper negotiations could take place". So Parliament and people were expected to believe that three separate discussions in Salisbury within the previous few days on the initiative of the Governor had meant precisely nothing.

* * *

The House appeared to accept even that absurdity. Yet the Governor of Rhodesia, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, and a senior private secretary of Mr. Wilson had obviously not met thrice to talk about the weather. Equally obviously, Mr. Smith must have said, more or less in these words: "Yes, I am prepared to talk. Have I not said so again and again and again? Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bottomley,

and other members of the British Cabinet are the people who have kept saying that they would not talk with what they have called an illegal régime, one which must, they have declared, be 'toppled'. I have not stipulated that recognition of our declaration of independence must precede discussions; but as nothing will persuade us to forego the independence which we were driven to assume in self-protection, it had better be understood from the start that we shall not move from that decision. On that absolutely basic principle we are adamant. If that be accepted, let us talk by all means. On matters of detail there is scope for compromise, as we have said repeatedly". We have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Smith emphasized his basic requirement, probably at each of the three meetings. The Parliamentary pretence that this week will merely be marked by an unimportant preliminary reconnaissance by two or three officials on each side will therefore not impress realists, who will see them as contrived camouflage behind which Mr. Wilson can better arrange his retreat—a retreat helped by the smoke-screen put out by London newspapers that it was not Mr. Wilson but the Rhodesians who have agreed to withdraw. Whence came that inspiration, or indoctrination, of leading political commentators in London? One guess is enough for those who know the Wilson technique.

Mr. Smith—unlike President Kaunda of Zambia—did not rush into public comment. Indeed, a statement which the Rhodesian Prime Minister had promised was postponed for twenty-four hours, within which period the world was told from London that it was he who had reversed his policy. His speech in Bulawayo very reasonably, rightly, and forthrightly corrected that misrepresentation. The intransigence has been in Downing Street. Indeed, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley could scarcely have behaved more stupidly in word and deed. The pity is that they were not held regularly to account throughout their months of bluster and bullying, and that an astonishingly inept Parliamentary Opposition and an equally unalert and uncritical Press (which has entirely failed throughout to reflect the anxiety of the country on this issue) allowed the Socialist blunderers to lurch from one catastrophic folly to the next—at a cost to Britain of which there is still no public understanding. The loss will never be computed, because the most expensive items cannot be written into the bill: items like the permanent forfeiture of trade and the loss of such important invisible earnings as those

from insurance, banking, and shipping—and not merely in Rhodesia, but also with and in South Africa, and even Australia and New Zealand, because of their deep sympathy with Rhodesia and their increased mistrust of a Britain in which reckless politicians destroy business which has been built up over many decades, and in some cases centuries.

So bitter is the resentment of many men and women who were born in this country and now live in Southern Africa at what has been done in the past six months by Mr. Wilson and his comrades, with the blessing of the Conservative Party until quite recently, that they will never again buy an article manufactured in the United Kingdom if they can avoid it. Large shops in Southern Africa now assure their customers that they no longer stock British products; and confirming houses in Britain which have always shipped British goods are, to our knowledge, now under instructions to buy on the Continent, or, if they fail in that substitution, to refer back to their principals in Rhodesia and South Africa so that they may try America or Japan. That sad and serious blow to British exports and the balance of payments is part of the price which Britain will continue to pay for Mr. Wilson. Many people in South Africa as well as in Rhodesia have similarly transferred their insurance from Lloyd's and first-class British tariff companies. Add the expensive subsidies to Zambia, the operations by the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force, the blows to British prestige, and the encouragement to Afro-Asian fanatics everywhere, and the total of loss becomes staggering. How can one refute those who estimate monetary cost in the first year at between two and three hundred millions sterling?

Having thrown away six months ago a settlement of the Rhodesian problem which was within his grasp, and on January 25 declared that his Government stood for unconditional surrender by Rhodesia, the Prime Minister has now accepted the principle

Sir Robert Menzies as Intermediary

of "negotiation without commitment on either side". That complete reversal of policy would have been far better taken before so much material damage had been done and so many wounding allegations made. Mr. Bottomley apparently still fails to recognize that conciliation demands a cessation of insults. His latest speech, which is recorded at some length in other columns, is so wholly inappropriate

to the new situation that the reader must deduce that it was composed before Mr. Wilson changed his mind and that his Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was determined not to lose the opportunity of making another unhelpful intervention. He could not have indicated more clearly his unsuitability as one of the British negotiators. Quite unintentionally, of course, he pointed to the desirability that no

member of the present British Cabinet should provide the first ministerial contact with Mr. Smith, but that a wise elder statesman like Sir Robert Menzies should be invited to act as mediator. No one would be more likely to succeed in establishing the right basis for a settlement. That done, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bottomley, and other adventurers in office in Whitehall would, fortunately for Rhodesia, have no further right to meddle in her affairs.

Talks With Rhodesia Without Commitment

British Prime Minister's Statement to Parliament

"As the Government have repeatedly made clear over the past five months, anyone in Rhodesia is free to approach the Governor or the British representatives in Salisbury with proposals as to the basis on which a solution of the problem can be reached. As the result of a recent report from the Governor, informal talks between officials have been arranged to examine whether such a basis exists.

"The House will wish to know the sequence of events. I received a report from the Governor last week, at a time when, as it happened, my private secretary, Mr. Oliver Wright, had just left by air for Pretoria to assist H.M. Ambassador in his talks with the South African Government. He was instructed to leave the aircraft at Salisbury for discussions with the Governor before going on to Pretoria.

"As a result of his report to me on his talks with the Governor, he was instructed to return to Salisbury on Friday last, April 22. The Governor then arranged a meeting between Mr. Wright, Mr. Hennings, H.M. Government's representative in Salisbury, and Mr. Smith.

Talks About Talks

"A further talk has been held, leading to agreed arrangements for the informal talks which will now proceed. They are informal, directed only to see whether a basis for negotiation genuinely exists; and they are without commitment on either side.

"In view of the importance of these talks the House will not expect me to say anything more which could in any way make them more difficult. The House will understand why, in view of the highly delicate situation, I could not say anything in last Thursday's debate.

"In the debate due to take place this afternoon at the suggestion of the Opposition, hon. and rt. hon. Members, naturally, will say exactly what they wish to on the Rhodesian question, past, present and future. I have, however, in the new circumstances, asked my own front-bench colleagues to keep their own remarks to the absolute minimum necessary to reply to points raised and to avoid anything which might prejudice the prospects of a settlement acceptable to this House."

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition: "Is the Prime Minister aware that we warmly welcome the announcement that talks are to be opened of an informal character between representatives of H.M. Government and representatives of Mr. Smith and his colleagues, and that these talks are to be devoted, not to the limited question of handing over the *de facto* power, but of finding a solution to the problems of Rhodesia? This, I believe, is a matter which will be warmly

welcomed by the country, and, I hope, all rt. hon. and hon. Members.

"Is the rt. hon. gentleman further aware that it has long been urged from this side of the House that there should be talks without prior commitment between the two sides, and that, therefore, we not only warmly welcome these talks but wish them every success?"

"I suggest to my rt. hon. and hon. friends that, in view of the delicate situation, we should not press the rt. hon. gentleman on specific points now, but leave them to be raised in the debate to follow."

Claim That Oil Embargo Was Decisive

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I thank the rt. hon. gentleman for his opening remarks. It is a fact, of course, that all of us wish to see a solution to this problem, and all the measures that have had to be taken, and which have been a matter of great controversy in this House, were directed to creating a situation in which we could find a solution. That was the purpose of the sanctions introduced by the Government.

"Both the rt. hon. gentleman and I have expressed the view, which he expressed in this House in November, that: 'We recognise that it is an illegal Government and that the Government of this country can have no dealings with it.' As recently as February the rt. hon. gentleman made a very similar statement in an article in *Punch*.

"I hope that he will not press me to say too much about what has been done, and, more particularly, the manner in which it has been done, for we are more concerned about results in the future than about the way these discussions have been brought about.

"But I can say that what is being done reflects the position that the Government have taken up on the question of legality and upon which the rt. hon. Gentleman himself has made a number of important pronouncements in the past.

"One draws the wrong conclusion if one thinks that it has simply been a question, in the past five months, of willingness to have talks, but the House, I am sure, will agree that what have been decisive in this matter have been the oil sanction introduced in December and the action we took recently at Beira with the authority of the United Nations. It is these things which have created the situation in which the talks that all of us have wanted to see could now take place."

Governor Has Played Leading Part

MR. SHINWELL: "Is it not true that the Government have always said that the prerequisite to exchanges between the Government and Mr. Smith should in the first instance be an approach to H.M. Government? Has Mr. Smith made such an approach at any time?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The House will have deduced from the words I used that the Governor has played a very leading part in this situation. Since I am more concerned with getting results for the future than with saying exactly how the approach by, to, or with the Governor arose, I would prefer not to go into detail on this question, except to say that what has happened is in full accord with what everyone wanted to happen. The Governor played a leading part in promoting the meeting on Saturday which led to this situation.

"I make it plain that these are not negotiations. H.M. Government are not negotiating with the illegal régime. These

are informal talks to see whether there is a basis on which proper negotiations could take place. Then, at that stage, one will have to raise all the big issues which were impediments in some of my early statements and in the early statements of the rt. hon. Leader of the Opposition to the idea of direct negotiations".

Liberal Leader's Attitude

MR. GRIMMOND: "Is the Prime Minister aware that everyone will welcome the prospect that fruitful talks may result from these preliminary negotiations? Can he confirm three things: first, that the Commonwealth are in agreement with this course; secondly, that the principles agreed upon by all parties in the House remain in force and must be the basis of any talks; and, thirdly, that the most important point at issue is the safeguarding of our responsibilities towards the black Africans and these will figure largely in any discussions which take place?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "First, my rt. hon. friend has taken steps this morning to inform all those concerned in the Commonwealth with the latest development. It would not have been possible, without endangering what was going on, to have too much prior disclosure. Indeed, it was not until this morning that I had the final confirmation that it would be possible to make a statement of this kind."

Forgive and Forget

"Secondly, with regard to the principles that will be embodied in a final settlement, I said in the House on Thursday that while there was quite a lot which we were prepared to forget and forgive, none of us in the House was prepared to accept a settlement which condoned an illegal act or which failed to satisfy the principles which were laid down by

my predecessor when he was Prime Minister and by the present Government, and which were, as I said on Thursday, accepted by Mr. Smith in the negotiations last summer.

"Those principles include the third point, and I am sure that the House would only regard as an acceptable settlement one which gives effect to those principles".

MR. DRIBERG: "Has there been any reaction yet from the Commonwealth countries which were informed this morning of these talks? At any point during the talks will representatives of the majority of the Rhodesian people be invited to come in?"

Away From Pressure

THE PRIME MINISTER: "As far as I know, there has been no reaction from any Commonwealth country—there has hardly been time for that—although I think that the Commonwealth countries, particularly those which were represented at Lagos, will now recognize, as I said at Lagos, that the economic sanctions work. There was a lot of doubt expressed about that in Lagos at the time and in the past few days in this country. There will be that recognition."

"What I have announced today are only preliminary and very informal talks to see whether a basis exists for negotiations. I would not want to prejudice these talks by saying how the negotiations will be conducted or what kind of machinery might have to be established, perhaps on a bilateral basis between H.M. Government and representatives of Rhodesia, possibly in the very widest sense, or whether other machinery such as some of the things discussed before the illegal declaration last year might have to be incorporated."

"These are matters which we should discuss in the informal talks, which will be conducted, as far as this can be ensured—I think that it can—away from the glare of publicity and from pressures of all kinds".

Independence Stands, Mr. Smith Tells Rhodesians

Rhodesia Aims to Persuade Britain to Recognize *Status Quo*

MR. IAN SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, said on Friday when he opened the Central African Trade Fair in Bulawayo:—

"Prophets of doom and disaster who feared our declaration of independence felt that Rhodesia would quickly succumb to the financial and trade sanctions which would be imposed upon us by our enemies. Instead, since independence we have maintained our favourable foreign trade balances; our Rhodesian pound has not been devalued, as was predicted by our enemies; and our economy is so strong today that even the dismal pessimists have ceased to talk about devaluation. We have maintained the level of resale prices to the public within reasonable proportions—for which I give special credit to those good Rhodesians in finance, commerce, and industry who by their dedication to our cause have helped us to win through so far."

"Over the last few days, as you are aware, there have been some fairly dramatic developments. I will refer to a couple of points for the sake of clarification. Otherwise, I believe that at this particular moment the less said the better; and this applies to both sides."

Rhodesians Have Nothing to Hide

"Whenever people find that before a particular event they have to talk excessively, this is usually an attempt to create a smoke-screen, an attempt to hide something. We Rhodesians have nothing to hide. Therefore we shall save our breath and our strength until we go to the conference table."

"But I would mention two points. First, some people are wondering whether, by stipulating that we would not insist on any preconditions before going to the conference, that means that we would have to give ground. It means nothing of the sort. This simply

means that we maintain the *status quo*. In other words, I do not insist that Mr. Wilson acknowledge our independence, and Mr. Wilson does not insist that I give up our independence."

"It is easier that no side gives ground. After all, if I were to try to insist on acknowledgement of our independence before going to the conference table, this would really be absurd—because we are going to the conference to try to convince the British Government to acknowledge our independence. So I should be asking them to concede beforehand the very thing that I am hoping to convince them to do at the table. If they were prepared to acknowledge our independence before going to the table, of course, there would be no conference."

"The other point worrying some of you is the hope that there will be no loosening on our trade side—that we shall stick to the principles that we have followed from the beginning. This is precisely what we intend to do. In no circumstances will we deviate from our principles or the promise and pledges made."

"If we were the sort of people who would try to deviate from principle, of course we should not be in the position in which we find ourselves today. We should not have taken the action which we did on November 11. But this does not mean that if we adopt this attitude we shall be heading for another *impasse* so far as the conference is concerned."

Ample Room for Maneuvre

"I believe that there is ample room for manoeuvre that will enable both sides to arrive at an agreement that is suitable to both sides without either having to compromise on any of its principles. I believe it should be easier now because of the changed circumstances—because now I believe there is a will to try to solve the problem, where previously I believe it did not exist."

"So let us go forward with confidence and hope. Let us set about our task with good faith and with determination

to succeed, knowing that there is more at stake than simply us and this wonderful country of Rhodesia.

"Rhodesia is today the focal point in the struggle between freedom and Communism; and I think that the record will prove that our victory in the battle of Rhodesia will be just as important a turning-point in the history of this world as was that other victory about a quarter of a century ago, the victory in the Battle of Britain".

Mr. Smith ended with a little story. A little boy had, he said, come to his office two days earlier with a present. In the washing-room he found a self-composed little fellow four years old, who said that he had brought a present which would make the Prime Minister strong, so that he should beat Mr. Wilson. He handed over a very imposing package which was not to be opened until Mr. Smith returned home. Inside were two packets of jungle oats.

Tuesday, April 19.—Sir Humphrey Gibbs sends Mr. Wilson a message which causes him to instruct Mr. Oliver Wright, a private secretary then on his way to South Africa, to leave the aircraft in Salisbury and call on the Governor.

April 20.—After seeing the Governor, Mr. Wright flies to Pretoria.

April 22.—Mr. Wright instructed to fly back to Salisbury for further talks.

April 24.—The Governor, the Prime Minister, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Hennings (in charge of the United Kingdom Mission in Salisbury) meet at Government House.

April 27.—Mr. Wilson informs Commons that exploration talks, without commitment on either side, will be held between officials representing the two Governments.

April 28.—Mr. Smith reverses his decision to end diplomatic relations with Britain, instructing Rhodesia House in London to remain open (instead of closing next day) and informing British Mission in Salisbury that it need not leave by mid-May.

April 29.—Mr. Smith, speaking in Bulawayo, emphasizes that Rhodesian independence will not be surrendered.

Rhodesia Can Take It and Make It

Sir Frederick Crawford, president of the Trade Fair, had introduced the Prime Minister as the personification of the fact that Rhodesia could make it and take it.

Replying to that remark, Mr. Smith said that Rhodesia had proved that she could take both sanctions and independence.

As to making it, during the first three months of this year local industrialists had been provided with foreign currency for at least 50 new investment projects. He never ceased to be amazed at the range of goods which, given the right incentive, could be produced in the country.

Ninety-one new companies, with capital of £1.6m., had been registered in January and February, and building plans passed in those two months had exceeded by £50,000 those for the same two months of 1965.

An interview with Mr. Smith in the current *U.S. News and World Report* quotes the Prime Minister as having said:—

"Sanctions have affected our economy, so that in the short run we shall have to put up with certain shortages; but in the long run these shortages and embarrassments will strengthen our economy".

Asked whether Rhodesians now wanted to cut the ties with the British Crown and set up a republic, Mr. Smith replied: "I doubt whether this has reached any significant proportions, but more people would be willing to do this now than before. The main thing that has happened is that people are not now prepared to buy British goods".

The talks with Britain were for the purpose of seeing whether there was basis for negotiation. "Whether they want to recognize our independence or not is immaterial, because independence is a fact. We have it".

Dishonesty Defeats Unity

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said at a dinner given by his Government in honour of a goodwill mission from Ghana that it had been impossible to achieve unity in Africa because of dishonesty and lack of integrity among African leaders, some of whom had practised subversion and planned bribery and corruption in other African States. Independent African countries must, he emphasized, give Britain a chance to solve the Rhodesian problem by discussion and negotiation.

Allegations at United Nations

Use Force, says Committee of 24

THE ANTI-COLONIAL COMMITTEE of the United Nations, the Committee of Twenty-Four, has called upon the United Kingdom "to take all effective measures, including the use of force, to put an end to the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia".

Asserting that the "explosive" situation in that country "continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security", the committee recommended the Security Council to consider urgently the further measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in order to give effect to its decisions concerning Rhodesia. It also "condemned the failure of certain States, particularly South Africa and Portugal", to implement relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee, and the Security Council in "giving support and assistance to the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia".

A resolution in that sense had the support of 19 States. None opposed it, but five (Australia, Denmark, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States) abstained.

Separate votes had previously been taken on a number of paragraphs.

That which condemned South Africa and Portugal was adopted by 20 votes to none against, with four abstentions (Australia, U.K., U.S.A., Venezuela).

A paragraph calling upon the U.K. "to take all effective measures, including the use of force, to put an end to the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia" was adopted by 16 votes to none against, with eight abstentions (Australia, Chile, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S.A., Uruguay, and Venezuela).

The paragraph 5 alleging that the situation in Rhodesia "continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security" was carried by 18 votes to none against, with five abstentions (Australia, Italy, U.K., U.S.A., and Venezuela). Uruguay did not participate in the vote.

Sponsors of the resolution were Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

Dr. Birley's Recommendations

Staff and Students Not To Be Disciplined

DR. ROBERT BIRLEY, a former headmaster of Eton, who was invited by the Council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to investigate recent disturbances at the college, has recommended that disciplinary action should not be taken against students or lecturers in respect of the incidents on March 16, but that a disciplinary committee should be established, that advice on legal and related problems should be made available to students, that an adviser to students and wardens of halls should be appointed, and that a person experienced in English provincial university work should advise on the improvement of administration.

After three days of consideration the council accepted the findings in general, and announced that Dr. Walter Adams, the principal, had agreed to withdraw his resignation, which had been tendered "as a matter of personal conscience" when he declared that he would not give the police information about an African who had escaped from restriction at Gonakudzinga, made his way to Salisbury, and attended lectures at the university. The council unanimously reaffirmed its confidence in the principal.

In mid-March most of the 200 African students, together with Asians and a handful of white students, had demanded that the college authorities should denounce the Government's declaration of independence and its restriction orders on two African students. When the students boycotted lectures and demonstrated in the campus, more than 30 lecturers absented themselves from their duties on the ground that the entry of the police on the college premises constituted violation of academic freedom.

Dr. Birley's report runs to some 14,000 words. He discussed it for a day with the council and then returned to Johannesburg, where he is Visiting Professor of Education at Witwatersrand University.

German Bid for Large Share of Rhodesia's Trade

Portuguese Middlemen Efficient at Circumventing Sanctions

GERMANY is making a strong bid for the trade with Rhodesia which British houses with old-established connexions have been forced to surrender by order of the British Government.

A financial broker from Hamburg, Herr Joachim Seelmaecker, said in Johannesburg a few days ago that he had recently visited Rhodesia, where there were excellent prospects for German trade, and that he was to be the managing director of a new German-Rhodesian trading group.

He told a special correspondent of the *Daily Express*: "The company, which has heavy backing from Swiss banks, will render all possible help to German industrial concerns wishing to expand business with Rhodesia in spite of present conditions. We have an initial backing of 25m. Deutschmarks (more than £2m.); with plenty more to come.

"The whole Rhodesian situation cries out for business enterprise. We do not see why only the Japanese and the French should take advantage of all the marvellous opportunities which British action has left open to others.

"There is not the slightest question of our trying to touch things like Rhodesian tobacco, sugar and chrome, the export of which is banned by the British Government. Nor are we interested in oil, of which Rhodesia has more than enough. There is a really tremendous market in all sorts of other products which German firms are anxious to fill.

Nothing Fishy

"Everything will be done legally. There will be nothing 'fishy', as you English say. We shall use the best legal brains to ensure that none of our clients infringes the regulations regarding Rhodesia.

"We already have half-a-dozen of the largest German industrial export concerns on our list. Rhodesia has not yet been properly opened up, and later on there could be many interesting possibilities for German concerns.

"We are on a very good thing, because anti-British feeling in Rhodesia is really surprising. Rhodesian men and women now delight in not buying British products. So the outlook for us Germans is favourable.

"The German Foreign Office is not going to like this news. They try not to offend Harold Wilson; but business is business. It is all going to be strictly legal—and profitable".

When Mr. René MacColl asked if Herr Franz Joseph Strauss, a former Defence Minister in Western Germany, who was at that time visiting South Africa and staying in the same hotel, knew about the plans, Mr. Seelmaecker replied: "Of course. We are old friends. He knows all about our plans, and they have his blessing".

Herr Seelmaecker added that he was seeking South African support for his trading project, and would return to Rhodesia in a few days.

Herr Strauss visited Rhodesia a few days ago.

The correspondent in Bonn of the *Daily Telegraph* reported:—

"West Germany is resisting British efforts to persuade her to halt trade with Rhodesia. Despite certain embargoes, notably on the import of tobacco and export of munitions, a sizeable trade continues.

"German industrialists are restive under even these limited embargoes. One said: 'We have been asked to obey another country's political embargo stemming from an Anglo-Rhodesian quarrel. We are against embargoes in principle since they are unlikely to help anyone in Africa, black or white'. Japan was conducting a flourishing trade with Rhodesia, he said, and suggested that even certain British firms were evading the total British embargo by arranging payment through Switzerland.

"The Economics Ministry said that German exports to Rhodesia last year amounted to DM 54.1m. (£4,060,000). The figure for December, 1965, after the arms embargo was imposed, was DM 1.9m. (£171,000). In January it rose to DM 3.7m. (£330,000) and in February fell back to DM 2.5m. (£225,000).

"German imports from Rhodesia last year were worth DM 140.4m. (£12,636,000). Figures for December, January and February were DM 12.4m. (£1,116,000), DM 13m. (£1,170,000), and DM 6.4m. (£576,000) respectively. Tobacco accounted for more than one-third of West Germany's imports from Rhodesia last year".

Lisbon Rendezvous

From Lisbon a *Daily Mail* correspondent had telegraphed a few days earlier that businessmen from all over the world who are engaged in trade with Rhodesia, "among them not a few with pukka English accents", could be met in a leading hotel in the Portuguese capital.

Some highly efficient Portuguese middlemen could, he said, get practically anything in or out of Rhodesia through Mozambique.

"The Rhodesian mission in the Avenida Duque de Palmela attracts some curious visitors. What, for example, is a multi-millionaire American oilman doing for the Rhodesians, with whom he is in such close touch?

"Mr. Reedman and his staff are cock-a-hoop over the deals they have fixed up. But for the information of anyone interested, they regret they have sold out of many of the attractive lines they were offering.

"All deals are done on a strictly cash basis. The Rhodesians need all the foreign exchange they can get to pay for their imports. By all accounts Mr. Smith, back home in Salisbury, is well in funds these days".

Discrimination by Colour

MR. MICHAEL HARTNETT wrote in the *Guardian*:—

"Since U.D.I. some amazing facts have become apparent to the disinterested observer of the political scene.

"(1) It is morally and legally right for any country in Africa to imprison its people, adopt a dictatorship, vanish into bankruptcy, and completely swallow the hand that fed it—providing that this is done under the guidance of an African Government.

"(2) It is illegal and immoral for a country in Africa, whose Government is obviously the only one capable of running the country, and whose members have at least the advantage of living in the country—most of them have been born there—to declare its independence of Britain, when that Government is composed of white people. (It seems that there was nothing either illegal or immoral about Britain taking over the place in the first instance.)

"(3) Although a 20-year-old second-year university student cannot vote here, because he is still legally in infancy, and presumably cannot call on the maturity required in exercising the right of a man to vote—*homo sum et nihil humani a me alienum putō* is fair enough—a Shona or Xhosa sitting in his hut, aged 22, does, it would seem, have the required qualifications.

"Those people who are of the opinion that where the maximum age for the uneducated European in his own environment is 21 years, then for the uneducated African in his own environment it should be about 65, are Fascists, Nazis, Communists, Conservatives, Americans, etc., depending on how strong your views and how coarse your invective".

Professor H. J. Rousseau said in Salisbury last week that he did not agree with Professor Toynebee that the use of force and the rapid education of Africans would solve Rhodesia's problems. In fact, not until the early 1980s would most African nations reach Rhodesia's present stage of African education. Rhodesia had 18% of her African population at school, in college, or university, whereas Ghana had 14%, Sierra Leone 4%, and Ethiopia 0.5%.

Speeches on Rhodesia in House of Commons

Socialist Government Adopts Tory Policy, Says Mr. Maudling

NEWSPAPERS between the British and Rhodesian Governments was given to the House of Commons just before it was due to debate the Rhodesian situation.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, the Opposition spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, welcomed the change in Government policy. It was most certainly a change, and one for which his party had pressed, for the Government's course would have been disastrous for all Africa and for Britain. Talk was the only alternative to war.

"Thank Heaven this chance has been taken. It was with this in mind that we refrained from putting down an amendment to the Address. We did not want to do anything which would make the Government's situation more rigid when flexibility, change, and a willingness to take a new initiative were all-important.

"H.M. Government have been pursuing policies leading down an increasingly dangerous path. The dangers facing this country now, especially after the United Nations resolution and the invoking of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, are very considerable. People in London and in Salisbury must understand that this is the last chance. Unless they agree a tragedy will befall.

Sanctions Only Half a Policy

"Sanctions alone are not a policy; they are half a policy. Sanctions merely designed to lead to the crushing of Rhodesia make no sense in the context of history. The developments since the unilateral declaration of independence—and the menace is now surely apparent to all men of sense in Africa, Britain, and elsewhere—should have created a situation in which people were prepared to talk without commitment; to talk with the sole objective of reaching a solution in the true interests of Britain and of all the peoples of Rhodesia.

"We thought U.D.I. an act of great unwisdom, and which would bring serious consequences for Rhodesia, Africa, Britain, and the Commonwealth. That assessment has been borne out by events. On the other hand, we have been concerned at the way in which the Government have appeared to be pushed further and further along a road that leads inevitably to the employment of force.

"In November the first measures, removal from the sterling area, the stopping of tobacco and sugar imports, were said to be enough. But in December a wider embargo and the oil embargo were introduced. In January there were further measures. The Government misjudged the effects of those economic actions. In January these measures were to bring what they called the 'rebellion' to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months. This expectation has been falsified.

"It is against this background of the falsification of the Government's beliefs that we should examine what the Government have done in invoking Chapter VII and asking authority for the use of force against ships trying to run oil into Rhodesia.

"There was a change of policy in deciding to take an initiative in the United Nations under Chapter VII. That action was not consistent with what the Prime Minister said on December 21 either about blockading Beira or about the British Government not intending to take an initiative. The Government changed their mind. I do not understand why they do not say so. It is perfectly proper for Governments to change their mind if they think that the national interest demands it, but when they have changed their mind they should make clear that they have done so and give the reasons.

"We do not accept that the reasons put forward for invoking Chapter VII of the Charter are convincing. We do not accept that the limits of diplomacy had been exhausted. Nor do we accept that by moving a resolution in the Security Council the Government prevented unfortunate initiatives being taken there. They opened the door to precisely those initiatives.

"This action has led to doubt about determination to treat this as a British problem. It must be made absolutely clear

that this is a British problem. The action in the United Nations was an encouragement to those who believe in the use of force. Many countries believe quite genuinely that force is the right solution. This both sides of the House have consistently and totally rejected.

"I ask the Government's spokesman this afternoon to make quite clear that not only do the Government themselves totally reject the use of force in any circumstances to impose a solution to the problem of Rhodesia, but that they are also totally opposed to the use of force by anyone whatsoever. Rhodesia remains part of Her Majesty's domains, and I trust it will always be treated as such in negotiations and action taken by a British Government.

"The other danger arises from the possible spread of mandatory sanctions to the whole of Southern Africa. The consequences of this upon our relations and trade with South Africa could be very serious.

No Threat to Peace of Rhodesia

"Another thing which troubles us is that there is no limit to the precedent of declaring this situation to be a threat to peace. There is no threat to peace whatever from Southern Rhodesia, no danger whatever of the people of Southern Rhodesia creating a threat to peace. Other people say that so offensive to them is this régime that fighting may break out; but it is a very new concept that nations can say that because they so dislike what is going on in another country they will declare that there is a threat to peace although it comes from themselves.

"I think that there are grave doubts about what may follow from the Security Council purporting to authorize actions which are illegal in international law.

"We must also recognize the loss of future goodwill and trade in Southern Rhodesia, which can be very serious. While our people are not trading plenty of other people are taking their place. That is part of the cost which Britain is bearing. We must not let the other people have it both ways. If we bear the burden on the balance of payments they must recognize that because we bear that burden it is our problem, which we intend to solve.

"The Prime Minister said that sanctions, to be meaningful, must be effective. But to be meaningful they must lead to a clear objective. We accept sanctions if they are designed to create a situation in which talks can take place, but never if they are designed to beat Rhodesia down into acceptance of unconditional surrender. That was clearly the attitude put forward in the Government statement this afternoon.

"In the Prime Minister's statement of January 25 the use of sanctions was designed not to start talks going with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, but to get them to abandon U.D.I. as a prerequisite to any discussions at all. We are all gratified to think that talks are now to start on a basis of no conditions on either side. That it is an acceptance of our attitude for many weeks.

Rhodesians Think They Are Right

"If sanctions failed, as I think they probably would over a period, the growing pressure of the U.N. and growing difficulties of the temptation and urge to use force would become very serious. If they brought economic chaos—because people like the Rhodesians do not give in easily when they think they are right; and they think they are right—all would suffer.

"We do not care what form the talks take so long as they take place as soon as possible without conditions, with the willingness to try to reach agreement properly understood and accepted on both sides. Meantime can there be a truce in the verbal war between Salisbury and London?

"We must disabuse people in Rhodesia of the belief that what the British Government are aiming at is immediate one-man-one-vote majority rule. The objective must be uninterrupted progress towards majority rule. It is what Mr. Smith has accepted. It is inherent in the 1961 Constitution. But this progress must be based on a capacity to rule responsibly. There is need for time to make the transition, for efforts, particularly in education and training, to make the time of transition as short as it can practically be made. On the other hand, people seek an assurance, I believe justifiably, that there will be no imposition of immediate majority rule.

"Our object on both sides of the House is to achieve the independence of Rhodesia in acceptable conditions. Anyone who has had, as I had for a short time, responsibility for the Colonial Office knows how difficult it is to write into a Constitution safeguards for minorities, safeguards indeed for

majorities, that cannot be overruled by the action of those who hold power. One sees what happens so often in many countries where we tried desperately as a British Government to secure the Constitution so that it could not be overthrown. One has seen time and time again how in practice this cannot be done.

"We have a new and unique problem in this case. In Rhodesia we must finally solve the problem of how these guarantees can be given in an independent country.

"This situation has the two great elements of tragedy. There is a conflict, not so much of right and wrong as of right and right—two parties sincerely believing that they are right. Secondly, it is moving inexorably down the road step by step to catastrophe. All this we hope can now be resolved.

"I visited Salisbury once as Colonial Secretary. I had been in Kenya and Zambia. The problems there were difficult, but the problems of Southern Rhodesia were the most difficult of all for Britain. Perhaps that is why they were our last problems: they were the hardest of all to solve. I could see clearly on my first visit that here in this lovely country, built up by people in a relatively short time, might well lie Britain's Algeria. This thought has haunted all of us who have been concerned with this problem for so long.

Mr. Bottomley's Speech

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said in the course of a long speech:—

"I intend to speak with equal restraint, because we are dealing with an extraordinarily tense and complex situation. Words spoken in heat in this Chamber very often are carried throughout Africa, where they are given the wrong emphasis and perhaps undue significance.

"Our policy must be to secure a return to constitutional rule and to avoid a disastrous conflagration or a collapse of authority or the economy in Central Africa. Our policies are directed towards a solution which would be compatible with the standards and principles on which we wish to see a democratic society develop in Rhodesia.

"During the hopeful meetings which the Lord Chancellor and I had with Mr. Smith in Salisbury in February, we believed then that we had found a basis on which we could negotiate a solution satisfying the aspirations and fundamental rights of all races in Rhodesia. This approach was subsequently expressed in the terms of the five principles.

"I believe that Mr. Smith reported to his colleagues, that they considered he had gone too far, that there was a split in the Rhodesian Cabinet, and that it was decided to take the differing opinions to the party caucus. At the caucus meeting these differences could not be settled, and it was then resolved to have a general election. I think that in going for this general election the Prime Minister hoped to win more liberal support for his views and the rather more extreme members of the Administration hoped to push Mr. Smith to more reactionary policies.

"Mr. Smith won the election handsomely. I was hopeful that a realistic policy would then be followed. A leading Minister, a supporter of the reactionary element in the Rhodesian Government, was dismissed and sent as the Rhodesian representative in South Africa. A leading liberal supporter, who had left the earlier Government with the then Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, was brought back in to the Cabinet. In the event my hopes were not fulfilled.

U.D.I. Was Inevitable

"In retrospect, it is clear to me that I.D.I. was virtually inevitable. The almost complete elimination of moderate European opinion from the Rhodesian Parliament at that election created political pressures for the seizure of independence which proved irresistible.

"The House will recall the sincere and strenuous efforts made by the Prime Minister during his visit to Salisbury last October. The Attorney-General and I stayed on for a further day or two in a final effort to bridge the gap. We have had plenty of evidence since then that the Rhodesian Government of the day had in fact decided upon I.D.I.—[Hon. Members: 'U.D.I.']—and it was only the Prime Minister's visit which delayed I.D.I."

SIR GERALD NABARRO "U.D.I."

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "No, not U.D.I., not 'unilateral'. It is an illegal declaration of independence, that is why I say 'I.D.I.'. The Prime Minister's visit did hold up I.D.I., but it was virtually inevitable from then onwards. The almost complete elimination of moderate European opinion created political pressures which led to this pressure for illegal independence.

"The Rhodesian Government wanted power to stop African advancement. They wanted the power to reside in the hands

of the Europeans for as long as they could see, so that they could control the destiny of the country. I do not think any responsible opinion could support that.

"In the same way, no responsible opinion would demand the imposition of majority rule in Rhodesia without adequate preparation. Mr. Smith misjudged our position on this point. Although he made it clear continually to him, I think he thought that he could get away with it without the consequences that inevitably developed not only in Britain but in the world as a whole. I think he and his colleagues convinced themselves that there was no room for compromise with the evolution of a democratic society.

"They abandoned, temporarily I hope, the political philosophy which has always distinguished the Rhodesian approach to their problems from that of South Africa. I believe this philosophy is more deeply ingrained in Rhodesian thinking than they may realize. Those who would pull Rhodesia towards a racial solution to their problems may yet be confounded.

"We went to the very limit of what we could reasonably commend to Parliament as a fair and just solution. No one can justly accuse us of not trying our utmost to settle this matter by peaceful negotiation. The Rhodesians broke off the negotiations when they could have led to a solution.

"This act was a revolt against the Queen and a rejection of the authority of this Parliament. This was the situation which faced us on November 11. We could not accept this illegal action. Both sides of the House agreed that the rebellion must be brought to an end and a way be found to induce the Rhodesians to return to the conference table. Many urged us to use military force to bring the rebellion to an end.

"We rejected force. We wanted to avoid bloodshed, chaos, and the consequences which could follow from the use of force. We chose sanctions, a more lengthy but bloodless method. It is not true that we over-estimated their effectiveness. The length of time depended on the stocks which the Rhodesians built up in preparation for I.D.I., that build-up having been done with great secrecy. It depended also on how quickly we could shut off Rhodesia's sources of supply. It was bound to take time. For instance, we had to organise the air-lift to Zambia and persuade many countries to take the necessary steps. But we knew that in the end sanctions would prove effective. The full impact has by no means yet been exhausted.

C.R.O. Estimate of Situation

"The régime are undoubtedly in difficulty as regards the import of oil, credit, the sale of the tobacco crop, unemployment, and the general run-down of business and commercial activity. An economy based on the necessity of buying at a premium and selling at a loss is a poor risk. Their credit problems are likely to increase, and, as the extent of their failure to dispose of the tobacco crop at a reasonable price becomes apparent, they are bound to find themselves in most serious financial difficulty. Unemployment cannot be disguised by expedients for ever."

MR. PATRICK WALL: "Optimist!"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The migration of workers, man-power orders, and National Service tend to obscure the full extent of this problem. It cannot be contained for long, and as the weeks pass Rhodesia will run deeper and deeper into financial and economic crisis.

"Since November 11 many channels of communication have been open to Salisbury. Many Rhodesians, some of them prominent, have visited this country, and many have produced ideas on which a settlement might be based. Many hon. Members and business men have gone from this country to Rhodesia and have reported to me on their return what they discovered about the prospects of negotiations.

"In addition, the Governor was in constant touch with the thinking of Mr. Smith and his followers. We should pay a further tribute to the part which he has played and is playing. He has remained at his post as the representative of the Crown and a symbol of loyalty. More than that, as a distinguished Rhodesian himself, he stands for the interests and future of the Rhodesia in which he firmly believes. His robust and honourable advocacy of Rhodesian interests has been the cause of encouragement and enlightenment to us all. We know the Governor's views and he knows ours. (Laughter).

"All these contacts with Salisbury have shown until recently that the régime was prepared to negotiate only on the precondition that they retained illegal independence. The Prime Minister made it clear on April 21 that we could not legalize an act of rebellion against the Crown. We could not embark on negotiations which would have conceded all that we have worked for over the last two or three years.

"A new phase may now have opened. We have remained throughout entirely flexible and reasonable. We have always been willing to listen to any proposition which held out any opportunity of fruitful and meaningful discussions. At the same time we have remained inflexibly resolved to stick to our chosen course of sanctions rather than the use of force, and

(Continued on page 641)

President Obote's Charges Against the Kabaka

Parliament told of "Treason" and Plots to Kill Ministers

DR. OBOTE, in a long speech in the National Assembly before he was sworn in as President of Uganda, spoke of "treason", of the likelihood that he and other public men would have been killed if he had not acted as he had done, of orders given to the Uganda Army without the Defence Minister's knowledge, and of invitations for foreign troops to be sent to Uganda without the knowledge of the Prime Minister or of the Defence, Foreign, or Home Ministers.

Sir Edward Mutesa, the then President, who is also Kabaka of Buganda, had, he emphasized, no constitutional authority whatsoever to make such requests. "He was plotting against the Government".

A Ministry of Information report of the speech states, *inter alia*—

"The former President, Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa, acted unconstitutionally in making a request in complete secrecy without the knowledge of the Government for outside military assistance. It was because of this and the events that followed that he took the most difficult decision to suspend the Constitution.

"Immediately after the meeting of Parliament on February 4 many things happened, and but for God's mercy and the bounty of the Creator, the country could have been plunged into bloodshed. Unfortunately, I had not been present in Parliament that day. Innocent citizens would have suffered merely because an ambitious man who was brought into this House through friendship wanted to turn the whole country into a domain of one man.

"The President did not hesitate to summon some ambassadors accredited to this country and make formal requests to them for military assistance—without notifying the Foreign Office, me, or any other Minister.

"Former President Plotted Against Government"

"Let the country not be deceived by the statement that there were 'precautionary' requests. Since when did Sir Edward become executive? Why did he not tell the Government? Whom did he want to fight? He had no constitutional authority whatsoever. Perhaps he personally wanted to wage war against Uganda, and probably call himself Commander-in-Chief of Uganda.

"I am convinced that the former President was plotting against the Government of Uganda. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was not told anything. Nor was the Minister for Internal Affairs. The Ministers responsible in such matters were not informed of these deadly, unconstitutional and dangerous 'precautionary' requests. Nor was the Prime Minister's Office or the Defence Ministry. Yet apparently foreign Governments were expected by the Makindye group to send troops and arms to Uganda.

"The President's private secretary said on March 4 that one reason for the requests was that some army officers had been placed under arrest. This was absolutely untrue. Only one officer was under arrest—open arrest—and he had been under arrest since October. The only thing that happened to officers in January and February was that 24 were promoted.

"The second reason given by the private secretary was that 70 youths were being trained in the Mbale forests to overthrow the Government and Constitution. If so, why not use the police or the army? Why go to a foreign Government for troops to fight 70 wretched youths in some unknown forest?—and in the Parliamentary debate only one man had said that 70 youths were being so trained. Probably the idea was to promote hot war between Uganda's forces and foreign troops.

"The man who brought up the matter in Parliament was staying at Makindye Lodge as a State guest at the time, and

was probably official adviser at that time to the President. It might turn out that it was because of a bit of advice that the President succumbed and ran away from his own troops and called for foreign troops.

"From February 4 to 12 Uganda witnessed the darkest days since independence. In the February 4 debate only one member of Kabaka Yekka spoke. Indeed, the seconder of the motion said that he did not know what the mover would say. A second group, those who do tough things at night, probably knew what was to follow the motion. We shall talk about this group, but not today.

"Some on my side of the House felt that they had sat on the benches too long, thought since I was away near the Sudan border that it was an opportunity for them to move to the front bench. Some even thanked the mover of the motion.

Attempts to Turn Uganda into Feudal State

"In the February 4 debate the country was deliberately not told the truth. I say from my own personal experience that this was another attempt at one-man rule. There are people in this country who have refused to be constitutional since 1965. They always want more. This is one of them—if not the leader. This was not the first time that attempt had been made in Government to turn the whole of Uganda into a feudal State.

"Continuous attempts had been made to merge the offices of President and Kabaka. I resisted this. In November, the President wanted the Uganda Army band to play at his birthday celebrations at his palace in Mengo. I replied that it would be inappropriate as it would create a precedent for other rulers. The President was told that to provide a band was the responsibility of the Kabaka's Government, that Mengo Palace was not the President's residence, and that on that occasion he would be filling the office of Kabaka, not of President.

"I am very clear that the idea was not only to remove the Government, but that some of us, particularly myself, should not live. The idea was that someone should take my place, someone amenable to such requests, who would give Mengo the police posts they lost in court, the finance they lost in Privy Council, and what used to be the 'lost counties'. This was the background in the mind of the gentleman who brought the motion in Parliament on February 4.

"It was felt that immediate steps should be taken to get rid of Obote, who was stopping one man ever becoming feudal lord of Uganda. After adjournment of the House on February 4 meetings were held at Makindye and places around Kampala to consider how best the Government could be toppled. A Government lawyer was summoned from an up-country station to give advice as to how best Government could be toppled. He was summoned by the President. I should not have minded if the plotters had used political tactics alone, but immediately they began to interfere with the armed forces I became concerned. "It was because of that interference that my colleagues and I decided to act to save the country from chaos and bloodshed.

Troop Movements Countermanded

"I returned to Entebbe on February 12 and sent two notes to the President. Colonel Amin was suspended and sent on 10 days' leave. I heard nothing from the President about 'precautionary' requests. The whole thing was hidden from me until I came on it by accident.

"The foreign troops did not arrive. If any country is interested in sending troops to this country it should send them to Rhodesia instead.

"On returning on February 19 from Nairobi I learned that without the knowledge of the Minister of Defence arrangements had been made for the 1st Battalion of the Uganda Army to go for training in Bunyoro for two weeks, for the 3rd Bn. to go for training for two weeks and three days in Bunyoro, and for the 4th Bn. to go for two weeks training in South Ankole. I summoned the Defence Minister and arranged for the training arrangements to be cancelled immediately.

"I had the news of the arrangements about midnight on February 19. The troops were to begin moving on February 21. That day a senior police officer reported to the President, who asked whether he knew what was to happen on February 22. He did not, and the President said 'Don't worry; it is one of these Kampala rumours'. In Entebbe I was told that February 22, when only a small section of troops would be left behind, was the day on which 'it' was to happen. So I decided to act. Had I not done so perhaps we should have gone into greater chaos. No one could say that any of us would have been alive today.

"When the Buganda Lukiiko passed its resolution refusing to accept suspension of the Constitution, its members were not in possession of the facts.

"It is simply not possible to do what Sir Edward wants—restore the Constitution and restore the President. At this moment the Constitution of October 1962 is abrogated. That sentence means that we are not Members of Parliament. We sit here as citizens of Uganda. The citizens of Uganda sitting on the benches before and behind me must say this afternoon whether they want a Constitution or not."

Provisions of New Constitution

Dr. Obote then proposed the adoption of the new Constitution (copies of which had been distributed to M.P.s), valid until a Constituent Assembly established by Parliament enacts another in its place.

The new document, he said, did not "bother with the entrenched positions of individuals". It treated Uganda as one united country.

Whereas the old document provided that the Parliament of Uganda could never be supreme, but must bow to some other assembly, the new Constitution would make the Uganda Government supreme. Though Parliament would give powers to the regions, it would reserve the right to revoke those powers whenever necessary in the public interest. M.P.s must preserve in Parliament the supreme power of the State, powers which must not be diluted for local considerations.

"All citizens must give their best to Uganda as a whole. We must agree to be one nation. We shall never build one nation if at the same time we try to build tribes.

"In the old document there was talk about districts and federal States. The new Constitution states that Uganda should consist of kingdoms, districts, and the territory of Mbale. In other words, no more federation in Uganda. One Government, one Parliament, one people, one Uganda!

"There will be no more seats in rukurutas, lukikos, or district councils for chiefs or nominees of rulers. This means that Buganda county chiefs will be out of the Buganda Lukiiko. The idea is to democratize the regional assemblies.

Drastic Changes in Buganda

"In Buganda the party winning the Lukiiko elections will produce the Katikiro, who will then form his Government. This will wipe out the previous provision for the Lukiiko to nominate 13 or more people from whom Ministers would be chosen. It is also proposed that Ministers in regional governments will have no benefits other than their salaries; benefits from land and markets will go to the regional Treasury for the people.

"We are not proposing that Parliament should be concerned with the rulers or matters of regency in the kingdoms. These matters will be left wholly to the regional assembly.

"We propose to have one Uganda High Court. Any constitutional cases will go as far as the Uganda High Court. Criminal and civil case appeals will go only up to the East African Court of Appeal.

"The Parliament of Uganda must control not only the funds of the central Government but those of kingdom governments, regional administrations, and district administrations. The Uganda Public Service Commission will also cover kingdom and district appointments.

"The new document proposes that Buganda's members of the National Assembly shall be directly elected by the voters, not by the Lukiiko."

The new Constitution was adopted by 55 votes to four.

Dr. Obote then took an oath of allegiance to the new Constitution, and was sworn in as President of Uganda.

After the Buganda Lukiiko resolved on the following day to reject the new Constitution, an Uganda Government spokesman said that it already had the force of law, that those who did not abide by it would be acting illegally and treated accordingly, and that the new document did not provide for any regional assembly to be started.

Chiefs to Surrender Land

Because chiefs and ministers at Mengo could not be paid money salaries at the time of the Buganda Agreement of 1900, it was then decided that a chief should be given public land for his services to the administration. Chiefs and ministers now received very large salaries as well as profits and benefits from land. Because they were paid by the public, they must now surrender the land to the people of Buganda.

The 1900 Agreement had reserved certain offices for members of particular religious denominations. By the new Constitution no position might be reserved for any person

on grounds of religion. The leader of the party winning an election must be the Katikiro whatever his religion.

The new Constitution also provided that no one applying for a job in Buganda might in future be required to pay anything to those who were authorized to make the appointment.

Not An African Government

Whereas DR. OBOTE gave no indication of the identity of the Government to which a "precautionary" request for troops was made by Sir Edward Mutesa, the then President, Mr. Godfrey Binaisa, Attorney-General of Uganda, told journalists in London last week that "the foreign Government involved was not African", and that there was no intention of establishing a one-party State.

There have been rumours in Uganda and Kenya that a request for troops was sent to President Kenyatta. Mr. Binaisa's statement suggests that such rumours were without foundation or that approaches were made to more than one State, one being non-African.

Portugal's Challenge

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL of the United Nations has been asked by Portugal for a legal ruling on the validity of the Security Council resolution which authorized Britain to use force to prevent oil being sent to Rhodesia through Beira.

New Nickel Mine

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION has bought an 85% interest in the Trojan nickel mine at Bindura, Rhodesia, and will spend more than £4m. to establish a new mine and recovery plant. About 350,000 tons of ore are expected to be mined in the first two years, and the annual production thereafter is estimated at 600,000 tons. When the mine is fully operational exports should bring Rhodesia about £2,200,000 a year in foreign exchange. The mine will provide employment for about 25 Europeans and 500 Africans from next month.

President Nyerere's Warning

PRESIDENT NYERERE has given warning that the that the Government of Tanzania will name rumour-manufacturing squads in Dar es Salaam whose members are diverting public attention from development to fear. They had, he said, even circulated stories that he had had the First Vice-President, the Minister for Home Affairs, and the Army Commander arrested, that Mr. Kambona had resigned, and that there had been two attempted coups by the Army. The President also said that he would appoint a commission to inquire into the activities of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers. Sheikh Karume, the First Vice-President, expressed his conviction that nothing could stop an eventual East African Federation.

Kenya's hockey team was beaten by one goal to nil by Great Britain in Amsterdam on Friday. A week earlier Kenya had won against Britain at Hurlingham by the same margin.

Twenty-five British officers, past and still serving, have been invited to attend this week's celebrations in Ethiopia on the 25th anniversary of the return of the Emperor to his capital after five years in exile during the Italian occupation.

By an amnesty in Tanzania on the second anniversary of the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar 24 men condemned to be hanged had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for 15 years, about 5,000 had remissions of various terms, and 5,200 short-term prisoners were released immediately.

The strike at the Nchanga mine of about 500 workers in consequence of the dismissal of a driver who was said to have struck a European superior ended last week. A Minister had said three days earlier that trouble-makers on the Copperbelt were "connected with enemies outside the republic". He offered protection to Africans who wanted to defy the pickets and return to work.

Infiltrators from Zambia

Seven Killed near Sinoia

SEVEN AFRICAN TERRORISTS were killed on Friday by Rhodesian security forces near Sinoia. They and others who were captured had crossed the Zambezi from Zambia a week earlier. Substantial quantities of Chinese weapons and Russian grenades were captured.

The terrorists claimed to be members of the Zimbabwe African National Union, a proscribed organization which had been led by Rev. N. Sithole. Some said they had had guerilla, sabotage, and political training in Communist China, and that before leaving Zambia they had been briefed by Mr. Herbert Chitepo and other Z.A.N.U. leaders in Lusaka.

Mr. Chitepo, the first Rhodesian African to become a barrister, was until recently Public Prosecutor for the Government of Tanzania.

Claims by the Dar es Salaam office of Z.A.N.U. that 25 white police and troops had been killed and 30 wounded in the Sinoia action and that two R.R.A.F. helicopters had been shot down were promptly denied in Rhodesia, whose security forces suffered no loss of any kind.

Spokesmen for Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. said in Lusaka that infiltration into Rhodesia by "freedom fighters" was only just beginning, and would be rapidly developed.

In Broken Hill, Zambia, a Rhodesian African was sentenced to a year's imprisonment after being found in possession of six Chinese rifles and about 200 grenades and 200 detonators. He said in evidence that he was taking the weapons to Rhodesia for use in acts of sabotage.

In the House of Commons Mr. Reginald Paget called for an emergency debate on the Sinoia incident on the grounds that African terrorists from Zambia constituted a real threat to the peace of Rhodesia. The request was refused by the Speaker on the ground that all the facts were not available and the administrative responsibility not clear.

Mr. Paget had suggested that the "Rhodesians may have to cross the Zambezi to protect their frontier".

British High Commission Attacked

Dr. Kaunda Denounces Talks with Rhodesia

PRESIDENT KAUNDA denounced the arrangements for talks between the British and Rhodesian Government after he had seen Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who had flown from London to Lusaka with a letter from the Prime Minister and to explain to Dr. Kaunda what had happened at recent discussions in London and elsewhere.

After seeing the Special Representative of H.M. Government in East and Central Africa, President Kaunda said: "I very strongly disapprove of the latest move by the British Government. It is entirely uncalled for, and out of keeping with the thinking one would like to attribute to a Labour Party Government in Britain". Zambia would take its own initiative, but not give details until all Ministers were back in the capital within about a week. Three were then overseas and most of the others were on tour in different parts of the country.

The President's relations with Mr. MacDonald are usually easy. On Saturday, however, he refused to be photographed with the British envoy. Two days earlier, after he had said that he had written to Mr. Wilson, he was asked if Mr. MacDonald would arrive shortly. He replied: "I have been waiting for him for three weeks".

Union Jack Torn Down and Trampled

Mr. MacDonald and the British High Commissioner, Sir Leslie Monson, had just left the High Commission building when it was attacked by a large mob, composed largely of students, who threw bricks through the windows and beat up a white policeman in plain clothes. Some of the mob entered the premises. The Union Jack was torn down and trampled in the dust.

According to one report, riot police did not arrive for 30 minutes after the start of the disturbance. Then they used

tear-gas, forced the demonstrators to sit down, and took away 88 of them, all but one of whom was released but ordered to appear before a magistrate on Monday. The one student detained was said to be a European girl.

Among the placards carried by the students were: "Kill Smith, Not Innocent Africans", "Britain Must Act", and "Zimbabwe Shall Be Free".

President Kaunda had meantime flown to the Copperbelt. In Nchanga he said that he had given Britain seven days in which to move on the Rhodesian issue before making clear the position of Zambia.

In Chingola a little later he said that he prayed that African nationalists would continue to sacrifice their lives in Rhodesia, since their lives were all that they had to give. The reference was to seven terrorists from Zambia who had been shot by the Rhodesian Police in an action near Sinoia.

"We have the right to know when the British are going to use force", said President Kaunda. "Will they wait until thousands are killed? Before the British would talk to Makarios they sent him to a little island. Before they would talk to Kenyatta they put him in prison. Before they would talk to me they put me in detention. Why not Smith? Is it because he is white?"

He asked the crowd to observe a minute's silence in memory of the seven dead men, saying: "I am waiting for the British lion to bite".

On Tuesday, of last week police had stopped a lorry from Tanzania which was found to contain rifles and 200 grenades. One man gave his address as the Z.A.N.U. office in Lusaka.

A Zimbabwe African People's Union statement issued in Lusaka described Mr. Wilson's announcement in the House of Commons as a disgraceful contradiction of his previous assurances that negotiations would not take place with the illegal régime.

Mr. John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, accused Mr. Wilson of "shamefully betraying" the democratic rights of Rhodesians, particularly the African majority. Instead of giving in to Mr. Smith and the pressure of the Tory Party he should have taken all necessary measures to remove the rebel régime.

"Christian" Advocacy of Force

The general council of the Student Christian Movement has adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the present level of voluntary sanctions against Rhodesia approved by the United Nations will not succeed in causing a return to constitutional government and the achievement of majority rule, and suggesting that a series of actions by stages against the Smith régime should be undertaken. The resolution reads:—

"Believing the action taken should never be greater than is necessary for the purpose, we nevertheless feel that, in the event of failure of any one stage, progress to the next is inevitable unless Britain is to abdicate her responsibilities to the people of Rhodesia. The stages are as follows:—

"(1) There should be mandatory sanctions against the supply of oil to Rhodesia—South Africa and the Portuguese territories being forced to make a clear decision as to whether to support the U.N.

"(2) If either country refuses to support mandatory sanctions, the next action should be an oil blockade of appropriate ports.

"(3) If this fails, then a total trade embargo against Rhodesia should be made mandatory.

"(4) If this fails, a total trade embargo against appropriate countries should be applied.

"(5) If this fails, then direct military intervention by Britain in Rhodesia under U.N. authority becomes inevitable. If there is a breakdown of law and order in Rhodesia, or a real threat of guerilla infiltration into Rhodesia, we recognise that direct military action will have to take place immediately".

Trade with East and Central Africa

MR. A. H. SMITH, chairman of the Committee for Exports to Africa of the British National Export Council (and also chairman of the United Africa Company), has announced that B.N.E.C. will at the end of this month send a selling mission of 14 members to Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Malawi to explore the prospects of increased trade in made-up clothing. It will consist of senior representatives of a number of companies, large and small, together covering a wide variety of goods. Mr. T. P. Randle, a director of Corah, Ltd., will lead the party.

PERSONALIA

THE OMUKAMA OF BUNYORO has just celebrated the 42nd anniversary of his accession.

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER will be in London during the latter part of May.

MR. BOMBOKO, Foreign Minister of the Congo, has visited Lusaka.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HUME has been installed as Chancellor of Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh.

LORD HOBSON, formerly MR. CHARLES HOBSON, M.P., £11,812, on which duty of £709 has been paid.

LORD BOYD OF MERTON has been elected a director of Tate & Lyle, Ltd.

DR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, has paid a four-day State visit to Israel.

VICE-PRESIDENT TOLBERT of Liberia has paid a private visit to Tanzania.

LORD RENWICK is chairman of ATV Network, Ltd., a new subsidiary of Associated Television, Ltd.

MR. S. KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister of Zambia, has passed through London on his way to Canada.

MR. M. S. MOODY STUART has retired from the board of Hencell-Du Buisson & Co., Ltd.

SIR KEITH HAMCOCK has been elected to an honorary fellowship of Balliol College, Oxford.

MR. ANGUS OGILVY has joined the board of Wheelock Marden, Ltd.

LORD BALFOUR OF INCHRYE has resigned the chairmanship of B.E.A. Helicopters Ltd., but remains on the board.

MR. ROBERT K. A. GARDINER, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, is to receive the LL.D. of Bristol University on May 19.

SIR WILLIAM GORELL BARNES has joined the board of Doulton & Co., Ltd. He is a director of the Royal Insurance Society and Limmer and Trinidad Co. Ltd.

THE REV. H. M. KITCHEN, chaplain at Tororo, Uganda, has been appointed Rector of Burythorpe with Acklam, Leavening and Weston, Malton, Yorkshire.

MR. BABU, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanzania, is leading a 10-member delegation to an F.A.O. meeting in Rome.

SIR DAVID EDWARDS, who from 1947 to 1952 was Chief Justice of Uganda, left estate in Britain of £55,255.

ANGLO-RHODESIAN SOCIETY

The Society had arranged to hold a mass meeting in the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, May 12, to press for immediate negotiations with the Rhodesian Government and to oppose any use of force against Rhodesia. In view of the statement by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on Wednesday, April 27, that talks were to be commenced with the Government of Rhodesia, the Council of the Society has decided to postpone this meeting.

T. P. Lawler, *Secretary*
Anglo-Rhodesian Society
Calder House
1 Dover Street
London, W.1

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Special Representative of H.M. Government in East and Central Africa, flew back to Nairobi last Thursday from consultations in London.

SIR ALFRED CHESTER BEATTY, now aged 91, has decided to sell his villa at Beausoleil, above Monte Carlo. His fortune was made as a pioneer of the copper industry of what is now Zambia.

MR. G. BROWN, Canadian Ambassador in the Congo, has now also diplomatic responsibility for Zambia, which he lately visited in order to present his credentials to PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

MR. F. J. TEMPEL, a vice-chairman of Unilever, Ltd., and chairman of Unilever N.V., has retired. His successor is MR. H. S. A. HARTOG, a director of Unilever since 1948.

MR. ABDIRIZAG HAJI HUSAYN, Prime Minister of Somalia, is visiting Western Germany, accompanied by two members of his Cabinet. They will attend the third Africa-German Week in Bonn.

A Commonwealth Law Conference in London is being attended by MR. G. L. BINAISA (Uganda), DR. K. K. KONOSO (Zambia), and MR. CHARLES NJONJO (Kenya).

DR. L. K. H. GOMA, Professor of Zoology at the University of Zambia, has been appointed Pro-Vice-Chancellor. He is a South African B.Sc., a Cambridge M.A., and a Ph.D. of London University.

DR. MALCOLM COE, of the biology department of University College, Nairobi, said last week that recent droughts and then floods had reduced the number of animals in Nairobi National Park from about 13,000 in normal periods to about 5,000.

MAJOR JAMES STURGEON has arrived in England on retirement from the East African Common Services Organization, of which he has been chief technical officer for the past six years. His successor is MR. M. P. OFWONA.

DR. ALASTAIR HERON, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Zambia, and DR. CYRIL ROGERS, Professor and Dean of Education, have been appointed members of the Provisional Council of the University.

MRS. KAPELWA ŠIKOTA, the first Zambian African to qualify as a State registered nurse and a State certified midwife, obtaining both qualifications in South Africa in 1952, has been appointed assistant matron-in-chief to the Ministry of Health in Zambia.

THE QUEEN has approved the appointment as Ambassador in Copenhagen of MR. OLIVER WRIGHT, one of the Prime Minister's private secretaries, who has recently visited Rhodesia to prepare the way for talks between the two Governments.

THE MOST REV. ERICA SABITI, Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, has paid a short visit to the United Kingdom on his way to Jerusalem. He will be accompanied to Israel by the REV. KENNETH SHARPE, now on leave in England.

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THE QUEEN has agreed to remain Colonel-in-Chief of the Malawi Army after that State becomes a Republic within the Commonwealth on July 6. DR. BANDA, who will then become President and Commander-in-Chief, made the request to Her Majesty.

PROFESSOR SIR JOSEPH HUTCHINSON, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and Drapers' Professor of Agriculture at Cambridge University, is to receive the honorary D.Sc. of Nottingham University. He was for many years engaged in cotton research in Uganda.

DR. E. FRASER EAGLE has retired after 37 years with the Rhokana Corporation in Zambia, and has been succeeded as medical superintendent by DR. F. M. SMITH, a woman, who had served in Kenya and as a Government medical officer in Zambia before joining Rhokana two years ago.

The Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University has a governing body whose members include MR. A. L. ADU, MR. W. CLARK, PROFESSOR C. T. LEYS, PROFESSOR D. A. LOW, MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, and MR. F. SEEBOHM, all of whom have East or Central African interests.

A petition against the election to the National Assembly of MR. ELIJUFOO, Minister of Education in Tanzania, has been dismissed by the High Court, which found no evidence that any Government servant, T.A.N.U., or T.A.N.U. Youth League had officially organized a campaign in his favour and against his opponent in the West Hai constituency, MR. MBOWE. Nor was the court satisfied that there had been intimidation of electors.

SIR CLEMENT DE LESTANG has been appointed Vice-President of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. Of Seychelles birth, he was educated in that Colony and at King's College, London, and called to the Bar in 1931 by the Middle Temple. After practising privately in Seychelles, he became Legal Adviser and Crown Prosecutor to the Government in 1936, and was Chief Justice from 1939 to 1944, when he went to Kenya as a resident magistrate. He was made a justice of the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria in 1956, was Chief Justice in Lagos until 1964, and then a Justice of Appeal in East Africa.

Obituary

THE REV. SIDNEY HERBERT BATES, who has died in South Shields, aged 76, was from 1921 to 1924 a U.M.C.A. missionary in the Masasi diocese of Tanzania. Then he went to the West Indies. Later he served in various parishes in England until 1960, when he retired.

DR. HARRY RUMBOLD BATHURST NORMAN, D.M., died suddenly in Gulu, Uganda, on Easter Sunday, aged 65.

MR. BERT SHANKLAND and MR. C. ROTHWELL, of Tanzania, who won the East African Safari motor rally at Easter, have decided to compete in the international rally in Great Britain in November which the R.A.C. is organizing.

PRAY FOR RHODESIA

All who love Rhodesia, please join in a moment of prayer each morning at eight for wisdom and goodwill to prevail.—
V. A. B.

Prime Minister's Broken Pledge

"Dishonourable" and "Disgusting"

THE COMMONWEALTH INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION and British Commonwealth Union has issued the following statement:—

"In December the Commonwealth Industries Association and British Commonwealth Union deplored the flagrant breach of the undertaking given by the Prime Minister on November 11, and called for the early opening of negotiations to devise terms under which Rhodesia should give constitutional guarantees for the continuance of a multi-racial society in exchange for acknowledgment by Britain of her independent status.

"Since then the dangers of war have increased, and recently the British Government has taken action likely to cause bloodshed in Central Africa—in defiance of the pledges the Prime Minister gave the House of Commons on December 21.

"The Commonwealth Industries Association and British Commonwealth Union view with disgust this dishonourable breach of a pledged word by a British Government, and are concerned at the underhand way in which the British Government has treated Portugal, our oldest ally. They urge that, before it is too late, steps should be taken to settle this dispute by peaceful means, and so prevent the spread of chaos and violence in Africa."

The statement was signed by Mr. Robin Turton, M.P., chairman, and Mr. Edward Holloway, director of the Commonwealth Industries Association, and Lord Colyton, chairman, and Mr. Michael Farrow, director of the British Commonwealth Union.

Disastrous To Use Force

Dr. Banda Warns Africans

AFRICAN ADVOCATES OF FORCE were warned last week by Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, that if force were used against Rhodesia, volunteers would go to that country not only from South Africa but from Britain, Germany, and the Southern States of America. The use of force would be a bloody business. The Rhodesians would adopt a scorched-earth policy, and millions of pounds would be required to reconstruct the economy. He continued:—

"These Europeans are determined. Sending an army against them would be to ask soldiers to commit suicide. The only solution is for whites and Africans in Rhodesia to face each other across the conference table, with Britain as umpire. Africans in Rhodesia do not want an outside army, but peace, development, and education."

No African country represented a military threat to Mr. Smith. The economies of Algeria, Egypt, and Guinea, for instance, would not stand a war against Rhodesia.

Asked about Malawi's relationship with Tanzania, he said that he could not talk with President Nyerere until he had expelled the Malawi rebels now in Tanzania. They should not be allowed to use that country's hospitality to engage in subversive activities against Malawi.

He had not heard direct from President Nyerere, who had, however, recently told a Malawi ministerial delegation in Nairobi that he wanted to be friendly with Malawi once more. He had even offered the delegation his own aircraft to take them from Nairobi to Malawi via Dar es Salaam. Dr. Banda, however, had directed the delegation to return first with its report.

Bishop Expelled From Zanzibar

THE RT. REV. ROBERT NEIL RUSSELL, Assistant Bishop of Zanzibar and Tanga was recently ordered to leave Zanzibar within 48 hours. On arrival in Tanzania he said that he would not be permitted to return to Zanzibar but was free to live on the mainland. No reason had been given for his expulsion, but he had had differences with the Government in connexion with new marriage laws and other matters.

Mzee Kenyatta's Patience Exhausted Government Forces Thirty By-Elections

PRESIDENT KENYATTA said last week in a broadcast to the nation that the resignations of M.P.s and Senators from Parliament and the Kenya African National Union represented merely "the immature action of a few frustrated individuals", some of whom, disappointed in their personal ambitions and unable to meet their external commitments, saw no profit in progress and stability. Others, among the younger men, had been led astray "by the heady persuasion and bribes of the power-seekers".

The elder men by bitter vanity, and the younger men by arrogance, had isolated themselves from the national stream of political and social advance in withdrawing their loyalty and talents from the national effort. To staunch, hard-working men and women they offered nothing except false and disruptive propaganda. Obsessed with their own ambitions, they had entirely misjudged public reaction.

"Let me give warning to those few whose loyalty to Kenya nationalism has proved so shallow. We will take such steps as may be needed to prevent the calculated subversion of Kenya to colonialism in any guise of any subtle kind. We did not struggle so long and at such cost to see our national dignity defiled under the ruthless yoke of some foreign ideologies.

"There is no cause for alarm. The countrywide reaction to the break away of largely minor dissidents has been negative, hardly stronger than indifference. Their following is negligible. Their power is nil.

"Must the people be left at the mercy of irresponsible and reckless Members of Parliament? This would not be democracy, no longer government of the people by the people and for the people, if M.P.s were free to change parties and policy as they change jackets.

"The dissident group claim that they have the support of the voters. They must go to the voters and state their case. Parliament will at once be convened to pass a law requiring all who have resigned from K.A.N.U. to seek fresh mandates from the voters.

"There has been no cleavage based on honourable division of high political principle. Here we have an endeavour to destroy national stability. It has failed. Let the weak voices of these men be drowned in the volume of the faith in our national motto, *Harambee!*"

Threat of Hard Labour

At the week-end he told a large crowd in Nairobi that his patience was almost exhausted, and that in future those who attacked the Government constitutionally would face terms of hard labour. M.P.s and senators who had followed Mr. Odinga in resigning from K.A.N.U. were, he said, trying to challenge a lion and would be trampled like mud.

Then, turning to former Mau Mau leaders, he warned them that, if they ever returned to the forests to prepare to fight the Government they would be wiped out. From that day onwards there would be no more sympathy. "Whoever makes trouble will go inside". He warned students not to interfere in politics.

Two former Mau Mau leaders, the self-styled "Field Marshal Mwariani" and "General Kimbo", had told a Max Day rally that Mr. Odinga had offered them bribes of £150,000 to fight against President Kenyatta and his Government. They had, they said, refused the money because they would never fight against the Government, "and if Odinga tries to undermine it we shall fight him as fiercely as we did the British colonialists".

Amendment of Kenya's Constitution was agreed last week by the Kenya Parliament, the requisite two-thirds majority being obtained only because 14 M.P.s withdrew their support from Mr. Odinga and voted with the Government after sending written apologies to President Kenyatta and asking to be allowed to rejoin K.A.N.U.—the Government having indicated that any M.P. leaving the party would be required to contest a by-election.

The constitutional amendment provided that an M.P. resigning from his party should at the end of the session seek a new mandate from the electors. Although the session had another six months to run, it was prorogued without warning on Monday. There will thus be 30 by-elections. At least 15 of the 30 persons concerned have applied for re-entry to K.A.N.U.

Speaking on the Bill, Mr. Odinga declared that the Kenyatta Government was more oppressive than the British Colonial

Government had been. The intention of his group was not to wreck the Government but ginger it up. "If the Government closes our mouths it will drive us to be subversive".

Senator Sijeyo, who, like Mr. Odinga, has been wearing a Chinese-style tunic, was ordered to leave the Senate on Friday. He was told that if he wished to return he must be dressed in a more fitting manner.

Pro-Odinga demonstrators outside Parliament were dispersed by police.

Mau Mau Trial Papers

MR. RANSLEY SAMUEL THACKER, Q.C., of Chipinga, Rhodesia, who died in December, aged 74, left estate in England valued at £7,194, on which duty of £216 has been paid. He was a puisne judge in Kenya from 1938 to 1952, and in the next year sentenced Kenyatta and other Mau Mau leaders to seven years' hard labour. His will, which states that he possessed "the full record of the trial and certain papers in regard thereto", expresses the hope that they may be used in the preparation of a book.

Kenya's Exemplar

"YOU YOUNG PEOPLE should follow the example of our splendid leader, His Excellency the President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. Throughout his life he never wavered from the path of truth. His life is a shining example, an inspiring symbol of courage and greatness of character".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Labour in Kenya.

Symbolic

"THE CROSS which you wear symbolizes the virtues of prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude. May its whiteness ever remind you of the purity of life required by those who live for the service of the poor and suffering".—President Kenyatta of Kenya, addressing members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

A new cathedral is being built in Bukoba, Tanzania.

An embassy in Kampala is shortly to be opened by the Congo Government.

The Joint African Board's annual meeting will be held on Wednesday, June 22.

Law Ministers of the Commonwealth are meeting in London this week.

The Tanzania National Housing Corporation, which is under German management, has received an emergency loan of about £200,000 from the West German Government.

Twenty African education officers and three members of the staff of the Voice of Kenya had returned to Kenya after a period of training in Israel.

The Government of Tanzania has decided that additional increments may be paid to some categories of expatriate officials in order to attract professional persons from overseas.

Two Uganda Africans have been sentenced to death for the murder in November of Miss Hazel Hester, a 26-year-old British air hostess at her home in Entebbe. A third African was acquitted.

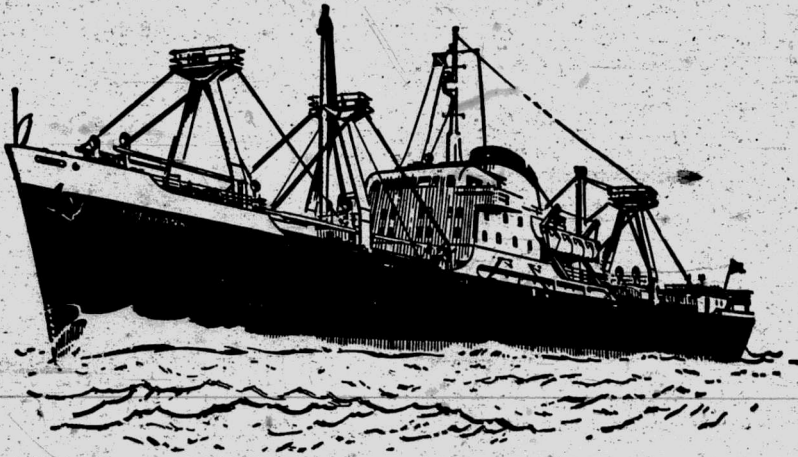
Seventeen Portuguese hostages who had been held for 20 months by Congolese rebels were released last week when Spanish mercenaries took the northern Congo town of Bongo. Among the hostages were five women and four children.

Consent to an intended marriage may now be withheld in Zanzibar only if either of the parties has been convicted of theft or is suffering from venereal disease, tuberculosis, leprosy, or mental illness. For contravention of the decree punishment may be a fine up to £750 and up to 24 strokes.

One hundred and eight missionaries, men and women, were sent from Britain to East Africa in 1964 by the U.M.C.A. and S.P.G. (now united as the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel). Last year, however, only 87 could be supplied, though the Archbishop of East Africa appealed for more on the ground that "the need for missionaries does not decrease".

The Court of Appeal has set aside convictions and sentences imposed 10 years ago in Seychelles, where one man was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for manslaughter and affray and another to a year in jail for affray and assault. Their appeal has been upheld because certain statements made to the police which were inconsistent with evidence given by an important witness were not disclosed at the original trial or later to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

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Mr. Grimond Opposes Talks

"Trustees for the Black Majority"

MR. J. GRIMOND, Leader of the Liberal Party, said in the course of his speech in the previous debate on Rhodesia in the House of Commons:—

"I find it inconceivable that anyone who thinks that sanctions should be made effective could think that we could sit by and allow a succession of oil tankers to break the embargo. I do not share the view that the ultimate disaster is that the matter should be raised in the United Nations. I do not even share the view that it would be altogether a bad thing if the Red Army were to be found in blue berets. I would rather that there were blue berets than red berets going about the world.

"There is a strong feeling in the Conservative Party that sanctions should not be made effective. Many in that party think that sanctions should be imposed as a gesture of disapproval. If sanctions are to be effective they will hurt. If one objects to every particular act to make them effective, one is saying that we do not want sanctions to work."

MR. HEATH: "If the rt. hon. gentleman takes that view, is he therefore prepared entirely to blockade Rhodesia?—which means a full blockade of the whole of Southern Africa?"

MR. GRIMOND: "We must make up our minds to make sanctions effective through taking steps to see that the rest of the world makes them mandatory. If a gap is broken in the sanctions to such an extent that the whole policy is threatened with failure, this country is right to go to the United Nations and say: 'You must give us authority to plug this gap'."

MR. HEATH: "Oil is going into Rhodesia from South Africa, whose Prime Minister has stated that if sanctions are made mandatory under Chapter VII, South Africa will not co-operate. Would the leader of the Liberal Party blockade the whole of South Africa?"

MR. GRIMOND: "The Government are negotiating with South Africa to see whether this leak can be stopped. I accept the Prime Minister's view that he does not want to prejudice those negotiations by a premature announcement in this House. If there should persist through South Africa such a flow of oil or other commodities into Rhodesia as would make our policy totally ineffective, we should take the matter to the United Nations."

Prime Minister Has Been Too Cautious

MR. R. T. PAGET: "When the leader of the Liberal Party says that we should go to the United Nations to enforce these sanctions, that is absolutely right. We should have to try and persuade the United Nations to back our will by international action. It is not a question of them forcing us. If it were a question of the 24 or anybody like that seeking international action which was not asked for by the British Government, that would be immediately vetoed by the Americans, by the French, and a majority in the Security Council. Furthermore, we would have the utmost difficulty in persuading the Americans to support us in advancing sanctions against South Africa. It is not the other way round—with us being pushed. It is a question of whether we can push the United Nations."

MR. GRIMOND: "That may well be so. My personal view is that the Prime Minister has been far too cautious in his constant statements that he would not do this and that. Mr. Smith—not we, but Mr. Smith—has unleashed in Africa a force which may lead no one knows where, and that it is impossible to say exactly what action may or may not have to be taken in this situation."

"I give the Leader of the Opposition credit for having said that Mr. Smith is running a police State, that this is a moral issue, and so on. Having said that, however, he should surely say that he is determined to stop this major breach in the sanctions. I detect a fundamental wobbling about whether the Conservative Party want the sanctions to fail."

MR. HEATH indicated dissent.

MR. GRIMOND: "I am glad the Leader of the Opposition wants them to succeed. He wants the oil to be stopped. My evidence is that white people all over Africa, in Rhodesia and other countries, who are, so to speak, pursuing the policy which is supposed to be agreed in this House, are finding their task made much more difficult by the constant carping of Conservative opposition and by the feeling that if the Conservatives were in Government they would come to some agreement or make things easy for the Rhodesian Government, and that there is no solidarity of view that Mr. Smith is a rebel and pursuing policies which we cannot tolerate."

"The Conservatives talked to Mr. Smith for a year and found that his proposals for the future of Rhodesia were quite unacceptable. The Prime Minister found Mr. Smith's

proposals quite unacceptable. Has anything happened to make anyone think that Mr. Smith has now changed his mind so significantly that it is worth opening talks again? No one has explained to me that there is any new factor in the situation which would justify the view that it is useful to start talks again.

No New Factor In Situation

"The Prime Minister stressed that we cannot condone an evil act. The point I would rather stress is that we are in Rhodesia as trustees for the black majority. This is not a revolt by the majority. It is a revolt by a very small white minority. We are there to see that the black majority, in not too distant a future, get their rights granted to them."

"I do not believe that it would be any good to go into any form of conversation, talk, or negotiation with people who fundamentally deny that. I strongly suspect that the great majority of Mr. Smith's illegal regime deny it and have no intention within the foreseeable future of giving the majority of the native black population of Rhodesia the position in their own country which everybody in this country believes that they should have."

Uganda's New Cabinet

Mr. Babiha Now Vice-President

DR. OBOTE, now Uganda's first executive President, has reshaped his 19-member Cabinet: There are also one Minister of State and 10 Deputy Ministers. Five posts had been vacant since the holders of the portfolios were arrested in February on charges of plotting against the Government.

The President, who is also Prime Minister, has transferred two of the portfolios which he had held. Foreign Affairs goes to Mr. S. Odaka and Defence to Mr. Felix Onania, hitherto Ministers of State.

Mr. John Babiha, who is chairman of the ruling party, the Uganda People's Congress, has become Vice-President of Uganda, while retaining the office of Minister for Animal Husbandry and Fisheries.

A new portfolio of Economic Development and Planning has been entrusted to Mr. John Kakonge, formerly Director of Planning, who enters the Cabinet for the first time.

Mr. Cuthbert Obwangor transfers from Justice to Commerce and Industry; Mr. Adoko Nekyon from Community Development and Planning to Agriculture and Co-operatives; and Mr. L. Lubowa from Commerce and Industry to Labour.

Among the new Ministers are Mr. Shaban Nkutu (Health); Mr. Max Choudry (Mineral and Water Resources); Mr. John Wakholi (Minister in the Cabinet Office); Mr. Constantine Kattiti (Community Development and Culture); and Mr. James Ochola (Public Service).

Dr. Eria Babumba, a medical practitioner, who is M.P. for West Buganda, has been made Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Shocks For Buganda

The Buganda Government is reported to have been told that it will no longer receive block grants from the Uganda Government, but that all payments from the central revenue will henceforth relate to specific services. The Central Government also intends to resume responsibility for secondary schools in Buganda, which for the past three years have been under the jurisdiction of the Lukiiko.

The Busoga authorities were told last week that their finances did not permit the expenditure of public funds on celebrations of the birthday of the constitutional head, Sir Wilberforce Nadiro, the Kyabazinga, who had been Vice-President of Uganda until the Constitution was suspended in February.

A commemoration issue of stamps to mark the second anniversary of the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar carries the head of President Nyerere of Tanzania.

Professional hunters in East Africa have been asked to send lower jawbones of elephant to a Nuffield unit in Uganda which is studying tropical wild life. Age can be approximately determined from the jawbone. Dr. R. N. Lewis, head of the unit, believes that more information about elephants has been collected in the past year than in the previous century.

For development of Kyle Game Reserve, near Fort Victoria, Cramond Industries, Ltd., a Rhodesian company, has promised four annual donations of £500 each. They suggest introduction of Lichtenstein's hartbeest, blue duiker, nyala, and oribi, which may be in danger of extinction in Rhodesia, and the introduction of blebok, hot-nov present in the country. Colonel J. de L. Thompson, of Bulawayo, has presented six nyala and undertaken to pay the cost of their transport from Natal.

Commons Debate on Rhodesia

(Continued from page 632)

to pursue this course despite all the criticisms and pressures to which we have been subjected.

"A final settlement of the Rhodesian problem is still a long way off, but we shall work for this settlement with the same policy of moderation and flexibility. We stand by the six principles.

"We are not pressing for immediate majority rule. Our objective is a steady advancement through achievement in a way and over a period which will secure for Rhodesia orderly government and the essential conditions of stability for the future economic and social development of a non-racial society. We seek to promote the evolution of a non-racial society where black and white can play their part.

"There is much for the Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia to do before this kind of society can be evolved, but Europeans must recognize that four million Africans cannot be treated as though they did not exist, and must be given a majority say in the development of their country. The African leaders must realize that they cannot discharge their responsibility to the African people by opting out of the constitutional sphere. Without their co-operation progress by evolution would be impossible. When constitutional government is restored the situation will make heavy demands on the statesmanship and good will of the African and European political leadership. If that statesmanship is not forthcoming there cannot be a peaceful and just solution to the Rhodesian problem."

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on His Visit

MR. SELWYN LLOYD (Cons., Wirral) regretted that the Commonwealth Secretary had disregarded the Prime Minister's instructions as to how the debate should proceed.

"I welcome the Prime Minister's statement, his belated decision, and the language in which he couched it, which is very different from that used before. He has spoken about 'a solution of the problem' rather than 'the ending of the rebellion' and 'making it the basis for negotiations' rather than 'accepting these representations'.

"On February 22 I saw the Commonwealth Secretary after my return from Rhodesia and urged him to do exactly what the Prime Minister has announced this afternoon.

"I told him of the people I met in Rhodesia—327, of whom more than 40 were Africans, and that I had spent more time with the Governor than with any other individual. I told him I had stressed three points to everybody; that U.D.I. had been illegal and wrong; that the European minority could not for ever rule a majority very much larger than itself; and that if European and African Rhodesians were to live happily together they had to begin to end racial discrimination.

"I said that Mr. Ian Smith was in control, that the actions of H.M. Government had consolidated white Rhodesian opinion behind him and his colleagues.

"In Bulawayo I met about 25 businessmen, many of whom were concerned with British companies. They said that there was not a man in the room who had been a political supporter of Mr. Smith and that they opposed him politically, but that now they would do everything they could to co-operate with him to ensure that sanctions did not succeed; and that when they had beaten the sanctions they would go back to opposing Mr. Smith politically. That showed that there had been a complete misjudgment of the effect of sanctions. It had not been realized that all European Rhodesians, or the great majority of them, would look on this as a battle for Rhodesia.

Prime Minister's Disastrous Offer

"I told the Commonwealth Secretary that white opinion had been consolidated behind Mr. Smith and that there was no chance of a change in that opinion until an alternative to U.D.I. was put forward which Rhodesians would think reasonable. The offer of January 25 had been quite disastrous. If the approach to the new talks is to be the approach of January 25 there is not a chance of success.

"We make a mistake, according to my most recent information from Rhodesia, in exaggerating the present effect of sanctions upon ordinary people in Rhodesia. I think the people who are looking ahead realize the dangers.

"Another point I made to the rt. hon. gentleman was that neither side could win this contest. If Rhodesia succeeded in sticking it out, as was probable, there would be a very bleak future before the people and their children. If, on the other hand, Rhodesia were forced to capitulate after a struggle lasting years, there would be a great bitterness towards us not only in Rhodesia but in South Africa. That would cause us grave economic damage. So I thought it a conflict that neither side could win.

"I advised the Commonwealth Secretary that in my view there should be talks at once without prior conditions.

Rhodesia Should Have Independence

"The purpose of the talks should be a constitutional settlement as a result of which Rhodesia can have its lawful independence. The offer of January 25 was hopeless because it involved direct rule from Whitehall thinly camouflaged. I found no European Rhodesians who accepted that. It also involved a constitutional conference the outcome of which was completely uncertain.

"In Rhodesia I met an African doctor who told me: 'While I am in the hospital I am treated as an equal and I get the same pay as my white colleagues, who are perfectly good colleagues, but when I leave the hospital gates I cannot come to speak to you in your hotel. I could not go and live anywhere near my white colleagues.' I told the Rhodesians that on that basis they could not have a happy community. They must realize that they cannot get a united multi-racial Rhodesia unless they start to change that. It cannot all be swept away overnight. The same thing applies to the business quarters in the big cities which are white areas. It is unreasonable to expect progress unless that situation is altered.

"The atmosphere for the discussions is extremely important. If the Government continue with their approach—we shall be graciously pleased to listen to any representations which you choose to make—or talk about the régime beginning to weaken, or the oil sanctions having been successful, they will make it more difficult to get agreement. Getting agreement will be a difficult enough operation. Those of us who have been to Rhodesia have seen the bitterness and even the hatred which has been engendered. The extremists on both sides are stronger than they were, and great diplomatic skill is needed.

"I doubt whether the Commonwealth Secretary's speech this afternoon will improve the atmosphere. Some very silly things have been done—for example, the stopping of the Nuffield gift for the medical school at the multi-racial university. That looks like vindictive action, and I hope that the Government will think it wise to try to improve the atmosphere.

"Nobody who has been to Rhodesia recently could have failed to be impressed by the sadness of it all—a beautiful country where great economic progress has been made, by Africans as well as Europeans, with great potential wealth, and with especially close ties with Britain, and with a better chance, as it had, of multi-racial society than almost any other country, with few extremists on both sides. That was the situation.

Neither Side Can Win

"Now that country, with its proud and tough people of European origin, is engaged in a conflict which neither side can win. Extremism has been strengthened, and there has been a great strain on race relationships in Rhodesia and elsewhere in Africa. I do not think that it is a threat to peace, but it is certainly a threat to progress.

"Statesmanship is needed. It is late in the day and it will be very difficult. I pray that statesmanship will be shown by both sides."

(Other speeches will be reported next week)

Mr. Norman Banks, a leading broadcaster in Australia, who is revisiting Rhodesia, said in a television interview: "The Press of the world seems bent on giving a false picture of Rhodesia. Perhaps because I read theology for seven years, I believe that in the final analysis truth is what really matters. I was impressed by Rhodesia in 1957. I am much more impressed now. As a result of my own observations I believe implicitly in Mr. Ian Smith's régime."

Anxieties of Expatriates in Zambia

Sir Ronald Prain's Address

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the R.S.T. group, said in London at a recent informal meeting of stockholders resident in Britain that Zambia was now in the front line of what had become a world issue. At the request of the Zambian Government the companies had helped to explore and develop new routes into and out of the land-locked country.

He continued, *inter alia*:—

"The worsening political situation has been upsetting to our employees of all races. Expatriates have been through a period of great unsettlement. Worries about their job-life expectancy in the face of an increasing rate of Zambianization, concern for the security of their pensions and other savings, and problems relating to the education of their children all added to the general feeling of unrest, which was marked by a high rate of resignations and a series of walk-outs and work-to-rule campaigns, particularly in February and early March.

"More recently unrest spread to local employees, who, despite an agreement signed with the companies earlier in the year, have demonstrated against their wage rates and in particular the disparity between their wages and those of the expatriates. A strike affected all Copperbelt properties.

Record Output, Sales and Profits

"The year ended June 1965 was a record for our group production of 276,995 long tons of copper and sales of 274,938 tons. New records may again be set up if there are no further stoppages. Production for the year is expected to be about 281,000 tons—151,500 from Mufulira, 96,500 from the Luan-shya division, 22,500 from Chibuluma, and 10,500 from Chambishi.

"R.S.T.'s pre-tax profit for the first six months of this year is, nearly £9m., or £1.7m. more than for the corresponding period last year.

"Royalty payments to the Government of Zambia continue to be based on London Metal Exchange prices whereas we have been selling at a much lower price in the long-term interests of the industry. For the first six months our companies paid £7.3m. in mineral royalty, or £52 8s. per ton of copper produced. In the quarter ended on March 31 our royalty payments have been even higher. With effect from the quarter ending on June 30 we shall indicate not only royalties and estimated taxation, but also net earnings per share.

"We intend to mine a small but high-grade copper deposit at Kalengwa, in the North Western Province, some 200 miles west of the Copperbelt. Mining will be by open pit methods and the ore will be transported by road to the Copperbelt, to be fed directly into the Luanshya smelter, for the ore is rich enough to require no concentration process.

New High-Grade Mine at Kalengwa

"The Kalengwa development is possible in today's circumstances in Zambia only because of the richness of the ore. Development is based on the extraction of about 600,000 short tons at an average grade of 16% total copper. This is an unusually high grade. The Copperbelt grade averages about 3.4%.

"Production plans are being prepared on the basis of mining 100,000 short tons of ore a year, giving about 12,800 long tons of recoverable copper a year for six years, beginning in the latter part of 1967. Capital cost is estimated at £1.5m. The project will give direct employment to between 100 and 150 people, with indirect employment perhaps of five times that number.

"Kalengwa is another achievement of scientific exploration, since there were no surface indications of the orebody. We began prospecting in the North Western Province in 1952 and have been investigating Kalengwa for two years. Its discovery is a credit to our prospecting organizations.

"The greatest impact on Zambia of the Rhodesian Government's unilateral declaration of its independence was the stoppage of oil imports through Rhodesia. The British, American and Canadian Governments provided air lifts, and, by means of strict conservation measures on the mines and rationing of public consumption, the critical situation was endured without loss of production or a major break in public

communications. By the end of last month the R.S.T. group's petrol and oil storage tanks were full, and stocks in Zambia were higher than ever before.

"The coal stock position has improved. We are partners with the Government and the Anglo American Corporation in the Nkandabwe Coal Company, established to develop a relatively low-grade coalfield in Zambia, near Lake Kariba.

"Oil-firing equipment flown out from Britain has been installed at Mufulira's smelter, so that if Wankie coal should become unobtainable the smelter could continue to operate to some extent. Arrangements have been made to import heavy fuel oil by the new routes.

"R.S.T. has bought two aircraft to fly some of our copper production to East Coast ports and return with essential fuel supplies on behalf of the Government. A new subsidiary, Zambian Air Cargoes, Ltd., will operate the aircraft. It is expected that in due course the Government will participate as shareholders.

Copperbelt Strikes

"As I have said, political events have accentuated a growing feeling of unrest among expatriates, many of whom have close ties with Rhodesia, often including children at school there. Doubts about job tenure aggravated feelings of insecurity, and the situation deteriorated to the extent that employees represented by both the Mine Workers' Society and the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association took part in go-slow tactics in November and again early this year, when there was also a series of wild-cat strikes. At one stage President Kaunda extended the scope of the security regulations, making it an offence for a mine employee to stay away from his job except for good reason.

"In March, after difficult negotiations, agreement was reached between the companies and the expatriate employee organizations under which all these employees, who have a job-life expectancy of more than two years, were transferred to contract terms of service, thus defining even more closely their expatriate and temporary status. These employees now receive benefits for past service, leave passages between contracts, and repatriation at the end of their contracts if they do not wish to remain in service.

"It is hoped that these new conditions will help to reduce the turnover rate, which had risen to most serious proportions, since benefits on completion of contracts are considerable. To replace recent losses of skilled personnel it will be necessary to step up recruiting outside Zambia.

Agreement Quickly Broken

"After more than a year's negotiations a settlement was reached with the Zambian Mineworkers' Union, which represents some 35,000 local employees. They were put on monthly instead of daily pay. Wage increases as well other benefits were granted.

"The agreement provided for a standstill for two years, but within a few weeks unrest, undoubtedly aggravated by political factors, broke out again, with demonstrations against the wage rates and the disparity between expatriate and local terms of employment. During the last week in March and first week in April production at all seven Copperbelt mines was halted by strikes, all unconstitutional and unsupported by the union. There was a general return to work a week ago, after the Government had announced its intention to set up a commission of inquiry."

IPCORN

INDUSTRIAL PROMOTION CORPORATION CENTRAL AFRICA, LTD. (IPCORN), a privately-owned development finance company, reports group net profit for 1965, its sixth year of operation, at £42,876 before tax of £6,740, leaving £36,136, as against £39,323 in 1964, the slight fall being due to premature repayment of a substantial loan carrying a high rate of interest, loss of revenue from interest-earning funds now used in coffee estate development, and considerable investment in equities from which dividend income has yet to accrue. At the end of the year just over 40% of the funds were invested in equities, the coffee estate, and industrial building. In January the proportion had been 18.6%. A 4% dividend, less tax, is repeated. The issued share capital is £1m. Mr. G. Ellman-Brown is the chairman.

Two jet airliners are to be leased for 18 months to the Government of Zambia by British Eagle Airline, Ltd.

Locust control officers from Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and several other countries are taking a month's training course at the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London.

The Zambian Minister of Transport has said that about 1,500 European employees of Rhodesia Railways in Zambia would be asked to choose whether they wished to work in Rhodesia or Zambia.

COMPANY MEETING

Gallaher Ltd

(Incorporated in Northern Ireland)

Statement by the Chairman Mr. Mark Norman

THE seventieth annual ordinary general meeting of GALLAHER LIMITED will be held on May 25th at Granite House, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4.

The following is the statement of the Chairman, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31st, 1965:—

Your Company has suffered a great loss by the death in November last year of its President, Sir Edward de Stein, at the age of 78. In its century of history your Company has been made and led by two very remarkable men, Mr. Thomas Gallaher and Sir Edward, both of strong character and creative energy. Sir Edward bought the Company in 1929 and was its Chairman from then until his retirement in 1960. If you look through the following pages of this report you will see some signs of one of his achievements. He was a man of infinite variety in his interests and his talents. In business he was imaginative, bold and of absolute integrity. In his private life he was a many-sided artist and a skilful countryman. Above all, he was intensely interested in people and their welfare. Although small in person, he was great in heart and wit, and we shall remember him with affection and profound gratitude.

Trading Results

Group trading profits before interest at £21.7 million were 4 per cent up on 1964, on sales in value of £447.4 million compared with £429.6 million. This increase in value turnover was entirely due to the higher prices of our products caused by the additional tax of 10s. per lb on tobacco imposed in the April 1965 Budget. The increase in profits is mostly due to improved productivity. Sales in volume by your Group, as for the trade as a whole, were down in 1965 and our share of the total trade fell by a small margin.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has not got the £1,054,000,000 tax out of smokers for which he budgeted. I hope he will now draw the clear conclusion that the law of diminishing returns is positively working, and provide some relief for smokers and perhaps some benefit to his Revenue by a reduction of tobacco tax.

An interim dividend of 6 per cent was paid in November 1965, on £36,828,000 Ordinary capital, compared with an interim dividend of 5 per cent paid in November 1964 on £33,480,000 Ordinary capital then outstanding. The Directors now recommend a final dividend of 13 per cent in respect of 1965, making the same total of 19 per cent for the year. Owing to the

enlarged Ordinary capital this is in fact an increase of one-half per cent in the amount distributed.

The basis of taxation levied on the profits of companies was completely changed by the 1965 Budget and our accounts for 1965 are therefore not directly comparable with previous years. At the time of writing this statement the rate of Corporation Tax, which will be payable on 1965 profits, has not been announced. We have, however, made provision in our accounts for Corporation Tax at 40 per cent: each one per cent by which the actual rate varies from 40 per cent will mean a variation in the amount of tax due on 1st January 1967 of approximately £195,000.

You may be interested to see how the results for 1965 would have compared with 1964 if the previous basis of taxation had continued to apply. The table below gives the figure on a comparable basis—Income Tax being calculated at 8s. 3d. in the £ and Profits Tax at 15 per cent in each year:—

	1965 £000's	1964 £000's
Group Profit	19,407	18,696
Taxation 1964 basis	10,400	9,948
Group Profit after taxation	9,007	8,748
Dividends (net)	4,295	4,252
Retained Profit	£4,712	£4,496

In fact, the retained profit for 1965 is £5,350,000, and of this sum £2,000,000 has been transferred to General Reserve and £3,000,000 to Contingencies Reserve.

Amounts credited direct to Contingencies Reserve totalling £1,857,000 comprise the exceptional profit arising from the 1965 increase in tobacco duty less taxation, the Northern Ireland Government grants, and the profits less losses on the sale of fixed assets. We have charged direct to Contingencies Reserve an amount of £791,000, made up of (a) £545,000 trading losses incurred in overseas operations less tax relief, (b) £68,000 representing the excess cost over par value of the preference shares held outside in J. R. Freeman & Son Limited, now a wholly-owned subsidiary, and (c) £175,000 representing the excess cost over par value of our trade investment in Murtile Limited, to which I referred last year; this company was just starting commercial production of tile and mosaic panelling when we purchased an interest early in 1965 and its sales are growing, although it still has a number of technical problems to overcome.

Consolidated Balance Sheet

The principal changes in the Consolidated balance sheet are the increase of £4.8 million in debtors, arising from the additional tobacco tax, the increase of £2 million in plant and machinery, the repayment on maturity at 31st December 1965 of £4 million 4 per cent Unsecured Loan Stock 1960/65, and the consequential increase in short-term borrowings of £3.3 million. The retained profits for the year together with the net additions to Contingencies Reserve have provided sufficient funds to finance these increases in fixed and current assets.

The increase in trade investments to £1.9 million reflects the purchase of a 25 per cent interest in the capital of the Dutch cigar manufacturers, Gebr. van Schuppen's Ritmeester Sigarenfabrieken N.V. at a cost of £720,000, and the purchase of a minority interest in Murtile Limited, to which I have already referred.

The sum of £359,000 deducted from the opening balance on Profit and Loss Account represents 40 per cent Corporation Tax on the special reliefs from taxation on capital expenditure in development districts which we received in 1963 and 1964. This sum together with similar tax reliefs amounting to £451,000 included in our 1965 tax provisions in respect of expenditure in that year have been carried to the credit of Deferred Taxation Reserve, making a total of £810,000.

The Ordinary Stockholders' interest in the total capital employed in the Group at the end of 1965 shows an increase of £6,057,000 to £76,359,000.

Sales

With large increases in tobacco tax in 1964 and 1965, the retail price for a packet of 20 standard size cigarettes has now reached 5s. 5d. for plain and 4s. 7d. for tipped, and this undoubtedly accounts for the reduction in total consumption of tobacco products in 1965. At 87s. 4½d. per lb. the tax now represents about 75 per cent of the retail price of every packet of cigarettes.

The King Size market, in which Benson & Hedges' SPECIAL FILTER has consolidated its market leadership with such success, has been particularly affected, and sales of standard size plain cigarettes in the same price category have also been hit. Even so, the popularity of SENIOR SERVICE (plain) continues at a satisfactory level in a reduced though still substantial market. In conditions of considerable difficulty for all plain cigarettes, PARK DRIVE did very well to increase its market share. CADETS tipped and PARK DRIVE tipped dominated the market for smaller tipped cigarettes throughout the year, and each brand increased its sales notably.

In order to strengthen our position in the market for tipped cigarettes selling at 4s. 3d. for 20, MAYFAIR by Benson & Hedges was introduced to the South of England in May and has been well received. The popularity of coupon brands continued to increase, and in September Benson & Hedges' STERLING, selling at 4s. 7d. for 20, was introduced. Its sales have been encouraging, with much favourable consumer comment on the quality of cigarette, pack and gift scheme.

Our two leading tobaccos, CONDOR SLICED and OLD HOLBORN, slightly increased their share of their important markets—pipe tobacco and roll-your-own cigarette tobacco.

The United Kingdom sales of Dutch pipe tobacco manufactured by our associates, Theodorus Niemeyer N.V., were satisfactorily expanded through our own sales force.

As the leading cigar manufacturer in the United Kingdom, we derived considerable benefit from the increase in the popularity of cigars. The growth in HARLEQUIN sales continues and MANIKIN, despite very intense competition, had a good year. HAMLET has fully maintained its early promise and sales have

SUMMARY OF RESULTS 1965

Total Sales	£447,400,000
Profit before Tax	£19,407,000
Tax	£7,787,000
Ordy. Dividends (interim net, final gross)	£6,086,000
Profit retained	£5,350,000
Net Assets	£125,990,000

increased substantially. In October we introduced DON CARLOS in the South of England as the first British cigar at 6s. 7d. for 10, and an encouraging start has been made.

The reorganization of our distributive arrangements is gradually taking effect.

Advertising

I referred last year to the Government's decision to ban cigarette advertising on commercial television. Since then, suggestions have been made in Parliament that the ban should be extended to other mass media, such as newspapers and posters. We thought the ban on television to be wrong and we feel emphatically that an extension of that ban to other media would be unwarranted interference in a competitive market where the purpose of advertising is to present brands for the choice of smokers. We believe that the proper way to deal with this problem is for manufacturers to ensure that their expenditure on mass media advertising is kept within reasonable limits.

Production

We have continued to develop production at our new factory in Henry Street, Belfast, and have been able to transfer there nearly all cigarette manufacture from the old York Street factory, which is now being converted for cigar manufacture to help meet the requirements of our expanding trade. Further space has been found for cigar production in the smaller factory at Lisnafillan, where, by introducing the latest techniques, we have been able to concentrate cigarette manufacture in the larger factory and maintain the same total output. The methods which have been so successful in our Northern Ireland factories will be introduced later this year to our Manchester factories, where the oldest of the three at Ashton will be closed. These considerable changes have been accomplished in full consultation with the trade unions and with the minimum disturbance to our employees.

Work has recently started on the building of a cigarette factory at Tallaght, seven miles south of Dublin. This is a natural consequence of our purchase in 1963 of W. & M. Taylor Limited, Dublin, for the purpose of manufacturing our brands in the Republic of Ireland. Production should start towards the end of 1967, and then our brands, which at present have to be imported, will be sold on a fully competitive basis. The name of Taylors has been changed to Gallaher (Dublin) Limited.

Tobacco Leaf

The political situation between Britain and Rhodesia is very costly, in every sense of the word, to both countries. Under the British Government's present embargo we shall not be able to buy any tobacco in Rhodesia this year. So far as our blends are concerned, this is not of immediate importance to us because we bought more than our requirements for current use from

the excellent 1964 and 1965 crops and our stocks are good. However, the future supply position is a cause of great concern as, except for U.S.A., Rhodesia was by far our most important source of supply, and if this is denied to us for long it will mean the substitution of more expensive tobaccos.

Our investment in Rhodesia consists of a modern packing factory and an excellent staff, trained and well qualified to buy and handle our tobaccos. They are fine representatives of your Company. We are doing all we can to look after them through these difficult times and I am glad to say that so far we have been able to keep them together. I can only hope that the statesmen concerned will move rapidly to a settlement that will enable us to continue to do so, and to resume our proper activities as buyers and packers of Rhodesian tobacco.

As a result of British Government regulations a significant part of our 1965 Rhodesian purchase, bought and paid for before U.D.I. in November, has been excluded from Commonwealth Preference only because of its date of arrival in the United Kingdom. Strong representations have been made to the Government here at the highest level to relieve your Company of this arbitrary and heavy imposition, and we are continuing to press the matter.

The size of the Zambian crop is very small in comparison with the Rhodesian. In the past it has been sold and packed in Salisbury. This year the Zambian tobacco will be sold in Lusaka, where facilities for packing will not be available until next year, and we have therefore made arrangements to send our purchases from the Lusaka auctions to Malawi for handling and packing.

Despite some shortage of certain types of tobacco and a general increase in price, the 1965 American crop showed an improvement in quality, due to the efforts of the farmers and Department of Agriculture to grow a better style of tobacco. We are pleased with the purchase we made.

For the second year running the size of the Canadian crop was inadequate to meet demand, with a consequent rise in prices. Due to great efforts both by our own people in Canada and by our suppliers, we were able to buy our requirements economically. There have subsequently been useful discussions between the farmers' representatives and United Kingdom manufacturers, which we hope will lead to a larger Canadian crop and a better balance between supply and demand on the market to the mutual benefit of growers and buyers.

So long as the present situation in Rhodesia continues, pressure will continue on other world markets and the price of replacing our leaf stocks will inevitably show some increase this year.

International

We have during the past year extended our investment in Europe by the acquisition of a 25 per cent interest in an important Dutch cigar business—Gebr. van Schuppen's Rimeester Sigarenfabrieken N.V. Van Schuppen, which was established in 1887, owns the well-known Rimeester range of Dutch cigars which are manufactured in five modern factories in the Netherlands, and which enjoy a substantial sale and high prestige in their domestic market and in many export markets throughout the world.

Our other Dutch associate, Theodorus Niemyer N.V., has expanded its overseas operations during the year by building a factory in Canada to meet the expansion of its business in that market.

In Australia, I said last year that we had acquired a factory in Sydney. Its conversion for cigarette manufacture was completed by September 1965 and we now

MAIN SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES

GALLAHER INTERNATIONAL LIMITED
 BENSON & HEDGES LIMITED
 COPE BROTHERS & COMPANY LIMITED
(Incorporating Richard Lloyd & Sons)
 J. R. FREEMAN & SONS LIMITED
 PETER JACKSON LIMITED
 J. A. PATTREIOUX
 W. & M. TAYLOR LIMITED
 J. WIX & SONS LIMITED
 J. & E. ARNFIELD LIMITED
 MONO PUMPS LIMITED

have a modern factory capable of being expanded quickly and economically to meet our needs in the future. When we entered the Australian market in 1964 we planned on the basis that it would take several years to establish ourselves firmly and that we were likely to incur losses during this period of development. These have been higher than last year and have been charged to Contingencies Reserve.

We continue to look for opportunities by which to expand our interests overseas and our export trade.

Mono Pumps Limited

Total sales in 1965 were 9 per cent higher than 1964, but we had to absorb substantial increases in both labour and material costs with no rise in prices and the profit before tax was marginally lower at £439,000. The introduction of a new and wider range of pumps with special industrial applications stimulated sales, and the growth and development of our sewage treatment unit was encouraging. Both Australia and South Africa made useful contributions to sales and profit, although the move to a new factory in Johannesburg disrupted production temporarily and affected the profit from that company. Our other export markets, mainly in Europe and the Far East, responded well and on the whole the year was generally fruitful and encouraging.

People

1965 has been, as 1966 will also be, a year of considerable change and reorganization in our production, marketing and selling arrangements, and this requires exceptional effort, imagination and determination, and often long hours, from everyone in the Group. I record, on your behalf, my thanks and appreciation for their excellent work.

You will remember that, with the co-operation of the trade unions, we entered into a three-year wage agreement in 1964, and this has now a further year to run. We feel that this settlement has contributed to the good relationships with our employees, to which we attach so much importance.

The retirement of our sales director, Mr. A. T. Law, after 33 years' service, and of our secretary, Mr. R. Graham, after 41 years' service, took place at the end of 1965. We are most grateful to them for their outstanding contributions to the Group's progress, and we wish them many years of health and happiness.

We have appointed Mr. R. S. Hargreaves as sales director and Mr. R. J. Armitage as secretary, to which important positions we welcome them with every confidence.

We have made three new appointments to the Board of Management—Mr. A. C. Guthrie who is commercial manager; Mr. M. E. H. Mulholland who is leaf controller; and Mr. W. D. K. Wilson who is general manager in charge of cigars. In these positions they have great responsibilities which they discharge most admirably.

This is a large Group engaged in a trade which is becoming increasingly competitive all over the world. The burden on top management is becoming more exacting, and we propose to spread that load, appropriately. So, from 1st June this year, Mr. E. J. Foord will become a deputy chairman responsible for certain broad aspects of policy at home and overseas, Mr. A. W. H. Stewart-Moore will become managing director, and Mr. M. S. K. Maunsell, deputy managing director. I am confident that these arrangements will be beneficial.

Outlook

The high expense of smoking has brought about great changes in the traditional pattern of the cigarette trade, with sharp swings to filter tip brands, to smaller size brands and to coupon brands. It is an unsettled rather than a stable market and competition is intense. Our sales for the first quarter of 1966 are down on the previous year. We have plans to redress this position shortly and I expect them to be successful, but our profits for 1966 are likely to be lower.

UNILEVER LIMITED

LORD COLE ON RAW MATERIALS AND PRICING

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF UNILEVER LIMITED was held on April 27th, at the Baltic Exchange, London.

LORD COLE (the chairman) presided.

The following are extracts from his address to the stockholders:

Oils and fats still continue to be of prime importance to Unilever. In 1965 the world's production of oils and fats was 36½ million tons and Unilever factories used 2½ million tons. (Tonnages are expressed in terms of oil.) Of the world's total of 36½ million tons, 9½ million tons became available on the international market and nearly a quarter of this was bought by Unilever. In 1965 we spent over £250 million on oils and fats. They are the basis of our margarine and other edible fats and we use them in our soap-based detergents. They are used to some extent in many of our other products and even in our animal feeding stuffs.

Persistent Misconception

Let me dispose of the persistent misconception that our plantations make Unilever self-sufficient so far as raw materials are concerned. Nothing could be further from the truth. The total output of our own plantations could not supply more than one-fortieth of our requirements, and they do not grow at all such important oil seeds as soya beans, groundnuts, sunflower and cottonseed.

We buy our oils and fats on the world markets, and they come from many countries, by no means all of them tropical. It is a popular misconception to suppose that oils and fats are predominantly produced by tropical countries, and above all by the developing countries of tropical Africa. Africa's share of world production is relatively small. The fact is that today it is not in the developing tropical countries but in the rich developed temperate countries that the bulk of the world's supplies of oils and fats originates.

The slow growth of Africa's exports of oils and oilseeds is but one aspect of the problem facing the developing countries. The core of the problem is that the prices of primary commodities, like those of other agricultural products, have been subject to considerable fluctuation, rocketing up and plummeting down in a manner very different from the much steadier behaviour of the prices of manufactured goods. This instability of commodity prices makes life difficult enough for those who import and process these primary products; for the producing countries it is an even more serious

matter. The solution, so many people think, is to take steps to stabilise supply, and to do this by means of an international commodity agreement.

An international commodity agreement for oils and fats which successfully ironed out price fluctuations without distorting the long-term price trend would be welcomed by Unilever. Enlightened self-interest, to put it no higher, impels us to this conclusion. Stable economies and rising prosperity in the developing countries are plainly to the benefit of our businesses there, while stable commodity prices would be a great advantage to our manufacturing companies everywhere. We try to keep the prices of our finished products stable, because we know well that the housewife dislikes seeing the price of her favourite brand jumping up and down. But it is no easy matter to keep the prices of your finished products stable when the prices of your raw materials are constantly changing. And the prices of oils and fats are very volatile indeed.

International Commodity Agreements

We therefore welcome the steps that are being taken towards seeking an international agreement in these commodities, although the road to the goal is fraught with difficulties. Where we can help, we will. Our main contribution is likely to be the knowledge that our research scientists have built up on the interchangeability of the various oils and fats. In the short run this interchangeability may well make the formulation of a workable international agreement more difficult, because it has greatly widened the range of commodities that must be covered; in the long run it must surely be a stabilising factor.

There is, however, a limit to what the manufacturer can achieve by being flexible in the use of his raw materials. The prices of oils and fats are not only volatile, they have also on the whole been rising in the last few years. Our own index of prices shows that on January 1st of this year they were 28 per cent higher than on January 1st, 1963. Nor have raw material prices been the only costs that have risen in the last few years. The price of almost everything we buy has gone up, and in particular wages and salaries have risen all over the world; in some countries, notably those of Western Europe, very sharply indeed.

Faced with such increases in our costs, our first reaction is to do what we can to absorb them, by finding other raw materials of which the prices have risen less, for instance, or by improving productivity through new investment or better methods. Largely

as a result of these efforts—which have been not unsuccessful—our prices over the last ten years have, on average, risen at only half the rate of prices in general. Nevertheless, there comes a point at which, if profits are to be preserved, prices have to be raised, however reluctant we may be to do so.

Inflation

Perceive, however, what is happening today. We find governments increasingly making price control their major weapon in their fight against inflation. Now, while few governments today deliberately create inflation, some governments are responsible for it at least in part, as a result of yielding to political pressure or letting ambitious spending programmes outrun the available resources. All governments readily talk of the need to counter inflationary tendencies by all available means. Cutting public expenditure, increasing taxation and imposing credit restrictions are unpopular and can easily be carried too far, and check healthy economic growth, as was recently demonstrated in Italy. On the other hand, applied too gently, they are often too little or too late.

Controlling prices and incomes, however, really amounts to treating the symptoms rather than the disease. The income control side of such a policy is inevitably less popular than the price control and indeed it is a hard thing for a government to enforce wage restraint upon trade unions when the demand for labour is at a peak, and employers are bidding against each other for workers. In contrast, a government that announces its intention of keeping prices down can count on almost universal support. Governments seem to hope that if the manufacturer is prevented from raising his prices by law or by a form of persuasion that almost has the force of law, he in turn will resist wage demands and increases in the prices he has to pay his suppliers.

Price Control

Price control as we have met it takes many forms, from formal price control with legal sanctions to "understandings" with the government and "early warnings" systems. But whatever its form, it is bound to affect profits and this is indeed what we have experienced in our own business.

Even when price control is operated under a relatively reasonable formula, there is always some snag. In a number of countries the amount allowed for profit takes no account of the erosion that has occurred in the value of money over the years. In others the wage increases we have had to pay in order to stay in business are not taken into account. Moreover, consultation with government about price increases often takes considerable time and the losses resulting from this delay cannot usually be recorded.

The makers of branded articles, particularly basic consumer goods, are the easiest target for price control, and so far have borne the brunt of government's efforts to stem inflation. These manufacturers cannot pass the pressure back, because they have to buy their supplies at market prices and pay their labour at the current rate. Consequently, profit margins are squeezed and this particular sector of industry is paying the price for what is in fact a one-sided and very imperfect tool of economic policy.

In such a situation we do not sit idly by, bemoaning our hard fate. Obviously, when our profits droop, we look even more closely at costs. We are doing so vigorously at this very moment. But when one has always kept a jealous eye on costs as we have done, nothing that we can now achieve by cost reductions can be enough to meet a situation such as that in Germany, Holland and Italy, where wages have gone up by more than 50 per cent over the last five years.

Neither Sensible Nor Equitable

So we find ourselves in a dilemma. Either we must opt out of the market for supplies and place our own staff at a disadvantage or accept a continuing squeeze on profits that is bound to damage our programme of capital investment and our future earning capacity.

Do not misunderstand me. We are as concerned as anybody to see inflation held in check, and I would remind you that we have never raised prices in order to exploit some temporary market shortage or to take the maximum advantage that can be got out of the consumer in the short run. This would indeed be foolish. But it is neither sensible nor equitable to expect the profits of a particular type of industry to bear the whole, or even the major part, of the burden of resisting inflation. Other sectors of the community must also do their share and so must governments. As makers of consumer goods we are ready to play our part, but we feel entitled to protest when it looks as if that part is being used as a substitute for the whole.

Copies of the full speech can be obtained from Information Division, Unilever Limited, Unilever House, Blackfriars, London, E.C.4.

AN EXPLORATORY shaft to investigate the possibility of establishing a gold mine is to be sunk to 600 ft. by Anglo American Corporation at the Champion mine property in the Odzi area of the Umtali district of Rhodesia. An extensive programme of geological exploration has included the drilling of 17,000 ft. of core in 26 boreholes to prove the reef and its extensions. The property was formerly worked for arsenic, but in the early days of Rhodesia was a gold producer, the claims being pegged on the site of fairly extensive ancient workings.

From 1912 the Champion and neighbouring Cairndu mines were Rhodesia's major suppliers of arsenical cattle dips, and no attempt was made to recover the gold content of the ores. Mr. J. F. Kapnek was associated with the venture until production ceased in 1926. The claims were subsequently pegged by Mr. J. Mack, who sold them in 1959 to Anglo American Rhodesian Mineral Exploration, Ltd.

Drilling in the past six years has indicated sufficient gold and silver to warrant an exploration shaft. Development work only will be done at present.

A Transvaal trade delegation spent three days last week at the Central African Trade Fair in Bulawayo.

Benguela Railway's net operating receipts for the first quarter of this year totalled £898,942, compared with £642,397 in the corresponding period of 1965.

The Exploration Co., Ltd. reports group profits for 1965 at £88,720 (£85,684), after tax of £68,544 (£41,097). Dividends total 10%, against 5%. It is hoped to pay not less than 20% for 1966.

Tobacco sales in Malawi opened last week. Owing to the presence of buyers who normally purchase in Rhodesia, bidding was brisk for leaf mainly of low grade. The opening average price was 30.56d. per lb. Last season's first sale, of better quality leaf, averaged 32.45d.

Unjon Minière du Haut-Katanga has announced that its copper price has been increased from £336 per long ton to £524. A few days earlier Copperbelt companies had decided to price their contracts in accordance with quotations on the London Metal Exchange.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., Rhodesia, mined £252,100 short tons of ore in the quarter to March 31 for the recovery of 2,541 long tons of copper. In the previous quarter the output had been 2,653 tons. The parent company, Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., produced 3,918 and 3,869 tons in the two quarters.

The Rio-Tinto Zinc Corporation, Ltd., which has large interests in many countries and owns gold and emerald mines in Rhodesia, reports group net profits after tax for 1965 at £9,522,000, against £8,707,000. Dividends of 1s. 9d. per share take just over 4m. The carry-forward is £5.7m. (£4.4m.). Issued share capital is just under £47m. Fixed assets exceed £110m. Investments appear at £36.9m. and net current assets at £55.7m.

COMPANY MEETING**LONRHO LIMITED****MR. A. H. BALL'S STATEMENT**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF LONRHO LIMITED was held in London on April 28.

The Chairman (MR. A. H. BALL) referred to the review of operations which was included in the annual report and gave the following additional information:—

We have this year adopted a new procedure which I both hope and believe will serve to give shareholders an up-to-date picture of our affairs. I refer to the inclusion in the published accounts of a review of operations which covers events beyond the end of the company's financial year, namely, September 30.

I wish to refer to two items which must clearly be of particular interest to shareholders: the first is the oil pipeline from the port of Beira to Feruka in Rhodesia, and the second is the question of the option on Lonrho shares.

Beira-Feruka Pipeline

We, as a board, believe that by our actions in connexion with the pipeline we are proceeding in the best long-term interests of shareholders, and I cannot believe that it will remain dormant for ever.

I have been reported in the Press as saying that the loss of profit to the pipeline company is of the order of £60,000 per month, and this figure should not be confused with the percentage of profit accruing to your company. I need hardly add that your board is fully conscious of this fact, and that they are accordingly making the most strenuous efforts to minimize the effect of the situation, which is not one of our own making, by increased activity in other fields.

The second matter of major importance to shareholders is the question of the proposed revised arrangements for an option in favour of Mr. R. W. Rowland.

Mr. Rowland's Option

As you will no doubt recall, the original option, granted in August, 1961, when Mr. Rowland joined the company on the general basis of surrendering assets to Lonrho in exchange for an issue of shares, was negotiated at a time when the Stock Exchange market price for the shares was 4s. 6d. and the price of the exercise of his option was negotiated at 7s.

It will hardly have escaped your attention that since Mr. Rowland became joint managing director, resident in Africa, the consolidated profit of the group before tax has risen during the last five years from £112,800 to £1,823,000, and it is my profound belief that our earnings will continue to grow at an almost equivalent rate provided, and I am emphatic about this, provided that we continue to have the benefit of the dynamic and far-sighted services of Mr. Rowland directing as he does our many and varied interests in Central Africa.

I have naturally seen a certain amount of comment in the Press on the question of the revised proposals for his option agreement, which, in a number of instances occur to me as somewhat misleading. There are a wide variety of reasons why your board is recommending to you that the option agreement should be revised and renewed. I ask you to believe me when I assure you that the proposal to cancel the current option and to substitute a new option agreement with Mr. Rowland is in the very best interests of the company and consequently of all the shareholders.

Review of Activities

For the rest, I have already referred to our increased activities in other fields, and I would now like to give you some account of these various activities.

In brief, our various motor trading interests for the most part continue to flourish and I think that we can expect increased profits despite the present setback in this trade in Rhodesia.

So far as ranching is concerned, our anxieties in connexion with the drought are largely over and the prospects for the current year may be summed up as being encouraging.

Mining activities continue satisfactorily, and I think that one can look forward to an increased profit from this source during the current year.

Malawi and Zambia

Our sugar project in Malawi is ahead of schedule and we expect to be in production in July of this year. Therefore, as from August the project will become a profit-making one, and we envisage a minimum production of 8,000 tons of sugar between July and December.

Production of tea on the Central Africa Company's estates in Malawi is eminently satisfactory, and we estimate that our production will be of the order of 2,700,000 lb. by the end of May, which compares with a figure of approximately 1,850,000 lb. for the corresponding period last year.

Our new match factory in Zambia will commence production next week, and, here again, the project is ahead of schedule.

The brewery, newspaper and engineering interests in Zambia continue to flourish, and we have every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with these investments.

Gratifying Current Picture

That then, gentlemen, is a brief résumé of the current state of our various activities and I think you will agree that the general picture is indeed a gratifying one. That this is so is due to the outstanding and untiring contribution made by Mr. Rowland, your joint managing director, and to the enthusiasm and hard work of all our employees both in London and Africa. I feel sure that you would wish me to take this opportunity to acknowledge our indebtedness to them and to express our very warmest appreciation for all they have done.

The report and accounts were adopted, the retiring directors were re-elected, the auditors' remuneration was fixed, and the resolution proposed in connexion with the share option was passed.

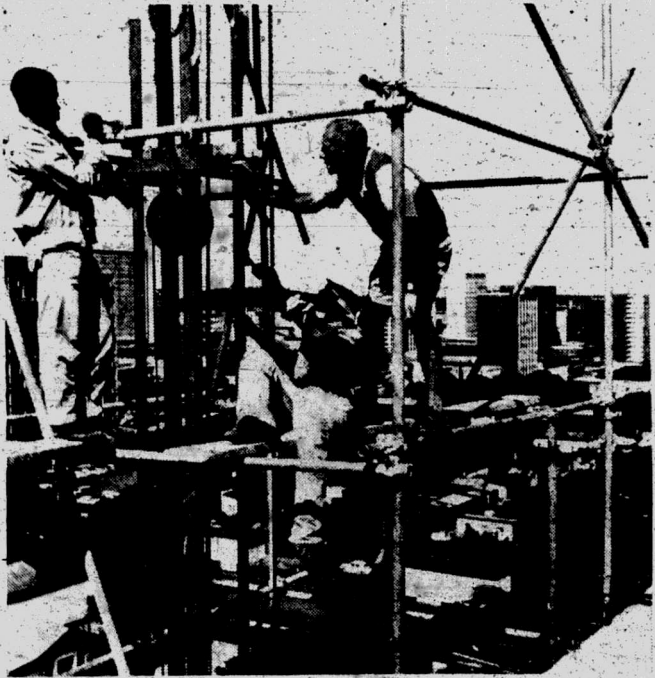
Remission of royalties from May 7 last year to March 31 this year have been granted to the Bancroft mine by the Government of Zambia.

Malawi Electricity Supply Commission has announced that reduced tariffs will come into operation after the opening of the Nkula Falls hydro-electric station in July.

The Commercial Bank of Zambia, Ltd., has opened a branch in Livingstone. There were already offices in Lusaka, Ndola, and Kitwe. Mr. C. W. J. Facey is the general manager.

British Overseas Airways Corporation made a net profit exceeding £8m. in the year to March 31. Capital reorganization saved £4m. in interest charges. Traffic increased by 16%.

Steady Growth in Africa



RHODESIA

has increased her gross domestic product from a nominal £2,500,000 in 1890 to over £306,000,000

this development has resulted in

- * amenities and opportunities for a fuller life for all its people
- * employment for 720,000 people, of whom 634,000 are Africans
- * education for over 680,000 enrolled pupils
- * a tobacco industry exporting over £39,000,000 in 1964
- * a mining industry producing more than 30 different minerals and metals, worth over £26,000,000 in 1964
- * a cattle industry which makes Rhodesia the largest Commonwealth exporter of chilled beef to Britain

In addition, Rhodesia is the second industrial power in Africa

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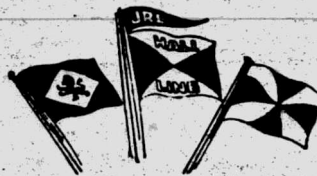
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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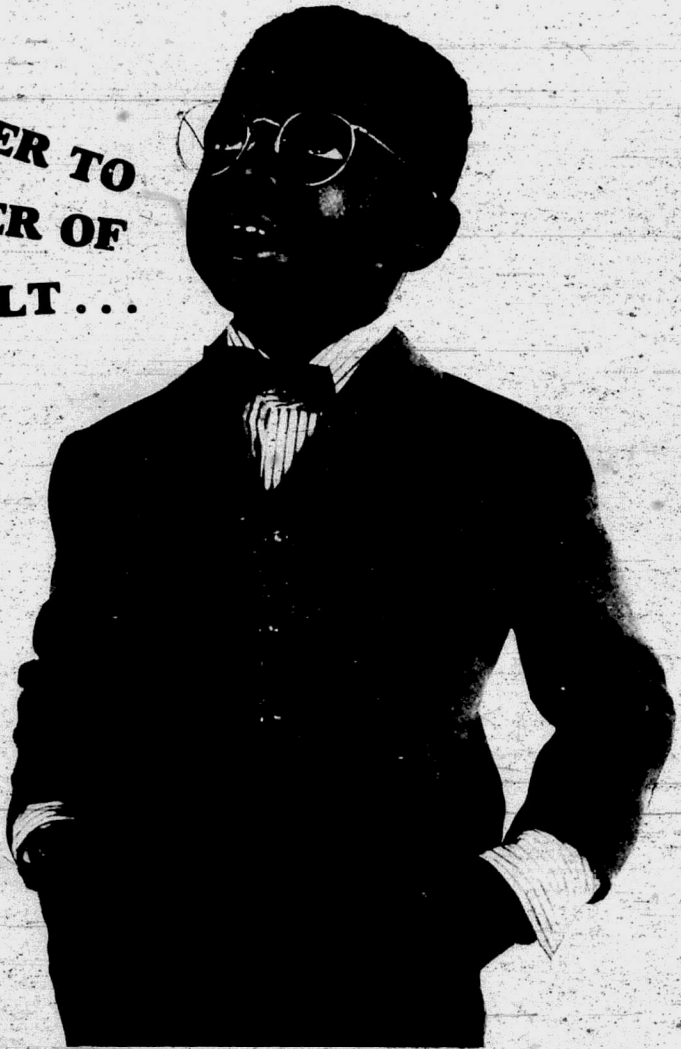
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OUR LETTER OF
18th ULT . . .**



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Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	649	Letter to the Editor ...	659
London Talks on Rhodesia	657	Mr. Smith's Speech ...	660
Rhodesia Gaining Strength	652	B.B.C. Refuted	662
Commons Debate	653	Uganda Ministers	663
"Round Table" on Rhodesia	656	Kenya Cabinet	665
Personalia	658	Company Meeting: East African Power & Lighting Co., Ltd.	667

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IN THE PAST HALF-CENTURY we have missed reading very few issues of the *Round Table*, a quarterly review of Commonwealth affairs which has attracted authoritative, often unusual, and always anonymous contributions, frequently from former ministers, governors, or others of high standing in various parts of the Commonwealth and Empire. Such men of mark, with exceptionally influential contacts, have welcomed the opportunity of discussing candidly in its pages the major problems facing the States spread throughout the world which held allegiance to the British Crown. It was among the young members of Milner's "Kindergarten" in South Africa some sixty years ago that the idea of the *Round Table* originated, and, as a natural consequence, it has paid regular attention to the problems and portents in that continent, especially during the past decade and a half. This long record of informed concern for Africa must increase the astonishment with which many people will have read the leading article in the current issue. It seems to us a most muddled and unfortunate commentary, the nature of which is evident from the title: "A Policy for Rhodesia: Direct Rule by Britain". Salient passages are quoted in other columns. The *Round Table* has an editorial board, which presumably approved this strange assessment.

that "there can be no question of organizing a major military expedition" against Rhodesia. Yet the very next sentence recommends "a growing military presence in Central Africa, so as to be able to influence the situation as it develops". Could anything be more provocative from the Rhodesian standpoint? —unless it be the basic idea of the article, which is that Britain should impose political control upon Rhodesia for not less than a decade and perhaps for a generation. Does the journal not understand that independence was assumed as a direct consequence of mistrust of Britain and disgust at the continuing follies and faithlessness of her politicians of all parties, and that every responsible Rhodesian would find intolerable the proposition that his country's destiny should be directed by men in Westminster and Whitehall who are discredited by their shocking record of calamitous blunders in Africa? Nothing is more certain than that Rhodesians would not voluntarily accept direct rule from Britain. The *Round Table* proposal could therefore be made effective only by force of arms, by the major military expedition which it recognizes to be unwarrantable at present. If it be unjustifiable today, why should it be deemed reasonable later?

Provocative And Absurd It recognizes that the Rhodesian Government's "comprehensible" decision to assume independence was caused by the conviction of Rhodesians that "while legality remained in London they were faced with a serious danger of black African rule"; it refers to "profound distrust of Britain"; and it makes the welcome assertion

Britain, we are told, "must become a power in the area", in either Zambia or Bechuanaland or through a working agreement with the Portuguese Government; and it is naively assumed that "this, without any use of force, will alter the facts". The **Odious Errand** writer and the editorial board are, however, not persuaded by their own advocacy, for the next sentence reads: "If force ever has to be used, it should be overwhelming and decisive so as to involve the

minimum of fighting". That expectation is likewise ludicrous, for invasion, whatever its weight, would be resisted—not only by Rhodesians, but, unquestionably, by the many South Africans who would rush to volunteer their help. The stage would be set for a conflagration involving all Southern Africa. The *Round Table* presumes that it would be Britain, not the United Nations, which would provide "overwhelming force". Military authorities have estimated that a minimum of two divisions of troops would be required for such an expedition—an expedition so outrageous that before it could be assembled and dispatched (making the large assumption that the men could be withdrawn from other duties), the country would be split by righteous wrath. That wrath would certainly be shared by many of the soldiers and airmen involved. Many officers might be expected to resign their commissions rather than embark on so odious an errand, and almost everybody in the force would be unhappy at the prospect of participating in civil war. Before they were faced with decision on that question of conscience, it is highly probable, as suggested above, that thousands of volunteers would have rushed to Rhodesia to defend what they would consider a good cause under threat from politicians in the West who have strewn Africa with wreckage and opened the continent to deeply dangerous Communist activities.

* * *

The Government of South Africa might soon be driven to intervene, for, apart from the sympathy for a friendly neighbour of which there is already ample proof, the four

All Southern Africa Would Be Involved

million whites in that Republic would be very conscious that if Rhodesia were beaten down their own existence would be in pawn. Mozambique and Angola would be equally and similarly concerned. Large-scale military attack on Rhodesia would consequently involve all Southern Africa. On grounds of elementary military, financial, political and social prudence, to say nothing of higher motives, it is therefore to be hoped that not even the present United Kingdom Government, which has behaved so appallingly and recklessly over Rhodesia in recent months, would in any circumstances contemplate an invasion by British troops. It ought also to use the British veto in the Security Council of the United Nations to prevent any military action which might be demanded by the General Assembly; and it would not be surprising if that body passed an irresponsible resolution in favour of military measures, for it is dominated by the votes of the Afro-Asian and

Communist States—clod-pated politicians in Britain having proposed that pocket-sized and backward areas in Africa, misnamed States, some with a population no greater than that of Nottingham or Portsmouth, should be treated as nations and given exactly the same voting rights as the United Kingdom, the United States, or Russia. The results of that inanity have already been tragic in Africa, but all the consequences hitherto experienced in East, West and Central Africa would seem trivial in comparison with the holocaust which could follow the supreme rashness against Rhodesia.

Statements Worth Noting

"Zambia civil servants are the highest paid in independent Africa"—Mr. V. S. Musakanya, Secretary to the Cabinet.

"Britain should not deceive the world that the Smith Government will be toppled by sanctions". — Mr. Frank Chitambala, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs in Zambia.

"Since the country became independent nearly 600 Kenyans have been sent to Israel for study"—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

"Rhodesia had 343,000 visitors in 1965, a record intake, probably not exceeded by any other country in Africa south of the Sahara"—Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism.

"Lazy councillors in local government are a cancer in the fabric of a nation, as much a cancer as parasitic councillors who practise nepotism for personal gain".—President Kaunda.

"We cannot all be right; it is possible that we are all wrong, but it is probable that God in his mercy can find something of good to use in what each of us offers"—The Rt. Rev. F. O. Green-Wilkinson, Archbishop of Central Africa.

"Kakamega County Council has lost £200,000 in the last two years. In graduated personal tax it collected only £95,000 in 1964 and £150,000 in 1965, whereas a very conservative estimate of the potential is £250,000".—Mr. L. G. Sagini, Minister for Local Government in Kenya.

"I was in love with a girl I met in England on one of my home leaves. I used to go to see her. But I also went regularly to gloat over a pair of beautiful elephant tusks I had stored at a taxidermists. I knew it was symbolic, a choice between one life or the other. The elephant tusks won, and I have never been sorry".—Mr. C. J. P. Ionides, in "A Hunter's Story".

"Since 1954, British export prices for manufacturers have risen almost three times as much as the average of export prices of all countries taken together. Thus one does not have to look far for an explanation of the fact that, over the same period, our share in world exports of manufacturers has fallen by about 35%".—Mr. Winfred Beckerman.

"Our more enlightened African farmers have awakened to the value of modern conservation practices and good farm management. Progress in the last five years has been quite remarkable, and in many cases dramatic. There have been cases of more than a tenfold increase in maize production".—Mr. George Rudland, Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia.

Exploratory Talks Between Britain and Rhodesia

Zambian Foreign Minister Flies to U.N. to Organize Protests

YESTERDAY ended the first six months of Rhodesian independence, the declaration having been made by Mr. Jan Smith on November 11.

On Monday civil servants of the British and Rhodesian Governments had their first meeting in London to explore the prospects of formal negotiations between their Governments.

The Rhodesian officials selected for the exploratory talks in London this week were Sir Cornelius Greenfield, until a few days ago the Secretary to the Treasury, and still Chief Economic Adviser to Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister; Mr. Gerald Clarke, Secretary to the Prime Minister and to the Cabinet; and Mr. Stanley Morris, chairman of the Public Services Board. They flew to London at the week-end, where they were joined by Mr. Sydney Brice, who has been in charge of the Rhodesian Mission in the United Kingdom since the declaration of independence.

Representatives of the Governments

Sir Cornelius, whose 60th birthday fell last week, is the elder brother of Mr. Julian Greenfield, Q.C., the former Federal Minister of Law. Knighted in the New Year Honours last year, he had then been Secretary to the Treasury for 11 years. Since the assumption of independence last November he has been responsible for co-ordinating the Rhodesian Government's measures against sanctions.

Mr. Clarke has been private secretary to four Prime Ministers, Mr. Garfield Todd, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Mr. Winston Field, and now Mr. Smith.

Mr. Morris, a former Chief Native Commissioner and Secretary to the Department of Native Affairs, has spent all his career in close contact with Africans. He speaks several Native languages fluently. He was responsible for arranging the two important *indabas* of chiefs and headmen in connexion with independence.

Mr. N. DUNCAN WATSON, the Under-Secretary in charge of the Central Africa Division of the Commonwealth Relations Office, leads the United Kingdom team.

His colleagues are Mr. Oliver Wright, Ambassador-designate to Copenhagen, who was recently in Rhodesia as representative of the Prime Minister; Mr. C. M. LeQuesne, in charge of the Central and West African Department of the Foreign Office; and Mr. K. J. Neale, head of the Rhodesia Department of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

President Kaunda Protests

At the request of the Rhodesian Government, the discussions between the official appointees are being held on neutral ground—not at the Commonwealth Relations Office or at Rhodesia House in London. Complete secrecy is to be maintained about the proceedings in London this week and subsequent discussions in Salisbury.

Before the two teams could begin their discussions—which are being held in the council chamber of the old India Office in Whitehall—President Kaunda had announced Zambia's opposition to the talks. He was "not satisfied" with a reply received from Mr. Wilson to his protest against contacts with a rebel régime, and said that he had decided to send a special emissary to brief his Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, before he left London to address the Security Council of the United Nations.

The emissary proved to be Mr. Mark Chona, Permanent Secretary in the Zambian Foreign Ministry. On Monday he saw Mr. Kapwepwe, who said before flying to New York that his country considered the talks in London "a most shameful move", which "almost swallowed all the principles of the British Government". Africans looked like being sold down the river.

In Lusaka it was said that Mr. Kapwepwe would seek support from the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations for a resolution by Zambia for the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in order to make sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory on all U.N. member States and also to allow for the use of military force.

Apparently on orders from Lusaka, Mr. Kapwepwe did not call on the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, who had indicated that he would be available for a meeting.

Misled by Mr. Wilson

At a meeting on Friday of the Rhodesia Sanctions Committee, which was attended by all the High Commissioners or Deputy High Commissioners of Commonwealth African States represented in London, there had been repeated suggestions that Commonwealth Prime Ministers should be summoned to discuss Rhodesia, instead of waiting for the July gathering arranged by the Lagos Commonwealth Conference in January.

Several delegates told journalists that they had said that their countries had been misled by Mr. Wilson's assertion in Lagos that the Rhodesian rebellion would end "within a matter of weeks rather than months". Sanctions, they said, were obviously not making sufficient impact on Rhodesia.

Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Secretary, attended for the first time since January. He pleaded with the delegations not to obstruct the informal talks in London with Rhodesia's representatives, and affirmed that H.M. Government stood committed to the six principles which it had repeatedly declared to be essential for a settlement of the Rhodesian issue.

The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Central Africa, who have recently met at a gathering in Jerusalem of the Lambeth Consultative Body, have said in a joint statement issued through the Information Office of the Anglican Church that they welcome exploratory talks between Rhodesian and British officials. "We pray that without conflict there may be a solution which is acceptable to all the people of Rhodesia, and which safeguards the development of social and political responsibility for the African population".

The British Council of Churches has "wholeheartedly welcomed" the talks, and said: "There is new hope of preventing a conflict the end of which could not be foreseen. The fundamental issue remains the very early achievement of an agreement which is just to all Rhodesians and which guarantees the advance of the African population to full political and social responsibility by rapid stages. The council asks Christians to pray for a successful outcome of the conversations and for those whose responsibility it will be to conduct them".

Tough Negotiators

The Guardian commented:—

"Clearly Whitehall is going to be faced with three of the toughest negotiators that white Rhodesia can provide; and this does not suggest a mood in the Smith camp of down-hearted men coming as defeatists or beggars. Mr. Smith has played a superb card by finding for his team leader a man honoured by the Queen with a knighthood.

"The other two have the kind of distinguished war record that—as in the case of Mr. Smith himself—stirs powerful sympathy in this country. As a major in the Rhodesian African Rifles in the last war Mr. Morris was mentioned in dispatches. Mr. Clarke, a soldier in Rhodesia's Armoured Car Regiment, saw service in East Africa, Ethiopia and Italy.

"If the talks about talks break down, the Wilson Government will face a major diplomatic problem, with Rhodesia escalating in emotional terms at the U.N. It would then become much harder to deflect independent initiatives by African Governments to by-pass Britain. Leaders like Dr. Kaunda might come under immeasurably greater pressure to turn to Moscow for support at the Security Council and, possibly, for some kind of military contribution as well".

Rhodesia Will Emerge A Far Stronger Nation

Mr. Smith Was Always Ready for Talks at Any Level

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has made it quite clear that it was not he who took the initiative for talks with the British Government—though he has repeatedly and publicly declared his willingness to talk.

Since it continues to be rumoured in Parliamentary and Press circles in London that Mr. Wilson was approached by Mr. Smith, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA quotes hereunder from the Rhodesian *Hansard* of April 26—the day before Mr. Wilson told the House of Commons that talks were to take place between the two Governments.

MR. SMITH, the Prime Minister: "There is a belief—an erroneous belief—that I have now adopted an obstinate stance whereby I am not prepared to talk to Mr. Wilson or any other representative of the British Government. I do not understand how anyone can give any credence to such a story. However, it does appear necessary for me once again to reiterate what I have said on countless occasions since November 11—that we have never closed the door and are always prepared to take part in constructive discussion with anybody.

"Mr. Wilson has claimed that he sent a Commonwealth Relations Office official to Salisbury to receive any representations we might care to make, and that his approaches to my office had met with the response that the Rhodesian Government had nothing to say to him.

Facts Against Mr. Wilson's Fiction

"Let me give you the true facts. It was announced from Whitehall that the reason behind this gentleman's visit was an inspection of the residual British Mission in Salisbury.

"Moreover, after Mr. Heath had attacked Mr. Wilson for his refusal to hold consultations with the Rhodesian Government, Mr. Wilson replied: 'I never thought I would live to see the day when our Conservative friends would want to put the mantle of responsibility around rebels whom they are now supporting in Rhodesia'. Mr. Heath retorted: 'I might ask what the purpose of the Commonwealth Relations official is in Salisbury today?' Mr. Wilson made his point very clearly: the Commonwealth Relations Office official had not come to Rhodesia to do what Mr. Heath advocated, namely, talk to the Rhodesian Government.

"Surely it is not necessary for me to emphasize and repeat the fact that all along Mr. Wilson's stand, which he stated publicly on numerous occasions, was to the effect that he would have no dealings with myself and my Government.

"To return to the Commonwealth Relations Office official's visit to Salisbury: shortly after his arrival I did receive a message, which came to me by circuitous means, informing me that this gentleman would like the opportunity for discussions with officials of this Government. Accordingly three senior officials met him, and found that, in fact, he had nothing to say at all, but was hoping that there may be some messages from our side.

"I find it difficult to believe that he or his Government was quite so naive as to think that there was anything more we could say. We were prepared to talk, and until the British Government was likewise prepared to talk there was really nothing more for us to do.

"I was certainly not prepared to lay any of my cards on the table before the United Kingdom Government had indicated even that they were prepared to come to the table.

"When I made my statement on March 27 to the effect that we had waited long enough for the British Government to talk and now we were going to get on and make the decisions ourselves, I emphasized at the same time that this did not mean we were closing any doors; if anybody in this world wished to talk to us or to offer any advice, it would always be received.

"When I made my subsequent statement dealing with the closing down of the embassies in Salisbury and London I was careful to avoid any statement which would indicate that we

were not prepared to talk. We believed that our action in closing down the British Embassy in Salisbury was correct because of the behaviour and actions of the British Government. Moreover, as the British Government was not prepared to talk to the Rhodesian Government, there seemed to be no case for retaining their representatives here.

"We have our problems, but all of the information available to me leads me to believe—and I find this substantiated by the numerous visitors from overseas whom I have met over the past few months—that the position in Rhodesia today gives cause for great optimism and hope for our future.

"I have never laid down any prior conditions to discussions that this Government should have. In fact, I believe that in principle it is unreasonable for anybody who is going to the negotiating table to do, because it means going there with preconceived ideas.

"My views are well known to the British Government and British Prime Minister. The views which I have expressed here to-day will be conveyed once again to the British Prime Minister, though I cannot believe that there need be any doubt in his mind as to what our stand is. We have made our position quite clear. Surely the ball is now in his court".

MR. GONDO: "I would like to know whether the Prime Minister has offered other Ministers or some of his very important members at other levels—not Prime Minister to Prime Minister level—to re-open negotiations? Is it not the duty of the Prime Minister, who in himself is a prodigal son, to go back to the father and say: 'I have made a mistake'?"

PRIME MINISTER: "I have never stated that any discussions which might take place should be at Prime Minister level. The level is of little consequence as far as I am concerned; having made my position clear, it is now necessary for the other side to make their position equally clear".

MR. GONDO: "Would the Prime Minister agree that the fact that he has left the door open for negotiations shows that he believes independence is imperfect and there is something wrong with it? Would the Prime Minister not admit there is something wrong with this independence?"

In Mutual Interests

PRIME MINISTER: "Of course the answer is in the negative. The answer is that evidently the British Government do not believe our independence is as it should be. If that is so, we are prepared to have discussions with them. We believe that the predicament in which we find ourselves—the economic predicament, whereby the trade relations which have been built up over many years between our two countries are now being broken down so destructively—that these things are not natural, and it is in the interests of both countries to try to put matters right and see if, we can return to normal conditions which were in existence before. Of course the hon. member makes a mistake. It is not we who believe the position is wrong or imperfect. It is the British Government.

"So far as I am concerned, talks may start at any level at any place, at any time".

MR. GONDO: "May I know from the Prime Minister whether, as long as the position remains like this, Rhodesia would remain in a strong economic position?"

PRIME MINISTER: "I do not think there is any doubt that while there were some repercussions as a result of the decision we took on November 11, for some time now the position has been improving and our economy is becoming stronger as time goes by. I have no hesitation in saying that, in spite of the disadvantages which did accrue at the beginning, in the end Rhodesia is going to emerge from this exercise a far stronger nation economically than she was when she went into this exercise".

MR. SAMURIWO: "Is it not time that we should surrender now to the British Government?"

PRIME MINISTER: "Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time, even in this very short sitting of Parliament, that I have had to point out to hon. Members opposite my surprise at the manner in which they so easily throw in the sponge and give up the ghost. What an unfortunate characteristic this is that is displayed by hon. Members opposite. Although there are many things in which we differ in this House, I do not think there is any one thing on which we differ more than this surrender to which the hon. Member has just referred".

MR. CHIPUNZA: "Would the Prime Minister consider the holding of discussions here at home as a prelude to any discussions between Rhodesia and the British Government?"

PRIME MINISTER: "This, of course, would depend on what sort of discussions these were going to be and who would take part. Are they to be between people, on the one hand, who are determined to make a stand and succeed, and, on the other hand, people who are prepared to surrender even before the game has started?"

No African Majority in Rhodesia for A Very Long Time

Prime Minister's Statement in House of Commons

A VERY LONG TIME must be expected to elapse before African majority rule in Rhodesia would be justifiable, the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons during the recent debate on Rhodesia.

Some of the speeches, including those of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Maudling, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, were reported last week.

The Prime Minister's assurance that "a very long time" would be required is recorded in the *Hansard* for April 27.

MR. ROBIN TURTON (Cons., Thirsk and Walton) emphasized that Rhodesians who had disagreed with Mr. Smith had rallied to him merely because he was at last getting away from Whitehall. The two main aspects of the talks must be to clarify the issues under which the British Government could accept Rhodesia as an independent country and the conditions under which the Commonwealth could accept Rhodesia as an independent member.

"I do not believe that a crash programme of education is of the slightest use in Rhodesia unless it is accompanied by a crash programme of development. Every action which the British Government have taken in imposing sanctions has retarded that possibility for the Africans. Therefore Britain and the Commonwealth must make their contribution to crash programmes of education and of development.

"Only last week the Minister of Education in Mr. Smith's Government announced a crash programme of primary education. They have not the financial resources to promote a crash programme of secondary education. That should be one of the offers which we make in the talks.

Commonwealth Statesmen Should Take Part

"As to Rhodesia's place in the Commonwealth, it is very important that in subsequent stages of the talks Commonwealth statesmen should take part. We should talk not merely to the Government in power but also to those who are not in power. Therefore not only should the Prime Minister of Britain take part in the talks, but also the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Chipunza. It would be of immense help if Sir Robert Menzies could be persuaded to take part, or, if he were not available, Mr. Holt, the present Prime Minister of Australia, representing the Commonwealth countries outside Africa should also be represented. Someone like General Ironsi of Nigeria could be invited to take part.

"I suggest a body of seven men, representing this country, Rhodesia, and the Commonwealth, to hammer out what is probably one of the most difficult problems with which any statesman has ever been faced in any part of the world."

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS (Cons., Streatham) said, *inter alia*—

"I warmly welcome the Prime Minister's belated but nonetheless exceedingly welcome decision to have talks with the Smith Administration. It is the only sensible way out of the dangerous deadlock.

"The Government have, in effect, lost control of the situation in the United Nations—a very serious development. By asking the Security Council to issue mandatory orders to Britain the Government abdicated their responsibility. They are now no longer free to act on their own judgment or of their own discretion. They have in this matter become agents of the Security Council.

"The British resolution approved by the Security Council declares that the continuance of the Smith régime constitutes a threat to international peace. This is palpably untrue, but it has presented to other nations the most powerful justification for demanding more and more new measures of increasing severity, including, if necessary, the use of force.

"Unless a settlement can be arrived at fairly soon, the Government will find that more and more they are being pushed around by other countries which have no love for Britain and are more interested in satisfying their racialist emotions than in doing what is best for the people of Rhodesia.

"We have to consider how far it is right to alienate our old and trusted allies, how far it is wise to risk military embroilment, how far we can afford to lose important and valuable export markets, and how far it is fair to ask the British taxpayer to foot the bill. The sky is not the limit. There must come a point beyond which we could not go. The task of the Government is to negotiate a reasonable settlement before that point is reached.

"I do not underrate the difficulties. I am optimistic that they will be overcome. The bitter experience of these last months and the dangers which loom ahead for both sides provide a powerful inducement to agreement. Each will have to make concessions. With so much at stake, with so great a prize, and with the hopes of so many centred upon them, I cannot believe that once negotiations have been re-started neither could allow them to fail."

Mr. Wall's Estimate of Cost of Sanctions

MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons., Haltemprice) said that he had just been reliably informed that more than half of this year's tobacco crop had been sold to foreign buyers, that chrome and asbestos were getting through the blockade, and that there might be a coal shortage in Rhodesia because so much coal was going to export. He continued (in part):—

"The allocation of foreign exchange to industry in the second quarter of this year is 20% higher than in the first quarter. So it does not look as if foreign exchange will knock the Rhodesian *de facto* Government out in a short time. Indeed, they are saving some £13m. a year in foreign exchange by not servicing the loans taken over by Britain when she took over the Rhodesia Reserve Bank.

"A number of foreigners are beginning to think that the blockade is breaking down and are therefore preparing to get into the Rhodesian market on a rather larger scale than during the past few months. Some very prominent foreigners have visited Rhodesia recently. I believe that there will be considerable development in trade following these visits.

"Those who claim that the object of sanctions was to bring about the unconditional surrender of the Rhodesian Government have not made their case and it is unlikely that they ever will. The long-term effect of sanctions is unlikely ever to be satisfactory from the point of view of H.M. Government. It may lead to slowing down Rhodesian industry, but it has created a strong anti-British feeling and a consumer boycott not only in Rhodesia but in other territories of Southern Africa. This means, whatever happens in the talks, a serious and inevitable long-term loss of markets and invisibles in both Rhodesia and South Africa. This could be disastrous for the economic future of this country when our balance of payments is on such a narrow margin as it is today.

"One must bear in mind the cost of economic sanctions to this country. The trade loss has been estimated at £33m. a year and the loss in invisibles at £26m. a year. The cost of the economic war—the additional cost of copper and similar matters—is estimated at £6m.; exchange control guarantees, £10m.; the airlift to Zambia, £7m.; economic assistance to Zambia, £7m.; extra Service costs, £2m.; maintenance of a Javelin squadron in Zambia, £3m.; improvements to Zambian roads, £34m.; the Francistown radio, £3m. That totals £98m. in a year. In addition, the guarantees to the World Bank on Kariba, if they are called in, amount to £65m., and the British assets in Rhodesia, which could be taken over by the Rhodesian Government, total £108m.

Heavy Blows to Britain

"The bill to the British economy, if these proposed talks do not succeed and if the situation deteriorates, could be well over £200m. and probably nearer £300m. in a full year. This leaves out of account the effect on invisibles, banking, and trade in South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola.

"These talks must succeed. The alternative may well be mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations. This means a naval blockade of the whole of Southern Africa. The British would be the first to be hit. British investment in South Africa totals over £1,000m. Last year South Africa was our third largest customer. Exports to South Africa were £261m. and imports from South Africa £181m. So we had a balance of trade in our favour of £80m.

"I recently visited the Middle East and the Far East. The effect on morale of the possibility of hostilities with Rhodesia has been very severe indeed. I understand that the older men, the officers and senior N.C.O.s, have made their views fairly plain. In Australia there is official support for the British Government's policy of sanctions, but strong unofficial opposition. This was manifest in the Australian Government's recent refusal of the British Government's request to increase economic sanctions. They know that they will be the next to be subject to Afro-Asian pressures.

"Let us concentrate on talks for a new Constitution which will give legal effect to independences. If we really are

endeavouring to find a Constitution which can be agreed between H.M. Government in Britain and H.M. Government in Rhodesia to give legal independence to that country, we could succeed. If we make clear that that is our aim, the Rhodesians will co-operate.

"Economic assistance from Britain to speed up educational advance must be accompanied by healthy economic development. It is no good producing high-grade students from secondary schools or universities unless we can also produce jobs for them. There is nothing worse than an educated and frustrated man. He turns to politics; and we all know the unfortunate result in many parts of Africa. Therefore any educational programme must be accompanied by a programme of economic development, and economic help must be provided for both.

"Accept or Jump in the Lake"

"These talks can succeed, and for the first time a British Prime Minister could sell an agreement made with a Rhodesian Government to the Commonwealth and the United Nations, because he can now say: 'I have thrown the book at Mr. Smith and damaged the economy of my own country. Now I have reached an agreement which I believe to be fair to all races in Rhodesia which Mr. Smith can accept. Therefore you must accept it, or you can go and jump in the lake'.

"The factor inhibiting all previous British Prime Ministers has been that any agreement they might have reached with the Rhodesian Government would never have been accepted by the Commonwealth or the U.N. That is now out of the way. Both the Commonwealth and the U.N. would accept an agreement which both our Prime Minister and Mr. Smith accepted.

"But if they fail, what are the alternatives? First, a continuation of the economic blockade. I do not think that will satisfy the Commonwealth. I do not believe that South Africa will ever stop supplying oil and petrol to Rhodesia. She knows that if she does the same sanctions will be applied to her within six months. The economic blockade is breaking down and other countries are beginning to take advantage of the British position.

"The next alternative is the direct use of force by British troops. It has been estimated that two divisions would be required. Whether it be two brigades or two divisions, where are they to come from? If we could find anything like that number troops, what would their morale be like? If a British force was moving over the Zambian border to invade Rhodesia, immediately South African volunteers in plain clothes would come north to help the Rhodesians. When I was in South Africa someone remarked to me: 'If there was any invasion either by the U.N. or Britain into Rhodesia there would be only generals left in South Africa; everyone else would be gone over the border in plain clothes'.

"The real danger is United Nations intervention, which would be as ineffective but far more destructive than in the Congo. The only sane alternative to war is talks. The vast majority of the British people are in favour of negotiations. In the referendum carried out by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society 74% of those approached wanted negotiations. In a similar referendum of the *Sunday Post* of Glasgow the number in favour was 92%. In a *Daily Express* questionnaire during the election period 71% opposed the use of force."

Independence Must Be Accepted

MR. R. T. PAGET (SOC., Northampton) said that he had been keenly interested in Rhodesian policy for 20 years, and continued, *inter alia*—

"I have taken the view that independence was inevitable and would have to be accepted; that penal sanctions would unite the Rhodesians behind Smith, and that we should have to negotiate with Smith. I committed the political crime of being right too soon.

"I welcome the present decision that 'toppling Smith' has ceased to be numbered among our objectives. Toppling Smith meant breaking the spirit of white Rhodesia. A country lives on its spirit. What is important is the will, belief and confidence in itself. If one destroys that, one has destroyed the future—the prospect of racial co-operation. That is what happened in the Southern States of America; and the resulting racial bitterness endured for 100 years, a wretched decadent society.

"If we had toppled Smith we should not have had a civil service there because it would have been defeated, bitter, and hating. We should not have had a police force there, because it would have been defeated, bitter, and hating. We should have had no co-operation from the whites. The Africans of Rhodesia are not capable of governing, not capable of forming a civil service and a police force. Time has to be given. If we had toppled Smith, Rhodesian civilization would have toppled too. It would have been a tragedy for Rhodesia, Africa, and us.

"Look for a moment at the Organization for African Unity, the creation of Dr. Nkrumah. Its conference at Addis Ababa unanimously agreed to withdraw recognition from Britain;

and members of the Commonwealth who withdrew recognition decided to remain members of the Commonwealth. That is a measure of its responsibility. Half of them were repudiated by their own Governments before they got back home.

African Irresponsibility

"The other measure of responsibility is shown by those on the Committee of 24, the anti-colonial committee of the United Nations. Consider its latest effort in Aden—full support for the terrorists, with a refusal to hear what we had to say because what the Colonial Powers said should not be considered.

"Consider Mr. Smith in Rhodesia. He has the conscious support of the Europeans, perhaps 7% of the population. He probably has the opposition of the Nationalists, another 7% of the population. There is the passive acquiescence of the great tribal minority. This passive acquiescence to the Government is an African phenomenon.

"Mr. Smith, with his 7% support, has probably far more popular support than nine-tenths of the Governments in Africa.

"Not 5% of Africans north of the Zambezi know or care whether Rhodesia is black, white, or piebald. Francophone Africa has five military dictatorships and seven one-party presidencies. What do the Nigerian Government represent today?—a group of Ibo officers who have seized power by murdering the Government. We recognized them a week after they had murdered the Prime Minister. The Ghana Government is a military dictatorship. The Congo Government represent a military dictatorship. In the Sudan we have a savagely racial military dictatorship engaged in what is very near to genocide of the Negroes in the south. In Ethiopia a medieval monarchic autocracy is fully engaged in undeclared war with Somalia.

"Look at Tanzania. Mr. Nyerere has not recovered from having to be rescued by our troops from his own mutineers. Tanzania is in a sorry state. The writ of Government is not running. The Zambians are the real victims of these sanctions. They are in a terrible mess. A quick settlement is necessary if Kaunda is to be saved. He is the man in real peril.

"Dr. Banda is the one man who can talk sense because he is sufficiently secure to do so. In their hearts Nyerere and Kaunda are longing to see this settled, because it is an appalling peril to them; only Banda is sufficiently secure to say so. He has said that two platoons of the Rhodesian Army could dispose of all the forces that black Africa could place on the Zambezi. This is the truth and the reality.

"So what have we there? No responsibility, no real representativeness, impotence, sound and fury signifying nothing. I urge the Prime Minister not to let O.A.U. stand in the way of a just solution on Rhodesia.

Outraged by U.K. Behaviour

"Portugal and South Africa cannot allow sanctions to work. It is a matter of self-preservation. The Foreign Minister of Zambia said only two nights ago on television that if Rhodesia were broken, South Africa's spine would also be broken. Dr. Verwoerd can see that as well as Mr. Kapwepwe. If this goes on it can only escalate into terrible and costly war. Those who were responsible for it would be as guilty of a crime against humanity as any who are buried at Nuremberg.

"Look at the costs of the present situation. The airlift to Zambia and various other services costs £194m. a year. The blockading of the Mozambique Channel, keeping ships at sea and aircraft constantly on patrol, is a very expensive operation. In trade with Rhodesia we lose £30m. in exports. We have lost permanently in insurance and services and interest another £18m. Apart from that we have to get our raw materials at far higher prices from non-sterling sources.

"South Africa, about our biggest customer, takes £265m. a year in our goods. But we have created in South Africa such a hatred as has to be experienced to be believed, and particularly among South Africans of British descent. It is Natal which is particularly infuriated and outraged by our behaviour, and which already has an unofficial boycott of British goods. In a period when Japan increased her exports to South Africa by 46% and Germany by over 20% our exports are falling—and will fall catastrophically if we do not settle this matter. If we take sanctions to South Africa three-quarters of the free world's gold, which comes to London, is involved.

"From the talks I had with Mr. Smith, the Governor, and others in Rhodesia, I should like to state what is not negotiable. Let us start off with all this stuff about a return to the Constitution, a return to the rule of law, the Governor's authority, and not legalizing rebellion. Whatever that may sound like here, in Rhodesia it is regarded as a mere euphemism for 'You lick my boots for a start'. No nation, however it achieves its independence, surrenders that independence until it is defeated. The reality is that we must negotiate with independence.

"What about Press censorship?" the critics say. We have censorship. So did Britain during the war. Like Britain then, we are at war, now involved in a fight for our survival.

"Our daily Press is in the hands of a monopoly dedicated to the destruction of our independence. It automatically takes our critics' point of view. It seeks to pour out a stream of pessimism by slanted reporting. It attempts to publish our economic secrets. It practices not Press freedom but licence. In times of crisis such as this the picture must be balanced, and it has been done by what must surely be one of the most benevolent of censorships.

"Rhodesia guards its security as does any other country, but police activity is as normal as anywhere else. Whilst the rest of Africa has witnessed the bloodshed of a series of coups, Rhodesia's total death roll through police action since independence is one—a stone-throwing thug. The Army has not been used to support the police; nor have police or Army reservists been called out.

"The editor of Nigeria's *Lagos Daily Times* has visited Rhodesia since independence. He wrote in his paper that the world picture of Rhodesia is a grim, tense police State is a 'massive fraud'. More recently Mr. Selwyn Lloyd stated after his visit that he had found no evidence of such a State. Many other prominent visitors have expressed similar opinions.

"Democracy in most of Africa today is a myth. Yet, strangely, Rhodesia's critics still attack this country's system of qualified democracy. They still demand the introduction of a full democratic system—one man one vote—soon, if not immediately. They persecute Rhodesia simply for failing to accept now a principle which will disappear the moment it is introduced.

Premature Democracy Leads to Communism

"For the successful practice of democracy requires a highly sophisticated electorate, and Africa does not have this yet. Premature democracy leads merely to Communism.

"It is often said that Communism in Africa is a smoke-screen—a figment of white supremacist imagination. But the evidence of its penetration is too strong to be denied. Russian arms and Chinese advisers are commonplace in virtually every African state north of the Zambezi. States like Mali, Guinea, and Tanzania are openly Communist. Guerrilla training centres run by Chinese instructors are dotted over Africa. Ghana's, for example, became known to the world after the recent military coup. How many still remain hidden? Their presence is not altruistic.

"Africa is ripe for revolution", Chou-en-Lai has said; and he has done everything to encourage it. The Congo rebellions, the Tanzanian coup, the Burundi massacres, and many others—all have their origins in Communist duplicity. How frequently, too, African leaders have revealed their true colours in times of crisis with their swift departure for Communist lands.

"For Rhodesians the problem is uncomfortably close to home. Even now 23 Communist-trained saboteurs are on trial in Salisbury. They are only the latest in a long list. And caches of Communist arms have been found dotted throughout the country.

"Equal rights for all civilized men", the dictum of Cecil Rhodes, remains the cornerstone of Rhodesian policy. If Rhodesia is to survive, it must retain Western civilization. Rhodesia's critics accept this, the contention that the creation of Western civilized standards requires a period of tutelage by Westerners, and that during this period the tutors should have authority. Rhodesia's Constitution, with its non-racial franchise based only on earning or educational qualifications makes exactly the same point.

"The British Government sees this process in terms, at most, of a few years. It claims simultaneously that African majority rule will not be immediate; but immediacy is a matter of degree, and Rhodesians, setting a few years against the span of history and the immensity of the task, see the process as a gradual one.

Civilization An Education

"The main argument of those who accept tutelage, but insist that the period should be short, is that education is the key to civilized behaviour. They see crash programmes as the answer. Build enough schools, they say, and the educated products will make responsible civilized voters.

"Rhodesians see it differently. They see civilization as an education in Western living, not Western learning. They believe that civilized behaviour is the product, not of the school alone, but of school linked to home environment—the social background. In common with many educationists, they believe also that it is the home which gives the developing adult the greater proportion of his education in living responsibility with society.

"There are those who will say that, if better environmental background is that important, like education, it must be provided now—the kral must be removed. Economics, to say nothing of psychological resistance in the people involved, make this impossible. Education must first provide the skills,

and investment the means, to develop the economy to provide more education, and so on.

"Nor would a crash programme of education change this fact. The social, educational, and economic facets of any developing Western-type community are interrelated far too closely for anything but disaster to arise from force-feeding one factor into unnatural growth, isolated from the others. If, for example, education is boosted unnaturally without a corresponding development of the economy, how is the nation to cope with an army of qualified school-leavers who are unemployed? They may have gained the vote, but this is a poor substitute for a job".

British Government Criticized

WHEN MR. GEORGE BROWN, First Secretary in Mr. Wilson's Government, arrived in Stockholm last week as chief British delegate to the 10th Socialist International Congress, Africans from Rhodesia, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria, and South Africa who are students at Uppsala University, demonstrated against Rhodesia, carrying placards calling for "Immediate Action Against Smith".

Some days earlier representatives of the two proscribed Rhodesian nationalist organizations, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, and the Zimbabwe African National Union, had arrived in Sweden to lobby the Press, give lectures, and talk to various individuals and groups. They demanded to be allowed to address the Socialist congress, but the British delegates objected on the ground that the group had been invited only as "fraternal guests". A special "informal session" was arranged for speeches by such fraternal guests, who, however, refrained from speaking because they had been asked not to refer to Rhodesia and confine their remarks to Socialist action in developing countries.

Among the Africans present were Mr. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, and Mr. Zulu, Minister of Mines.

It was at the suggestion of the British Labour Party that Africans had attended a Socialist conference at Uppsala a week earlier to discuss "thought and action in new countries". They then criticized British policy in regard to Rhodesia.

At the 17-nation disarmament conference in Geneva the chief Nigerian delegate, Mr. G. O. Ljewere, accused the United Kingdom Government of failing to take appropriate action to end the illegal régime in Rhodesia. He argued that "it is difficult to preach the gospel of disarmament to a man whose next-door neighbour enjoys a bounteous harvest by the use of arms".

The British Government had, he said, not taken appropriate action against the rebels because, being armed to the teeth, they presented an extremely difficult military problem; because they had friends in certain countries which would find it politically unwise to apply drastic measures; and because democracy in Rhodesia could not be contemplated since it would be handing over the Government to Africans, a course which would not serve the political and economic interests of the rebels "and their principals".

He was sure that if Mr. Smith had been a Pandit Nehru, a Colonel Nasser, a Jomo Kenyatta, Joshua Nkomo, or Kenneth Kaunda, "we would be left in no doubt as to what his fate would be by now".

Lord Chalfont, Minister for Disarmament, found it depressing that the Nigerian delegate should use the disarmament conference to criticize the British Government for not having used force. Military action had not been taken because it would have involved the risk of a bloody war which could spread beyond Africa. He rejected the idea that H.M. Government would have acted differently if the rebels had been black.

Plots in Zambia

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said in Mufulira last week that his recent restriction orders against certain persons had not been made because they were either Communists or capitalists but because they had been plotting against the Government and planning to take Barotse Province out of Zambia. On the same day Mr. Arthur Wina, Minister of Finance, said in Barotse that the entire body of U.N.I.P. in that Province strongly opposed the resignation from the party of Mr. Hastings Noyoo, the Ngambela (Prime Minister). There had been demands that Mr. Noyoo should resign his office, because he had been accused of appealing for public funds in order to try to overthrow the Zambian Government in the Barotse Province so that that part of the country might secede.

Long Discussion But No Agreement On Rhodesia

Profound Distrust of British Politicians Emphasized by "Round Table"

A POLICY FOR RHODESIA recommended by the *Round Table* is that Britain should assume direct responsibility for the government of the country for a substantial period—for a minimum of a decade, and perhaps for a generation.

It is admitted that that action will not appeal to "the proud and independent ruling minority in Rhodesia who have played so great a part in making it prosperous", but the proposal is held to offer Rhodesians "their best hope of moving towards a system of national government which will sustain and develop all that they have achieved".

The article states, *inter alia*:—

"The rebellion (or U.D.I.) was caused ultimately by the conviction of Rhodesians that while legality remained in London they were faced with a serious danger of black African rule with the British Government as the agent. These fears are reinforced by the belief that Britain's attempts to get control of Rhodesia are aimed exclusively at this objective. Any suggestion that British policy is governed by the views of the African Commonwealth countries reinforces this conviction.

No Alternative to British Responsibility

"There are two fundamental reasons why it is no more justifiable for the British Government to turn over Rhodesia to the majority than to leave it in the hands of the present minority. The first is that it would lead to a break up of white Rhodesian society and the ruin of the economy, on which the prospects for African education and progress depend. The wealth generated by the Rhodesian economy is as fundamental to the future of Central Africa as the constitutional arrangements. The second reason is that a rapid transfer of power to one group in so divided a society would mean that the white minority would be denied their reasonable rights.

"There is therefore no good alternative to direct British responsibility for the government of Rhodesia for a substantial period. It could be a generation. Only such a clear-cut assurance by Britain can give the white Rhodesians the prospect that they will not suffer a loss of standards and will live in the sort of political and legal system which they have always known.

"Their profound distrust of Britain is based on their conviction that the British were leaving and leaving soon. To dispel this distrust will demand the highest statesmanship: but it can happen only if Britain can persuade the Rhodesians that she understands her responsibilities and will discharge them. All sorts of arguments will be deployed against this: that no Government can bind its successors, that withdrawal from everywhere is now so basic to the British imperial habit that nothing can change it, and so on. They will have to be answered by determined leadership and evident commitments.

"This means reversing ingrained assumptions. It will be a long process; but a Government which makes up its mind and sticks to it will slowly convey this to all concerned. Sticking to it is the essence of the problem. There must be no more misunderstandings without the determination to carry them out.

"Full self-government will be possible and desirable when the African middle class has grown to such proportions that partnership is easy. The key to this is education and job opportunities—and the wealth to make both possible. It is in these decisive areas of government that British authority must be exercised when and if direct rule can be achieved.

"There is no inconsistency between the interests of white Rhodesians and black Rhodesians in developing a strong and prosperous economy and an educated population. Their only clash is about who is to be master. Once it can be asserted that neither is to be master the great work of developing a single country with a strong economy can begin again.

"The idea of direct rule does not mean Whitehall rule over domestic Rhodesian issues. What must be constructed is a system of political control which maintains an equal system of law and justice; in which economic growth and education progress to the greatest possible extent; and in which all races enjoy the fruits of this progress equally.

Rhodesians Tough, Determined and Able

"These objectives are essential if the effort to break the independent Rhodesian régime is to have a coherent purpose. But can it succeed? Can Britain defeat Mr. Smith? The determination of the Rhodesian white population has been seriously underrated in the past; and no British Government can any longer work on the assumption that there are powerful commercial forces which will put a check on irresponsible action by the Government. More primitive political emotions have taken charge. A tough, determined, and able people believes that it is fighting for its very survival. The struggle may be long and costly.

"If the Rhodesians prove to be a stubborn and determined people in the face of heavy economic damage, how long should the wrecking operation go on? What sort of terms should Mr. Wilson offer for something like an armistice? Should he go for something distinctly short of surrender? The most important thing the British Government can offer is the assurance that there will be no local majority rule for a long time. But this is unlikely to be believed until the chance to prove it has been offered.

"In the present circumstances there can be no question of organizing a major military expedition. The object must be to have a growing military presence in Central Africa so as to be able to influence the situation as it develops. The anomaly of sovereign responsibility without power has been exposed by Mr. Smith and can no longer be sustained. Whether in Zambia or Bechuanaland, or whether through a working agreement with the Portuguese Government (which has perhaps been too hastily excluded), Britain must become a power in the area.

"To say that partnership is impossible in Rhodesia is to say that the whites must leave or the blacks be a subject people. Either is possible, but either would be a disgrace to those who have been and are responsible. Partnership will take many years to achieve, but the alternatives are unacceptable.

Britain Should Rule for a Decade

"Rhodesia marks the end, at least for the present, of imperial withdrawal. The whole world is asking that Britain should provide the country with the Government which is domestically impossible. The responsibility cannot be avoided. First white Rhodesia and then black Africa must accept the fact that there is no basis for a transfer of power to Rhodesians in the next decade at least. To succeed in accepting direct responsibility successive British Governments must gain and hold the trust of both.

"This high endeavour could yield rich rewards to Africa and the world. It could enable Rhodesia to come to eventual independence with a political and economic strength which other African countries have not had.

"A long contribution from a Rhodesian correspondent is emphatic that "British assumption of governmental responsibility in Rhodesia would be completely contrary to the wishes of most people and all politicians, and would therefore be very short-lived".

His survey states:—

"Distrust of British politicians is deep-seated, multi-racial and almost complete. The Presbyterian missionaries left behind a regard for truth and an expectation that even politicians would be honest. These feelings may seem naive to politicians in Europe, but they are nevertheless widely and deeply felt. Rhodesians' distrust of Britain's political leaders is a fact.

"Sanctions have so far failed politically. Instead of feelings mounting against Mr. Smith, they have

mounted against Britain, aided by such mistakes as the pensions fiasco. Mr. Smith is infinitely more popular than he has ever been before. No other leader has any considerable following. The mood of Rhodesia's whites is reminiscent of Britain in 1940.

"Reference has been made to the American Declaration of Independence, on which Mr. Smith's U.D.I. was clearly modelled; but the closer parallel is with Ulster in 1913-14. Sir Edward Carson's stirring speeches, his bitter denunciations of the shabby dishonesty of the Liberal Government, his illegal arming of his supporters with smuggled German guns—perhaps even the Curragh mutiny (who knows?)—this history shows how many great men have acted in times of crisis. Washington, Carson, and Churchill won their battles. Mr. Smith may lose his, for few would claim he was of like calibre; but, like them, he has rallied his countrymen, and they will fight on to the end, backs to the wall, believing completely in the justice of their cause.

Africans Respect Power

"The high Rhodesian standard of living allows for considerable belt-tightening before any real hardship arises. This is even true amongst Africans; for although the standard of living of Rhodesia's Africans is still low, it is very high compared to the standards in any other country in black Africa. Rhodesia's half-million African immigrants from Zambia and Malawi hope desperately to be allowed to stay where there is at least a prospect of a better life: the hopeless poverty of their free homelands presents no attraction. Since Britain imposed the sanctions, Britain is blamed for resultant distress.

"Most Africans respect power and authority. The former leaders of Rhodesia's African political parties have now little influence or support. There is less prospect of Rhodesia's Africans being goaded by the effects of sanctions into more active opposition to Mr. Smith than there is of any effective white opposition to Mr. Smith developing.

"Most business leaders and probably a majority of the intelligentsia were utterly opposed to U.D.I.; but now that U.D.I. has happened there seems to be no alternative to accepting it and working towards a liberalization of Mr. Smith's régime. If sanctions succeed, Rhodesia's economy is certain to be ruined. No one can be expected to support such an utterly destructive policy, especially when no alternative has so far been given.

The Congo, says the writer, is the best argument against the use of armed force, its use having merely shown how easy it is to destroy and how difficult and slow to re-build.

"If Britain did manage to collect together sufficient troops, the logistics of delivering them to Rhodesia are immensely difficult, and if they stayed more than a few days in any neighbouring territory their loyalty, or at least their fighting spirit, would surely diminish, if not disappear. It seems to assert that, even if Parliament agreed, the use of British troops would be impracticable. The use of foreign or U.N. troops would be even more dangerous and at least as difficult to arrange.

"No one in Britain should imagine that Britain's attacks on Rhodesia have gained or will gain any friends in black Africa. Indeed, since Mr. Wilson has wisely ruled out early 'majority rule', any solution accepted or imposed by Mr. Wilson will prove highly distasteful to O.A.U.

Misconceptions

"There are many widely held misconceptions. First, there was no significant British or other aid to Rhodesia before U.D.I.; indeed, net dividend and interest payments to Britain and the West from Rhodesia amounted to many millions of pounds annually. So 'cutting off aid to Rhodesia' is a pretty empty phrase.

"Secondly, the life of the average white Rhodesian is not one of easy and affluent idleness; although wages and salaries are higher than in Britain, most people work harder and longer.

"Thirdly, while the Governor is widely respected and liked and has deliberately not been removed by Mr. Smith (both out of respect for the Crown and to maintain a link with Britain), his personal influence in Rhodesia is minimal, and his talents do not lie in the fields of political negotiation or administration. The Chief Justice, however, is a former politician who is both able and tough. He is not likely to be easily coerced either by Mr. Smith or Mr. Wilson; and he has strenuously and successfully opposed Mr. Smith's attempts to force the judiciary to recognize the rebel régime. Unfortunately, there were at first, anyway, no signs that his advice to Mr. Wilson would be any more acceptable than the Governor's.

"British assumption of governmental responsibility in Rhodesia would be completely contrary to the wishes of most

people, and all politicians. It is therefore likely to be very short-lived. Indeed, the former Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead—now completely without influence in Rhodesia—suggested immediately after U.D.I. that one solution might be some kind of union between Britain and Rhodesia. His proposals would have been extremely difficult to sell to Rhodesians. In any case, they completely failed to excite any interest in Britain, where it was made quite clear by politicians of all parties that Britain wanted to reduce her involvement in Rhodesia, not increase it.

"Thus, apart from serious technical difficulties, proposals for a long period of 'direct rule' by Britain (assuming collapse of the Smith régime) seem unrealistic. No one in Rhodesia, black or white, believes that Britain has, or will maintain, any willingness to govern Rhodesia, at least not for more than the briefest of interim periods. Black pressures for 'majority rule' will increase; white fears will multiply; and continuing uncertainty, which has bedevilled Rhodesia for so many years, will once again stop the steady economic progress which is so vital to Rhodesia's orderly political development.

"Rhodesians feel that Britain no longer has the desire or the strength to lead the Commonwealth. They feel they matriculated when they achieved self-government in 1923. Any reversion to quasi-colonial status is unthinkable—and Britain does not want any more colonies, even temporarily. Negotiations can therefore only be on the nature of the Constitution for independence, not on the issue of independence itself.

"The determination of Mr. Smith and his predecessors to avoid risking the steady, squalid economic and political disintegration, the maladministration, and the decline in medical, ethical and educational standards visible in so many newly-independent countries has led them to adopt measures which appear to many to be entirely out of keeping with modern political thought and aspirations. This is partially because Mr. Smith's Government is, for the first time in Rhodesia, composed largely of 'African' Rhodesians rather than 'European' Rhodesians.

Mr. Smith's Basic Philosophy

"Mr. Smith was born in Rhodesia, and has few ties in Europe. His basic philosophy is not understood in Britain or America: he believes that Rhodesia's problems must be solved locally, and that no solution or Constitution imposed from abroad will succeed. He interprets recent events in Africa as support for his views. To him the West's policy is to get out and hope for the best—as shown by dictatorships and persecutions in Ghana, Malawi, and elsewhere; disillusion and uncertainty in Tanzania; precarious peace inside Kenya and frontier strife with the Somalis; bitter and seemingly endless civil war in the Sudan; continuing fighting in the Congo; and nine *coups d'état* in Africa as a whole within the past two years.

"Mr. Wilson is criticized for refusing to accept the advice of the Governor to negotiate with Rhodesia's leaders. Whitehall's advice to Mr. Wilson—wrong so often in the past in Africa, wrong on the vital question of the reaction of Rhodesians to the imposition of penal sanctions—seems to be obsessed with the need to punish Mr. Smith and his supporters. One of the worst features of British policy is its assumption that time is on Britain's side."

The article ends by recommending the following "package deal":—

(1) A common voters' roll, to include any qualified person of any race (as during the first 30 years of Rhodesia's self-government), together with strict enforcement of a ban on the colour bar;

(2) Up to 15 additional M.P.s in Rhodesia's Parliament, nominated by the Governor-General to ensure that all sections of the community are represented in Parliament; such a provision should be viewed as temporary (that is, the number of nominated members would decline as educational standards became less racially divided) and could assume that not only African but also Indian and coloured representatives could participate fully in the Government of the country;

(3) Two black African Cabinet Ministers;

(4) The protection of the Kariba installations by stationing, say, a battalion of British troops on the Rhodesian side of the border;

(5) Acceptance of Dominion status or some other form of effective independence, with stringent controls on amendments to the Constitution.

"There are grounds for believing that Mr. Smith would accept some such basis. His personal prestige in Rhodesia is such that the objections of his more extreme supporters could safely be overridden."

PERSONALIA

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RALPH HONE was 70 last week. MR. S. R. HOGG has resigned the chairmanship of Dawnays, Ltd.

A four-member cultural delegation from Tanzania, led by Mr. JOSEPH BANTU, is visiting Communist China.

SIR ALFRED BEIT is to be the guest of the South Africa Club at a dinner in London on May 18.

VISCOUNTESS COLE gave birth to a daughter in Nairobi last week.

SIR JOHN RICHMOND, the British Ambassador in Khartoum, has returned to London.

DR. WOLFGANG KIESEWETTE, Deputy Foreign Minister of the East German Republic, has arrived in Tanzania.

BRIGADIER C. M. GRIGG, Commander of the Zambian Army, has been promoted its first major-general.

CHUNG SHIN-TUNG, vice-president of the All-China Athletic Federation, is visiting Tanzania.

CHIEF ERASTO MANGENYA has left Tanzania to visit Israel and New Zealand.

MR. JEREMY THORPE, Liberal M.P. for North Devon, arrived back in London last week from a short visit to Rhodesia and Zambia.

MR. DAVID POWELL, since 1957 deputy chairman of Booker Brothers, McConnell & Co. Ltd., has been appointed group managing director.

INDUNA BIEMBA LUYANGA, of Barotse Province, has been placed under restriction by order of PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

MR. SOLOMON KALULU, Minister of Lands and Natural Resources in Zambia, will spend this month in the United States.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA has returned to Addis Ababa from his visits to Senegal, Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica, Haiti, and Switzerland.

MR. A. G. ZULU, Minister of Mines and Co-operatives in Zambia, has visited Sweden, and other European countries.

MR. FELIX NEUBERGH, chairman of the Anglo-Portuguese Bank Ltd., has retired after 46 years' service. His successor is SIR ISAAC WOLFSON.

MR. R. A. WESKAR has been appointed manager of the London office of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said in Kitwe last week that Zambia had passed through a political revolution and was now undergoing a violent industrial revolution.

MR. MALCOM MACDONALD, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, visited Malawi last week for discussions with DR. BANDA. He is now back in Zambia.

MRS. JOY ADAMSON, who wrote "Born Free", is to have another book published in London in the autumn. It will be called "The Peoples of Kenya".

MR. F. A. CULPECK, since 1962 secretary of the British India Line, has just retired after 45 years' service; the new secretary is MR. A. Y. THOMSON.

Four M.P.s. from Kenya are on a month's visit to Britain as guests of the C.R.O.—They are SENATOR G. K. OLE KIPURY, SENATOR J. K. LENAYIARRA, and Messrs. E. F. KHASAKHALA and C. B. NGALA-ABOK.

MR. REGINALD PAGET, Socialist M.P. for Northampton, has been co-opted to the Council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. DR. J. M. MALLETT has joined the executive committee.

SIR EDWARD MUTESA, Kabaka of Buganda, and lately President of Uganda, is stated to have appealed to the United Nations against the assumption of the presidency by Dr. Obote.

MR. C. H. THORNICROFT, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education in Zambia, is spending a month in the United States as a guest of that Government.

MR. NOAH SAMBONO, political assistant to the Resident Minister of the Southern Province of Zambia, is spending six weeks in Sweden as a guest of that country's Social Democratic Party.

MR. DOUGLAS BROWN, who has spent considerable periods in East and Central Africa as a journalist, is the author of "Against the World: A Study of White South African Attitudes".

SIR MAURICE PARSONS, who has been nominated deputy governor of the Bank of England, is chairman of the executive committee of the Church Missionary Society.

MR. ANDREW BORIS LOTTE NKHATA, organizing secretary of the Bancroft and Nchanga branches of the Zambia Mineworkers' Union, has been placed under restriction.

MR. W. A. NIELD, of the staff of the Department of Economic Affairs, has been transferred to the Cabinet Office, he will deal, *inter alia*, with Rhodesian affairs.

MR. FRED MPANGA, Attorney-General to the Government of Buganda, has arrived in London "to awaken the conscience of the British public" to recent developments in Uganda.

MR. JAKOB MALIK, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., arrived in Uganda on Friday on a short unofficial visit. He was expected to go on to Tanzania and Zambia.

MR. F. B. DENHAM, assistant manager of the Ottoman Bank, has retired. MESSRS. J. W. F. DONLEVY and J. R. AYLMEYER have been appointed assistant managers.

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT was last week ordered by the Government of India to quit the country forthwith on account of his "prejudicial activities" among Naga tribesmen. In the past he has been expelled from African territories.

MR. E. J. FOORD, managing director of Gallaher, LTD., has been elected a deputy chairman. MR. A. W. H. STEWART-MOORE and MR. M. S. K. MAUNSELL will on June 1 become managing director and deputy managing director, respectively.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, a former Federal High Commissioner in London, who has been here on private business, was to have met MRS. JUDITH HART, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office, but the arrangements were suddenly cancelled last week.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, who lost his seat at Lancaster in the recent general election, is a director of Allied Investments, Ltd. (formerly Selayang Investments, Ltd.), which has just made a share issue for £125,000.

The successor of LORD MALVERN as a member of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank is MR. JEREMY FIELD, son of MR. WINSTON FIELD, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, not MR. WINSTON FIELD himself, as recently reported in error.

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Though SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, a former Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, lost his seat in Parliament at the recent general election, he was recorded by *Hansard* one day last week to have raised a point of order in the House of Commons.

MR. MUNUKAYUMBA SIPAEO, Minister of State for Economic Development and Planning in Zambia, has declared in his constituency that "not a single inch of Barotse Province will be allowed to secede, nor will any concessions be given to the province".

MR. ARTHUR BÖTTOMLEY, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has been allocated a newly constructed flat in Admiralty House, Whitehall, which has been restored and converted at a cost of £140,000. He has hitherto lived in Woodford Green, Essex.

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY, who has been interested in African affairs for some years, and has visited East and Central Africa, is to rejoin the BBC. He was Conservative M.P. for Lewisham North for seven years until his defeat in the recent general election.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, a Tory M.P. who voted with the Socialists for the oil embargo against Rhodesia, has been defeated in the election for vice-chairmen of the Commonwealth Committee of Conservative Members of Parliament. MR. PATRICK WALL and SIR FREDERICK BENNETT were re-elected.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME has been nominated as president-elect of M.C.C. He is the only Prime Minister of Britain who has ever played first-class cricket. He played for Eton, Oxford University, and Middlesex, and was a member of Sir Pelham Warner's M.C.C. team which toured South America in 1926-27.

MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA, leader of the United People's Party and of the Parliamentary Opposition in Rhodesia, said last week that he might visit London shortly. He condemned President Kaunda for harbouring Rhodesian terrorists in Zambia and for "unwarranted and unhelpful" interference in Rhodesian affairs.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, chairman of the British Transport Docks Board, has been appointed president of the Institute of Shipping and Forwarding Agents. He was formerly Commissioner in London for East Africa, and before that general manager of East African Railways and Harbours.

SIR JAMES WILFRED COOK, Vice-Chancellor of Exeter University, who has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa in succession to SIR BERNARD DE BUNSEN, will take up his appointment in October. A Commonwealth award of £1,500 a year has been granted to him by the Ministry of Overseas Development.

MR. JOSEPH RWEGASIRA, director of economic affairs of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers, MR. ALI MDAHOMA, of the Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar, and MR. BERNARD Z. GUMÉDE, deputy secretary of the Textile Workers' Union of the Zimbabwe Congress of Unions, were among Africans from East and Central Africa who attended the May Day celebrations in Peking.

SIR ARTHUR VERE HARVEY, Conservative M.P. for Macclesfield, has been elected chairman of the 1922 Committee of Conservative M.P.s. All of the six unsuccessful candidates have shown interest in East and Central African affairs, namely SIR TUFTON BEAMISH, SIR DONALD KABERRY, SIR HARRY LEGGE-BOURKE, SIR CHARLES MOTT-RADCLYFFE, SIR IAN ORR-EWING, and MR. JAMES RAMSDEN. SIR TUFTON BEAMISH and SIR IAN ORR-EWING were elected vice-chairmen, MR. PHILIP GOODHART and MR. GODMAN IRVINE joint secretaries, and SIR RONALD RUSSELL treasurer.

Letter to The Editor

Sanctions Immoral, Says Priest

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, having just visited London, your readers might care to know that a letter which I sent him by registered airmail some little time ago has remained unacknowledged. It read:—

"The sanctions enforced against Rhodesia and threatened against the Republics of Portugal and South Africa are inhuman, immoral, un-Christian, and specifically contrary to the moral law of the Catholic Church, and of all who do not adhere to the abhorrent doctrine that a righteous end can justify the use of immoral means. The arguments against the use of crippling sanctions, entailing hardship and suffering for innocent millions, except in self-defence, in no way differ in substance from those advanced against the aggressive use of the hydrogen bomb. Those familiar with the 'principle of the double effect' will know full well that it cannot possibly be invoked to justify such sanctions.

"Catholic nations, and all nations who do not subscribe to the doctrine that the end justifies the means in all circumstances, should outlaw the use of such sanctions on moral and religious grounds. No agreement to the contrary can be morally binding."

Copies of that letter were sent to Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, and to Messrs. Heath and Grimond, leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties.

Why, incidentally, are leading newspapers in Scotland so much more ready to publish letters critical of the Government's Rhodesia policy than newspapers in London?

Yours faithfully

ROBERT STUART

Fraserburgh
Scotland

[The signatory is both a barrister and a Catholic priest.—Ed.]

Obituary

MR. J. F. KAPNEK, C.B.E., has died of pneumonia in Vevey, shortly after arriving by air from Rhodesia. A memoir will appear next week.

BRIGADIER SIR EDWARD BEDDINGTON, whose death is reported, was joint managing director of the United Africa Company some 30 years ago.

BRIGADIER R. A. F. THORP, O.B.E., whose death is reported, served in the Ethiopian campaign of the last war. Later he was G.S.O. 1 at H.Q., East Africa, and from 1943 to 1945 commanded the 31st Brigade on the Ethiopian Frontier. Then for six years he was Conservative M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed.

CANON GORDON BLOOD, whose death at the age of 74 has been announced, joined the U.M.C.A. in Tanganyika in 1942 and for 10 years served in the Masasi Diocese, for eight of them as chaplain and secretarial assistant to Bishop Lucas. After the amputation of a leg he had to leave Africa. Three years later he became editor of the mission magazine, *Central Africa*. He also wrote several books about the mission, including an excellent two-volume history. He had borne ill health with fortitude, and had to the last maintained his keen interest in East and Central African affairs.

With Bees in Their Bonnets

Ridiculous Situation, Says Mr. Smith

MR. SMITH said in a speech at the week-end to an audience of farmers that Britain probably needed reconciliation more than Rhodesia, which had already gained many advantages from her independence, whereas Britain had gained none. Because of the truce or armistice, he would not say many things which he would otherwise have mentioned, but he could declare his conviction that Rhodesia would emerge far stronger from the dispute with Britain. For one thing, Rhodesians were more united than ever before.

It was, however, desirable to get out of the present ridiculous situation as soon as possible. Animosity between the two countries should not be stirred up simply because politicians had bees in their bonnets.

South African help had forged such new links of friendship that they could never be broken.

According to South African newspapers, the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique have authorized the tanker IOANNA V to discharge her crude oil cargo into the new storage tanks at Beira.

A report at the week-end stated that purchases were increasing on the Rhodesian tobacco market in the hope that sanctions would soon end. Sales during the past fortnight have kept pace with increased deliveries of leaf. World demand for Rhodesian leaf is described as "remaining strong".

A free trade area embracing South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola has been suggested by the chairman of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation has started new short-wave transmissions in English, French, Portuguese, Afrikaans and Zulu to all parts of Africa, and at 10 p.m. Greenwich time there is now a programme in English to the United Kingdom and Western Europe. In September transmissions will begin to Canada and the United States. By December there will be broadcasts in nine languages for 24 hours a day. One of the languages will be Swahili.

Visits by Rhodesians

P.M. Again Speaks of Illegal Régime

MR BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons if he would consider facilitating visits to Britain by members of the Rhodesian Parliament in view of the fact that M.Ps. from Britain had been free to visit Rhodesia. Would he also look into the case of "pin-pricking impediments being placed in the way of the Rhodesian politician who wanted to come here for his regimental dinner?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The position which the hon. gentleman has obviously not appreciated is that no impediments have been placed by us on Members of this House visiting Rhodesia because this is a legal Parliament. The Parliament of Rhodesia is illegal and has been expelled from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. We can, therefore, provide no facilities. Equally, we cannot provide facilities in present circumstances for a member of an entirely illegal régime—"

DAME IRENE WARD: "Why?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: Because I think it might raise rather difficult questions for the authorities in this country if someone who was illegally in a state of treason against the Crown set foot on these shores. I am sure that the hon. gentleman would want to avoid anyone having that embarrassment."

The reference by Mr. Biggs-Davison was to an inquiry by Mr. P. Van der Byl, Deputy Minister for Information in Rhodesia, who, while travelling on the Continent, inquired whether there would be any obstacle to a visit to London to attend the annual dinner of the British regiment in which he served in the last war. The reply of the Commonwealth Relations Office was equivocal.

Royal Navy and Rhodesia

H.M.S. EAGLE has created a peace-time record for a British aircraft-carrier by remaining at sea for 71 days in the search for tankers seeking to evade the embargo on the delivery of oil to Beira for Rhodesia.

She steamed nearly 30,000 miles on such patrols; sent off more than 1,000 fixed-wing aircraft sorties, which covered about 600,000 miles; and dispatched her helicopters on nearly 1,000 occasions. From fleet auxiliaries she took aboard 5,000 tons of aviation spirit and from tankers 30,000 tons of furnace fuel. No indications has been given of the costs involved.

Midshipman Robert Flynn, a 20-year-old Rhodesian who has been serving in H.M.S. Lincoln, which returned to Plymouth last week after six years in the Far East, has been refused permission to return to Rhodesia for the leave to which he is entitled.

In reply to inquiries the Ministry of Defence said: "All three services have been told—and they were told very shortly after the declaration of independence by Mr. Smith—that leave would not be granted to Rhodesia except on compassionate grounds."

MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA, Leader of the Opposition in Rhodesia, has warned African States against interference in his country's affairs and against harbouring terrorists from Rhodesia. The welfare of non-whites in Rhodesia is, he emphasized, the responsibility of their elected representatives, not of person in other parts of Africa. What Rhodesia needed was the co-operation of all reasonable Rhodesians, white and black, towards the eventual creation of a non-racial State; and that achievement was being delayed by the extremism of African leaders to the north quite as much as by extremist white elements in Rhodesia.

Names you have
learned to trust

Gloria FLOUR

Atlas ROLLER MEAL

Rhomil STOCKFEEDS

SAVE RHODESIA FUND

WE WELCOME the decision of Her Majesty's Government to renew talks in the dispute between Britain and Rhodesia, and trust that a peaceful solution may now be found for granting Rhodesia independence within the Commonwealth.

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

(Article 2.4. United Nations Charter—
June 26, 1945)

... BUT HOW CAN SANCTIONS be reconciled with the obligation to refrain from "the threat or use of force"?

Issued by

SAVE RHODESIA FUND

42 Kelso Place, London, W.8

Press and B.B.C. Refuted

A RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN has denied a B.B.C. report that African terrorists who infiltrated the country from Zambia have killed five Rhodesian policemen and shot down 12 Rhodesian aircraft.

The report, heard in two transmissions from London on one day, was based on a statement made by Rhodesian African nationalists in Dar es Salaam. Later it was repeated at hourly intervals in the B.B.C. World News Service. The denial said:—

"From Hanzania a spokesman for one of the outlawed Rhodesian African parties has said that African guerrilla fighters in Rhodesia have killed five policemen. The police are said to have been guarding the power line between the Kariba Dam and Salisbury. The spokesman added that the action occurred near the scene of last week's clash in which Rhodesian police killed seven Africans, and that since last Friday guerrillas had shot down 12 Rhodesian planes. The B.B.C. correspondent in Salisbury said that the B.B.C. in London had not checked back with him. A Government spokesman in Salisbury described the report as a complete fabrication and absolutely untrue".

Mr. J. M. Helliwell, chairman of the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation, described the action of the B.B.C. in sending out such news without verification as the height of irresponsibility. He added:—

"This is by no means the first occasion on which the B.B.C. in its vendetta against Rhodesia has used without verification highly coloured reports from this thoroughly discredited source in Tanzania. One must conclude that the B.B.C. is following a deliberate policy of giving to the world at large a false impression of the security situation in Rhodesia and of propagating within Rhodesia rumours calculated to cause alarm".

The report in a British newspaper that African saboteurs had tried to blow up power lines feeding Rhodesia from Kariba has also been officially denied in Salisbury.

Australian Broadcast on Rhodesia

Mr. Norman Banks, a well-known Australian radio and television broadcaster, said in the course of a talk since his return from Rhodesia:—

"Having read so often that Rhodesia was a police State, I had surprises on my first evening in Salisbury. On a stroll I saw only two policemen, one white, one black, and neither was armed.

"In private conversation I found members of the judiciary critical of Mr. Wilson. It was not their wish that the Government should do anything constitutional, but now, because they are Rhodesians, and because there are occasions when moral issues transcend constitutional niceties, they cannot remain indifferent to the unnecessary crisis which has been prolonged by political stubbornness in England.

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, told me: 'A little common sense is all that is required. Can anything be more illogical than the British Government in London claiming that they have a right to a say in our affairs but at the same time not being prepared to talk to the *de facto* Government?'

"Professor Christie of the Law Faculty of the University College of Rhodesia, told me: 'The riots in the campus were instigated and organized by a small group of very left-wing members of the staff—all white, and none of them Rhodesians, all what one might call foreigners who have been here for varying periods, but none a Rhodesian citizen or regarding Rhodesia as his home.

"This very small group from the staff have been trying for some time to persuade the authorities to close the college as a mark of protest against the present Government—as a political protest. I have seen them actually directing the student demonstrators; and the student demonstrators, almost all of them black, have in fairly sizeable numbers told me and other entirely uncommitted members of the staff that they have been dragged into this performance by members of the staff".

Rhodesia Raises Oil Prices

PETROL PRICES were increased in Rhodesia on Tuesday by 1s. 3d. per gallon to 5s. 7d. for regular and 6s. for premium grades. Diesel oil advanced 7d., power paraffin 9d., and illuminating paraffin 5d. per gallon. The increases are due to the higher costs of transporting petroleum products by road and rail from South Africa. The *Daily Mail* (which has been consistently critical of Rhodesia) gave the news a headline 5½ inches across and 2½ inches deep. The headlines in other London papers were also prominent.

Rhodesian News Briefs

Professor R. R. McKennan, head of the Department of Law at Rhodes University, South Africa, has declared in a radio interview that the International Court of Justice if asked to rule on the Security Council decision on oil sanctions against Rhodesia, would find it invalid and of no legal force or effect. A practice had developed in the council of not regarding abstentions by France and Russia as equivalent to a veto, but an illegal practice did not become legal by repetition. No court in any civilized country could regard the Security Council's action as other than a breach of the Charter.

Senator Albert Watson, U.S.A., said last week that the Security Council's had flagrantly violated the Charter. The United Nations, while turning its back on the war in Vietnam, had stabbed in the back the peaceful Government of Rhodesia.

Professor H. J. Rousseau said in Salisbury last week that he did not agree with Professor Toynebe that the use of force and the rapid education of Africans would solve Rhodesia's problems. In fact, not until the early 1980s would most African nations reach Rhodesia's present stage of African education. Rhodesia had 18% of her African population at school, in college, or university, whereas Ghana had 14%, Sierra Leone 4%, and Ethiopia 0.5%.

Mr. Paul Martin, Minister for External Affairs in Canada, told a Parliamentary Committee last week that sanctions against Rhodesia were proving so effective that force would not be necessary to bring down the Smith Government; the success of the economic measures was indicated by the arrangement for discussions between British and Rhodesian officials.

In the U.N. Committee of Twenty-Four the delegations of Ethiopia and India have called for the use of force against Rhodesia. After Australia and Denmark had opposed force, the representative of Tunisia said that "only armed intervention by the United Kingdom would bring the Ian Smith régime to an end". The delegate of Sierra Leone wanted the United Kingdom to use force and deal with Rhodesian "treason" as a criminal offence.

Mr. Fred Barnard, national president of the South African Friends of Rhodesia Association, said in Pretoria that the angry speeches in Britain against Rhodesia had brought "an upsurge" of support for the association, which gained strength with every hostile gesture in the outside world. Medical supplies worth £2,500 were, he said, on their way to Rhodesia for the benefit of people of all races.

Mr. Cornell, chairman of the Friends of Rhodesia Trust, is visiting South Africa to express the gratitude of Rhodesians for the help received from all parts of the Republic.

Cash donations from South African sympathizers now exceed £41,800, and gifts of petroleum products, scientific equipment and medical supplies have been of far greater value. The Pretoria office of the Friends of Rhodesia has collected £26,800 and the Petrol for Rhodesia Fund in Johannesburg £15,000.

Rhodesia Railways have just contracted with a Japanese engineering company for the supply of 1,000 sets of bogies, deliveries to start within five months. Rhodesian companies in Salisbury and Bulawayo are working on orders for 557 trucks and tank cars of a total value of almost £800,000.

Poland has announced its intention to ask the annual meeting of the International Lawn Tennis Association in Switzerland in July to expel Rhodesia. Russia is to demand the expulsion of South Africa.

Uganda Ministers Exonerated

Report of Judicial Commission

THE THREE JUDGES whom the Prime Minister of Uganda invited to sit as a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations made in Parliament against him and other Ministers have, after hearings lasting over three weeks, found no justification for the allegations.

The commissioners were Sir Clement de Lestang, of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, Mr. Justice E. Miller, of Kenya, and Mr. Justice Augustine Saidi, of Tanzania.

Mr. John Wilmer, Q.C., of London, assisted by Mr. A. R. Kapila, of Nairobi, represented Dr. Obote, Mr. Nekyon, and Mr. Onama, the three Ministers concerned. Ur. Anil Clerk, of Kampala, represented Colonel Amin, Second-in-Command of the Uganda Army.

Dr. Obote said in evidence that in December 1964 he promised that the Government would give material assistance and advice to President Gbenye's rebel régime in the Congo, and that he had delegated Colonel Amin to organize the promised help. In mid-January 1965 he had gone to Mbale with Mr. Onama, Mr. Nekyon, Mr. Odaka (Foreign Minister), and Mr. Lubowa (Minister of Commerce and Industry); to meet President Gbenye, President Kenyatta of Kenya, President Nyerere of Tanzania, and others. It was then decided that Uganda would render assistance to the Congo.

Purchases for Congolese Rebels

Though President Gbenye then asked if purchases could be made through Colonel Amin, he was not aware that there was any intention by "President Gbenye's people to hand money to Colonel Amin for him to keep for him; that was unknown to me until after the debate in Parliament on March 16 this year, when I was not present".

He told Colonel Amin later that he should not have banked in his own name money received from the Congolese and that he must account for it.

There had not been a board of inquiry into Colonel Amin's actions because there was only one officer in Uganda of equivalent or superior rank, namely Brigadier Opolot, the Army Commander, who could not properly preside over such an inquiry. President Kenyatta had therefore been asked to make a suitable person available.

When he (the Prime Minister) returned to Uganda in August after visits to London and the Far East he was told that President Gbenye, Mr. Kanza, and Mr. Nyaki had all denied importing into Uganda gold or any other commodity from the Congo, but they admitted that large sums had been given to Colonel Amin, who had banked them in Kampala and from time to time made withdrawals on their instructions.

After Mr. Ocheng had made allegations in a secret session of Parliament last September, ivory tusks which had been sold by Congolese to a trader in Arua were confiscated.

Later Dr. Obote received a memorandum from Brigadier Opolot making allegations against Colonel Amin. "I had for a long time been aware that there was considerable jealousy and tension between them. I knew that Brigadier Opolot made complaints to his Minister, and that Colonel Amin had made similar complaints against Brigadier Opolot. Afterwards the brigadier assured me that he had no ill-feeling against Colonel Amin, but unfortunately it is clear that these two officers could not work together in harmony".

Senior Officers At Loggerheads

Later the Prime Minister said: "I have never received any gold, ivory, or coffee from the Congo or any share of proceeds from such commodities. I have no knowledge of any gold or transactions concerning gold. There is no truth whatsoever in any of the allegations made against me in Parliament by Mr. Ocheng".

Six bank accounts of the Prime Minister were produced. They were, he testified, his only accounts in any banks anywhere. The commissioners found nothing which required explanation.

Dr. Obote said that the Uganda Government had not bought any arms for the Congolese or let any arms pass through Uganda for them.

Mr. Wilmer described as "nonsensical rubbish" Mr. Ocheng's allegation that the Government had plotted against itself. That M.P. had provided a list of more than 50 people, but not one word of the evidence had connected his clients with the allegations. Mr. Ocheng had bandied names about

in Parliament, but had made no report to the police. It was wicked to have said that the Prime Minister had taken £50,000 and two other Ministers £25,000 each.

No Evidence of Looting

For the commission, Mr. John Rankin said: "There is not a shred of evidence of looting of ivory, coffee, or gold from the Congo by Colonel Amin or anyone else. It is clearly proved that not a cent of the money received by Colonel Amin from the Congolese reached the pockets of the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers. Nor did they benefit from the alleged sale of gold. There was no evidence that the Prime Minister, Mr. Nekyon, Mr. Onama, or Colonel Amin had intended to overthrow the Constitution".

Mr. S. K. Onama, Minister of State for Defence, who referred to rumours in Kampala that seven gold bars with markings of Congolese banks had been smelted and sold in Uganda, said that the Congolese had not received arms from the Uganda Government because there were other channels through which they could be obtained more quickly and easily and perhaps free of cost.

At a meeting on December 31, 1964, of the national council of the Uganda People's Congress, its Parliamentary group, and its central executive, strong demands were made that the Stanleyville Government headed by Gbenye should be treated not as rebels but as nationalists, and be recognized as the lawful Government of the Congo.

The Prime Minister had explained that it would be very embarrassing to give official recognition to the Gbenyists, for both the Uganda Government and the Leopoldville Government were members of the Organization of the African Unity, which had agreed that every attempt should be made to reconcile the two factions in the Congo. The Uganda Government was a party to that agreement.

A fortnight later the Prime Minister and the Presidents of Kenya and Tanzania, with other Ministers, met Mr. Gbenye and Mr. Kanza in Mbale, where it was agreed to provide assistance for the Gbenyists.

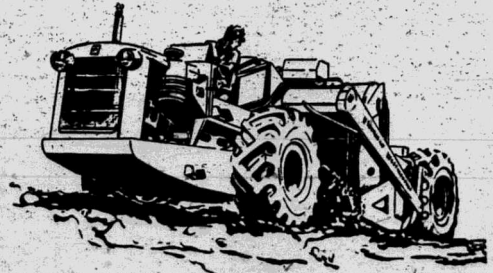
Mr. Nekyon declared that he had never received money, gold, ivory, coffee, or anything else from the Congo. When accused in Parliament of having banked such "loot" in the U.S., he had offered to provide written authority for a search to be made for his supposed accounts anywhere in the world.

When his Uganda-bank accounts were produced, they were held by the commissioners to show "nothing sinister".

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Students Set Free in Zambia

Public Prosecutor Withdraws Charges

NO CHARGES are to be made against the three women and 100 African men students from Zambia University who were arrested during a demonstration outside the British High Commission in Lusaka at the beginning of the month. A white policeman was then struck down, stones were thrown through the windows of the High Commission, and damage was done by those who forced their way into the building. The persons arrested were due to appear in court on Monday, but the charges had been dropped meantime by order of the Director of Public Prosecutions. The *Daily Telegraph's* staff correspondent in Zambia cabled: "His office is supposed to be free from Government influence, but it is clear that the decision to drop the charges reflects Zambia disapproval of the present talks in London".

Committee of Twenty-Four

THE COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM of the United Nations, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, is to hold meetings in Dar es Salaam from May 23 and then in Mogadishu, Addis Ababa, Cairo, and Algiers at the invitation of the Governments of Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, United Arab Republic and Algeria respectively. At the Dar es Salaam session the territories to be considered will be Rhodesia, Mozambique, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. While in Mogadishu the committee will discuss French Somaliland, Seychelles, and Mauritius. In Addis Ababa there will be further hearings on French Somaliland, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, and South West Africa and Spanish Sahara also come under review. Britain will not send a representative on the tour.

Minister Dismissed

MR. ABDUL RAHMAN AL-NUR, Minister of Labour and Information, has been dismissed from the Sudanese Cabinet in consequence of accusations of corruption against the Prime Minister. Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil, the Foreign Minister, had resigned a few days previously. Their successors are Messrs. Dawood Abdul Latif, formerly a provincial governor, and Amin al-Tum, deputy secretary of the ruling Umma Party. The Prime Minister has said in a broadcast that Sudanese rebel leaders are still travelling and spreading malicious propaganda in neighbouring African States in the hope of securing foreign support for continuance of the rebellion in the southern provinces.

Unrest in Zambia

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told a large Copperbelt rally that if there was more talk in Barotseland of secession he would deal sharply with the offenders, some of whom were already under restriction. By the Constitution he had no power to deport British subjects from Zambia, but that law would, he said, be changed in October. Meantime he would use his powers of restriction against British subjects in the mining areas if necessary.

Name Changes in Congo

THE CONGOLESE CABINET has decided to change the names of the national and provincial capitals. Leopoldville becomes Kinshasa; Stanleyville is now Kisangani; Elisabethville has been named Lubumbashi; Coquilhatville has disappeared in favour of Mbandaka; Paulis has been changed to Isiro; and Banningville to Bandundu. In six cases there are no changes, namely, Bunia, Goma, Bukavu, Luluabourg, Songololo, and Mbuji-Mayi.

Gift to Malawi

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS resolved last week to present a Speaker's Chair to the National Assembly of Malawi, and recommended that the presentation should be made by Privy Councillors or members of the Queens' Household.

Asians Penalized

VICE-PRESIDENT KARUME of Tanzania announced in Zanzibar a few days ago that the import and export licences held by local Asians would from that day be frozen until they participated in Zanzibar's "voluntary agricultural projects", in which doctors and civil servants ought also to join. There could be no harmony unless capitalists co-operated with the peasants and other workers.

Uganda's £230m. Plan

A FIVE-YEAR PLAN involving £230m. of capital investment was announced on Monday by President Obote of Uganda, who described it as the first phase in doubling the country's *per capita* income, now £25 a year, by 1970. The Government is expected to spend £80m., the Uganda Development Corporation £60m., and the private sector of the economy £90m. About £85m. will need to be raised by foreign grants and loans and private investment from overseas.

The Malawi Government will on June 15 issue a £1m. 20-year loan at 6½%.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany has sponsored a seminar in Zambia on adult education in that country.

On the 42nd birthday of President Kaunda coins bearing his head were put into circulation in Zambia.

Congolese embassies are to be established almost immediately in Khartoum and Kampala.

A Rhodesian Exhibition is being held in the Old Town Hall, Reigate, until Saturday under the auspices of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

A litter of six cubs have been born to a lioness in Dublin Zoo. There are only two previously known cases of six-cub litters in captivity.

Earth tremours in southern Malawi were felt over a wide area last week for about 20 minutes. No reports of casualties or serious damage have been received.

More than 300 entries were received for the Rhodesian National Song Contest. The best 10 are to be scored for full band and then broadcast. The youngest competitor is only 10 years of age.

Delegates from Burundi, presenting the replies of their Government to International Labour Office allegations, promised "fruitful and mutually beneficial dialogue in an atmosphere impregnated with objectivity and realism".

The Rhodesia Empire and Olympic Games Association has decided not to send a team to the Commonwealth Games in Jamaica in August. Mr. Douglas Browning, the president, proposed that Rhodesia should stage Southern African Games next year.

Zambia's next four-year plan is estimated to cost about £400m. President Kaunda has warned the country that the plans will come to nothing if Zambians do not work hard and frustrate the designs of "agents of foreign powers who are seeking to create another Congo in Zambia".

ZAMBIA

Symposium with Colin Legum and Maxwell Stamp. Monday, May 16, 6.30 to 9.30 p.m.
Fee: 5s. Students, 4s. Members, 3s.

Contemporary African Art: Talk and Exhibition by Albert Adams (South Africa) and Uzo Egonu (Nigeria), Tuesday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. Fee: 2s. 6d.

AFRICA CENTRE, 38 King Street, London, W.C.2
Telephone: TEM 1973

European Businessmen Threatened in Kenya

Mr. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya, warned European businessmen last week that if they failed to encourage African participation in commerce they would run the risk of having their enterprises taken over by the Government. Much still needed to be done in the way of Africanizing the economy of Kenya, particularly in the commercial sector.

"The Government", he told a news conference, "cannot accept that businesses in the main streets of our urban areas shall continue to be owned exclusively by non-Africans. If the *status quo* were to continue there would be enormous pressures on the Government to do something quite drastic to remedy the situation. It is therefore in the interests of existing businessmen and of stability in general that established non-African businessmen should co-operate with the Government in promoting African participation in commerce. Take-overs cannot be excluded if found to be necessary".

A few days earlier Mr. Mwendwa, Minister for Commerce, Industry, and Co-operative Development, had told the Nairobi Chapter of the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the present situation could not be allowed to continue.

"Our major centres of business continue to be occupied by non-Africans, and even by non-citizens. It would be hypocritical to think that the Government will happily continue to accept this. No fixed timetable is going to be adopted, but arrangements are now well advanced in this direction. The Government has already stipulated Africanization of commerce".

Cabinet Changes in Kenya

Mr. Murumbi Vice-President

MZEE KENYATTA, who last week made ministerial changes in Kenya, remains President and Commander-in-Chief, and has assumed responsibility for Foreign Affairs, the previous holder of that portfolio, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, having been appointed Vice-President and Minister without Portfolio.

The Ministers of State in the President's Office are Messrs. Mbiyu Koinange and J. Nyamweya. The Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs is Mr. Omolo Agar.

Mr. James Gichuru continues as Finance Minister, with Mr. J. Oder-Jowi as Assistant Minister; Mr. T. J. Mboya retains the Economic Planning portfolio, with Mr. Kasse as Assistant Minister; and Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the only European Minister, remains in charge of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, with Messrs. Khasakhalla and Murgor as Assistant Ministers.

Dr. Njoroge Mungai has been made responsible for Defence, with the assistance of Mr. Njeru, lately Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. J. D. Otiende, Minister for Health, has the assistance of Mr. Matano. Mr. Sagini, entrusted with Local Government, has two lieutenants, Messrs. Munoko and Kariuki Njiri.

Works Portfolio Split

The Ministry of Works, Communications and Power has been split, Mr. Mwanjumba taking Works, with the help of Messrs. Bomet and Godana, while Mr. Ngala Mwendwa has the new Ministry of Power and Communications, with Messrs. Moss and Jonathan Masinde as assistants.

Dr. Kiano is Minister for Labour, with Messrs. F. P. K. Kubai and Nyalik as his aides. Mr. Daniel arap Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, has the assistance of Mr. Wamuthenya. Mr. S. O. Ayodo, Minister for Tourism and Wildlife, has two Assistant Ministers, Messrs. Jah Mohammed and Ole Tiptip. Mr. J. H. Angaine, Minister for Land and Settlement, has the help of Mr. J. M. Gachago.

Mr. J. C. N. Osogo, lately Assistant Minister for Agriculture, has now the portfolio of Information and Broadcasting, with two assistants, Messrs. H. J. Onamu and Amin.

Mr. G. Argwings-Kodhek becomes Minister of Natural Resources, with Mr. Thomas Malinda as Assistant Minister.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, who formerly led the Opposition Party K.A.D.U., has responsibility for Co-operative and Social Services, assisted by Mr. Maisori Imbo.

Mr. M. Kibaki has moved from the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development to take the portfolio of Commerce and Industry, with Messrs. Kerich and Ole Tiptip as assistants. Mr. Jeremiah Nyagah, Minister for Education, has two associates, Messrs. Konchellah and Mutiso.

Mr. Charles Njonjo remains Attorney-General.

The announcement made no reference to the Housing portfolio, still held by Mr. Paul Ngei, who was recently suspended while an inquiry proceeded into allegations of a maize distribution scandal.

Mr. Odinga's Challenge

Mr. Odinga, the former Vice-President of Kenya, has challenged President Kenyatta to clarify his allegations that Parliamentarians who oppose the Government have engaged in subversive activities, saying that the charges had been deliberately kept vague in order that they could not be specifically answered.

He has denied allegations by ex-Mau Mau leaders that he had offered them £150,000 to return to the forests to organize rebellion against President Kenyatta and the Government.

Recent broadcasts from Moscow have accused President Kenyatta of leading his country "on the road to capitalism" and helping "a new African bourgeois capitalist class to emerge in Kenya". They have made appreciative references to Mr. Oginga Odinga.

The Speakers of Kenya's two Houses of Parliament have advised three Senators and 13 M.Ps. that the prorogation of Parliament renders their seats vacant.

Those affected are Senators Chilo, Jilo, and Siyejo. The 13 M.Ps. are Messrs. Achieng Onoko, Okuto Bala, Gichoya, Kaggia, Kali, Makokha, Luke Obok, Odera Sar, Oginga Odinga, Oduya, Okello-Odongo, and Sadalla (specially-elected member).

Writes for by-elections in all except the last case, have been issued. Nomination day will be May 21 and the elections will be held on June 11 and 12 for constituency Members and on June 18 and 19 for Senators.

Mr. Odinga, who has said that he and his supporters will contest the by-elections, has appealed to the Government to prevent vote buying and ballot rigging.

Ten of his original supporters who later rejoined K.A.N.U. have again broken with that party and said that they support Mr. Odinga. His group now has 26 M.Ps. and Senators.

Mr. M. P. OFWONA, who holds B.Sc. degree in civil engineering of Ohio Northern University and a Master's degree of the University of Cincinnati, has been appointed chief technical officer of the property and estates division of the East African Common Services Organization.

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Managing Director's Message

"Play the Game", Says Mr. Derek Scorer

MR. DEREK SCORER, whose appointment as managing director of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., we recently reported, has sent to the employees of the group, which operates widely throughout Central and East Africa, a message which begins characteristically with the suggestion that among his colleagues are men "who have a better right than I to the job but have been denied the privilege simply because they came into the world too soon after our retiring managing director". It continued (in part):—

"Factories, offices, laboratories, computers, and board rooms are not an end in themselves, they are all there for the express purpose of enabling us to supply (profitably, we hope!) goods to our customers, whose farms, mines, production lines, and even swimming pools are dependent upon the goods and services which we provide. Each of us in the company should have these excellent people constantly in mind, and have a very clear picture of exactly how his or her own particular job enables A.E. & C.I. to serve its customers in the most efficient and satisfactory manner.

"Collaboration between us is one of the most important ingredients in our company's future progress—call it teamwork if you like: and collaboration, too, with our associates in business outside the company, of whatever language group, creed, or nationality. This is not to say that we can't turn the heat on to our competitors, but we must play the game according to the rules and visualize that a man can be our friend although his company is receiving the full force of our competitive ability. Personal prejudices should never be allowed to colour our business judgment. Whilst accepting that on occasions our views may differ, we must work with those whose job it is to plan the welfare of our country.

"The war of ideas is going to be one of the greatest things in the years that lie ahead. It is easy to think of successes which have been won in business by a clever idea or invention which can often be much more profitable than years of sloping along the well-worn track. Ideas not only come in a flash, but also go as quickly if they are not immediately captured and turned to good account. So we must be receptive to new ideas, however revolutionary, and agree to try them out if there appears to be a prospect of their getting us somewhere. Most times when we hear ourselves saying 'that won't work' we should really be saying 'let's do a trial for six months and then meet again to look at the results'."

Mr. Scorer qualified as a solicitor in England in 1936 and in the following year joined Imperial Chemical Industries as assistant secretary of one of the divisions in the group. From 1939 to 1945 he was an anti-aircraft gunner, mainly in London, except for a period of secondment for training in the U.S.A. with the American Army. He rejoined I.C.I. on demobilization, and in 1947 went to South Africa as assistant secretary to A.E. & C.I., of which he became secretary in 1948.

Early in 1950 he went to Nairobi as managing director of the East African subsidiary, and during his three years in Kenya served in the Police Reserve during the Mau Mau rebellion. He then returned to South Africa as deputy manager of Kynoch, Ltd., becoming commercial director two years later.

He is a past president of the Exporters' Association of South Africa, was founder chairman of the Fertilizer Society of South Africa, and serves on the executive committee of the South African Foundation. He is an enthusiastic yachtsman.

Gallaher, Ltd.

THE EXCEPTIONALLY ATTRACTIVE annual report published by Gallaher, Ltd., contains no fewer than 36 coloured plates. The chairman's statement (which appeared in full in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA) emphasizes that the group is greatly concerned about future supplies of tobacco from Rhodesia, that country being, except for the U.S.A., its most important source of supply. The Rhodesian staff, Mr. Norman states, are "fine representatives of your company". Statistical tables show the 10-year record of sales, profits, dividends, capital, employment, etc. Group net profit for 1965 exceeded £11.6m., compared with £8.7m. in the previous year. Dividends totaling 19% took £6m., leaving a carry-forward of £5,350,000.

R.S.T.

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., and its subsidiaries report production of 73,897 tons of copper and sales of 72,023 long tons in the March quarter, making an output of 212,530 tons for the first nine months of the current year. The estimated consolidated profit before income tax is £5,893,000 for the quarter and £18,005,000 for the nine months. In the corresponding nine months to March last year the group profit before tax was just under £15.6m.

E.A. Power & Lighting

Fixed Assets Over £12m

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD., reports profits for 1965 after tax of £313,788 at £787,603, compared with £914,549 in 1964, when the tax bill, however, was lower at £255,304. Dividends of 8% on the ordinary stock require £607,320 (the same), and after transfers of £100,000 and £70,000 to contingency reserve and development reserve, the carry-forward is £41,511 (£373,845).

Issued capital is £9,714,504, of which £2,150,000 is in cumulative preference stock and the balance in ordinary stocks and shares of 20s. Net fixed assets stand at £12.6m. and net current assets at £259,891. The annual statement of Mr. J. C. Mundy, the chairman, appears elsewhere in this issue.

Mr. Mundy's colleagues on the board are Messrs. C. B. W. Anderson, I. S. Ednie, T. McF. Elliott, E. T. Jones, V. A. Maddison, R. J. Ouko, and G. C. Reed. The London board consists of Lord Renwick of Coombe (chairman), Mr. E. R. Wilkinson (deputy chairman), Mr. Ronald C. Brook, and Sir John Huggins. The secretaries in Kenya and London are Mr. B. H. Kyle-Bowyer and Mr. H. C. Trenoweth.

Congo's Copper Export Tax

THE CONGO GOVERNMENT raised the export tax on copper last Friday from 17% to 30% and decreed that all companies legally constituted in the Congo must establish their head office in the country by the end of this year. Both actions affect the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. The Cabinet has also decided that the Government shall retain a 10% interest in all "strategic materials" mined in the Congo.

Freight rates to Lobito are to be revised by the Shipping Conference Lines from August 1.

The Nairobi Chapter of the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry has been formally inaugurated. It takes the place of the old Chamber of Commerce.

The fifth of 17 tea factories planned for processing leaf grown by African smallholders in Kenya is now in commission at Nyankoba, near Kericho. It has cost about £100,000.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 288,168 tons of coal and 19,025 of coke in April. The March figures were 328,982 and 20,681 respectively.

Malawi Electricity Supply Commission has announced that reduced tariffs will come into operation after the opening of the Nkula Falls hydro-electric station in July.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd. reports group profits after tax for 1965 at £1,158,565, compared with £876,110 in the previous year. A 17% dividend is repeated.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., has declared a 15% dividend. The parent company, Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., is paying 25%.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., Kenya, produced 127 tons of sisal and tow in April, making 557 tons for the first four months of the year (593 tons).

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, report estimated net profit for the January-March quarter at £69,253. From 66,500 tons of ore milled a yield of 18,343 oz. gold was obtained.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., reports net profits after tax for 1965 at £1,158,565, against £876,110 in the previous year. A final distribution of 10% holds the dividend at 17%.

Booker Brothers McConnell and Co., Ltd., report profits after tax for 1965 at £1,215,000 (£1,254,000). The 10% tax-free dividend is repeated.

Leyland Motor Corporation is to supply 161 trucks and tractors to the Government of Zambia at a cost of about £1.2m. The group has now had orders for 411 vehicles in six months.

The annual report of Spillers, Ltd., which has a half-interest in Rhodesian Milling Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., Rhodesia, and the National Milling Co., Ltd., Zambia, states that the dividends declared by the combined undertaking were broadly equivalent to those for the previous year.

African and European Investment, Ltd., had a profit for 1965 of R5,436,000 (R3,528,000), less tax of R85,000 (nil). Ordinary dividends take R2.7m. (R2.1m.), and after allocating R2.5m. (R1.1m.) to general reserve, the carry-forward is R770,000. Quoted investments standing in the books at just over R20m. have a market value of more than R50m. Net current assets exceed R2.5m. (R1.2m.).

The Tanzania-Zambia Road Services Corporation will charge £15 per short ton for the carriage of copper to Dar es Salaam, or about 27s. per ton below the present Rhodesia Railways rate to Beira. The charges for other inward cargo to Zambia will range up to £24 per ton. The vehicles will carry up to 30 tons and take about 10 days on the return journey. The two Governments hold 35% each of the capital and a Fiat subsidiary 30%.

COMPANY MEETING

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER & LIGHTING COMPANY LIMITED

Chairman's Review for the Year Ended 31st December, 1965

	1963	1964	1965
	£	£	£
Revenue from Sale of Electricity	4,081,850	4,407,003	4,588,776
Net Profit after Taxation and Depreciation	831,689	794,516	878,603
Ordinary Dividend (Gross)	607,475	607,320	607,320 (8%)
Net Cash Flow	706,644	698,511	695,590

In presenting the accounts of your Company for the year ended 31st December, 1965, I am glad to say we have had another successful though not spectacular year.

Period of Further Consolidation

It has been a period of further consolidation of the financial and economic policies introduced by the Government since Kenya attained Independence two years ago. It has been marked once again by steady progress in the development of the country's potential. The most significant fact is that, amidst the troubled African background, Kenya stands out for its record of political stability and wisdom, and its Government's determination to proceed on sound principles.

The profit for the year before taxation shows a small improvement over the previous year. With the general increase in costs, particularly in salaries and wages, and the need to improve the cash flow to meet recurring capital expenditure on power stations and distribution networks, an application has been made to Government for an increase in tariffs which should provide additional revenue of the order of £250,000 in 1966.

Increased Demands for Power

Last year I detailed some of the new projects which would increase electric power demands. In the industrial section a number of factory extensions and new plants have been opened during the year, and in agriculture the extension of tea, coffee and cotton areas is going steadily ahead. Preliminary work and planning by the developers of larger schemes in both sectors is taking longer than was anticipated, and more time will elapse before they can be brought to the revenue producing stage. You will note that, as compared with our estimate of 3% the increase in unit sales of electricity was actually 2% during the year; this need not be significant in the long-term trend; there were adverse conditions caused by drought and reduced world prices for major agricultural products which affected consumer demand, against which industrial exports improved, and there was a healthy upsurge in tourism. The present rate of increase in sales of electricity is likely to grow during

the current year, and on average I expect to see a further improvement as the pace of development gathers momentum.

To meet the growing demand a new supply of 40 M.W. of power will become available from the Tana River Development Company early in 1968, which should ensure adequate supplies until 1972. This is the first stage in the planned development of the potential of the Tana River, which will be followed by a much wider investigation into all forms of power production throughout the country, their economics and co-ordination with the wider development of the country's resources.

We have maintained close and cordial relations with Government on all matters of policy, and I am pleased to record our appreciation of the courtesy and co-operation we have received from the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power, which is responsible for power matters within the Government.

Managerial and Technical Organization

Mr. Thomas McFarlane Elliott, O.B.E., M.C., C.Eng., M.I.E.E., who has served overseas in Malaya and Aden, was appointed general manager in August, 1965. A full review of the managerial and technical organization has been completed to improve efficiency and to keep pace with the continued expansion of our activities. As compared with the previous method of control through area managers, overall direction has now been channelled from the general manager through three assistant general managers—Mr. W. D. M. Brown, administration, Mr. W. D. Ramsay, centralized control of generation and distribution, while Mr. Isaac Lugonzo, who has been with the Company for 20 years, is responsible for public relations and liaison with Government. I particularly welcome Mr. Lugonzo's appointment to managerial status within the Company.

Accounts

The balance sheet shows there was no change in the issued capital at £9,741,504 and that the capital reserve at £1,223,938 has increased by £302,000. Revenue reserves amounted to £1,057,390 at the end of the year under review. The excess of current assets over current

liabilities is £259,891, compared with £1,661,698 at the end of the previous year, the reduction being due mainly to the repayment of the debenture stock.

The revenue account shows a net operating surplus including investment income for the year of £1,202,346, as compared with £1,235,910 in 1964.

Operating and administration expenses were £1,693,391, compared with £1,544,977, whilst the cost of the Kenya Power Company bulk supply amounted to £1,158,861, an increase over last year of £40,570 representing the cost of additional units purchased. Under the bulk supply agreement 333.5 million units were purchased, compared with 321.9 million units during the previous year. The profit for the year before taxation is £1,192,391, an increase of £22,538 on 1964.

After providing for taxation of £313,788, an increase of £58,484 (which includes £36,087 under-provided in previous years), the net profit for the year available for appropriation is £885,603, from which is deducted the transfer of £70,000 to development reserve and £100,000 to contingency reserve. Preference stock dividends and the interim dividend of 3% on the Ordinary stock absorb £324,245, and leave a balance for the year of £384,358, from which your directors recommend a final dividend of 5%, requiring £379,575, making a total of 8% for the year, the same as last year. The balance of profit retained and carried forward is £419,294, compared with £414,511 brought in.

Prospects for Current Year

We are pursuing an energetic policy of sales promotion and pruning of costs, but there are at present few signs of any large-scale load development in the immediate future. Building plans approved for private development in Nairobi in 1964 were valued at £1,939,983 and in 1965 improved to £2,052,883. Our principal undertakings showed a slight trend towards improved sales in the sphere of domestic and secondary industrial loads in the latter months of the year, a trend which has continued into the current period. In consequence it is considered the Company may anticipate a modest but steady improvement in the results for the current year over those now submitted to you.

Development

There has been substantial progress in the provision of supplies to rural areas where the implementation of Government development plans for fostering and extending industries is creating an economic demand. Embu and Meru, which are benefiting from increased coffee and tea production, and Kakamega, which is in a mixed-farming centre, were connected in 1965. Extension to these townships has also enabled supplies to be made available to a substantial number of market places and trading centres. The switching-on ceremonies at Meru and Kakamega were kindly performed by the Minister for Works, Communications and Power, the Hon. D. M. Mwanjumba, M.P., who expressed his appreciation of the part the Company continues to play in furthering economic development.

These projects, together with additions and reinforcement in order to meet load growth in existing areas necessitated the construction of some 140 route miles of 66 kV., 33 kV. and 11kV. overhead lines, with a further 60 miles of medium voltage lines. The 66 kV. reinforcement from the bulk receiving station at Juja Road to the principal feed point for Nairobi at Parklands has been completed, and after commissioning tests proved satisfactory, the new sub-station at Parklands was energized early in January, 1966.

Demonstration Centre

In August a well-equipped demonstration centre was opened in Nairobi where the public can obtain advice on the use of all kinds of electrical appliances and attend the regular cooking demonstrations which are proving very popular. The new centre replaces the old demonstration room, which had become inadequate to meet the growing public interest. A mobile demonstration kitchen has also been put into service to tour outlying areas and encourage the domestic use of electricity.

About 2,700 new consumers were connected during the year, the majority being residents in rural areas.

Localization and Training

It is our policy to Africanize as many posts in the Company as possible whilst maintaining a high standard of efficiency. The reason it is not being done more quickly is the limited number of suitably qualified candidates available to meet, not only our requirements, but those of the whole country. For some years, therefore, we have had our own wide training schemes covering apprentice training at the training school; "on-the-job" clerical and administrative training; and on the professional and managerial side the selection and sponsoring of students through secondary schools and colleges to universities for degree qualification. I shall give a detailed account of the progress we are making in this important task.

The facilities at the training school were increased during the year, and as a result there was an average of 96 resident students during 1965, compared with 58 during 1964. Plans have been approved for extending the workshop facilities at the school to enable more training to be carried out on the mechanical side.

Engineering As A Career

I have referred previously to the difficulty in obtaining students willing to take up engineering as a career which has made it impossible for the Company to secure candidates for the higher professional posts. We are finding, however, that by explaining the attractions of an engineering career to suitable young students at secondary schools and colleges, paying fees and offering bursaries to universities, both here and in the United Kingdom, we are overcoming the problem. In 1963 we maintained five students at Strathmore College with the intention that they should proceed to university for engineering degrees on completion of their Higher School Certificate, G.C.E. "A" Level courses. All of them are now studying for engineering degrees either here or at universities in the United Kingdom.

It is planned that we shall sponsor a further four undergraduates at universities in the United Kingdom and East Africa to read degree courses in Engineering during 1966.

Staff

Throughout the year, the staff at all levels have served with loyalty and devotion of a very high order and I have much pleasure in once again conveying to all staff in Kenya and London the sincere thanks of the Board, with which I am sure members will wish to be associated.

Copies of the report and accounts and the Chairman's review can be obtained from The London Secretary, Bow Bells House, Bread Street, London, E.C.4 and from The Secretary, P.O. Box 30099, Nairobi, Kenya.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

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

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



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