



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, September 1, 1966

Vol. 43 No. 2186

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper

52s year post free

JOINT SERVICE



HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

LOBITO, CAPE TOWN, *MOSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN AND MAURITIUS (also Walvis and Luderitz Bay with transhipment)

Vessel **CUSTODIAN** Glasgow 18 Wales Birkenhead 2 Sept.
: If inducement * With or without transhipment

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

Vessel **CITY OF MANCHESTER** Glasgow Birkenhead 20 Sept.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

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

Leading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

**THE MANICA
TRADING COMPANY
LIMITED**

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

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

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

Established over 60 years

Rhodesia: Plain Facts for the Conference

**'Snip'
I went—
and he
snapped...**



Ruthless women at times, these nurses. Have to be. And what will those scissors be snipping at in twelve years' time, we wonder. Dressings or dresses? Or even paper sculptures perhaps? Who knows? A country growing as fast as young Sara's offers immense scope to the individual. Offers immense scope to the overseas exporter too. So, if you are looking for new markets in the countries of the Commonwealth, contact us straight away. Our knowledge of local conditions and requirements is unrivalled.

For detailed market reports from our African, Caribbean or Mediterranean branches, write to Intelligence Department, Barclays Bank D.C.O., 54 Lombard Street, London E.C.3.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. Britain's Largest Overseas Bank

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

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

incorporating
EAST AFRICA and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone: HOLborn 2294-5

Cables
EASTAFRIC, London

Inland Telegraphs
EASTAFRIC, Westcent, London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment	13	Kenya Asians Under Attack	19
No Surprise, Says Mr. Smith	15	Political Unrest in Zambia	20
Double Standards in Africa	16	"President de Gaulle's Visit to Jibuti"	21
Messages to "Rhodesia and Eastern Africa"	17	Saving the Bushmen	22
Personalia	18	Parliament	23

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1966

Vol. 43

No. 2186

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

NEXT WEEK'S COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE in London will certainly not be a joyous affair for its chairman, Mr. Harold Wilson, whatever impression the daily *communiqué* may contrive to create; but he, a self-publicist second to none, will be alert to opportunities which might be used to mitigate the damage done to his reputation by sharply critical speeches from African and some other leaders. A number of them have been preparing their onslaughts for weeks, and though a few may hearken to recommendations to tone down their diatribes, others will insist on voicing their extremism, partly because they can no longer bottle it up, and partly because newspaper reports of their hostility will serve their purposes in their own countries, in the Organization of African Unity, and at the United Nations. If past experience is repeated, African nationalist zealots will hasten to release for publication statements which in more scrupulous days would have been considered confidential to the conference. Indeed, at the last gathering of this kind in London one Prime Minister from a country within the sphere of this journal gave journalists the text of his speech before the opening of the session at which he hoped to make it. The more experienced and responsible Commonwealth leaders strongly resented the behaviour of delegates from some of the recently independent States at the last two conferences in Britain, and also on occasion the unreality and unreliability of the official summaries. After one particularly heated discussion an irate Prime Minister told us that those who had drafted and approved that day's statement must have been absent from the proceedings, slept throughout the exchanges, or released in error an exercise in officialese with which a cynical member of the secretariat had amused himself while men without his detachment and sense of humour had worked their anger

out of their system! There was much other evidence that the bulletins bore little relation to the often lively exchanges in the chamber.

* * *

Similar diversions (in both senses of the word) would suit the British Prime Minister now. He has, however, done so much to arouse anger against Rhodesia and to mislead other Commonwealth Governments on the issue, especially in connexion with economic sanctions, that he cannot hope to escape general condemnation, for his own ludicrous and foolishly advertised miscalculations have made the other Commonwealth politicians who trusted them look similar simpletons. At the half-conference in Nigeria in January (half-conference because half of the Prime Ministers did not trouble to attend) he insisted that the Smith Government would be brought down by sanctions "in weeks, not months". Months later he still pretended, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that collapse was imminent. Now, eight months after the Lagos conclave, nobody but Mr. Wilson imagines that the oil embargo or any of the other financial or trade penalties can cause Rhodesia to accept the *Diktat* of party managers in Britain whom they profoundly distrust and despise. The simple fact, as this publication has proclaimed almost week by week, is that Rhodesia will never surrender; that those members of the white community who were Mr. Smith's political opponents are solidly with him in his determination to retain the independence which was assumed in mid-November; that his Government has the support of a large proportion of the African population because it has almost eradicated the intimidation and violence previously practised by the two African political parties upon Africans who did not accept their dictation; that such hardships as long-continued sanctions would

impose can consequently not be lethal; that much more damage is being done meanwhile to Britain's balance payments and export trade than to the Rhodesian economy; and that the only sane course is to negotiate a settlement.

It is almost incredible, but nevertheless true, that throughout his Prime Ministership Mr. Wilson has done nothing to that end, and made only one statement which offered

Ignorance and Bad Judgment

the prospect of agreement—his admission in Salisbury (from which he retreated) that African majority rule could not come "by clock or calendar but only by achievement". He began by broadcasting insults to Rhodesia as soon as he had won his first election, and in the dozens of statements which he has since made in Parliament, at the United Nations, from public platforms, and in radio and television programmes he has demonstrated insensibility, staggeringly bad judgment, stubbornness, and invincible ignorance of the Rhodesian character and the Rhodesian economy. Nothing which could aggravate the situation has been left unsaid or undone. Mr. Smith was absolutely justified when he remarked in Umtali a few days ago that Mr. Wilson had talked himself into a dire predicament and must now talk himself out of it. It so happens that that is one of his aptitudes. After he had made a most stupid reference to Rhodesia in Parliament some months ago we said in conversation with a senior Socialist M.P. that it would not be readily forgotten or forgiven by Rhodesians and would consequently hinder the negotiations which were inevitable sooner or later. "That does not signify with Harold", he replied; "he can be guaranteed to talk his way out of anything". The party then had in its leader a confidence which has now completely disappeared, for his recklessness has brought it and the country to the brink of disaster. That having been made obvious to all the world, Rhodesia may not dominate discussion at the Commonwealth Conference to anything like the extent expected until a few weeks ago: Britain's balance of payments and her import and export trade, sterling area problems, overseas aid, Vietnam, and other aspects of world strategy will not only demand debate but persuade influential delegates that passion must be curbed when the need for patience is so evident.

The spokesmen for Australia and New Zealand can be relied upon to take that stand and stoutly resist any proposals for the use

of military force by Britain or the United Nations, and some Asian States, perhaps led by Pakistan and Malaysia, may endorse that

attitude. President Banda of Malawi has already expressed that view, and it would not be surprising if Nigeria and Ghana, deeply disturbed by their recent revolutions, argued against those O.A.U. fellow-members who demand an invasion of Rhodesia. In a recent statement in Parliament Mr. Wilson almost incited them to address that proposal to the United Nations, which he used (or, rather, misused) when, in breach of an earlier undertaking, he decided to use the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force to prevent oil supplies reaching Rhodesia through the port of Beira. Far from encouraging reference of the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations, the Commonwealth Conference should record unequivocally that it is for the British and Rhodesian Governments alone to reach a solution, which must be obstructed, not facilitated, by interference by other nations.

R.A.F. Withdrawal From Zambia

Withdrawal of the Royal Air Force contingent from Zambia is to be warmly welcomed. It was absurd to imagine, as the Press in general did, that the Javelin aircraft were sent in December to forestall an invasion from Rhodesia. There was never the slightest likelihood of that: and if there had been the Royal Rhodesia Air Force, a splendidly manned and excellently equipped arm, would not have been seriously inconvenienced. The real reason for the dispatch of the nine Javelins was to strengthen the position of President Kaunda, who was under threat from some of the extremists in his own party and Government. Though the menace remains, it is temporarily reduced. Otherwise he would have resisted removal of the aircraft and the considerable detachment from the Royal Air Force Regiment. His consent to their departure testifies to his confidence that his personal position is safer—and that is unquestionably for the good of Zambia, whose well-wishers (among them almost all the white community in Rhodesia) hope that he may long continue to guide his country, and, when present emotions subside, lead it in healing the breach with its southern neighbour. It is deeply regrettable that he should now make himself the chief advocate of an invasion of Rhodesia and should provide asylum and support for Communist-trained Africans on their way through Zambia to commit murder and other crimes in Rhodesia.

No Surprise: Britain Knew Nine Months Ago

Mr. Smith Again Accuses Mr. Wilson of Deception

THE "TALKS ABOUT TALKS" between officials representing the British and Rhodesian Governments were abruptly interrupted last Thursday, when Mr. Wilson instructed Mr. Duncan-Watson and Mr. Oliver Wright to fly back to London immediately because the Rhodesian Government had that day tabled a Bill which British Ministers considered to constitute an unacceptable infringement of the 1961 Constitution.

But two days later the Rhodesian Prime Minister told the Salisbury *Sunday Mail* that Mr. Wilson had known of the intention to amend the Constitution for at least nine months.

Excuse, Not A Reason

In reference to a statement by the Canadian Prime Minister that the Rhodesian issue jeopardized the Commonwealth, Mr. Ian Smith said: "They could use this if they are looking for an excuse; but it will not be the reason".

An announcement from the Commonwealth Office stated:—

"H.M. Government have learned with concern of the intention of the illegal régime in Salisbury to introduce a 'constitutional amendment Bill' containing powers of preventive detention and making changes in the specially entrenched clauses of the 1961 Constitution. These changes would, of course, have no legal validity.

"Ministers are studying the implications of these new developments. They will also wish to consider the first-hand report of their talks from Mr. Watson and Mr. Wright, who are on their way back to London".

The two officials had begun a new series of talks in Salisbury only three days earlier. It had been intended that they should return to London before the opening of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on September 6.

A brief statement issued in Salisbury said merely: "The British officials today returned to London to report to their Ministers on matters which have been discussed in the talks this week".

Preventive Detention

The Bill tabled by Mr. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Justice and of Law and Order, proposes to amend the declaration of rights which was an entrenched section of the 1961 Constitution negotiated with the British Government. It appears unaltered in the Constitution promulgated when Rhodesia assumed independence on November 11 last.

By the 1961 legislation entrenched clauses are amendable only by a two-thirds majority vote in Parliament and the approval either of the British Government or of the Rhodesian electorate expressed by simple majorities in four separate referenda by race. Under the current Constitution any amendment to entrenched provisions requires a two-thirds majority in Parliament on two occasions at separate sittings of the House.

Now a Constitutional Amendment Bill asks for preventive detention without trial (which is now permissible only under emergency powers), for the establishment of tribal courts with limited criminal jurisdiction, and for extended powers in respect of tribal trust lands.

Mr. Smith's move was regarded by *The Times* as "deliberately designed to break the frail bridge between Britain and Rhodesia which was sustained by the officials' talks". A leading article suggested that he

might have "determined to show that there never was the basis for negotiations which the officials set out to find".

The Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote:—

"Whitehall is both concerned and puzzled by Mr. Smith's act, which indicates an utter indifference to world opinion. It is now clear that any discussions with Mr. Smith are at an end, and that a demand for the most rigorous action against the Smith régime will be demanded when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet in London".

Wilson Criticized by Press Supporters

No three daily newspapers have more consistently and strongly supported Mr. Wilson in his attitude to Rhodesia than the *Daily Mail*, *Guardian*, and *Scotsman*. On Friday all three gave prominence to statements which he cannot have welcomed.

"Double Snub for Wilson" was the heading in the *Mail* to a story which began thus:—

"Mr. Wilson's plan to end the Rhodesian rebellion lay on the verge of ruin last night.

"In Salisbury, Britain's officials walked out of the Rhodesian talks after a massive snub from Mr. Ian Smith's régime and flew home to report to the Prime Minister.

"In London Commonwealth officials completed a report on sanctions which was tantamount to a majority conclusion that the present economic squeeze on Rhodesia is not producing results and cannot do so.

"With Rhodesia top of the agenda for the Commonwealth Conference in London in 12 days' time, Mr. Wilson is no nearer to ending the Rhodesian rebellion than he was when it started on November 11 last year".

"Advantage to Mr. Smith" was the title given by the *Guardian* to a leading article which ended:—

"The British defeat of the Smith régime is fast becoming one with the Communist occupation of Formosa and the Arab pursuit of Israel into the sea. It is a consummation which honour demands and which political circumstances prevent. The British Government continues to maintain as an aim of national policy that the régime shall be replaced by a multi-racial one, but the hope that this will actually happen recedes to vanishing point.

"Mr. Smith has surmounted his economic difficulties at least as well as Britain has surmounted hers. His supporters' willingness to make sacrifices is by no means exhausted. In the eyes of many people in Britain he is the underdog of Africa, not one of the oppressors. He must be tempted to uncork some more champagne, still readily obtainable".

Editorial comment in the *Scotsman* included the following statements:—

"Rhodesia has now been 'independent' for 289 days, and there is still no sign of the day when it will cease to be 'independent'.

"Mr. Wilson's early and unjustifiable optimism about the effects of sanctions dismayed the African members of the Commonwealth and encouraged Mr. Smith. The Government have now stopped being optimistic; instead they have become silent and secretive. But it appears that they have reluctantly agreed with the majority of the Commonwealth Committee on Sanctions that the present level is inadequate. It also appears that the Commonwealth Office do not want anybody to know of this revised opinion in case Mr. Smith is encouraged".

Friends of Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION has now offices in Sydney, New South Wales (P.O. Box 684); in Melbourne, Victoria, at 14 Cowper Street, Sandringham; and in Corinda, Queensland (Box 17). There is a South Australia-Rhodesia Association with offices at 43 Windsor Grove, Klemzig; and a Friends of Rhodesia Society at 24 Peplar Avenue, Salter Point, Perth, Western Australia. The New Zealand-Rhodesia Society may be reached at Box 2111, Auckland, and Box 1372, Christchurch.

Mr. Smith Denounces Double Standards in Africa

Governments Which Murder Political Opponents and Assault the Innocent

THE UMTALI SPEECH in which the Rhodesian Prime Minister told Mr. Wilson to talk himself out of the predicament which he had created for himself could be reported only briefly last week.

Mr. Smith said on that occasion:—

"Ever since November 11 the other side have made so many commitments and talked themselves into so many corners—impossible of fulfilment—that they have to face the tremendous task of talking their way out of the predicament in which they now find themselves.

"Because we have never resorted to idle prattle, and have consistently followed our well-thought-out and well-prepared path, and not allowed ourselves to be deviated by strangers from outside who do not know the intricacies, pitfalls, and dangers of the terrain that we are travelling and know so well, we do not have to face the embarrassing position of admitting foolish errors, changing course, and through the use of words producing a smoke-screen to conceal from the rest of the world the exercise which we are carrying out.

Britain's Operation Badly Planned

"It is distressing and sad that Zambia now finds itself in a similar predicament. One significant difference is that this was never part of any original thinking from Zambia. This forms part of Britain's brainchild—the effort to bring Rhodesia to its knees. Zambia was used as a pawn in the game. This will go down in history as a classical example of an ill-conceived, badly-planned operation where poor, innocent, inarticulate people were used by a superior, sophisticated and so-called civilized Power in order to further their own evil political ideologies. The civilized world will live to regret this demonstration of civilization.

"Let us be thankful that we have maintained high standards of moral behaviour in our public life, in which there is a distinct lack of the double standards and double talk so prevalent in so many other parts of this world.

"For many people in many countries there is a code of dual standards; and there is no more fertile field for the practice of this code of dual standards than Africa, and no more classical example of the dividing line than the Zambezi.

"In many countries to the north of us—and I stress the word 'many', because there are exceptions to this rule—it is perfectly in order, even morally justifiable, for Governments to resort to the wholesale murder of their political opponents and for people to burn, plunder, assault, and even rape decent, innocent people. This is accepted.

"South of the Zambezi, where we do not tolerate such behaviour, the story is different.

Was the University Council Ignorant or Irresponsible?

"When we uncover a nest of people who are abusing our hospitality and using the freedom inherent in our Constitution and our way of life in order to undermine the Constitution and our way of life, and send these people packing, hearken to the cries of anguish that then come from the upholders of moral rectitude in so many parts of the world and listen to their appeals to the United Nations to try to restore law and order in Rhodesia!

"Nowhere is there a more reasonable, fair-minded people than in this country, and nowhere a more peaceful and law-abiding country than Rhodesia. The reason for this ideal state of affairs is that we have not been prepared to deviate from the standards and principles in which we believe.

"You must have been shocked at the statement made by Mr. Howman in Parliament [and published by RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA last week—Ed.] The actual case, which I have read, is far worse than the case he presented. He could not divulge everything. I have said that if you could see the reports which I have seen it would make your hair curl; or if you have curly hair I suppose it would make it straight.

"The principal of London University has made it very clear that so far as he is concerned the Government is not interfering with the academic freedom of the university. We have no intention of interfering with its academic freedom, but when we perceive malignant growth in a very important organ of our country, we have no option but to act as we did. A handful of

people—not Rhodesian citizens, mere birds of passage—were creating conditions that were giving the whole institution a bad name.

"All of the decent young Rhodesians—about 800 of them—who were trying to take advantage of this wonderful facility were having their positions jeopardized.

"I was amazed at the report from the University Council disapproving of the action taken by Government. I am satisfied that at least two of these gentlemen were aware of what was going on and knew what I knew, but they knew and were still prepared to be a party to this announcement which disapproved of what we did, I have very serious doubts whether they are sufficiently responsible to sit on the council of the university".

Whole Terrorist Gangs Shot

Minister Warns the Organizers

MR. WILLIAM HARPER, Rhodesian Minister of Internal Affairs, said on Friday that nearly all the terrorists who had entered Rhodesia had been captured.

Asked in a recorded interview which was broadcast over the African Service of the R.B.C. what sort of reception Rhodesian Africans who had left the country and wished to return would receive, Mr. Harper replied: "If these people are terrorists their chances of being rounded up are extremely high. We have captured pretty well all the terrorists who have come to this country. We have shot whole gangs of these terrorists, not one surviving, when they have resisted arrest. These people ought to know that when they resist arrest this is the sort of treatment they are going to receive from the armed forces of this country".

Since political hooligans had been removed from the townships and the countryside life for the average man and woman had been far more peaceful than anything the country had known for a very long time. It had always been the case in Rhodesia that it was only those who did wrong who had had cause to fear the authorities.

People who organized the terrorists should not think that they could work against Rhodesia while they lived beyond its borders and then be welcomed back with open arms if they sought to return. Those people shared the guilt equally with the terrorists themselves. "If such people fall into the hands of the police they will be dealt with as the criminals they are. They should remember that the police do not close cases on such persons until they have achieved their objective".

Sanctions Committee's Report

Condemnation of Wilson Policy

THE COMMONWEALTH SANCTIONS COMMITTEE approved last Thursday the report which it is to submit to the 23 Commonwealth Governments as a working paper for next week's conference of Prime Ministers.

Because it rejects Mr. Wilson's repeated assurances that the sanctions already imposed will soon cause Rhodesian resistance to collapse, Sir Saville Garner, representing the Commonwealth Office, pressed for amendments to the draft, but that was firmly resisted by African delegations, especially Zambia. What was expected to be a short meeting for the formal adoption of the document prepared by a sub-committee proved to be lengthy. In fact, discussion occupied the best part of two days. British opposition was then reluctantly withdrawn.

The report deals with events since U.D.I., lists evasions of sanctions and Governments which have facilitated them, and considers the imposition of mandatory sanctions by the United Nations. It recommends increased aid to Zambia.

Messages to "Rhodesia and Eastern Africa"

From the Rt. Hon. Viscount Malvern, C.H., K.C.M.G., first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-56), and Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1933 to 1953.

"I am very interested to know that your weekly paper is now named RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Over the years I have found it the only means of finding out about current affairs in East and Central Africa. It has been most valuable.

"Rhodesia requires all the factual news that your paper produces for educating (if that is possible) the pundits in Whitehall and Westminster.

"Africa, and Rhodesia in particular, has been the victim of exotic theories produced by the academics and cranks, many of them working on theory and not on realities. The only excuse for them is that they regard the European as having no place in Africa and believe that the African should be left to stew in his own juice—or, as the late Arthur Creech Jones said to me when he was Colonial Secretary: 'They can learn by burning their own fingers'. If he were still with us he would now realize what the adoption of his policy means in terms of Africa.

"We may have got rid of the centuries-old European wars and neatly transferred them to the Africa of the future. What a tragedy!—because the black African is as good as anyone else if given time to learn to walk before he runs".

From the Rt. Hon. Sir Roy Welensky, K.C.M.G., who succeeded Lord Malvern as Prime Minister of the Federation.

"It is most fitting that your paper should now be named RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. For several decades you have been a friend to all the peoples of the Central African territories. Your policy has been consistent and your pages have been open to both friend and foe.

"Rhodesians should show their gratitude to you by more and more of them reading your paper.

"I have read it regularly for more than a quarter of a century, and I can say from that experience that your reporting has been factual and your opinions reasonable, and that you often convey news of our part of the world which does not see the light of day in other papers".

From the Hon. Winston Field, C.M.G., M.B.E., lately Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

"A balanced view of Rhodesian affairs has been presented for many years in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. I know that Rhodesia's progress will justify the change of title to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA".

From "The Times"

"Among Mr. Ian Smith's supporters in London none has a more effective pen than Mr. F. S. Joelson, the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, a weekly periodical founded as EAST AFRICA in 1924. This week it changes its name to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA—reflecting Mr. Joelson's special interests in Rhodesia and his coverage of events from Addis Ababa to Salisbury. An outspoken upholder of white rule in East and Central Africa, Mr. Joelson was a firm though discriminating supporter of Sir Roy Welensky in federal times. He is an unsparing critic of the national Press for, as he believes, misreporting, misunderstanding or ignoring African realities. But he enjoys the warm respect of his colleagues who also till this field.

PERSONALIA

PRESIDENT NYERERE has decided not to attend the Commonwealth Conference.

MR. HENRIK BLOMSTEDT, has arrived in Uganda as the first Ambassador for Finland.

MR. WILLIAM WYER, an American film director, and his wife have been on holiday in Kenya.

MR. J. LYMAN, for 23 years headmaster of Dragon School, Oxford, has visited East Africa.

DR. V. L. BILLINGTON will be in this country on leave from Tanzania until just after Christmas.

MR. AHMED DIRIA HASAN, Tanzanian Ambassador in the United Arab Republic, is visiting Zanzibar.

MR. G. H. LAWRENCE, financial director of Dunlop Rhodesia, Ltd., and MRS. LAWRENCE have arrived in England.

MR. OMAR MOYO, Minister of Agriculture and Land Reform in Zanzibar, is visiting the East German Republic.

MR. READ P. DUNN, executive director of the recently-formed International Cotton Institute, has paid a brief visit to Uganda.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA picked cotton for two hours when he visited a Government farm at Chombwa in the Central Province of Zambia.

THE REV. L. GREARY, director of training in the Diocese of Matabeleland, has been appointed Arch-deacon of Bembezi, Rhodesia.

SIR CHARLES ILLINGWORTH, Professor of Surgery at Glasgow University, is in Nairobi in connexion with plans for the new medical school.

SIR EDWARD PECK, who recently went to Kenya as High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, suffered head injuries in a car accident in Nairobi last week.

MR. J. CHISATA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce in Zambia, led a four-member delegation to Communist China for the Shanghai Trade Fair.

Four town councillors in Uganda, Messrs. M. AURRAH, C. N. ISIKO, K. MAKANYA and C. B. RYANIKA, are in Britain for a month as guests of the Commonwealth Office.

PROFESSOR PINDBORG of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has spent five weeks in Uganda studying how Denmark may provide dental training for Uganda Africans.

Seven of the 13 elected African M.P.s. in Rhodesia last week signed a motion of non-confidence in their leader, MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA, who recently succeeded MR. GONDO in the office.

SIR ARCHIBALD ROSS, British Ambassador in Portugal, who in that capacity has been closely concerned with the Rhodesian independence issue, is to be Ambassador in Sweden.

MR. H. M. POLNEAU and MR. A. M. SIMBULE, Ambassadors for the Ivory Coast and Zambia in Tanzania, and both resident in Dar es Salaam, have been accredited also to Uganda.

MR. MARTIN MFULA is the first African in Zambia to qualify as a compositor and monotype operator. He will now take a two-year diploma course in management at the London College of Printing.

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

For the best coverage of Rhodesian affairs is given by RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA.

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

Remittances should be sent to

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

MR. Y. Y. OKOT, who recently graduated B.Sc. at Edinburgh University, where he also obtained a certificate in international law, is now teaching at Busoga College, Mwirri, Uganda.

HERR VON HASSEL, the West German Defence Minister, to whom three generals have submitted their resignations in consequence of his decision that serving soldiers might be members of trade unions, was born in what is now Tanzania.

DR. MULUGETA WODAJO, Dean of the Faculty of Education at Addis Ababa University, was guest speaker at the annual conference of the Uganda Education Association. He is an M.A. of Harvard and a Ph.D. of Columbia University, New York.

MR. GEORGE WOODS, president of the World Bank, is visiting East Africa. With him are MR. Q. G. EL EMARY, director of its Africa Department; MR. NORMAN HORSLEY, who has charge of operations in East Africa; and MR. DAVID GORDON, chief of the bank's mission in Eastern Africa.

DR. MUNGAI, who is both Minister for Defence in Kenya and physician to PRESIDENT KENYATTA, has denied newspaper reports that the President has recently seen a London heart specialist or has needed particular medical attention. He describes his patient as in "perfect health".

MR. J. J. OLOYA has returned to Uganda after spending nearly seven years in Britain. He worked for a year on a farm near Durham and since 1960 has studied at Aberystwyth University and Bangor University, obtaining a B.Sc. in general agriculture, an M.Sc. in agricultural economics, and then a Ph.D.

MR. K. C. BLAND, the Rhodesian Test cricketer, has been invited to play for a Rest of the World team against Barbados in a five-day match in Bridgetown next March. Barbados has nine representatives in the West Indian touring team now in England. The Rest will be captained by MR. R. B. SIMPSON (Australia).

MR. KENNETH BENTHAM, town clerk of Mufulira for the past decade, has resigned to take up an appointment in the Transvaal. He was born in Manchester and served in the British Army throughout the last war. He went to Mombasa in 1955, but left Kenya a few months later for Northern Rhodesia. He has been chairman of Mufulira Arts Council, and has written, produced, and played in musicals and straight drama.

Obituary

CAPTAIN WILLIAM ROBSON, R.M. (Retd.), lately manager of the Nuffield research station at Kariba, has died in Salisbury, aged 60.

MR. JAIME SIGAUKE, the Frelimo leader, whose death was recently reported, is now known to have been found dead from gunshot wounds some 30 miles from Lusaka.

Captain Hugh Maxwell Naylor, O.B.E., formerly of Subukia, Kenya, and Fort Portal, Uganda, who had lived for some time in Ischia, Italy, has died in hospital in Naples after a long illness. He was in his 73rd year.

Miss Irma Stern, who died in hospital in Capetown last week at the age of 71, was one of South Africa's leading painters. She travelled widely in Central and East Africa and wrote and illustrated books on Zanzibar and the Congo.

SIR AUDLEY MCKISACK, who has died at the age of 63, was an administrative officer in Northern Rhodesia from 1924 to 1936 and then until 1944 a magistrate and later Crown counsel in Uganda, to which he returned as Chief Justice 12 years later after holding appointments in Gibraltar, Zanzibar, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. After leaving Uganda in 1962 he was president of the High Court of South Arabia and afterwards an appeal judge in the West Indies.

Kenya Wants Violence Africans Must "Die A Little"

THE KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, the party forming the Government, has issued a long statement which says, *inter alia*:—

"The failure of the International Court to rule against the South African Government for its misrule in South West Africa is a clear indication that the time has come for a more militant and violent struggle.

"The legal battle, which failed on a technicality by a casting vote, was only one small aspect of the struggle. Those who thought that entrenched racialism could be fought and beaten by gentlemanly debates in the Court in the United Nations will now know that freedom cannot be won through these methods. The people of South West Africa have the right to use all possible means to fight for their freedom. The International Court and the United Nations lack the will to help them. There is no point in wasting further time in sterile argument. The African States are pledged to help freedom fighters to secure the independence of the whole continent. This pledge must now be redeemed.

"We are challenged in South Africa, in South West Africa, in Rhodesia, in the Portuguese Colonies. We must prepare ourselves to give not only moral backing but also material support to the freedom struggle in these countries. The removal of these régimes will involve struggles even more bitter than those which Africa has fought so far in driving out colonialism.

Watered with Blood

"Let the peoples still not free know that their independence will not be achieved round conference tables and in negotiations. Only when they have created the necessary pressure will those who now have power be prepared to discuss a negotiated settlement.

"The time has come for the build-up of the armed struggle. The oppressed peoples must be prepared 'to die a little'. They should remember the words of Mzee Kenyatta when he returned to Kenya 20 years ago to lead our struggle for freedom. He said: 'The tree of liberty had to be watered with blood'. Unless the African peoples still under white minority and Colonial rule are ready to shed their blood they can talk and talk but they will achieve nothing.

"The Western Powers who constantly preach democracy to the world have failed to practise it in Africa. They must stand condemned in the eyes of all Africa. There is no need for diplomatic language here to hide the disgraceful behaviour of these Powers. We cannot rely on them, the U.N., or anyone else to fight our battles for us. We in Kenya know this well enough. Only revolution and armed struggle could force the colonialists to discuss the hand-over of power.

"True, we had external encouragement and help, but it was our own people who fought and suffered and died for our independence. We do not deceive our brothers fighting to be free that their battles can be won from the outside. They must struggle for their motherlands as we have done.

"The decision over South West Africa will encourage Verwoerd, Smith, and the Portuguese racist imperialists. What does the O.U.A. do now? We believe there is no more time for talking. Let us in free Africa give our brothers the weapons to wage their struggle. To our oppressed brothers, we say: 'Take the examples of Algeria, Kenya, Malawi and Zambia and fight for your *uhuru*'."

Expulsion of Kenya Asians Attacks by Government Radio

KENYA'S SUMMARY EXPULSION of eight Asian doctors, teachers, and businessmen has been followed by demands for the deportation of others.

Mr. Shikuku, M.P., told a news conference in Nairobi that Asians who "undermined the Government" should be detained if they were Kenya citizens and expelled immediately if they were not.

He hoped that the Government-controlled Voice of Kenya would cease broadcasting in Hindustani.

Nairobi Radio, a Government organ, broadcast a commentary which said:—

"When China threatened to attack India, the Indian community in Kenya, who claimed to be loyal to the Kenya Government, sent a large sum of money within 24 hours to India for the defence of their country of origin, whereas when the Government of Kenya, which protects them and affords them every privilege, initiates schemes like the Kenya national funds the response of those who always claim to be genuinely interested in the progress of this country is discouraging. In fact, the few who take the initiative do so only because they wish to appear posing before the President for publicity as a means of winning popularity and favour from certain quarters to perpetuate prospects of their personal gain.

"During the maize shortage Africans starved while Asian wholesale dealers hoarded thousands of bags of maize which they later smuggled to neighbouring countries to make fortunes.

"Hardly an Asian firm employs Africans in the business other than as office messengers. Watch through the bazaar streets. You will be lucky to find an African behind the counters of any of the shops. Yet these shops are patronized by Africans.

"The other day the Minister of Housing, Mr. Ngei, toured Racecourse Road slums where Africans are charged exorbitant rents by Asian landlords for small, filthy rooms whose investments have already been recovered. This kind of exploitation is going on through most towns in Kenya."

Attempts to Buy Popularity

A leaderette in *The Times* said:—

"The Asian communities in East Africa have always been uneasily conscious that their wealth and communal aloofness would come under fire after the British had left. This foreboding did not prevent many of them from trying to buy popularity with the African nationalist parties by supporting them against the Colonial Power. Now the heat has been turned on.

"The Asians have always been unpopular as middlemen and accused of being moneylenders who send their profits out of the country. It was never a fair criticism, and their professional services to Africa, as well as their business enterprise, have done much good. They are unpopular because they almost monopolize Kenya's retail and service trades, and they have not (as British firms have) brought in African partners and trainees. Unemployment in their own community rules that out.

"African opinion demands that Asians should put Kenya first and 'integrate'. What exactly does integration mean, whether in Kenya or in Birmingham? Only a few hundred Asians have taken Kenyan nationality. Thousands have British passports. Many more are entitled to them because they were born in a British Colony. There is here the making of a new problem for Britain.

"If the deportations of British Asian citizens foreshadow more pressure, a demand might develop for 'repatriation' of Indians with British citizenship, unaffected by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. In Burma also many long-established Indian settlers are being squeezed out. For all the talk of multi-racialism, other Asian minorities are under pressure—the Chinese in Indonesia, for example. The problem of ethnic minorities is not confined to white-ruled or populated countries. As populations rise and space shrinks, self-segregated communities will find it harder to survive."

Kabaka Intends to Return

SIR EDWARD MUTESA said in London a few days ago that he had not abdicated as Kabaka of Buganda, and that he and his Prime Minister, who had also escaped from Uganda, had every intention of resuming their rightful positions when circumstances permitted. Interference by the Uganda Government with the Constitution of Buganda was absolutely illegal.

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

(Established 1865)

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

RETURNING HOME!

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

YOU CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE of this and obtain a first class banking service by opening an account with the

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

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

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

Political Murders in Zambia?

Pressure of U.N.I.P. Youth Wing

PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S DECISION not to attend next week's Commonwealth Conference in London was coupled with another bitter personal attack on Mr. Wilson.

His representatives in some Commonwealth capitals sought last week to obtain support for a proposed mass withdrawal from the conference if the British Prime Minister finally rejected the use of force to bring down the Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Arthur Wina, Zambia's Finance Minister, and Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister will represent Zambia at the conference.

Inter-party fighting in Lusaka had to be stopped last week by mobile police.

Public Intimidation in Lusaka

It apparently started when U.N.I.P. youth wingers made house-to-house calls to demand production of party membership cards and menaced market stall-holders and shoppers who were not members. A few days earlier there had been similar demands on African domestic servants. Party cards were offered for 8s. 6d.

In one suburb of the capital shops and homes were stoned. Elsewhere there were said to have been political murders.

Several African National Congress candidates withdrew from the local government elections because of intimidation.

On Friday an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy petrol supplies at Lusaka airport. One drum containing explosives was set alight, but the blaze was prevented from spreading.

The all-white National People's Party, led by Mr. John Roberts, has been wound up. Its 10 M.P.'s will retain their Parliamentary seats but no longer act as a group.

Some 6,000 African miners went on strike at Mufulira on Saturday and 280 at Nchanga on Monday. The dispute is about pensions.

By Tuesday evening 12,000 men were on strike in defiance of Government orders to return to work, coupled with threats of imprisonment for non-compliance.

R.A.F. Withdrawn from Zambia

Heavy Cost of British Gesture

THE NINE JAVELIN AIRCRAFT of the Royal Air Force which were sent to Zambia in December at the request of that State have now been withdrawn on British initiative as part of the programme to reduce military expenditure overseas.

According to an announcement from the Commonwealth Office: "The Zambia Government were recently asked whether they wished the squadron of Javelins to remain in Zambia. The Zambia Government indicated in their reply that the Javelins could now be withdrawn. The arrangements for the withdrawal have now been put into effect".

The Ministry of Defence stated that the aircraft would rejoin No. 29 Squadron in Cyprus and that personnel of the Royal Air Force Regiment and of the radar service would return to Britain. About 700 men are affected.

As the fuel required by the Javelins had to be flown to Zambia, Parliament was told recently that the cost was about £1m. a month.

Thirty R.A.F. transport aircraft are now carrying men and equipment from Lusaka and Ndola to Aden, Cyprus and Britain.

President Banda's Salary

THE MALAWI PARLIAMENT has approved the proposal of the Government that a salary of £6,000 a year should be paid to President Banda.

Malawi Discourtesy

LONDON JOURNALISTS were invited to meet President Banda at his Park Lane hotel on Monday. They were told on arrival that the Ngwazi had not approved the arrangement made on his behalf by the High Commissioner—who had failed to cause news of the cancellation of the appointment to be telephoned to the offices of some 20 persons who were consequently gratuitously inconvenienced.

Deportations from Zambia

IN HER FIRST 18 MONTHS of independence Zambia deported 36 persons who were deemed undesirable residents and 117 with criminal records, Mr. Mainza Chona, Minister of Home Affairs, has told Parliament. He added that immigration legislation would be amended to restrict entrants to skilled persons who would train Zambians, and that residence permits would continue to be issued sparingly.

Quarrel with Mr. Wilson

"THERE IS NOTHING ANTI-BRITISH in our thoughts and words, and there will be nothing anti-British in action even if Zambia should leave the Commonwealth", President Kaunda said in Lusaka a few days ago. "If we should leave we leave because of our principles. These principles will be shaken and shattered if we hated anybody because of this. My quarrel is with the British Prime Minister and his Government—not the British people in London or Lusaka".

Currency Control Evasions

MORE THAN 1,000 EVASIONS of Zambia's exchange control regulations have been discovered and investigated, but the Attorney-General has directed the police not to prosecute because permission would have been given to most of the transactions if application had been made. Mr. Skinner has emphasized that no postal order for any sum may be sent out of the country without proper authority, which must also be obtained before anyone with a bank account outside Zambia may make payments from it.

Names you have
learned to trust

Gloria FLOUR

Atlas ROLLER MEAL

Rhomil STOCKFEEDS

President de Gaulle's Tour

Independence Demonstrations in Jibuti

FOUR AFRICANS, one a gendarme, were killed and about 70 injured in riots when General de Gaulle visited Jibuti last week. Because of the disturbances the French President did not make his intended speech in the main square, but he told the Assembly that the future of French Somaliland was not to be decided by slogans. If through the Government Council and the Assembly the territory should one day ask for a new status, that would be recognized by France.

General Billotte declared that the disturbances had been incited by agitators from the neighbouring Republic of Somalia. Two Ministers, both French, have resigned. A Somali nationalist leader was arrested but later released.

During a three-day State visit to Ethiopia General de Gaulle spoke of French interest in "the political equilibrium of the Red Sea basin." The Emperor's banquet was attended by 1,000 guests.

The demonstrations and violence in Jibuti were not mentioned by Addis Ababa newspapers or radio, which are all controlled by the Government.

All was quiet in Jibuti when President de Gaulle returned on Monday before continuing his tour to Cambodia and French possessions in the Pacific.

Political Blasphemy

THE REV. COLIN MORRIS, president of the United Church of Zambia, said when addressing the World Methodist Conference in London last week:—

"Our tendency to assume that our democratic system is of God and that of the Communists of the Devil is a blasphemy, and any belief that our nation is closer to the Kingdom of God than theirs is a delusion. China with her 600m. people, the United States with her trillions of dollars, Britain with her thousand years of democracy, all share the gross darkness that covers the peoples of those nations they regard as enemies of their national survival and threats to world peace."

The suggestion that in politics the Christian alone could march confidently forward through the murk guided by heavenly radar, speaking what was true and doing what was good, while others wallowed in confusion and compromise, was gratuitous nonsense which would survive neither the realism of the Bible nor the experience of history.

Confident declarations that God's will was embodied in a political policy or the general stance of the nation in an international crisis were less likely to be prophetic than foolhardy.

Lord Longford

LORD LONGFORD, who has been keenly interested in African affairs for many years, was rebuked in the House of Lords a few days ago by Lord Swinton, a former Colonial Secretary, in these terms: "My Lords, if I may say so without offence to the noble earl the Leader of the House, he speaks so much more than he listens that I cannot help feeling he sometimes does not hear what he says".

Malawi-Nacala Railway

THE GOVERNMENTS of Malawi and Portugal have agreed that Nacala shall become the main port in Mozambique for Malawi's export and import traffic, which now flows through Beira. Work has started on the construction of a railway from Mpimbe, in Malawi, to the Mozambique railhead at Nova Freixo. It is hoped that traffic can be carried by the new route in about 15 months. The Malawi section of the line is to be built by French contractors.

What Is University Freedom?

Vice-President Murumbi's Definition

VICE-PRESIDENT MURUMBI of Kenya referred by implication to the deportation of nine lecturers from the University College of Rhodesia when he said in an address to an international student conference held in Nairobi:—

"University freedom is a freedom in matters which are proper to a university, its faculty members, and its students. It is freedom to pursue academic studies, and not licence to interfere improperly in extra-curricular or extra-mural affairs. In such matters the university has no more and no less corporate or individual immunity than any other member of society.

"In the matter of comment on the internal affairs of their own country neither students nor professors have access to all the relevant facts; nor need they have such access for the purpose of their studies. Intellectual discipline implies that comment should be based on facts, and if these are not available you might consider it would be wiser to withhold uninformed comment. I must say this because it would be very easy for irrelevant views or opinions originating in a university to mislead and confuse the less educated people in a country.

"Hasty judgments or ill-considered statements may have a wider circulation than among fellow students and lecturers, who are well able to evaluate them. While therefore you should continue to enjoy and benefit from the free uninhibited exchange of opinion within your universities, remember that rash statements and provocative opinions promulgated outside the university can have disturbing and undesirable effects on less educated and more impressionable people".

Rhodesia's Gold Coins

RHODESIA is to issue gold coins for £5, £1, and 10s. The gold contents of the three will be worth about £18.

Political Commissars

MR. KAWAWA, Second Vice-President of Tanzania, has said that all National Service camps in the country are to have political education officers with the special duty of giving political education to youth.

First Ship

RAMONDE LARRINGAGA, the first vessel of the Eastern African National Shipping Line (in which Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and the Southern Line, Ltd., are shareholders) has sailed from London for Genoa, Port Said, Suez, Aden, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam.

Espionage

A KENYA SOMALI who had retired after 21 years in the Kenya Police has been jailed for three years on a charge of spying for the Somali Government. The prosecution produced letters on Somali Government paper directing a *shifita* leader not to attack the man's *manyatta* because he was helping Somalia.

Bonuses for Farmers

RHODESIAN tobacco growers are to receive an additional 5% for all leaf (except the lowest grade) supplied this season to the Tobacco Corporation, and maize growers are to be paid another 2s. per bag, making 3Is. 6d. The costs to the Government will be about £1m. and £500,000.

A British Problem

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said on Saturday: "Ever since the Prime Minister's original miscalculation that sanctions would operate quickly it has been clear that a settlement would be difficult and delayed. In these circumstances it is more than ever necessary for the Prime Minister to make it clear that this situation is a British problem and will be handled by Britain and Rhodesia alone. Any temptation to shift the responsibility would widen and intensify the trouble".

Saving the Bushmen

Plea for U.N. Commissioner

PROPOSALS for the protection of the Bushmen after Bechuanaland becomes independent as Botswana have been rejected by H.M. Government.

Sir Douglas Glover moved the insertion in the Botswana Independence Bill of a clause reading: "Not later than September 30, 1966, Her Majesty may, after consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, by Order in Council appoint a Commissioner for Bushman Affairs".

He did not, he emphasized in the House of Commons, oppose the grant of independence to Botswana, which he believed to be one of the few countries in Africa with the kind of leadership that warranted independence. He had "an enormous admiration" for Dr. Seretse Khama.

Regarded As Sub-Human

However, the Bushmen were looked upon by the Bantu as sub-human. They had occupied all South Africa 400 years ago, but now existed precariously on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. When the country in which they lived became independent they ought not to be handed over to a population of whom the majority did not think of them as human beings at all.

To leave them in that situation would mean that within 20 years the 50,000 Bushmen would be extinct unless safeguards were provided. Britain was to provide between £2m. and £3m. a year for perhaps 15 years. Was it too much to ask that, say, £25,000 should be earmarked for the protection and development of the Bushmen, a depressed people in a worse position than chattel slaves in Saudi Arabia. With education and training they would show themselves as intelligent as the remainder of the population.

The British Government could not appoint a Commissioner for Bushman Affairs since that would be regarded as neo-colonialism, but the United Nations might do so in consultation with the Prime Minister of Botswana.

Mr. Eric Ogden seconded the motion, though he thought it unnecessary to bring in the United Nations.

Dame Joan Vickers said that it was in her house that an agreement had been reached between Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama, one of the greatest of Africans, and that in consequence of that meeting Sir Alec Douglas-Home, then Commonwealth Relations Secretary, had consented to Mr. Seretse Khama's return to his country, where he had since proved himself a magnificent leader. Bechuanaland, though larger than France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Luxembourg put together, had a population of only half a million people. The Bushmen must be protected while there was still time.

Mr. John Farr, who described the Bushmen as a race with a very ancient culture, said that he had been among them and that he owned land just over the border in Rhodesia. The idea of a Commissioner for Bushman Affairs was eminently practicable.

Proposals Not Acceptable

Mr. John Stonehouse, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, dismissed the proposals as unacceptable, saying that the only real safeguard would be acceptance by the other people in Botswana "of the fact that the Bushmen are equal with them in every respect and are entitled as human beings to respect and economic opportunity, as well as education, with everyone else".

Many Bushmen had already been absorbed into the general community, but three groups could still be identified—some 6,000 nomads living in the interior and tending for themselves; some 40,000 living on farms in the Ghanzi area; and about 14,000 who lived most of the time in Bantu villages.

It would be a slight on Dr. Seretse Khama and his colleagues to do as was suggested. The automatic comment would be: "What has Britain done in the 81 years during which she has had the responsibility? Why does she wait until the 59th minute of the 11th hour before introducing such a provision?" There was no better man than Dr. Seretse Khama to defend the rights of the Bushmen.

Sir Douglas Glover: "I know that Seretse Khama is absolutely bang on, a great progressive, who will do a wonderful job for Bechuanaland, but the people who have been assimilated are chattel slaves. They are not equal in the eyes of those with whom they are living. They are in fact slaves of the farming community".

Mr. Stonehouse: "I cannot wholly accept that. The Silberbauer Report, a remarkable document, showed that, far from being slaves, many of these Bushmen operate in a pliant relationship which cannot be identified with slavery".

Mr. Graham Page, who had for many years acted professionally for Tshekedi Khama, expressed confidence that he would have favoured measures to protect the Bushmen.

Silberbauer Report "Most Slanted"

Sir Douglas Glover regretted the legalistic attitude of the Colonial Under-Secretary. He thought that everyone with real knowledge of Bechuanaland considered the Silberbauer Report as "the most slanted report in favour of the Government of Bechuanaland of any published in the last 20 years". He continued: "It is not a true picture of these people. It brings out all the highlights of their advancement and none of their degradations. It is not a fair report. People to whom I have spoken have all said that it is the most slanted report they have ever read about the problem of the Bushmen".

Before Parliament Rose

Last Questions and Answers

MR. STEEL: "Can the Prime Minister elaborate on that section of the Lagos *communiqué* which referred to the Prime Ministers accepting H.M. Government's statement that a period of direct rule would be needed? How long does he envisage that this period would last, and to what purpose would it be put?"

PRIME MINISTER: "In my statement to the House on January 25 after the conference I said that it would never be intended to have direct rule from Westminster and that what we had in mind was rule by the Governor. I said that it might be minutes or hours, days or weeks, depending on how long it would take to negotiate an adequate settlement with a constitutional Government".

MR. JOHN LEE: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that a period of direct rule would be valuable as a form of education and preparation of the people of Rhodesia, bearing in mind that the present racist gangsters have denied the people a proper period of preparation?"

PRIME MINISTER: "I do not think that I could best help towards a solution and a settlement by going further than I did on Monday when I stated that talks were being resumed. I expressed concern then about certain developments—Mr. Smith's speech and the treatment of the university—and it would not help towards a settlement if I were to go further".

MR. MAUDLING: "Does not the Prime Minister agree that the constant use of the phrase 'direct rule' makes the chances of an agreeable solution very much more remote?"

No Direct Rule from Whitehall

PRIME MINISTER: "In referring to what I said on January 25, I pointed out that it was not intended to have direct rule from Whitehall. I am sure that the rt. hon. gentleman would not suggest that we could negotiate any settlement with the illegal régime and that there need not be a return to constitutional government under the Governor".

MR. JUDD asked the Prime Minister whether the Government was still committed to a period of direct rule in Rhodesia as a necessary transitional period between the ending of the illegal régime and the impletion of majority rule on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

PRIME MINISTER: "My hon. friend's question does not correctly summarize H.M. Government's position on these matters, for which I refer him to my statement to the House on January 25".

MR. KING asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the fact that oil was still arriving in Rhodesia, he would recommend to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the abandonment of oil sanctions.

PRIME MINISTER: "No".

MR. JUDD asked what oil supplies were passing through Bechuanaland to Rhodesia.

MR. STONEHOUSE: "I am satisfied that only very small amounts of oil are passing through Bechuanaland into Rhodesia".

MR. KING asked if the Minister was aware that British Petroleum, Ltd., in which company H.M. Government had a majority shareholding, was selling oil in Rhodesia; and if he would make an estimate of the monthly amounts now being sold there.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "British Petroleum, in common with other British oil companies, is subject to the Southern Rhodesia (Petroleum) Order of December 17, 1965, and has not supplied oil for sale in Rhodesia since that date. British Petroleum's associate company in Rhodesia, B.P. Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., being a Rhodesian company, acts under instructions and duress from the régime. The former include an embargo on all information concerning oil supplies and sales. It is not possible, therefore, to give any figures of its local monthly sales".

Mr. WINGFIELD DIGBY asked the Commonwealth Affairs Secretary what authority he recognized as having *de jure* control of Rhodesia Railways and of railwaymen's pensions.

Mr. BOWDEN: "The Railways Board, a statutory corporation established for both Zambia and Southern Rhodesia and which is in certain respects subject to the control of a Higher Authority for the Railways. In present circumstances there are vacancies in the composition of the Higher Authority which prevent it exercising its functions. For the second part, the Trustees appointed for the various pensions schemes".

Mr. JUDD asked the Colonial Secretary whether H.M. Government paid rent for the radio station at Francistown to the Bechuanaland Government.

Mr. STONEHOUSE: "Not at present, but negotiations are in progress which will cover the position after independence as well as before".

Mr. JUDG: "Does my hon. friend not agree that this is a point on which we must react generously in view of our failure to meet other requests in respect of development in Bechuanaland?"

Mr. STONEHOUSE: "When an announcement can be made about the result of these negotiations I am sure that it will be made in Bechuanaland".

Mr. EVELYN KING: "Will the Minister accept that radio equipment, always inaudible, is now completely jammed and therefore not worth any rent payable from anybody to anybody? Would he look at this serious waste of public funds?"

Mr. STONEHOUSE: "That is a question for the Commonwealth Affairs Secretary".

Mr. WALL asked why a member of the Central Office of Information had been seconded to the Zambian Government to assist with their broadcasting services.

Mr. ORAM: "Because the Zambian Government asked for this help."

£225m. in Overseas Aid

In reply to Sir Cyril Osborne's request for information about overseas aid, Mr. Greenwood replied:—

"The expectation is that British Government economic aid expenditures in 1966-67 will amount to £225m. Details of voted expenditure in respect of £138.2m. are available in the printed estimates. It would not be in accordance with customary procedure to go beyond this in making detailed forecasts of amounts expected to be disbursed to individual countries and on other forms of aid."

"Precise and fully comparable figures of *per capita* income of countries receiving aid from the U.K. are not available, but it is estimated that they range upwards from £12 a head, and about 90% of our aid goes to countries with incomes of less than £100 per head. (This compares with a U.K. figure of £517.)"

Technically the 1965-66 provisional breakdown between grants (including technical assistance and contributions to international organizations) and loans was £108.5m. grants and £93.7m. loans. In the current year the figures are expected to be nearer 50% for each category. I cannot at present give details of estimates for 1967-68."

Sir C. OSBORNE: "Will the Minister warn recipient countries that he may not be able much longer to give this aid, since we are lending money which we have not got and have not earned but have borrowed and are not likely to be able to repay?"

Mr. GREENWOOD: "I repudiate the hon. gentleman's lack of confidence in our ability to face this country's economic future. I hope that when he asks questions of that kind he will bear in mind that we are helping countries where the income per head ranges upwards from £12 per year and that 90% of our aid goes to countries with *per capita* incomes of less than £100 a year."

Mr. GOODHART asked the Minister what proposals he had to increase the proportion of overseas aid which was tied to British exports.

Less than One-third Spent on British Goods

Sir C. OSBORNE asked why aid was not linked to total purchases from Great Britain, and why aid continued to countries which threatened to leave the Commonwealth and work against this country's interests.

Mr. GREENWOOD: "It is our policy to ensure that as much aid as possible is used to supply British goods. I have no plans for a change in the system. I do not accept the implication of the second part of the question from Sir C. Osborne".

Mr. GOODHART: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman appreciate that at a time of financial stringency tied aid makes far fewer demands on our foreign currency position than any other sort of aid?"

Mr. GREENWOOD: "Yes. That is why we do everything possible to tie aid where it is practicable to do so. But we have special obligations to dependent territories and also to independent territories with whom we have entered into agreements in the past to give budgetary support".

Sir C. OSBORNE: "Roughly what proportion is spent in this country, and where is the rest spent?"

Mr. GREENWOOD: "Generally speaking, the balance is spent on local costs. £54m. of bilateral financial aid last year was wholly tied, and 16% or £21m. was partly tied."

Answering further points, the Minister stated that between April 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966, H.M. Government had disbursed £813m. in grants, £748m. in loans (£68m. being interest-free), £231m. in multilateral aid, and £168m. in technical assistance, a total of £1,960m.

Diplomatic Relations with Tanzania

Mr. FISHER asked if the Commonwealth Relations Secretary would take an initiative to bring about the resumption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Tanzania.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "We normally look to the country which has been instrumental in breaking diplomatic relations to take any such initiative".

Mr. FISHER: "I appreciate that, but is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that reports from those who have been in Tanzania in the recent past have indicated that President Nyerere would now very much like to resume diplomatic relations with us? If so, in view of the importance of our being fully in the picture of East African opinion, would the Commonwealth Secretary himself try to devise a mutually satisfactory and acceptable formula?"

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "I have said that we would normally look to the country which has broken off relations to take the first step. As the Prime Minister said in this House on January 27, this has been a very serious mistake by the Tanzanians but one which is repairable".

Sir H. LEGGE-BOURKE: "In view of the grave state of our own economy, would the rt. hon. gentleman make clear to any self-governing former Colonial territory of this country that they cannot continue to expect aid of the proportions which Tanzania is now getting?"

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "No, sir. I think it would be very unwise to do that".

Asked why the cost of High Commission Offices in Uganda had increased from £120,000 to £190,000, a Ministry of Public Building spokesman replied: "The increase was due to additional requirements since the last estimate was formulated in 1963 and to a decision to include all sections of the High Commission within the new building. Construction is almost complete".

Sir RICHARD GLYN asked the total number of civil servants employed full-time and part-time respectively in the Colonial Office at the last convenient date; and what increases or decreases the figures represented on the comparable figures for October, 1964, and August, 1965.

Mr. STONEHOUSE: "On July 1 the Colonial Office employed 550 full-time and 54 part-time staff, a reduction of 50 and four respectively from the October 1, 1964, and eight and one respectively from August 1, 1965, totals".

Civil Servants in Malawi

Mr. BRAINE asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary to ensure equitable treatment to members of H.M. Overseas Civil Service who transferred from Nyasaland Government service to that of the Federal Government on the promise that their careers would be assured, and who after the dissolution of the Federation accepted employment in Malawi under conditions inferior to those currently offered by the Malawi Government to officers recruited directly in Great Britain under arrangements subsidised by the British taxpayer.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "On the question of terminal arrangements for members of the Federal Public Service, I have nothing to add to the reply of June 14. Any question concerning current terms of service is a matter for the Minister of Overseas Development".

Mr. BRAINE: "Is the Commonwealth Secretary aware that the officers concerned were not permitted to remain in the Colonial Service when their departments were transferred to the Federal Government, but when the Federation was dissolved they were either dismissed without compensation or returned to Malawi to work under conditions inferior to other British expatriate officers? Is not this an unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in honour will the rt. hon. gentleman do something about it?"

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "When these servants elected to join the Federal Service they did so in the knowledge that they would end their service with H.M. Government Overseas Civil Service. The pensionable members of the Federal Service were given the option to join one of the territorial public services or to retire on pension. If comparable pensionable employment was not available they received compensation. Those who chose to join the public service in Nyasaland did so on contract terms and have received their enhanced pensions concurrently with their other salaries".

Mr. LONGDEN: "Is it not the case that when the Federal Government was formed these people were urged to enter this service and they were assured that their careers would not suffer if they did so, yet when the Federation was dissolved that promise was not honoured?"

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: "There is something which ought to be looked into, I agree with the hon. Member, and I understand that the Minister for Overseas Development has recently considered with the Malawi Government the current terms of service of some of these officers and new arrangements are being made".

Nchanga Consolidated

NCHANGA CONSOLIDATED COPPER MINES, LTD., sold 256,187 long tons of copper in the year to March 31 for £70,182,000, compared with 253,743 tons and £61.2m. in 1964-65. The average proceeds rose from £240.3 to £273.2 per ton, but higher costs and the heavy royalties imposed by Zambia caused the operating profit to be only £4.3 higher. Net profit was £12.7m. after tax of £11.2m. Dividends of 6s. 9d. per £1 share take £10.8m., the general reserve receives £2m., and the carry-forward is £804,000.

The company bought a further 19,592 Bancroft shares, bringing its holding to 99.3%. Bancroft's loss was reduced to £413,000 from £1,790,000. It had nevertheless to pay the Government £2.1m. in royalties, of which only £795,000 was remitted.

Unofficial strikes at Nchanga caused the loss of 180,212 man-hours and at Bancroft of 215,272 man-hours.

Mr. Oppenheimer, the chairman of both companies, states that Nchanga intends to spend £16m. in the next five years, £6m. in the period to March next. £5m. of the £16m. will be spent on the Mimbula-Fitula property.

In the quarter to June 30 Nchanga sold 56,461 tons for profit after tax of £3.2m., and Bancroft 9,387 tons for a net profit of £264,000.

The British American Tobacco Company's factory in Dar es Salaam can now meet all the cigarette requirements of Tanzania.

Tanganyika Textile Industries, Ltd., Dar es Salaam, are the proprietors, publishers, and printers of a newspaper entitled *Kiwanda Chetu*.

The co-operative movement in Tanzania is stated in a report of a commission of inquiry appointed by President Nyerere to suffer from political pressures, nepotism, and widespread thefts. It is suggested that no more consumer co-operatives should be allowed to register and that those which are considered unsound should be liquidated.

Mwanza Textiles, Ltd., has been registered in Tanzania with an authorized capital of £1m., of which 40% will be subscribed by the National Development Corporation, 40% by the Victorian Federation of Co-operative Unions, and the balance by Swiss interests. A mill to be erected in Mwanza is expected to cost about £3.6m., of which 85% will be lent for eight years by the French Government.

News Items in Brief

Inyati copper mine, Rhodesia, is now under tribute to the Lonrho group.

Some 500 Congolese rebels rounded up in Western Uganda are to be sent back to the Congo.

Sugar fell on the London market last week to £15 15s. per ton, its lowest price since the last war.

Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., reports net profit for the June quarter of £153,000 after tax.

Eleven American "cross-roads" are in Uganda for six weeks to help build a medical aid post near Hoima.

The Ministry of Labour report for 1963—yes, 1963—has just reached London from the Government Printer, Dar es Salaam.

Of 50 students recently suspended from Munal Secondary School, Zambia, for irresponsible behaviour, 46 are to be re-admitted.

Somalia is to buy petrol from Russia, which recently granted her a £16m. loan. Petrol imports have run at about £1m. annually.

The petrol ration in Zambia has been cut from 14 to 12 gallons in order to increase allocations to industry, commerce and agriculture.

Sisal, Ltd., Kenya, now a subsidiary of Kukuzi Fibrelands, Ltd., report profit after tax to February 28 at £27,346. Shareholders receive 6½%.

Students granted scholarships by the Somali Government must in future produce certificates that they have completed their military training.

Bechuanaland is to receive £412,000 from the United Kingdom National Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Christian Aid, and Oxfam.

A Chinese song and dance troupe of 40 members is touring Zambia. The proceeds of their performances are to be given to the new University of Zambia.

A Japanese medical team of five members is in Kenya on a good will mission. There are two Japanese doctors and two Japanese nurses at Nakuru Hospital.

For the fifth successive year spraying operations against tsetse fly are being carried out in the Sabi-Lundi area by a joint Rhodesian and South African veterinary team.

Tanzania's new 100s. note, which depicts a Masai warrior guarding cattle, is reported to have strengthened a tribal belief that all cattle are the rightful property of the Masai.

To raise money for housing projects, Mr. Austin Shaba, Housing Minister in Tanzania, is spending a month visiting Britain, Holland, West Germany, and the United States.

The right to strike has been forbidden in the Congo, where a labour advisory commission will "receive the demands of the workers and find an equitable solution to their claims".

Uganda's Minister of Labour, Mr. Lameck Lubowa, told a recent conference at the I.C.F.T.U. African Labour College in Kampala that the country needed one national centre of trade union organisations.

Anglo American Industrial Corporation, Ltd., is to raise R.15m. by an issue of deferred shares to ordinary shareholders in order to fund short-term borrowings and finance outstanding commitments. The authorized capital of R.18.5m. includes three million deferred shares of R1 each.

About 2,000 African peasants in Acholi and 900 in Lango have been authorized to grow one acre each of tobacco, with the aim of producing 1.5m. lb in the coming season. The leaf will be processed in a new factory in Kampala. Growers have been advised by the Government of Uganda to form co-operative unions.

The Portuguese authorities in Mozambique have announced a £65m. plan to develop the Zambezi Valley by damming the river at the Quebrabasa Gorge, 45 miles upstream from Tete, thus creating a lake about 150 miles long. Six million acres of land in the area are available for agricultural development, and about 750,000 acres are suitable for irrigation.

In the next two years the Kenya Government will spend about £500,000 on irrigation works on the Kano Plains near Kisumu, where some 30,000 acres of high potential land are to be developed for sugar, cotton, and rice-growing. The initial 2,000 acres are expected to be ready within the two years and to provide work for some 450 families, whose annual agricultural production is officially estimated at £140,000.

More than 500 new co-operative societies have been registered in Kenya since the country became independent on December 12, 1963, and there are now more than 1,100 in all, with a turnover of rather more than £30m. The Ministry for Co-operatives and Social Services expects the turnover to increase to about £50m. within the next four years and that the share of the gross national product will then be between 16% and 20%.

Le TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



FIRST AND FOREMOST
IN RUBBER TYRED
EARTH-MOVING
EQUIPMENT



WIGGLESWORTH

& CO. (AFRICA), LIMITED

DAR ES SALAAM TANGA NAIROBI MOMBASA KAMPALA

London Associates

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

Subscribers to

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

are better informed about

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

than any other group of people because the paper contains so much authoritative news and comment which can be found nowhere else.

Heads of State, of Governments, and of great business organizations are among the many exceptionally influential readers who have told us that they find "R. & E.A." indispensable.

You and your friends can have the same service.

To the Publishers of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA
26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1

Please send me RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA regularly until countermanded. I enclose my cheque for the first annual subscription (£2 12s for the surface mail edition or £6 10s for the air edition to my address).

Name.....
(in capital letters)

Full postal address.....
(in capital letters)

.....
.....

Signature.....

Would you like us to send the paper to some of your friends also ?

We bend

over backwards
to meet your
Delivery Dates

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

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

The going's good by

UNION-CASTLE

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

NAME _____
POSITION _____



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

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

	Closing	Glasgow	Sth. Wales	B'head
† CLAN MACILWRAITH		—	Sept 1	Sept 8
‡ CITY OF HULL		Sept 12	Sept 15	Sept 22
† JOURNALIST		Sept. 26	Sept 29	Oct 6

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

also by arrangement
RED SEA PORTS

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

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

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

Leading Brokers
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO
LIVERPOOL 2

London Agents
TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHURST & CO., LTD
LONDON, E.C.3



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, September 8, 1966

No. 43

No. 2187

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper

52s yearly post free

JOINT SERVICE



HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

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

Vessel	Glasgow	18 Wales	Birkenhead
HALL VESSEL	13 Oct	17 Oct	25 Oct.

: If inducement * With or without transhipment

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

Vessel	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF MANCHESTER		20 Sept.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

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

Leading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

THE MANICA
TRADING COMPANY
LIMITED

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

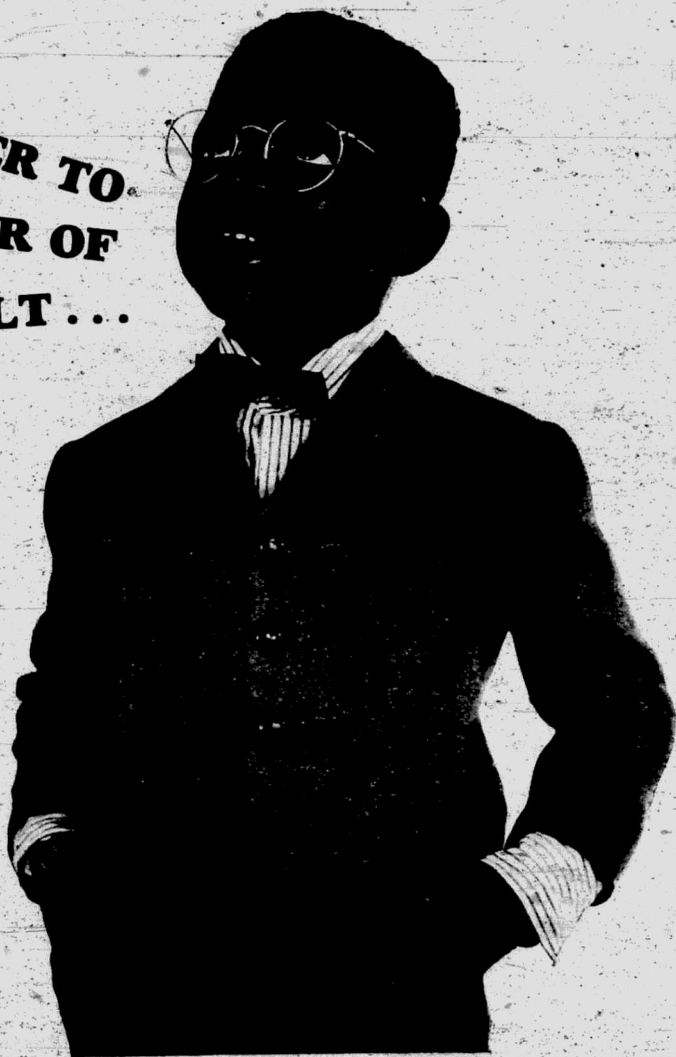
LONDON OFFICE: St. Mary Axe House, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3

BEIRA P.O. Box 14
SALISBURY P.O. Box 776
BULAWAYO P.O. Box 310
GWELO P.O. Box 447
UMTALI P.O. Box No. 270
BLANTYRE P.O. Box 460
LOURENCO MARQUES
P.O. Box 557
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. Box 8927

Established over 60 years

If Mr. Wilson Made A Candid Speech to the Conference

**FURTHER TO
OUR LETTER OF
18th ULT . . .**



. . . we regret to inform you that we don't want your stupid old paper kites. We make better ones ourselves—and anyway we usually prefer to spend our money on tennis rackets and boxing gloves nowadays . . .

Well now—there's a smack in the eye for you. See what economic progress does—makes everyone (including young Peter here) more sophisticated. The moral, of course, is simple—know your market. The best way to learn about the markets of the new emergent countries of the Commonwealth is to contact Barclays D.C.O. Their knowledge of local conditions and trends is exceptional. They live there.

For detailed reports, from our branches on the spot, concerning trade with Africa, the Mediterranean or the Caribbean, write to our Intelligence Department at 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. *Britain's Largest Overseas Bank*

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

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

incorporating
EAST AFRICA and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone : HOLborn 2224-5

Cables
EASTAFRIC, London

Inland Telegraphs
EASTAFRIC, Westcent, London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	25	Letters to the Editor...	33
Rhodesia Comes First for Commonwealth Conference ...	28	Rhodesia Confident ...	34
Personalia ...	30	Subversion Charges in Rhodesia ...	35
Rhodesia - What Next? By Major-General H. P. W. Hutson ...	31	Comments on Rhodesia	36

Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1966

Vol. 43

No. 2187

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

DIATRIBES AGAINST RHODESIA will get the enemies of that country nowhere. To judge by the loud talk of African and some other political visitors to London for this week's Commonwealth Conference, that simple truth is seemingly still not understood ten months after Rhodesia's assumption of independence. Of course the propagandists might plead that the bad example was set by the British Prime Minister and his Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, for Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley vied with one another in insulting Rhodesia, doubtless because that was more convenient and congenial than serious thought about a situation which would never have developed if United Kingdom politicians had not made themselves so deeply, tragically, and almost universally mistrusted by reasonable men in Central Africa. A Rhodesian roll of slick tricksters (to use Mr. Heath's expression) would be headed by the names of Mr. Harold Macmillan and Mr. Iain Macleod; it would also contain those of the late Lord Monckton and of Messrs. Butler, Sandys, Wilson, and Bottomley. A supplement should list the hundreds of Members of the House of Commons of all parties who were accessory to the betrayal of British Africa; and we use the word "betrayal" because all but a few fanatics among them recognized that the territories were incapable of satisfactory self-government, but nevertheless consented to the premature withdrawal of British administration for no better reason than lack of courage to compel their leaders to tell the tiny minority of African political agitators that there would be no abandonment of this country's duties of trusteeship until her wards had worked their way to competence to discharge the heavy tasks involved in managing public affairs in the modern world.

The Ministers and back-benchers guilty of cowardly submission to the clamour of African agitators (some adolescents, and scarcely any of them then men of any achievement whatsoever) are at one remove responsible for the results of their follies and crimes. In East and Central Africa in the past three years the consequences have included mutinies in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda; Communist-inspired revolutions in Zanzibar and Burundi; still continuing rebellions in the Congo and Sudan, with hundreds of thousands of deaths; attempted rebellion in Malawi (where one-man dictatorship has reached its apotheosis); near-war between Kenya and Somalia (which, though it involves a substantial part of Kenya's small army, is camouflaged as action against bandits); war perpetrated from Tanzania upon Mozambique by gangsters called "freedom fighters"; and similar raiding into Rhodesia from Zambia, which permits the assembly, equipment, and dispatch of murder gangs trained in Communist and neo-Communist countries and armed with Chinese and Russian weapons. These newly-independent African States have twisted at will the Constitutions which they negotiated as the basis for independence—twisting them not for the service of the people but in the interests of individuals who, having seized power, are determined not to relinquish it. In Malawi anyone who falls foul of the only party, that operated by President Banda as his personal machine, automatically loses his seat in Parliament. Kenya has just moved in the same direction, and Ministers in Zambia have openly praised the Malawi example (though they resent President Banda's refusal to accept dictation from the Organization of African Unity, especially on the subject of Rhodesia). Such, in brief, are the conditions in the countries

First Fruits of "Independence"

whose spokesmen now demand that military force should be used to bring down the civilized and highly competent Government of Rhodesia.

Why should the leaders of States in, or recently in, such chaos (and quite likely in some cases to be in worse trouble before long) be treated by Britain as responsible advisers

Unjustifiable

Interference

on any subject? In a sane world they would be told to deal first with their own concerns and abstain from interference in affairs which are domestic to Britain and Rhodesia. They should be reminded that the principle central to their farcically named Organization of African Unity (they being united in nothing but antipathy to white government) is that of non-intervention in the affairs of fellow members, and told that if that doctrine is considered essential for black Africa it must apply also to Rhodesia—and indeed to the Commonwealth. Only within the past decade have British Prime Ministers presiding over Commonwealth Conferences deliberately breached the convention that Commonwealth countries should refrain from involvement in the problems of other Commonwealth areas. Mr. Macmillan found it convenient to embroil other Prime Ministers in the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; and Mr. Wilson has similarly sought to dilute the duty which he has at other times declared to be that of the British Government alone. By his own devious behaviour, double talk, and double standards he has produced the crisis which he now finds insoluble.

It should now be clear even to him that nothing will satisfy the African agitators—among whom are most of the top leaders in the independent African States, who know

Submission

To Blackmail

that they are considered expendable by some of their closest associates and that they can keep their jobs only by constantly demonstrating belligerence. Moreover, tough talk, far from costing anything, has paid handsomely in hard cash, for weak British Cabinets have not merely submitted to the blackmail, but have showered the taxpayers' money upon those who traduced British policies and intentions. Not many months ago the United Kingdom Government had hurriedly to borrow one thousand million pounds to avoid national bankruptcy. Yet that same Government is committed to spend more than one-fifth of that sum in aid to Africa and Asia this year; and at least two members of the present Cabinet have said that they

stand for the continuance of aid to States which break off diplomatic relations with Britain or withdraw from the Commonwealth. That ridiculous attitude encourages the irresponsibility of Africans and others, and thereby aggravates the problem which the Wilson Government has to face, try as it does to postpone that duty.

If Mr. Wilson were wise and courageous—and he has shown neither wisdom nor courage over the Rhodesian issue—he would say to those now assembled in Marlborough

If Mr. Wilson

Were Candid

House: "Within these four walls (though I know that I cannot count on my confidence being respected), I must face, and must ask you to face, some unpleasant but inescapable facts. We must no longer pretend that Rhodesia alone is at fault. Much blame rests upon the political parties in this country which so seriously mismanaged African affairs as to cause the whole white community of Rhodesia to fear for the safety of their country. We recklessly assumed that they would submit if we showed determination, and we failed to realize that this was not the old Kenya difficulty multiplied by four. It was essentially and stubbornly different. We are dealing with deeply-rooted Rhodesians, not shallow-bedded expatriates. They are as much attached to their homeland as Australians or New Zealanders—who have shown an instinctive understanding which all the rest of us round this table unfortunately lacked. So we did not check those publicists who declared in and out of season that the only acceptable form of government was majority rule and that it must be imposed in Rhodesia at the earliest possible moment.

"I was myself guilty of that error and such statements. As recently as two years ago I incautiously wrote to an African that there could be no independence for Rhodesia until his people, simply because

Not by Clock

Or Calendar

they are in the majority, had voting control of Parliament and the Government. Since we are all politicians, you will understand why I have ignored challenges to withdraw that statement publicly. But I was driven to qualify it fundamentally when I said in Rhodesia last October that majority rule could come only by achievement, not by clock and calendar. I have dodged all questions about the probable or possible time-table, but it is obviously a matter of quite a number of years. A friend insists that there would have been no U.D.I. if I had said just that in my first broadcast to

Rhodesia. I know that I made the mistake of threatening a pretty tough people—people who had given hospitality to many victims of recent happenings in the Congo, Kenya, and Tanzania, for instance. Rhodesians, whom I now know to be unbluffable, lost patience when I flew back from the talks in Salisbury via Zambia, Nigeria and Ghana in order to consult their leaders; and when I offered to meet them on all points in a twelfth-hour telephone call from London they replied that they had already decided to assume independence. They promptly did.

* * *

“We can argue later about legalisms and propositions, but before the recriminations and debate begin, permit me to say a little more, with perhaps indiscreet candour. First,

Pipe Dreams

Rhodesia is, in its own eyes, independent. That is not merely the pretence of a party Government which we may expect to be succeeded by some other group of men who will accept decision from London. My evidence from every source is that almost all responsible Rhodesians, including many Africans, are solidly with the Smith régime in this matter of independence. As I told you in Lagos, I then thought that we could unseat Mr. Smith and his associates within a few weeks, that sanctions would lead to the emergence of a group of moderates to whom government might be entrusted, and that Britain could then hold the ring until there was an African majority in the House. Those were pipe dreams. Rhodesia cannot be isolated, and I fear that Mr. Smith cannot be brought down. Has a Minister in South Africa not now said publicly that this quarrel has pushed his country's frontier northwards from the Limpopo to the Zambezi? Rhodesia could not have survived without help from South Africa and Mozambique, which are rapidly associating with Rhodesia and Angola as one defensive Southern African bloc. I don't like it any more than you do, but because that is the position we must stop talking about the use of force by Britain or the United Nations and about the United Nations making sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory on all its members.

* * *

“Either course could involve war against all Southern Africa, and this country cannot contemplate that kind of folly. One Parliamentary member of my own party said at the week-end that the

Risk of War Against Southern Africa

invasion of Southern Africa would be a tougher proposition than Korea and Vietnam combined. That is the only statement of his with which I have

agreed for months. For severely practical reasons Her Majesty's Government would use its veto at the United Nations against military measures or mandatory sanctions. Britain is so over-stretched militarily that we could not find an adequate force for the invasion of Rhodesia, to say nothing of the greater operation which would quickly develop with thousands of South Africans rushing north as volunteers. Think of the strain upon the loyalty of our officers and men detailed for such duties. The Tunku and President Banda are among those at this board who have declared that British troops could not be expected to fire upon Rhodesians. I can tell you that the blocking operation in the Mozambique Channel proved as unpopular a chore as the Royal Navy has ever been given in peace time. I'm told that the remarks of some of the officers and most of the men are unprintable. The United States, with her heavy commitment in Vietnam, would not accept involvement against Southern Africa—where she and we have great investment and trade interests which cannot be jeopardized when this country is about to endure grave and growing unemployment.

* * *

“No, my friends, you must not expect me to be as naïve as I was at Lagos in January. Then I was indiscreet in private and in public. Now for all our sakes I indiscreetly reveal my inmost thoughts. I have

Not So Naive As at Lagos

become something of an expert on leakages to the Press, and if they occur in reference to these remarks I shall not complain; but I have some ideas for use in that eventuality! You will not like it, and I say again that I don't either, but circumstances are driving me to the very reluctant conclusion that I must negotiate with the Rhodesians without further delay in order to get out of this situation without too much further loss. The cost is already far heavier than our worst estimates, and if we get embroiled with South Africa there will no escape from the devaluation of sterling and further grave damage to our export trade—not only with Southern Africa, but with Australia and New Zealand, many of whose large importers are outspokenly pro-Rhodesia and on that account ceasing to buy British manufactures. If you have doubts about that, talk to Mr. Holt and Mr. Holyoake, or ask my M.P. colleagues who represent Midland constituencies.

* * *

“Probably none of you expected me to make this sort of statement. I certainly did not expect it myself when I persuaded the

majority of you to agree to postponement of this gathering for two months beyond the date which I accepted when we met in Lagos at the beginning of the year. Most of you will be disappointed, and perhaps disillusioned; and President Kaunda has told the world that he is disgusted. A few months ago I should have bitterly resented such criticisms. I've often been told that I'm too thin-skinned for a politician. Perhaps I'm growing a thicker hide and becoming a little less emotional. I know that I am a bit more practical about Rhodesia. I have even considered making a public statement something on these lines, starting with an apology to Rhodesians for my share in all the blunders. Come to think of it, it is unfair that all the obloquy should have been heaped on them. In varying degrees we are all blameworthy, and I more than anyone else. By the way, many of us have castigated the Smith régime in the last few days for its Constitution Amendment Bill. Yet is there one of you from Africa whose Government has not similar powers of detention? We must get away from the two standards, one for black Africa and another for Rhodesia—though you'll admit that I have done my best hitherto

to get what black Africa demanded. If I thought that there was any chance of bringing down the Smith régime I should still try to bluff my way through. But I don't. Bluff is out. So, if I may use a harsh word, is blackmail.

“Naturally I don't want to encourage Mr. Smith; but, strictly between ourselves, I have no evidence that he is at all discouraged. Very much the contrary, indeed. The wise course, I am now convinced, is to make the best terms we can for a settlement. Shall we adjourn for an hour? That will give time for some of your anger with me to subside at least a little. You may feel that it would be courteous to hear next the leader of the delegation from Zambia. I trust that Mr. Kapwepwe will address himself to the central issues which I have emphasized rather than to other difficulties. We recognize our obligations to Zambia, and they will be much easier to meet, and meet generously, if a settlement with Rhodesia be reached. Zambia stands to gain enormously from a settlement, and will be gravely prejudiced by its indefinite postponement”.

Commonwealth Conference Gives First Place to Rhodesia

All Shades of Opinion Already Expressed by Delegates

RHODESIA was the first item on the agenda of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which opened in London on Tuesday.

The British Government had intended that, according to precedent, the first day should be given to a review of world affairs, but African delegations were determined to have Rhodesia at the top of the order of business, and the Zambians told journalists that they would boycott all sessions until Rhodesia came to be discussed. Several other delegations—five, according to some assessments—promised to act similarly. With that background to their meeting, senior officials from all delegations unanimously agreed on Monday to recommend to the Prime Ministers that priority should be given to Rhodesia.

A second concession by Mr. Wilson was to let it be known that after speaking about Rhodesia on Tuesday afternoon he would vacate the chair in favour of whom-ever the conference might select to preside. Of probable choices Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, appeared to be favoured by most of the Africans. At the Lagos conference it was he who proposed the establishment of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee.

But African opinion changed later, and it was decided not to accept Mr. Wilson's offer.

African delegations have been in constant contact since their arrival in London, and are believed to have reached understandings about pressing H.M. Government on the use of force and on mandatory sanctions through the United Nations.

On Monday some African spokesmen stated that if Mr. Wilson did not give a specific pledge that the

British Government would not recognize Rhodesian independence until after the establishment of majority rule, a number of Africans would quit the Commonwealth—among them certainly Zambia and Tanzania. Conference discussions about Rhodesia are expected to take at least two days.

East and Central African Delegations

Of the 23 Commonwealth States all but Tanzania are represented, nine by persons other than their Heads of State or Government. Mr. Arnold Smith, secretary-general of the Commonwealth Secretariat, also takes his seat at the table.

Vice-President Joseph Murumbi, the chief representative of Kenya, is accompanied by Messrs. J. S. Gichuru, T. J. Mboya and Bruce McKenzie.

Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, President of Malawi, has with him Mr. Aleke Banda and his High Commissioner in London, Mr. N. W. Mbekeani.

President Obote of Uganda has as his three colleagues Dr. S. B. Asea and Messrs. F. N. Odaka and V. K. Rwamwaro.

Zambia's chief representative, Mr. S. M. Kapwepwe, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has two colleagues from Lusaka, Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister, and Mr. D. C. Mwinga, and also the High Commissioner in London, Mr. S. C. Katilungu.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Special Representative of H.M. Government in East and Central Africa, has been recalled as an adviser to the British Prime Minister.

MR. PEARSON, Prime Minister of Canada, said on Monday that the conference would be critical because the Rhodesian issue cut right across the Commonwealth idea of race equality and non-discrimination.

MR. HAROLD HOLT, Prime Minister of Australia, said before he left Canberra that Australia was opposed to the use of force against Rhodesia; the crisis would test Commonwealth tolerance and unity in the quest for a successful way through the issue.

MR. HOLYOAKE, Prime Minister of New Zealand, stated that he would urge modernisation and ask for more time for sanctions to work. He had ideas for a compromise solution by peaceful means, a solution acceptable to both races and ultimately resulting in majority rule, which clearly needed time and preparation. New Zealand's success in coping with the complexities of a multi-racial society gave her a special right to lead in discussions on multi-racial problems elsewhere.

Against the Use of Force

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, Prime Minister of Malaysia, told his Parliament that he was not in favour of using force against Rhodesia; that course should be avoided at all costs. He added: "If Mr. Wilson tries to use force he will not remain in power even for a day. The people of Britain would not like to use force against their own flesh and blood".

MR. LEE KAUN YEW, Prime Minister of Singapore, was emphatically against the use of force.

DR. BORG OLIVER, Prime Minister of Malta, hoped for tolerance and prudence, and said that Malta would not encourage those African States which wanted to use force without stopping to think of the consequences. Malta's policy was to settle all difficulties by peaceful means.

PRESIDENT NYERERE of Tanzania, who had already decided not to attend the conference, said at a State banquet held in his honour in Mogadishu during his visit to Somalia: "Will anyone say that Africa, if it stood as one on the question of Rhodesia, would not pose a serious threat to the British Government? Even if we could stand together militarily, it would not perhaps be easy to remove the illegal Rhodesian régime, but if the representatives of 35 African States were to depart from London on one day it would wake up the British Government. We must make the British Government realize that the African States have been angered by Britain's breach of her promises".

In a film interview televised by the B.B.C. on Monday he said emphatically that Mr. Wilson had let down the African Commonwealth by his willingness to give Rhodesia independence under a white minority Government. Tanzania would consent to Rhodesian Independence on no basis other than that of majority rule. Whether Tanzania would withdraw from the Commonwealth depended on the outcome of the conference.

Zambia's Three-point Ultimatum

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia said in the same programme that his strong feelings might express themselves by disassociating Zambia from the Commonwealth organization. Zambia would not lose enough British aid "to make us lose our principles". Britain should use force against Rhodesia in order to minimize the loss of life, for any other military intervention might lead to ideological or racial war.

He had told a news conference in Lusaka that he would not attend the London conference because of his "utter disgust" with Mr. Wilson, who evidently intended to use the conference once more to "display how clever he is". President Kaunda did not wish to lend his name to that type of thing. History would reveal Mr. Wilson's many broken undertakings and promises.

Zambia's delegation would present a three-point ultimatum. If the proposals were rejected Zambia would leave the Commonwealth.

MR. SIMON KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister of Zambia, and leader of its delegation, said in Copenhagen while on his way to Britain that if the Africans attending the conference were not satisfied with the handling of the Rhodesian situation they would either quit the Commonwealth or return home and forget its existence.

Danish newspapers reported that MR. OTTO KRAG, the Prime Minister, had told the Zambians that the Scandinavian countries would not support armed intervention in Rhodesia.

MR. WINA told reporters in Lusaka that Britain's policy over Rhodesia had beaten Suez for evil collusion and made Munich look like child's play.

PRESIDENT OBOTE said before leaving Uganda that he would not support any agreement between London and Salisbury which fell short of majority rule in Rhodesia.

VICE-PRESIDENT MURUMBI said before flying from Nairobi that Kenya was deeply disappointed with Mr. Wilson's handling of the Rhodesian situation. He still hoped that the British Government would take the lead in advocating freedom and justice in Rhodesia.

SIR ROY WELENSKY expressed the hope that Mr. Wilson would not be intimidated by threats to leave the Commonwealth, but would take a hard line with rebellious delegates to the conference.

SENATOR MAGNUS CORMACK, of Australia, criticized the constant threats of some Commonwealth spokesmen, and suggested that the time had almost come for Australia to consider withdrawal.

Sanctions a Complete Failure

Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, said on reaching London that since sanctions had been "a complete failure," he hoped that the British Government and people had come to the irrevocable conclusion that much more effective and compelling action should be taken against Rhodesia. The exploratory talks had proved a complete failure.

If Britain still refused to use force in Rhodesia, the only remaining realistic policy would be that of mandatory sanctions through the United Nations. If necessary, he would make that proposal at the conference, at which he expected it to win majority support. If Britain betrayed the non-racial principles of the Commonwealth, Sierra Leone might withdraw.

His country would contribute troops to any British operation in Rhodesia, and would sacrifice British aid if the money were needed to cushion Zambia against the backlash of sanctions.

The British Prime Minister had, he felt, been "most irresponsible" in telling the Leader of the Opposition that talks with the Smith régime had been merely adjourned, not broken off. Rhodesia would be the only significant business before the conference. "I cannot bring my thinking to any other subject: I breathe it; I cough it".

DR. K. A. BUSIA, vice-chairman of the Political Committee recently set up in Ghana, said on arrival in London that his country accepted the British approach to the Rhodesian situation, but wanted a re-appraisal of the policy because sanctions had not succeeded. They could, however, still be made to work. Ghana wanted more help to be given to Zambia.

The leader of the delegation from Ghana, Mr. John Hartley, vice-chairman of the National Liberation Council, hoped that a solution would be found by joint effort. If it were not, "Ghana will go with the majority of members".

MR. DONALD GANGSTER, Deputy Prime Minister of Jamaica, said that he would take a mediatory line, as he had done in Lagos.

DR. PATRICK SOLOMON, Deputy Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, saw no solution other than the use of force.

MR. FORBES BURNHAM, Prime Minister of Guyana, suggested that Britain should appoint an Interim Government in Rhodesia broadly representative of all sections of the community, and that that Government should administer the country until it became practicable to have elections on the basis of one-man-one-vote.

Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, though against the use of force on principle, thought that it might have to be used against Rhodesia in order to establish democracy and justice.

(Continued on page 31)

PERSONALIA

COLONEL SIR CHARLES PONSONBY was 87 last Friday. PRESIDENT MOBUTU of the Congo is to visit Tanzania in December.

MR. JOHN RIDDOCH flew back from London to Kenya on Friday.

COUNTESS DE LA WARR left £47,133, on which duty of £21,358 has been paid.

MR. HOE BAHNG is now Ambassador in Uganda for the Republic of Korea.

MR. H. A. STYLE has been appointed a director of William F. Malcolm and Co. Ltd.

MR. HUGH FRASER, M.P., has joined the board of Building and Contracting Associates, Ltd.

DR. G. G. BISLEY, an ophthalmic specialist in Kenya, will be in England on leave until early November.

MR. C. C. SIMPSON has joined the board of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., on the resignation of Mr. F. H. DUNLOP.

The Turkish painter MR. RAHMI PEHLIVANLI has recently painted portraits of PRESIDENTS KENYATTA and KAUNDA.

PROFESSOR E. L. YATES is to be the first occupant of a Chair of Science Education at the new University of Zambia.

CHIEF NJIRI KARANJA, former Senior Chief of the Kikuyu, has been baptized in Kenya at the presumed age of 105 years.

MR. PANNI, for the past three years High Commissioner for Pakistan in Kenya, has completed his term of office in Nairobi.

MR. JAMAL, Finance Minister in Tanzania, said last week that his account would be transferred to the new Tanzania Bank of Commerce.

MR. JOHN CHISATA, Junior Minister of Commerce and Industry in Zambia, has led a six-member trade delegation to Communist China.

DR. WALTER ADAMS, principal of the University College of Rhodesia, has arrived in Britain from Salisbury, his third visit since April.

MR. A. E. ORAM, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development, on Monday opened a conference in Cambridge on overseas aid.

While MR. VAN HEERDEN, Minister of Mines and Lands in Rhodesia, was on short local leave, MR. A. P. SMITH, Minister of Education, acted on his behalf.

MR. MARCEL LENGEMA, roving Ambassador for the Congo, has carried messages of goodwill to the Heads of State of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania.

MR. W. MICHAEL ROBSON, who led the recent London Chamber of Commerce trade delegation to Zambia, has said that orders worth more than £325,000 were booked.

PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, has visited Uganda, where DR. OTTO HAGENBUCHLE represents the Refugee Commission.

MR. H. J. KAHN, chairman of Fisons Overseas, Ltd., is now also chairman of the international division of Fisons, Ltd., a group with subsidiaries in Rhodesia and East Africa.

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, President of the Assembly of the Council of Europe, and a former High Commissioner in Kenya for the U.K., is visiting Israel as a Government guest.

MRS. ZOE SHEARER, general manager of the Central African Trade Fair, has resigned for health and personal reasons. Warm tribute to her services has been paid by MR. ELLMAN-BROWN, chairman of the committee.

MR. REUBEN KAMANGA, Vice-President of Zambia, has returned to Lusaka after visiting Communist China, Soviet Russia, Finland and Denmark. His tour was interrupted on instructions from PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and then for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, has joined the boards of Bayer Products Co., Ltd., and Winthrop Products Co., Ltd.

PRESIDENT NYERERE of Tanzania has been re-elected Chancellor of the University of East Africa for a further six years. From 1943 to 1945 he was a student of Makerere University College, Uganda, and later at Edinburgh University.

SIR RICHARD LUYT, lately Governor of Guyana, and formerly in the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya, has been appointed Professor of Comparative Government and Political Theory at Rhodes University, South Africa.

MR. WILLIAM CLARK, director of the Overseas Development Institute, has been appointed chairman, and MR. PAUL JOHNSON, editor of the *New Statesman*, vice-chairman of a Public Relations Committee for the British National Commission of UNESCO.

DR. AHRN PALLEY, the only white Opposition M.P. in Rhodesia, and MRS. PALLEY are shortly due in Britain. A South African by birth, and at one time a member of the Labour Party in that country, DR. PALLEY has qualified both as medical practitioner and an advocate.

Obituary

Mr. Edward James Wayland

MR. EDWARD JAMES WAYLAND, C.B.E., A.R.C.Sc., M.I.M.M., F.G.S., sometime Director of Geological Surveys in Uganda, and afterwards in Bechuanaland, who has died in England, aged 78, had been one of Africa's foremost geologists and archaeologists, and no man strove so much as he to foster mining development in Uganda, the Government of which repeatedly frustrated his endeavours. For that reason he eventually declined to return to Uganda, where he had hoped to complete several important investigations.

From school in London he went on to the City of London College of Science and the Royal School of Mines, and then spent five years in a family firm dating from 1750. In 1911 he went to Mozambique for a mining company, and then to Ceylon as a mineral surveyor.

Commissioned in the Royal Engineers early in the 1914-18 war, he was survey officer for tunnelling in the Ypres Salient, and then forward demolition reconnaissance officer to the 4th Army, and later its assistant controller of mines.

On demobilization he was appointed Government geologist and Director of Geological Surveys in Uganda, where he was still serving on the outbreak of war 20 years later. He rejoined the Royal Engineers, and was given charge of tunnelling for heavy batteries at Dover and then sent to Gibraltar for special tunnelling duties, later becoming assistant adjutant of the fortress. Then he got himself posted to London for bomb disposal duties, which were interrupted by a secret one-man mission to the Continent. When Bechuanaland established a geological survey, he was appointed its director.

Always active, he contributed many papers to technical journals and conferences. He was a founder and the second president of the Uganda Society.

He was the pioneer of pre-history research in East Africa, not merely in Uganda.

A man of real character, vision, and determination, Wayland had an exceptional sense of mission, but had the misfortune in Uganda and Bechuanaland to be many years before his time from the mining standpoint. The much which he might have contributed to their development was very inadequately used. But, though frustrated, he was never bitter.

Commonwealth Conference

(Continued from page 29)

Mr. Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister of India, stated that his country was not opposed to the use of force to bring down the Smith régime.

Telegrams from South Africa reported that when the British Ambassador called on Dr. Muller, the Foreign Minister, he had been told that South Africa would continue to trade normally with Rhodesia and not interfere in the supply of any commodity, including oil and petrol, to that country.

Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury; the Rt. Rev. Leonard Small, Moderator of the National Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. Dr. Norman Goodall,

Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, have issued the following joint statement:—

"At this time of anxiety for the future of Rhodesia we affirm our conviction that there can be no acquiescence in independence without a settlement acceptable to the peoples of Rhodesia as a whole and reliable safeguards for unimpeded progress to majority rule. In no Colony, except in the case of South Africa, has Britain surrendered sovereignty to a minority. The last chapter of our Colonial record must not discredit the rest. At this critical time, when the future of the Commonwealth is in the balance, we call all Christians to continue in prayer for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and for all who take part in its deliberations".

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster told inquirers that he had not signed because he had not had time to consult the Roman Catholic Archbishop in Salisbury.

RHODESIA: WHAT NEXT?

By Major-General H. P. W. HUTSON, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C.

THE DISAGREEMENT between Britain and Rhodesia is not over U.D.I. Many people think that it is and have been encouraged in this belief; but the real root of the trouble is how to determine the part to be played by Rhodesian Africans in the government of the country. This had been the issue for years before the declaration of independence.

Rhodesia believes that the determining factor should be fitness to exercise responsibility. Britain takes the view that numerical superiority confers the right to rule.

These two conceptions—advancement to power by merit; and majority rule by right—are irreconcilable. Adjustments in the ways in which they are applied are possible, but as a principle one or the other has to be accepted. Rhodesia took U.D.I. so that she could pursue her chosen path and be free from British pressure to abandon the principle which she is convinced is essential to the continued well-being of the country.

Why Does Mr. Wilson Oppose Advancement by Merit?

Mr. Wilson knows that the African Rhodesians will not be ready for majority rule for a long while.

He knows of the happenings in those African States which have been given their independence under majority rule. In every case it has meant that the country has been handed over to an educated black minority just as removed in its thinking and in its way of life from its millions of African subjects as are the white Rhodesians. Unlike the latter, however, these new African rulers have not the ability or experience, nor it would seem the inclination, to further the advancement of their black brethren, still less to deal equitably with their white minorities.

Consequently, apart from the new ruling cliques themselves and their close associates, there are very few people in these countries who are not worse off, in many cases very much so; and their unhappy condition is aggravated by national instability arising from struggles for power and from unrest fomented by outside interests for their own ends.

In marked contrast, and despite the harsh treatment to which she is being subjected, Rhodesia is a prosperous, orderly, and contented country. Her Government is not committed, as its detractors assert, to the perpetuation of white rule, but is following a course charted in the light of over 40 years of the experience of power towards control by Rhodesians, whites and Africans, when they are fitted for the responsibility.

What argument then is there against the Rhodesian Government requiring from its citizens certain minimum

qualifications before they are entitled to vote? And with so large a proportion of the African population continuing to live in tribal fashion, with no wish to give up its traditional way of life—a fact consistently ignored by the advocates of early majority rule—surely it is right that there should be no hurried breakdown of age-old revered habits and customs. Eventually these tribal affiliations must disappear, but it should be a gradual process and without disruption of present contentment. The plan in Rhodesia is to dovetail into tribal ways improved agricultural and other techniques which will gradually raise these Africans far above the subsistence level at which they now exist. Little of such consideration is being shown by the rulers of the new African States.

The Rhodesian conception of advancement by merit derives from years of successfully guided African progress. Its critics, denouncing things as they are, ignore the astonishing change in so few years, one man's lifetime, from marauding, killing clans, wholly illiterate, uncreative and dependent upon raiding to maintain their existence, to to-day's settled and contented African Rhodesians, not only living in peace and security but with opportunities if they care to take advantage of them for material gains unthought of a few years ago.

Theory Which Disregards Experience

No such record of success supports the idea of majority rule by right. This remains a theory encouraged very largely by the creeds and formulas of persons with little or no real African experience. Too often also the driving force urging its adoption comes from interests whose objectives are far removed from any concern for the betterment of the African peoples.

Yet the British Prime Minister has committed himself to securing terms which will satisfy these outside interests, and by his rejection of the traditional method of ascertaining tribal opinion through the chiefs is paying no regard to the opinions of a large part of the people whose future he wishes to settle.

Mr. Wilson seems to believe that all that is needed to make majority rule practical is a crash programme of education. This is a fallacy which Mr. Ian Smith has long appreciated. Education must go hand in hand with jobs for those who have been educated, and a sufficiency of these jobs calls for a prosperous and growing national economy. Perhaps Mr. Wilson accepts for African States the characteristic political instability of the Latin American countries which obtained independence a long while ago but have never achieved satisfactory economic development. Their numerous leaders have had the power but not the solutions.

So Mr. Smith rightly insists on government by responsible persons, and will not consider any setting of a fixed time within which majority rule would occur auto-

matically. He believes that it is the Rhodesian Government and not Mr. Wilson who should judge how fast African advancement can proceed.

It is true that Mr. Wilson has not committed himself, at any rate not publicly, to any particular length of time which should elapse before majority rule, but his anxiety to satisfy African nationalist and other extreme opinion is evidently making him demand a much more rapid African advancement than could be merited. So long as this is his attitude any talk of a negotiated settlement is futile.

What Have Sanctions Achieved?

Sanctions were enforced after U.D.I. as a means of bringing Mr. Ian Smith to heel in order that Mr. Wilson could then impose his terms — majority rule by right. Sanctions were used before U.D.I. as a threat.

The blame for U.D.I. is commonly placed on Mr. Smith, but as he was offered no alternative to majority rule by right he did not have much choice. The actual breakdown of the talks could well have been due to the way in which they were conducted by Mr. Wilson. His action immediately after the rupture certainly gave no impression of statesmanlike qualities.

By over-dramatizing the act of U.D.I., involving the Queen and dragging in the Church, and denouncing the Rhodesians as rebels, with himself cast as the African's champion who was to crush Mr. Smith and enforce majority rule, Mr. Wilson left himself with no room at all for manoeuvre. It was not a position one would expect any statesman to put himself into, least of all a British Prime Minister.

Mr. Smith may have underestimated the degree to which world opinion would be mobilized against him; he may have been over-optimistic about the open support he would get from South Africa and Portugal; but Mr. Wilson completely miscalculated the effects of the steps he took. He was wrong in his belief that sanctions would take effect quickly; wrong in his hope that they would split the white Rhodesians (whereas they have united them as never before); and wrong also in his expectations of assistance from the already independent African States, which he soon found turning against him because of his failure to accomplish what he had promised, and in the case of Zambia because of the ruinous economic consequences of his policy of sanctions.

The Smith régime has not been brought down. The mounting costs of Mr. Wilson's efforts to do this are seriously affecting Britain's economy, and his continued adherence to the principle of majority rule by right leaves the chances of settlement as remote as ever. More than nine months have elapsed since U.D.I. and there is still nothing to show.

Where Do We Stand Now?

We can take it that Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson both recognize the need for a settlement. Even if they think that time is on their side—Mr. Wilson because he still has faith in sanctions and Mr. Smith because he believes that these will become less and less effective as the trading peoples of the world grow tired of the restrictions and more ways of evading them are found—each of the contestants must realize the risks of continuing the state of tension and uncertainty. Whilst this condition persists a dangerous widening of the conflict might occur at any time.

Clearly there is no gain to either party in prolonging the wasteful expenditure and the equally damaging loss of goodwill which is taking place. Almost certainly Dr. Verwoerd is urging Mr. Smith to come to terms, and he has probably advised Mr. Wilson similarly. Portugal's attitude must be much the same.

Is it not the achievement of a settlement rather than the terms on which this is done which really matters? The natural numerical growth of the African Rhodesians will in any circumstances secure them political concessions, and their turn to govern must come. Far better for both the black and the white people that the transition should be an orderly and contented process rather than an over-hasty move motivated by dogma rather than by any genuine need, and not improbably

accompanied by violence. We can understand the desire of Africans to see the light at the end of their political tunnel. We can also appreciate their wish for some guarantee of proper and continued progress in their advancement.

In an atmosphere so charged with mistrust a guarantee enforceable by a third and uninvolved party could be highly advantageous. There would be so many difficulties, however, facing the guarantor in the execution of his task should there be any attempt to evade the conditions that a guarantee of this sort is probably impracticable. The same ineffectiveness would apply to treaty obligations. In fact, the only assurance of performance is the continued belief of the white Rhodesians in the soundness of their policy of advancement by merit, with similar understanding and consequently co-operation on the part of the African Rhodesians.

Settlement will have to be on the basis of easing and smoothing the road on which Rhodesia is already embarked. Mr. Wilson's policy does nothing towards this. Quite the reverse. His talks may bring breathing space, but unless he gives up trying to impose his principle of majority rule by right, and devotes himself instead to considering easements and improvements in the advancement by merit programme, there will be no settlement in his time.

One reason, perhaps the principal reason, why the Rhodesian problem is still with us is that there has never been any decided British attitude on the subject. Excepting the two opposed groups, the one with Rhodesian contacts and knowledge and generally supporting the Rhodesian point of view, and the other motivated by extreme Socialist dogma and bitterly hostile to any deviation from majority rule by right, the British public cares little and knows less about the issues involved. It accepted uncritically the pompous pronouncement made by Mr. Wilson after U.D.I. and has given no thought as to where he was leading the country.

Now it seems that the total lack of result from the mammoth effort to defeat Mr. Ian Smith must bring some realization of the true situation. Before it is too late a halt ought to be called in Mr. Wilson's futile and dangerous feud.

Rock the Boat Now

Rhodesia has taken the right road for African advancement, and Britain's policy ought to be to help her along, not to force her off her course.

Much could be done to assist Rhodesia in the measures she has planned, and much could be done also in getting the policy of advancement by merit better understood by the neighbouring African territories.

Britain ought to forget about U.D.I. It was a mistake—historians can decide by whom—but it should not be used to deny the recognition of Rhodesia's independence, which on any count is long overdue.

Many in Britain will say "Don't lobby; don't rock the boat; the Government know what is best; let it carry on". A much sounder judgment was that of Rousseau when he wrote "As soon as any man says of the affairs of the State what does it matter to me?, the State may be given up as lost".

If the boat is not rocked now there may be no other chance.

King of Burundi

PRINCE CHARLES, the 19-year-old Crown Prince of Burundi, who in July deposed his father, who had been absent in Europe for months, was last week crowned as Mwāme (King) Ntare V. The first Ntare held sway in the 16th century.

"A static economy means explosive politics. Explosive politics mean instability and misery".—President Obote of Uganda.

"A large number of Rhodesian Africans now earn between £60 and £100 a month".—Mr. P. Palmer-Owen, addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

"The Zambian Government is studying ways and means of curbing excessive drinking".—Mr. Sikota Wina, Minister for Local Government and Housing.

"I warn students that unless they stop the evil practices of beer-drinking, dagga-smoking, and taking drugs they will not be able to lead the country with common understanding".—President Kaunda, when addressing a schools' athletic meeting in Ndola.

Letter to The Editor

Appeal for Rhodesia

The Facts Will Bear Scrutiny

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR—Rhodesia is the world's last hope for a multi-racial society in Africa. Why then is the world against us? Because the world is misinformed.

Under our Constitution all Africans will eventually be given the vote. They are not ready for it now. They do not want it now. They would not know how to use it. You do not allow your children to vote because they would not understand what they were doing. So it is with the majority of our Africans. The qualifications for the vote are exactly the same for Europeans and Africans.

So that more Africans may qualify, enormous schemes for further African advancement and education are being inaugurated — subsidized, of course, by the European taxpayers. Because Rhodesia is small, our revenue is also small. Therefore the process is slow; but we are doing our utmost to educate the African, civilize him, and bring him up to our standard. This is overwhelmingly at the expense of the white community of the country, which sought no outside help.

I am not a politician; merely a clerk, married, 26 years old, an ordinary individual. It is to the private individuals like myself that I appeal. Come and see for yourselves. Truth will bear any scrutiny. Come and scrutinize. Send us your representatives. Send us journalists who are not afraid to print the truth. Come yourselves on holiday. Rhodesia, beautiful and peaceful, will make you very welcome.

You will find our Africans in our hotels, bars, swimming-pools, cinemas, shops and theatres alongside the Europeans. They work with us in offices. If they wish it, they relax with us. However, they mainly prefer their own cinemas as the entertainment offered in ours is too sophisticated for their taste. Most of them prefer the hurly-burly of their own beer-halls to the more sedate atmosphere of European bars. There is no colour-bar as such. If there is a barrier it is social, one such as you yourselves would practise. You would not invite to your table someone who eats with his fingers. The ways of Africans in general are not our ways. He does not wish them to be.

The ordinary citizens of the world are our hope. In their hands lies the fate of ourselves—and of civilization and Christianity in Africa. Give us the opportunity of proving ourselves. We shall not disappoint the civilized world.

Bulawayo
Rhodesia

Yours faithfully
LYNETTE W. BUNCE

[This letter has been considerably abbreviated.—Ed]

POINTS FROM LETTERS

Words

"MANY WORDS in use by Africans are now either 'dirty' or wear haloes. Three of the first five dirty words which spring to mind are proper names — Tshombe, Verwoerd, and Smith. Two other words which have high emotional value among Africans are 'colonial' and 'mercenaries'. Contrariwise, there is a halo round 'one-man-one-vote', 'the African image', 'African unity', 'Africanization', and of course 'Lumumba'. The truth or falsity of a criticism does not seem to matter to Africans, who are touchy and think criticism a deliberate and vindictive means of belittling them".

Politicians

"YOU TELL US not to lie, a young Kenya African said recently to a European teacher. He continued: 'But a politician must lie, must cheat people. So if a man wants to be a politician, what is he to do?' The questioner was not trying to be clever or funny. His was a matter-of-fact remark on the level of 'a farmer must get his hands dirty'."

More Peaceful than Kenya

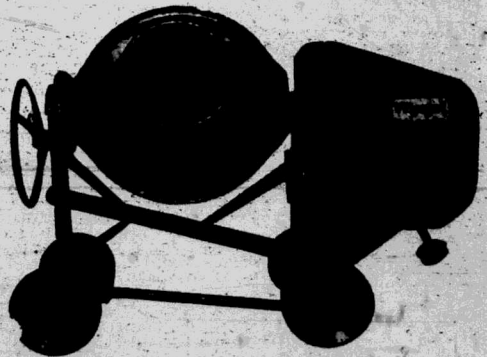
"RHODESIA is far more peaceful than Kenya has been in my experience, and all the talk about a breakdown of law and order in Rhodesia is fantastic poppycock. There is nothing here to compare with the Mau Mau situation in Kenya. We don't need expanding metal on our windows here, all our doors are wide open in the evening, and we flogged our guns long ago".

Angled News

"MANY OF YOUR READERS must have appreciated the independence and objectivity of your comments on the treatment of Rhodesia by United Kingdom newspapers, which have done so much to mislead the public. Did you notice that many papers recently carried a Reuter report from Salisbury on the sentencing of 21 African saboteurs which went out of its way to emphasize that they had been found guilty of preparing to overthrow 'the white minority Government'? Would it not have sufficed to refer to armed subversion against the Government? If the reference had been to any other country, would the adjectives have appeared? I guess not. By this kind of reporting many readers are led to think more of the political situation in the country than of infiltration into it of thugs trained in Communist countries, provided with Russian and Chinese weapons, and sent from Zambia, to murder, destroy, and intimidate. All the emphasis, I suggest, ought to be on the criminal activities of the African terrorists, for whom no sympathy ought to be solicited by obtrusive political sentimentality".

Winget 3½ TL and 5Ts CONCRETE MIXERS

(Hand-fed • Capacities 5/3½ and 7/5 cu. ft.)



WIGGLESWORTH
& CO. (AFRICA), LIMITED
DAR ES SALAAM TANGA NAIROBI NOMBASA KAMPALA
London Associates
Wigglesworth & Co., Limited, 30-34 Mincing Lane, London, E.C.3

Confident, Not Complacent

Economic Conditions Very Buoyant

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT are confident but not complacent. Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, said in Beitbridge last Thursday evening at a meeting which was attended by many South Africans who had crossed the border from nearby Messina. On the whole the economic condition of the country was very buoyant, although some sections were not as healthy as they should be.

Rhodesia's external reserves are reported to be higher today than when sanctions were first imposed.

Seven of the 13 Parliamentary members of the all-African United People's Party signed a statement last week which announced that they had elected Mr. J. Gondo to be their leader in succession to Mr. Chad Chipunza, and Mr. P. H. Nkudu their deputy leader. Mr. Chipunza thereupon told journalists that he had known nothing of the meeting, and that he still considered himself to be the U.P.P. leader. Mr. Gondo replied that as deputy leader he had had the right to call a caucus meeting. The Speaker has since recognized Mr. Gondo as the leader.

MR. GERALD CAPLAN, lately a lecturer in history at the University College in Salisbury, and one of the nine lecturers recently deported, said on his return to Toronto, his home town, that sanctions would not bring down the Rhodesian Government. He was sure that there would be bloodshed if troops were sent to Rhodesia.

Has U.N. Recognized Rhodesia ?

A United States jurist, who was described as an expert on United Nations procedure, said when interviewed on the Rhodesian radio that by approving the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia the U.N. had unwittingly recognized the country's independence, for the chapter of the Charter which provided for sanctions stipulated that they could be imposed only on independent States.

Mr. James Eastland, chairman of the Internal Security Committee of the United States Senate, has introduced a motion calling on the American Government to cease its "inhumane, illegal, arbitrary, unfair, harmful and costly policy" of "sanctions against Rhodesia, and to compensate U.S. citizens who have incurred financial loss through that policy. He afterwards told reporters that it was folly to continue to deny legitimate recognition to Rhodesia.

Mr. G. Sichel, president of Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, has asked for the release of more statistical information by the Government in order to help business men in their planning.

Mr. J. Mussett, Minister of Commerce and Industry, has announced import control concessions in respect of small quantities of electrical equipment, high-quality clothing, and some types of shaving soap and shoe polish. There are to be increased currency allocations for high-quality confectionery, condensed milk, and canned fruits and fish.

The Rhodesian Government will if necessary guarantee an average price of 2s. 2d. per lb. for 1.5m. lb. of Samsun-type Oriental tobacco. In the last 20 years no crop of Samsun in Rhodesia has exceeded that output.

The British Treasury has announced that total payments by H.M. Government to the World Bank in respect of Rhodesian commitments somewhat exceed £1.3m., the latest remittance being £30,000 for interest due on a loan to the Central African Power Corporation guaranteed half by Rhodesia and half by Zambia.

Rhodesia Railways will on September 26 take over the operation of the 400 miles of line running through Bechuana-land. Though owned by Rhodesia Railways since it was built 70 years ago, operation of that section has been by South African Railways throughout.

In the 12 months to the end of June building plans costing £2,537,820 were passed by Salisbury City Council. In the previous year the total had been £1,484,875. Municipal valuations now total £141m.

Sir Ray Stockill, chairman of Hippo Valley Estates, Ltd., has reported a loss of £372,000 for the year to March 31, in which output totalled 73,000 tons of sugar. He remains convinced that the enterprise has a favourable future.

Talks Not Broken Off

Mr. Wilson's Assurance to Opposition

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, said last week after he and Mr. Maudling, the Deputy Leader of the Conservative Party, had called on the Prime Minister:—

"The Leader of the Opposition received an assurance from the Prime Minister that the talks between officials in Rhodesia had not been broken off, but had been adjourned so that the British officials could return to London to report.

"The Opposition leaders regret that Mr. Smith should have brought forward the Constitution Amendment Bill. They firmly hope that it will be possible to resume the talks at an early date in order to secure a return to constitutional government in Rhodesia.

"Mr. Wilson repeated the assurances given in the House of Commons before the House rose that Parliament would be recalled in case of any change of policy towards Rhodesia, and that the Government had no intention of handing over the Rhodesian question to the United Nations".

The Rhodesian Prime Minister said later that the British Government had used the introduction of the Constitution Amendment Bill as an excuse for breaking off the talks in Salisbury, though they really planned to withdraw their officials that week in any case. Their stay had been cut short by only one day.

The Rev. Leslie A. Davis

THE REV. LESLIE AUGUSTIN DAVIS, since June 1963 rector of St. Luke's Church, Salisbury, Rhodesia, is returning to England to take up the double appointment of chaplain of the Guild of St. Raphael and a member of the staff of the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine in Ratcliffe, London, E, where he will act as deputy to the master, the Rev. Henry Cooper.

Mr. Davis was educated at Bradford and Portsmouth grammar schools and Christ's College, Cambridge, and did his theological training at Queen's College, Birmingham. He was ordained in 1939, and after four years as curate at St. Mark's, Portsea, and three as chaplain in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, he held appointments at Newcastle Cathedral, at All Saints, Northampton, and in the dioceses of Cape Town, Connecticut, U.S.A., and Mashonaland.

While serving as Bishop's chaplain for extra-parochial work in Mashonaland, at the request of the Dean he started a monthly service of intercessions for the sick and laying on of hands at Salisbury Cathedral. As rector of St. Luke's, Salisbury, he established a monthly healing service.

He edited *Link*, the monthly publication of the Mashonaland diocese, was vice-chairman of the diocesan information committee, and has been closely concerned with Rhodesian radio and television.

French Somaliland

GENERAL BILLOTTE, French Minister of Overseas Territories, who was with General de Gaulle during the rioting in Jibuti, said later: "France is here by the will of the population. If the will has changed France will stay no longer, but while General de Gaulle is Head of State there can be no question of any recourse to colonialism by our Government". When the people of French Somaliland had been consulted at all levels, they would, he hoped, choose a status short of complete divorce from France. It is now known that four French Ministers in the Somali Government tendered their resignations after the riots. They have been asked to continue in office indefinitely and have agreed to do so.

European Aided Terrorists Gang Used Bechuanaland Route

THREE AFRICANS who were last week charged in Bulawayo with terrorist activities said in evidence that a European had helped to smuggle them into Rhodesia from Zambia. They were committed for trial in the High Court for possessing offensive weapons. A fourth African, also committed, was stated to have hidden weapons for the other three. All admitted in police statements that they had had automatic weapons and ammunition.

One said that they had left Lusaka as a group in July and had been picked up at the Bechuanaland border by a European who drove them to another part of Bechuanaland. After they had crossed into Rhodesia three of the group became separated. The others had buried their guns before they were arrested.

Four Africans have been committed for trial in the High Court on charges of throwing a Russian-made hand-grenade into a Salisbury restaurant, in which seven Europeans and an African waiter were injured, but not seriously. If convicted they face mandatory death sentences. A fourth man is charged with possession of a grenade. Three were stated to have confessed that they had been involved in the attack on the restaurant, and the fourth to have thrown a grenade into a garage; he said that the grenades had been supplied by African nationalists in Zambia who had told him to find people who would use them.

False Alarms

In Bulawayo an African has been jailed for six months for telephoning the police that he had placed a time-bomb in a departmental store in the city. The area was therefore cordoned off and nine stores were searched without result. When arrested the accused admitted the falsity of his warning and said merely that he liked to use the telephone. Later there were other false warnings of the same kind.

A grenade was thrown into the bedroom of a ground-floor flat in Salisbury which was empty at the time. On the same day stones were thrown at three motor-cars and fire-bombs at two buses in African townships near the capital.

Fifteen Africans, members of a gang of 54 who destroyed some 30 acres of tobacco on a farm near Mount Darwin in January, have been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and to pay damages of £4,950.

In Sinoia an African has been jailed for 10 years and ordered to pay £156 compensation for setting fire to six huts in a neighbouring reserve. After admitting the offences he pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Magombe, executive secretary of the Rhodesian Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, told journalists in Nairobi after he had visited Zambia and Ethiopia that O.A.U. would increase its assistance to the Rhodesian liberation movement in order to crush the Rhodesian régime.

Malawi Railways

THE MALAWI GOVERNMENT having acquired control of Malawi Railways, Ltd., all the directors, except two Government representatives, Mr. J. R. Pike and Mr. J. F. Harrod, have resigned without compensation for loss of office. They are Messrs. A. H. Ball, R. W. Rowland, A. J. B. Ogilvy, J. R. Caldecott and J. N. Kick. The first four have likewise resigned from the board of Central Africa Railway Company, a subsidiary.

The Government has bought from the Lonrho Group 257,846 ordinary shares in Malawi Railways of £1 and 10 "A" ordinary 1s. shares, paying £1 per share for both classes, and now offers to acquire on the same terms 99,529 ordinary and 47 "A" ordinary shares held by other persons.

Until recently the ordinary shares had stood at about 4s. on the London Stock Exchange. They reached 5s. on August 1. 7s. 6d. a week later, and 17s. 6d. on August 26.

TWO RATINGS WERE KILLED in the British submarine *RORQUAL* in an explosion in the engine-room as she was on her way from Durban to Mombasa. She put into the Mozambique port of Inhambane, where they were buried.

Four Lecturers Accused Alleged Involvement with Terrorists

A GROUP OF LECTURERS at the University College of Rhodesia were alleged by the prosecution in Salisbury magistrates' court on Monday to have possessed Russian-made hand-grenades and to have been in contact with African terrorists who had infiltrated into Rhodesia.

Those charges were made by Mr. B. J. Preacy, Q.C., when outlining the Crown case against John Andrew Conradie, an assistant lecturer in history, and Ivan Godfrey Dixon, an employee of a chemical manufacturing company in Salisbury. Both were refused bail and remanded until September 19.

It was stated that warrants had been issued for the arrest of two other former lecturers, Mr. John Reed, now Professor of English at Zambia University, Lusaka, and Dr. Giovanni Arrighi, an Italian lecturer in economics, who was recently reported to have accepted an appointment in Tanzania.

The prosecutor alleged that Conradie and Dixon had conspired with others to cause injury to persons or damage to buildings by the use of explosives or, alternatively, had conspired to commit murder.

"The Crown alleges that the accused, with others at the university, were members of a group responsible for the reception, storage, and eventual distribution of offensive materials for use against the European community, their homes and other property.

"It will be alleged that this same group was also responsible for maintaining contact with infiltrated terrorists, and that other lecturers, apart from Conradie, were members of this group."

Twelve Africans are understood to have been held for questioning in connexion with the case.

Zambian Miners Defy Government

THE STRIKE OF AFRICAN MINERS on the Copperbelt of Zambia had by Wednesday of last week affected some 20,000 men, and next day there was an increase to about 30,000, with all the major mines at a standstill. Those on strike then included 2,000 employees of the Broken Hill lead and zinc mine. By Friday 37,000 were absent from work, causing the mines a loss of £1m. a day.

Beginning with the cessation of work at Mufulira on the previous Saturday over a dispute about the pensions fund, the strike quickly spread in defiance of appeals by Cabinet Ministers and threats by Mr. Sipalo, Minister for Labour, who described the miners' action as a stab in the back and a demonstration of support for Mr. Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister. Later he met the councils of the Zambian Mineworkers and the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions. All public meetings at Mufulira were at that time prohibited.

President Kaunda flew to the Copperbelt in the middle of last week to consult mine managements and trade union leaders. Six Ministers were then sent to persuade the miners to resume work. On Monday they began to trickle back.

The origin of the trouble was objection by the African miners to the transfer of some £7m. from mine pensions funds to a new national provident fund in process of establishment by the Government. Whereas the men demanded that money held on their behalf should be paid to them and not be brought under Government control, the Minister of Labour and Social Development insisted that to pay out the money would have a disastrous effect on the economy.

During a strike of some 6,000 Africans at Nchanga in March, mine work was designated an essential service, thus making deliberate absence from work a criminal offence. The African miners, however, completely disregarded that ruling by President Kaunda, and there were no prosecutions.

Agreement Was Possible

Sanctions Hurt Britain More than Rhodesia

MR. R. T. PAGET, Q.C., M.P., has written to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"I had interviews with Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues last January and I am sure that an agreement was then available which would have given the Rhodesian Africans a more secure prospect of advancement than was provided by the 1961 Constitution. Since then I have frequently warned the Government that the longer they delayed the poorer their prospect of obtaining any terms from Rhodesia.

"I can only construe the latest move as notice that Mr. Smith no longer feels that he needs an agreement with Britain and that British interference with Rhodesian constitutional decisions is no longer acceptable. This can only mean that the 'under-cover negotiations' that have been taking place between Mr. Smith's Government and the Government of South Africa have reached a point at which Mr. Smith feels economically and militarily secure.

"The remaining question is how long we are to continue sanctions that hurt us far more than they hurt Mr. Smith, and which push Rhodesia ever more firmly into the position of an Anglo-stan within the South African Union?

"If anyone should favour a second South African war against the Union and Rhodesia I would warn them that they would find this a tougher proposition than Korea and Vietnam combined".

Things Going Rhodesia's Way

Mr. Arthur Veysey, London correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, who is visiting Rhodesia, said in a radio interview in Salisbury:—

"I think that things are going Rhodesia's way, and that if people here are cautious enough in what they say and do, possibly the time is coming near a settlement. The U.K. Government needs to save money overseas, and if a person looks around and sees where he could pick up £100m., the easiest place is by stopping this trouble with Rhodesia. I think this the major factor in the relationship right now as far as the U.K. is concerned. It's to the advantage of the British Treasury to call this thing off.

"Therefore if it can be made possible for the U.K. to reach an agreement which the Prime Minister could present to the House of Commons as one that looks forward to a Rhodesia marching confidently towards the future as a multi-racial State, one which guarantees unimpeded progress towards majority rule, then it could come about, and I would guess maybe in October".

The interviewer asked: "Does not the example of other African States with their political insecurity point a moral? How does the man in the street in Britain regard the rest of Africa? Does he regard it in the way we once regarded the South American republics?"

Mr. Veysey replied: "He's probably more concerned with football. The people who think hope that Rhodesia is one of the places on which the new Africa might be built—as a meeting-point, as a place where there might be a welding. Rhodesia's part in the future could be considerable. It really could become the heart of Africa, I think".

The Salisbury correspondent of *The Times* has reported that the Rhodesian economy shows remarkable resilience after nine months of sanctions.

"Among Europeans, unemployment and emigration combined has probably amounted to less than 3% or 4% of the 89,000 European, Coloured, and Asian labour force. There is a surprising degree of activity in the property market, and the country's foreign reserves are certainly at least as high today as they were when independence was declared.

"The money market is flooded with funds. Smoked salmon is still on the menu in expensive restaurants. Week-ends are

crowded with sports fixtures, and there has been no drop in the totalisator turnover at Borrowdale race track.

"Sanctions had two objects. The first was to bring down the Rhodesian Government swiftly. There has never been any serious possibility of that happening. So long as the Portuguese and South African Governments maintain their present attitude this outcome seems even less likely in the future.

"The second objective was to do sufficient damage to the economy to persuade the Government, through pressure of public opinion, that a settlement which abandoned the declaration of independence was essential. This has not happened either."

Yet diplomatic correspondents of London newspapers were told in Whitehall last week that sanctions are now "biting deep".

Economy Faring Remarkably Well

That was not the view of the *Scotsman*, which asserted that Mr. Smith had won the first round of the contest with the British Government.

"While Mr. Wilson's political and economic difficulties have mounted, Rhodesia's economy still gives the appearance of being remarkably healthy. Mr. Smith's white following is as solid as ever. Sanctions have been inadequate. The 'talks about talks' have led nowhere.

"Having failed to prise white Rhodesian trust away from Mr. Smith, Mr. Wilson has also failed to regain the trust of President Kaunda. With characteristic ambiguity—intended to please everybody but liable in the end to please nobody—Mr. Wilson has not admitted that the exploratory negotiations with the Smith régime have broken down completely. Mr. Smith has made it clear that he will not compromise with Mr. Wilson, but Mr. Wilson has not made it clear that he will not compromise with the uncompromising Mr. Smith".

On Sunday the correspondent of the *Financial Times* telegraphed from Rhodesia:—

"Despite difficulties by agriculture and the motor industry, and some sections of industry hit by lost Zambian markets, and retailers whose sales are said to be some 12% lower than a year ago, the economy is faring remarkably well. One estimate is that the reduction in activity here since sanctions were imposed has only been between 10% and 15% overall; six months ago most observers here were estimating a 25% to 30% decline. It is for this reason that Rhodesians believe they can hang on and win".

Malawi Condemned

PRESIDENT BANDA is criticized in the current quarterly bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists for having taken to himself "almost unlimited powers which are entirely discretionary in nature in that they are not subject to any form of challenge or supervision". The bulletin describes conditions in Malawi as "alarming," states that "people live in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation", and asserts that "Government supporters commit a wide range of offences from murder down, free from the risk of prosecution".

World Bank Mission

MR. GEORGE WOODS, president of the World Bank, promised while in Uganda last week to send a mission in October to report on the £33m. project for a new hydro-electric scheme on the Nile at Bujagali Falls, five miles downstream from the Owen Falls power station. He said that arrangements had nearly been completed for finance for small tea plantations, secondary schools and highways, to which the World Bank gave highest priority from the standpoint of Uganda development.

Uganda Officers Sentenced

TWO CAPTAINS in the Uganda Army were last week sentenced by court martial to four years' and three years' imprisonment respectively for conspiring to arrest Dr. Obote, then Prime Minister, in February. Witnesses testified that they had asked a junior officer in a mess in Entebbe to set up a road-block and arrest Dr. Obote. Lieut.-Colonel John Omoya, presiding over the court martial, said: "This must be a lesson to the whole army. If we had had the power to do so, we would have passed a higher sentence". Both officers were cashiered.

ROBIN LINE

Fast Regular Service — Cargo and Passenger

OUTWARD SAILINGS

(D) ROBIN GRAY

S'v'n'h	Ch'ton	N'folk
SEPT 13	SEPT 14	SEPT 16
Balt.	Phil.	N. Yk.
SEPT 17	SEPT 18	SEPT 22

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

(R) MORMACTRADE

S'v'n'h	Ch'ton	N'folk
SEPT 27	SEPT 28	SEPT 30
Balt.	Phil.	N. Yk.
OCT 1	OCT 2	OCT 6

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, TAMATAVE (Madagascar), MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM.

- (D) Deep Tank Space available
- (R) Refrigeration Space available

NEW YORK,

Baltimore and Philadelphia

TO AND FROM

SOUTH & EAST AFRICA

Serving also MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS and REUNION

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

HOMEWARD SAILINGS

	E. Africa	B. Africa
(R) ROBIN LOCKSLEY	—	Late Sept
(D) (R) MOR-MACRIO	Mid Sept	Late Sept
(D) (R) MOR-MACCAPE	—	Late Oct
(D) ROBIN GOOD-FELLOW	Mid Oct	Early Nov

Particulars apply Principal Agents

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

Telephone AVenue 1234
Cables Mitcotts, London

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

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

WM. COTTS & COMPANY LTD.
Durban

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

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

GENERAL AGENTS—

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

HEAD OFFICE: MOORE-McCORMACK LINES INC.

**BROADWAY
NEW YORK, 4**

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

To the Publishers of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA
26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1

Please send me RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA regularly until countermanded. I enclose my cheque for the first annual subscription (£2 12s for the surface mail edition or £6 10s for the air edition to any address).

Name.....
(in capital letters)

Full postal address.....
(in capital letters)

.....

.....

Signature.....

Would you like us to send the paper to some of your friends also ?

We bend

over backwards
to meet your
Delivery Dates

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

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

The going's good by
UNION-CASTLE

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



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

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

	Closing Glasgow	Sch. Wales	B'head
† CLAN MACILWRAITH			Sept 8
§ CITY OF PRETORIA	Sept 12	Sept 15	Sept 22
† JOURNALIST	Sept 26	Sept 29	Oct 6

* If inducement † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR)
§ also PORT SUDAN and ADEN

also by arrangement
RED SEA PORTS

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

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

THE OWNERS or

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

Leading Brokers
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO
LIVERPOOL 2

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



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, September 15, 1966

No. 43 No. 2183

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper

52s yearly post free

JOINT SERVICE



HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

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

Vessel	Glasgow	18. Wales	Birkenhead
HALL VESSEL	13 Oct.	17 Oct.	25 Oct.

: If inducement * With or without transhipment

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

Vessel	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF MANCHESTER TACTICIAN	13 Oct.	20 Sept. 11 Oct.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

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

Loading Brokers: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2

THE MANICA TRADING COMPANY LIMITED

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

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

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

Established over 60 years

Commonwealth's Days of Unrealistic Wrangling



**I appear, M'lud,
to have lost
the thread of
me argument ...**

A future barrister here, do you think? Could easily be so. Many a small boy playing outside our various branches a little while ago has now been called to the Bar. For young Henry's country is growing fast. Every skill is being fostered. Every opportunity is there. We for our part help this growth by encouraging trade from every source. Are you seeking new markets in the countries of the Commonwealth? Then contact us straight away. Our knowledge of local conditions and requirements is unrivalled.

For detailed market reports from our African, Caribbean or Mediterranean branches, write to Intelligence Department, Barclays Bank D.C.O., 54 Lombard Street, London E.C.3.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. *Britain's Largest Overseas Bank*

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

incorporating
EAST AFRICA and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone : HOLborn 2224-5

Cables EASTAFRIC, London Inland Telegraphs EASTAFRIC, Westcent, London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	37	Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated ...	44
Commonwealth Conference on Rhodesia	39	Support of African M.P.s	46
Mr. Smith Not Worried	41	Expulsion of Lecturers	47
Personalia ...	42	Diversification from Coffee ...	48
Court Verdict on Smith Government ...	43		

Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1966

Vol. 43

No. 2188

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

BLAME ANYONE BUT ME : that appears to have been the attitude of the politicians from twenty (we except Australia and New Zealand) of the twenty-two States of the Commonwealth who since Tuesday of last week have wrangled in Marlborough House, London, about Rhodesia. The twenty-third, Tanzania, had declined to be represented on account of President Nyerere's exasperation with the British Government, in particular with its refusal to pledge itself to deny independence to Rhodesia until after the introduction of the one-man-one-vote system and the election of an African-dominated Government under that calamitously premature franchise. Of course, the absence of delegates from Tanzania has not made the slightest difference : there has still been ceaseless clamour for the imposition of the nostrum which has done incalculable and irremediable damage over vast areas of the world and has made farcical the summit conferences of the Commonwealth and the United Nations, conferences which purport to bring to grave issues the wisdom, hard-won experience, and genuinely friendly co-operation of the best leaders in all the countries concerned. If that were in fact the basis, how different the world would be ! But it is easier for men to explore the planets than to order national and international affairs with honesty, tolerance and competence, let alone wisdom. Dishonesty, intolerance, incompetence, and limitless folly have, unhappily, marked the handling of the Rhodesian issue by successive British Governments and Commonwealth Conferences. Indeed, the problem is a direct derivative from the mistrust automatically aroused in a strong-minded community by the interference of distant politicians who showed themselves insensi-

tive and indifferent to the basic factors of the situation but acutely susceptible to the pressures of theorists and extremists, white and black, and eager to appease them.

* * *

We expected nothing practical from the Marlborough House meeting because four-fifths of the delegations were certain to act from emotion based on party or colour commitments. On some aspects of the question Australia and New Zealand could alone be expected to judge rationally. Only one African was likely to denounce the idea of military action against Rhodesia : and President Banda said bluntly that Malawi would not provide bases for such an adventure, which he thought unlikely to succeed, partly because British troops might well refuse to fire on men of their own race, and partly because Rhodesians would prove themselves formidable adversaries in guerilla operations. But there were few such realistic interludes in days of set-speech flummery. Africans and others were soon talking of "Nibmar", the abbreviation invented for "no independence before majority rule". Their slogan when they assembled had been "Bring down Smith". It quickly gave way to "Nibmar", a substitution which was not tactically clever, for even Mr. Wilson had had to say specifically in Rhodesia last October that majority rule could come only by African achievement and not by clock or calendar. He could obviously not go back on that sadly belated recognition and admission, not because he ever hesitates to say one thing and do another, but because no group of Rhodesians would ever settle on the basis of the government of their country passing to a black majority which is wholly incapable of

discharging that difficult and challenging task. Yet at least seventeen Commonwealth countries have weakly assented to the proposition that there shall be no independence before majority rule. That demonstration of irrelevance and fatuity must further strengthen Mr. Smith and dismay and dishearten the Governor. * * *

Politics is supposed to be the art of the possible. Yet the leading politicians of the Commonwealth thus pledge themselves obstinately to the impossible. We have more than once suggested in these columns that future historians will write that some madness must have possessed British Parliamentarians of all parties in this era, and that the national Press unaccountably failed to reveal their stupidity, gullibility, infatuation, and recklessness. Those faults were clearly evident in the Marlborough House exchanges, and again almost all newspapers neglected to expose the unreality of the proceedings. Conference nonsense was treated seriously; puerility was hailed as ingenuity; racialist propaganda was paraded as morality; threats were accepted as if they had been compliments; and arguments were stood on their head by delegates, journalists, and broadcasters. For instance, when Australian and New Zealand spokesmen criticized instant majority rule and stressed the need for a period of preparation and apprenticeship — in other words, for the Rhodesian principle of advancement by merit — angry objectors declared that that would breach one of Britain's six principles, that which insisted that any settlement must be acceptable to all the people of Rhodesia. To the Africans and the rest of their caucus "all" means merely those Africans who have become politically-minded. That all the non-Africans and many Africans in Rhodesia would reject the "Nibmar" prescription was not even worth considering. Similarly, much talk about selective, collective and mandatory sanctions under a United Nations resolution blithely ignored the certainty that South Africa would not change her present policy of trading with Rhodesia; and some mass-circulation newspapers encouraged the absurd notion that the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd would lessen South African support for the Smith Government. * * *

Mr. Iain Macleod, an expert in mischievous misrepresentation, asserted in the *Daily*

Mail that "Kenya proves the point that majority rule is in the best long-term interest of Europeans". Kenya affords no such proof, if only because his MacBlundell inflictions on that country have not yet had time to bear full fruit. The early croppings have been far from encouraging. Immediately political power had been thrust into eager African hands in Kenya by the Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell Constitution, they tore it up; and the successor instrument which they introduced has since been amended whenever convenient, always in order to strengthen the dictatorship which has supplanted what Mr. Macleod naively thought would be a multi-racial democracy. It was officially announced in Nairobi only a few days ago that another eight thousand Europeans had left Kenya within the past two years. Why? Obviously because of their deep dissatisfaction with present conditions in what was in pre-MacBlundell days one of the most attractive countries in the world. A very large majority of those who remain lack all confidence in the future, as Rhodesians well know. To tell them that Kenya is the model for their country a few years hence as politicians in the United Kingdom see it will merely reinforce their determination to settle their own destiny. But even Mr. Macleod—whom we regard as incomparably the most disastrous Colonial Secretary of modern times—has to admit that "neither by force nor by sanctions can the Commonwealth or the United Nations destroy Rhodesia". It is at least something that that basic truth should be recognized by the politician who bears a grave measure of responsibility for the destruction of the Federation and consequently for the present situation in Rhodesia.

"Between 270,000 and 280,000 alien Africans are employed in Rhodesia".—Mr. W. J. J. Cary, M.P.

"What is the collective noun for a gathering of engineers? I think a 'skill' of engineers appropriate".—President Kaunda.

"President Kaunda, like President Nyerere, is beset by immense, self-made difficulties".—Lady Listowel, writing in the *Statist*.

"I have found how often caution pays off".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya.

"The Rhodesian Government's grants to aided schools amount to £5,112,800, against £4,614,400 last year".—Mr. A. P. Smith, M.P., Minister of Education.

"I remind civil servants that they are not the masters but the servants of the people".—Mr. Josy Monga, Resident Minister in the Barotse Province of Zambia.

Unrealistic Talk About Rhodesia for A Whole Week

Commonwealth Conference No Nearer Agreement; Zambia's Representative "Disgusted"

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE in London had discussed Rhodesia for a full week when this issue of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA went to press, and there was then no indication that the 22 participating States were any nearer agreement on the issue.

Indeed, Mr. Kapwepwe, Zambia's Foreign Minister and chief delegate, said when he left the conference shortly before noon on Tuesday that he was "disgusted". On the previous afternoon he had announced that he would fly back to Lusaka immediately, leaving the Finance Minister, Mr. Arthur Wina, to speak for Zambia in the remaining session. His appearance next day consequently caused surprise. However, he left London airport on Tuesday evening.

On Monday morning the British Prime Minister had replied in a 50-minute speech to the criticisms to which he had listened through much of last week. Mr. Wilson enjoined strict silence about the content of his statement, which was said to make some constructive proposals and to contain "something for everybody, including Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson". That was the comment of one Prime Minister.

After making his reply Mr. Wilson adjourned the meeting, saying that he would be available to anyone who might wish to see him before the afternoon resumption in restricted session, when each head of delegation would be allowed only one adviser. After an evening reception there was another restricted session, lasting from 8.30 until nearly 11 p.m. Rhodesia also took up half of Tuesday morning, and then for the first time the conference turned to a non-Rhodesian subject, namely the world situation. In the afternoon yet another restricted session on Rhodesia considered a draft statement prepared by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Approaches to Rhodesian Prime Minister

Mr. Wilson is known to have said on Monday that he wanted one more approach to be made immediately to Mr. Ian Smith through the Governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs. A few hours later Sir Morrice James, of the Commonwealth Office, was on his way to Salisbury. A Minister, probably the new Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bowden, may fly to Salisbury in a few days for discussions with the Governor and Mr. Smith.

If the Rhodesian Government declines to discuss the proposals which are about to be made, the British Government will next month ask the United Nations to impose mandatory sanctions against the purchase of Rhodesian tobacco, asbestos, chrome, and pig iron. Mandatory sanctions against the supply of oil to Rhodesia would, it is proposed, be delayed for some time.

African delegations, still far from satisfied with this programme, tried unsuccessfully on Tuesday morning to prevent discussion of the international situation, arguing that every aspect of the Rhodesian issue, including the statement recording the views of the conference, should be completed before any other item was considered.

MR. WILSON, the British Prime Minister, spoke for 70 minutes on Tuesday afternoon of last week when the Commonwealth Conference began consideration of the Rhodesian issue.

He reviewed the actions of his Government and previous Governments; dealt in detail with the matter of sanctions; and maintained the view that the Smith régime would be undermined by sanctions, though

admitting briefly that he had been wrong when he told the conference in Lagos in January that the régime would collapse in weeks rather than months.

He suggested a joint Commonwealth effort to help Zambia cut her imports from Rhodesia, proposing a Commonwealth airlift and contributions in equipment or cash to expedite rail and road plans in and for Zambia.

H.M. Government had, he mentioned, made grants to Zambia since U.D.I. of £9m., and had now offered a further £14m. in contingency grants up to June of next year if the rebellion had not been ended by that time.

Cost to U.K. Already £100m.

Rhodesia was, he conceded, obtaining oil, and he thought that the conference might well discuss mandatory sanctions in order to stop such supplies. He did not, however, commit Britain to make any application to the United Nations in that connexion. Indeed, he is understood to have reserved the right to object to proposals of that kind from other quarters.

The Prime Minister made no reference to the use of force or to his earlier suggestion that a period of direct British rule in Rhodesia should be followed by a constitutional conference.

He disclosed that the sanctions policy had already cost the United Kingdom about £100m., of which £80m. had been in foreign currencies.

PRESIDENT OBOTE of Uganda moved an immediate adjournment in order that the delegations might have time to consider Mr. Wilson's speech.

At his invitation delegates from all the African and Caribbean countries, with representatives of India, met later at Uganda House, Trafalgar Square. One of their topics of discussion was a reference by Mr. Wilson to "unimpeded progress to majority rule in Rhodesia". The Africans agreed to insist on the establishment of majority rule before there could be any question of legal independence for Rhodesia.

It was said later that President Obote had emphasized that the Smith régime would be helped, not hindered, by resignations from the Commonwealth or by the withdrawal of delegations from the conference.

Mr. Wilson's offer to vacate the chair during the rest of the discussion on Rhodesia had been rejected without dissent by the conference on a motion proposed by President Obote, seconded by Mr. Kapwepwe of Zambia, and supported by Mr. Burnham of Guyana.

Zambia's Insistence

MR. SIMON KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister of Zambia, and leader of its delegation, spoke for 75 minutes on Wednesday morning, emphasizing the need for improvement in the six principles for a settlement with Rhodesia which had been enunciated by H.M. Government.

He asked the conference to call on the British Government to announce formally that a period of direct rule by Britain would precede the grant of independence to Rhodesia, and that independence would be conceded only to a Government with an African majority elected on a one-man-one-vote basis. A declaration in such terms is known to have been circulated to delegates.

Because sanctions had not worked Britain should send in military forces.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Zambia's Defence Minister, who followed, said that sanctions had failed because South Africa and Mozambique were open doors through which Mr. Smith obtained funds and other aid.

Britain's offer of £7m. to Zambia had since been doubled, but it had not been accepted; it had been coupled with the condition that Zambia should not break with Britain or the Commonwealth, and had therefore seemed like blackmail.

Zambia's direct expenditure in the economic war with Rhodesia had already amounted to £7m., or one-tenth of her normal budget.

On Thursday SIR ALBERT MARGAI, who spoke for 110 minutes before lunch and 10 minutes afterwards, wanted an unequivocal commitment by the British Government that there would be no independence for Rhodesia until after the establishment of majority rule. The Smith régime should, he emphasized, be brought down, but even more important than that was an assurance that majority rule should precede independence however long it might take to end the rebellion.

He wanted permanent discontinuance of "talks about talks," and severer measures to "topple" Mr. Smith, whether by force or by mandatory sanctions, whichever would be quicker and less expensive.

He asserted that Mr. Wilson had showed lack of sincerity and good faith in handling the Rhodesian question, and that New Zealand's Prime Minister had let down the African members by opposing the use of force if sanctions failed.

Sir Albert withdrew Sierra Leone's earlier threat to leave the Commonwealth, saying: "We may continue as members in body but not in spirit".

Vice-President Murumbi

VICE-PRESIDENT JOSEPH MURUMBI of Kenya said in a 20-minute speech that Kenya demanded: (1) a clear declaration by Britain that there would be no independence for Rhodesia except under African majority rule; (2) that sanctions having failed, they would be made mandatory by the United Nations; and (3) that Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the British Governor in Rhodesia, should be empowered by the Queen to appoint an interim Government containing moderate white Europeans but with an African majority.

That would cause a clash between the Smith régime and the Governor, and British troops should then be sent in to maintain the Governor's position. If Britain refused to provide leadership, she must be considered to have abdicated her authority over Rhodesia.

Mr. Murumbi suggested that Mr. Wilson should be as decisive in the present issue as Mr. Macleod had been in Kenya in 1960, when he destroyed the European front. The Rhodesian situation was different, but a similar process could be started.

BRIGADIER OGUNDIPE (Nigeria) believed that delay in asking the United Nations to impose mandatory sanctions would rock the Commonwealth. The rebellion must be put down quickly, in the final analysis by force if necessary.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS (Cyprus) favoured mandatory sanctions under the United Nations; emphasized that any special or economic relations with South Africa and Portugal should not influence any countries against that course; and demanded a more specific account of British intentions. He would not rule out the use of force. Britain should undertake to rule Rhodesia directly for a transitional period after the fall of the Smith régime.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, Prime Minister of Malaysia, stressed the importance of Commonwealth co-operation and cohesion and of practical measures against Rhodesia. If sanctions were to be increased, that should be by one step after another, preferably beginning with oil. He proposed that a Commonwealth mission should be sent to Rhodesia to make an on-the-spot report of the present situation.

MR. HOLT, the Australian Prime Minister, spoke strongly against the use of force or the imposition of mandatory sanctions. He regretted the introduction of references to race, which merely confused thought.

Fairness and practicability should be the tests, and the use of force was practicable. It would create great dissension in Britain and pass through Parliament.

MR. HOLYOAKE, Prime Minister of New Zealand, strongly supported Mr. Holt.

MR. SWARAN SINGH, India's Foreign Minister, spoke of the "staggering disproportion" between the size of the Rhodesian problem and the ineffectiveness of the 23 Commonwealth nations who were trying to deal with it. How could 200,000 whites in Rhodesia set at naught a British Government when successive British Governments had liberated some 700 million people? Assurances that force would not be used should never have been uttered, for they gave Mr. Smith a feeling of confidence.

MR. WIJEMANNE, Minister of Justice in Ceylon, wanted stricter sanctions backed by a limited amount of force and a period of direct rule to Britain.

"Bomb Rhodesia's Railways"

MR. LEE KWAN YEW, Prime Minister of Singapore, recommended Rhodesian Africans to start Vietcong-type operations and Britain to undertake precision bombing of remote sections of Rhodesia's railways.

PRESIDENT BANDA opposed military action, saying that it might easily fail, and that Malawi would give no help in such a policy. He wanted a universal franchise to be imposed on Rhodesia before her independence was recognized.

PRESIDENT OBOTE was the last of the 22 speakers. On Friday afternoon he said that other members of the Commonwealth had been greatly embarrassed and disappointed by Mr. Wilson and his failure to bring down the illegal régime.

Because time was Mr. Smith's greatest friend and the Commonwealth's greatest enemy, action against the régime was urgent. It was impossible to believe that Britain was so weak that she could not finish the job she had begun.

There must be an end to "talks about talks", for it was unreasonable to discuss constitutional matters with an illegal régime. Moreover, the discussions vitiated Britain's six principles, which in any event needed more explicit definition. There could be no recognition of independence until after the establishment of majority rule.

Because complete sanctions might upset Britain's economy, mandatory sanctions should be selective and collective, starting with a complete ban on the supply of oil to Rhodesia and complete prohibition of purchase of a few items of Rhodesian export.

Though Mr. Wilson had learnt a great deal, he was still insufficiently explicit, and his reply on Monday would be examined with extreme care by a caucus formed by African, Caribbean, and some other delegates, among them President Banda. Mr. Wilson might drive some people out of the Commonwealth, which certainly ought not to be broken up because of the actions of about 200,000 misguided whites in Rhodesia. Meantime the door should be kept open for the use of force.

At the week-end all but three of the leaders of the delegations dined at Chequers with the Prime Minister. Mr. and Mrs. Murumbi were among the guests on Saturday and President Obote on Sunday. Before the invitations were issued Mr. Kapwepwe had told journalists that he would not accept. Dr. Banda also declined.

At the conference table Mr. Kapwepwe has been seated on the left of the Prime Minister, and next to him is President Obote. Representatives of Kenya and Malawi are at opposite ends of the other side of the table.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Not Worried by Conference

Millions in Britain See Television Film from Rhodesia

MR. IAN SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, is "not worried" by the Commonwealth Conference. That was made clear in an Independent Television programme last Thursday in an interview with Mr. Llew Gardiner which had been recorded in Rhodesia for Rediffusion.

Delegates to the Commonwealth Conference might, Mr. Smith said, talk to their hearts' content, for that was all that they could do. "We are not worried; we have listened to this sort of talk for a long time".

Asked if that meant that he did not much mind what the conference decided, the Prime Minister replied "Putting the thing bluntly, that's a fair assessment". He cared about responsible world opinion; and Rhodesia had nothing to fear from those at the Commonwealth Conference who held responsible opinions. "As for the irresponsible element, why should we worry about them, considering conditions in their countries and how poorly they shape in comparison with conditions in this country".

"Things Better than We Anticipated"

When asked if he was surprised at Rhodesia's survival 11 months after U.D.I., Mr. Smith replied: "No; we knew that we should survive. Things have gone better than we anticipated. We were surprised at the blockade of Beira and at Britain's reference to the United Nations, because Britain was on record as saying that she would not do those things".

As to sanctions, Mr. Wilson had misjudged the position. Rhodesia had sold more of this year's tobacco crop than had been expected, and sales were continuing.

Would Rhodesia make concessions?

"I have said all along that there is a middle course and that we can solve this problem".

No, there could be no indication of the timing for majority rule. Some Africans and some other people insisted that Africans should have had control of the country yesterday; but even Mr. Wilson had said that the timing must be measured by African achievement.

"You cannot put a time to that, and then do something irresponsible later irrespective of the readiness of the people concerned. We are educating the Africans. Our facilities for African education are better than those in any country to the north of us. We are conscious of the need to educate people. You talk about cheap labour. We want to turn them from liabilities into assets. If it is cheap labour it is inefficient, and it is often said that, judged by output, European labour would be cheaper".

Mr. Gardiner said: "In the last war you yourself fought against censorship, preventive detention, and arrest in the night. Yet is that not happening now in Rhodesia?"

Britain Suffering More than Rhodesia

Mr. Smith: "But we are fighting a war here. People in London have not to take account, as we have, of the occasional throwing of hand-grenades. We hope to get away from that sort of thing. You don't win a war by being soft. We are trying to draw the line against the march of Communism down Africa".

The interviewer inquired if Mr. Smith cared that all countries in the Commonwealth and the United States agreed that means must be taken to end Rhodesian independence.

Mr. Smith: "If they were to hear the other side of the case they might change their mind. Until they have done that I don't think that we should worry very much".

Of course he looked forward to a settlement with Britain, which had exaggerated the issue out of all reason. But that was not to Britain's own advantage; she was suffering more from sanctions than Rhodesia. That was a circumstance which gave him no satisfaction.

Earlier in the programme there had been random interviews with a number of Rhodesians, whose names were not given.

One, described as the owner of the largest garage in Salisbury, said emphatically that he was selling as many new cars today as ever in the past, but that his petrol sales had dropped about one-third because people, including himself, had cut out unnecessary motoring. Several others insisted that they

could get all the petrol they required but had reduced motoring merely for pleasure.

The consensus was that sanctions were no more than an inconvenience; that they had inflicted no hardship; that things were much better than anyone had expected; and that nothing would bring down the Government.

All who were asked their opinion of Mr. Wilson spoke disparagingly of him. One person described him as pig-headed, and another as having behaved "absolutely disgustingly".

Confidence of Rhodesians

Two Groups in the Commonwealth

CONFIDENCE in themselves and their country is the mainspring which has made Rhodesia what it is and enables her to face present difficulties effectively. Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, said on Friday when he opened the Royal Salisbury Show.

There was laughter when he referred to rumours of a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which was discussing Rhodesia.

"They are sitting in judgment on us in our absence. This of course is a complete contradiction of all the niceties of law that we have been brought up to believe in; that we have inherited from the Mother Country and the Mother of Parliaments. They seem to have very little compunction in riding roughshod over their own principles whenever it suits them to do so.

"The Commonwealth is split into two sections, sections so far apart that one can hardly recognize them as being part of the same world, let alone the same family of nations.

"The first group consists of more recently independent nations, more primitive, more lacking in civilization and maturity. They would have us and others settle our affairs as they have settled their own problems—by resort to force, and, if need be, by murdering thousands of decent, innocent people. But all that does not settle their problems; the problems continue and are in many ways magnified.

"A number of Prime Ministers are not attending the London conference. One of the reasons keeping some of them back home is the fear that if they go away they may no longer occupy the same position when they get back.

Appeasement of Irresponsibility

"We are familiar with this sort of problem. Most of us have lived our lifetime with it. We know how to control it—that by careful management and good handling you can often develop conditions so there is an improvement in the standards of civilization and behaviour. We can give a lesson to those people who are now so busy opening their mouths advising the world on how to settle our problems.

"The second group consists of the older, maturer, civilized men. Why do they resort to appeasement of irresponsibility? Why do they fail to condemn actions and words which are the very antithesis of their own beliefs and their own practice in their own countries? It makes me wonder if they are resorting to a system which was brought into education some years ago, the so-called 'free' system, under which the children were allowed to do what they wanted.

"It is all very well for people thousands of miles away from a problem to sit by and do nothing. We cannot, because we live right in the middle of the problem—and understand it far better than those who are far removed from it.

"We have made up our mind to govern, and govern effectively, in the interests of all the people of Rhodesia. We have no intention of backing down, side-stepping the problem, and appeasing—because we have to live here.

"Because of that we have had to pass legislation, for example, which will enable us to bring back preventive detention. Why do the British people attack us for this? After all, it is the vogue in most countries of Africa, and in any other countries. We are certainly doing nothing revolutionary. We are merely getting into line with the rest of Africa—and bringing back something which our predecessors in Government in this country instituted in 1959. Then it was accepted and considered the right thing to do.

(Continued on page 43)

PERSONALIA

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has been made a freeman of Chingola.

MR. P. W. MATOKA, Minister of Health in Zambia, has spent a short holiday in the Congo.

PRESIDENT NASSER is to pay a State visit to Tanzania from September 22. He will visit Zanzibar.

MR. GEORGE WOODS, president of the World Bank, arrived in Ethiopia last week.

MR. P. S. CHAPMAN has been appointed chief passenger manager for the Union-Castle Line.

MR. J. S. ELLIS has been appointed head of the news department of the Commonwealth Office.

MR. ISAAC MUPANSHYA, lately High Commissioner in Nigeria, is to be Zambia's Ambassador in Western Germany.

MR. GODFREY ONYULO has been appointed deputy secretary-general of the Central Organization of Trade Unions in Kenya.

MR. R. C. BLAND, the Rhodesian cricketer, played for the Rest of the World against an England XI at Lords on Saturday.

MR. WILLIAM NEG, secretary-general of the Federation of Ugandan Trade Unions and Mayor of Kampala, is visiting Yugoslavia.

MR. CLEMENT MENGESEN, of Tanzania, has visited Peking at the invitation of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA is to pay State visits to Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and the United Arab Republic between October 7 and 20.

THE EARL and COUNTESS OF INCHEAPE will be away from London for about a month on visits to India and other parts of the Far East.

MR. F. L. OKWAARE, Commissioner of Prisons in Uganda, has left to attend criminological and penological congresses in the U.S.A. and U.K.

MR. STANLEY J. GOREHAM has been appointed the first city treasurer of Kitwe, in succession to MR. N. C. RICHMOND, whose title was town treasurer.

POLICE SERGEANT KIPCHOGE, of Kenya, won the Morley mile race in the Welsh Games at Cardiff on Saturday in 3 min. 57.6 sec. The world record for the distance is 3 min. 51.3 secs.

MR. AMIR JAMAL, Finance Minister of Tanzania, has arrived in London on his way to attend the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting in Montreal and the annual meeting of the International Fund in Washington.

CANON FRED McDONALD, an American, has been appointed "provincial officer" to the Anglican Diocese of Central Africa. Another American, the REV. BEAUMONT STEVENSON, is to be the first youth organizer of the diocese, and a third, the REV. WADE WREN, has been appointed chaplain at St. Mark's College, Mpanza.

MR. G. R. ONABA, lately Assistant Commissioner for Agriculture in Uganda, has been appointed general manager of the Uganda Tea Growers' Corporation. After graduating B.Sc. (Agric.) from Durban University he did a year's post-graduate work at Cambridge before spending another year at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad.

Obituary

COLONEL FRANCIS A. A. BLAKE, O.B.E., R.A. (Retd.), of Ruwa, Rhodesia, has died in Salisbury.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR HARRY OSBORNE MANCE, K.B.E., C.B., who has died in London, aged 90, reported on the co-ordination of transport in East Africa in 1936.

MR. CHANG-TOU, who has died in Seychelles, aged 109, was the oldest resident of the Colony, in which he had settled as a young man. He came from Canton, and had been both a general trader and a planter.

MR. GERALD LINDSAY HUNTING, J.P., who has died at his home in West Byfleet, Surrey, aged 75, was a director and former chairman of the Hunting group, which has done much work in Central Africa in recent years.

MR. MAURICE HALL, whose death in South Africa at the age of 82 is reported, had lived in Seychelles for many years, owning the Amitie property on Praslin island. Only a few months ago he left with his family to settle in South Africa.

THE DUCHESS OF MANCHESTER, who has died in California, was the Australian wife of the 10th Duke, who has estates in Kenya, and has lived in that country for some years. She was the mother of Viscount Mandeville, also of Kenya, and of Lord Angus Montagu.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS NEWBOLT, C.M.G., who has died at the age of 73 in Chiddingfold, Surrey, was Director of Recruitment for the Colonial Service from 1948 to 1954. Earlier in his career at the Colonial Office he had been assistant private secretary to Lord Milner, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. Leopold Amery, and Lord Passfield.

MARGOT LADY DAVSON, O.B.E., who died last week while in Rome on holiday, was the widow of Sir Edward Davson, Bt. and the elder daughter of Elinor Glyn, the novelist. Their elder son, who inherited the baronetcy, changed his name to Glyn. For her services at the War Office in the 1914-18 war Lady Davson was made O.B.E. In the second war she presided over a committee dealing with the interests of some 9,000 men and women volunteers from the West Indies. She had been one of the founders of the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women and a member of the council of the Royal Commonwealth Society, for which she had long been a keen worker.

Le TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



FIRST AND FOREMOST
IN RUBBER TYRED
EARTH-MOVING
EQUIPMENT



WIGGLESWORTH

& CO. (AFRICA), LIMITED

DAR ES SALAAM TANGA NAIROBI NOMBASA KAMPALA

London Associates

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

Prime Minister's Confidence

(Continued from page 41)

"The British Government have mounted an economic war of sanctions against us, sometimes gaining the support of other countries in dubious manner. Still worse, they have mounted an evil propaganda war against us, first from Zambia and then from Bechuanaland. We have proofs that they have been leading this diabolical attempt to instigate trouble, to stir one section of Rhodesians against their fellow Rhodesians. Yet they expect us to sit back, hold our tongues, and do nothing.

"There is a rumour—I am full of rumours this afternoon—that the British delegates who were here the other day departed because of the introduction of this legislation. It would have been better if they had faced the problem, not run away from it.

"Why are the British complaining? I understood that they had dismissed me and my Government from office, and that in their eyes we no longer existed. If we no longer exist, why do they take exception to what we do? By taking exception they have in fact recognized us.

"A hundred times since November 11 they have recognized us—by running to the United Nations to ask for the oil embargo, by discussing the Rhodesian Government and what we are doing. They recognize us by discussing us at the present conference. Recognition is on its way.

"The High Court in Salisbury has this morning given a decision that the present Government of Rhodesia is in complete and effective control of the country and is the *de facto* Government. That is very good news and an important milestone on our road. It is gratifying to have this decision from the courts in this country, which are renowned for their standards and their impartiality.

"We shall press on on the road on which we started on November 11. We have no intention of bowing to the winds of appeasement that come from so many corners of the world. We are going to maintain our standards and the way of life that we have built up over the years.

"Britain and the rest of the world will learn that the more they attack us, the more we shall attack them. The more they attack us as a nation of Rhodesians, the more defiant we become. This is something that we inherited from our forefathers. This has now disappeared from the shores of the lands of our forefathers, but it has entrenched itself and matured and grown stronger in Rhodesia.

"I am often asked how Rhodesia can maintain its momentum in the economic war of attrition being waged against us by Britain. Because of the determination of the people, the ordinary people of Rhodesia, and our diversified, well-balanced, and highly efficient economy.

"International organizations and banks which have surveyed our economy have invariably commented most favourably on its remarkable strength. This great strength stems from the faith that Rhodesians have in themselves and their country and from the dedicated services that they are prepared to give towards overcoming any difficulties with which we are faced.

"In times like these one's mind goes back to the pioneers of Rhodesia. Following their tradition and their dogged determination and courage has taught our people the most remarkable successes. This is the great hidden mainspring which has made Rhodesia what it is and is enabling us to combat very effectively the present difficulties with which we are faced."

Mr. Wrathall Now Deputy P.M.

MR. JOHN WRATHALL, Minister of Finance, has been nominated Deputy Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Mr. Smith had had no deputy since Mr. Clifford Dupont surrendered the appointment on becoming Officer Administering the Government.

A section of the Rhodesian Front had for some time pressed the claims of Mr. W. J. Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs. That the choice should have fallen on Mr. Wrathall will be generally regarded as a gain for the party moderates. Mr. Smith is understood to have wanted Mr. Wrathall as his chief lieutenant. A chartered accountant by profession, his recent budget and handling of financial affairs since U.D.I. have inspired widespread confidence. He has been a non-controversial member of the Government.

When asked in Parliament on the day of the announcement of Mr. Wrathall's appointment when talks between Rhodesian and British officials would be resumed, Mr. Smith replied: "You must ask the people responsible for breaking off the talks. We had no part in that."

Rhodesia's de facto Government

Ruling of Two High Court Judges

THE DOCTRINE OF STATE NECESSITY was invoked by two High Court judges in Rhodesia on Friday when they ruled that the Smith régime is illegal but the only effective Government of Rhodesia.

Mr. Justice Lewis and Mr. Justice Goldin gave separate but concurring judgments in appeals made some months ago by Mr. Leo Baron and Mr. D. Madzimbambano against detention orders on the ground that the Smith Government had no legal right to issue the orders. The appeals were dismissed.

The conclusions of the court were thus stated:—

"The 1965 Constitution of this country and the Government of this country set up under it are not the lawful Government. It will not become the lawful Government unless and until the ties of Sovereignty (with Britain) are severed either by express consent or by acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government in abandoning the attempt to end the revolution.

"The Government is, however, the only effective Government of the country, and therefore on the basis of necessity, and in order to avoid chaos and a vacuum in the law, this court should give effect to such measures of the effective Government, both legislative and administrative, as could lawfully have been taken by the lawful Government under the 1961 Constitution for the preservation of peace and good government and the maintenance of law and order."

Need to Uphold the Laws

The court ruled that the emergency regulations under which the two plaintiffs had applied were measures falling within the category they mentioned as being introduced by the Smith régime for the maintenance of law and order.

It held that "neither in their purpose nor in their mode of enforcement in the present cases have they been shown to be hostile to the authority of the Sovereign Power, or to have impaired the just rights of citizens under the 1961 Constitution, or to have been taken with actual intent to further the revolution."

Admitting that this was a unique situation, the court invoked the "doctrine of State necessity", and said that in cases of emergency, such as a sudden widespread outbreak of cholera or smallpox or invasion by African nationalists, "the court could not sit back and refuse to recognize such law."

Since U.D.I. only the Smith Government—not Britain—had issued administrative orders or made laws that were capable of being enforced. Affidavits from the police and military had been submitted during the case.

"The reality of the situation is that no one would be arrested in this country for disobedience of a British law relating to this country and passed since November 11, 1965."

Mr. Bottomley's Certificate "Irrelevant"

Emphasizing the need to uphold the laws of Rhodesia, Mr. Justice Lewis said about the activities of terrorists: "This court has dealt with cases recently under the existing criminal law involving infiltration of small gangs of such people; armed with Chinese and Russian machine-guns, grenades and other weapons, who admittedly received military and special sabotage training in Communist countries and who were admittedly instructed to commit acts of violence and terrorism in this country. It would be manifestly absurd if the judges of this court were obliged to sit back and refuse to recognize laws or administrative actions of the present Government designed to deal with the crises to which I have referred as imperative measures for the safety of the State when the situation is that there is no other Parliament or Executive which can effectively pass these necessary laws or perform those necessary actions. I am satisfied that that cannot be the law."

During the proceedings a certificate from then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Bottomley, was handed to the court by the detainee's counsel. This certificate was to the effect that the British Government did not recognize Rhodesia as a State either *de jure* or *de facto*. The relevant part of the certificate was neither binding on it nor relevant to the issues before it; the certificate merely told the court what it already knew, that the British Government did not recognize the Rhodesian Government.

The court was in a better position to decide whether the present Rhodesian Government was the *de facto* Government. It would be ludicrous if the court were obliged to take judicial notice of what the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations 6,000 miles away said as conclusive, if in reality it was the exact opposite of what the court itself noticed to be the true factual position.

Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated in South African Parliament

Jubilation At the Murder Shown by Some Africans

THE ASSASSINATION in Parliament in Cape Town last week of Dr. Verwoerd, for eight years Prime Minister of South Africa, caused some white and black publicists in various countries to express in broadcast and newspaper statements jubilation at the crime, which had been committed by a white man born in Mozambique who was recently appointed a temporary Parliamentary messenger. As the day's session was about to start he struck down the Prime Minister, stabbing him thrice in the neck and chest.

In Rhodesia the Prime Minister called for the adjournment of the House as a mark of respect, and Mr. Josiah Gondo, the African Leader of the Opposition, said: "We on this side of the House are also deeply shocked. When these things happen differences are sunk right down. We feel deeply sorry".

Mr. Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government, telegraphed to the President of South Africa that Dr. Verwoerd's "brilliant career has been brought to an untimely end, and the loss of this great man will be felt far beyond the borders of your country".

Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, told the President that he had read the news with "profoundest shock". He sent his deepest sympathy to the peoples of South Africa and to Mrs. Verwoerd and her family.

Deep Sincerity

Mr. Ian Smith said next day when proposing a formal motion of condolence in Parliament that Rhodesia would never forget Dr. Verwoerd, a great and distinguished son of South Africa, whose passing left the world poorer. He continued:—

"His deep sincerity in everything he undertook, his gentleness and kindness towards all people, his championing of civilized and Christian ideals, and his wise counsels in times of peace and adversity will be greatly missed.

"He worked unceasingly for the advancement of all peoples and races of his country towards nationhood. It is undoubtedly due to his statesmanship that South Africa is the prosperous nation that she is today.

"Even those who opposed him and his political philosophies were ready to concede his great sincerity, his kindness, and courteousness, and the tremendous depth of his thinking. He had, as we all know, a great passion and regard for the observance of the strictest legality in the dealings of South Africa with all the countries in the world, a code of behaviour which we see all too seldom these days".

As the Prime Minister ended his tribute the whole House rose.

The motion was passed unanimously after Mr. Percy Nkudu, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, had paid tribute to the late leader.

Laughter in Zambian Parliament

In the Parliament of Zambia several Members laughed when Dr. Verwoerd's death was announced.

In the Indian Parliament a motion for a minute's silence, proposed by an Independent Member, was rejected.

One London paper reported that a Minister in the Kenya Government had expressed the hope that the attempted assassination would succeed, and that Africans had danced in the streets in Uganda and Nigeria.

President Obote of Uganda expressed regret and the view that political problems should ideally be solved by persuasion; but he continued: "However, the policies and attitudes of successive South African régimes have left those who believe in a free society no alternative but to use such regrettable methods".

Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, said that the news was sad: "but naturally, if you run régimes like that, this is part of the risk of running them".

Mr. G. Mennen Williams, lately Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the United States, commented that the assassination illustrated the insecurity of South Africa so long as it practised *apartheid*.

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation group, described Dr. Verwoerd as a very great man, whose ability, courage, integrity, and love of country were not to be doubted.

Sir Robert Menzies, lately Prime Minister of Australia, condemned the murder as one of the most shocking in history, and added that his disagreement with the *apartheid* policy did not obscure his personal admiration for Dr. Verwoerd's intellect, courage, courtesy, and character.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, telegraphed to the Acting Prime Minister of South Africa: "I was shocked to hear the news of the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. Please accept condolences on behalf of the members of the British Government and myself and convey our sympathy to Dr. Verwoerd's family".

Mr. Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, while deploring the crime, suggested that it should be a warning to others who hoped to establish autocratic régimes in Africa.

Dr. Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, paid tribute to the personal integrity, moral courage, and patriotic devotion of Dr. Verwoerd.

In Moscow the assassination was given merely one short paragraph in *Pravda*.

Outrageous Broadcasts

E.B.C. Television broadcast an interview with an African outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, who said that the assassination had made that day the happiest in his life.

Next day *The Times* was the only London paper to publish the following statement by Mr. Paul Williams, chairman of the Monday Club, and Mr. Harold Soref, chairman of its Africa Group:—

"The B.B.C. excelled itself in bad taste by showing in its news an anonymous African saying that the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd was the 'happiest day in his life, and he only wished he had committed the murder himself".

"Murder is a wicked deed, and political assassination of a defenceless man dastardly. Publicly to rejoice at the killing of someone with whom one disagrees is the mark of a barbarian.

"It is outrageous that the B.B.C. should publicize such uncivilized instincts by filmed, and not live, interview. This can only be regarded as a deliberate act of policy countenancing murder and condoning the breakdown of law and order".

The Voice of Kenya, the Government-controlled Nairobi station, broadcast a commentary which said, *inter alia*:—

"The assassination of Verwoerd must have the support of all who believe in liberty and democracy.

"We do not approve of violence to remove Governments, but when the very basis for a régime is the inhuman Fascism of *apartheid*, counter-force becomes necessary. Who would say that the war against Nazism was not justified? Who would deny that *apartheid* is akin to Fascism and Nazism? The very fact that the assassination took place in the very Chamber of Parliament is a symbolic and heartening act from which millions suffering under *apartheid* will draw hope.

"If certain Western leaders are too much in the grip of their financial barons to welcome the killing, they could at least have kept discreetly silent. Instead they have criticized the assassination and gone so far as to send condolences. This was one more disappointment from the pusillanimous British Prime Minister Wilson, who has already betrayed the principle that his country stood for over the Rhodesian issue".

Radio Mogadishu broadcast editorial comment from the local *Corriere della Somalia*, which wrote that the assassination should "bring joy to the people of Africa," and was a lesson which Mr. Smith and his supporters should learn.

Omdurman Radio broadcast an Arabic statement from the Sudan Foreign Ministry, saying:—

"Although the Sudan does not believe that assassinations are solutions to political issues, it believes that Verwoerd's dictatorship and the abominable policy of racial discrimination make him deserve his end".

The African Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Union issued in Dar es Salaam a statement from its executive secretary, Mr. George Magombe, which described Dr. Verwoerd's death as timely and encouraging. He also said:—

"Mend your ways, Salazar. Think again, Smith. With the embodiment of all the evils of racial hatred, Verwoerd had perfected methods of torture unknown anywhere in history and devised methods of despising international organizations and world opinion. The death will encourage delegates at the Commonwealth Conference in London and the forthcoming General Assembly meeting in New York to continue their justified activity for the restoration of the human dignity which Verwoerd vainly attempted to halt".

Dr. Verwoerd's Career

At School in Rhodesia

DR. HENDRIK VERWOERD, who was 64 at the time of his death, was born in Holland and taken as a young child to the Orange Free State, whence his father, a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, went to Southern Rhodesia. The son was educated at Milton Boys' High School in Bulawayo, from which he won a scholarship at the University of Stellenbosch in the Cape Province. He read psychology, and after graduating lectured on that subject. Having later studied at the universities of Hamburg, Leipzig, and Berlin and taken several degrees, he was appointed the first Professor of Applied Psychology at Stellenbosch.

He there interested himself for the first time in active politics, and joined the Nationalist Party and the Broederbond, the secret and highly influential Afrikaner society of intellectuals dedicated to the achievement of independence for South Africa as a republic. In 1937 he became editor-in-chief of *Die Transvaaler* and showed himself to be extremely anti-British. From before the outbreak of Hitler's war in 1939 he was convinced that the United Kingdom would collapse under the Nazi onslaught. In an action for libel which he later brought unsuccessfully against the *Johannesburg Star* he was told by Mr. Justice Millin that he had allowed his paper "to be made a tool of the Nazis in South Africa and knew it". The Royal visit to South Africa in 1947 received no mention in his paper apart from a reference to traffic congestion owing to the presence of "some visitors from overseas".

Editor, Senator, and then Prime Minister

He failed to secure election to Parliament in the general election of 1948, but was appointed to the Senate. By working out the theory of *apartheid* he won increasing influence in Nationalist circles. Nobody doubted that he sincerely believed in the Bantustan doctrine. When Mr. Strydom died in 1958 he became Prime Minister.

Because of opposition to its policy by other Commonwealth States he announced during a Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London in 1961 that South Africa would quit the Commonwealth. That done, he greatly strengthened the defence and police forces, banned the two leading African African political movements, and by firm government

gained increasing support from the white community, both British and Dutch.

He followed with sympathy the struggles of white political leaders in the Central African Federation and in Rhodesia with British Ministers. Though he hoped that Rhodesia would be able to avoid a unilateral declaration of independence—as, indeed, did Mr. Ian Smith—when the Rhodesian leaders felt that they had no alternative to the assumption of independence Dr. Verwoerd sympathized with their decision; and though anxious not to draw upon himself the unrestrained enmity of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the United Nations by giving open official support to his northern neighbour, he repeatedly declared that there would be no interference with normal trade and that South Africa would not participate in any boycott of Rhodesia.

When ships of the Royal Navy blockaded the port of Beira in order to prevent the delivery of crude oil for pumping to the Rhodesian refinery just over the border with Mozambique, South Africans immediately made arrangements to supply Rhodesia with her oil and other requirements and to extend the pro-Rhodesia movements which had already started with Dr. Verwoerd's private blessing.

It was likewise in his private capacity that Mr. Smith flew to Pretoria to attend the funeral.

Mr. Dupont, Officer Administering the Government of Rhodesia, was present at the memorial service in Salisbury.

The Anglo-Rhodesian Society was represented at a memorial service held at the Dutch Reformed Church in London by Mr. John Robinson and Mr. T. P. Lawler.

Tributes

Dr. T. Dönges, the senior Cabinet Minister in South Africa, said in a broadcast from Johannesburg:—

"A cedar of Lebanon has fallen. The man who safely steered our ship of State is no more. But seldom has it been accorded to a leader to see in his lifetime so many of his and our dreams fulfilled.

"His eight years as Prime Minister were years of phenomenal growth, of sparkling activity, which, under the guidance of the Almighty, could be traced back to the amazing capacity for work, the sincerity of mind, and the indomitable will-power of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd. He lived and worked in South Africa's service, and he died in harness and on the very scene of his greatest achievements. His exceptional gifts of body, soul, and mind he made available in full measure in his devotion to his country. He was an inspiration to all who worked with him.

"His task is done, well done, and South Africa mourns one of her greatest sons. We resign ourselves to what has happened, however inscrutable the ways of the Almighty may appear to us, knowing that it was His will. We thank God that He gave such a man to South Africa. May the Great Comforter be especially close to Mrs. Betsie Verwoerd and all her family in these sad days and later when their loss will be felt even more".

Mr. René MacColl wrote in the *Daily Express*:—

"Dr. Verwoerd almost never stopped smiling. He was not the glum and brooding dictator that many thought him to be.

"The only time I saw the smile vanish and a look of real anger suffuse his countenance was when he sat in the South African Parliament in 1960 while British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stood at his side and propounded his 'wind of change' speech. He looked utterly outraged and utterly resentful.

"The great secret of Verwoerd was complete belief in self and the righteousness of one's cause. There was no faltering, no room for self-doubt.

"Whatever may be thought about the policy of *apartheid* which he pursued and extended indefatigably, Verwoerd was a man of stature. He had the leader's touch and the power to engender the loyalty of the mass.

"Separation does not mean oppression," he would say; and he told me two years ago in Pretoria: "Once realism becomes the keynote of Western policy, South Africa should become the stabilizing force in Africa as the anchor of white civilization, Christianity, and industrial prosperity".

African M.P.s. Support the Smith Government

SEVERAL RHODESIAN AFRICAN M.P.'s have supported the Government in recent speeches in Parliament.

Mr. Chad Chipunza, then Leader of the Opposition, but removed by his colleagues from that office a few days later, said that the British Government had no conception of the resilience of the Rhodesian economy, and that the talks between British and Rhodesian officials had been mere shadow-boxing. He suggested consideration of a Constitution under which the Rhodesian Cabinet would not necessarily be restricted to Members of Parliament.

Mr. J. Behane, United People's Party member for Matabeleland North, congratulated the Government on its actions for the maintenance of law and order, and expressed the opinion that strictness was necessary.

Thuggery Suppressed

Mr. P. H. Mkudu (Manicaland) described the duty of the African M.P.s as that of defending "the innocent victims of thuggery, petrol bombing and stone throwing", adding: "Most of us on this side of the House have suffered petrol bombing and stone throwing".

Mr. B. Govan, Independent M.P. for Magondi, said that when the Rhodesian Front became the Government it took immediate control and that Africans were very grateful to them for that action.

"Many unemployed African youths had been coaxed into committing crimes, being paid a few bob by some of those whom we commonly call nationalists". Some promising youths were sent overseas under the pretext of scholarships for academic education at universities overseas. These students were eventually taken to Ghana or Dar es Salaam and from there on to the training camps. When these youths came back they started to carry out their tasks under the direction of these people. Their parents came to realize that under the name of nationalism these youths have sacrificed to a very large measure something that they could not afford.

"We are very grateful for the position today, in that we have law and order. We are very grateful that the high tension which existed has disappeared.

"I travel extensively in my district, and I find that whilst there is a tendency to shake off nationalism there is nothing to take its place. When I asked individuals whether they thought very highly of our Prime Minister and our Ministers, they said: 'We do not know them; we have not seen them; we have not spoken to them; they have not talked to us'. Our Ministers might have spoken to a handful of them, but not to a great many. There is something gravely needed to win back the understanding of these loyal, decent, peace-loving people.

"Although I support the motion—as I have also supported the state of emergency previously, based upon the circumstances under which we live and face—I suggest that a concerted effort be made to win back the hearts of those most hospitable and generous people. We have terrorists amongst us—some of them in hiding, and others may still be coming—but if we can win back the local inhabitants surely we will be able to make very great progress in our human relationships.

"I have asked my electorate what they thought of the 15 electoral district seats in this House. They thought very little of them. We [African members] have not made any impression upon them, and therefore the only alternative they have is to look to Government or to the nationalists. Unless we act wisely now, while the time is in our favour, unless we win back the minds and hearts of these people, we shall have lost a golden opportunity which I fear will never occur again".

Witnesses Intimidated

Mr. D. W. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Law and Order, said that 155 Africans had been released from restriction since July 1 last year, and that cases were tried in court whenever possible. Unfortunately witnesses were intimidated.

"The best example is the case of the Rev. N. Sithole, who was charged in Umtali with 11 counts of subversive activities around the country. Evidence was taken from witnesses on affidavit, but immediately they appeared in court and saw the accused in the box they became intimidated and refused to give evidence.

"In such cases, when there cannot be a conviction because individuals refuse to give evidence, I should be criminally negligent if I allowed an individual to go free to perpetrate further subversion, probably causing the death of some innocent individual. When the security of the country is concerned, the evidence, although it may not be brought to court, must be brought to me. If I feel there is a danger of any individual being harmed or a chance of a life being lost I must put that individual out of circulation for the protection of law-abiding people.

"Whenever possible I insist that cases come before the courts for trial. On many occasions I have refused an application for a restriction as I felt the evidence was not sufficient for me to make an order. I have insisted on corroborated evidence before an order is signed.

"One hon. Member suggested that the number in restriction is a sign of the discontent of the masses. Fewer than one in 10,000 of the indigenous inhabitants are in restriction. That scarcely indicates dissatisfaction.

"Subversion is created from the Communist bloc for the purpose of one-world government. The whole object is the infiltration of subversion through Africa. That there is peace and tranquility in Rhodesia worries them, because they thrive only on chaos".

Sabotage in Lusaka

ABOUT 100,000 GALLONS of diesel oil were destroyed on Sunday by an explosion in an oil storage tank at Lusaka, the capital of Zambia.

It was the fifth explosion since November. In December a power pylon was expertly blown up in the Copperbelt. In April one person was killed by a booby-trap attached to a photo-copying machine ordered by the Zimbabwe African National Union. In August serious damage was done by a bomb in the main post-office of Lusaka, and later an attempt was made to destroy petrol stored in drums near the airport. In no case have those responsible for the incidents been identified by the police.

Zambia's oil supplies are reported to be lower than at any time since rationing was introduced at the end of last year. Zambia is to withdraw from the Standards Association of Central Africa, based in Rhodesia, and set up a Zambian Standards Association.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry has said that action will be taken to stamp out price rings. More beef is to be supplied to Zambia from Tanzania.

Names you have
learned to trust

Gloria TOUR

Atlas ROLLER MEAL

Rhomil STOCKFEEDS

Spearhead of Fifth Column

Conduct of Deported Lecturers

MR. HAROLD SORES, Chairman of the African Group of the Monday Club, has written in the *Guardian*—

"Professor Clyde Mitchell and Mr. Ronald V. Sampson seek to suspend support for the University College in Rhodesia until circumstances once more exist in which students and lecturers are free to protest without fear of restriction or imprisonment against acts and policies which they feel to be wrong". Dr. C. R. Whittaker, one of the lecturers recently deported, maintained in your columns that he is frequently asked "What did you do? There must have been some reason for your arrest?" He can provide no reason—but according to Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of the University College, some of the lecturers deported had been engaged in subversive activities and expected what was coming to them.

"Dr. Whittaker was less reticent when recently addressing the Hackney Young Liberals. According to *Liberal News* (August 19) he 'called for force to be used, saying that the 'no arms' argument was a myth, and demanded a period of direct rule from Whitehall".

"No country threatened with invasion could afford to allow its university to be the spearhead of a fifth column. A number of Africans have been found guilty in the Rhodesian High Court of sabotage, having been trained and equipped as spies and saboteurs in Russia, North Korea, Egypt, and China. The training scheme was organized by the Lusaka-based officials of Rhodesian African nationalist parties.

"Would any country provide facilities, under the guise of 'academic freedom' for the supporters of armed invasion when their country is in a state of siege. Fellows of colleges in Britain were not exempt from Defence Regulation 18 B during the war.

"Academic persons surely cannot claim a privilege of engaging in political activities which have nothing to do with their academic pursuits. Could your correspondents seriously maintain that if the Rhodesia they desire came about there would be as much freedom, academic or otherwise, as prevails? Nowhere in Black Africa would a student wanted by the police for subversive activities be able to hide in the campus successfully with the connivance of the university authorities, as recently happened in Salisbury. Nor would an expatriate lecturer in Black Africa who was critical of African nationalism or indicated the benefits of colonial rule be tolerated".

Strong Support for Rhodesia

SIR DAVID LINDSAY KEIR has emphasized in a letter to *The Times* that the principle of academic freedom has always been firmly held in the University College of Rhodesia. He continued:—

"More important, it has always been scrupulously respected by the Governments concerned, both federal and territorial. Their record is clear even of the episodic infringements attempted elsewhere by the Governments of emergent States lately freed from British control. In this respect there is no evidence that the present administration has departed from the practice of its lawfully constituted predecessors. The question of its own legality is therefore unimportant.

"What privilege does the freedom of a college as such confer on its staff as individuals? Between their right to its protection in fulfilling the duties they owe it by their terms of appointment and their legal duties as citizens, a wide area of speech and action is left to their own sense of responsibility. What they choose to say and do within it may or may not break the law: but is covered by no freedom special to themselves. They become different from other men only if their college, by endorsing their actions, makes these its own.

"Nowhere has this sense of responsibility imposed so delicate a task as in the College at Salisbury. A federal institution for men and women of all races and from all three territories, and partly excluded from Southern Rhodesian law, it yet stood on Southern Rhodesian soil and was bound mainly to consist during its early years of European Southern Rhodesian students.

"The staff could only hope to unite the college, which comprised many of all races to whom multi-racial education was novel and not immediately congenial, by remembering that they had not been appointed to advance African or European interests; still less declare against either. The fact that most were not Rhodesians but British expatriates ought to have made their difficult task easier.

"Almost all have seen their duty so. A constantly changing minority have chosen otherwise now as in the days of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. So the legality of the present administration is again irrelevant, even if its action be ill-judged. The minority have exercised their choice.

They are entitled to do so. But what they are defending is not academic freedom".

MR. COLM BROGAN wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. Louis Blom-Cooper, of Amnesty International, has recommended that all-British aid should be withdrawn from the University College of Salisbury and that it should be disowned by London University. He believes that cutting off higher education in Rhodesia for Rhodesian Front supporters 'would be a severe blow which might have beneficial consequences'.

"Has he stopped to consider that higher education would also be cut off from those who are not Rhodesian Front supporters? White Rhodesian students would be welcomed in South African universities, where they would be conditioned to the full rigours of apartheid. Black Rhodesians would get no higher education at all. These are the most obvious consequences of the policy Mr. Blom-Cooper urges on us. Can we really describe them as 'beneficial'?"

Rhodesia and Other African States

"He says that the Smith Government is illegal and that the college staff cannot enjoy full academic freedom. How does he compare this with the situation obtaining in Nigeria? Is the Nigerian Government 'legal'; is it likely to last? Is Nigeria itself likely to last? Salisbury College obviously enjoyed a substantial amount of freedom when a student wanted by the police was able to hide there successfully, certainly with the connivance of fellow students and almost certainly with the connivance of some of the staff.

"Our own Government's declared purpose in applying coercion to the Smith régime was to safeguard the advancement of the black African. If an extension of that policy deprives the black African of a vitally important means of advancement, has not the concept of racial equality become a bitter, an abstract thing? The destruction of the college would bring advantage to nobody except the Rhodesian white racialists. We must choose between a self-defeating legality and simple humanity.

"I hope that Mr. Blom-Cooper is speaking only for himself. Amnesty International has earned a high reputation for the impartial discharge of its proper business, which is the investigation of the administration of justice, regardless of the political cast of the group in power. Recommending the ostracism of the Salisbury College is emphatically not its business. That can be left to those who have no reputation for impartiality to lose".

About 100 students at the University College of Rhodesia, nearly all of them Africans, boycotted lectures last Thursday in protest against last month's deportation of a number of lecturers.

Mr. Nkumbula's Protest

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, president of the African National Congress of Zambia, told a large rally in Lusaka last week that one Ministry of President Kaunda's Government had spent nearly £100,000 on sending missions to Britain, America, Russia, China, and other countries, while African townships in the capital of the country were still without water supplies or electricity although the power lines cross the townships. Since independence house rents for Africans in those townships had risen from 16s. to 80s. a month, and the price of maize meal had gone up from 11s. to 30s.

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

(Established 1865)

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

RETURNING HOME?

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

YOU CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE of this and obtain a first class banking service by opening an account with the

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

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

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

Spearhead of Fifth Column

Conduct of Deported Lecturers

MR. HAROLD SORES, Chairman of the African Group of the Monday Club, has written in the *Guardian*:—

"Professor Clyde Mitchell and Mr. Ronald V. Sampson seek to suspend support for the University College in Rhodesia 'until circumstances once more exist in which students and lecturers are free to protest without fear of restriction or imprisonment against acts and policies which they feel to be wrong'. Dr. C. R. Whittaker, one of the lecturers recently deported, maintained in your columns that he is frequently asked 'What did you do? There must have been some reason for your arrest?'. He can provide no reason—but according to Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of the University College, some of the lecturers deported had been engaged in subversive activities and expected what was coming to them'.

"Dr. Whittaker was less reticent when recently addressing the Hackney Young Liberals. According to *Liberal News* (August 19) he 'called for force to be used, saying that the kith and kin argument was a myth, and demanded a period of direct rule from Whitehall'.

"No country threatened with invasion could afford to allow its university to be the spearhead of a fifth column. A number of Africans have been found guilty in the Rhodesian High Court of sabotage, having been trained and equipped as spies and saboteurs in Russia, North Korea, Egypt, and China. The training scheme was organized by the Lusaka-based officials of Rhodesian African nationalist parties.

"Would any country provide facilities, under the guise of 'academic freedom' for the supporters of armed invasion when their country is in a state of siege. Fellows of colleges in Britain were not exempt from Defence Regulation 18 B during the war.

"Academic persons surely cannot claim a privilege of engaging in political activities which have nothing to do with their academic pursuits. Could your correspondents seriously maintain that if the Rhodesia they desire came about there would be as much freedom, academic or otherwise, as prevails? Nowhere in Black Africa would a student wanted by the police for subversive activities be able to hide in the campus successfully with the connivance of the university authorities, as recently happened in Salisbury. Nor would an expatriate lecturer in Black Africa who was critical of African nationalism or indicated the benefits of colonial rule be tolerated".

Strong Support for Rhodesia

SIR DAVID LINDSAY KEIR has emphasized in a letter to *The Times* that the principle of academic freedom has always been firmly held in the University College of Rhodesia. He continued:—

"More important, it has always been scrupulously respected by the Governments concerned, both federal and territorial. Their record is clear even of the episodic infringements attempted elsewhere by the Governments of emergent States lately freed from British control. In this respect there is no evidence that the present administration has departed from the practice of its lawfully constituted predecessors. The question of its own legality is therefore unimportant.

"What privilege does the freedom of a college as such confer on its staff as individuals? Between their right to its protection in fulfilling the duties they owe it by their terms of appointment and their legal duties as citizens, a wide area of speech and action is left to their own sense of responsibility. What they choose to say and do within it may or may not break the law: but is covered by no freedom special to themselves. They become different from other men only if their college, by endorsing their actions, makes these its own.

"Nowhere has this sense of responsibility imposed so delicate a task as in the College at Salisbury. A federal institution for men and women of all races and from all three territories, and partly excluded from Southern Rhodesian law, it yet stood on Southern Rhodesian soil and was bound mainly to consist during its early years of European Southern Rhodesian students.

"The staff could only hope to unite the college, which comprised many of all races to whom multi-racial education was novel and not immediately congenial, by remembering that they had not been appointed to advance African or European interests, still less declare against either. The fact that most were not Rhodesians but British expatriates ought to have made their difficult task easier.

"Almost all have seen their duty so. A constantly changing minority have chosen otherwise now as in the days of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. So the legality of the present administration is again irrelevant, even if its action be ill-judged. The minority have exercised their choice.

They are entitled to do so. But what they are defending is not academic freedom".

MR. COLM BROGAN wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. Louis Blom-Cooper, of Amnesty International, has recommended that all British-aid should be withdrawn from the University College of Salisbury and that it should be disowned by London University. He believes that cutting off higher education in Rhodesia for Rhodesian Front supporters 'would be a severe blow which might have beneficial consequences'.

"Has he stopped to consider that higher education would also be cut off from those who are not Rhodesian Front supporters? White Rhodesian students would be welcomed in South African universities, where they would be conditioned to the full rigours of *apartheid*. Black Rhodesians would get no higher education at all. These are the most obvious consequences of the policy Mr. Blom-Cooper urges on us. Can we really describe them as 'beneficial'?"

Rhodesia and Other African States

"He says that the Smith Government is illegal and that the college staff cannot enjoy full academic freedom. How does he compare this with the situation obtaining in Nigeria? Is the Nigerian Government 'legal'; is it likely to last? Is Nigeria itself likely to last? Salisbury College obviously enjoyed a substantial amount of freedom when a student wanted by the police was able to hide there successfully, certainly with the connivance of fellow students and almost certainly with the connivance of some of the staff.

"Our own Government's declared purpose in applying coercion to the Smith régime was to safeguard the advancement of the black African. If an extension of that policy deprives the black African of a vitally important means of advancement, has not the concept of racial equality become a bitter, an abstract thing? The destruction of the college would bring advantage to nobody except the Rhodesian white racialists. We must choose between a self-defeating legality and simple humanity.

"I hope that Mr. Blom-Cooper is speaking only for himself. Amnesty International has earned a high reputation for the impartial discharge of its proper business, which is the investigation of the administration of justice, regardless of the political cast of the group in power. Recommending the ostracism of the Salisbury College is emphatically not its business. That can be left to those who have no reputation for impartiality to lose".

About 100 students at the University College of Rhodesia, nearly all of them Africans, boycotted lectures last Thursday in protest against last month's deportation of a number of lecturers.

Mr. Nkumbula's Protest

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, president of the African National Congress of Zambia, told a large rally in Lusaka last week that one Ministry of President Kaunda's Government had spent nearly £100,000 on sending missions to Britain, America, Russia, China, and other countries, while African townships in the capital of the country were still without water supplies or electricity although the power lines cross the townships. Since independence house rents for Africans in those townships had risen from 16s. to 80s. a month, and the price of maize meal had gone up from 11s. to 30s.

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

(Established 1865)

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

RETURNING HOME?

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

YOU CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE of this and obtain a first class banking service by opening an account with the

ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

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

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

Diversification from Coffee

World Coffee Agreement Reached

THE LONDON MEETING of the International Coffee Council, which had threatened to collapse more than once between August 22 and September 6, agreed at the last moment that export quotas for the year starting on October 1 should total 43.7m. bags of 60 kilos, which was the final quota for last season and the initial quota for the current season.

Eighteen exporting countries are in addition to have hard-ship waivers totalling just over 2m. bags, and a special export authorization of just over 1m. bags will be divided among the 35 exporting member countries plus three newly accepted, Kenya, Honduras, and Bolivia.

Waivers will not be subject to restraint for the first six months, but will thereafter be conditional upon the allocation by each country of 20% of the foreign exchange earned by such export to a coffee diversification and development fund, or, alternatively, on placing under the control of the International Coffee Organization a quantity of exportable coffee equivalent to that covered by the waiver. The diversification and development fund will provide money from which to compensate coffee growers who restrict their acreage and turn to other forms of agriculture. It is hoped that the fund will operate from October next year.

Kenya has been given an initial export quota of 744,242 bags for 1966-67.

Terrorism in Katanga

LATEST REPORTS from the Congo indicate the renewal of unrest in various areas and the reign of terror by President Mobutu's military security agents in Katanga, where key offices are now held by men suddenly transferred from Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville). Late on Friday the Governor of Katanga, Mr. Munongo, and senior army officers were suddenly ordered to leave for the capital.

Next day in Brussels Mrs. Barbara Latz, who had just arrived from Lumbumbashi (Elizabethville), told reporters: "Lumbumbashi is in turmoil. Blacks and whites are terrorized. Arrests of Europeans and Africans go on all the time".

Her husband, Mr. John Latz, former correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* in the Congo, who was expelled after being jailed for five weeks, has written in that paper that of his 60,000-strong army President Mobutu can rely on only two units, the Israeli-trained paramilitary (Africans) and the all-white "mercenaries", the former acting as the President's personal bodyguard, but seldom fighting.

No. 6 Commando, recruited in Brussels, has now a strength of about 600 under Lieut-Colonel Benard, a former military adviser to the Yemen Royalists.

"In the recent Kisangani (Stanleyville) revolt No. 6 Commando were alleged to have helped the Katangese. They were subsequently disarmed and at least 12 were killed by the Congolese, among them a Briton, Lieut. Donald May.

"It is ironic that dare-devil Cubans should fly missions against rebels trained by Castro Cubans.

"Only with the help of foreign troops will the Congo ever see peace and stability again. Many times areas handed over by the mercenaries to the Congo army were lost before the last mercenaries had pulled out. The mercenaries fight, which the Congolese soldiers will not do".

Governor Dismissed

THE GOVERNOR of French Somaliland since 1962, M. René Tirant, who arrived in Paris on Friday, was then told that he had been dismissed and would be replaced by M. Louis Saget. M. Tirant is blamed for the riots which marred President de Gaulle's visit to Jibuti.

Riot police in Khartoum had to use tear-gas last week when members of the Moslem Brotherhood tried to break up a large Socialist rally called to support President Nasser and the United Arab Republic. A week earlier the Brotherhood had demonstrated against the execution in Cairo of three of its members.

Enthronement Prevented

Uganda-High Court Injunction

AN INJUNCTION by the High Court of Uganda has restrained the Most Rev. Erica Sabiti, Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, from enthroning the Rt. Rev. Stephen Tomusange as Bishop of West Uganda.

Five laymen, who applied to the court for a declaration that Bishop Tomusange's appointment was null and void, alleged that the Archbishop had split the diocese of West Buganda into two dioceses in defiance of a resolution passed by the diocesan synod; that he had refused to appoint a diocesan court in West Buganda, as provided by the constitution of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi; and that he had announced the "demotion" of the former Bishop of West Buganda, the Rt. Rev. Fesito Lutaya, against a synod resolution.

There has been bitter controversy in the diocese for five years. When Mr. Lutaya was appointed the first bishop in 1961, it was intended that his cathedral should be in Masaka, a strong Roman Catholic centre. He wanted it to be in Mityana, where Anglican influence is more widespread. The Church authorities did not agree with him, and his repeated endeavours to persuade them remained unsuccessful. Finally he transferred himself to Mityana without authority. Thereafter the people of Masaka refused to allow him to take confirmations or otherwise officiate in their area.

Four attempts by the then Archbishop, Dr. Leslie Brown, to reconcile the two factions failed, and Bishop Lutaya refused to resign his seat when he reached the official retiring age of 65. It was then decided to translate Bishop Tomusange from Soroti.

The *Church Times* has commented: "Bishop Lutaya now exercises jurisdiction over three parishes in an area where local patriotism dies hard. Those who have instigated the legal action are believed to be a few of his most ardent followers".

Portugal Will Hold Mozambique

Incursions from Northern Malawi

PORTUGAL WILL PERSIST as a Luso-African Power, having decided not to run before the "wind of change," Mr. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., who recently visited Mozambique and Angola, has said in a leader-page article in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Many of the 100,000 Portuguese troops in Mozambique and Angola are, he says, jungle-trained and very tough. Portugal will not surrender her African provinces; and in time the West will be grateful.

The Mozambique "Liberation Movement" Frelimo, based on Dar es Salaam, is stated to have split leadership: whereas Dr. Eduardo Mondlane previously adhered to the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Portugal, his colleague the Rev. Uria Simango looks to Peking. Frelimo's terrorists have Russian, Chinese, and Czech bazookas, mortars, and automatic weapons.

Though President Banda remains benevolently neutral, partisans who support his rival, ex-Minister Chipembere, are described as strong in northern Malawi, whence guerrilla groups cross the lake in dug-out canoes and infiltrate the northern areas of Mozambique. They have assassinated chiefs and some religious leaders, and have shot Portuguese settlers and kidnapped others from a district in which people mainly from Madeira have been settled on land so fertile that they can hope to repay their State loans in three years.

The Portuguese are withstanding terrorist pressures, but Mr. Biggs-Davison writes that they must hit hard to prevent southward infection of Zambezia, and that they need more helicopters and flail tanks to deal with terrorist mines that now blast vehicles. Vegetation alongside roads is now burnt as a precaution against ambush.

Mr. Brice's Visit

MR. S. F. BRICE, head of the Rhodesian mission in London, who is paying a short visit to Salisbury, told reporters that British newspapers and television published much misinformation about Rhodesia, with a marked tendency to take facts out of context. The average person in Britain had, he believed, a basic sense of identification and sympathy for Rhodesia in the present situation.

Subscribers to

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

are better informed about

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

than any other group of people because the paper contains so much authoritative news and comment which can be found nowhere else.

Heads of State, of Governments, and of great business organizations are among the many exceptionally influential readers who have told us that they find "R. & E.A." indispensable.

You and your friends can have the same service.

To the Publishers of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA
26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1

Please send me RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA regularly until countermanded. I enclose my cheque for the first annual subscription (£2 12s for the surface mail edition or £6 10s for the air edition to any address).

Name.....
(in capital letters)

Full postal address.....
(in capital letters)

Signature.....

Would you like us to send the paper to some of your friends also ?

We bend

over backwards
to meet your
Delivery Dates

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

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

The going's good by

UNION-CASTLE

Outward Freight Dept., Greenly House, Creochur of Looe, London, E.C.3
For details clip coupon to 300 or letter-heading, then post:
To Union-Castle Line. Please send three details of freight services

NAME _____
POSITION _____



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

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

	Closing Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	§ Head
§ CITY OF PRETORIA	—	Sept 15	Sept 22
† JOURNALIST	Sept 23	Sept 29	Oct 6
† E.A.N.S.L. VESSEL	Oct 10	Oct 13	Oct 20

* If inducement † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR)
§ also PORT SUDAN and ADEN

also by arrangement

RED SEA PORTS

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

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

THE OWNERS or

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

Loading Brokers
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO
LIVERPOOL 2

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



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, September 22, 1966
Vol. 43 No. 2189

Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper
52s yearly post free



WIGGLESWORTH & CO. (AFRICA) LIMITED

Present a complete range of



from 1,500 lb to 60,000 lb capacity

**MECHANICAL
HANDLING
EQUIPMENT**

STAGATRUC
FORE LIFT TRUCKS
ELECTRICAR
INDUSTRIAL TRUCKS
POWRORKER

WIGGLESWORTH & CO. (AFRICA) LIMITED

BOX 30092
NAIROBI

BOX 1507
MOMBASA

BOX 9010
DAR-ES-SALAAM

BOX 180
TANGA

BOX 2427
KAMPALA

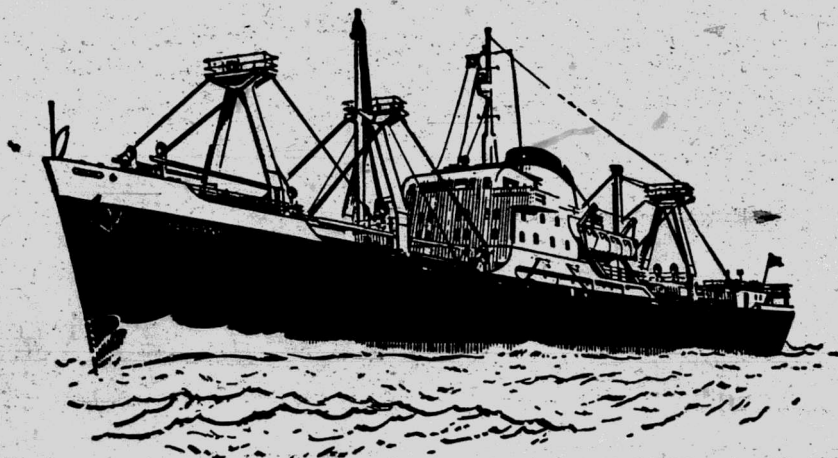
**CLARK
EQUIPMENT**

PORTAPAL
PALLET TRANSPORTER

London Associates: Wigglesworth & Co. Limited, 34 Mincing Lane, E.C.3

Commonwealth Conference which has settled nothing

THE BANK LINE LIMITED



WORLD-WIDE SERVICES

INDIAN AFRICAN LINE
PAKISTAN AFRICA LINE
INDIA NATAL LINE
PAKISTAN NATAL LINE

Carrying passengers and cargo from:
RANGOON · CHITTAGONG · CHALNA,
CALCUTTA, other Indian ports and
COLOMBO
To: EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN ports
and vice versa.

ORIENTAL AFRICAN LINE

Carrying cargo from:

JAPAN · CHINA · HONG KONG

PHILIPPINES · BORNEO

SAIGON · BANGKOK & MALAYA

To: MAURITIUS · REUNION
& EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS
and vice versa.

Details of Freight from Managers: **ANDREW WEIR & COMPANY LIMITED**
BALTIC EXCHANGE BUILDING, 21, BURY STREET, LONDON, E.C.J.
 or from any Shipping Agent

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

incorporating
EAST AFRICA and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

26 BLOOMSBURY WAY, LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone: HOLborn 2224-5

Cables
EASTAFRIC, London

Inland Telegraphs
EASTAFRIC, Westcent, London

Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment	49	Personalia	56
Commonwealth Conference Communiqué ...	51	Gross Distortion	57
Tory Criticisms of Prime Minister	53	Mr. Kapwepwe's Charges	58
Lord Salisbury's Views...	54	Letters to the Editor.....	59
British Ministers Fly to Rhodesia	55	Press Comment on the Conference	61

Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1966

Vol. 43

No. 2189

52s yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

COMMONWEALTH POLITICIANS have talked *ad nauseam* about Rhodesia in and out of conference in London, but have settled nothing. Their *communiqué*, and still more their daily disclosures to journalists of matters which in more reputable days would have been kept confidential, show them to have been more concerned to bang their propaganda drums and camouflage their own confusion than to face realistically the essentials of a settlement with Rhodesia. Their statement, a patchwork from discarded drafts, contains no conciliatory note; no recognition that the problem is the direct consequence of deep mistrust caused by the many follies and betrayals of politicians of all parties in the United Kingdom; and no hint of understanding that the independence assumed by the Rhodesian Government last November quickly won the support of almost the entire white community and of large numbers of responsible Africans. Far from acknowledging that these basic facts must direct any serious search for a settlement, as they certainly must, the Commonwealth Conference spent more than a week in falsely telling itself and a less credulous public outside that a small group of power-hungry white racialists had seized power in Rhodesia, were using it tyrannically, and must be dislodged in order that that country should follow the dubious fashion of one-man-one-vote government, which is presented with cynical deception as synonymous with democracy and freedom. Yet every signatory of the Marlborough House statement knew that over vast areas of Africa the absurdly premature introduction of universal adult franchise has diminished, and often destroyed, individual freedom and has established dictatorships which are often brutal and corrupt and always inefficient and therefore contrary to the public interest. Indeed, in not one State under black rule in Africa are peace, order, stability, progress and confidence to be found compar-

able in all those respects with the situation in Rhodesia. Rhodesia has not been judged on the evidence by her peers. In defiance of elementary justice, she has again been refused permission to state her case. Loquacious prosecutors, having talked incessantly and inconsequentially, have then joined the jury, which had in fact decided on its verdict before hearing the one-sided and often lop-sided evidence. Such is now the High Council of the Commonwealth.

* * *

Innuendo and equivocation characterize the *communiqué*. The world is told that "responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rests with Britain". The disgraceful truth is that British politicians have tricked Rhodesia out of the independence which Ministers in this country had promised on several occasions. The remark that "any political system based on racial discrimination is intolerable" is intended to imply that the intolerance shown to Rhodesia by the Commonwealth Conference stems from resentment at insufferable discrimination on grounds of race in that country. Yet there is incomparably greater repression of all kinds in Black Africa than in Rhodesia. "All persons detained for purely political reasons should be released" the statement declares, though everyone in the conference chamber knew that many thousands of Africans have been imprisoned in Black Africa for political reasons, and ought to have known that nobody has been so treated in Rhodesia for "purely political reasons", but in every instance because he has practised, incited, or tolerated violence for political ends or associated with persons so culpable. The leaders of both the nationalist parties in Rhodesia have been repeatedly but vainly offered immediate release on the simple condition of denouncing and restraining violence by their followers.

The one-man-one-vote principle is described as "the very basis of democracy". But in none of the African countries associated with the *communiqué* is there a Parliamentary opposition as the conception exists in the Western world. Most

Dictatorship,

Not Democracy

have quickly become one-party States; and those which have not yet quite reached that condition will not have long to wait for the infliction. In African conditions one-man-one-vote means dictatorship, not democracy. That is why Rhodesians reject so reckless an innovation and insist that Africans must earn their political advancement. Even Mr. Wilson admitted the wisdom and justification for that attitude when he said in Salisbury eleven months ago that African political advancement must come by achievement, not by clock or calendar. That uncharacteristic expression of elementary common sense on a critical African problem does not, of course, find reflection in the hotch-potch of emotions and prejudices which resulted from eight days of talk in London. "The rebellion must be brought to an end", and any settlement "must be seen to be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole". How those resounding affirmations are to be translated into practice is as mysterious as ever, for nobody believes that the agreed formula represents a plan for action—for the simple reason that it would mean war. That calamity is rejected by all reasonable men; but some self-styled "moderates" at the conference advocated bombing of strategic transport centres in Rhodesia by the Royal Air Force. It would be interesting to know in what terms the Prime Minister replied to that puerile proposal. * * *

Most of the Heads of Government did not show themselves to be reasonable about military measures, for the majority expressed "their firm opinion that force was the only sure means of bringing down the illegal régime". There could scarcely have been a less appropriate term than "sure". If Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet colleagues had been "sure", they might not have refrained from armed intervention last November, when Zambian and other hotheads in high places clamoured for bloodshed (British blood, of course) and threatened to invite Communist forces to do what all the Black African States could not risk as a joint operation. Fortunately, Mr. Wilson knew that British troops would almost certainly refuse to shoot down British Rhodesians. Indeed, it was said in military circles at the time that in some battalions every officer had privately told the colonel that he would resign his commission if detailed for service against Rhodesia. The

Prime Minister is also aware that thousands of volunteers would stream into Rhodesia from South Africa if any attack were launched. Full-scale war would start—when Britain is so strained militarily by her other commitments that she could not find the men and equipment for so disreputable and hazardous an operation, one which would risk embroilment with all Southern Africa and possibly provoke a war of colour in which the Russian and Chinese Communist leaders would scheme to engage, because nothing would better suit their ambition to seize the great mineral complexes of the Congo and Zambia and thence work gradually southwards to Rhodesia and the Rand. For African States which are scarcely able to maintain internal law and order to press crazily for the invasion of Rhodesia would be to invite these grave risks to their own future.

Statements Worth Noting

"Of Africa's 49 countries only one has a Minister of Science."—President Kaunda.

"Power may corrupt African generals as well as Presidents"—Mr. Dennis Austin.

"Kenya's most urgent issue is that of promoting Africans in all sections of our economy".—Mr. Mwai Kibaki, Minister of Commerce and Industry.

"Since Kenya became independent more than 600 new co-operative societies have been registered".—Mr. R. G. Ngala, Minister for Co-operatives and Social Services.

"It is not often realized that 80% of our high potential land is in the former African areas".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

"I resent the employment of large numbers of Zambian Africans in the country while their Government is undermining Rhodesia—and wrecking itself in the process".—Mr. W. J. J. Cary, M.P., Rhodesia.

"The reputation of the Rhodesian peach has been established on the overseas luxury market. Last year about 98,000 trays of peaches were marketed".—Mr. G. W. Rudland, Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia.

"There are great possibilities for Israeli economic activities in Africa".—The Israeli Prime Minister, addressing the inaugural session of the National Council of the Israel-African Friendship Association.

"In January Mr. Wilson talked of bringing the Rhodesian economy to its knees. Relatively the Rhodesian economy flourishes. Britain has been brought to its knees. How high a price are we to pay for Mr. Wilson's vanity?"—Mr. Evelyn King, M.P.

"Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, admitted to me that the Rhodesian crisis has nearly wrecked O.A.U., which must either follow a policy it can implement without Western aid or disintegrate".—Lady Listowel.

"The Deputy Minister of Mines [Mr. I. B. Dillon] has taken everybody to heart. He has so worked with the African people that they are now beginning to take a big interest in mining because of his encouragement".—Mr. I. H. Samuriwo, an African member of the Rhodesian Parliament.

"Under Sir Edgar Whitehead's Administration five Africans in Rhodesia were appointed as cadet district commissioners. Four fell by the wayside. The one who remained has not been able to obtain the qualifications necessary and is acting as a clerk".—Mr. W. J. Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs.

Commonwealth Conference Communiqué on Rhodesia

Full Text of Statement Issued on Wednesday Evening Last Week

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE devoted a major portion of its discussions to the problem of Rhodesia.

As at Lagos, in January of this year, the members of the Conference reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rested with Britain, but they acknowledged that the problem was of wider concern to Africa, the Commonwealth, and the world.

They reaffirmed the view expressed in the *communiqué* issued at the end of the Lagos conference. That *communiqué* was as follows:

"The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it.

"They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority for the benefit of a privileged few was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights.

"The goal of future progress in Rhodesia should be the establishment of a just society based on equality of opportunity to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential and from which all could enjoy the benefits due to them without discrimination or unjust impediment.

"To this end several principles were affirmed. The first was the determination of all present that the rebellion must be brought to an end. All those detained for purely political reasons should be released. Political activities should be constitutional and free from intimidation from any quarter. Repressive and discriminatory laws should be repealed".

One Man One Vote the Basis of Democracy

They further reaffirmed the statement made in their London *communiqué* of 1965 and repeated in Lagos that the principle of one man one vote was regarded as the very basis of democracy, and this should be applied to Rhodesia.

They remain unanimous on the objective that the rebellion in Rhodesia must be brought to an end speedily.

In order to achieve this objective, most of the Heads of Government expressed their firm opinion that force was the only sure means of bringing down the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

Others, however, shared the British Government's objections to the use of force to impose a constitutional settlement, while agreeing that it was not ruled out where necessary to restore law and order.

Most Heads of Government urged that Britain should make a categorical declaration that independence would not be granted before majority rule is established on the basis of universal adult franchise, and that this declaration should not be conditional on whether the illegal régime agreed to surrender or not.

They further urged that Britain should refuse to resume discussions or to negotiate with the illegal régime.

British Prime Minister's Pledges

The British Prime Minister stated that the British Government would not recommend to the British Parliament any constitutional settlement which did not conform with the Six Principles:

That they attached particular importance to the fifth principle, namely that any settlement must be, and be seen to be, acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole;

That they regarded it as implicit in this fifth principle that the test of acceptability must enable the people of Rhodesia as a whole to indicate whether or not they were prepared to accept any settlement which provided for the grant of independence before majority rule was achieved;

And that there would be no independence before majority rule if the people of Rhodesia as a whole were shown to be opposed to it.

The Conference noted the following decisions of the British Government:

(a) After the illegal régime is ended a legal Government will be appointed by the Governor and will constitute a broadly-based representative administration.

During this interim period the armed forces and police will be responsible to the Governor.

Release of Detainees

Those individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted, provided that they are conducted peacefully and democratically without intimidation from any quarter.

(b) The British Government will negotiate with this interim administration a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule, on the basis of the six principles.

(c) This constitutional settlement will be submitted for acceptance to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by appropriate democratic means.

(d) The British Parliament and Government must be satisfied that this test of opinion is fair and free and would be acceptable to the general world community.

(e) The British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it.

Most Heads of Government made it clear that in their view political leaders and others detained should be immediately and unconditionally released before an interim representative Government was formed, in which they should be adequately represented.

They further expressed the view that any ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be by a referendum based on universal adult suffrage, *i.e.* one man, one vote.

Communicating with Rhodesians

The Heads of Government also noted that the British Government proposed immediately to communicate its intentions as indicated above, through the Governor, to all sections of opinion in Rhodesia, and to inform the illegal régime there that if they are not prepared to take the initial and indispensable steps whereby the rebellion is brought to an end and executive authority is vested in the Governor, the following related consequences will ensue:

(a) The British Government will withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement which have been made. In particular, they will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule.

(b) Given the full support of Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations, the British Government will be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council of the United Nations before the end of this year a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

* Cross-headings have been inserted editorially. Comment is made in *Matters of Moment*.

The Conference had before it an analysis of the working of economic sanctions prepared by the Sanctions Committee set up in Lagos.

It was agreed that, though sanctions had undoubtedly depressed the Rhodesian economy, they were unlikely at their present level to achieve the desired political objectives within an acceptable period of time.

Accordingly, the Heads of Government were generally agreed on the need for stronger and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Most were convinced that mandatory sanctions of a general and comprehensive character should be applied under Chapter VII, Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter, and should cover both exports and imports.

Others favoured sanctions on selected individual commodities important to the economy of Rhodesia.

The Heads of Government recorded their appreciation of the work of the Sanctions Committee and requested it to continue its work.

There was unanimity of view that Commonwealth countries should continue to co-operate to the fullest extent possible in the pursuit of these objectives for Rhodesia, notwithstanding some differences of opinion as to the most effective means of achieving them.

Zambia and Malawi

It was also agreed unanimously that assistance should be given to Zambia to produce a more complete cut-off of trade with Rhodesia and to assist her to withstand any serious effect on her economy resulting therefrom.

To this end, they requested that the Zambian Sub-Committee of the Sanctions Committee should continue its efforts in co-ordinating further Commonwealth assistance.

Continuing consideration should also be given to the problems of Malawi.

The Heads of Government agreed that the problem of Rhodesia should be kept under constant review, and that they would meet again soon if the illegal régime were not brought to an end speedily.

The Heads of Government have had one overriding purpose in their consideration of the Rhodesian situation: a consideration which has now extended over four meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. That purpose is to end the perpetuation of power in that country in the hands of a minority, with only ineffective and inadequate guarantees of the political rights of the majority.

Such a situation must be replaced by an arrangement based on a multi-racial society in which human and political rights will be vested in all the people without discrimination and in accordance with the true principles of democracy.

Comments by Participants and Others

MR. HAROLD HOLT, the Australian Prime Minister, said in Sydney on Monday that the Afro-Asian and Caribbean nations had marred the conference by preventing objective discussions on Rhodesia. The document on Rhodesia satisfied nobody but was the highest common denominator of opinion.

MR. HOLYOAKE, the New Zealand Prime Minister, said on arrival in Wellington: "Some of us became sick and tired of waiting while the Afro-Asian caucus decided on a common line of action". He was gravely disturbed by the repercussions which might follow mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. New Zealand might not attend in future if racial caucuses continued in Commonwealth conferences.

MR. LESTER PEARSON, Prime Minister of Canada, said that he expected the initial reaction in Rhodesia to be strong, negative, and contemptuous. However, he knew of no other

plan which would work, and considered that that adopted by the conference was well worth trying.

MR. LEE KWAN YEW, Prime Minister of Singapore, also said that he did not expect Mr. Smith to accept. The conference would, he thought, have broken up in great bitterness within two or three days but for the infinite patience and calculated humility of Mr. Wilson; "I said 'calculated humility'".

VICE-PRESIDENT MURUMBI of Kenya claimed that some admissions and concessions had been extracted from Mr. Wilson by African, Asian, and Caribbean firmness. It was evident that there had been talks with the Smith Government about the grant of independence before majority rule. Steps for a broadly-based government in Rhodesia ought to follow within a month. He expected another Commonwealth conference on Rhodesia at the end of the year or early in 1967.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister of Zambia, did not expect Rhodesian agreement to the plan. If Mr. Smith did accept, Zambia would be suspicious.

MR. ARNOLD SMITH, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, was sure that the Rhodesian Cabinet had not expected such strong international reaction. At an important, difficult, but extremely successful conference the formation of a caucus had proved a constructive element, and had demonstrated the flexibility and adaptability of a Commonwealth which had stood firmly for democracy and majority rule.

PRESIDENT NYERERE emphasized that Britain was still prepared to grant independence to Rhodesia without majority rule. There could still be white minority rule if Mr. Smith took the chance offered. Tanzania would therefore not have signed the *communiqué* if she had been represented at the conference.

Views of British Politicians

SIR ALEX DOUGLAS-HOME, M.P., said in Lanark: "A Commonwealth dedicated to tolerant negotiation and reconciliation can serve all mankind. A Commonwealth lacking these essentials of international statesmanship would cease to have any influence in the world". He considered that infinite patience and sympathetic leadership would be essential if the goal of a multi-racial society was to be won.

MR. CHRISTOPHER MAYHEW, a Socialist M.P., who recently resigned the Defence portfolio, told Woolwich Chamber of Commerce: "We hold responsibility in Rhodesia without real power, and this dangerous situation will get worse if the Government's current defence policy develops. Disaster is certain if we do not cut down our future commitments to match our resources".

African delegates in London paid tribute to President Obote for having formed and led the 15-nation Afro-Asian-Caribbean caucus.

Conservatives are criticizing Mr. Wilson for his failure to take a strong line against the African and other delegates who threatened to walk out of the conference and for his submission to so much abuse of Britain for so long.

Party leaders hold the view that the Prime Minister, who was chairman of the conference, allowed it to degenerate into a trial of Britain with an Afro-Asian caucus as prosecutor. They also criticize that caucus as essentially racist and alien to the Commonwealth conception.

Mr. Wilson's weakness is considered to have made mandatory sanctions inevitable.

Another Conservative objection is that it is illogical for the Commonwealth to agree in principle, and subject to satisfactory safeguards, to grant Rhodesia independence without majority rule to December 31 but not after that date.

The Portuguese Government has protested at the reference by the Conference to "concern over the continued refusal of Portugal to grant her territories the right to self-determination", saying that the British Commonwealth has no right to pass judgement on the internal problems of other countries.

Die Burger, Cape Town, wrote that Mr. Wilson had allowed himself to be pushed further along a dangerous path. The ultimatum to Mr. Smith had perhaps wiped out any possibility of a solution.

The *Natal Mercury* considered that Mr. Wilson's "reckless gamble" had shattered all prospects of an agreed solution. His ultimatum was a blatant manoeuvre to extricate him from a dilemma of his own making. Implicit in the disreputable situation to which Mr. Wilson had lent himself were grave and provocative issues.

"Biggest of Mr. Wilson's Psychological Blunders"

Conservative Party Spokesmen Denounce the Ultimatum to Rhodesia

MR. WILSON'S CAPITULATION under Afro-Asian pressure at the Commonwealth Conference has been described by Mr. Edward Heath, Leader of the Opposition, as "the biggest of psychological blunders."

As soon as he and Mr. Maudling, deputy leader of the Conservative Party and Shadow Commonwealth Secretary, had had an opportunity of studying the *communiqué*, they saw the Prime Minister and Mr. Herbert Bowden, the new Commonwealth Secretary, for 45 minutes. Mr. Heath then asked for the recall of Parliament.

He confirmed the request in a letter which said that his colleagues and he considered it necessary for the House of Commons to meet because there had been "a clear change in the British Government's position"—by the presentation of an ultimatum to Mr. Smith; by insistence on what is obviously intended to be a considerable period of direct rule under the Governor; and by Mr. Wilson's agreement that the British Government would sponsor an application to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia if the ultimatum were not accepted. Those changes in policy required urgent debate in Parliament.

Mr. Lubbock, the Liberal Whip, and Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, that party's Commonwealth spokesman, did not share the view that Parliament should re-assemble before the agreed date of October 18. They thought that "it would be deplorable if attempts were made to turn a grave international problem into a domestic party political issue when the statesmanship of Commonwealth leaders has produced a solution acceptable to all points of view throughout the Commonwealth".

"Go to Hell"

Mr. Heath afterwards indicated that he had told the Prime Minister that the Shadow Cabinet was convinced that the ultimatum would bind moderate Rhodesians closer to Mr. Smith and feared that mandatory sanctions would quickly slide into an economic blockade of Southern Africa, and that that might mean war.

Speaking in his constituency, Bexley, on Thursday evening, Mr. Heath said that the Government's new policy towards Rhodesia was fraught with danger. Having mentioned that the majority of white Rhodesians were of British extraction, he asked:—

"How would you react if you were threatened with an ultimatum of his kind? You would tell those who sent it to you to go to hell. Any British citizen would. That is how the British have reacted throughout their history.

"No people of this kind, whether a majority or minority group, whether acting legally or illegally, will knuckle down to crude threats. The worst effect of this ultimatum will be to push the moderate elements in Rhodesia closer towards Mr. Smith, including those who disagree with him, and to the extremists. Instead of making a change of heart in Salisbury more likely, last night's ultimatum makes it far less likely".

Sanctions meant primarily a demand for sanctions on oil against South Africa, to be followed up by a naval blockade. "In this way many in Africa hope to extend the Rhodesian crisis to the whole of Southern Africa and to use armed force to deal with apartheid".

We suggest a four-point programme:—

- (1) Mr. Wilson should abandon his sham posture of talks between officials on whether official talks should take place.
- (2) He should inaugurate talks with Mr. Smith on a return to constitutional government; this should be done by sending a senior Minister to Salisbury.
- (3) He should plainly disavow any intention of instituting any kind of direct rule either from Whitehall or from the Governor in Salisbury.
- (4) He should put forward constructive proposals for constitutional development which would commend themselves

to moderate Europeans in Rhodesia; and he should make them public.

Prime Minister Refuses to Recall Parliament

After a Cabinet meeting on Friday the Prime Minister rejected the demand for the recall of Parliament on the ground that the Government had not changed its policy. His letter to the Leader of the Opposition said:—

"Your request is based on the fact that we are now insisting on a time-table for a settlement. This can hardly have surprised you. In the House on July 5 I said: 'I am sure that the House will also agree that the present situation cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. The British Government are in a most intolerable position in that we have to bear the international responsibility for the Rhodesian situation . . . and in an international sense we have throughout these months been sheltering Rhodesia from world opinion'.

"This fact has been heavily underlined by the widespread recognition that in these past days the very existence and future of the Commonwealth as we know it today have been put in jeopardy by the illegal action of a few politicians in Rhodesia.

"For this reason, whatever ill-considered statements are being made from powerful Conservative quarters, the Government consider that, after the long period during which informal exploratory talks have taken place both in London and Salisbury, they have every right to require of Mr. Smith and his régime a decision whether they are prepared within a reasonable period of time to return to constitutionality so that a settlement, based on the six principles and acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, can then be negotiated with a broadly based representative administration appointed by the Governor.

"If this proposition, after allowing adequate time for consideration, has not been accepted within a reasonable period then clearly, as emerges from the Commonwealth *communiqué*, a new situation will have been created. But by then Parliament is likely to have reassembled".

Mr. Heath said that he was surprised and disturbed that the Prime Minister should consider that a major change of policy did not necessitate the recall of Parliament for urgent debate.

"Not A Hope in Hell"

MR. DUNCAN SANDY'S, M.P., who as Commonwealth Relations Secretary negotiated the 1961 Constitution with Rhodesia, had previously said in a B.B.C. Television interview:—

"There is not a hope in hell of Mr. Smith accepting the terms of this ultimatum. I don't think it a reasonable proposal. It is a complete change of policy and a plain demand for unconditional surrender: to haul down the flag unconditionally, hand over all power to a Government appointed by the Governor, and give up everything in return for nothing. He is asked to give Mr. Wilson a blank cheque.

"The only result of the conference is that the terms have been stiffened and accompanied by the threat that the offer will soon be withdrawn".

When the interviewer suggested that such statements must encourage Mr. Smith to reject the plan, Mr. Sandy's replied:—

"I have expressed my candid opinion. It is better to speak frankly. Mr. Wilson has made the prospect for Mr. Smith incomparably more difficult, and very likely impossible. I talked to Mr. Smith in Salisbury the other day and felt that there was just a possibility of agreement on the basis of the five (or is it now six?) principles. This *communiqué* will make negotiations more difficult.

"This has been a deplorable conference. H.M. Government used to be in the chair. Now she is in the dock. The conferences were intended to be confined to Prime Ministers, who discussed world affairs intimately and confidentially. Now everybody attends and bullies and badgers the British—who could say in return, but don't, many things about some of our Commonwealth colleagues".

In another statement Mr. Sandys said:—

"All prospect of an agreed solution of the Rhodesian problem has been destroyed by the Commonwealth communique. This makes further talks between London and Salisbury a sheer waste of time. There is nothing left to talk about.

"The whole purpose of the talks, namely to try and agree terms on which Rhodesia could become legally independent, has been totally nullified. Mr. Smith is being ordered to surrender unconditionally without any settlement of any kind. Only then will the British Government be prepared to negotiate about the future, and then only with some entirely different Government of their own choosing.

"Mr. Wilson is asking for a blank cheque, which he knows Mr. Smith will never give him. The only effect of this ultimatum will be to unite the Europeans more solidly than ever behind Ian Smith and to make them more determined and defiant. In order to get an agreed piece of paper, Mr. Wilson has allowed himself to be driven on to a collision course".

Mr. Smith Will Never Give Blank Cheque

Then he wrote to Mr. Wilson saying that the new policy had "withdrawn any inducement which Mr. Smith may have had to come to an agreement". He continued:—

"Mr. Smith will never give you a blank cheque to shape the future of Rhodesia as you like. Therefore, unless you are prepared to negotiate a settlement with his *de facto* Government, the only alternative is to fight it out to a finish.

"If you commit yourself irrevocably to this course, you should not underestimate the determination of the white

Rhodesians. If they feel they are being unfairly treated, they will hold out to the bitter end, regardless of the hardships involved".

Mr. Sandys added that when he was in Rhodesia recently he told Mr. Smith he was convinced Mr. Wilson genuinely wanted to reach an honourable settlement on the basis of the agreed principles, and urged him to make concessions.

"He assured me that he recognized there would have to be give and take on both sides; and when I returned I told you I had formed the impression that when the talks were resumed there was a good prospect of real progress. But of course any such hopes have now been destroyed.

"Mandatory sanctions must sooner or later face us with the alternative of a head-on clash with South Africa, which we could not afford, or a humiliating capitulation to Mr. Smith".

Mr. Wilson replied that the one advantage which the Secretary of State would have "is that he will be maintaining the policy consistently followed by the Government of which you were a member; he has also the benefit of being reinforced by re-reading the robust statements you made when you had responsibilities of office".

Mr. Sandys commented that the decision to send the Commonwealth Secretary to Salisbury in no way affected the validity of his warning. "It is the Prime Minister's own insistence on unconditional surrender which is the chief obstacle to any practical progress. If Mr. Wilson's emissaries are to achieve anything useful, they must be authorized to negotiate with Mr. Smith on a realistic basis".

Conference of Racialists

Lord Salisbury on the Communiqué

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* on Tuesday:—

"The Prime Minister is reported as having declared to his fellow Premiers at the Commonwealth Conference that he would not sit down at a table with a racialist. But that is precisely what he has been doing all that week.

"It has been, so far as the majority of the delegates have been concerned, purely a conference of racialists, and it has produced a purely racialist result. The cynicism of the last words of the communiqué can seldom have been matched in any previous document.

"Such a situation", it says—the present situation in Rhodesia—must be replaced by an arrangement based on a multi-racial society in which human and political rights will be vested in all the people without discrimination and in accordance with the true principles of democracy".

Charter Prostituted

"That sounds, in theory, unexceptionable. But how the Prime Minister, looking at the majority of his co-signatories and remembering the recent records of their countries, could lend his name to such a joint declaration is something which many of us will find very difficult to understand.

"He has got agreement. He has bought a short breathing space. But at what a cost! The complete prostitution of the Charter of the United Nations, which specifically states in Article 2, 7, that 'nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State'. Yet that is precisely what this communiqué does. And what a precedent that creates!

"It legalizes such interference anywhere. It makes any recognition of the independence of Rhodesia dependent on a favourable vote by people the vast majority of whom—I had always understood—are not, even in the view of the Prime Minister himself, as yet intellectually equipped for immediate majority rule. And all this is being done to appease States

whose whole aim, as was once frankly said by Mr. Tom Mboya, is to 'make the white man scam out of Africa'.

"I, like many others in this country, was brought up to regard the British Commonwealth as an instrument for spreading British influence and British ideas of freedom and justice into the more backward parts of the world. Now it seems to have become merely an instrument for the persecution of those British citizens who have gone out from this country to make that conception a reality.

No Longer British

"It is no longer, even in name, the 'British' Commonwealth: it has become just 'the Commonwealth'. A Pakistani journalist who spoke on the B.B.C. not many months ago made this point very clearly. 'After all', he said, 'the Commonwealth today is predominantly Afro-Asian; and in the light of the results of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers which has just come to an end it is surely difficult to dispute that statement.

"The Commonwealth has indeed become a predominantly Afro-Asian institution, actuated by Afro-Asian principles and promoting Afro-Asian aims.

"In these circumstances—and in this I am sure that I speak for a considerable and growing section of my fellow countrymen—there must be many who are beginning to wonder whether it would not be better that we should move out of it and create, if that be possible, a smaller and more homogeneous group containing such nations as Australia and New Zealand, and possibly others, who share with us our background and those ideals which are basic to the British way of life".

Bechuanaland Independence

THE BRITISH DELEGATION to the independence celebrations in Bechuanaland will be led by Mr. John Stonehouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who will be accompanied by Mrs. Stonehouse and Mr. J. S. Gandee, the United Kingdom High Commissioner. Mr. Stonehouse will then visit Basutoland (Lesotho), Swaziland, and Seychelles.

Ethiopia Claims French Somaliland

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA said last week that the Jibuti territory was part and parcel of Ethiopia. France knew that the territory could not survive without Ethiopia, to whose economic life Jibuti was essential. "We are not claiming what is not rightfully ours, but advocating self-determination for the territory because the people of Jibuti will not jeopardize their vital interests".

U.K. Ministers in Rhodesia

Mr. Bowden's First Visit

TWO BRITISH MINISTERS, Mr. Herbert Bowden, the new Commonwealth Secretary, and Sir Elwyn Jones, the Attorney-General, left London airport late on Sunday night in a Comet aircraft of the Royal Air Force for Salisbury. They will be the first British Ministers to see Mr. Smith since Rhodesia assumed independence last November.

The aircraft was to have left at 8 o'clock, but it did not take off until 11.36 p.m. because the Prime Minister had wanted clarification from Salisbury of a statement by Mr. Smith before his colleagues began their journey.

The purpose of the mission had been described on Saturday as that of explaining to Rhodesians in general the implications of the ultimatum mentioned in the Commonwealth communiqué.

Mr. Bowden and the Attorney-General were to be accompanied by Mr. Duncan Watson, the Assistant Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Office who had recently led the British official delegation in the "talks about talks". Sir Morrice James, Deputy Under-Secretary in the Office, had already flown to Salisbury to see the Governor.

Mr. Ian Smith's Statement

Mr. Smith announced that he had been approached by the British Government with a proposal that Mr. Bowden "should come to Salisbury urgently to have discussions with me on the possibilities of a settlement of the Rhodesian issue".

"I have repeatedly made it clear in public and private that I will talk to anyone who has any constructive contribution to make towards a settlement of the differences between the Rhodesian and British Governments. Therefore I have acceded to the British Government's proposal on the understanding that Mr. Bowden should have discussions with me.

"Also at the request of the British Government I have arranged that all the necessary facilities in the way of security and courtesy will be extended to Mr. Bowden.

"I wish to emphasize that I have agreed to this visit on the understanding that it is a continuation of the talks at Government level—that is the British Government to the Rhodesian Government. In the present circumstances there can be no deviation from this principle.

"It should be made plain that Mr. Bowden is visiting Rhodesia as an emissary of the British Government, and that as Commonwealth Secretary he no longer has any say in the affairs of an independent Rhodesia".

Mr. Wilson, who was told of the statement while playing golf in Buckinghamshire, at once returned to Chequers and postponed departure of the aircraft pending further word from Rhodesia.

Three hours later a brief announcement from 10 Downing Street said merely:—

"As has been made clear throughout, all discussions which the Commonwealth Secretary may have in Rhodesia will be conducted under the aegis of the Governor, and the visit in no way constitutes any change in the attitude of H.M. Government towards the régime in Rhodesia. The Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General will leave London tonight".

Presumably because messages were still being exchanged between London and Salisbury about the status of the visit, the aircraft stopped for two and a half hours at Nairobi (during which time the Ministers called on President Kenyatta at his country home) and then made a diversion to Blantyre, Malawi, where Mr. Bowden said that he could still not say whether he would see Mr. Smith. He told reporters: "Mr. Smith represents a large body of Rhodesian opinion, and we hope to meet him; we are putting our cards on the table and showing the colour of our money".

In Salisbury, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, issued a statement expressing the earnest hope that the visit would lead to "an early and honourable settlement of our constitutional difficulties".

Mr. Smith saw Sir Morrice James and Mr. John Hennings, head of the British Mission in Salisbury, at his home.

It was not until the evening (instead of in the early morning, as had been originally intended) that the Ministers reached Salisbury airport, where they were greeted on behalf of the Rhodesian Government by Lord Graham, Minister of External Affairs and Defence, and Mr. C. N. Wetmore, Secretary for External Affairs.

Headed and followed by police cars, the party made the 10-mile drive to Government House, in the grounds of which police were encamped and the perimeter of which had been floodlit.

Mr. Smith had a two-hour talk with the visitors on Tuesday.

Views of Mr. Vorster and President Obote

South Africa's new Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, told a special correspondent of the *Daily Express* in Cape Town on Monday that he intended to maintain the Verwoerd policy of full normal trade with Rhodesia, which, Mr. MacColl telegraphed, "means in practice greatly increased trade; it further means that should the United Nations adopt selective mandatory sanctions South Africa will ignore them and undoubtedly continue to provide Mr. Smith with his life-saving oil".

Mr. Vorster told the interviewer that he hoped for the best possible relations with every country, "the black African nations included". He added: "We have never poked our noses into the affairs of others, and all we ask in return is that others should refrain from doing so where we are concerned".

President Obote of Uganda told a small group of journalists whom he entertained to dinner in London on Monday evening that he did not expect Mr. Smith to accept the terms stipulated by the Commonwealth Conference, for if he were to transfer power to the Governor he would be in terrible difficulty with his party. He therefore did not expect Mr. Smith to listen to the Bowden Mission.

If the British Government were to make the wrong sort of package deal with Rhodesia, "Britain would be the most hated nation in the United Nations for agreeing to a Rhodesian Constitution on the basis of white minority rule". His fear was that the Commonwealth Secretary might have a brief from Mr. Wilson to compromise with Mr. Smith.

Mr. Murumbi to Resign

MR. MURUMBI, Vice-President of Kenya, said in London on Monday before flying to the United Nations that he would resign the Vice-Presidency at the end of the year and then become chairman of a tobacco company in Kenya.

Mr. Tshombe to be Tried

MR. TSHOMBE, the former Prime Minister of the Congo and previously of Katanga, is to be tried *in absentia* by a special military court. He is now in Spain. Statements from official sources in Kinshasa suggest that the charges relate to the alleged recruitment of mercenaries for a private army in Katanga.

M.P. Resigns from C.P.A.

MR. F. W. PARSONS, an elected member of Seychelles Legislative Council, has resigned from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in protest against the ruling of the British Government that the Deputy Minister of Information in Rhodesia might not visit England to attend a regimental dinner, despite the fact that British M.P.s are allowed to travel freely within Rhodesia.

PERSONALIA

BISHOP STEPHEN NEILL is spending most of this month in Rhodesia.

SIR DUNCAN ANDERSON has joined the board of Allied Farm Foods, Ltd.

MR. JUSTICE D. D. BOLT and MRS. BOLT have arrived in England from Malawi.

MR. W. P. NYIRENDA, Speaker of the Zambia National Assembly, has paid a short visit to Israel.

A reception for PRESIDENT BANDA was held in London last Thursday by the HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR MALAWI.

MR. JOHN FOSTER RHODES has been appointed a member of the Malawi board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

DR. V. R. LOACH, registrar of Leeds University, is in Salisbury to investigate the administration of the University College.

MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, Secretary-General of the East African Common Services Organization, is paying a 10-day visit to Israel.

GENERAL GOMES DE ARAUJO, Defence Minister of Portugal, said last week that terrorists from Zambia were now infiltrating Angola.

MR. D. R. N. CLARKE, chairman of the British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., will shortly join the board of Sun Life Assurance Society.

COLONEL YUSEF HEMEDI and his mission have returned to Tanzania from Communist China. They were received by MAO TSE-TUNG.

Monday was the 86th birthday of SIR HARRY BATTERBEE, the 76th of MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P., and the 73rd of SIR ROBERT HOWE.

DR. JOSEPH BUSSE, previously a Lutheran missionary in Tanganyika territory, and now in charge of the Bethel Mission in Germany, is visiting Tanzania.

DR. CAREL DE WET, the South African Ambassador in Britain, has flown to Cape Town for consultations with his Government about Rhodesia and other matters.

PRESIDENT NASSER is due in Tanzania today for a five-day State visit. When he addresses the National Assembly the speech will be broadcast to the nation.

CAPTAIN J. C. KELLY-ROGERS, who did much flying on African routes for Imperial Airways and B.O.A.C., has joined the board of Trans World Helicopters, Ltd.

DR. MUHAMMAD KHALIFAH, director of the Ministry of Education of Somalia, is leading a five-member cultural delegation on a month's visit to Communist China.

CHIEF CHINAMORA, of the Goromonzi district of Rhodesia, took the salute at a recent police display in Harare township, Salisbury, which included European and African recruits.

MR. MATOKA, Minister of Health in Zambia, will shortly visit the Soviet Union in the hope of recruiting a number of Russian medical officers. He will also revisit Britain and perhaps Israel.

MISS MYFIDA TYRELL-KENYON has retired from the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship, where she had been for many years general hospitality secretary and latterly deputy general secretary.

MR. MICHAEL LEAPMAN, Commonwealth correspondent of the London Socialist daily *Sun*, was declared a prohibited immigrant when he arrived in Salisbury on Monday. He was flown to Zambia.

MR. H. P. DUNCAN has been transferred from Gwelo to Salisbury as regional magistrate for the Eastern Division of Rhodesia. The new magistrate in Gwelo from November 1 will be Mr. G. O. C. ROSE.

LORD BESWICK, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, left London on Monday to join the British delegation to the meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in Montreal.

SIR GEOFFREY GIBBS, a brother of the Governor of Rhodesia, which country he has visited on several occasions, has been elected a member of the court of the re-organized British Export Houses Association, of which LORD ALDINGTON is President.

It was announced from Balmoral Castle last week that LORD HILTON OF UPTON, Lord in Waiting, had by command of the QUEEN called upon SIR GLYN JONES, the retiring Governor General of Malawi, to welcome him on Her Majesty's behalf on his return to Britain.

PRINCESS MARINA, DUCHESS OF KENT, who is to represent THE QUEEN at the independence celebrations in Bechuanaland and Basutoland, will fly to Johannesburg by B.O.A.C. on September 26 and there transfer to an aircraft of the Queen's Flight for the journey to Gaborone.

SAYED IBRAHIM EL MUFTI, Sudanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Sudanese Ambassadors accredited to Western European countries have met in London to discuss international and regional problems. SAYED IBRAHIM has left for New York to attend the General Assembly of the United Nations.

SIR FREDERICK LEITH-ROSS, a director of the Standard Bank, has expressed in its monthly review the personal opinion that gold will have to be revalued sooner or later. He does not believe that new currency reserve units could satisfy central bankers and the public, or that they would alter the hegemony of gold.

According to Radic Nairobi, about half a million people lined the route from the railway station when PRESIDENT KENYATTA returned to Nairobi after a month's holiday at the coast. In a speech at the station he said that K.A.N.U. would rule Kenya for ever, and that non-Africans who did not wish to identify themselves with the indigenous people should leave the country.

MR. ANGUS OGILVY, a director of many companies operating in Rhodesia and Eastern Africa, is one of three directors of Consolidated Trust, Ltd., who have decided to forego any personal profits on an investment made by the trust in Second Premier Investment Trust, Ltd., about which there has been much controversy since the death of Mr. Harley Drayton, the originator of the plan.

Obituary

MAJOR OLIPHANT BELL MILLER, I.S.O., has died in Bulawayo, aged 84.

The death is reported of LIEUT.-GENERAL MERID MENGESHA, Defence Minister of Ethiopia. He had paid several visits to Kenya.

THE REV. GEORGE ARTHUR LEE, who has died at the age of 59, travelled regularly in Rhodesia between 1938 and 1940 as an assistant chaplain in the South African Church Railway Mission.

MR. C. C. CHEESMAN, whose death in Rhodesia is announced, was for 12 years secretary-treasurer of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia, before its division into those of Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

MR. JUSTICE ALBERT VAN DE SANDT CENTILIVRES, Chief Justice of South Africa from 1950 to 1957, who has died in Cape Town at the age of 79, practised for a short time in Rhodesia soon after he had been called to the Bar of the Middle Temple in 1910.

MR. ROYDON PLASKET PUZEY, a director of the Rhodesian family firm of motor distributors, has died in Salisbury, aged 57. His father opened one of the first garages in the country, and he himself qualified as a mechanical engineer after studying at the Aeronautical and Automobile Engineering College in Chelsea. He was a past-chairman of the Mashonaland Motor Traders' Association.

Mr. Wilson's Gross Distortion Dr. Verwoerd Did Not Advise Mr. Smith

THE PRIME MINISTER of Rhodesia has flatly contradicted the statement made by Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, in a television interview that Dr. Verwoerd, the late Prime Minister of South Africa, had persuaded Mr. Smith to re-open talks with the British Government.

"To be charitable to him", Mr. Smith retorted at the week-end, "I suggest that what Mr. Wilson wanted to say was that Dr. Verwoerd had persuaded him to open talks with Rhodesia. To suggest that Dr. Verwoerd persuaded me to re-open the talks is a gross distortion of the truth.

"It must be patently obvious to anyone who has taken an interest in this affair that Mr. Wilson's statement is completely illogical.

"The British Prime Minister also asserted that Dr. Verwoerd had advised me against the 'improvident declaration of independence'.

"Let me say once and for all that Dr. Verwoerd never advised me for or against the declaration of independence. It was not in the nature of the late South African Prime Minister to interfere in other people's affairs, and he never did offer advice to Rhodesia.

"I think it is unfortunate, to say the least, that Mr. Wilson should have waited until after the tragic death of Dr. Verwoerd before making such a reprehensible and mischievous claim".

Celebrating Independence Day

Prime Minister Rebuked by Dean

MR. SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, made no reference to the British ultimatum before his Parliament adjourned for the weekend.

The Constitution Amendment Act, which permits preventive detention, was promulgated on Friday in the *Rhodesian Government Gazette*.

Radio Luxembourg broadcast last Thursday an interview recorded in Salisbury with Mr. Smith which said that there had been confidential negotiations with the British Government on a solution which he had proposed in order to end the dispute. Rhodesia, not having been a party to the Commonwealth Conference, was under no obligation to accept its decisions. A common market embracing South Africa, Rhodesia, and Mozambique was "on the cards".

Whitehall officials denied all knowledge of "confidential negotiations".

Mr. Smith could not comment on the Commonwealth proposals, the Ministry of Information explained, because he had not received the text from the British Government. A Government House spokesman then said that it would communicate the statement to Mr. Smith, but had not yet done so.

Thanksgiving and Dedication

NOVEMBER 11, the first anniversary of the assumption of independence, would be a public holiday, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia told Parliament.

Many Rhodesians then expected November 11 to be the date on which the Government would declare the country to be a republic, a step which might facilitate recognition by South Africa and Portugal.

In making his announcement in Parliament Mr. Smith said:—

"I have asked that part of the day be set aside for prayers of thanksgiving and dedication. I consider it right that this should be followed by rejoicing and celebration in honour of our independence.

"The Government recommends Rhodesians to observe the morning as a time of thanksgiving for the divine guidance which has enabled us to overcome the difficulties of the past year, and set aside some time

in which to re-dedicate themselves to those Christian ideals which prompted the declaration of independence".

The Very Rev. S. M. Wood, Dean of Salisbury, promptly replied:—

"I cannot see myself conducting any service in the Cathedral on November 11 on the basis of the purpose set out by the Government for the public holiday.

"We are asked to 're-dedicate' ourselves to those Christian ideals which prompted the declaration of independence. I cannot identify which Christian ideals prompted the declaration. As I see it, the declaration was prompted not by Christian ideals but by Rhodesian Front policies.

"We are also asked to give thanks for the divine guidance which has enabled us to overcome the difficulties of the past year. The Government has considerable political acumen and its financial advisers are obviously very competent, but to claim divine guidance for them comes near to blasphemy.

"Let the Government proclaim a holiday if it will to commemorate its declaration of independence, but save us from the hypocrisy of trying to whitewash it with religion".

Next day the Prime Minister and the Officer Administering the Government were in the Cathedral congregation for a Battle of Britain anniversary service.

No Present Intention to Declare Republic

On Monday Mr. Smith told Parliament that there was no present intention to declare the country a republic. If that were done without a mandate, perhaps by a referendum, "I would be guilty of pulling a fast one on Rhodesia. The matter could be taken out of our hands if Rhodesia were expelled from the Commonwealth. We could never resort to this sort of thing without having a full-scale debate".

The Reserve Bank announced that it would float at par on September 30 a £5.5m. three-year loan bearing interest at 5%. This will be this year's third issue totalling £15m.

The diplomatic correspondent of the *Financial Times*, who was visiting Rhodesia, cabled that pessimism regarding an eventual political settlement was greatest in the business community, which, however, saw no chance of Mr. Smith yielding under the pressure of the Commonwealth ultimatum.

"In common with the great majority of Europeans here, they think African majority rule would be dangerously premature. In this they almost certainly have an ally in the Governor himself.

"At the simplest level of political analysis the ultimatum is easily dismissed as making no difference to an achieved independence, as further evidence of the impossibility of going back. No one has ever accused Mr. Smith of sophismation".

Congo's New Government

PRESIDENT MOBUTU appointed a new Government last week.

It consists of Messrs. Justin Bomboko, Foreign Minister; Etienne Tahisekedi, Interior; Michael Kabamba, Economic Affairs; Oscar Mulelemu, Social Welfare; Jean-Joseph Litho, Finance; Antoine Asindia, Security; Bertin Mwamba, Posts and Telegraphs; Victor Nendaka, Transport; Victor Kande, Works; Joseph Nsinga, Justice; Alphonse Zamundu, Agriculture; Edouard Mayala (words indistinct in the monitored broadcast); Gregoire Kashale, Foreign Trade; Michel Colin, Public Service; Athanase Ndjidi, Education; Alexis Kishiba, Mines and Power; Martin Tschishimbi, Health; Philemon Madedu, Middle Classes; Joseph Kulumba, without portfolio; Jean-Marie Kititwa, Land; and Andre Isia-Aoundala, Tourism and Technology.

On the same day the governors of South Katanga and South Kivu, who had been summoned to the capital, Kinshasa, were told that they would be required to remain there "until the situation in their provinces is known". Investigation was to be made immediately by a Parliamentary commission.

The Congo would, the President said, vote against the admission of China to the United Nations because Communist China had interfered in Congolese internal affairs.

Mr. Maudling's Visit

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, deputy leader of the Tory Party, flew to Lusaka at the week-end and arrived in Salisbury on Tuesday. He will also visit South Africa.

Mr. Kapwepwe's Accusations

Mr. Wilson "A Racialist"

MR. KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister of Zambia, angrily criticized Mr. Harold Wilson as "a racialist" when he left London airport last week.

He complained that all Zambia's demands at the Commonwealth Conference had been refused. "We asked for the use of force against Rhodesia and were rejected. We asked for a guarantee of no independence before majority rule and were rejected. We asked for complete mandatory sanctions and were rejected. We have got absolutely nothing from the conference".

The Prime Minister was so angered by the allegation that he was a racialist that when the conference met next morning he demanded an apology. He was reported to have said: "Mr. Kapwepwe spoke behind my back. If anybody thinks I am a racialist, let him come out in the open and say so. How many of you here agree with Mr. Kapwepwe? I would not sit down at the same table as a racialist".

Did Mr. Wina Apologize?

Mr. Arthur Wina, Zambia's Finance Minister, and deputy leader of her delegation, was understood to have expressed regret for the "intemperate" remarks of his colleague; but on his arrival in Lusaka on Friday he denied that he had apologized, insisting that he had merely expressed regret that Mr. Wilson should have felt embarrassed.

At Nairobi airport Mr. Kapwepwe told journalists that Mr. Wilson's intention was to create in Rhodesia a white man's Government and a carbon copy of South Africa. Hopes that Mr. Wilson would really act to bring down the Smith régime had gradually diminished. The British Government's policy was to sell out four million Rhodesian Africans.

He repeated that Mr. Wilson was "a racialist", adding: "He is a dry politician with no principles, who has bulldozed British M.Ps. who are opposed to his Rhodesian policy".

Asked if Zambia would quit the Commonwealth, he replied that that was a matter for decision by his Government; but if the Commonwealth continued it would exist "only in body and not in spirit".

At Dar es Salaam airport he again spoke of Mr. Wilson as "a racialist". He suggested that because of his lack of principle he might be ousted from the leadership of the Socialist Party. Africans in Rhodesia must be prepared to fight and die for their independence.

On arrival in Lusaka Mr. Kapwepwe said: "Mr. Wilson, a racialist and imperialist, wants to create another South Africa on Zambia's border". For 10 days he had been pressed to guarantee that Rhodesia would have independence only on the basis of majority rule, but he had refused that pledge. He had not been able to explain to the conference how the Smith régime could be brought down. His moves indicated a readiness to sell four million Africans to Rhodesia's white minority.

Nonsense About Nonsense

Mr. Bowden's visit to Rhodesia was intended to appease Mr. Smith and prevent the resignation of the Governor. It would be a continuation of the "talks about talks or nonsense about nonsense".

Zambia has decided not to be represented at this week's conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in Montreal, but Mr. Wina will attend the forthcoming World Bank meeting in Washington.

Zambia's delegation to the current session of the U.N. General Assembly consists of Messrs. S. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister; Dingswayo Banda, Minister of Transport; Ditton Mwiinga, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs; Mr. Mbilishi, Zambian Ambassador to the U.S.A.; Chief Mapanzu, Zambian Ambassador in Ethiopia; and three senior officials.

Zambia Bans Journalist

THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT last week declared Mr. Donald Hawkins Shannon, an American journalist employed by the *Los Angeles Times*, to be a prohibited immigrant.

Copperbelt Strikes Continue

33 Africans Sent into Restriction

THIRTY-THREE ZAMBIAN AFRICANS were arrested on the Copperbelt on Friday and sent to remote rural areas under restriction orders, but despite that action and repeated warnings from Ministers about 12,000 Africans employed on the mines still remained out on strike. All the men arrested were believed to be minor officials of the trade union.

A Government statement accused them of misleading the miners to the detriment of the industry and the country and of causing "unabated unrest on the Copperbelt". It said that the 33 men "will not be allowed to seek re-employment on the Copperbelt for a long time to come".

The strike had then lasted three weeks. At one period about 37,000 men were absent from work.

Mr. Sipalo, Minister of Labour and Social Development had previously broadcast an assurance to the miners that their pension fund contributions would be paid back to them in phases.

"Every mineworker with good will towards Zambia will find that the details are more than acceptable. The strikes have harmed the country, the mining companies, and most of all the workers. Yet more miners are being urged to strike by mischievous and malicious people who spread lying rumours". He ended: "Dear miner, think again in the interests of the Republic of Zambia".

Subversive Supporters of Rhodesia Blamed

In a broadcast 11 days earlier Mr. Sipalo had said that the strike had not really been caused by the demand for repayment of the pension fund contributions, but had been instigated by subversive elements in the underground sections of the mines who supported the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

Since the miners on the Copperbelt were the most highly paid African workers in all Africa, there was no justification for action which must permanently damage the nation.

"The Government has informed all copper mining companies to sack at once anybody who refuses to go back to work, and the Government will see to it that the people sacked will be

MANUBITO S.A.R.L.

CAIXA POSTAL 17 LOBITO, ANGOLA
Cables Manubito

STEAMSHIP FORWARDING & TRANSIT AGENTS
LINER AGENTS

AT **LOBITO** FOR

CHRISTENSEN CANADIAN	NEDLOYD LINE
CLAN LINE	SOUTH AFRICAN LINE
DAFRA LINE	ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES
ELLERMAN & BUCKNALL	SAPMARINE
STEAMSHIP CO., LTD	SOCIETE NAVALE DE L'OUEST
FARRELL LINES	SOUTH AFRICAN LINE
HALL LINE	SEVEN STARS (AFRICA) LINE
HOLLAND WEST-AFRIKA	SOUTH AMERICA
NAUTILUS LINE	WEST AFRICA LINE
	UNION-CASTLE MAIL
	STEAMSHIP CO., LTD

Traffic Agents

BENGUELA RAILWAY TO CONGO &
NORTHERN RHODESIA

Through B/L service U.K., EUROPE, U.S.A., VIA
LOBITO

Sub Agents. Congo — Cenwarran: B.P. 1045
Elisabethville

Traffic Agents, Northern Rhodesia — Leopold Walford
(C.A.) Ltd., P.O. Box 1567, Ndola
And at Kitwe. Luanshya, Mufulla, Lusaka, Chingola
Bancroft, Broken Hill

London Office

LEOPOLD WALFORD SHIPPING LTD
ST. MARY AXE HOUSE, LONDON, E.C.3

London Telex: 28125 and 28126

Telephone: AVenue 8030. Cables: Walfship, London, E.C.3

repatriated forthwith, because by their actions they have declared themselves to be enemies of the Government and the nation. These people are worse than criminals because they are jeopardizing the future of their children and children's children.

"The Government will not tolerate any nonsense from anybody on the Copperbelt, Zambian or non-Zambian, whatever his position or status. This is not a threat to anybody. It is aimed only at the enemies of Zambia, who by their actions want to stab the Government in the back and invite foreign elements to threaten our independence".

Yet thousands of men refused to resume work. At the time of the broadcast the Minister estimated the cost to the country at about £1m. a day in lost production of metals.

By Monday evening the number on strike had fallen to about 8,000.

Unskilled African workers on the mines are paid £22 7s. 6d. a month. The statutory wage for unskilled work outside the mining industry is £10 8s.

Zambia Defers Decision

PRESIDENT KAUNDA announced on Sunday that Zambia would not quit the Commonwealth immediately because at the London conference 16 Commonwealth nations had supported its stand. The decision, now merely provisional, would finally depend on the attitudes and actions of the Commonwealth at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"If the 16 who supported us in London are consistent, we shall decide accordingly. The other members of the Commonwealth left much to be desired in their behaviour on Rhodesia".

In diplomatic circles in Lusaka it is thought that President Kaunda may sever diplomatic relations with Britain instead of leaving the Commonwealth if Zambia's views are opposed by Britain at the United Nations.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, arrived in Lusaka on Sunday evening.

Zambia Offered £21m.

Mrs. Judith Hart, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Office, called on Mr. Wina at his London hotel soon after the end of the conference to tell him that further consideration was being given by the British Government to its offer of £14m. to Zambia.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Callaghan, had previously paid a short visit to Mr. Wina. Zambia's Sterling balances in London of about £79m. were discussed.

Another £7m. has been offered to Zambia by Commonwealth Government, most of it by Canada.

Dr. Guida Carli, governor of the Bank of Italy, has been visiting Lusaka with a number of Italian monetary, banking, and other experts, among them Signor Cuccia, managing director of Mediobanca, which has been concerned with the financial arrangements between the Fiat Motor Company and the Zambian Government for the establishment of the Zambia Road Services company. According to reports from Rome, discussions were concerned with developments if Zambia were to withdraw from the Commonwealth and perhaps also from the sterling area.

E.N.I., the great Italian oil corporation, is believed to have offered to build a pipe-line from its refinery in Dar es Salaam to Zambia, a distance of more than 1,000 miles.

The World Bank has announced the grant to Zambia of a loan of \$17.5m. (£6.25m.) for road improvements.

Zambia is to lend £2.5m. to East African Railways and Harbours for the improvement of harbour facilities at Dar es Salaam and for the increase of railway capacity for the carriage of Zambian exports and imports.

Pro-Independence Riots

THE FOREIGN LEGION was called out last week by M. Saget, the new Governor of French Somaliland, to help the police during renewed rioting in Jibuti. At least one demonstrator was killed. Houses in the Ethiopian quarter were looted. Dockers struck work. The import of the drug *khat* from Ethiopia was forbidden. A curfew was imposed from dusk to dawn in order to prevent "foreign elements" entering the capital.

Letter to The Editor

British Political Dishonesty

What Mr. Wilson Knew 16 Months Ago

SIR.—The pretence of the British Prime Minister that the decision of the Rhodesian Government to amend the Constitution in order to legalize preventive detention came as so serious a shock to him that he ordered the immediate withdrawal of the two British officials who were then in Salisbury for talks with Rhodesian civil servants has been exposed by Mr. Smith, who promptly disclosed that Mr. Wilson had known of this intention for the best part of a year.

Mr. James, the M.P. for Salisbury City, has now pointed out that as long ago as April 26, 1965, a leading Rhodesian newspaper published as a front-page story the news that Mr. Ian Smith had told the Leader of our Opposition of his proposals to amend the Constitution for the specific purpose of allowing preventive detention. It is inconceivable that that was not reported by the United Kingdom High Commission in Salisbury to Mr. Wilson, who must consequently have known more than 16 months ago what he has now led people to think came as a shock to him.

Must we always expect this kind of dishonesty in British politics? Mr. Wilson lives well up to the Macmillan—Macleod—Butler standard, as recorded by Sir Roy Welensky and others.

Salisbury

Rhodesia

Yours faithfully

LANCASTRIAN

Collusion

MR. WINA told journalists recently that British policy over Rhodesia had beaten Suez for evil collusion and made Munich look like child's play. For irresponsibility this comparison leaves one gasping. I hope that President Kaunda will take Mr. Wina to task for it. The *provenance* is obvious. Mr. Wilson seems to have been in collusion, not with Rhodesia, but with Mr. Wina and his friends—and to a degree that has divided the people of Britain and cost them £100m.; and it will cost us more. Mr. Wilson has cut off our nose to save Mr. Wina's (and perhaps his own) face".

Two Standards

"MR. W. J. HARPER, our Minister of Internal Affairs, said in Parliament a few days ago: 'When the Uganda Constitution was granted by the British Government, Uganda had preventive detention. It was thought that this preventive detention might offend against the Declaration of Rights, so special provision was made in that Constitution in an annexure to allow the preventive detention to continue in Uganda when the new Constitution came in. They have had preventive detention in Malawi, in Zambia, and other countries, and there has not been one squeak out of anybody. But because Rhodesia does it we have this terrific roar'".

Zambia and the R.A.F.

WHEN ANNOUNCING that the Royal Air Force squadron of Javelin aircraft was to be withdrawn from Zambia, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry said, according to the official statement just received in London: "The decision to withdraw the Javelins has been made with the fullest consultation with the British Government in view of the changed political circumstances and to ensure the effective utilization of the much-needed base now being used by the R.A.F. personnel". That suggests that the initiative was taken by the Government of Zambia, whereas the announcement in the British Parliament indicated that the initiative had come from H.M. Government.

Dr. Obote "Seriously Disturbed" Believer in the Commonwealth

PRESIDENT OBOTE, who was the guest at a luncheon a few days ago of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain, said that Uganda believed in the Commonwealth, would not take any initiative for its dissolution, and if forced out would cause no trouble for any other member.

"I believe in the Commonwealth because it is the only organization or institution in the whole world which can accommodate differences of colour", he said. "All major world problems have in them some element of colour. It is involved in the problems of differences in development between the industrialized and developing countries. The Commonwealth alone can reduce the tensions aroused in this dangerous situation.

"Monolithic Communism and its intentions towards Africa contain dangers, but Communism cannot succeed merely on the basis of its economic ideology. It could succeed only by clever exploitation of the problems of colour; and by breaking the Commonwealth we should enhance their ability to exploit those problems.

"During this visit to London I have been seriously disturbed by the opinion which is being projected day by day that Britain might escape from her present economic difficulties by forgetting the Commonwealth, concentrating on entering Europe, and coming to terms with the illegal régime in Rhodesia.

"The way out is not a settlement with Rhodesia which would for the first time since the end of the second world war force Britain to recognize a minority Government. That would change the British image which has been presented to the world since before the campaign against the slave trade.

The Example of Nazareth

"Are Britain's economic difficulties so great that she must cease to be accepted by the coloured world as a leader of world opinion and be regarded merely as a leader of a racialist group? Must the Prime Minister of Britain reflect Hitler or the late Prime Minister of South Africa? Must Britain be projected as merely the preserver of white people throughout the world?

"I invite you to reject consideration of the value of the Commonwealth merely on the basis of its economic usefulness to member countries. Power, political and economic, has changed from one historical era to another. At different times Rome, Egypt, and the Turkish Empire had the power. During the great Colonial period it lay with Britain and France. Nobody now talks of Rome or the Turkish Empire; but I do not think that Britain or France have lost their value, or that their endeavours in Africa and Asia are yet at an end. They have a vital part to play in the years to come.

"We recognize the strength and power of the United States and the Soviet Union. Nobody knows what will happen in Africa, where we are endeavouring to consolidate our independence and come together. That may take years, but it remains a plausible line of development. Africa is not yet fully known, and has not yet found the resources and vital economic ingredients for power; but it could come.

"Britain could decide not to take seriously small African countries like Uganda. There are those who take the view that nothing good will come out of Africa. The Jews tried to damn Nazareth in that way; but Nazareth produced what has become a great moral power in the world. It is better to assume that the Commonwealth association can exist and serve its principles, though the fortunes of member States are bound to change.

"We cannot break the Commonwealth merely because we have not been able to find a solution to accommodate 200,000 people within a community of four millions in Rhodesia."

Asked about the caucus which had been formed largely by his efforts among many of the delegations at the Commonwealth Conference, President Obote said that he hoped that there would be no such development as a permanent feature during Commonwealth gatherings, but that it had been extremely valuable in elucidating the exact opinions of member States on various aspects of the Rhodesian issue, so that all now know what each felt with an exactitude which would otherwise have been unobtainable.

Emphasizing the importance of a non-racial attitude in public affairs, he said that in his own country he was engaged day by day in suppressing racialism and accommodating development to the dignity of man irrespective of his colour.

"If political severance in the Commonwealth resulted from the disagreements about a Rhodesian settlement, would existing economic relations be disrupted?"

"I do not think in terms of leaving the Commonwealth, but in such circumstances it could remain the same. If we were thrown out because of our colour, Britain would have to compete in Uganda with Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Americans and others, who would say: "We feel as you do about colour. Here are our price lists". (Loud laughter).

Uganda Labour Congress

A UGANDA LABOUR CONGRESS has been formed as a "national centre of trade unions". It takes the place of the Uganda Trade Union Congress and the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions, which have been dissolved. Formation of the new body has been welcomed by President Obote.

Somali Delegation to Soviet Union

PRESIDENT OSMAN of Somalia has selected as his companions for his State visit to Soviet Russia the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Defence, Education, and Planning, the Somali Ambassador in Moscow, the Deputy Commander of the National Army, the Commander of the Presidential Bodyguard, several other military and security officers, and senior officials from different Ministries.

Mr. Gordon-Brown Retires

MR. GORDON-BROWN, who had edited the Union-Castle guides to South Africa and East Africa since 1948, retired last week. He made meticulous accuracy and up-to-dateness his hall-marks; and his successor, Mr. John Norton, takes over a Southern African volume with a high reputation (publication of that on East Africa having been discontinued). Mr. Gordon-Brown, who will continue to live in Wynberg, Cape Province, was at one time on the Mombasa staff of the Union-Castle Line.

Farm Institute for Karamoja

A FARM INSTITUTE has been given to the people of Karamoja by the National Federation of Women's Institutes in Britain, on whose behalf Mrs. Oliver Farquaharson, its vice-chairman (and president of the Essex Federation of Women's Institutes), flew to Uganda a few days ago for the official opening. She took with her a silver challenge cup to be awarded annually to Uganda's best African woman student in home economics. N.F.W.I. collected £24,000 for the farm institute.

Kenya-Somali Clashes

SOMALI FREEDOM-FIGHTERS kill Kenya troops in the northern frontier area every day according to the Ministry of Information of the Somali Republic, whose spokesman said last week in a broadcast from Mogadishu that the Kenya Government was giving its own people and international news agencies absolutely false casualty figures, presumably in the hope of improving the very low morale of the Kenya Army. Kenya had recently claimed that 34 Somali had been killed and many more wounded without any casualties on Kenya's side. Who could believe such reports? The truth was that the combat tactics of the Somali nationalists were superior to those of Kenya's forces.

Press Comment on the Commonwealth Conference

The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, was credited by *The Times* with a "triumph of drafting", and Mr. Wilson with adroitness and statesmanship.

The leading article said—

"What the *communiqué* offers Mr. Smith is a three months' gamble. If he will come back into the fold and act constitutionally, then the issue of independence for Rhodesia before majority rule is established will be put to the test of local public opinion. The gamble is whether the white Rhodesians could devise some system of establishing what that opinion was which would satisfy the British Houses of Parliament and the world that it was a fair one and yet give them the only answer they will accept.

"Exactly how the views of the people of Rhodesia as a whole would be sought is wide open. If there were no time limit to the offer the day might well come when both Britain and the world, distracted by other problems and by then bored with this intractable one, would accept some specious 'democratic process'.

"If that were done, then the essence of Mr. Wilson's original six principles could well be lost. The crux of the *communiqué* is that there is a time limit. If Mr. Smith and his followers do not by the end of the year accept the challenge which the *communiqué* puts to them, then not only do they suffer the likelihood of increased penalties but they lose irrevocably any possible hope of constitutional independence before Rhodesia has majority rule.

"There is perhaps one other gamble Mr. Smith and his supporters might contemplate—that if they agreed to Mr. Wilson's proposals the new Rhodesian Government need not thereafter press for early independence. They could say that some years of education of the Africans are necessary before either majority rule or independence can be established. By that time also the world might no longer be so set in its opinion that majority rule is a *sine qua non*. This may seem unthinkable now. But national and international moods and priorities can change in the most remarkable fashion.

"Pressure must be kept up. There can be no relaxation until every Rhodesian, no matter what his colour, has been put on the path to obtain full citizenship without undue delay and in an orderly fashion".

"These Threats Will Not Chasten Mr. Smith"

"Harrying Rhodesia" was the heading given to a highly critical leader in the *Daily Telegraph*. It said:—

"No liberty-loving person could take exception to the constitutional principles enunciated for Rhodesia by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. But many will ask: in how many of the African and Asian States sitting in judgment is the practice of one man one vote anything more than a mockery? Significantly, those countries in which democracy works best were those which showed most moderation in these discussions.

"The case is still left for Britain to handle. Mr. Wilson has accepted the end of the year as a time-limit, after which he will ask for mandatory sanctions on selected Rhodesian exports and imports. Action is then envisaged under Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter, which call on U.N. members to apply sanctions both to the economy and the communications of the target country. They permit demonstrations of military strength and the use of blockades by military forces to maintain or restore international peace and security". The control of Mr. Wilson on events will thus tend to become even more tenuous, and the likelihood of slipping into conflict will become greater.

"This conference has not been a moment of truth for the Commonwealth. Mr. Wilson has not fully avowed his impotence, and he has been pushed further along the path of Lagos towards the goal of the extremists—a confrontation with Southern Africa.

"There is not the remotest chance that these threats will chasten Mr. Smith. They will in fact drive South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia closer together—and further from Britain.

"While conceding that Rhodesia is still Britain's pigeon, too many cooks are telling her exactly how to cook it. No matter that the bird is still in the bush.

"An interim Government is visualized, and some form of referendum. This amounts to a decision that Britain cannot further seek any agreement that is remotely acceptable to white Rhodesians. Mr. Arnold Smith, head of the Commonwealth Secretariat, affirmed last night that 'the Commonwealth will win'. There is no win for anyone in moving from law and order towards chaos in the name of principles which have never yet taken firm root in Africa".

Next day the *Telegraph* said:—

"Either the Commonwealth delegates are being fooled or the British public is. Mr. Wilson's policy is no longer comprehensible or attainable.

"He can claim to have kept the Commonwealth together. But it was he who first put its unity in jeopardy by a false appraisal published in October 1964. He then issued from 10 Downing Street his statement that unilateral independence would be an act of defiance, rebellion, and treason. That statement is not included in the Government Blue Book on Rhodesia—a curious omission—but from it has stemmed all the excitement, expectation, and subsequent disillusion. Mr. Smith's action certainly was defiance. Whether it was rebellion or treason has been doubted by some eminent legal minds".

Orgy of Humbug

The diarist, Peter Simple, wrote:—

"The orgy of humbug is over for the moment. Rhodesia is to be given an absurd ultimatum which everyone knows it cannot possibly accept.

"One condition for a settlement of the dispute is that 'any ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be by a reference based on universal adult suffrage, i.e. one man, one vote. But there is no mention of a referendum to ascertain the wishes of the people of Great Britain as a whole on a subject which closely concerns them, since it is they who will mainly have to pay for any measures, however idiotic, which may be taken against Rhodesia.

"Unless our people have been more thoroughly brainwashed than even I imagine by the incessant propaganda of progressive journalists, television verbalizers, female political pets, fashionable fools, and other far more sinister characters, the result of such a referendum would be both sensational and decisive.

"The war-like leader-writers of the *Guardian*, who six months ago suggested that the R.A.F. should bomb the Greek oil-tanker carrying supplies to Rhodesia, now demand that rail links and bridges in Rhodesia shall be bombed to prevent oil reaching the country from South Africa and Mozambique. This, they say, 'need not involve civilian casualties'.

"If things go on at this rate, there will soon be an irresistible demand for the bombing of the *Guardian* as an obvious threat to world peace. This need not involve civilian casualties. It can be assumed that there are few if any genuine civilians left on that blindly militarist newspaper".

Mr. Wilson Eyeball to Eyeball with Mr. Vorster

As a result of his "gamble", Mr. Wilson might "find himself eyeball to eyeball with Mr. Vorster, a far more daunting proposition than Mr. Smith", the *Financial Times* suggested.

The leading article said, in part:—

"Mr. Wilson seems to have saved the Commonwealth (although the angry Africans have not yet all had their say), but has he achieved anything else? The *communiqué* is a masterpiece of prose in which all disagreements are gently noted, a number of angry outbursts are reduced to dulcet paragraphs and a package of specific-looking British commitments are undetailed enough to leave the Prime Minister with a good deal of room for manoeuvre. But a time-limit has been set. If Mr. Smith agrees to a deal before Christmas he can probably have it; if not, Britain will take its place at the head of the African nationalist ranks.

"There is nothing in the *communiqué* that excludes giving Mr. Smith practically everything that was offered to him in the telephone talk on the morning of the day of the unilateral declaration of independence.

"Mr. Smith has only to say the word and he would find himself heading a Rhodesian Front Government, with some of Britain's unavourables excluded, but most of the present Cabinet included. The Governor would be head of the administration; the African nationalists would be freed (on a promise of democratic behaviour); sanctions would be lifted—and negotiations would begin where they left off on November 11, 1965.

"There is even the possibility of choosing a form of consultation of the Rhodesian Africans (a Royal Commission; talking to party leaders) that would avoid a black veto of any scheme agreeable to both Salisbury and London. And for the foreseeable future Rhodesia would still be a white man's country.

"It was just such an outlook that led Dr. Verwoerd to counsel strongly against U.D.I. last year; it was the same prospect that led him to force Mr. Smith to agree to talks. It is the same conception that Mr. Wilson must now be hoping will lead Mr. Vorster to put similar pressure on Salisbury once

more. The alternative, with Mr. Vorster as with Dr. Verwoerd, might be a head-on clash with Britain; and that neither side has been able to contemplate with equanimity.

"Mr. Wilson has conjured up the ghost of such a clash after Christmas, no doubt arguing that the South Africans will say 'Why have it when the white Rhodesians can get all they desire without it'. But Mr. Smith refused to play this game last year (hence U.D.I.), and the chances are that his reaction to this ultimatum will be just as negative.

"If that is the way the dice fall Mr. Wilson will find himself eyeball to eyeball with a far more daunting proposition than Mr. Smith—Mr. Vorster. When those two stare one another out the first one to blink will be the loser".

Why Does President Kaunda Tolerate Mr. Kapwepwe?

The *Guardian* wrote in a short leading article:—

"Britain is now committed to supporting compulsory sanctions against Rhodesia if the régime does not end its rebellion this year. It is the right policy for Britain to adopt, but it poses questions which the *communiqué* does not attempt to answer.

"Is oil to be included in the 'effective and selective' sanctions sought from the United Nations? Unless it is included the régime's survival will be prolonged. If it is included, South Africa and Portugal must be induced to support the embargo or the supply must be stopped in spite of them. One method, probably ineffective and possibly leading to an armed clash with those countries, would be by rationing their imports of oil. Another method would be by destroying the supply channel into Rhodesia. Which is it to be?"

"Britain has not accepted the Zambian demand for a period of direct rule. When the precise circumstances of the end of the rebellion cannot be foreseen, the point is probably academic. Whether the country is ruled from Salisbury or Westminster will make little difference if Britain is understood to be in essential control and provided that U.D.I. cannot happen all over again".

Next day the *Guardian* wrote:—

"If some Commonwealth countries press for oil sanctions before Britain is ready for them, Mr. Wilson will be able to say that his promise is contingent on his being given the full support of Commonwealth representatives, in the words of Wednesday's *communiqué*. Without support for precisely the methods he chooses and no more he is absolved from the promise. He has thus internationalized the conduct of sanctions while keeping it in British hands. The art of drafting a *communiqué* has seldom been better exemplified.

"Mr. Wilson shunned all temptation—if he was ever tempted—to 'sell out'. Mr. Kapwepwe is an exception, but his spontaneous reactions have the appearance of long preparation. President Kaunda's choice of colleagues is his own affair. Like any other Head of Government he has to hold a balance of power. But outsiders find it strange that a President who believes in charity and good will should harbour a Minister whose philosophy is so alien to his own".

Caucus with "Blood in Its Eye"

The *London Evening Standard* said:—

"The Afro-Asian caucus arrived at the conference with blood in its eye. In speeches sounding suspiciously like dress-rehearsals for later U.N. performances, its delegates demanded the use of force in and general mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia.

"Britain, in severe financial straits, cannot afford to mount a military expedition even if her people would allow it. Still less can she afford a policy of general comprehensive mandatory sanctions which could so easily spread to her vital trade with Portugal and South Africa, and give her already trembling economy the coup de grace. Already the Government's Rhodesia policy has cost Britain £100m.—£80m. in foreign exchange.

"The deep irritation which provoked Mr. Wilson into his sharp rebuke to African leaders for their Commonwealth conference tactics is fully shared by other Prime Ministers. Australia's Mr. Holt and New Zealand's Mr. Holyoake protested impatiently about the way long Afro-Asian caucus meetings disrupted the plenary proceedings. Their remarks reflected a strong feeling of disillusionment and resentment within delegations from the older Commonwealth countries. These loyal friends of Britain consider that the behaviour of some of the Africans has been nothing short of attempted blackmail and dictation—and they do not mind saying so.

"No high marks, then, for African performances at the conference, except perhaps for President Obote, who acted with some dignity and restraint as caucus shop steward".

The Commonwealth correspondent, Mr. Tom Stacey, wrote:—

"The *communiqué* makes a mockery of all that the Conservative Party has stood for on Rhodesia. Mr. Wilson has now forfeited any hope of a settlement".

Deplorable Communiqué

How can a self-respecting Government accept an ultimatum? asked the *Daily Express*, which continued:—

The *communiqué* is deplorable. Mr. Heath should propose a meeting between Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson. This would certainly ask a great deal of Mr. Smith. Yet if it succeeds in averting a dangerous crisis any steps taken will be justified in the eyes of the British people and surely of his own".

The last chance of avoiding eventual chaos and destruction: that was the interpretation put on the *communiqué* by the *Daily Mail*. It was the only national newspaper to withhold editorial comment on the day following the issue of the *communiqué*. Twenty-four hours after all its contemporaries it wrote in a leading article:—

"When the United Nations becomes involved in sanctions, things will become much more serious for the Rhodesian economy. When the inevitable crash comes it will be no use for Mr. Smith and his colleagues to look for a second chance of master-minding the gradual African advance. Their opportunity will have been lost. Mr. Smith faces the next three months in a state of moral isolation. In such a situation he must either come to his senses or descend into oblivion. He is lucky still to have three months to make his choice".

The diplomatic correspondent had written:—

"Ten tense seconds saved the Commonwealth from a final split on Rhodesia. After an angry 15-minute speech, the Prime Minister, who was prepared to walk out of Marlborough House and adjourn the 22-nation meeting indefinitely, put the blunt question: 'Do you want the Commonwealth to survive or not?' Ten seconds ticked by in silence. Then there were shame-faced mutterings. After further struggles over drafting the conference produced an agreed *communiqué*.

"Mr. Wilson won time to give Premier Ian Smith one last chance to end the rebellion in the next few weeks. But this manoeuvre was strongly resisted by the majority of the other Commonwealth nations, who urged that Britain should refuse to resume discussions or negotiate with the Smith régime.

"That night there was only one sour note—from Zambia".

Baying for African Rule

The *Daily Mirror* had headlines more than an inch deep across the whole of the front page reading "Ultimatum to Smith: Give in before 1967". The opening paragraph read:—

"Britain last night flung down a dramatic ultimatum to Rhodesia's rebel régime. Premier Harold Wilson called on Ian Smith's Government to accept an interim Government composed of whites and Africans by the end of the year or take the consequences".

The African demand that there should be no independence in Rhodesia before majority rule has to all intents and purposes been accepted by Mr. Wilson, said the *Scotsman*, adding that there was no chance of acceptance of the plan by Mr. Smith.

"Since any British offer of independence before majority rule would have to be buttressed by all sorts of watertight guarantees, including provision for the use of force if Mr. Smith reneged on the required promises to ensure African advancement, Mr. Wilson's decision to accept the gist of the African leaders' case does not really imply any major change. He is merely closing an option that never really existed. Mr. Wina's worries are surely exaggerated".

The Prime Minister alone cared to believe that a change of heart was likely in Rhodesia, wrote the *Spectator*.

"Mr. Smith and his supporters are not going to change their minds at the threat of 'effective but selective mandatory sanctions'. And if the selective ever turn into comprehensive sanctions, why surely it must seem that the world, whose interest is primarily commerce rather than morality, will hardly keep the campaign going that long.

"Neither has anything come out of the conference that is likely to induce repentance. White Rhodesia does not look at things with Mr. Wilson's subtlety. That has been one of the troubles all along. It sees him drifting with the Commonwealth crowd, baying for African majority rule. White Rhodesia will read the *communiqué* as a further reason why it should refuse to settle.

"For the time at least the Commonwealth has saved itself, but it has not solved the Rhodesian problem. No major policy decisions have been taken by any member. The members live to fight among themselves again, one imagines very soon".

New Statesman regretted that Mr. Wilson had not agreed to the use of force by bombing Rhodesian supply lines.

The *Economist* considered that Mr. Wilson had probably made it more difficult to cope with Rhodesia though he had obtained a tactical success which would carry him through his party conference, and possibly through the U.N. Assembly.

Mr. Wilson had got the worst of both worlds white and black, the *Statist* thought.

"What was at stake was British influence throughout the world. If 200,000 Europeans in Rhodesia can indefinitely defy a nation of 55m., the consequences will not be confined to the Commonwealth. Anglo-American relations could suffer their worst rift since Suez. The Americans have no intention of imperilling their own influence in Africa or amongst the increasingly vocal Negro groups in the United States by backing an apparent loser.

"The real crisis from the start of this conference was one of confidence in Mr. Wilson. He could have scotched suspicions about a sell-out and saved time all around had he not tried to prevent Rhodesia being the first item on the agenda; had he shown a little more imagination, especially in briefing other African leaders on the 'talks about talks'; had he shown more understanding that the Africans' real nightmare is another orderly police State to contrast with their disorderly freedom; and, above all, had he been less reluctant to stand four-square by the Lagos *communiqué*.

Communiqué Has Settled Nothing

Even the *Observer* admitted that the "laboriously contrived" *communiqué* had settled nothing. "A patched-up *communiqué* is no substitute for an effective policy. It does not suggest methods which could bring down the Smith régime.

"A programme of selective sanctions is bound to fail because South Africa and Portugal will prevent them succeeding. Yet Mr. Wilson continues to decline to contemplate enforcement action against South Africa. This is like undertaking to protect a poultry yard on condition that nobody is allowed to disturb the runs used by the foxes.

"Mr. Wilson again finds himself committed to a Rhodesian policy that won't work. In six months Mr. Smith will still

be there; opinion in the African States will have become further inflamed; such confidence in the Commonwealth as still remains will have weakened; British public opinion will have moved further in the direction of Mr. Wilson's colleagues who privately advocate the abandonment of British responsibility for Rhodesia.

Elsewhere the paper charged Mr. Wilson with showing irritability and quarrelsomeness during the conference, with the consequence that one session "became a shambles". He was said to have been told by Kenya delegates that the Commonwealth was not his to order around.

Conference "Infantilism"

Mr. Douglas Brown wrote in the *Sunday Telegraph* of the "infantilism" of the conference and dismissed its *communiqué* as "an elaborate fairy tale". Turning to "something that happened last week in the world of grown-up politics", he said:—

"Mr. Vorster is no mere nursery bogeyman. He disposes of a lot of real guns and a lot of real gold, and has become leader of one of the most resolute, racial groups in history. He, rather than Mr. Wilson, or Sir Humphrey Gibbs, or even Mr. Smith, will ultimately decide what will happen to the 200,000 whites in Rhodesia.

"Mandatory sanctions decreed against Rhodesia would necessarily involve South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd would certainly not have accepted them, but he would have kept the Rhodesian and South African questions distinct, and, in view of the basic reluctance of all major Governments, including Mr. Wilson's, to come face to face with South Africa, his diplomacy might have been successful.

"Mr. Vorster, reading that portentous Commonwealth *communiqué*, may not see it like this. Urged on by his followers, he may make common cause with Rhodesia and even with Portugal, not only economically but politically and militarily.

"This is assuredly what Mr. Smith would like to happen. If he thinks it will, he is unlikely to be frightened by Mr. Bowden, this week's bearer of Commonwealth threats. Instead he will probably declare Rhodesia a republic on November 11, the first anniversary of his U.D.I. There would then be a certain tidiness about white racism in Southern Africa. It would become a single fortress, defying the world.

"Even then actual war might be avoided. Those who dispose of the world's rockets, fleets and armies are not as irresponsible as some of Mr. Wilson's black Commonwealth playmates. But even an economic boycott of gold-rich South Africa would be an international disaster, not least to Britain. It would probably fail, but not before it had divided the whole world on racial lines".

Another Round to Mr. Smith

"Another Round to Mr. Smith" was the heading given by the *Daily Telegraph* to a telegram from Salisbury from its correspondent Mr. David Adamson, who said that Mr. Smith would not end his régime voluntarily and allow the Governor or anyone else to replace him.

"He is on the pedestal of power and no one is shaking it sufficiently to cause him to fall off. Britain is still seriously underestimating the financial and other aid which South Africa would give to prevent a Rhodesian collapse. The long, hostile frontier against Africa has been formed, and the future is largely in the hands of the Africans and Europeans who live on both sides of it".

Referring to the passage of the *communiqué* reading: "Those individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted", Mr. Adamson wrote:—

"The vision of Mr. Smith and his prisoners, Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, on the hustings is an engaging one. Mr. Nkomo's and Mr. Sithole's followers were both slaughtering one another until late 1964, and in the last few months Mr. Smith's troops and police have been busy eliminating gangs of Mr. Sithole's followers who were trying to move from Zambia on to the Rhodesian highveld in time for the Commonwealth Conference. Things might not be so Arcadian as the statement seems to imply.

"Sanctions have had no political consequences. In one case—chrome—the threat of mandatory sanctions seems to have helped exports. Exceptionally large shipments were sent from Beira to the United States last month. Tobacco has been got rid of in barter deals, such as that with Japan for motor vehicles . . .

"Mr. Wilson's 'Cuba' has had its Bay of Pigs, and from now on it will be mainly the forces in and in the vicinity of Rhodesia which will decide the future".

MESSAGERIES MARITIMES
 15, Bd. de la Madeleine, PARIS (8). Tel. OFE 6766, R10 2940



M.V. "LE NATAL" — 9,300 TONS

Monthly service between:

ANTWERP . DUNKIRK . LE HAVRE
 LA PALlice . MARSEILLES

and

MOMBASA . DAR ES SALAAM
 BEIRA . LOURENCO-MARQUES

LONDON OFFICE (AGENT GENERAL FOR THE U.K.)

72/78 FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON, E.C.3
 Telephone: ROYAL 8187-8-9

News Items in Brief

The Ethiopian military mission is to be withdrawn from Korea.

University College, Nairobi, intends to establish a medical school.

Six African women from Tanzania have left for Soviet Russia.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, have declared a 20% dividend.

Rothmans of Pall Mall, Ltd. are to build a cigarette factory in Uganda.

The new University of Zambia has students from 20 countries and staff from 17.

The Rhodesian Government has published the second volume of *Flora Zambesiaca*.

The Holy See and Uganda are to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

The Kenya African Party of Electors has been formed, with Mr. Ondieg Marenja as interim president.

A Food for the Hungry Fund has been established in Kenya under the chairmanship of Mr. J. S. Gichuru.

Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., has declared a dividend of 3½ cents per share (4.2d. to U.K. shareholders).

Radio Corporation of America, Inc., is to build the first television station in the Congo at the cost of \$900,000.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., have raised the interim dividend on the deferred shares from 30 to 40 South African cents.

One roving ambassador for Africa is to be appointed by Bechuanaland when the country becomes independent as Botswana.

Uganda's Record Cotton Crop

This year's Uganda cotton crop has passed last year's record total of 437,931 bales. The estimate of 444,000 bales is likely to be exceeded.

Japan has offered Kenya long-term yen credits of about £2m. Similar credits of £1m. had already been made to Uganda and Tanzania.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 222,823 tons of coal and 15,773 of coke in August. The July figures were 175,580 tons of coal and 14,531 of coke.

Three East African Ministers of Commerce will next month lead delegations to Europe to re-open negotiations with the Common Market authorities.

The United Nations Development Programme has now 85 technical specialists in Uganda either in Ministries or engaged in the study of pre-investment projects, of which there are five.

Zambia's imports from Britain in the first half of this year were valued at £12.5m. Her exports to Britain totalled £38.5m., compared with about £31m. in the first six months of 1965.

Kenya Inshore Fisheries, Ltd., has been registered to develop an inshore fishing industry at the coast. The Ross group of Great Britain will provide technical advice and sell frozen fish to Britain.

United Transport Overseas, Ltd., which operates in 62 countries, 10 of them in Africa, has bought road transport interests in France, Belgium and Germany previously in United States ownership.

Contractors Quitting Kenya

W. & C. French, Ltd., the civil engineering contracting group, has decided to withdraw its personnel and plant from Kenya to South Africa, where a new subsidiary company has been registered.

The Indian High Commissioner in Kenya said on returning from a visit to his own country that any Indians deported by Kenya who were not citizens of India would in future not be accepted there.

The new Torco method of extracting copper has proved so successful on a pilot scale in Zambia that it is to be used commercially at other mines of the Anglo-American group. It will make economic much copper in many countries which it has not hitherto been profitable to mine.

An African taxi-driver in Uganda has been acquitted of illegally possessing a rifle and ammunition. He pleaded that the weapon had been left in his vehicle by the Kabaka of Buganda when he escaped from his palace in May.

Uganda's production of robusta coffee this year is estimated at some 20,000 tons, against only 7,000 tons last year, and a record arabica crop of 13,000 tons is expected from Bugisu. These totals far exceed the country's export quota.

Flamingo Publications, Ltd., and Trinity Holdings, Ltd., Dublin, have acquired the editions of *Flamingo* published in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and four West African States. Another edition is proposed for Rhodesia and Zambia.

Lourno, Ltd., estimate that for the year to September 30 consolidated profit before tax and depreciation will be about £3,750,000, compared with just under £2.5m. in 1965. An interim dividend of 6d. per 5s. share has been declared.

A World Bank Mission to Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda is expected to review the economic situation in those States. Expected to be led by Mr. John de Wilder, it is due to arrive in East Africa in October, and to spend at least six weeks in the territories.

New plant and equipment costing £45m. would be required if the output of industry in Uganda was to increase by 60% in the next five years, Mr. Cuthbert Obwangor, Minister of Commerce and Industry, recently told the Eastern Province Chamber of Commerce.

Sharp criticism of British exporters has been expressed by a Nairobi trade journal, which accuses them of "indifference and complacency". It emphasizes that the British share of East African trade is static although imports into the territories have greatly increased.

Training "Mercenaries" in France

A dawn raid by about 100 French police on a remote farm in south-eastern France led to the arrest of 30 men who were believed to be under training as "mercenaries" for the Congo. The owner of the farm had been told that it was to be used as a holiday home for men of the Foreign Legion.

Three gold coins, of 500s., 250s., and 100s., have been struck by the Royal Mint for the Government of Kenya to mark the 75th birthday of President Kenyatta. His portrait appears on the coins and on the bank notes issued by the new Bank of Kenya. The price of the three 22-carat coins will be £32.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has published a pamphlet entitled "The response of rice to fertilizer". Experimental work in Zanzibar indicated "large responses to nitrogen and phosphorus applied singly, with further increase where applied in combination"; but that finding dates back to 1956.

Amendments to the Zambian Constitution, as proposed in a Bill now before the National Assembly, would permit leaders of Parliamentary parties to expel members and deprive them of their seats in the House. The legislation is modelled on the Kenya Act which forces any M.P. who breaks with his party to fight a by-election.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Ltd., a group with large Central African interests, report that in the first six months of the year sales totalled £67.8m. (£61.2m.) and that the operating profit rose by 42% to £9.5m. Income from investments fell from £2.7m. to under £2.1m. Profit before tax of just over £2m. totalled £10,719,000 (just over £9m.).

Police in northern Tanzania have arrested 32 timber contractors who were working in the Kilimanjaro forests with labour from the Kisii area of Kenya. All have been accused of employing under-age youths, 94 of whom have been repatriated. Most were said to have been abducted, usually at night, and not to have known where they had been taken.

Public Security in Kenya

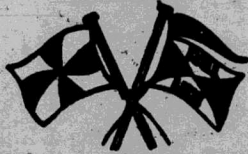
President Kenyatta of Kenya has signed rules under the Preservation of Public Security Act which make the death sentence automatic on persons found guilty of carrying arms, ammunition, or explosives without lawful authority in the North-Eastern Province and neighbouring areas. Life sentences are made mandatory for harbouring or consorting with persons dangerous to security.

The Tanganyikan African National Union, the party forming the Government of Tanzania, has ordered all branches to arrange for January 25 to be observed as "Solidarity Day" with the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) on the ground that that organization "deserves the praise and support of everyone in Tanzania for the heroic struggle it is waging against Portuguese colonialists".

Inchepe and Co. Ltd., a group with large East African interests, report lower profits for the year. March 31 at £964,506, against just over £1.1m. The tax charge, however, was down to £204,965 from £361,807, so that net profits were rather better (£759,521 against £748,082). The dividend is maintained at 2s. 3d. per £1 share, taking £259,521, and leaving a carry-forward of £384,210 (£457,676).

Optimistic expectations have been voiced in Nairobi by Mr. Nafi Waigwa, managing director of the newly-registered Kenya Gold and Diamond Industrial Prospectors' Co., Ltd. He said that 17 different minerals had been discovered at 36 locations, that the deposits were worth £87.5m., and that working capital of at least £150,000 would be necessary, and that working parties were about to visit the U.S.A. for advanced training in mining methods and to seek financial and technical assistance. Mr. Arwings-Kodhet, the Minister for Natural Resources, said that it was impossible to comment until samples had been provided for examination by Government geologists.

JOINT SERVICE



HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

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

Vessel	Glasgow	18. Wales	Birkenhead
CITY OF DUNDEE	13 Oct.	17 Oct.	25 Oct.

† If inducement * With or without transhipment

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

Vessel	Glasgow	Birkenhead
TACTICIAN	3 Oct.	11 Oct.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH, No. 5 WEST FLOAT

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

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

Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

To the Publishers of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA
26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1

Please send me RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA regularly until
counterterm ded. I enclose my cheque for the first annual subscription (£2 12s for
the surface mail edition or £6 10s for the air edition to any address).

Name.....
(in capital letters)

Full postal address.....
(in capital letters)

Signature.....

Would you like us to send the paper to some of your friends also ?

We bend over backwards
to meet your
Delivery Dates

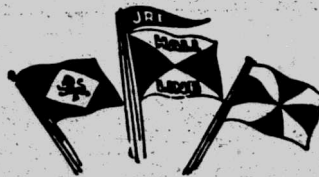
At Union-Castle, this kind of bending over backwards isn't painful; it's routine. When we say we'll get your freight there on time, we mean it. We carry your goods with a reliability, care and speed that's as famous as the dependability of the Union-Castle Line itself. Send for full details of Union-Castle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

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

The going's good by
UNION-CASTLE

Outward Freight Dept., Greenly House, Creechburch Lane, London, E.C.3
For details, clip coupon to your letter heading, then post:
To Union-Castle Line. Please send full details of freight services

NAME _____
POSITION _____



CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES EAST AFRICA

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

	Closing	Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	B'head
§ CITY OF PRETORIA		—	—	Sept 22
† JOURNALIST		Sept 23	Sept 29	Oct 6
E.A.N.S.L. VESSEL		Oct 10	Oct 13	Oct 20

* If inducement

† also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR)
§ also PORT SUDAN and ADEN

also by arrangement

RED SEA PORTS

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

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

THE OWNERS or

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

Loading Brokers

STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO
LIVERPOOL 2

London Agents

TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD
LONDON, E.C.3