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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. WILSON'S EVERY ACTION over Rhodesia has been badly timed; and almost all would have been wrong in any case. That has, of course, not been made clear to the British public by the politicians, newspapers, or radio channels, although it has long been obvious to all with real knowledge of the course of events. Now the truth must have invaded the mind of Mr. Bowden, the new Commonwealth Secretary. That he should soon meet Mr. Smith and some of his colleagues in Salisbury was desirable, but it was scarcely prudent to arrange for the discussions to run into Mr. Smith's party congress and for the return of the mission to London almost to coincide with the Labour Party's annual conference. Such tactless timing aggravates the difficulties at both ends, for party conventions, by providing extremists with their opportunity to emphasize theory at the expense of realism, increase the normal pressures upon the leaders. Moreover, a delay, if only of two or three weeks, would have taken some emotion out of the post-Conference euphoria of the more sensible Africans, who said candidly in private while in London that they fully realized that there would be no settlement on the basis of the Marlborough House *communiqué*.

The annual conference of the Liberal Party made itself ridiculous last week by approving the idea that high-flying bombers of the Royal Air Force, with their crews ignobly placed under United Nations command, should bomb the Rhodesian railway system, and that that would not entail loss of life. To add to the irresponsibility, that recommendation masqueraded as an alternative to the use of force! Did it occur to none of the vicarious assailants that such aggression would violate the air space

of Mozambique or Malawi or both? Or were Tanzania and Zambia, whose leaders thirst for bloodshed, to be allowed to co-operate? Could nobody appreciate that, even if clashes with the Royal Rhodesian Air Force were avoided, blood would be spilt on the ground? If by good fortune that did not occur at the first bomb drop, it would certainly be caused by the attacks which must follow repair of the line. Liberals, or for that matter Socialists, who want war with Rhodesia should say so unambiguously, so that the country may spurn a folly and a crime which would quickly set all Southern Africa ablaze.

Press reports and comments on the Bowden mission could not have been more contradictory. While some mass-circulation London dailies featured extremely optimistic forecasts, others were simultaneously pessimistic; and more than one Fleet Street organ turned in its tracks within hours. Nearly all the assessments indicated their unreliability by revealing that they were based on the preconceptions and misconceptions which Mr. Wilson and his colleagues have so foolishly mistaken for fact. The one real gain is that Mr. Bowden has been undeniably engaged in negotiation after ten months of Wilsonian nonsense about not negotiating with "an illegal régime". Whether any real progress towards a settlement has been made cannot be known, for, quite rightly, there has been no disclosure from either side. If there is still no change in the situation, negotiations should be quickly resumed and steadfastly pursued; and Mr. Wilson ought henceforth to be under relentless pressure by the Opposition, for its deputy leader, Mr. Maudling, has convinced himself on the spot that a mutually acceptable solution is attainable.

New Commonwealth Secretary's Mission to Rhodesia

Mr. Bowden Begins First Ministerial Negotiations Since Independence Was Assumed

MR. HERBERT BOWDEN, the recently appointed Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Elwyn Jones, the Attorney-General, and the other 18 members of their delegation to Rhodesia will be flying back from Salisbury in a Royal Air Force Comet aircraft while this issue is being printed.

On Monday evening Mr. Bowden had his third official meeting with Mr. Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister (and many Rhodesians believe that they have had one other meeting, and perhaps two, about which neither side has made an announcement). On this third occasion no other Ministers or officials were present.

It was said afterwards that Mr. Bowden had told Mr. Smith that he would leave on Wednesday to report to his Cabinet colleagues.

"I am happy about the talks", Mr. Smith told reporters.

Lord Lambton, Conservative M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed, who flew back to London from Salisbury at the week-end, wrote in the *Evening Standard* on Monday that the prospects of a settlement were now more favourable than at any time since the unilateral declaration of independence.

"After a bad beginning the wise decision was taken to avoid technicalities and procedural matters and see what common ground there was for actual agreement. From then on things never looked back, and by the time Mr. Smith left for Bulawayo for his party conference the chances of agreement had greatly increased".

Plan for Agreed Independence

According to the writer, who was in touch with senior members of the Rhodesian Front, "it is planned that independence should be granted in the following context: that the revolution will come to an end, and that Sir Humphrey Gibbs as the Queen's legal representative will immediately appoint as the legislative executive a Supreme Political Council, which would have as its head—for Mr. Bowden has realized that there is no alternative—Mr. Smith. Many of Mr. Smith's Ministers would also retain their present positions. But at the request of the British Government the Council would take on a national outlook and include Rhodesians like Sir Hugh Beadle and Mr. Evan Campbell and other public men of similar standing.

"Mr. Smith, however, has declined to admit any black African leaders at this stage, as this would be unacceptable to his party, who if he goes too far, will disown not merely the scheme but himself as well. He can get away with the appointment of outsiders as at present many of his Ministers hold more than one portfolio and so their responsibilities can be divided.

"The operation then enters its second stage: the Political Council's implementation of the new Constitution, based on the 1961 Constitution with its plan of phased African political advance and reform of the legislature. It is planned that there will in future be two chambers, the lower house becoming comparable to the House of Commons, and a Senate.

"It is planned that in the lower house there will at once be an increase of B roll seats—there are at present 15 African-supported members—but that there will not be enough of them to block legislation. The franchise of B roll voters will be extended so that it will be almost universal; to vote an elector will have to show only a minimum of property or education.

"The second chamber will have as its primary purpose the power to check any change of the Constitution—i.e., if it is eventually decided that it shall have a membership of 60, of whom 30 are Africans, then any constitutional change could result only from a two-thirds majority.

"It has not been decided how the African members of the Senate will be chosen. Mr. Bowden has refused to accept Mr. Smith's suggestion that six chiefs should be automatic. A solution acceptable to both sides is not considered unlikely".

When interviewed on B.B.C. television, Lord Lambton said that agreement could be reached with Mr. Smith, but it could not be on a basis acceptable to the black African States because of the blundering of Mr. Wilson at the Commonwealth Conference.

Mr. Herbert Bowden, the Commonwealth Secretary, had said in Salisbury on Saturday: "I think I am more hopeful than when I arrived—just a little more hopeful".

Solution Can Be Found

That same day, Mr. Maudling, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, and its spokesman on Commonwealth Affairs, said before leaving the Rhodesian capital: "I came convinced that a generally acceptable solution could be found, and I leave with this conviction even stronger".

The Prime Minister, Mr. Smith, had told his party conference on the previous day that he had the strong feeling that the end was in sight; but he had coupled the statement with a warning that there might still be need for continuing patience.

By the week-end Mr. Bowden and the Attorney-General, Sir Elwyn Jones, were believed to have seen about 100 people, among them Mr. Gondo, the African Leader of the Opposition; Mr. Evan Cambell, the former Rhodesian High Commissioner in London; Sir Albert Robinson, a former Federal High Commissioner; Sir Robert Tredgold, sometime Chief Justice of the Federation; and business, religious and other representatives.

Some persons who had called at Government House to see Mr. Bowden said afterwards that they found him a very good listener and not a "know-all".

Mr. Ian Smith, who was accompanied by Mr. Lardner-Burke, his Minister of Law and Order and Minister of Justice, had first called on Mr. Bowden and Sir Elwyn Jones at Government House on Tuesday of last week, and they had spent most of the afternoon together.

Whereas the Rhodesian announcement said that discussions had taken place "between Mr. Herbert Bowden and his party and the Rhodesian Prime Minister and his party", the statement issued by the British mission referred to talks between "the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bowden, and Mr. Smith and his party".

The Rhodesian Prime Minister took with him Sir Cornelius Greenfield and Mr. G. B. Clarke. The British officials present were Sir Morrice James, Deputy Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Watson, and Mr. Hennings, head of the British residual mission in Salisbury.

There was a further meeting on Wednesday for nearly two hours in the officers' mess of the police depot behind Government House.

That day the *Rhodesia Herald* appeared with more than half of its front page blank. Photographs of the page appeared on Thursday in several British newspapers.

On Sunday the two Ministers attended morning church with the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

That day Mr. Wilson saw at 10 Downing Street Sir Morrice James, who had flown back from Salisbury to report to the Prime Minister on the course of the discussions.

Mr. Smith's address at the party conference is reported in other columns. First impressions in the City from cabled extracts were so optimistic that there was a sharp rise in the quotations for Rhodesian bonds, though not much business was done. The 2½% 1965-70 stock rose £5 to 62½, and the 6% 1978-81 put on £8, also to 62½.

It became known that H.M. Government had given notice that it would cease paying its grant of £54,000 a month to

Lonrho, Ltd., owners of the pipeline from Beira. The last payment on October 7 will bring the total to £324,000.

Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, condemned as "a political vendetta" the decision by the British Government to refuse to allow the Rhodesia Freedom from Hunger Campaign to transfer funds from London for the payment for vehicles bought in Rhodesia.

Mr. Maudling's Conclusions

Mr. Maudling said before leaving Salisbury for Johannesburg that his five days of talks with many people had made him more strongly convinced than ever that a generally acceptable solution could be found to the crisis on the basis of the 1961 Constitution with additional safeguards. An early solution was imperative, for, despite appearances, sanctions were having some effect and would have more. There must be a return to constitutional government.

"I suggest that it would be desirable to hold a further election on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. Whoever won the election would be Prime Minister. There could be advantage if in this critical new phase of Rhodesia's history he could form a broad-based Government of national unity".

Mr. Maudling favoured extension of the B roll franchise, perhaps to the extent of one-man-one-vote, and amendment of the Land Apportionment Act.

The difficulty in satisfying the British Government that a new Constitution would be acceptable to the people "as a whole" might be met by the appointment of a mission similar to that of Lord Cobbold when he was asked to ascertain the views of North Borneo before the formation of Malaysia.

Mr. Winston Field, the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, who is on holiday in Southern Ireland, said last week that Britain had no right to invoke sanctions against Rhodesia. The chief victims would be the Africans whom Britain claimed to want to help.

Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, discussed the Rhodesian problem in the United States with Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, at the week-end.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia, said

in Kuala Lumpur that the Commonwealth Conference discussions on Rhodesia had not been in the spirit in which the Commonwealth would break up. "I was myself more of a peacemaker than a participant".

Mr. Mainza Chona, Minister of Home Affairs, told the Parliament of Zambia that Mr. Wilson had contemptuously dismissed the views held by most of the delegates at the Commonwealth Conference. "In the view of Zambia's leaders the British Prime Minister had said and done nothing right since Rhodesia declared her independence. The Zambian Government was convinced that Mr. Wilson was desperately trying to find a way to legalize the Rhodesian Government."

Mr. Enoch Powell, M.P., said in York that the delusion underlying the Government's policy towards Rhodesia was the idea that Britain could dictate the course of events in Central Africa, when all that Britain had had been a certain influence. Yet the Government had acted as if it saw no practical distinction between Rhodesia and Rutland.

Rhodesians Will Win

Mr. Patrick Wall, Conservative M.P. for Halton, said when speaking in Cottingham:—

"Having just managed to hold the Commonwealth together, Mr. Wilson has inevitably prejudiced his position with Rhodesia. He now has his last chance to achieve a compromise."

"Mr. Smith has beaten the blockade, as did the American colonists 200 years ago. The Americans would not tolerate direct rule; neither will the Rhodesians. The Americans wished to remain loyal to the Crown though they rejected Parliament; so do the Rhodesians. The Americans would not compromise on principles; neither will the Rhodesians. The Americans were pushed from economic to military war and they won; so will the Rhodesians."

"The alternative to a compromise can only be mandatory sanctions leading to a demand from the U.N. for war against white-led Governments in Southern Africa. Any such action would ensure Britain's economic defeat, the devaluation of sterling, and incidentally of Mr. Wilson".

High-Level Talks Should Continue, Says Mr. Ian Smith

Prime Minister's Speech to Rhodesian Front Congress

MR. IAN SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, was accorded an ovation at the Rhodesian Front congress in Bulawayo last week. More than 500 delegates attended.

Mr. Smith was re-elected president, and Mr. William Harper and Lord Graham deputy presidents. The vice-presidents are Mr. John Wrathall, Mr. J. Cary, Mr. S. Eastwood, and Mr. D. C. Lilford. Colonel W. Knox was re-elected chairman and Mr. R. Nielson elected deputy chairman.

There were thus two changes from last year's office-bearers, Mr. Wrathall replacing Mr. P. van Heerden as a vice-president, and Mr. Neilson succeeding Commander C. Phillips as vice-chairman.

In the course of his speech Mr. Smith said:—

Recovery of Confidence

"You will all remember the dejected state of affairs in our country just after the 1961 Constitution was accepted. Confidence broke down. People began to leave, taking their money with them. This was one of the saddest periods in our whole history. But there was one chance left, and, thank God, enough people with the courage to stay and fight it out. As a result of the fight in the 1962 election there came about the miracle of the Rhodesian Front victory.

"From then on there was a gradual recovery. First, a holding operation and a gradual recovery of confidence. Gradually we stemmed the flow. It was a long process. Then gradually we turned the tide and began to get people coming back and investing once more in our country. The long process made us realize how important it was to take a firm stand in Rhodesia.

"Only one thing could completely restore the confidence of the Rhodesians—and that was independence which would put us in a position where nobody else could ever do to us what happened in 1961. There was also the question of

creating conditions here which would mean that all Rhodesians could get together to try to iron out a future that which was the most acceptable to all the people of this country—because up to then the Africans were not prepared to talk to their own Government; but they talked to the other party who still had a finger in our pie. This has gone on ever since. They want the moon, and they know they haven't got much hope of getting that from me. So they feel they should try somebody 6,000 miles away.

"The dismal Jimmies said that we were chancing our arm when we claimed that the majority of the Africans, and especially the tribal Africans, supported us. But you will recall the great *indaba* of chiefs and headmen: a success that exceeded our wildest expectations, when we got 100% support from these people for ourselves and our Constitution for independence for Rhodesia. An incredible victory this! We must never forget the support we have had from these people.

Declaration of Independence Inevitable

"So we inevitably came to our declaration of independence. But we played this correctly, not only so far as our own consciences were concerned, but so far as outside world opinion was concerned. They were convinced that we had left no stone unturned in our efforts to try to negotiate independence; and after this the sympathy from the outside world, while it wasn't complete, was a lot, lot stronger than it would have been had we not been meticulous in going right to the end in our exercise in trying to negotiate.

"The battle for the railways was sponsored by the British Government, who got the Zambians to co-operate with them—much of course to the detriment of the Zambian economy, not the British economy. However, we manoeuvred, and I believe we have won the battle of the railways. Then the battle for fuel, petrol and the oils; and we have more petrol now than at the start of this exercise.

"The main purpose of the visit by British Ministers is to have discussions with our Government to see if it is possible to find a way out of the present predicament. They should be able to accept us without much fear, because our own High Court in Rhodesia not long ago acknowledged that we were the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia. So Mr. Wilson doesn't have to accept my word for that; he has the word of an impartial body here whose reputation is amongst the highest in the world. This would facilitate matters considerably if we

could get away from this somewhat stupid game of trying to pretend that the Rhodesian Government does not exist.

"Time and time again we have been acknowledged in things that the British Government has done—hundreds of times. In fact they have recognized us, and as soon as they come out into the open and accept the Government the talks can go on unimpeded and unhindered at a high level. This will be the only possibility, I believe, the only chance, of finding out whether there is common ground or not.

"Let us keep our heads and let us keep cool. We have justified ourselves as far as history is concerned, as far as the method we have adopted of steering the ship is concerned. We have come a long way, an incredibly long way, with incredible success. Nothing succeeds in life like success. So let us go on succeeding. Then we shall find that those friends that we have in the world today will not let us down; indeed, I believe that we shall find gradually we are gathering round ourselves more and more friends.

"It will go down in history that this small land-locked State has stood up, not to one great country, but to almost the entire world. We have stood up in a manner that has absolutely confounded them. Because of this, because of this tremendous spirit that we are showing, we are gaining more and more sympathy every day. It is something which I believe is justified, something which we have on merit.

"My Money on Rhodesia"

"I cannot guarantee that there is going to be a settlement in a week, or a month or a year, but I can tell you that if this turns into a test of endurance, then I put my money on Rhodesia.

"The most important operation of all was building the new wall which was going to hold the flood waters. We had been unsure of this wall, because on the far bank where that shoulder abutted into the embankment it was held there by the British Government, not Rhodesia. This was not in our hands because we had not obtained our independence. On November 11 we excavated the rotten section of this abutment, threw it away, and buttressed it with good solid Rhodesian independence, so that the whole wall was Rhodesian.

"We also built up the freeboard, and we are now finalizing the last operation, a perfect work of strategy and a perfect work of defence.

"I do not know how long I will have to go on asking you to bear out with patience these finishing touches, but I know you will not slacken or weaken. I believe we may be nearer than we think, in view of the fact that the British Prime Minister himself has said that he would like a decision by December. Some people thought it unwise to give this limit. It was exactly what we wanted. We believe that the time has come when we should really know one way or another whether it is worth continuing in the direction that we have been going recently and waiting for something to come from the British side.

"So we know that we have saved our country. I have a strong feeling that the end is in sight. So I ask you to support me in making a pledge that no matter what happens we will never allow anybody to deviate us from the course that we have set."

On Thursday evening the congress sat from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. It was in session on Friday from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. and on Saturday until 2.30 o'clock.

The only guard on the hotel in which the meeting was held was of two African policemen.

Was There An Apology?

Mr. Wilson Threatened Legal Action

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister of Zambia, was asked at a news conference on his return to Lusaka whether he had apologized to Mr. Wilson after Mr. Kapwepwe had called him a racist and imperialist. London journalists covering the Commonwealth Conference were explicitly told at the time that an apology had been offered to the Prime Minister.

According to a Government statement issued in Zambia, Mr. Wina's reply to the question read:—

"I couldn't possibly make an apology for the remarks made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at a place and at a time where I myself was not present. But in the restricted conference of leaders of the Commonwealth, where Mr. Wilson's threat for what he called actionable accusation implied in my view the intimation of legal action, I merely expressed on behalf of the Zambia delegation regret that he felt embarrassed. But I also made it clear that the Zambian Government and delegation shared the full intensity of feeling expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. No apologies were I think called for, and I certainly couldn't make them myself."

Psychological Warfare Against Rhodesia

RHODESIA DELENDA EST: that was the message of the Commonwealth Conference, Mr. Harold Soref, chairman of the Africa Group of the Monday Club, told a meeting held in London last week.

The "monster rally" held at Marlborough House had been a travesty. It had been dominated at close range by the Afro-Asian-Caribbean-Makarios caucus, and at long range by President Nyerere of Tanzania, "an African Cuba in which there have been revolution and genocide, in which M.P.s languish in gaol without a word of protest, and in which racialism is rampant".

Psychological warfare against the white man in Africa was being waged by the B.B.C. and *The Times* and other newspapers. Archbishop Lord Fisher, who had just written a letter blackguarding the Rhodesian Government, had uttered no word of protest against the present anti-Christian crusade in China or, he thought, against murders and mutilations in the Congo.

Mr. John Biggs-Davison said that a week of waffle at the Commonwealth Conference had produced a *communiqué* which was horribly compounded of African racialism, Wilsonian equivocation, and Canadian liberalism.

Mr. Wilson's "Illegal Régime"

Following the bad United Nations example of twisting its Charter to suit an Afro-Asian bloc which used and was used by the Communist Powers, the Commonwealth had flouted its conventions to allow an Afro-Asian caucus to hector Britain about a British problem. It seem that Mr. Wilson, not Mr. Smith, had an "illegal régime"!

While paper tigers had snarled in London the High Court in Salisbury had ruled that Mr. Smith was head of a *de facto* Government and that the emergency regulations had not impaired the just rights of Rhodesian citizens under the 1961 Constitution.

The British Parliament should be asked to delete from that Constitution the limitations upon Rhodesian sovereign in return for agreed safeguards for African rights.

He proposed the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting of the Africa Group of the Monday Club deplors the abuse of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference by a racist caucus bent on imposing a solution of the Rhodesian problem incompatible with the best interests of the British and Rhodesian peoples; reaffirms its opposition to sanctions and U.N. or other international intervention against Rhodesia as threatening the peace and stability of the whole of Southern Africa, which is vital to sterling and Western strategy; welcomes the first contacts made since U.D.I. between British and Rhodesian Ministers; and urges H.M. Government to work with Mr. Ian Smith and his administration to create the conditions for the recognition of Rhodesian independence under the Crown with justice for all races."

Is Zambian Public Money Missing?

A RECENT BROADCAST from Rhodesia stated: "Missing funds are bothering Government officials in Zambia. Information leaking out of Zambia last week reveals that something like £13m. from public funds cannot be traced. Or, put another way, some high-ranking officials know what has happened but for political reasons think the matter had better be hushed up.

"It will be remembered that 14 top-ranking European security officers were suddenly dismissed and later declared prohibited immigrants by the Zambian Government. These people knew a lot about what was going on behind the scenes, and records and reports were kept under lock and key. When the dismissal orders were given the officers were asked to give up their keys to safes and offices."

R.A.F. Should Bomb Railways

Liberals Confer on Rhodesia

SERIOUS CABINET DIVISIONS on Rhodesia were alleged by Lord Henley, the president, when he opened last week's annual assembly of the Liberal Party in Brighton.

"What happens", he asked, "if on Rhodesia a Tory and Labour consensus leads to a sell-out? In spite of the Commonwealth Conference, this could happen. The Conservatives and Labour must not be allowed to promote a disengagement in Africa. There are signs that Labour is getting worried at the prospect of being too deeply involved over Rhodesia, and the Tories have always had sympathies with Smith. Here the Liberals can speak out as neither of the parties can.

"Africa is one of the few places in the world where what we say or do has some significance, and where we have a real contribution to make to the prevention of a polarization of black and white in some ghastly, world-wide confrontation".

In the absence of Mr. Grimond, the party's leader, the executive committee approved an emergency resolution on Rhodesia. It called for:—

- (1) An unambiguous pronouncement that independence will not be granted to any Rhodesian Government unless it is based on universal adult suffrage with constitutional safeguards for minorities;
- (2) An immediate initiative to work out, in conjunction with the Commonwealth, the U.N., and other friendly countries a set of measures phased in order of ascending severity, not necessarily excluding the ultimate sanction of force, and calculated to bring about a state of affairs in which power is regained from or surrendered by the illegal Smith régime;
- (3) A pledge that once power has been concentrated in the hands of the Governor it will be used irreversibly towards majority rule and independence; but that independence will not be granted unless on terms acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole; and
- (4) A campaign to inform all sections of opinion in Rhodesia and Britain that the policy aims set out in 1, 2 and 3 above will now be undeviatingly pursued.

Ideas of Mr. Jeremy Thorpe

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., told a news conference that he thought Rhodesia had sold 30.8% of its tobacco crop, mainly to South Africa, and the balance to seven or eight other countries.

He recalled that in June of last year, before U.D.I., he had taken the view that Britain should station up to 2,500 troops in Zambia. Resort to force would now be extremely hazardous and would require at least three British divisions.

When Mr. Thorpe introduced the motion on behalf of the national executive he said that V-bombers of the R.A.F. under United Nations command, flying too high for the Royal Rhodesian Air Force and radar, could "nip" the main oil supply route into Rhodesia by precision strikes at the railway near Malvernia. That was the best alternative to the deployment of troops and consequent bloodshed.

H.M. Government should apply to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesian imports and exports under Article 42 of the Charter, and it should then become the responsibility of an international naval task force to exercise the right of search at sea. South Africa would have to decide whether to resist such action at the price of world anger and the loss of her exports to Britain in order to maintain a Smith régime which the world was dedicated to destroy.

The other course was to use V-bombers. There would be no loss of life if the railway were thus "nipped" on Rhodesian soil.

Honourable agreement could not be reached through discussions, for Mr. Smith, having torn up one Constitution, wanted the exclusive right to amend another. Nothing less than universal franchise would provide adequate guarantees against retrogressive amendments.

Was Britain to destroy the multi-racial Commonwealth and abandon four million Africans in Rhodesia on the ground that she was too weak in resources and determination to prevent 200,000 people from setting up illegally a political

system based on racial discrimination in its every aspect?

Mr. John Tyrrell (Barking) moved an amendment (which had few supporters) that independence should be granted to Rhodesia only after the terms had been approved by a majority of each racial group. It would be wrong to allow the whites to be overwhelmingly outvoted by the Africans; that would be racialism, which Liberals should condemn.

Lord Wade said that force could have been used without bloodshed on the day of U.D.I., but that the opportunity was missed and the use of force was not now practical.

It was an error of judgment by Mr. Wilson to say that force would never be used, and a still greater error not to prepare for the possibility of U.D.I., with the consequence that when it happened H.M. Government had had to improvise. That was why sanctions had been comparatively ineffective. Britain must stand loyal on the principle of a multi-racial Commonwealth.

Lord Reay gave a warning against the "trap" of taking on South Africa and Portugal when dealing with Mr. Smith. Sanctions should be "policed" at all Rhodesian frontiers.

Dr. Michael Winstanley, M.P., likened events in South Africa and Rhodesia to pre-war Nazism.

Bomb Salisbury, Says Miss Todd

Before the debate Miss Judith Todd, daughter of Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Mr. Nelson Samkange, British representative of the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, were introduced as guests of the conference.

Miss Todd had said at an anti-apartheid meeting in Brighton on the previous evening that she would accept the bombing of Salisbury in order to overthrow Mr. Smith. "If the bombing of Salisbury is part of the price we have to pay—and I know it is easy to talk—it is part of the price".

Supply routes into Rhodesia could easily be destroyed without loss of life.

"The British Government before U.D.I. said it would not use force. It said this again at the Commonwealth Conference. They fail to realize that the Smith régime is based on force and is maintaining its position by the very brutal use of force.

"People say that they don't want bloodshed in Rhodesia, but some hundreds of people have already been killed in Rhodesia. These people would have been alive if Britain had gone in in November".

Mr. Heath on Sanctions

MR. HEATH, leader of the Conservative Party, who was asked by the *Scotsman* if his party opposed the imposition of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia in any circumstances, replied:—

"We have examined every case of the imposition of sanctions on its merits, and we shall do this in the case of mandatory sanctions. The major factor in this situation is that mandatory sanctions to be effective have to be enforced by military means. This could then lead to an attempt to blockade the whole of Southern Africa.

"Many people on the left want to use the Rhodesian crisis as an opportunity to attack not only Rhodesia but South Africa by force. I do not believe that force can solve these racialist problems. It will only make them worse, and in the process Britain's economy, already staggering from nearly two years of Labour Government, would be dealt a heavy blow".

When asked how the Tories would strengthen the Commonwealth if the party were returned to power, Mr. Heath said:— "I believe that the Commonwealth can only continue to play its part in the world if its individual members respect the policies of each other. The Commonwealth Conference which is just over showed a lamentable departure from every principle on which the Commonwealth has worked in the past.

"Britain was knocked about in public by many other members of the Commonwealth, as well as in private in the conference—the proceedings of which were then leaked to the Press".

"So long as this country even tacitly encourages the infiltration of terrorists from outside the Rhodesian borders, it is illogical to become indignant when the Rhodesian Government resorts to measures appropriate to a state of siege. We are no longer qualified to criticize".—Mr. Colin MacKenzie, writing in the *Scotsman*.

PERSONALIA

SIR PETER BEDNALL was 71 last Friday. SIR GILBERT RENNIE has just reached his 71st birthday.

MR. GEORGE CUNNINGHAM, Commonwealth officer to the Labour Party, has resigned.

THE REV. and MRS. R. MCMASTER, lately of Zanzibar and Tanga are in England.

MR. S. F. BRICE has returned to Rhodesia House, London, from his visit to Rhodesia.

KING NTARE of Burundi is to visit PRESIDENT MOBUTU of the Congo in mid-October.

THE REV. J. R. FENWICK, Rector of Gatooma, is to be Rector of St. Luke's, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

MR. DANIEL LUCAS NSINANGA, Tanzania's first Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, has arrived in Prague.

MR. E. T. S. KING, a Permanent Secretary to the Government of Malawi, is on leave pending retirement.

MR. WILLIAM M. CLARKE, editor of the *Banker*, has resigned that post on appointment as a director of National and Grindlays Bank.

ATO ASSAFA TEMTIM, the new Ethiopian Ambassador to the Somali Republic, has presented his credentials to PRESIDENT OSMAN.

CAPTAIN and MRS. C. R. S. PITMAN will be in the Cape Province of South Africa until the latter part of January, when they will sail again for England.

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY, the former Conservative M.P., has been elected president of the London Branch of the Institute of Marketing.

THE REV. DR. ALEXANDER KING, senior general secretary of the Overseas Council of the Church of Scotland, is about to retire after 30 years' service.

EMPEROR HAILE SALASSIE of Ethiopia is to visit Italy at a date still to be settled. He will pay a State visit to Jordan between October 12 and 15.

SHAYKH MUKPAR HUSAYN, President of the National Assembly of Somalia, is to lead a 22-member Parliamentary delegation to Communist China.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P., is to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association's annual conference in Ottawa from September 28 to October 4.

THE RT. REV. A. F. B. ROGERS, Anglican Bishop of Mauritius and Seychelles, is about to leave Mauritius for London to take up duty as Bishop Suffragan of Fulham.

THE REV. JAMES GILLET, lately chaplain in the Isles of Scilly, has retired, and MRS. GILLET and he now live in Falmouth, Cornwall. He was at one time a chaplain in Kenya.

BRIGADIER D. A. SANDFORD last week presented to EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE a silver tray as a gift from the British officers who took part in the Ethiopian liberation campaign of 1940-41.

THE RT. REV. OLIVER ALLISON, Bishop in the Sudan, has been given permission to visit the southern part of his diocese. Previous requests over many months had been refused by the Government.

MR. ARTHUR STEPHEN BROWN, the new president of the Confederation of British Industry, has Central and East African interests as deputy chairman of the Chloride Electrical Storage group.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Society gave a luncheon in London last week in honour of SIR THOMAS BROMLEY, the new British Ambassador to Ethiopia. PROFESSOR EDWARD ULLENDORFF, chairman of the society, presided.

MR. C. J. OBWANGOR, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Uganda, has led a 13-member economic mission to the Congo. One of his colleagues was Mr. A. K. BALINDA, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives.

DR. PIO MASUMBOKO, lately Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation in Burundi, has been made Minister for Social Affairs. His successor in his previous office is MR. PRIME NIYANGABE.

SIR EDWIN CHAPMAN-ANDREWS is to preside when MR. R. A. S. BREENE addresses a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London on October 6 on "Francophone Africa".

MISS ELIZABETH KIWANUKA, who seven years ago was the first African woman to be appointed a nursing sister in Uganda after she had qualified as a State registered nurse in England, has been promoted matron-in-chief.

MR. NARENDRA PATEL, Speaker of the National Assembly of Uganda, and president of the Uganda branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, is attending the C.P.A. annual conference in Ottawa, Canada.

LORD BADEN POWELL, chairman of the London and Cheshire Insurance Company, who resigned last week because control had been sold without his knowledge, is the third peer. He was partly educated in Rhodesia, where his parents were then resident.

MR. BOMET, Assistant Minister of Power in Kenya, has publicly refuted reports that there had been a rift between him and MR. MOI, Minister for Home Affairs, and other K.A.N.U. leaders. It was, he said, completely untrue that he was opposing Mr. MOI for the office of provincial vice-president of the party in the Rift Valley.

MR. S. TEWUNGWA, who has been appointed deputy director of the East African Meteorological Department, was the first East African to qualify as a meteorologist. He is a B.Sc., London, and at one time worked for the Uganda Government as a geophysicist.

PRESIDENT BANDA said on his return to Malawi from the Commonwealth Conference that some delegates had used the occasion for self-advertisement and cheap publicity by irresponsibly revealing what had been discussed. He had been careful to "leak" nothing.

MR. JOHN GOETZCKE, an American engineer from Denver, Colorado, recently reached Seychelles in his 32ft. yacht, which he had sailed single-handed from Malaysia. In the last decade he has sailed some 50,000 miles alone. MR. GOETZCKE is now in his 71st year.

MRS. MAUREEN CARTER, of Clifton, Bristol, a daughter of the late DR. T. B. R. WESTGATE, has arrived in Tanzania to gather material for a biography of her father, who was a C.M.S. missionary in that country before the 1914-18 war. He was made prisoner by the Germans. After the war he undertook missionary work in Canada, for part of the time in the Arctic.

MR. IVAN TORS, an American film producer, said in Nairobi last week that he would ship 40 elephants from the Tsavo game reserve to his ranch in Florida where he already has seven elephants, two rhinoceroses, and 16 lions. Because the 8,000 square miles of the Tsavo reserve now contain some 11,000 elephants, which it cannot possibly feed, about 5,000 are to be shot.

Obituary

MR. SISSON COOPER, who has died in South Africa, aged 78, a Canadian by birth, was educated in Ireland and Wales, and 62 years ago went to South Africa to join the staff of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, of which he afterwards became general manager. He had served in its offices in South Africa, Rhodesia, and London, and was a director of the subsidiary Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. He had been chairman of the South African Press Association.

Hypocritical and Unrealistic

Preterence of Pharisaiical Communiqué

LEADER-PAGE PROMINENCE was given on Monday by the *Daily Telegraph* to a letter from the editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA which contrasted the pretence of the Commonwealth Conference communiqué with the realities of the Rhodesian situation. Mr. Joelson wrote:—

"Lord Salisbury described the Commonwealth gathering in London as a conference of racists. It was also hypocritical and unrealistic.

"The pretence was that a small group of white racists had seized and tyrannically used power in Rhodesia and must be 'toppled' in order to restore freedom to the country. The truth is that the constitutionally elected Rhodesian Government reluctantly assumed the independence which had been promised more than once by United Kingdom politicians, who had evaded fulfilment of the pledges by the double-talk and double-dealing to which there have been numerous witnesses.

"The present situation would have been inconceivable but for the mistrust of British politicians, Conservative as well as Socialist, which consequently became general. Because Rhodesians could no longer rely on Westminster or Whitehall, they felt that they must defend themselves.

"Resentment at what seemed deliberate betrayal was inflamed by the idolatry of British politicians for the one-man-one-vote nostrum, in defiance of the proofs all over Africa that it produced dictatorship, not democracy.

Wisdom of Rhodesia's Leaders

"Rhodesia's leaders were therefore wisely unwilling to abandon prematurely their system of qualified franchise; and they had the support of the overwhelming majority of the African population, who, still living in tribal conditions, are anxious for protection against the intimidation and violence which have been the hallmarks of nationalist party politics everywhere in Africa. To suggest that the one-man-one-vote vogue is synonymous in African conditions with democracy and freedom is cynical deception.

"The Conference communiqué ends with the pharisaiical assertion that a multi-racial society would be established by the measures outlined—which spring from the false premise that the one-man-one-vote principle is 'the very basis of democracy'. Rhodesians have not forgotten that that was the basis offered to Kenya by Mr. Iain Macleod, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he recklessly scrapped a Constitution which his predecessor had promised would last for about 10 years and replaced it with a document so unsatisfactory to the African signatories that they promptly disowned it.

"If Mr. Wilson wants a settlement he should admit the share of guilt of British Governments for the state of Africa today, recognize the essential difference between dealing with shallow-bedded expatriates elsewhere in the continent and the deeply-rooted Rhodesians, and say publicly that they are as much attached to their homeland as are Australians and New Zealanders—who, significantly, were the only delegates to the Commonwealth Conference who were realistic about Rhodesia.

"In her own eyes Rhodesia is independent. She cannot be isolated, and her Government cannot be brought down, for the simple reason that South Africa will in self-defence give all essential support to her northern neighbour. Only the other day one South African Minister said: 'Our frontier has now been pushed northwards from the Limpopo to the Zambezi'. These are the basic facts. They were not faced by the Commonwealth Conference."

Mr. Anthony Hawkins reported from Salisbury to the *Statist* that the Government campaign of inspiring confidence is working effectively.

"Many businesses which experienced growing difficulties between May and July now enjoy improved trading conditions. Their sales are down only 10% or 12% on last year. Even the motor car business has seen a useful recovery in the last two months.

"The Commonwealth Conference communiqué destroyed any chance of a white moderate Government in Rhodesia, because that Government would see itself being surrendered to Mr. Wilson's colour-conscious Commonwealth. Rhodesia is nearer Mr. Vorster's South Africa today than ever before. There is no future for Rhodesia within a Commonwealth largely influenced by an Afro-Asian caucus and therefore the pressure upon Mr. Smith to declare a republic has intensified.

"But the declaration of a republic would alienate Australia, New Zealand, and some British sympathy, and might also make for grave difficulties for Rhodesian Servicemen who have sworn an oath of allegiance to the Queen."

Editorially the paper wrote:—

"The hard conclusion is that only force is enough to dislodge the present Rhodesian Government. It cannot be external force, for the United Nations could not mount it; Britain cannot afford it, and anyway does not want to risk the kind of horror that struck the French Army over Algeria; and the African States, were they willing, would make little enough impression on a Rhodesia determined to protect itself and probably aided by South African volunteers.

"That leaves internal force—in effect, sabotage, terrorism, strikes, and the like. It means 'fighting for freedom', the thing which Zambians sneer at Rhodesian Africans for not doing. Even now there is serious rivalry among those groups of Rhodesian Africans who have tried to take the law into their own hands.

"Now that a negotiated agreement has been ruled out, the only way of securing the terms of the Commonwealth ultimatum presupposes the threat of a breakdown of law and order. That is why for the moment ploughing on with sanctions is the only sensible way, and why the course now charted for Britain after Christmas can only be idle or regrettable or both; idle if South Africa refuses to co-operate; regrettable if sanctions escalate to include South Africa; and both so long as Smith remains in power."

Sanctions No More Than A Nuisance

Sanctions are at best a joke and at worst a nuisance for most white Rhodesians who have not yet felt pressure which might inspire political reaction out of economic distress. Mr. J. D. F. Jones, diplomatic correspondent of the *Financial Times*, wrote from Salisbury a few days ago in an interesting article in which he epitomized the effect of sanctions on the lives of typical Rhodesians.

A seller of machinery told him that the United States embargo was highly efficient, but the British inefficient. Goods which he previously received from British makers now came from sister companies on the Continent, "or through dispatch direct from Britain with the destination altered at sea". German and French manufacturers make particularly strenuous efforts to help him out of his difficulties.

He imports through Mozambique or Malawi rather than through South Africa because businessmen in that country now charge what he considers extortionate commissions, often of more than 10%. His spare parts department, which had a normal level of 90%, is still 84%; and his profits for the past year have not fallen from those of the previous 12 months.

That informant plans to keep his business going at the present level for five or six years—that being the time he thinks it will take to reach a solution.

The proprietor of a Salisbury store said that things were far better than he ever thought possible. "His old complaint that golf balls were unobtainable has been solved; visitors and overseas friends rallied round to such effect that he has seven dozen new balls in his locker."

A prosperous and efficient tobacco grower has decided to buy quotas from others who are switching to cattle or maize. The only effect upon him had been a decision to sell his private aircraft.

A young bank clerk, who has not the slightest intention of leaving Rhodesia, was emphatic that sanctions would not bring down the Smith Government.

A well-to-do housewife accustomed to spending freely complained of nothing but the lack of some expensive luxuries like cosmetics and the poor quality of some local substitutes.

"This Marmalade Pours Nicely"

In that connexion Mr. Jones wrote:—"A university broadsheet caught this mood when it reported conversation at breakfast in the Ian Smith household. 'Have some marmalade, dear', says Mrs. Smith. 'This jar is pouring nicely'."

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Economist* considers Mr. Smith to be "as economically and politically secure as ever", and the mission of Mr. Bowden and Sir Elwyn Jones to be doomed *ad initio*.

"Mr. Smith is conducting a remarkably successful holding operation. White unemployment is still only about 3,000, and this includes the many small tobacco farmers on relief who are moving to South Africa, and lately to northern Angola, to

settle. It had been officially estimated that there would be 5,000 casualties by last March.

"There are reliable estimates of about 30% of the tobacco crop being sold out of a total of 200m. lb. or more, and of very much more earmarked by buyers against a constitutional settlement".

Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., wrote in the *Daily Mail*:—"Mr. Wilson knows very well that he has sent his Ministers to Rhodesia on a fool's errand. He has accepted the argument that there is no solution, and from now he is playing it for the record, for history. He is intent on pinning responsibility for failure on Mr. Smith. . . . He admitted failure much too readily before U.D.I., and is conceding defeat now far too casually".

British Government's Charade

The visit was described by the *Daily Telegraph* as a charade. A leading article said:—

"The first illusion is to pretend that Mr. Smith is merely the leader of one sector of opinion. The Smith régime is obviously the *de facto* Government. Mr. Smith stated that he would permit the visit only on terms that involved recognition of his Government. That was enough to deter Mr. Bottomley, but evidently Mr. Wilson can no longer afford to be choosy. As to the other leaders of opinion, the only ones that really matter—Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole—are restricted and not likely to be accessible.

"If at this late hour Rhodesia is to avert an intensified state of siege which could only end in chaos for her or humiliation for Britain, the time has come for the publication of previous proposals for a settlement—not in the form of nebulous principles, but of their practical implementation. With the United Nations General Assembly opening today, Britain will be shy of doing this. So Mr. Smith should put his cards on the table.

"The British public, while not prepared to condemn Rhodesian Africans to white supremacy for Mr. Smith's lifetime, or beyond, is also unwilling to become the tool of those who—however understandably—are obsessed with the determination to see Smith and South Africa smashed. Strong elements in the Labour Government now see the Rhodesian problem neither sentimentally nor cynically, but realistically.

"Mr. Smith should offer an increase in African Parliamentary seats sufficient to block revision of the Constitution; progressive amelioration of the Land Apportionment Act; and acceptance of British assistance for a rapid expansion of African education. The ball would then be right back in Mr. Wilson's court".

The *Scotsman* suggested that for the first time since U.D.I. there were real attempts either to find a compromise or to prove the participants zealous negotiators.

"Mr. Wilson must impress the Tories, while Mr. Smith must respect South Africa's desire for negotiations. No doubt Mr. Yorster, like Dr. Verwoerd, would be delighted if Mr. Smith got away with U.D.I., but if Mr. Smith is not going to win it is possible that Mr. Vorster would prefer a negotiated compromise to a dangerous rescue operation.

"Unless Mr. Wilson is both careful and clever in any attempt at compromise, Mr. Kapwepwe will not be alone in calling him an unprincipled racist".

The leader also said that "even if Mr. Wilson wins, the prospect of majority rule is quite a long way off".

ARCHBISHOP LORD FISHER OF LAMBETH, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to *The Times* last week:—

"I want to pay my tribute to the patience and fidelity with which the Prime Minister has, against all manner of pressures, maintained the honour of Great Britain as senior trustee for the protection and advancement of the four million African citizens of Rhodesia.

"The Prime Minister and Parliament have asserted that since U.D.I. Mr. Smith has put himself and his Government outside the law. Rhodesia's own judges have recently confirmed that he has outlawed himself. Mr. Smith takes no notice.

"Mr. Smith knows well that all the Christian Churches in Rhodesia have denounced his usurpation of supreme political power. Nevertheless he has made an appeal that churches throughout Rhodesia should take part in a day of 're-dedication' on November 11, the first anniversary of U.D.I., the re-dedication to be 'to those Christian ideals which prompted the declaration of independence'. The Dean of the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury, saying that as 'he sees it U.D.I. was prompted not by Christian ideals but by Rhodesian Front policies, rejects the hypocrisy of trying to whitewash it with religion.

"How long is Mr. Smith going to antagonize and agonize this country, the Commonwealth, and the Christian world? Would it not be more reasonable and more Christian if he expelled the British-appointed Governor and (for some good and far more ill) declared Rhodesia a republic?".

Is One-Man-One-Vote Christian?

LORD GRIDLEY, who was for 27 years a member of the Colonial Service—and who voted against sanctions when the subject was debated in the House of Lords—replied:—

"Lord Fisher praises the Prime Minister for maintaining the honour of Great Britain as senior trustee for the protection and advancement of four million African citizens of Rhodesia.

"Is it Christian to hand over four million Africans to chaos and confusion, which would follow the introduction of one-man-one-vote? Would not decent innocent Africans die? Would not children be killed? In the name of sanity, is this protection?"

"Mr. Smith and a great number of white and coloured Rhodesians see this, and Mr. Smith has declared U.D.I. Rhodesia has been published by sanctions for these beliefs. Lord Fisher refers to the agony of the dispute to many Britons. This is true. Equally there is real agony in Rhodesia because many out there of all races believe Mr. Smith and not the British Government. Equally they cannot bear a dispute with Britain on these issues, and they do not wish to leave the British Commonwealth.

"I have friends amongst all races who write to me about these problems and who are fearful of what may happen to them if chaos were to intervene.

"Happiness and freedom from fear exist when there is stable government. Against the odds and in spite of sanctions to date, Mr. Smith and his *de facto* Government have achieved this.

"The Commonwealth Secretary is in Rhodesia, and I wish to say nothing that might make this mission more difficult. Every decent Englishman wants this matter settled. If we have courage and can call up our latent strength, then I am sure it can be settled to the benefit of African and European alike. It will not be settled by condemning one party or the other.

"We have unrivalled experience in the art of government, and have brought immense benefits to many races in all parts of the world, and they are waiting for us to say so. We have disappointed many by allowing ourselves to be abused in the United Nations, and have lacked the moral fibre to stand up for ourselves.

"If we can recapture our moral fibre we can settle the Rhodesian problem. Our leaders must speak, and we have the responsibility. Too long has there been a lack of real leadership. There has been too much cant and humbug that befogs the mind".

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Mining by Africans Encouraged Mr. Vorster Rebukes Mr. Wilson

African M.P.'s Tribute to Minister

WHEN MINING MATTERS were discussed in the Rhodesian Parliament Mr. P. J. D. RUBATIKA said that Rhodesia was on the brink of becoming one of the greatest mining countries in the world, largely because the Deputy Minister of Mines and Lands, Mr. I. B. Dillon, had done so much to encourage Europeans and Africans to engage in mining.

"The Minister has generated greater interest among the African people than any other Minister. In and around my area people now talk about going out to their tribal trust lands to discover minerals because they know that the Minister and his Ministry have encouraged African participation in mining.

"Africans in Makaha have clubbed together and with the assistance of the Ministry are now mining gold. More gold mines are being opened up by Africans because of the assistance the Minister has given at Makaha.

"Before long our Eastern Districts might become the Rand of Rhodesia. Certain mines up to now have never been revealed. The people are taking an interest, and we have encouraged Africans who have discovered gold to go and seek good Europeans. One European has now pegged about 20 gold claims. I know of a second mineral which has been revealed to certain Europeans who are busy working on it.

"This demonstrates how the African and the European are working in partnership. The African is a natural prospector because of his habitat. The white man has the necessary know-how, skill, and ability to manage. So the two together can make this country rich in that more minerals will be revealed. "I have been told in the last two weeks of a certain rare mineral which was never thought to exist in this country. If the concentrates when analyzed prove to be of economic value we shall have those rare minerals in this country. Why? Because of the encouragement that the Ministry is giving to the African people and the co-operation between the Ministry and certain Europeans who are interested in the progress and prosperity of this country.

"Diamonds have been picked up in this country. There are diamonds in the Congo, and the same structure of the soil is found in this country. There might be diamonds somewhere in Rhodesia.

"Rhodesia has many minerals still undiscovered. With the encouragement that Government is giving the African people, many more minerals will be revealed. If only we had had the present Minister of Mines 10 years ago! The British Government is applying sanctions, and hits hard at us on oil. I believe that we can find oil in this country in the Miami area.

"We have heard with gratitude of the technical breakthrough in the mining of copper at the Elephant mine, and we know that there are many small deposits of copper all over Mashonaland".

Sir Seretse Khama

THE QUEEN having approved the appointment of Dr. Seretse Khama, O.B.E., Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, as a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire, he was invested with the K.B.E. on Friday by Her Majesty's Commissioner in Bechuanaland. Tomorrow Sir Seretse will become the first President of the independent Republic of Botswana.

No Part in Boycotts or Sanctions

MR. VORSTER, South Africa's new Prime Minister, referred in Parliament last week to newspaper reports that the British Prime Minister had said in a television interview that Dr. Verwoerd had put very strong pressure on Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, to enter into talks with Britain. That gave the impression that Dr. Verwoerd had been a man with two views, one to be expressed in public and the other in private, whereas he had always had one standpoint only.

He (Mr. Vorster) had in the last few days studied the correspondence which Dr. Verwoerd had had with both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith, and he could testify that his predecessor had done little more than commit to paper what he had said in public when appealing to both leaders to negotiate a settlement of the Rhodesian issue, which he considered a domestic matter directly involving only Britain and Rhodesia.

Will Take Risks for Rhodesia

The Prime Minister added that all South Africans would welcome the resumption of talks between Britain and Rhodesia. South Africa's policy of neutrality in the Rhodesian dispute would not change.

"Neither under pressure nor force will we participate in either boycotts or sanctions. My Government is determined to continue its policy of normal trade with Rhodesia even if this means taking risks. We stand by the cause of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries".

Zambia's Mixed Voices

ZAMBIA'S NEED to save itself from its Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, has been emphasized by the *Guardian* in a note reading:—

"Kaunda may, Kaunda will, Kaunda won't quit the Commonwealth. A long-playing record so badly scratched now that it sounds much like mumbo-jumbo. Why does he keep on playing it? There are two main answers in London diplomatic circles.

"First, Zambia's large purchases of Rhodesian goods are still the biggest source of foreign cash for Smith. This flow can't be cut down without damaging Zambia's development programme. Thus the sound and fury, something of a distraction.

"Secondly, there's a good deal of bitterness among Zambians against Rhodesian Africans—many of whom hold good (and resented) jobs in Zambia. Rhodesian Africans who want to get into Zambia nowadays tend to be refused immigration permits. Many Zambians feel that the Rhodesians have failed to put up much of a fight. Sacrifices, in short, are not popular.

"The one hope lies in Zambia's mixed voices. Disgruntled Kapwepwe was the leading champion at Addis Ababa last December for breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain. Many African States did. Zambia didn't. Maybe the quiet Wina and prudent Kaunda will once again save the country from its Foreign Minister".

Jibuti Referendum

A REFERENDUM on the future status of French Somaliland is to be held before July 1 next year: that decision has been made by the French Council of Ministers sitting under the chairmanship of General de Gaulle. The Minister for Overseas Territories afterwards told the Press that if the population chose independence, that there would be no more French military, financial, or economic aid. If the decision were to continue in co-operation with France, the territory would be given wider autonomy. France would use neither force nor subterfuge to hold the territory.

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Communist Pressure on Africa

Armed Attack on Uganda Troops

PRESIDENT OBOTE told a group of London journalists at dinner before he flew back to Uganda last week that every African State was subject to pressure from the Communist States. "The Asians want to prepare the ground in Africa for the next conflict".

The Chinese Embassy in Kampala had been told that the staff would be asked to return to Peking immediately if there were any interference in local political affairs; they must not expect to run one Government in Peking and another in Kampala. Asked the approximate number of Chinese in Uganda at present, the President replied: "Ten, compared with about 500 Americans and thousands of Britons".

Though he no longer recognized the existence of any Kabaka of Buganda, he had no personal quarrel with Sir Edward Mutesa, the late occupant of that office, who had suffered from receiving and accepting tragically bad advice.

Nobody in his (the President's) position could have avoided making the decisions and taking the measures which were ordered in May after the Buganda Lukiko resolved in emergency session—and for two years it had always met in so-called emergency session — that the Central Government of the country must remove itself from the soil of Buganda. That resolution was naturally ignored.

Platoon Attacked by Ex-Servicemen

Immediately, however, there were incidents in various parts of Buganda which could not be ignored, including the erection of road-blocks, the destruction of telephone communications and railway lines, attacks on police stations, assemblies of persons armed with clubs and sometimes with modern weapons, and assaults and a number of murders.

Then came an attack in Kampala on a platoon of the Uganda Army by ex-Servicemen from the "lost countries" who were armed with modern weapons which they had received from Mengo Palace. Their rifles were brand new, and they said that their orders had come from the palace.

"In these circumstances we declared Buganda a disturbed area, and sent a small number of troops—45, to be precise—to Mengo Hill, an area of about one square mile. If the action had been anything like as bad as the newspaper reports suggested, could some people have got away to London to write the story?"

"Everything is perfectly quiet in Buganda, where the ordinary people feel that their development has been arrested by issues which are not their concern. They certainly do not understand the resolution for the removal of the Central Government."

"The problem is one of national policy and of how best to organize development for the good of the whole nation. It is better for the Government to take all the steps necessary and then get the judgment of the people in a general election."

The Kabaka

"As to the possibility of a reconciliation with Sir Edward Mutesa, remember that it was he who made it necessary for us to take steps to protect the nation and safeguard Uganda's unity. We shall never return to a situation in which one man has to be glorified and have a political party organized around him."

Referring to the Commonwealth Conference *communiqué* on Rhodesia, President Obote said that he did not expect Mr. Smith to accept the plan for Rhodesia, and he feared that the Commonwealth Secretary might have taken to Salisbury some other proposals from Mr. Wilson. If Britain were to recognize Rhodesian independence on any basis other than that of African majority rule, she would lose prestige throughout the world.

Since Mr. Wilson had signed the *communiqué*, he might be asked to join the Foreign Minister of Zambia in his stand against Britain at the United Nations!

Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Immigration, has said that immigration into Rhodesia continues, and that the selection boards are still functioning.

President Nasser in Tanzania

Co-operation Without Reservation

WHEN **PRESIDENT NASSER** visited Tanzania last week, President Nyerere, who welcomed him at a State banquet as "this great Socialist and distinguished revolutionary", said that Tanzania, like the United Arab Republic, aimed at free Socialist development.

President Nasser described the fraternity of struggle and unity of hope between Tanzania and the U.A.R. as geographic, historic, political, social, and ideological, and the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar as an experiment exciting for the future of Africa. "I convey the greetings of the African Arab Egyptian people and their absolute readiness to co-operate with you without reservation in the brotherhood of struggle and unity of hope".

When visiting the University College in Dar es Salaam he promised help from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, which would readily co-operate in Islamic studies and provide all the books which the Dar es Salaam institution might need.

The visitor was made a freeman of Dar es Salaam.

Beauty and the Beast

TWO SUCCESSIVE SENTENCES in an announcement from Zambia Information Services about the recent Monza Show read: "Beauty queen was 17-year-old Elizabeth Hamukwala, a nurse at Monze Mission Hospital. Top beast in the cattle class was Mr. Jeremiah Munangandu's bull".

No Appeasement

MR. HOLYOAKE, Prime Minister of New Zealand, told his Parliament last week that he would not buy popularity with African Commonwealth leaders at the price of appeasement. He again criticized the Afro-Asian caucus at the Commonwealth Conference for seeking to divide the Commonwealth on racial lines, and repeated his objections to the use of force against Rhodesia.

Ministers' Appeal Rejected

MR. JUSTICE KEATINGE has rejected in the High Court of Uganda applications for writs of *habeas corpus* on behalf of the five former Ministers who have been detained since February for allegedly plotting to overthrow the Government of President Obote, who was then Prime Minister. The five ex-Ministers are Messrs. Grace Ibingira, Balaki Kirya, Emmanuel Lumu, George Magezi, and Mathias Ngobi.

Salaries Increase

IMPROVED SALARY SCALES have been introduced for teachers in Rhodesia. Heads of primary schools will be classed in four grades, not six as hitherto, and receive increases of between £100 and £200 p.a. at the end of their scale. The maximum salary for the head of a senior secondary school has been increased by £200 and the scale shortened by three years to reach £2,850. For regional and provincial education officers and senior inspectors of schools there will be an increase of £300 to £2,950.

61% Want to Leave Zambia

MR. A. R. KEMP, chairman of Rhodesia Railways Board, has said that of 1,211 European employees of Rhodesia Railways in Zambia at the end of July about 350 had asked to be urgently transferred to work outside that country, and that another 331 wanted to leave but would meantime continue in the service of the Railways. In-service contracts would be accepted by 477, who would thereby agree to serve for an initial 12 months, and thereafter for a further three years if both parties so wished.

Enthusiasm for Rhodesia

Her Troubles Fomented in London

SOME 500 PEOPLE attended a meeting in the Corn Exchange, Ipswich, last Thursday which was addressed by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Conservative M.P. for Chigwell, and Mr. Harold Soref. According to several subscribers who have written to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, both were "in brilliant form".

"If an audience of this size and enthusiasm can be achieved in Ipswich", Mr. Soref said, "the enthusiasm for the Rhodesian cause would, if it were properly organized, sweep this country and influence the Government".

Yet by the use of double standards Rhodesia's case was undermined. The white residents, who had in two generations transformed barbarity into a highly civilized State, were disparagingly dismissed as "white settlers"; but if one were to refer to the black immigrants as "black settlers" there would be an immediate charge of racialism.

Mr. Wilson kept referring to "a cross-section of the Rhodesian public" and "the Rhodesian public as a whole". If the British public "as a whole" were consulted about his policy in Rhodesia, it would be rejected. That could be testified by the editors of national newspapers who had had "mountains of letters" criticizing the policy—letters which had, of course, not been published.

There was criticism of the censorship in Rhodesia. In fact, that country had the freest Press in all the continent outside South Africa. But if Rhodesia were to become a Black State the newspapers would either be expropriated or compelled to adopt a pro-African nationalist policy.

Rhodesia's troubles were fomented from outside the country, largely in London.

Sanctions Biting Britain

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., said that he had recently found Rhodesia "startlingly normal".

The Union Jack still flew above every public building; fewer police were to be seen in Salisbury than in London; there was no rationing; petrol was plentiful; and most articles in the shops were cheaper than in Britain.

Sanctions were biting; they were biting Britain. What had been a preferential market for British exporters was being occupied by foreign competitors. The police now rode Japanese motor-cycles, and Japanese tractors were on display at Marandellas Show.

There is no alternative to Mr. Smith's administration", said Mr. Biggs-Davison, emphatically. "Rhodesia cannot be reduced without engulfing Southern Africa in chaos and war, to the disaster of mankind and certainly of Britain".

Portuguese Embassy Attacked

More Rioting in Congo Capital

HUNDREDS OF AFRICANS attacked, looted, and set fire to the Portuguese Embassy in Kinshasa (Leopoldville) on Saturday. They dragged the Chargé d' Affaires from his bedroom, beat him, threw him into a waiting car, and drove him away. He was soon released on President Mobutu's orders and taken to hospital, as were the third secretary and a girl typist.

Police did not interfere for 20 minutes. In that time the rioters surged through all three storeys of the building, throwing furniture out of the windows, burning files, and smashing various articles. A crowd of about 1,000 cheered on the intruders, most of them youths. The Portuguese flag was torn down and trampled and embassy cars were set alight.

Incitement by Government Radio

On the previous day the Government-owned radio had declared that the embassy staff were agents of the secret police disguised as diplomats, and had been responsible for the sacking of the offices in Kinshasa of the Angolan revolutionary government-in-exile.

Portugal blamed the Congo Government for the attack, called on the United Nations to secure protection for foreigners in the Congo, and told the Secretary-General, U Thant, that the attackers "were clearly obeying orders".

In Lisbon reporters were told that Dr. Garcia, the Chargé d' Affaires, had been taken to the headquarters of the "Congo Volunteers", as had Dr. Milheiro, the third secretary, whose clothing was sprinkled with petrol; he would have been burnt alive but for the intervention of an African.

The Security Council of the U.N. was told, by the Congo Government that it would consider itself at war with Portugal if white mercenaries stationed in Angola crossed the border and challenged Congolese Government authority. The Angola Government denied the presence of any such persons.

Heavy Fighting in Kisangani

Heavy fighting between former Katangese gendarmes and troops loyal to the Central Government broke out in Kisangani (Stanleyville) on Friday. On Sunday it was claimed that 900 had surrendered, and that the rest had fled into the bush after hand-to-hand fighting in which there had been heavy losses on both sides. White mercenaries fought with the National Army.

General Massiala, brigade commander at Lubumbasha (Elisabethville), has been appointed Acting Governor of Katanga.

Rhodesia Brevities

The Rhodesian Parliament has adjourned until October 25.

Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins, the A.O.C., has described the Royal Rhodesian Air Force as the best balanced anywhere in the continent north of South Africa. It could withstand a "fairly large land-based assault". In case of attack its transport aircraft and helicopters could carry ground forces to any point, in some cases within minutes.

Superintendent Collier, of B.S.A.P., has said in a broadcast interview from Salisbury that some of the African terrorists sent back into Rhodesia from Zambia promptly buried their arms and settled down quietly in their tribal area of origin. Many others, having no heart for the job, had made for the nearest police post and given themselves up.

In other cases, however, infiltrators had committed atrocities. Recently two of them had held up an African woman at gunpoint in the Zambezi Valley and raped her. Some months previously a member of another gang threw a Russian-made grenade into a party of Africans, killing one young girl and wounding 20 others.

Mr. John Conradie, a 28-year-old university lecturer, and Mr. Ian Dixon, 21, a chemical engineer, have been remanded until October 3 on charges of possessing hand-grenades and of conspiracy to cause damage to property or alternatively to commit murder. The first-named told the police that after Dr. Giovanni Arrighi, an Italian lecturer at Salisbury University College, had been detained, he removed the grenades from his house and hid them in Dixon's house with the intention of disposing of them by burial or throwing them into a dam. A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Dr. Arrighi, who was last heard of in Dar es Salaam.

Death sentences were passed last week in the High Court on two Africans who had been charged with throwing a grenade into a café in Salisbury; a third man was discharged. One, whom Mr. Justice Lewis described as the ringleader, said that the grenade had been thrown "as a protest against U.D.I. and the Smith régime". The other man, who said that he had thrown the grenade, claimed to have been drunk at the time. He acknowledged membership of the prescribed Zimbabwe African People's Union.

An African driver, who was found dead in his lorry last week some 10 miles south of Chirundu had been killed by gunshot wounds. He was thought to be a victim of an attack by terrorists.

Two African police constables have been sentenced to eight and seven years' imprisonment respectively in Bulawayo on charges of culpable homicide. They had been accused of beating to death an African under arrest at a rural police station.

A Liberian oil tanker was intercepted in the Mozambique Channel a few days ago by a British frigate which sent a party aboard and then allowed the vessel to proceed to Beira. She was carrying a cargo of oil for local consumption.

Twenty Americans, members of various Friends of Rhodesia societies in the United States, have just spent 15 days in Rhodesia at their own expense.

The Friends of Rhodesia, New York, are arranging a two-day conference on "Peace with Southern Africa" in New York for November 12 and 13.

The chief foreign correspondent of Radio Luxembourg has visited Rhodesia.

Up to 4,000 Africans from Malawi are offered agricultural employment in various parts of Rhodesia.

Trans-Zambesia Railway

TRANS-ZAMBESIA RAILWAY Co., Ltd., reports an increase of more than 19.5%, or £241,553, in goods traffic receipts for 1965 and a reduction in operating expenditure of £46,145, or 4.6%. After meeting all expenses, including Mozambique income and defence taxes, there was a surplus of £244,084, as against £43,946 in the previous year.

When full dieselization is achieved next year, the steam locomotives will become redundant, and since attempts to sell them have not been successful, a loss of about £240,000 is to be written off over three years. A heavy renewals programme has also to be undertaken, and the year's surplus of £297,434 is therefore to be applied to the reserve for the increased cost of replacement of fixed assets. It will consequently not be possible to pay the interest on the £1.5m. of 5% debentures.

In the first six months of this year gross receipts increased by 37% to £880,000.

Fixed assets stand at just over £5m. and net current assets at £851,352. Outstanding loan capital totals £2.8m. The issued share capital is £600,000.

Mr. Vivian L. Oury is the chairman and managing director.

Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., do not expect this year's crop to exceed the 1965 outturn of 113,868 tons of sugar.

Kenaf production in Mozambique is expected to reach at least 2,000 tons this year. In 1962 it was not more than 90 tons.

The **jettile mill near Dar es Salaam** on which building recently started will be called Friendship Mill. It will cost about £24m., provided by an interest-free loan from Communist China. When production begins two years hence there are expected to be 150 Chinese supervisors for a local labour force of some 3,000 Africans.

Filrho Mining and Exploration Co., Ltd. has been registered by miners and other residents in the Filabusi district to re-open the Killarney mine for the production of scheelite, from which tungsten is extracted, and the present London price of which is about £845 per short ton. The mine was worked for gold from 1901 to 1910. De-watering, pumping, and exploratory work will take about five months, and half the cost will be met by the Ministry of Mines, which has accepted that risk because the people of the area have been willing to risk capital in the venture.

The **Kiabakari gold mine** in the Musoma district of Tanzania has ceased production.

French financial interests are associated with a project for an iron foundry at Beira with a capacity of 200,000 tons a year.

Atlantic Electric Co., Ltd., now manufactures refrigerators, washing-machines, and other household appliances in Salisbury.

A **loan of more than \$3m.** has been made by the United States to the Sudan Government for a modern durra processing plant in Khartoum North.

Zambia's tobacco auctions had realized just over £2m. by mid-August from the sale of 13,085,163 lb of leaf, the average price being 36.86d. per lb.

Salisbury Bottling Co. (Pvt.), Ltd. will spend about £250,000 on expansions within the next year in order to treble its production rate of soft drinks.

Oswal Industries (Tanzania), Ltd. are now producing shoes and other leather goods from a new factory in Arusha. The company is a subsidiary of Nakuru Industries, Ltd., Kenya.

Assam and African Investments, Ltd., announce group profits at £113,000 (£245,000), after tax of £318,000 (£439,000). The dividend is to be 6% (already paid) as an interim, against 10% for 1965.

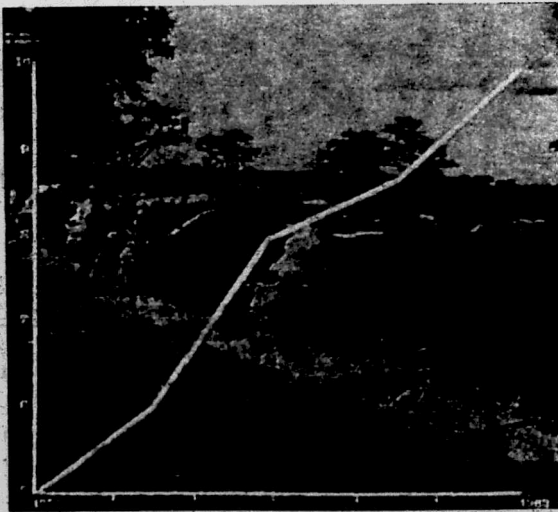
Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania and Uganda sent their Finance Ministers to the Commonwealth Finance Conference in Montreal last week. A report on the special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan was considered.

The **Sugar Corporation of Malawi** has now some 4,000 acres under cane near Chikwawa. By next year the company expects to supply the entire sugar requirements of the country and to have some 5,000 tons available for export.

Conditions on the Copperbelt of Zambia are almost back to normal. The Government has published the text of a Bill which will dissolve the pensions fund which was the cause of the stoppage. Their money is to be refunded to the miners by six-monthly instalments over four years.

Kenya's Ministry of Commerce has expressed its disappointment that some businesses (unnamed) "have wittingly or unwittingly continued to attempt to violate import laws designed to protect local industry". Customs officials have seized goods brought into the country in contravention of the import laws, and a warning has been given that in future "no mercy will be shown to those who deliberately break these laws".

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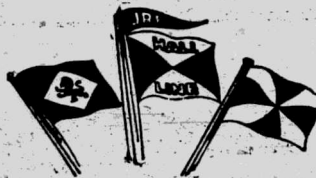
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Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, October 6, 1966

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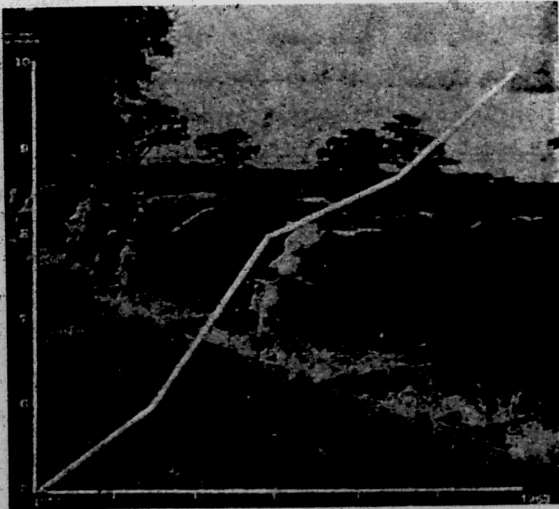
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE PRIME MINISTER, having made every imaginable blunder over Rhodesia, has now to face an initiative at the United Nations in regard to mandatory sanctions which, though ostensibly directed against Rhodesia, would inescapably infringe the dignity and sovereignty of South Africa, and so spread to all Southern Africa a quarrel which cries out for settlement and is certainly solvable if realism be allowed to replace the pretences of the past eleven months. Brawling from Whitehall has ceased. Mr. Wilson does not now rebuke "rebels" or traduce "traitors"; he contents himself with restrained references to "the illegal régime". He has shed the ineffable Mr. Bottomley. He no longer scorns the idea of discussions with Mr. Smith: the new Commonwealth Secretary has just spent more than a week in Salisbury, where he had five talks with the Rhodesian leader, two of them with nobody else present. They got on well together, and Mr. Bowden did as much as any Minister could have done in the circumstances to mitigate the deep-seated mistrust of the British Government. He had, of course, to negotiate within the bounds ordained before his departure, and had consequently no fair chance of succeeding in his mission, for the Government of which he is a member still insists that Mr. Smith must surrender the *de facto* independence to the Governor without any firm understanding of exactly what would follow that abandonment of office, power, and protection for his country's future.

would be willing to cede the independence which their country now possesses except on terms which simultaneously secured legal independence on conditions which do not materially differ from those enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, an instrument negotiated with the British Government (but ever since boycotted by the Rhodesian African political parties). Mr. Bowden, who has recognized that Mr. Smith is the only man with whom a settlement might be reached, might succeed in that quest if he were to return to Salisbury with authority to disregard anything said or done by his colleagues if that Nelsonian technique could produce an agreement which sensible men anywhere could approve. The raucous Afro-Asian-Caribbean caucus would not be satisfied: it wants clamour and crisis, not ordered progress in multi-racial harmony. The first condition of a settlement must therefore be a determination by the British Cabinet not to reject a draft agreement merely because it conflicted with the Commonwealth Conference *communiqué*. Mr. Wilson would do well to give Mr. Bowden his blessing for a return visit, leaving him a free hand and no ties except those implicit in a letter which might have been written early this week saying:—

"To be shouted down in church by dozens of demonstrators chanting the word 'hypocrite' is not pleasant. The parson told a television interviewer today that I had been 'magnificent'.

That is not how I have felt during a sleepless night. I cannot get Rhodesia out of my mind. The protest was about Vietnam, but for me it ricocheted to Rhodesia. The other day one of our people said that the Rhodesian issue, if not settled quickly and wisely, could become as dangerous as Korea and Vietnam combined. I thought him hysterical. In the small hours—and I am writing after 4 a.m.—I am not so sure. But I will not speculate: I just want you to share

There is not the slightest likelihood that that course would be acceptable to any Rhodesian leader. Indeed, the conception inevitably reawakens the suspicion and fear of British politicians of all parties which are the basic cause of the dispute. That suspicion is not restricted to the Rhodesian Front: it is felt generally by responsible Rhodesians, scarcely any of whom

Basic Conditions For A Settlement

what I think my clearest reflections on Rhodesia. They have little relation to all that you have heard me say in the past — which makes it all the more important to get something on paper before we plunge into the commotions of this week's party conference. From what you have told me since you flew back, I should not be surprised to learn that you share these almost twelfth-hour thoughts. It would be a great relief if that were so, for together we could carry a *volte face* through Cabinet. After all, that row would be mere tea-table chat compared with the denunciations which would be organized by O.A.U. and other troublesome pressure groups. But their squibs would be just trifling nuisances compared with the explosion which could so easily occur in Rhodesia.

* * *

"So will you fly back to Rhodesia—this time with only a private secretary and one other man from your Office, not another circus of eighteen — and have real heart-to-heart talks

Southern Africa

Might Be Set Ablaze

with Smith? Tell him that it gave me no pleasure to submit to those who ganged up against us at the Commonwealth Conference; that I recognize the grave dangers of proceeding on the basis of the *communiqué*; that Britain is as near the brink of a precipice as Rhodesia; and that I don't want to take the matter to the United Nations if it can possibly be avoided. That would aggravate the situation, not improve it, for racialism would dominate the debates; and we had overdoses of racialism at Marlborough House. Extremists in New York (encouraged by the Communists) would exert themselves to push the U.S. and U.K. into conflict with South Africa. Southern Africa might be set ablaze. The war of colour could start. It did not occur to me when I was in Salisbury last October that we could drift into this desperately menacing position.

* * *

"How I wish that I had settled with Smith then! Tell him so. The behaviour of the African nationalist politicians opened my eyes sufficiently to cause me to declare publicly that

Blunders of

Last October

majority rule could not come by clock or calendar but only by achievement — which was really an endorsement of the old Rhodesian principle of advancement by merit. My statement stood our party policy on its head, but instead of capitalizing the change and promptly finalizing details with the Rhodesians I foolishly flew off to see African leaders in Zambia, Nigeria, and Ghana.

That showed weakness when strength was required. But ask Smith to make allowance for the fact that I had not then much knowledge of African politicians. Why, not many months previously I had incautiously written to a Rhodesian African that the Labour Party would not agree to independence for Rhodesia except on the basis of African majority rule. You and I now realize that that attitude is absurd. Tell Smith that from me also; and you can promise him that I will say so emphatically and unequivocally at the right moment. At what we now see to have been a climacteric I underestimated Rhodesian mistrust of nearly all British politicians, and I did not reckon that their resentment at my abrupt departure, followed equally unwisely by that of Arthur Bottomley for Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, would cause them to react more quickly and drastically than we here expected. In that sense we were taken by surprise on November 11.

* * *

"Having admitted my share of blame—and from Smith's standpoint it was an addition to an accumulation of serious provocations dating back to Macmillan-Macleod days—I hope that

A Case for

Blurring

he may concede that he might have been a little more patient before he assumed illegal independence. But you had better not press that point. I didn't show much patience myself, and then and later I said some very harsh and inept things. Indeed, one of my regrets is that as soon as I became Prime Minister I rashly broadcast a statement which I thought good for my political image but which quickly showed itself to be extremely bad diplomatically. Tell him that I admit that too; but say also that we shall get nowhere by harping back. We can hope to reach an accommodation only if we stop quoting each other's speeches, agree not to split hairs, and concentrate on the future—in short, if we refrain from acting as politicians anxious to score points off the other fellow and stick to the rôle of spokesman for two countries which both want a peaceful, prosperous, and progressive Rhodesia. Precedent and protocol cannot help us. Nor can lawyers at this stage. Clinging to their legalisms, they want a clear-cut capitulation, a recognizable interval, and only then the re-appearance of a Rhodesian as the legal Prime Minister. Smith cannot accept such a plan. I would not if I were in his shoes. Blur things a bit, as we often do in politics here. He might play if we now scrap our past tactics and misbegotten strategy. Since you so quickly got on good personal terms with him, you might still clear up this miserable mess.

"I will underwrite whatever solution you can reach on the basis that we do not demand a scurry to African majority rule. Tell the Rhodesians that in the Commonwealth Conference I made it very clear that we do not stand for anything like prompt introduction of a one-man-one-vote franchise and almost immediate African majority rule, and would not commit myself to that result in five or even ten years, as Africans pressed us to do. I understand the Rhodesian refusal to state a date for that fateful change, which could be fatal from their standpoint if it were made dangerously prematurely. It must take a longish time to produce enough Africans with the education and experience which would enable them first to share power with the white leaders and later become competent and successful senior partners. Rhodesia can obviously not be denied independence throughout the indefinite intervening period. (How unwise I was to write as I did to Dr. Mutasa. *Mea culpa!*) You can also tell Smith that, though we cannot say so publicly, you and I are aware that many admirable liberal-minded Rhodesians consider that it will take something like a generation to reach the point of no return, and that we are quite willing to leave the time to be decided by events if our agreement expressly provides that the rules shall not be altered part way through the process of evolution. That would meet our principle of "unimpeded progress" without embarrassing Smith. I am not discouraged by his argument for what he calls a braking mechanism. It seems to me a reasonable reply to those who press for the wholesale enfranchisement of the African population and therefore the swamping of the only element in the community which is now capable of running the country. The fact that he still operates the 1961 Constitution—for the 1965 version introduced nothing new and detrimental to Africans from the franchise standpoint—proves that some new device is not really necessary. That was doubtless a bargaining point which would be dropped if they knew that we would accept continuance of the qualitative franchise on the A roll and leave the future to take care of itself.

No Scurry to

One-Man-One-Vote

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* * *

"I doubt whether you would then find Smith resistant to the idea of a Government of National Unity. Of course, he must not be allowed to think—as he may well do from some of the silly pieces written by political correspondents here—that we should expect to stipulate the exclusion of some members of his present

Cabinet and the inclusion of other people who are not now in his Parliament. Any such intervention by us would be an impertinence which Rhodesians would rightly resent. But it would be perfectly reasonable for us to suggest a more broadly-based and non-party Ministry, since that would assuredly benefit Rhodesia, in grappling with her internal problems and in adjusting her external relations. A settlement ought not to leave any sense of victimization, or for that matter of favouritism. If Mr. Smith will travel with you to this point, he will inevitably face dissension and a split in his party. That would rid him of implacable extremists and attract to his leadership—since no other is conceivable—many middle-of-the-road people who have always disagreed with the Rhodesian Front on local policy but are as adamant about independence as any Fronters. A good Government, a better Government, could thus be formed with maximum good will.

* * *

"Let us not be deterred by the fact that it would look like victory for Smith. I'm told that he is a sportsman. You might appeal to him not to crow too loudly and too often!

No Pedantary in private, he could add to his own stature and at the same time help us by taking the line

On Procedure that all that matters is to repair the damage, restore the old family feelings, and get on with the job of development. If we are prepared to renounce our attitude of self-righteous infallibility on an issue of which we at this distance know all too little, surely he can be persuaded to moderate his expressions of triumph. He might go so far as to deprecate talk about victors and vanquished, and emphasize that what matters is a settlement good for Rhodesia, good for the Crown, good for Africa, and good for the world. You will see that I have persuaded myself that a settlement is attainable. It must not be risked by pedantary over procedure. Tell the Prime Minister. (the title slipped off my pen and I shall not strike it out) that we shall not prove sticklers over ceremony or cranks over phraseology. If you and he can agree more or less on the above bases he could either get his law officers to put the agreement into legal shape and send it to us for review, or, if he prefers, we would send out one or two of our top legal men to work with his experts—and with instructions to complete the job with the utmost urgency.

* * *

"That done, and mutual agreement having been reached on the drafts, we could drop the idea of any kind of interim Government. Two

documents could be prepared. When each had been privately agreed down to the last comma, they could await signature by Mr. Smith in the Governor's study—and I should ask neither Sir Humphrey Gibbs nor Mr. Smith whether the second document had been signed before the first! Tell them both that: as good Rhodesians, and therefore automatically sceptical of the intentions of United Kingdom politicians, I

think they might appreciate the hint if they knew it came from me!! By the second document Mr. Smith would accept the Governor's commission to form a new Administration on the terms annexed. By the first he would acknowledge the termination of the period of illegal independence. This transformation, if you can achieve it, will be the greatest triumph of your career. I believe that you can; and I say again that it would be the best result for Rhodesia and for Britain".

Commonwealth Secretary's Mission to Rhodesia

1961 Constitution the Only Basis for Discussion

MR. BOWDEN'S MISSION to Rhodesia can now be described in some detail on the basis of information made available in London and Salisbury.

The new Commonwealth Secretary met Mr. Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, on five occasions, on two of them alone. On the other three he was accompanied by the Attorney-General and officials.

Mr. Bowden is firmly of the opinion that Mr. Smith is the only leader now acceptable to Rhodesians.

At the first meeting at Government House emphasis was laid on the British Government's insistence that there could be no question of "negotiations" with the illegal régime, and that the purpose of the visit was to inform the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, and Rhodesians in general of the proposals which had emerged from the recent Commonwealth Conference in London.

Mr. Smith rejected in turn suggestions for a new Constitution, a visit by a party of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, a mission of Commonwealth constitutional experts, and an Act of Union between Rhodesian and Great Britain.

No Entrenchment

The Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General, Sir Elwyn Jones, consequently concluded that there could be no progress except on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. Paragraph 37 of its third chapter stipulates that 50 M.Ps. shall be elected on the A roll and 15 on the B roll, and the British representatives asked that that section should become an entrenched clause in order to prevent any later amendment to the detriment of Africans.

Mr. Smith declined to agree to entrenchment and asked instead for a braking mechanism as a safeguard against unduly rapid African majority rule. He had in mind the possibility of new constituencies, probably in the Salisbury area, if there should prove to be the likelihood of an African majority at too early a date. While he stood by the principle of majority rule as enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, he held that it could not reasonably be introduced two general elections hence, as some people suggested. A more general view among white Rhodesians is a minimum of three or four general elections hence.

The next hurdle was the means of returning to constitutional rule. The Commonwealth Conference idea of an interim Government made no appeal. Mr. Smith making clear his conception that, after working out informally a Constitution very much like that of 1961, he would surrender illegal independence to the Governor in return for immediate legal independence with himself as Prime Minister. That procedure was

unacceptable from the standpoint of the British Government, which stipulated a "holding operation" under a Government representing a broad cross-section of the community.

Door Still Open

Mr. Smith is therefore faced with the problem of making a major political decision—and within the timetable of the Commonwealth *communiqué*. The door has been left open, but just before leaving Salisbury Mr. Bowden told journalists that he was "not optimistic" about the prospects of a settlement. Time was running out, but it still allowed a short while for reflection and wise decisions. Progress to majority rule must be "unimpeded and guaranteed", but the pace, in Mr. Wilson's words when he was in Salisbury last October, should be measured by achievement, not by clock or calendar.

Return to constitutional rule, he added, would require the establishment of "a broadly-based Administration which would include Rhodesians of all races". However, that neither would nor could mean anything like immediate majority rule.

Though his requests to see Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, the leaders of the two proscribed African political parties, had been refused, he had met other African nationalists, representatives, of the Asian and Coloured communities, and of all sections of the white population. Altogether he had seen about 100 people. They had included traders, industrialists, farmers, journalists, lawyers, clergymen, and university staff.

British View of Mr. Smith's Position

The two sides might now "return to their corners and do a bit of thinking" during the next 10 days or so. Then, when the Cabinet had considered his report, there would be a final period of grace of a few weeks in which the Smith régime would have to decide whether to accept or reject the British terms for an agreed settlement. If there was no agreement, in terms of the Commonwealth *communiqué* there would have to be a British application, supported by the whole Commonwealth, for the imposition of mandatory sanctions by the United Nations.

The Commonwealth Secretary has made no secret of his belief that Mr. Smith is sincerely anxious for a settlement, but that he is under heavy pressure from extremists prominent in his party and that perhaps 30 of them would resign rather than endorse a settlement which would provide for majority rule on terms acceptable to the British Government. He has told friends that Mr. Smith's affability when they were alone contrasted strikingly with his rigidity when he had ministerial colleagues with him.

The Rhodesian leader would agree to a Senate of 12 African members, but only if six of the Africans were chiefs. That condition was rejected by Mr. Bowden on the ground that "chiefs are civil servants paid by the régime".

Among those who are known to have made constitutional proposals are Sir Roy Welensky, the former Federal Prime Minister, Sir Robert Thredgold, the former Federal Chief Justice, and Sir Hugh Beadle, the present Chief Justice of Rhodesia.

The report to the Cabinet is believed to emphasize that there is still a great deal of liberal opinion among white Rhodesians. The farmers are regarded as solidly behind Mr. Smith.

When Mr. Bowden returned last Thursday he went almost immediately to a three-hour Cabinet meeting, taking with him an *aide memoire* setting out points of disagreement which Mr. Smith had seen and accepted.

As soon as this week's Labour Party conference is over the Cabinet will consider a Commonwealth Office paper summarizing the situation. When decisions on it have been taken, whether tentatively or finally, Mr. Bowden may return to Rhodesia for one more attempt to reach a settlement. "I shall not stand on protocol", he has said.

If agreement can be reached its acceptability to Rhodesian opinion "as a whole" might be tested by a commission similar to that led to Borneo by Lord Cobbold.

A suggestion that a Royal Commission should examine the Land Apportionment Act was rejected, Mr. Smith holding that it favoured Africans rather than whites.

Mr. Maudling's Impressions

Settlement Still Possible

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, deputy leader of the Conservative Party and its spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, returned to London on Monday from visits to Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa, and Kenya.

At a news conference and later in a television interview he said that the Smith Government was firmly entrenched and able to carry on for a very long time, though sanctions would have increased effect. South Africa's new Prime Minister had told him that trade with Rhodesia would be continued, whatever the circumstances.

The ultimatum by the Commonwealth Conference and the threat of mandatory sanctions by the United Nations had strengthened Rhodesian support for Mr. Smith and made it more difficult to reach a settlement. Rhodesians were not people who would submit to threats.

Mr. Smith in Firm Control

The gap between the two Governments was not too wide to be bridged, and if Mr. Smith were to say after discussions, "We have found the right solution" the country would certainly accept his guidance. He was unquestionably master in his own house.

The 1961 Constitution, with some additional safeguards, provided the right basis for negotiation.

Two hopeful signs were that Mr. Wrathall, a man of moderate views, had been appointed Deputy Prime Minister, and that the Rhodesian Front congress had left Mr. Smith free to make a settlement. Though he wanted a return to constitutional rule, he would certainly not accept unconditional surrender. There must be a negotiated settlement.

The Conservative Party was totally opposed to transferring to the United Nations what was purely a British responsibility. U.D.I. had, in Mr. Maudling's view, been a tragedy. He criticized censorship of the local Press, saying that he thought it should end at once.

Mr. Heath, the Tory leader, said in a television interview a few days ago:—

"I want to do everything possible to bring the talks between the Labour Government and Mr. Smith to a successful conclusion, and I want to see Rhodesia return to constitutional rule and remain a member of the Commonwealth."

"I have criticized the Government for not being prepared to enter talks—now they have done it; for not talking to Mr. Smith—now they have done it. The Government were wrong when they said that Mr. Smith was to give up everything before there could be agreement."

Communist Scramble for Africa

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P. said in Ilford:— "Rhodesia cannot be reduced without such action against Southern Africa as a whole as would threaten not merely Britain's huge investment in South Africa, our third best customer, but take sterling to the edge of disaster. The longer Mr. Wilson's feud with Mr. Smith drags on, the more trade and influence Britain will lose in Southern Africa."

"Rhodesia must be viewed in the perspective of the new scramble for Africa by Communist and near-Communist States which train and arm the terrorist groups that infiltrate into Rhodesia— with small success, because the Rhodesian Africans are against them."

When Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal M.P. for North Devon, was questioned by Southern Television about his proposal at the party conference for high-level bombing of the railway in Rhodesia, the interviewer mentioned that American airmen were finding the same kind of mission extremely difficult to fulfil in Vietnam. Mr. Thorpe replied: "I don't think the Americans were renowned during the last war for their marksmanship. The R.A.F. was."

Mr. Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, said in a B.B.C. programme: "To use aircraft to stop the flow of oil to Rhodesia is not a statement of Liberal policy. I think Jeremy Thorpe was saying that you could not rule out that under United Nations direction it might become part of the general policy of sanctions to disrupt communications into Rhodesia. One possible way would be to bomb the railway."

Terrorists from Zambia

Rounded Up by Rhodesians

ELEVEN AFRICAN TERRORISTS who were trained in sabotage in Algeria and arrested in northern Matabeleland after they had entered Rhodesia from Zambia were last week found guilty in Bulawayo High Court of unlawful possession of arms and ammunition and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment each. They had with them six sub-machine-guns, four carbines, two rifles, a pistol, hand-grenades, other explosives, and a large quantity of ammunition. Most of the weapons were Russian, but some had Chinese markings. Some of the accused admitted having been trained to "kill whites". They had surrendered without a fight.

Another four Africans were sentenced in Salisbury on Monday to 18 years' hard labour on charges of re-entering Rhodesia from Zambia with guns, ammunition and explosives. A fifth was sentenced to 12 years for possessing arms and ammunition.

In the Chirundu Valley last week two African terrorists were shot dead by a police patrol and five others were captured, one of them wounded. They admitted entering Rhodesia from Zambia. The clash was near the place at which a few days earlier an African lorry driver had been found shot dead in his crashed vehicle.

Two Africans arrested in Salisbury a few days ago are thought to have been members of the gang which in May murdered Mr. and Mrs. Viljoen at their farm near Gatooma. Three other Africans are in custody in connexion with the murder. Two suspects were killed while resisting arrest.

Mr. John Andrew Conradie, a 28-year-old history lecturer at Salisbury University College, and Mr. Ian Godfrey Dixon, a 21-year-old employee of a chemical company, were on Monday committed for trial in the High Court of Rhodesia on charges of possessing explosives and subversive literature from a banned organization. Conradie is alleged to have conspired to commit murder and malicious injury to property or as an alternative charge to have conspired to commit arson.

Queen on Rhodesian Coins

THE QUEEN'S PORTRAIT and the inscription "Queen Elizabeth II, 1966" will appear on three gold coins of £5, £1, and 10s. to be issued by the Rhodesian Reserve Bank on November 11, the first anniversary of the assumption of independence. The set will cost £100. Sold separately, the coins will be priced at £80, £16, and £8. Only 11,000 will be minted.

Anti-Rhodesian Censorship

MR. ROBERT PITMAN has written in the *Daily Express* that an inquirer for a new paperback novel named "Call it Rhodesia" was told in a Brighton bookshop that it was not stocked because "we do not approve of what is happening in Rhodesia". When Mr. Pitman thereupon telephoned the manager of the shop, he said: "Ah, yes. What exactly is the book's line on Rhodesia?" The columnist replied: "Line? It is a novel. In any case, does the line matter?" The reply was: "Certainly. If it is at all pro-Smith we cannot stock it". Mr. Pitman commented that that sort of censorship is exercised by "liberals ardent for freedom—but on their terms only".

PERSONALIA

AIR VICE-MARSHAL BENTLEY is in London from Rhodesia.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, who farms in Kenya, has arrived in England.

LORD FORESTER, who has been revisiting Rhodesia, is due back in about a fortnight.

MR. CHIMBA, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Zambia, has recently visited Kenya.

THE REV. ALBERT JENKINS has been appointed Railway missionary in the diocese of Zambia.

BISHOP FRANK THORNE, a former Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, is re-visiting the country, now Zambia.

While PRESIDENT BANDA of Malawi was recently in London he sat for a portrait by MR. HENRY CARR.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE was 63 last Thursday, which was the 54th birthday of SIR ROBERT TAYLOR.

THE REV. A. H. C. HUNT, rector of Hatfield, Salisbury, has been appointed headmaster of Bernard Mizeki College, Rhodesia.

MR. M. B. E. WHILEY, lately of Umtali Boys' High School, has been appointed deputy headmaster of the Lord Malvern School, Salisbury.

LORD RUNCIMAN has just retired from the board of the Tate & Lyle group, which has large sugar interests in Rhodesia and Zambia.

MR. PER HAEKKERUP, Foreign Minister of Denmark, who recently visited East Africa, has been elected president of the North Atlantic Council.

MR. ASTON K. MUTISHA, aged 24, has been appointed Clerk to the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly. He recently graduated B.A. at Makerere University College.

MR. JAMES R. BROWN, lately Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government and Housing in Zambia, has taken up a United Nations appointment in Afghanistan.

MR. B. C. J. RICHARDS, a director of the Standard Bank, represented it at the Bechuanaland (Botswana) independence celebrations. He was accompanied by Mrs. Richards.

MR. FAKHREDDINE MOHAMED, of the Sudan, has been elected chairman of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations (that which deals with trust and non-self-governing territories).

MR. I. J. C. PROBERT, now relief manager of a Khartoum branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has been appointed assistant general manager in Nigeria and a member of the Nigeria board.

MR. I. MUHAMMAD ADEM, former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of Eritrea, is leading an Eritrean Liberation Front delegation to Middle Eastern countries. While in Iraq he was offered 20 scholarships for Eritrean students.

THE MOST REV. ROBERT TAYLOR, Archbishop of Cape Town, will shortly celebrate the 25th anniversary of his consecration as Bishop of Nyasaland. He was afterwards successively Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, of Pretoria, and of Grahamstown.

LADY GIBBS, wife of the Governor of Rhodesia, has arrived in Belfast to visit their son, who is seriously ill in hospital. She flew to London with the Commonwealth Secretary in the Comet aircraft of the R.A.F. in which his party travelled to and from Rhodesia.

At PRESIDENT OBOTE'S invitation, PRESIDENT NYERERE of Tanzania, PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia, both accompanied by ministers, and Messrs. MBOYA and KIBAKI, representing Kenya, reviewed matters of mutual interest at State House, Uganda, last week. Rhodesia was a principal subject of discussion.

MR. K. P. KAMALIZA, Minister of Labour in Tanzania, said last week that the auditors of N.U.T.A., the sole trade union organization permitted by the Government, had completed a list of thefts and that legal action would be taken against the persons involved. The Minister is *ex officio* secretary general of the union.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., has left for the United States. He is to address the Council for Foreign Relations, spend two days at Harvard, and see a number of American political leaders, among them Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, Mr. Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defence, and Mr. Robert Kennedy. In New York he will call on U Thant.

MR. & MRS. C. S. CAMPBELL, DR. JANET CRAVEN, MR. & MRS. D. R. HASWELL, MR. & MRS. J. A. LAWRENCE, MR. & MRS. H. J. NEWTON, and MR. & MRS. F. J. SCUTT are passengers for Dar-es-salaam in the KENYA CASTLE, in which MR. & MRS. P. H. BARTINDALE, the REV. JAMES COGGER, MR. & MRS. W. G. DE CLIVE-LOWE, and MR. & MRS. W. A. SUTHERLAND are travelling to Beira.

MR. STEWART PARKER flew back to Africa on Friday from visits to the United States and London. He has recently been appointed resident director for Central and East Africa of the Southampton Insurance Company, which is associated with the Schlesinger group of South Africa. MR. PARKER was for years principal private secretary of SIR ROY WELENSKY while he was Prime Minister of the Federation.

Passengers for Mombasa in the KENYA CASTLE include MR. & MRS. E. P. ALFORD, the REV. & MRS. E. K. ANDREWS, DR. & MRS. A. C. BASTIN, MR. & MRS. P. C. BLEVINS, MR. & MRS. B. H. BROOKSBANK, MR. & MRS. I. L. D. CAMPBELL, the REV. & MRS. P. COCKRANE, Msgr. J. COONAN, MR. & MRS. J. M. CUNNINGHAM, DR. (MRS.) DAVIES, MR. J. S. G. DAVIES, the REV. & MRS. J. M. FRANZ, MR. & MRS. C. A. L. GILES, the REV. M. G. KEATING, the REV. D. LUCAS, MR. & MRS. F. LUND, the REV. M. T. MALONE, the REV. SEAN MCGOVERN, the REV. L. MCPARLAND, MR. & MRS. J. McQUIGGAN, the REV. G. A. V. MUIR, the REV. P. J. O'TOOLE, the REV. T. SULLIVAN, the REV. B. TAYLOR, MR. & MRS. L. V. R. TESTRAIE, and MR. & MRS. D. K. WHEATLEY.

Obituary

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR CLIVE DALY, whose death is announced, served in the Somali expedition against the 'Mad Mullah'.

DR. NORMAN LACE CORKILL, C.M.G., M.M., M.D., who has died at the age of 68, was from 1930 to 1946 in the Sudan Medical Service, latterly as Assistant Director of Public Health.

MR. GEORGE SALTON, who has died in Zambia at the age of 65, arrived from Canada less than four months ago to take up duty as director of the newly-established Metals and Minerals Development Unit in the Ministry of Mines and Co-operatives. He had previously spent short periods in Tanzania and Uganda under United Nations auspices.

LIEUT.-GENERAL MERID MENGESHA, Ethiopian Minister of Defence and Acting Prime Minister, whose death was recently reported, distinguished himself as a guerrilla leader during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. After the liberation of the country during the last war he was at various times Governor of Dire Dawa, G.O.C. the Second Division, Vice-Minister for the Interior, Chief of Staff of the Ground Forces, and Minister for Defence.

Letters to The Editor**Sanctions: Midsummer Madness
Ludicrous Attitude of H.M. Government**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—Thirty years ago sanctions against Italy for her unprovoked aggression in Abyssinia were called off. They had been imposed, under the moral leadership of this country, in an undeniably righteous cause. After a short time it was thought sensible to abandon them. Mr. Neville Chamberlain triggered off their removal in a speech in which he described their continuance or intensification as "the very midsummer of madness"—though at the outset he had vigorously supported their imposition. Mr. Baldwin and, with less enthusiasm, Mr. Eden, his Foreign Secretary, accepted the Chancellor's view. The sanctions had been a complete failure; and Abyssinia had been conquered.

Today, after a very much longer run, and in a very doubtfully moral cause against a well-governed country which has no aggressive designs whatsoever, there is apparently no-one in the Government to call a halt to a similar folly. There was a high moral motive behind the 1936 sanctions, a motive which seems to me—and to thousands of others—to be lacking in the present Rhodesian context. If the one was nevertheless "midsummer madness", by what name should we describe the present suicidal persistence in a course which has demonstrably failed? Why does the Government feel so much more strongly about the technically unconstitutional action of a self-governing Colony than a former British Government—including so stalwart a supporter of the League of Nations and international morality as Anthony Eden—did rather soon about an act of naked aggression, endangering the peace of the world?

Is it too much to hope that the present Chancellor, through one of his calculated indiscretions, might make it easier for the Prime Minister to extricate himself—and our country—from a ludicrous position which he can hardly have foreseen?

Sanctions were wrong in the first place (there is no great moral issue at stake) and they have failed, as sanctions always do.

Yours faithfully

London, S.W.3

JOHN WALTER

Rhodesia and the Vote**The Case for Gradualism**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—Why is Rhodesia assailed concerning majority rule? This principle has been vested with a sanctity which is far from being justified by the results of its application in African territories.

The only yardstick for sanctity is not Karl Marx but the "impregnable rock of Holy Scripture". Jesus illustrated the principles pertaining to the Kingdom of Heaven by 11 parables. The most pertinent concerning administration is that of a king who took account of his servants (Matthew 18:23). The principle of stewardship is emphasized. Examination of the newly-independent African States shows the principle of stewardship to have been flagrantly contravened both with regard to money and the use of land. Since there is far wiser stewardship in Rhodesia than in any independent African State, the present actions against her smack of prejudice and victimization.

Under "Government of the people by the people" control is vested in those who vote. A certain standard

of maturity and responsibility is needed in the voter for democracy to be effective, and so justified. The right to vote, then, is actually sacred, and should not be lightly given to immature people at a very backward stage of evolution. To do that prematurely can be described as "giving that which is holy unto the dogs".

If we wish the Africans to enjoy the blessings of Christian civilization—and it would be uncharitable not to do so—control must remain with those who are Christian and civilized. Under a qualitative voting system, when people reach the standard necessary for democracy to be effective they become entitled to vote. It is the only system possible for Rhodesia, and confers its benefits on Europeans and Africans alike. Majority rule is not considered right in schools, and the Africans in Rhodesia are going through a schooling process in the evolutionary sense; and evolution is unscientific if not gradual.

The Africans have the right to develop without fear of terrorism at their natural rate of growth and not to be forced beyond it; and not to be pitchforked into an electoral system beyond their capacity; and, also, not to be abandoned within embracing distance of the Russian Bear and Chinese Dragon. We should not lead them into temptation, and we should deliver them from evil.

Timaru

New Zealand

Yours faithfully

PETER C. HIGHAM

White Africans Not Nazis

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—I write to express my delight at the letter which you recently wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* and reproduced in RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA of September 28.

It is refreshing to come across a publicly expressed opinion which does not confuse white Africans with Nazis and black politicians with Ghandi and/or Abraham Lincoln.

Most Britons of my acquaintance will agree with your letter, but, unfortunately, very few bother to write even to their M.P.s. So the "progressives" get most space in all forms of publicity. Perhaps, as G.K.C. wrote, "The people of England have not spoken yet".

Yours faithfully

Lincolnshire

D. DONOVAN

POINTS FROM LETTERS**Tribute**

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is of immense interest and help to me here in Australia, where there is growing sympathy for the plight of Rhodesia but much ignorance on the issue. One is appalled at the dreadful catalogue of events in Africa".

Bombing Rhodesia

"THE CRAZIEST IDEA, which has been voiced by the *Guardian* and the *New Statesman* and is now under discussion in Socialist circles, is that neither Britain nor the United Nations should take military action against Rhodesia but that the Royal Air Force should dive-bomb strategic railway targets, and that would not constitute military action! Rhodesians will not believe it, but this absurdity is being debated quite seriously. Do these fanatics imagine that the Royal Rhodesian Air Force (still 'Royal') would 'stand idly by'?—to use a 'Wilsonian' expression. This is a recipe for war and nothing less".

Independent Botswana

Sir Seretse Khama First President

SIR SERETSE KHAMA was sworn in as the first President of the new Republic of Botswana (hitherto the Colony of Bechuanaland) in Gaborone on Friday.

Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, handed him the constitutional instruments and a message from the Queen after the official tribal "praiser" of the Bamangwato had performed a ceremonial dance and chanted praises.

At midnight on September 29 Sir Seretse and the Queen's Commissioner, Sir Hugh Norman Walker, had stood at attention in the sports' stadium while the Union Jack was hauled down for the last time, ending 81 years of British protection, and the new black, white and blue flag of Botswana was hoisted. The ceremony was marred by a 70-mile-an-hour dust storm.

Among nearly 100 foreign guests were Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P., representing Britain, and Dr. Muller, Foreign Minister of South Africa. It was the first time that South Africa had been represented on such an occasion.

At his first news conference President Khama said that Botswana would foster friendly relations with South Africa and any other Southern African State, and that diplomatic relations would be established with the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zambia. An application had been made for membership of the United Nations.

Terrorists Trained in Tanzania

"Botswana would not recognize the Rhodesian Government, but hoped for an early and equitable solution of a problem which it considered to concern Britain only.

The bush radio station established by Britain near Francistown would be allowed to continue to broadcast material to Rhodesia.

Asked about terrorists who sought to pass through Botswana, the President said that anyone who brought arms into the country illegally would be arrested.

Seven armed Africans had in fact been arrested a few days earlier in the extreme north of the country. They were armed with Chinese and Russian weapons, and were arrested without a fight in the area where the frontiers of Botswana, Zambia, Rhodesia, and South-west Africa meet. There are believed to have had their sabotage training in Tanzania.

For five years the country of about 222,000 square miles has been drought-stricken, and some estimates put the deaths among cattle at about 400,000 out of a national herd of 1.3m. Some three-fifths of the population of rather more than half a million have been receiving rations supplied by the United Nations, Britain, and South Africa (which sent maize costing £100,000).

For development purposes the British Government has promised grants of £1.3m. during the next three years. H.M. Government has contributed nearly £3.5m. to famine relief.

The special correspondent of the *Financial Times* had his message flown from Gaborone to Mafeking by carrier pigeon and thence cabled to London.

Republic Not on the Agenda

Rhodesian Prime Minister's Statement

THE FULL TEXT of the statement by the Prime Minister of Rhodesia on the question of republican status for the country has now reached London. Mr. Smith told Parliament:—

"This item is not on our agenda. The matter of U.D.I. was thrashed out again and again. We had a referendum; we had an election; we had a mandate from the country. So we could with a clear conscience report to this.

"We have no mandate from the country now to declare a republic, and in these circumstances I would not be party to this because this would be deceitful as far as Rhodesia is concerned. We have never misled the people of Rhodesia, and we have no intention of doing so. Of course, the matter could be taken out of our hands: we could be denied continued membership of the Commonwealth by others. In these circumstances we would have no say in the matter, no option.

"But so long as we do have a say and an option I have no compunction whatsoever in giving an undertaking to this House that we would never resort to such a thing without a full-scale debate, for example, in this Chamber. This would be a prerequisite. I would go further and say that I believe in the present circumstances we would have to put this somehow or other to the country. We would probably have to go even further than a mandate from this House—although I think there could be circumstances when a decision from this House may be termed a mandate from the country.

"The correct procedure would be to get this somehow or other, perhaps through a referendum, from the people of Rhodesia. We do not have this mandate now. I reiterate that we have no intention of abusing our position in doing anything in Rhodesia for which we do not have the full confidence and the full support of the electorate".

U.S. Help for Rhodesia

Deal in Tobacco Futures

PURCHASE of "futures" in this season's Rhodesian tobacco crop has been reported by the Rhodesian *Sunday Express*, which has stated:—

"A £1½m. boost for Rhodesia's sanction-hit tobacco industry is on its way to Salisbury from U.S. business men. They are laying out dollars to buy 'futures' in this year's crop. It will remain in Rhodesia; but the Smith Government will have the dollars.

"The scheme is the brainchild of a Los Angeles millionaire, Mr. James Smeed, bachelor head of a brokerage firm and a property tycoon. A strong supporter of Ian Smith, he is national director of the Friends of Rhodesia Movement, which has clubs in 60 American cities. Some of the money has already been sent.

"He said: 'Until now futures have never been sold in tobacco. I got the idea from the whisky industry in Scotland which advertises for American investors in futures for the raw whisky'.

"Mr. Smeed also said that coming from Rhodesia soon will be a gift of one million packets of cigarettes for troops serving in Vietnam. The cigarettes would be shipped directly to Vietnam as a goodwill gesture from Rhodesian firms and private individuals.

"He added: 'The tobacco will stay in Rhodesia for three years. It will then be sold at current market prices—which should be very profitable. If the present situation isn't over by then, the Rhodesian Government has guaranteed to buy back the tobacco from us at a minimum of 10% interest a year, tax free. Whatever happens, it is a good investment, and we are helping to free Government capital at the same time.

"It was our cue when Prime Minister Wilson said he was going to wage economic war with Rhodesia. We welcome the opportunity to fight on a commercial level because we can beat the British. We can make everything they make cheaper, and we have a bigger market to sell Rhodesian products here'".

P.M. Knows Far Too Little

MR. LLEWELLYN CHANTER, Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, has written after a visit to Central Africa:—

"Mr. Wilson has a sore conscience so far as Zambia is concerned. Mrs. Judith Hart, Commonwealth Minister of State, who has paid two visits to Lusaka, has endeavoured to bring him face to face with African realities about which he knows far too little for a Prime Minister prone to draw together the strings of the whole world into his hands.

"Zambia is now launched upon a policy of disengagement from the Commonwealth. Tanzania, Uganda and Sierra Leone, to name only three, are likely to decide that the Commonwealth is more a fiction than a fact.

"The Commonwealth Secretariat, designed to remove once and for all British influence from the conduct of Commonwealth affairs, has long since been written off as the British Government's finest cover for any deception it likes to practise."

Tory Conference and Rhodesia

Motions Submitted by Constituencies

RHODESIA accounts for only eight of the 534 motions which have been submitted for consideration by the annual conference of the Conservative Party, which is to be held in Blackpool from October 12 to 15.

Mr. Maulding is, however, to introduce an emergency resolution.

The motions and the sponsors are as follows:—

Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P. (Mid-Bedfordshire Conservative Association): "That this conference urges the Prime Minister to re-assert that the problem of Rhodesia's independence is entirely and solely a matter for H.M. Government and that in no circumstances whatever will the United Nations or any other international body be permitted to intervene".

Sanctions Should Be Suspended

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P. (Haltemprice and Beverley Conservative and Unionist Association): "That this conference welcomes the start of talks between Britain and Rhodesia, rejects any settlement of this dispute by the use of force or by the intervention of the United Nations, and considers that, with a view to providing conditions which would lead to a successful conclusion, economic sanctions should be immediately suspended pending the conclusion of a satisfactory settlement which while giving Rhodesia legal independence would safeguard the rights of all racial groups".

Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P. (Streatham): "That this conference has faith in the British people and is confident that, if well led, Britain possesses the moral power and material resources to re-build her economic strength and to play an important and distinctive part in the leadership of the modern world".

Mr. David Clarke (Watford Conservative and Unionist Association): "That this conference, while recognizing that any solution to the Rhodesian problem must be based on the acceptance of the five principles, asks the Conservative leadership to recognize the wide sympathy which exists for the case of the white community as well as the need for African advancement".

Councillor Norman Stanley Smith (South Shields Conservative Association): "That this conference regrets (a) the failure of the British Government to reach an agreement with the Government of Rhodesia to enable it to obtain independence; (b) the continuation of economic sanctions".

Mr. Alan Musgrave-Scott (Hendon North Division Conservative Association): "That this conference urges the Labour Government to: (a) re-open negotiations with Mr. Ian Smith's Government immediately with a view to granting full independence under the Crown to Rhodesia; and (b) raise forthwith all sanctions against that country in view of the fact that sanctions have obviously failed in the short term, and are a massive drain upon the British economy which we cannot afford".

Resist Outside Interference

Mr. John Silberrad (Chigwell and Ongar Conservative Association): "That this conference, recognizing that the use of force to impose a settlement in Rhodesia would be strenuously resisted and could well result in a guerrilla war with tragic consequences for the entire population of Rhodesia, black as well as white, urges the party to resist to the utmost any attempt by the Government to permit any international or other outside interference in Anglo-Rhodesian affairs".

Mr. Christopher Pottinger (Epsom Division Conservative Association): "That this conference believes that since it is now clear that Socialist policy on Rhodesia has been a dismal failure, and has caused much damage to the economies of both countries, this policy should now be reversed and constitutional independence granted; and encouragement be given for progress towards a multi-racial State through economic growth".

Mr. Christopher Pottinger (Epsom Division Conservative Association): "That this conference urges the Conservative leaders in the House of Commons to be realistic and to press for the recognition of Rhodesia as an independent State, which it has *de facto* been for the past year".

Mr. Hugh Dykes (Tottenham): "That this conference is of the opinion that the Conservative Party should resolve to form a firm foreign policy with an expressed desire to settle

finally this country's attitude towards Vietnam, Rhodesia, and our commitments east of Suez".

In the defence section Mr. Patrick Wall has another motion reading: "That this conference believes in the need for a British presence in the Indian Ocean area, but suggests that as the future of our forces in Aden and Singapore has been prejudiced by the actions of the present British Government, and that in any case may now depend on the goodwill of an independent local government, preparation should now be made for suitable bases sited in industrial areas in the Southern Hemisphere. British amphibious forces operating from such bases on the east and west flanks of the Indian Ocean supported by carrier-borne aircraft and by forward staging posts would exercise the maximum effect at minimum cost".

Overseas aid is the subject of only two submissions, one reading: "That this conference, believing that the most valid criterion for expenditure overseas is the return upon the investment, considers that the Labour Government's decision to maintain aid to hostile African countries but to restrict private profit-earning investment is in each case misconceived and should be reversed forthwith"; and the other: "That this conference urges the next Conservative Government to call upon all European nations to join it in a massive education and aid programme for under-developed countries".

The report to the conference refers to the reorganization of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, which has been renamed Commonwealth and Overseas Council. The Earl of Selkirk is the chairman, Sir Olaf Caroe deputy chairman, and Sir Frederic Bennett, M.P., and Mr. A. D. Dodds-Parker, M.P., are the vice-chairmen.

Mr. Murumbi's Resignation

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has had to withdraw its official statement that Vice-President Murumbi tendered his resignation on account of ill-health. A second announcement, which stated that his letter of resignation to President Kenyatta made no reference to ill health, emphasized that Mr. Murumbi continued to enjoy the full confidence of the President and Government.

Mr. Oginga Odinga, president of the recently formed Kenya People's Union, and himself the former Vice-President of Kenya, had said that Mr. Murumbi had disagreed with the Government and would join K.P.U.

That was promptly denied by Mr. Murumbi, who wrote to the Government from New York: "I have no intention of joining K.P.U. My loyalty is to President Kenyatta, the Kenya African National Union, and the country, and it cannot be undermined". At the end of the year Mr. Murumbi will become chairman of Rothmans of Pall Mall (Kenya), Ltd.

Mr. J. S. Bevan Retires

MR. JOHN SAGE BEVAN has retired from the boards of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., and its subsidiary and associated companies after service to the group of more than 49 years. He is now 66 years of age.

When Lord Kysant was chairman of the Union-Castle Company Mr. Bevan was a member of the secretarial staff, and when Mr. Robertson Gibb became chairman in 1932 he made him his private secretary. On the outbreak of war in 1939 he was seconded to the Ministry of Transport as personal assistant to Sir Vernon Thompson, then the Union-Castle chairman, who had become principal shipping adviser to the Ministry and controller of commercial shipping.

Mr. Bevan returned to the City in 1946 as assistant manager of the Union-Castle Line, becoming later assistant managing director, deputy managing director, and then managing director 10 years ago. He has been chairman of the South and East African Freight Conferences, a member of the Port of London Authority, and of a number of shipping organizations.

Misstatements About Rhodesia

Errors of British Council of Churches

MISLEADING STATEMENTS about Rhodesia have been made in a letter to *The Times* by Mr. Kenneth Johnstone, chairman of the International Department of the British Council of Churches, who wrote:

"Lord Gridley [whose letter was quoted in last week's RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA] considers it unchristian to hand over four million Africans to chaos and confusion which would follow the introduction of 'one-man-one-vote'. He apparently sees no moral objection to handing them over to a Government based on a privileged minority of less than a quarter of a million Europeans, although since its installation that Government has steadily reduced such prospects as the Africans of Rhodesia enjoyed of better education or better livelihood or of advancement to greater political responsibility or social equality.

"Government of this kind Lord Gridley chooses to regard as stable and productive of happiness and freedom from fear. One wonders how many African Rhodesians he numbers among his correspondents and more particularly among the unknown number, perhaps over a thousand, of Africans now in detention.

"But even on his own ground Lord Gridley need not worry. H.M. Government have made it perfectly plain both that they do not propose the immediate introduction of one-man-one-vote (nor do responsible African leaders) and, secondly, that if 'chaos and confusion' were to threaten Rhodesia, Britain would intervene to re-establish order.

"Lord Gridley may well be right in saying that 'if we recover our moral fibre we can settle the Rhodesian problem'. We can indeed, but not perhaps in the sense he suggests'.

Lord Gridley's Reply

Lord Gridley replied:—

"I did not of course advocate the handing over of Africans to a 'privileged minority of Europeans'. Statements such as this, and emanating from the chairman, International Department, British Council of Churches, are inflammatory to people in Rhodesia, and make it so difficult for our leaders to achieve a satisfactory settlement.

"The Government of Mr. Ian Smith was elected constitutionally, and while I have never been entirely happy at Mr. Smith's declaration of his country's independence, I have endeavoured dispassionately to seek reasons or an understanding of what led him on this course.

"Mr. Johnstone is treading dangerous ground on the subject of detention camps. I was present in Malaya when the High Commissioner, the late Sir Henry Gurney, was ambushed, shot, and murdered. We had been debating at that time whether or not to bring into force the declaration of an emergency. We were being attacked from subversion organized from outside. Had we acted with resolution earlier, this life and the lives of five British rubber planters might have been saved. We declared an emergency and detention camps were established.

"Mr. Smith has declared an emergency, and there are detention camps in Rhodesia; and with hostile African countries on the borders of Rhodesia this act was inevitable, and has undoubtedly in Rhodesia prevented the loss of life.

"There has never been any complaint from the Church concerning our action in respect of detention camps in Malaya, but Mr. Johnstone complains of Mr. Smith's action in this respect in Rhodesia. This attitude will never be understood abroad'.

Equivocal Generalizations

Among the rejoinders sent but not published was one from the editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, who wrote:—

"The chairman of the International Department of the British Council of Churches makes surprisingly erroneous and equivocal generalizations in his letter.

"Mr. Johnstone accuses the present Rhodesian Government of having 'steadily reduced such prospects as the African enjoyed of better education or better livelihood or of advancement to greater political responsibility'.

"Far from reducing educational facilities the Smith Government is increasing them, particularly the number of secondary schools, and the current budget allocates no less than 22% of the revenue for education. That heavy burden is borne by the Rhodesians, mainly the 220,000 whites, whereas in

the independent African countries which were previously under British or French rule much of the cost of education is still being carried by metropolitan taxpayers. None of the black-governed African States has so high a percentage of its black children at school as is the case in Rhodesia.

"The assertion that the Smith Government has 'steadily reduced the prospects of better livelihood' for Africans is likewise unwarrantable. Personal security is their first requirement, and the ordinary African family in Rhodesia is unquestionably safer than it was a year or two ago because the Government has removed the few hundred nationalist political thugs who ranged the country inflicting wholesale intimidation and violence, including many murders, in the name of the parties.

"Next to safety and food and clothing for his wife and children, a man wants the chance to raise his income. Such opportunities are provided by the itinerant agricultural demonstrators, extended facilities for irrigation, and such improved co-operation between white and black farmers in various areas that some Africans have within two years multiplied their earnings from the land threefold and even fivefold. Encouragement to Africans in prospecting and mining drew a very warm tribute in Parliament from an African M.P. only a few days ago.

"Mr. Johnstone is similarly inaccurate when he states that 'responsible African leaders do not propose the immediate introduction of one-man-one-vote'. That is, in fact, the declared objective of the African political parties throughout Central and East Africa, of Heads of State who are regarded as 'moderates' in Britain, and of others influential in the Organization of African Unity, and now in the Afro-Asian-Caribbean caucus within the Commonwealth.

"Only two years ago the present British Prime Minister wrote to a Rhodesian African that the Labour Party would resist independence for Rhodesia except on the one-man-one-vote basis. Mr. Wilson has never withdrawn that statement, but while in Rhodesia last October he admitted publicly that African majority rule could not come 'by block or calendar, but only by achievement'. Rhodesians had been saying exactly that for years, the only difference being that their form of words had been 'advancement by merit'.

When Mr. Wilson Took Fright

"There could have been an immediate settlement on that basis if Mr. Wilson had not taken fright at his own recognition of the truth. Instead of clenching matters immediately on that recognition of reality, however, he promptly flew to Zambia, Nigeria, and Ghana to consult their political leaders, and within a couple of days the then Commonwealth Secretary, whom he had left in Salisbury, then hurried away to talk to African leaders in Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. Both Ministers having left without tackling the desperately urgent task, how could Rhodesians avoid the conclusion that Mr. Wilson was afraid of his own belated acknowledgment that the Rhodesian policy of advancement by merit was justified? (an acknowledgment which flouted his party's theory). For the Rhodesians, who had had good reason to mistrust British politicians, that was the last straw.

"Your correspondent suggests that Britain would re-establish order in Rhodesia if there were 'chaos and confusion'. There will be neither unless it be caused by terrorists armed with Chinese and Russian weapons who infiltrate from Zambia after being trained in Communist and pro-Communist camps. Such groups have for months been sent into Rhodesia to murder Europeans and Africans, sabotage communications and property, and otherwise subvert the peace. I do not recall any protest by Mr. Johnstone or the British Council of Churches. It is in the black African States, not Rhodesia, that continuing chaos and confusion are to be found.

"The reference to 'recovery of our moral fibre' points unintentionally to the present parlous state of much of East, West and Central Africa, that being the product of the abandonment of principle by politicians of all parties in this country. Since Mr. Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech early in 1960, Conservative and Socialist Governments have cynically sacrificed good faith, British pledges, the obligations of trusteeship, wisdom, and commonsense to the craze for dangerously premature pseudo-independence. The consequential chaos, confusion, corruption, and other calamities are not surprising. They were immediately predicted by a few people who knew something about Africa, including the undersigned'.

"Since July 1 last year 555 restrictees have been released in Rhodesia. The others will be released at the end of their period of restriction, but if there is satisfactory evidence and a written assurance from a restrictee that he will cease the subversive activities which gave rise to his restriction he may be released".—
The Minister of Law and Order in Rhodesia.

Rhodesian Brevities

THE £5.5M. THREE-YEAR 5% LOAN issued in Salisbury last week was immediately oversubscribed. The British Treasury had given notice that "the present illegal régime in Rhodesia is not capable of incurring legal obligations on behalf of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, and any person who lends money to the illegal régime does so entirely at his own risk".

On October 18 the Rhodesian Government will float another loan of £4.5m. carrying interest at 6½% and redeemable in 1986-91.

Both loans will be used to finance maturing debt and for development purposes. In his budget statement in July the Finance Minister spoke of raising £14m. by loans in the period to June next.

The *Johannesburg Sunday Express* believes that Rhodesia will probably sell half this season's tobacco crop. About 40% had, it suggests, already been sold.

South Africa is to import one million bags of white maize from Rhodesia. It is the largest maize contract ever placed by South Africa with her neighbour.

The Rhodesian Ministry of Information has issued the following statement criticizing the British Government:—

"The British Government has refused permission for the transfer of funds to the Rhodesia Freedom from Hunger Campaign for vehicles purchased in Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Freedom from Hunger Campaign had asked the British Government if £20,000 could be transferred to the Rhodesian organization for the purchase of buses, caravans, and other vehicles essential to the campaign in its valuable work among the hungry in Rhodesia, particularly in the more remote areas of the country. On the understanding that the funds be transferred, the Rhodesia Freedom from Hunger Campaign purchased the vehicles.

"The Minister of Information, Mr. J. H. Howman, said in a statement today: 'This is shocking news. Here is a case of the British Government, in pursuing its political vendetta with the Rhodesian Government, completely disregarding the humanitarian consequences of its action. And, of course, the sufferers are the African people'."

When Mr. B. H. Mussett, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, opened a "Rhodesia Proudly Presents" exhibition in Greatman's Store in Salisbury, he said that foreign currency had been allocated since November 11 last for more than 100 new projects in Rhodesia. The president of the Greatman's group had written: "In a few short months an amazing expansion has taken place in the variety of high-quality goods produced by industry in Rhodesia."

Rhodesia Sends Help

The Rhodesian Police Association is collecting funds from its members for the dependents of the three detectives who were recently murdered in Hammersmith, London.

The Rotary Club of Karoi, Rhodesia, has collected 500 bags of maize from local farmers and is to send them as a gift to the northern Transvaal, which is suffering from drought.

Rhodesia is to send a bowls team, accompanied by about 25 supporters, to Australia for world championships which are to be held in Sydney in October.

Twelve journalists from the United States, several of them women, have toured Rhodesia.

A Rhodesia Railways recruiting team is visiting Britain and Holland to seek staff for the Zambia section of the system. Engagements will be on contracts of three to five years. The Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union has warned trade unionists in Britain that the rates of pay offered are inadequate and that living conditions in Zambia may be unsatisfactory.

Immigration officials of Rhodesia and Zambia have followed the practice of boarding trains within each other's territory in order to examine the luggage of passengers en route and so avoid frontier delays. That procedure has been brought to a stop because a woman passenger complained of the conduct of a Zambian official, who was warned, arrested, detained overnight at a Rhodesian police camp, and released next morning after he had admitted his guilt and paid a £5 fine. Shortly afterwards Zambia cancelled the exchange agreement.

Rhodesian immigration officer then on duty in Zambia, Mr. R. S. Metcalfe, and two African officers were charged with working without permits, and detained in Livingstone's prison. After his release Mr. Metcalfe said that he had been man-handled by Zambian police, who had torn his shirt and thrown a mug of cocoa over him. Neither African was molested.

Rhodesia Railways have ordered 1,000 wagon bogies from a Japanese company. Delivery is about to start. Ten heavy main line locomotives manufactured in the United States are due for delivery in Rhodesia by mid-October. Their landed cost will be about £1m.

In the first half of this year Rhodesian exports to Zambia were just short of £13m., compared with £17½m. in the first six months of last year.

The Wild Life Society of Rhodesia has started a fund-raising campaign to pay the cost of transport of white rhinos from Natal. Two girls' schools replied at once that they would adopt a rhino each, and so did a surgeon in Salisbury. The society is especially anxious to re-establish the white rhino because it is the only species lost to the country since it was opened to European settlement.

Kenya Offspring of Rhodesian Company

In the Kenya Senate the Government was asked by Senator Kago to take action against Neon and Fluorescent (East Africa), Ltd., on the ground that it was the offspring of a Rhodesian company in which there were South African financial interests. By allowing it to continue its operations the Government was, he said, permitting indirect trade with the Smith and Verwoerd Governments. The company was registered in Kenya six years ago.

A South African company is planning to manufacture farm implements in Rhodesia. Only two of Rhodesia's 30 textile factories are working short time.

Statistics of monthly motor vehicle sales are no longer to be published.

The Rt. Rev. Cecil Alderson, Bishop of Mashonaland, Lady Acton, two leading Methodists, and a retired civil servant have jointly protested at the introduction of legislation permitting preventive detention. They consider it detrimental to the well-being of Rhodesia and to prospects of a just settlement with Britain through discussion.

The Rt. Rev. K. J. F. Skelton, Bishop of Matebeleland, told the diocesan synod recently:—

"By the use of censorship and the control of free speech and discussion, our rulers are making discussion of political issues between black and white virtually impossible.

"The Christian must remember that he can allow no earthly power to prevent him from doing the will of God—and be prepared to take the consequence. The Church must be prepared to speak plainly about the strife which has disgraced and discredited African political organization, and which still persists to scandalize friends and delight opponents.

"The suffering which this grievous conflict has caused—often to the innocent—and the damage it has done to the cause of justice is intolerable. Here too the Church must call men to maturity and sacrifice in their relations with one another."

In order to bring the voters' rolls up to date, re-registration is to be undertaken. The closing date will be April 8 next. Any voter who fails to register anew will not find his name in the new roll.

Propaganda from Francistown

MR. J. M. HELLIWELL, chairman of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, said last week in a broadcast interview that when the British Government established its relay station at Francistown, Bechuanaland, it was stated that it would merely relay normal programmes of the B.B.C. In fact, in addition to relaying World Service and Africa Service programmes of the B.B.C., special features were broadcast daily for listeners in Rhodesia, not in order to inform, "but to undermine morale and so bring about the downfall of the Rhodesian Government and the destruction of our independence".

"Many of the programmes consist merely of whatever anti-Rhodesian comment the B.B.C. can scrape together from newspapers, from politicians, or from the B.B.C.'s own panel of left-wing political commentators. Other programmes are subtle and reveal the techniques of the expert in psychological warfare.

"Yet other programmes are outrageously scurrilous in their attacks on Rhodesian personalities. One former Rhodesian, now a B.B.C. employee, whose scripts are read by other announcers, holds up individual members of the Government to ridicule—and all this in what we were assured by the B.B.C. would be its normal service.

"One day I hope that a collection of some of the choicer propaganda may be published. It would make interesting reading and destroy any illusions about the objectivity of the service.

"One of the primary purposes of the station was probably to eavesdrop on internal radio communications in Rhodesia."

News Items in Brief

An ambassador for Nationalist China has arrived in Malawi. The International Tea Committee has published its Annual Bulletin of Statistics.

Uganda has now received tractors costing £350,000 as a gift from H.M. Government.

A fourth Commonwealth Education Conference is to be held in Nigeria next month.

Tanzania Plastic Industries, Ltd., has been registered with a nominal capital of £25,000.

A lieutenant in the Zambia Infantry has been cashiered by sentence of a court martial.

Tanganyika Minerals and Exploration Co., Ltd., is to be struck off the register in Tanzania.

Kerita Tea Estate, Uganda, has installed irrigation over its 332 acres at a cost of about £18,000.

Morgenster Mission in Rhodesia has just celebrated the 75th anniversary of its establishment.

A delegation from Rumania is to visit Sudan to discuss prospecting for oil and other materials.

A razor blade factory in Uganda plans to produce 200,000 blades a day. The steel is to be imported from Sweden.

A loan of £7m. from Kuwait is being sought by Sudan to finance an additional 200,000 feddans of cotton in the Gezira.

Asbestos cement drain pipes are now being made in Uganda by Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co. (East Africa), Ltd.

The United Nations has elected among 17 vice-presidents of the General Assembly representatives of Rwanda and the Congo.

Tanganyika Diamond and Gold Development Co., Ltd., has acquired an option over base metal claims in South-West Africa.

The Yugoslav Foreign Trade Bank is reported to have promised a loan of £3.5m. to industrial and agricultural banks in the Sudan.

A film studio and research centre may be opened in Kenya by a Hollywood company. Its head, Mr. Ivan Tors, recently visited Kenya.

An irrigation scheme near Ndola for the production of vegetables and fruit is under consideration by the Government of Zambia.

Record Price for Kenya Stamp

A record price of £2,300 has been paid at a London auction for a mint £20 Kenya stamp of 1925, and £1,500 for a mint £25 Kenya of 1922.

A group of African farmers from the Kiambu district of Kenya have spent £9,000 on acquiring and equipping an hotel and restaurant.

A German-Zambian Society has been formed in Stuttgart, Germany. The president is Dr. Gustaf Adolf Gedat, a Member of Parliament.

Estate owners in the Seychelles are to receive subsidies up to £100 a house or 50 per cent of the cost for the housing of agricultural labourers.

The Chibuluma mine of the R.S.T. group has been closed through flooding in relatively undeveloped areas of the mine. There have been no casualties.

In order to accelerate Africanization the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Uganda has under consideration a plan to set a target for each company.

The International Labour Office is lending an expert to the Government of Tanzania to investigate incomes and wages and to make recommendations.

Robbman's of Pall Mall, Ltd., who are to build a tobacco factory in Kampala, are negotiating for the purchase of 500,000 lb of leaf tobacco from Tanzania.

In order to increase her coal imports Zambia is to buy 800 railway wagons from Japan and 500 second-hand wagons from Britain. Deliveries will start next month.

John Heffer (Miling), Ltd., Nairobi, and Cosmic Crayon Co., Ltd., Bedford, are partners in a new company registered in Kenya to manufacture school chalk and art crayons.

Chad has been warned that there will be counter-attacks by Sudan forces if any further incursions are made on Sudanese territory. In a recent incident three villagers were killed and seven injured.

A Syrian trade mission of five members has visited Tanzania to seek means of balancing trade between the two countries. Syria hopes to sell more textiles and chemicals and buy more tanning materials and hides.

A French Parliamentary delegation of four members has visited Ethiopia. It was led by the deputy mayor of Calais, who is also president of the African and European Affairs Association of French Parliamentarians.

About 400,000 radio sets are now estimated to be in use in Kenya. The Ministry of Information believes that at maximum listening periods more than two million people tune in to the Government-controlled programmes.

Gallagher and Co., Ltd., report profits after tax for the first half of this year at £4.4m., compared with £5.8m. in the first six months of 1965, sales having fallen substantially and costs increased. The interim dividend is reduced from 6% to 4%.

The World Wildlife Fund has given Zambia £4,500 for the purchase of a light aircraft to be used in wildlife conservation. Mr. Ian MacPhail, director-general of the fund, has just returned to Britain from a tour of national parks in Zambia.

The three battalions of the Zambia Regiment and armoured car, artillery, engineer, signals, field workshop, postal, medical and transport units have taken part in the largest exercise ever staged by the Zambian Army. The Air Force also participated.

An American Peace Corps worker, has been found not guilty of murdering his wife during a picnic in Tanzania. Mr. Justice Platt considered that the charge "was not sufficiently proved to enable me to find that the accused is guilty beyond reasonable doubt".

Inchcape and Co., Ltd., report profit after tax to March 31 at £643,531. Dividends total 2s. 3d. per share. Mackenzie Dalgety, Ltd., has been registered in East Africa to merge the company's local interest with those of the Dalgety Group, each holding an equal share in the new company.

Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., has recently acquired W. A. Sparrow and Co., Ellis Chapman and Co., and MacGregor and Crawford, and has formed an export services division which will incorporate both companies and George H. Penney and Co. Each of the companies will continue under its present name.

An African lieutenant in the Uganda Army who admitted having attempted to cause a mutiny was only reduced to the rank of second lieutenant and deprived of one year's seniority because he was deemed "an innocent victim of senior officers". The prosecutor said that he had helped in every way in tracking down "wrongdoers who were a threat and disgrace to the country's good name".

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, reports profits after tax to August 31 at £1,163,000, compared with £1.2m. in the previous year. Shareholders receive 1s. 3d. after tax (the same), taking £792,000 (£660,000). The carry-forward is £363,000 (£342,000). Coal sales at 3,369,870 tons were rather more than in the previous year, and coke sales at 221,513 tons compared with 1964-65 total of 191,142 tons.

Disillusion on Aid

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. write editorially in their monthly *Overseas Review* —

"The mood of disillusion in the donor countries has led to a growing volume of opinion in favour of cutting down aid: because aid so far has produced negative results, it is argued that it is wasted effort and should be abandoned. This argument is on a par with saying that because aspirin has not cured your headache, you must learn to live with it even though there are signs of its getting worse.

"A more moderate body of opinion takes the view that there is no point in increasing the flow of aid for the time being because the difficulties of applying it effectively have been clearly shown and there are limits to the absorptive capacity of the recipients. There is some force to this argument, and it may be agreed that it is not even desirable that there should be a vast sudden increase in aid made indiscriminately and in the wrong way.

"On the other hand, the argument can easily be carried too far: the staff of the World Bank estimate that the amount of development finance which could be used effectively by the developing countries (outside the Sino-Soviet areas) is \$34,000m. annually more than they are now receiving. In other words, a sober realistic assessment suggests the need for an almost immediate increase of about a half in the volume of aid. Moreover, absorptive capacity for capital feeds on itself, and it seems likely that the effective requirements in the 1970s will still be growing rapidly.

"In so far as disillusion means the shedding of illusions it is a salutary process. The earlier growth in international aid was largely built on illusions on the part of the donors which have only recently been shattered. The most fervent advocates of aid unknowingly sometimes built up these illusions and are now hoisted on their own petards: they have tended, for instance, to suggest that aid was a valuable tactical weapon in the ideological war or a method of winning allies, conversely neglecting countries which are friendly, peaceful, and stable. Donors with these or similar wrong motives have been doubly disappointed: they have not achieved their own ends nor have they brought much benefit to the recipients. Disillusion on aid has rightly led to re-thinking and searching for new methods to make it more effective".

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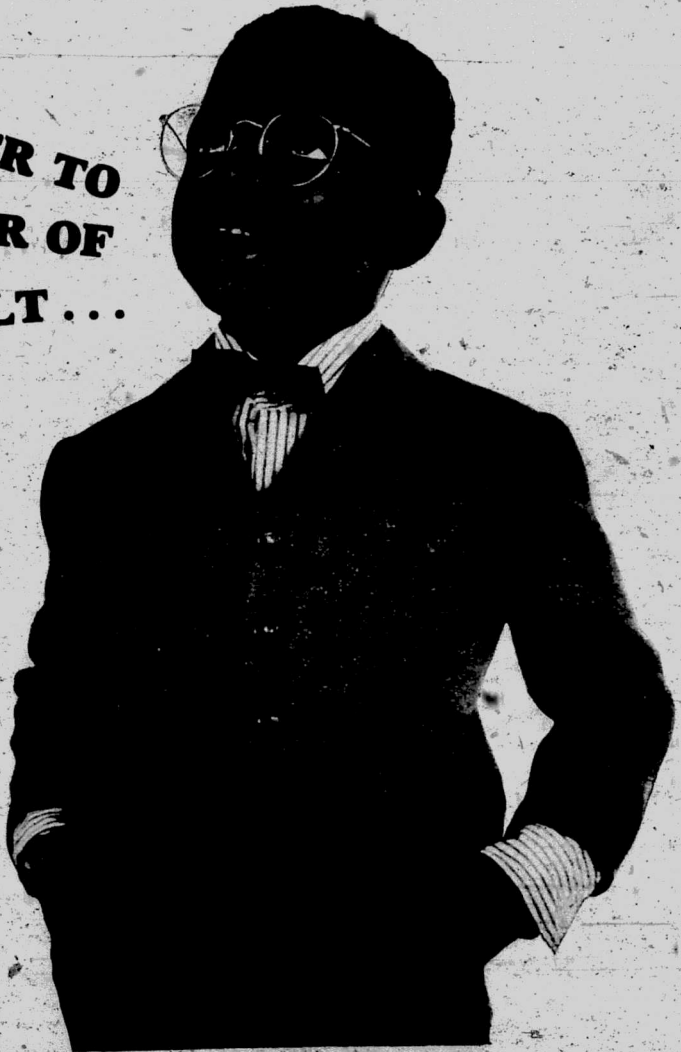
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OUR LETTER OF
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ALL POLITICAL PARTIES in this country are gravely to blame for the Rhodesian situation, and until they admit their share of guilt and show some real understanding of the situation as it appears

U.K. Politicians to responsible Rhodesians

The Guilty Men

there is no prospect of a settlement. The Rhodesians quite rightly refuse to accept the rôle of scapegoats for the calamitously foolish men in Westminster and Whitehall who are primarily responsible for the present tragic state of so much of Africa, about whose problems they have shown a degree of gullibility which has been matched only by their self-assurance. The really guilty men have been and are British politicians. The annual conferences of the Socialist and Liberal parties have offered no glimmer of hope of a move towards realism from the bogs of theory which both continue to regard as ground on which to take a stand. Misled by their own traumatic propaganda about Africa, they blunder on in panic, humming their one-man-one-vote signature tune, instead of halting to re-examine the ground carefully, and so give themselves a chance to retreat to veracity.

Will the Conservative Party, meeting this week in conference in Blackpool, show itself more practical? It has faced two ways in Africa for the seven years since Mr. Macmillan

Disastrous

Macmillanism

decided on his disastrous course of breaking British pledges and trusteeship to and for Africa and made Mr. Iain Macleod the executant of that ignoble policy. It is from that original sin and folly of a Conservative Government—which had enthusiastic Socialist support—that immeasurable evils have resulted. There has been no attempt to check the scurry to disaster, simply because politicians will never admit their major blunders. That, of course, suits Mr. Wilson, for in any predicament he can quote in his own defence some incautious statement or irresponsible act by his opponents. The only

way in which they can deprive him of that weapon, and, much more important, begin to provide a basis for the emergence of some Rhodesian trust in British Parliamentarians, is to acknowledge publicly and unequivocally that their expectations have miscarried, that Rhodesians have good reason to be on their guard against the spread into their country of the freely financed and organized subversion which is now evident over much of Africa, and that Rhodesians must be allowed to manage their own affairs without any attempt at dictation from Governments in the United Kingdom which have shown themselves to be so grievously misguided about Africa. Nothing less than such a confession can be expected to re-establish trust in Rhodesia. No item on the Blackpool agenda could be more important than that.

The Rhodesian problem is solvable by fair-minded men who recognize that Rhodesia's responsible leaders have the right and duty to defend their people from external pressures,

Only Basis for

A Settlement

whether from African despotism elsewhere who seek to divert attention from their own failures by ceaseless condemnation of Rhodesia—than which no State in the whole continent is better governed—or from the long-sighted intrigues of Communist Powers which provide modern arms to the terrorist gangs whom they regard as the spearhead of a movement for the later seizure of the vast mineral wealth of Central and Southern Africa. The pre-Nazi plan for a German Eurafrica was no more than a preliminary sketch for the present Chinese design, of which some elements are already recognizable. This very real, if not immediate, threat is understood in Salisbury, but not in London, and Mr. Smith and his colleagues take it much more seriously than any menaces from the United Nations. They do not underestimate the effects which mandatory sanctions might have upon their economy, but scarcely any Rhodesian would

prefer surrender to the ultimatum from the Commonwealth Conference and the vendetta which Mr. Wilson has waged when a wiser man would have eschewed bullying, brawling, and blackmail. Are we to slide into the risk of war, inter-racial war, throughout Southern Africa merely because of a lack of courage to acknowledge past blunders? Surely that is the crucial question to be faced by the Con-

servative leadership before today's debate on Rhodesia. While the clock cannot be put back, it is dishonest not to recognize that Rhodesians must view with the deepest concern what has happened (and is still happening) in black African territories to their north. From no other point than that recognition can an auspicious approach be made to Mr. Smith.

Labour Conference Rejects Demand for Mandatory Sanctions

Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., Denies Negotiations with "Rhodesian Rebels"

THE PRIME MINISTER referred in the following terms to Rhodesia when he spoke for an hour at last week's Labour Party Conference in Brighton:—

"In the fight against racialism—which is now far more a divisive and explosive factor in world affairs even than thermonuclear power—it is Britain's insistence on standing by principles in the Rhodesian conflict which has kept the Commonwealth together.

"It is that same insistence on principles which proclaims to the world that in Britain's long and not inglorious history of granting freedom to previously dependent territories we are determined to see that the last chapter shall not be allowed to furnish those that have gone before.

"To those principles we shall adhere. For while we have shown in the Commonwealth Conference and since our willingness to go to the limit in securing an acceptable agreement, we shall not be prepared to abandon the principles that have inspired two successive Governments in this country—principles which are essential, not only to preserve the Commonwealth on which so much depends, but which, in their moral inspiration, represent the very basis of our democracy and everything which this movement stands for.

Challenge to Conservatives

"We shall defend those principles, and we have the right to ask the Opposition whether they will at their conference continue to insist that there must be guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule, proof against gerrymandering or any racially inspired braking mechanism; whether they will continue to insist, as we are insisting, that any settlement reached is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, to all the people; whether they will insist, as we are insisting, on a real return to legality as a condition for negotiations.

"In these recent weeks nothing has been more depressing to me than to read the statements of Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Duncan Sandys—who must be regarded as the two authoritative voices of their party on this question—not only that the integrity of the Commonwealth, for which they once worked, has ceased to have any meaning for them, but making clear, too, that their message to Rhodesia is that they are willing, even anxious, to surrender the principles which they so stoutly upheld when they had the responsibilities of office."

As the Prime Minister began his speech Mr. Rodney Legg rose, took a Union Jack from under his coat, and shouted "Empire Loyalists say stop waging economic warfare against Rhodesia". As he was ejected he added: "This flag still flies over Salisbury, not the Red Flag of your conference".

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, M.P., said in the course of her speech on Rhodesia on Friday that it was one of the most difficult and intractable problems that had faced any British Government in recent years.

"Apart from the over-riding consideration of our own economic problems at home, this problem of Rhodesia has engaged the time, thought, attention, and emotions of my ministerial colleagues almost more than any other. The problem of Rhodesia is unique in our Commonwealth history. It is for Britain a classic example of having kept responsibility without having sustained the power to fulfil that responsibility.

"Various speakers—and I have great sympathy with them—have made comparisons with Kenya, Aden, and what was British Guiana. But the problem is that, although it is and has been a Colony since we took it over from the British South Africa Company in 1923—it was previously administered by Cecil Rhodes's Company—it has never at any time been a Colony in fact in administration.

Background to Intractable Problem

"We have never had in Rhodesia, as we have had in all the other territories in the Commonwealth which one by one have reached independence, a civil service that was based on the United Kingdom. We have never had a police force. In fact, the police force in Rhodesia is still called the British South Africa Police. Some people imagine it is recruited in the Republic of South Africa. It is not quite as bad as that. It is just a hangover of name from the old British South Africa Company. We have never had armed forces in Rhodesia.

"It is against this background that the Labour Government since 1964 has had to wrestle with this intractable problem. To make matters worse, when the Central African Federation broke up in 1963—only three short years ago, although it seems an eternity—the Tory Government of that time connived, against the protests of the Labour Party, at handing over almost the entire military force of the Federation to one of the three territories, Southern Rhodesia.

"I have been to every Commonwealth or former Commonwealth country in Africa, including Rhodesia, and I have worked hard for the African problem and I have friends, I am happy to say, in I think every Commonwealth territory in Africa. But we have to recognize the difficulties against which the Labour Government has had to work.

"The resolutions before this conference were put down before the Commonwealth Conference in London in September. Composite Resolution No. 12, which was drawn from the resolutions on the paper, reflects criticisms which I think might have seemed to have validity before this gathering of the heads of the Commonwealth in London. In some respects at least the conclusions of that Commonwealth Conference should modify one's attitude to some of the resolutions.

"Mr. Bowden Did Not Negotiate"

"The national executive statement—the section in the report on overseas policy headed 'Rhodesia'—was drafted after the Commonwealth Conference and after the recent journey to Rhodesia of Herbert Bowden, the Commonwealth Secretary, and Elwyn Jones, the Attorney-General.

"Most speakers have asked conference to support Composite Resolution 12, with much of which we agree; but it contains certain passages in 12 which we cannot ask conference to accept.

"The resolution begins: This conference regrets the decision of the British Government to negotiate with the 'Rhodesian rebels'. If we had been willing to negotiate direct with the Rhodesian rebels, life would have been a great deal easier. Herbert Bowden can tell you that one of the most difficult things he had to do in his recent visit was precisely not to be prepared to negotiate direct with Mr. Smith and recognize his régime. (Interuption.) No: this is one of the real problems that we have to overcome—that you have a rebel Government who want to remain a rebel Government, and we will not negotiate with them as long as they remain a rebel Government.

"I ask comrades to bear in mind what was quite specifically stated in the Commonwealth *communiqué*. It said perfectly clearly that the British Government would only negotiate with an interim administration, a legal one, under the Governor; and it is with this interim administration that a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule on the basis of the six principles will be negotiated.

"So it is not acceptable to us to say that the British Government has agreed to negotiate with the Rhodesian rebels. We have not, and hours and hours of talk with Mr. Smith have made that very, very plain to him. (Laughter.) Conference may jeer, but I repeat, if you know the course of these negotiations, this is one of the most difficult things of all, that he naturally wants to keep his U.D.I. and we have said no, we cannot in any circumstances accept it. (Further interruption.) We have not.

Insistence on One-Man-One-Vote Principle

"The one-man-one-vote principle is, of course, the object of the entire exercise. As Harold Wilson re-affirmed on Tuesday, there must be guaranteed and unimpeded progress towards majority rule, proof against gerrymandering or any racially inspired braking mechanism. Herbert Bowden on leaving Salisbury on September 27 said: 'Progress towards majority rule must be unimpeded and guaranteed.'

"Then the resolution asks for a return to direct British rule; but as there has never been direct British rule in Rhodesia, it is not something to which you can return. It is something you would have to start absolutely *ab initio*, completely from scratch, with no machinery there, no personnel there, no anything.

"As to the release of political prisoners and a guarantee of the freedom of political expression, the Commonwealth Conference said categorically: 'Individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted provided that they are conducted without intimidation.'

"Section (e) is the real difficulty because it asks us to apply mandatory sanctions, and from the speakers one assumes this means universal mandatory sanctions, not only against the illegal régime but against all other countries which do not comply with the mandate.

"We have made it perfectly clear that we not only intend to continue with sanctions unless Smith accedes to our propositions, but to see that the effective sanctions are strengthened and widened. This is made plain in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers report—that if before the end of this year the Smith régime does not renounce rebellion and accept acceptable conditions, then, given the full support of the Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations, the British Government will be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council of the United Nations a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

"You ask in Section (e) for something which the national executive committee as co-partners with the Government could not practically fulfil. If you had universal mandatory sanctions for all commodities, imports and exports, all over the world, consider, comrades, those of you in particular who yesterday were asking us to withdraw from here, there and everywhere, how you would enforce that. Would you not be damaging the United Nations itself as an organization? (Cries of 'No'.) You would if you asked them to apply sanctions in a way that you know could not be effective. This can be done and should be done.

"Honourable" Conditions

"Although sanctions have not yet bitten as deeply as we would wish (laughter), they have bitten. The economy of Rhodesia has been steadily damaged and eroded, and this is going to build up problems for the future. The business and financial community in Rhodesia know very well that there is a considerable element of bluff about the attitude of the Smith régime, but we also know that there are some very serious loopholes in the existing sanctions as well as in those which we are prepared to go forward with. It is for this reason that the British Government has said that it is prepared to take the very serious step of going to the Security Council and asking for mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII.

"We believe that we can by so doing obtain further co-operation from the world. Do not let us underestimate the co-operation that we have already had. The Smith régime has not been recognized as a Government by one single country in the world. Although there have been some serious loopholes in the sanctions, by and large on the voluntary basis there has been co-operation. Further sanctions, the turn of the screw, may be necessary. They will be necessary if Smith does not accept what we believe are reasonable, practical, and honourable conditions for the future of Rhodesia.

"Smith has a last chance. If he does not accept this last chance, then Britain can no longer go on sheltering Rhodesia from the world consequences of her folly. We have done that. We have said that this is the responsibility of the

United Kingdom Government. We have done, are doing, and will do our best to make sure that Smith has every chance of giving Rhodesia a path forward which can be honourable and prosperous to people of all races.

"We are not offering an impossible choice to Smith; and he should have the statesmanship and courage to accept it and to know that. We are offering him a possible, a reasonable, and an honourable choice, a choice which will be honourable also to us in our principles as Labour movement here. (Further interruption.)

"Did I not say at the beginning that the attainment of one man one vote was the whole object of the exercise? If there had been one man one vote in Rhodesia we would have had none of this trouble; and it is because we are determined that there should be one man one vote that we are proceeding on our way.

"The ASLEF resolution has a realistic appraisal of the situation in which one man one vote is quite clearly spelt out. "So we ask conference to support the section of our overseas statement which sets out very clearly the policy reached—and I stress this—in consultation with all the members of the British Commonwealth who had that agonizing meeting in Marlborough House in September, when every single aspect and facet of the Rhodesia problem was gone through in detail. In supporting our statement you will be supporting the Commonwealth.

"Those who have been wrestling with this problem—and I cannot tell you how much has gone into it from Harold Wilson, the Lord Chancellor, Bert Bowden, Arthur Bottomley, and all the rest of my colleagues—ask you to accept the report. And we ask Ian Smith to recognize that this is his last chance. If he does not accept this before the end of the year, then the Rhodesia problem is thrown open to the world, with incalculable consequences for Rhodesia and for Africa.

Force Might Have Been Used

"We have been asked why we did not use force. With hindsight possibly one might have done something at the very first possible moment. (Applause.) But I ask all of you who consider also what it could mean. (Laughter.) You laugh at that; but it could mean a complete turmoil in Southern Africa, which we in this country, with our resources and at this distance, might not be able to control.

"We should use the resources of the United Nations and of the Commonwealth. We believe that, if we bring this pressure to bear, we shall be able to ensure in Rhodesia in time the society which is the only society which we as Socialists can accept, a society of one man one vote, a society in which the minority cannot repress the majority or the majority repress the minority.

"We have an example in Kenya which I hope all Rhodesians will be convinced by. It can be done. It is the will of the British Labour Party, the will of our Government, that it should be done."

In moving the composite resolution Mr. G. Crompton had said that if Rhodesia was ready for independence it was ready for majority rule. The Smith régime represented frightened men who feared African political advance and operated a police State in order to protect their own privileges.

Mr. Christopher Rowland, M.P., who paid a brief visit to Rhodesia in January, said sanctions were still not effective because of South Africa's regular support for Rhodesia, and because the Conservatives in Britain, with some honourable exceptions, had floated on the tide of racial feeling which lay not far below the surface of British life. Had British troops been stationed in Zambia before last November there would have been no U.D.I.

Miss Joan Lester, M.P., said: "We failed at the beginning. We made a very, very miserable approach to this whole situation. Any solution that leaves Ian Smith in control would bring discredit on us in Africa."

Mr. Michael Caffoor said that he worked for a London publishing company which still traded with Rhodesia; the goods were sent to South Africa and then forwarded to Rhodesia.

"Independence Has Worked Well"

Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, M.P., a former British High Commissioner in Kenya, charged the Smith régime with spreading the myth that black African rule always led to Congo-type situations, with blacks murdering whites. In fact, apart from the Congo independence had worked well in Africa.

Firmness with Mr. Smith would earn African respect. "But if we are weak the sins of the Smith régime may be visited on working, non-bridge-playing whites in other parts of Commonwealth Africa."

Mr. L. Kirk, on behalf of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, moved a motion condemning U.D.I. and calling on the Government to do all in its power to reverse the policies of the Smith régime; but he emphasised that his union considered that mandatory sanctions would be a mistake.

The motion which was rejected read:—

"That conference regrets the decision of the British Government to negotiate with the Rhodesian rebels and urges H.M. Government to accept that its minimum terms for a negotiated settlement will be designed to: (a) promote the principle of one man, one vote; (b) secure a return to direct British rule and a rapid transition towards unambiguous majority rule within a stated time; (c) ensure the removal of all measures of racial discrimination, the release of all political prisoners, and a guarantee of the freedom of political expression; (d) maintain close contact with the Commonwealth Governments; and (e) ask the United Nations to apply mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime and against other countries which do not comply with the mandate."

There were 1,801,000 votes for the resolution and 4,368,000 against.

The national executive committee's statement in support of

the Government was carried by 4,664,000 votes to 1,591,000. The ASLEF motion was carried by show of hands.

In a B.B.C. programme Mr. Wilson said:

"We have had to shelter Mr. Smith from the Commonwealth Conference; here we were in a small minority, in not taking much firmer action. We had to shelter him this morning from our own party conference. It has to be asked whether, with Britain's long record of ending Colonial rule, the last chapter is going to spoil the record.

"Britain's proposals have got to be finalized, but we shall stand absolutely firm on the principles laid down by the previous Government, by Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Sandys, and equally maintained by us, the principle of no independence except on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole—the principle that there must be guaranteed and unimpeded progress towards majority democratic rule."

Rhodesia: Basic Facts for the Conservative Conference

Party Should Confess Its Grave Share of Guilt

MANDATORY SANCTIONS against Rhodesia were strongly condemned by the first full-day conference of the Monday Club, which was held on Saturday in the Marble Hall of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, the home of the Marquess of Salisbury.

The 200 persons present made it very plain that they wanted their strong feelings on Rhodesia to be put before the Conservative Party leadership at the annual conference which was due to open four days later.

LORD SALISBURY thought the electorate disillusioned with all three political parties and anxious to be told what the Tory Party existed to conserve. The first requirement was to conserve the free enterprise system, which was the strong foundation of the national life.

Britain's high position and trust in the world had been due to two qualities, those of standing by friends and keeping one's word. Now those qualities were in very short supply. Unless Britain once more made herself trusted her greatness would have ended.

There seemed to be a cycle or pattern in government—from oligarchy to democracy and then back to dictatorship. That was being shown in Africa today in consequence of attempts to impose democracy prematurely.

In a more insidious form it was also to be seen in this country, where the people had less and less power and the Executive more and more. "Parliament pays less and less attention to the people; the Government pays less and less attention to Parliament; and the Prime Minister pays less and less attention to the Government".

Countries Which Sell Their Aid Sterling

LORD CHANDOS, who spoke on the economic situation, said that while aid must be granted to the developing countries, support from Britain should be used mainly for the purchase of British goods. Countries receiving British aid now sometimes sold their sterling and then bought foreign goods.

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., who had returned on the previous day from visits to Rhodesia and South Africa, said that Britain's Imperial endeavour had been destroyed by lack of vision and determination and that Conservative thinking had been clouded by false notions. So-called progressive had rationalized surrender, and leaders everywhere had been too much concerned with what the people were supposed to want instead of with principles.

The consequence was a Commonwealth which had no common ideals, no common law, no common allegiance or alliance, and no political principles. It sometimes nurtured actions which were directly opposed to the good of Britain. The period of psychological retreat and self-delusion should end, and rules should be established for the Commonwealth club.

MR. JOHN BLOGS-DAVISON, M.P., suggested that the party was at the nadir of its fortunes but could reach a new zenith. In an era of infectious anti-colonialism few people understood that the Rhodesian issue raised the question of whether Southern Africa as a whole would be amenable to British influence. Southern Africa should be interdependent with

Western Europe and linked with the Commonwealth; and that, incidentally, would immeasurably benefit Black Africa also. Britain had not to choose between Communism and Americanism but between faith and despair.

During the discussion period Mrs. G. W. Marriott criticized the party for drift and above all for failure to take a firm stand on Rhodesia at the time of U.D.I. When Mr. Piers Dixon, who was in the chair at that time, interrupted to say that he must pass to the next question, there were protests from all parts of the floor, and he then called on Mrs. Marriott to continue. She denounced those Conservative M.P.s. who had voted for sanctions.

Macmillan and Macleod Undermined Rhodesian Trust

MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, said that many people could see scarcely any difference between the Tory and Socialist attitudes to Rhodesia. The Conservative Party conference four days later would offer opportunities for pressure on the leadership for a new approach.

Conservatives must begin by confessing their own guilt. Until they admitted their past errors they had no defence against Mr. Wilson's practice of quoting Tory statements for his own purposes. Once the party acknowledged that it had been misguided and disowned its past statements the Prime Minister would be deprived of that advantage.

The fact must not be buried that the tragedies now to be seen all over Africa derived directly from the actions of a Conservative Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, and a Conservative Secretary of State, Mr. Macleod. They were primarily responsible for undermining Rhodesian trust in Britain—by a policy which Lord Salisbury had denounced at the time as unscrupulous. Was unscrupulousness not a reasonable cause for Rhodesian mistrust?

Hypocrisy about the Rhodesian issue should cease. There was the pretence of treachery: was it treachery for the Rhodesian leaders to refuse to sacrifice their civilized society to the chaos which stalked Africa because of the Macmillan-Macleod abandonment of British trusteeship? There was the pretence of rebellion: were men rebels who remained loyal to the Crown but rejected the dictation of a Wilson and a Bottomley?

The people were bemused by talk about the formalities of law, which could make no contribution to a settlement, when what ought to be considered were the realities of power.

The realities were that Rhodesia could not be isolated; that Mr. Smith was the only conceivable leader of Rhodesia, as the new Commonwealth Secretary already recognized; that the Smith Government would not be brought down by sanctions because of the sympathy of South Africa; that the only way forward was through negotiations; and that negotiations had been made much more difficult by the hypocritical *communiqué* of the Commonwealth Conference.

Britain's heavy share of blame for the Rhodesian situation was undeniable. The challenge to the Conservative Party was publicly to admit that truth and so free itself from its failure of the past.

Tory Leaders' Pledges Not Fulfilled

LORD SALISBURY said that the party leaders had not fulfilled the assurances which they had given him at last year's conference in Brighton. Having then received far more support than he had expected for his protest against sanctions and an oil blockade of Beira, he had refrained from pressing the issue because of the promises made to him.

"Our leaders have not lived up to their promises in the matter of oil sanctions. Mr. Wilson's attitude was different;

and the Commonwealth *communiqué* which he has now accepted precludes agreement. When in Rhodesia just before U.D.I. he made some quite sensible remarks. Now he declares them to be null and void. So much for his sincerity! If, as he threatens, Mr. Wilson goes to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions, he should be unequivocally opposed by the Conservative Party with all its force.

Mr. HAROLD SOREY, chairman of the Africa Group, suggested that Mr. Wilson had blackmailed some Commonwealth countries into a position over Rhodesia which was contrary to their better judgement. He had made the Commonwealth Conference a satellite of the Organization of African Unity. Conservatives should insist on a fair deal for Rhodesia. Whereas Liberals wanted to bomb Rhodesia, the Labour Party, having talked much nonsense about Rhodesia, ended their conference by singing the Red Flag.

More people had been killed in Nigeria in that one week than in all Southern Africa in modern times. If the one-man-one-vote system were prematurely thrust upon Rhodesia, as it had been in so many other parts of Africa, the consequences would be similar to those in the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and other States now under African dictatorship.

SIR VICTOR RAIKES, who lived in Rhodesia for several years after retiring from the House of Commons, denied that Rhodesians were *apartheid*-minded. He was confident that goodwill from Britain could still produce a fair settlement.

Mr. PAUL WILLIAMS, chairman of the Monday Club, said in the concluding speech that the Tory Party was in danger of "me-tooism" with Socialism. The task of the club was to push the Tory Party right.

Among those present, in addition to the persons named above, were Sir Peter Agnew, Mr. A. R. Allfrey, Mr. Paul Bristol, Lord & Lady Cadross, Mr. Adrian Fitzgerald, Major J. A. Friend, Mr. & Mrs. G. I. Greig, Dr. Donald Johnson, Captain P. B. Marriott, R.N. (Retd.), Mr. E. D. O'Brien, Brigadier A. W. A. Llewellyn Palmer, Mr. Tom Stacey, and Mr. F. R. Stockwell (who that week had entered upon his duties as the first full-time director of the Monday Club).

Anglo-Rhodesian Society

Annual Meeting on October 20

THE ANGLORHODESIAN SOCIETY'S annual general meeting will be held in Chelsea Town Hall, King's Road, London, S.W.3, at 5:30 p.m. on Thursday, October 20.

Four vacancies on the council of 12 members will require to be filled. Earl De La Warr and Lord Colyton have recently resigned, and Lord Wakefield and General Sir Richard Gale will retire in accordance with the by-law which provides that one-third of the members of the council shall retire each year.

The eight other members of the council are Brigadier A. W. A. Llewellyn Palmer, Sir Archibald James, and Messrs. F. S. Joelson, T. D. Lardner-Burke, C. Malcolm Napier, R. T. Paget, M.P., John Robinson, and Patrick Wall, M.P.

Dinner on November 10

The society's annual dinner will be held in London on November 10. Tickets (£3 3s.) may be obtained from the secretary at 1 Dover Street, W.1.

The inaugural meeting of the Jersey branch of the society is due to be held today.

A Buckinghamshire branch has been formed, with Mrs. M. B. Kabell, of Fairings, Grendon Underwood, near Aylesbury, as chairman, and Mr. S. Swerling, of Chalfont St. Giles, as honorary secretary.

Mr. Alan Rudd, a most active member of the society in Suffolk, circulates periodically an interesting newsletter. The current issue contrasts the peace of Rhodesia with the instability and terrorism in many other parts of Africa. The section on Zambia states:—

"President Kaunda is a Malawian, not a Zambian, an extremist sitting uneasily at the head of his State. RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA quoted him recently as saying that 'nothing can frighten me physically'—a remark possibly prompted by the forts built round his palace in Lusaka. Before independence he stated that if he did not get independence 'what would follow would make Mau Mau look like a Sunday school picnic'. That that was not an idle boast was proved by the way that over 850 innocent Lumpa were murdered with appalling atrocities because they did not want to be involved in politics. The British Press hardly noticed this. Terrorists are trained in Zambia for use against Rhodesia. Kaunda pledged Zambian aid to restore Nkrumah in Ghana."

New Proposals to Rhodesia

THE BRITISH CABINET is expected to decide today on the text of a statement for the Rhodesian Government, which is to receive, perhaps tomorrow, the minimum terms for independence acceptable to the Wilson Government after considering the new Commonwealth Secretary's report on his recent visit to Salisbury.

Sources close to the Smith Government have no doubt that the Rhodesian leader is angry at the "leaks" to the British Press from the Commonwealth Office, especially the suggestions that Mr. Smith asked not to have his face rubbed in the dirt (which is flatly denied) and that he was more amenable to concessions when none of his colleagues was present.

The opinion in Rhodesia is that the new proposals from London will be rejected. But if Mr. Bowden cares to pay another visit he would be welcome.

Dealing with Terrorists

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT is about to publish a pamphlet, entitled "Nowhere to Hide", which describes the lack of success of the African terrorists who have been sent into Rhodesia from Zambia and Tanzania to undertake murder, maiming, arson, and other forms of sabotage and subversion.

The terrorist campaign is dismissed as "farical" and "a dismal failure", largely because the so-called "freedom fighters" (though armed with modern Russian and Chinese equipment, now including mortars and rocket launchers) have no spirit for offensive action.

Whereas they had been told in the training camps in Zambia and Tanzania that they would find themselves among friends when they crossed the Zambezi, Rhodesian African tribesmen have promptly reported their arrival to the security force. The "war bulletins" issued in Lusaka by the Zimbabwe African Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union are ridiculed as "full of bare-faced and childish lies".

The pamphlet charges the British Government with aiding terrorism "by pumping money into the countries from which their operations are launched". It states that "the truly sinister aspect of the story is that the African racialisists are the tools of either Russian or Chinese Communism, as is evidenced by the arms and caches discovered in Rhodesia".

Of 30 terrorists who recently infiltrated from Zambia, 12 were killed, 53 captured, and five are known to have escaped to Botswana.

It is estimated that in the past six years between 600 and 700 Rhodesian Africans have left the country, almost always under the pretext of taking up education scholarships, but have gone on to receive guerrilla training in Russia, China, Algeria, Ghana, or Tanzania. Between 200 and 300 of them are now in a camp near Lusaka, but the low state of their morale is considered responsible for the fact that gangs have recently been sent into Rhodesia direct from Tanzania. They are usually in squads of seven or eight men.

The Rhodesian intelligence is so good that prior knowledge of the crossing-places into Rhodesia and approximate times of arrival has enabled the gangs to be closely watched. To reduce the risk that many might be able to re-cross the Zambezi after diving into thick bush if attacked at once, the gangs are allowed to make their way well into Rhodesia before they are brought to bay, often with the help of spotter aircraft, helicopters, paratroopers, and tracker dogs. Many then surrender without firing a shot.

"I do not seem to be subject to pressures to the same extent as hon. Members of the Opposition. Pressures normally add up to nothing more than hot air"—Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

"The Leader of the Opposition said that if anyone could make a profit out of tobacco at 28d. per pound we must have the best growers in the world. Indeed, some of the best tobacco growers in the world are right here in Rhodesia".—The Minister of Agriculture.

"The revocation of European leases and the refusal of compensation even in cases of proven injustice has frightened off European farmers from Tanzania, and in several places the bush has taken over where wheat used to grow".—Lady Listowel, writing in the *Statist*.

PERSONALIA

JUDGE P. PICKETT is in England on leave from Zambia.

MR. R. J. BLOXAM and MR. I. GALLOWAY have been appointed directors of The Clan Line Steamers, Ltd.

MR. R. GAYMER has been elected to the board of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia, will next week pay a State visit to the United Arab Republic.

CAPTAIN R. HART, R.N. (Retd.), has joined the board of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.

Two geologists on leave pending retirement from the Malawi Government are MR. M. S. GARSON and MR. M. J. WALTER.

MR. M. H. GOODALL, assistant secretary of the Standard Bank, has been appointed an assistant to the general manager.

MR. R. H. C. STEED will address the Royal Commonwealth Society at lunch-time on October 27 on "Focus on the Commonwealth".

MR. COLIN KIRKPATRICK has resigned from the board of Roan Selection Trust, Ltd., to which MR. A. C. FISHER has been appointed.

Mfulira's golf champion is 18-year-old JOHN PICKERING, who is still at school in Lusaka. He is also Zambia's junior champion.

SIR COSMO HASKARD, Governor of the Falkland Islands, who was previously in the Colonial Service in Nyasaland, is on leave in London.

MR. P. W. MATOKA, Minister of Health in Zambia, is spending a fortnight in the Soviet Union to visit specialist hospital and health centres.

CANON R. G. GIBBON, vicar of Somerford Keynes, has been appointed one of the commissaries in the United Kingdom of the Bishop of Mashonaland.

MR. JOHN L. KAZOKA, a B.L. of London University, who was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn, has been appointed Commissioner of Lands in Zambia.

MR. P. S. CHAPMAN, chief passenger manager designate of the Union-Castle Line, arrived in London with his family on Monday from South Africa.

SIR ANDREW COHEN is to speak on "Britain's Part in African Development" at a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on November 3.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, the former M.P., will succeed MR. NIGEL NICOLSON as chairman of the executive committee of the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

MRS. J. GODDARD won the highest points award and the prizes for the best and second best pelts at an open show organized by the Mashonaland Branch of the Chinchilla Breeders' Association of Africa.

SIR IAN ORR-EWING, M.P., has been appointed to the boards of Ultra Electric (Holdings), Ltd., and its subsidiary, Ultra Electronics, Ltd., and has succeeded SIR VICTOR TAIT as chairman of the latter company.

MR. S. J. KITINDU, Commissioner for the Coast Region of Tanzania, has led a delegation to China for the National Day celebrations. The invitation came from the Chinese-African Peoples' Friendship Association.

DR. JAMES CAIRNS, medical superintendent of St. Francis' Hospital, Katete, has left Zambia for post-graduate studies in surgery. Until he returns about 18 months hence, DR. JOHN THORNTON will have charge of the hospital.

THE REV. ERNEST EDWIN CURTIS, vicar of Locks Heath, Southampton, since 1955, is to be bishop of Mauritius and Seychelles. He went to Mauritius in 1936 as a chaplain and principal of St. Paul's College, and was in that colony for eight years.

MR. ALAN WILLCOX is now manager of the Mfulira branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., his predecessor, MR. "TONY" MUNDAY, having been transferred to London. MR. WILLCOX has served the bank in a number of its African branches, including Bulawayo, Luanshya, Choma and Fort Jameson.

THE RT. REV. OLIVER ALLISON, Bishop of the Sudan, has recently spent 10 days in the south, visiting Juba, Wau, and Malakal. Since the disturbances in July of last year his repeated applications for permission to go south had been refused. On this occasion every facility was given by the authorities.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA presented in Addis Ababa last week the Haile Selassie Trust prizes for 1966 to PROFESSOR ROLAND OLIVER, DR. HERBERT CHARLES PEREIRA, and SISTER GABRIEL CUBITT. She received the national award of 7,000 Ethiopian dollars (about £1,000) for humanitarian work, and the two others shared an \$80,000 award (£11,430) for African research.

MR. SIKOTA WINA, Minister of Local Government and Housing in Zambia, who is M.P. for Luanshya, said when laying a foundation-stone for a new civic centre which is to cost £114,000 that since the beginning of last year £562,000 had been spent on housing in the town and that a further £266,000 was to be spent under the four-year development plan.

DR. T. P. SOPER, director of studies at the Overseas Development Institute, London, has flown to Nairobi to take part in the sixth course for senior administrators run by the East African Staff College. MR. GUY HUNTER, lately director of that college, MRS. KAY STAHL, of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, and MR. J. B. SEAL, adviser on man-power to the Sudan Government, are also taking part.

MR. E. C. W. SILCOCK has succeeded MR. I. H. GRANT, now Deputy Secretary for Education in Rhodesia, as headmaster of Hamilton Boys' High School. A Rhodesian by birth, he served in the Royal Navy during the last war and then graduated B.Sc. from Rhodes University, South Africa. He was at one period deputy headmaster of Plumtree School, which he had attended as a boy.

MR. T. W. GARDNER, senior industrial relations officer to Rhodesia Railways, is leading its recruitment team to the United Kingdom and Holland. His colleagues are MESSRS. E. BACON, J. HENDERSON, W. J. B. MACNEILL, S. F. MINNIE, L. O'SHEA, and K. J. PITKIN. They will interview applicants for service in Zambia for from three to five years. DR. C. F. KRUGER came to London in advance of his colleagues.

THE REV. ARTHUR LEWIS, priest-in-charge of St. Peter's Mission, Mandea, has been appointed the first Archdeacon of Inyanga, in the diocese of Mashonaland. He served two curacies in Nottinghamshire before going to East Africa in 1947. Eleven years later he went to Rhodesia to take charge of St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, from which he transferred to Mandea two years later. He was one of the speakers at the Royal Albert Hall meeting recently organized by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

MR. GERALD V. W. ANDERSON, F.R.C.S., M.S., M.B., who is now 72 years of age, has been appointed medical research officer to the East African Common Services Organization. Taken to Kenya as a child of six, he returned to England for his education, went back to Kenya in 1910, worked as a compositor and reporter, served in the 1914-18 war, qualified as a doctor, became a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and began private practice in Nairobi in 1920, later becoming president of the Kenya Branch of the British Medical Association. He served again in the second world war and was for six years a member of Nairobi Municipal Council. Lately he has practised as a surgeon in Nakuru.

*Obituary***Captain "Monty" Moore, V.C.****Gallant Soldier and Fine Game Warden**

CAPTAIN MONTAGUE SEYMOUR MOORE, V.C., who has died on his farm in Kenya, aged 69, won the Victoria Cross while serving in Flanders in the 15th Battalion The Hampshire Regiment in the 1914-18 war, in which he was also awarded the Croix de Guerre and mentioned in dispatches. He also served in the North Russian expedition.

The citation for his Victoria Cross stated that Second Lieut. Moore had led 70 men on a 500-yard dash across country swept by machine-gun fire, and that he, a sergeant, and four men alone reached the objective, where, having captured 28 prisoners, two machine-guns, and a light field gun, they entrenched themselves, beat off counter-attacks, and held the position for 36 hours under continual shell fire.

In 1921 he was seconded to the King's African Rifles. Five years later he retired from the Army in order to join the Game Department of Tanganyika. He was soon made game ranger for the Serengeti Plains, then almost certainly the most wonderful big game area in the world. So large was the lion population that he frequently photographed a dozen or more of the beasts feeding from a carcass attached by a 30-yard rope to a slowly moving lorry. He told his journal at that time that he once drove 33 miles through a vast mass of moving game which spread in all directions as far as he could see. In 1944 he was promoted chief game warden. His persistent advocacy had much influence on the creation of the Serengeti National Park. He retired in 1950 to a 240-acre farm near Kiganjo on the edge of the Mount Kenya forest, where he continued to enjoy the wild life around him and the angling of which he was so fond. For some years he had suffered from diabetes, which gradually wore him down.

His wife, who had looked after him devotedly, and their son Charles, now in the National Game Parks Organization of Kenya, scattered his ashes in the Nairobi Game Park. At a memorial service in Nyeri his V.C. and other medals were placed on the altar. The organ voluntary played at the close of the service was the hymn "All things bright and beautiful".

Mr. W. S. G. Wilkinson

MR. WALTER SUTHERLAND GRATTAN WILKINSON, M.C., who has died in Kenya, aged 61, was an Irishman who was educated at Downside, did a short spell of banking in London, and then went to Kenya, in 1928.

He did all kinds of jobs on farms, in hotels, and in game control, and in 1934 joined the gold rush to Kakamega, running the hotel in the little township. That year he married Mairi, daughter of Colonel D. M. MacLeod. Those were difficult times in Kenya, and three years later they went south to the Copperbelt.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 he joined the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, with which he served through the campaigns in British Somaliland and Ethiopia, being awarded the Military Cross for gallantry in the action at Tug Argan. Later in Burma he was transferred to the 44th Battalion of the King's African Regiment, which he commanded for some months.

On demobilization he joined the African Highlands Produce Company at Kericho, Kenya, and at one period managed one of its tea estates. Later his main responsibility was for labour matters. When he retired about 18 months ago he was the senior member of the staff.

He was thrice chairman of the Kenya Tea Growers' Association.

He was a past president of the Nyanza Electors' Union (previously known as the Nyanza Province European Electors' Association), and was for some years district commandant at Kericho of the Kenya Police Reserve. Mrs. Wilkinson was at the same time district vice-president of the East Africa Women's League.

Sir Colin Campbell, an old friend, writes: "Always an enthusiast, Walter was a man with a real gift for friendship, with enmity for no man. He loved Africa, its people and its wild life, and was versed in its history, as his fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society demonstrated. His friends will remember him displaying his roses, his photographs, and his ancient Rolls, always with pride but without conceit. We have lost a treasured friend whose memory will not fade; and Kenya has lost one of its most dedicated adherents".

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders

SIR ALEXANDER CARR-SAUNDERS, K.B.E., who has died at the age of 80, was director of the London School of Economics from 1937 to 1956, during which period it became a seedbed of left political theory at which many of the present generation of African leaders learnt their extremism. Sir Alexander was also the real founder of the Inter-University Council, through which the young universities in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean recruited their staff, many of them political "progressives".

He was chairman of the 1953 commission which reported on higher education for Africans in Central Africa, as a result on which the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was founded. He thereafter visited Central and East Africa on a number of occasions.

He joined the ranks on the outbreak of the war in 1914, was later commissioned in the R.A.S.C., and thereafter remained at a ration depot in Suez. After demobilization he went with the Oxford University expedition to Spitzbergen, and in 1923 was appointed the first Professor of Social Science at Liverpool University. He remained there until he was given charge of the L.S.E.

SIR GEORGE ABBISS, who has died at the age of 82, was Police Adviser to the Colonial Office from 1948 to 1960.

MR. CYRIL WALTER DUMPLETON, who has died in Dawlish, Devon, aged 69, was from 1950 to 1962 on the staff of the Colonial Development Corporation, for part of the time as its public relations officer. He served on the Western Front in the 1914-18 War, was elected to St. Albans City Council in 1937, was mayor from 1943 to 1945, and was then elected Labour M.P. for the constituency.

MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD DOUGLAS GILES, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., whose death at the age of 87 in Umtali, Rhodesia, is reported, was at one time A.D.C. to King George V. He was commissioned in the Shropshire Light Infantry in 1899, transferred to the Indian Army two years later, served throughout the 1914-18 War in France, and then went back to India, where he served in various capacities until 1935. Then he retired as Major-General (Cavalry).

MR. R. DE COURCY BALDWIN, who has died at the age of 83, was in the Colonial Service in East Africa before and during the 1914-18 war, in which he saw service in "German East". Retiring in 1921 owing to ill-health, he had sufficiently recovered six years later to be appointed vice-consul in Beirut, where he continued to serve till 1945. On his retirement he was made O.B.E. His whimsicalities had been widely known as "Baldwinisms".

Letters to The Editor**As Played by Mr. Wilson
Malice in Blunderland**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—The Rhodesian drama as played by Mr. Wilson bears a strong resemblance to the court scene in the still unpublished masterpiece entitled "Malice in Blunderland", Mr. Wilson having cast himself as prosecutor, judge, jury, and hangman, and ordained that the dreadful culprit in the dock should neither be allowed counsel, not even be permitted to state his case. Bemused by the rhetoric, the audience sits supinely. The few reprehensible hisses are sternly repressed with three-thonged whips.

The main indictment of the "traitorous rebel" is for upholding the dominance of a white minority over a majority of others of deeper tones of colour. Is there among all the civilized, peaceful, and prosperous white nations outside Europe one which does not owe its beginning to the dominance of an even smaller white minority over a much larger majority of other shades?

And how many of these latter are now to be found in the several legislatures? How many Maoris are there in the New Zealand Parliament? How many black aborigines in the Federal State or Parliaments of Australia? How many Red Indians in the Assembly in Ottawa? How many Red Indians and Mexicans (who originally owned the lands now called the United States) in the self-righteous, anti-colonial Congress of that country?

To be thoroughly consistent, Mr. Wilson should impose sanctions against all those nations; and his Socialists would doubtless wish to include South Africa, even though that would lose Britain the support of her gold and an annual export market for some £250m. of goods manufactured in the U.K.

Alternatively, the countries mentioned might each recall the lesson of its own history and withdraw support from Mr. Wilson's vendetta against Mr. Smith and Rhodesia, and so end this merciless persecution of the last outpost of white civilization in still dark Africa.

Ipplepen
Devon

Yours faithfully
E. J. HALSTED-HANBY

**"Legalizing Skulduggery"
British Breach of Engagements**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—Britain's legal rights regarding Rhodesia should be carefully examined. The 1961 Constitution was designed to eliminate finally the British Government's control over Rhodesian affairs except for certain matters relating to international financial commitments and treaty obligations.

The White Paper on the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, Part 1, issued by H.M. Stationery Office, London, states explicitly on page 3 that the 1961 Constitution "will eliminate ALL the reserved powers at present vested in the Government of the United Kingdom, save for certain matters set out in paragraph 50".

Paragraph 50 in the White Paper became section 32 of the Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961, which covers only the following restrictive powers:

"(a) to alter to the injury of stockholders any of the undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia at the time of issue of any Southern Rhodesia Government stock registered under the Colonial Stock Act, 1887, or any Act amending or replacing the same; or

(b) to involve a departure from any obligation imposed on Her Majesty in relation to Southern Rhodesia by any treaty, convention, agreement, or arrangement relating to any country or international or similar organization".

With the passing of this Constitution, therefore, the British Government ceased to have any further right to intervene in Rhodesian affairs with the exception of the two specified clauses. As the late Samuel Goldwyn would have said, the British Government was then "included out" of Rhodesian domestic politics—with no legal right of return.

Can it be asserted with any truth that Mr. Wilson has confined negotiations to these two clauses, which are his sole entitlement?

Taken in conjunction with the broken pledges to Sir Roy Welensky, it is clear that Britain has a far greater record of illegality than has Rhodesia. By intervening and exerting pressure beyond the extent of the two clauses, and so without the scope of his authority, Mr. Wilson quite definitely precipitated U.D.I.. He must bear responsibility. The use of sanctions is a highly unethical attempt to legalize by force British skulduggery.

Timaru
New Zealand

Yours faithfully
PETER C. HIGHAM

POINTS FROM LETTERS**Tribute**

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is invaluable to us in Rhodesia in keeping us informed of matters affecting our country".

Monstrous Ultimatum

"RHODESIANS will of course not accept the monstrous ultimatum sent by Mr. Wilson, and so we can now wait for Rhodesia to declare itself a republic. Britain must have lost the little semblance of goodwill that was left in Rhodesia, and she will certainly not receive gratitude from the African nations for permitting them to turn the Commonwealth into just another United Nations, with the usual ganging-up behind the scenes".

Spirit of Rhodesians

"THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT would do well to remember that the most imposing monument in Rhodesia is not to Cecil Rhodes but to Major Alan Wilson, who in the war against the Matabele led across the Shangani River a patrol of which every member was killed. During a lull in the fighting the last six left alive sang 'God Save the Queen'. For their courage they were honoured both by their friends and Lobengula's *impis*. British politicians cannot subdue such people by threatening them with paper tigers. Any resort to force would lead to a dreadful struggle against proud, convinced, and determined Rhodesian patriots—and to the destruction of all the great good that our people have wrought in Rhodesia".

Humiliation and Distortion

"THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE proved a most humiliating experience for all except the left-wing propagandists, especially those of the B.B.C., the *Guardian* and the *Observer*, and naturally for the black politicians who, with a background of disorder in their countries, enjoyed putting Britain on the spot. Mr. Wilson rattled on his word not to go to the United Nations about Rhodesia, though to invoke the Charter in order to apply sanctions distorts its whole meaning, for it states specifically that sanctions shall be applied only to an aggressor who threatens world peace. The truth is that Rhodesia is the most peaceful country in Africa and an object lesson to her neighbours. The conspiracy of the national newspapers to suppress these truths is frightening".

How to Avoid Bloody Failure

Quotes from the Press on Rhodesia

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS TUCKER and SIR CHRISTOPHER MASTERMAN have written jointly to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"We, who spent most of our working lives in the Commonwealth outside these shores, wish to endorse the letter of Mr. F. S. Joelson, and we would point out that not often do the pages of our Press contain so well-informed an explanation of the situation as it has developed in one of our Commonwealth or ex-Commonwealth countries.

"We are very used, from our past experience and present knowledge, to reading much about Rhodesia which can only be described as brain-washing by liberal-minded correspondents. We recollect what appalling damage these same correspondents brought about in India in 1946-47 and the calamitous results of their work which endure to this very day.

"Our considered advice, as experienced administrators ourselves, is that both parties should forget and wipe clean the slate of the squalid tale of British chicanery told in Welensky's 'Four Thousand Days' and should forget the sordid continuation of those negotiations between 1964 and 1966. Having wiped the slate clean, they should start again and without prejudice negotiate with the *de facto* Government of Mr. Ian Smith a far-seeing and well-ordered arrangement by which his hitherto prosperous and well-governed country can go forward into the future on a solid basis for the benefit of all colours and creeds living within its borders.

"We should not bind ourselves by any vague five or six principles, but should rely on the old talent of the British to do what is best for the country concerned, helped economically, educationally, and industrially by Great Britain. In this way we might avoid yet another dismal and bloody failure such as we have seen since 1947 over vast areas of Africa and Asia".

Ugly Threats

MR. ROY LEWIS, wrote from Swansea:—

"The Attorney-General of Buganda tells us that when Mr. Smith shows signs of joining hands with Mr. Vorster to oppress the Africans in Southern Africa, the reaction from the rest of Africa and most of Asia is an ugly threat to world peace. He seems to conclude from this that the United Nations should intervene not against those responsible for the threat, but against Rhodesia, which threatens no one.

"The peoples of the rest of Africa and of Asia have no knowledge of conditions in Rhodesia, other than what their bellicose leaders choose to tell them, and it may be thought that the *rapprochement* between Mr. Smith and Mr. Vorster is the result, not the cause, of the 'ugly threat' from outside. But the issue goes deeper.

"One of the primary objects of the United Nations is to enable States with radically differing and incompatible ideologies to co-exist without recourse to war. To the democrats of the West, Communist authoritarianism appears no less a violation of human rights than does Mr. Smith's régime to African nationalists, while the Communist States, for their part, are dedicated to the overthrow of capitalist democracy.

"According to Mr. A. F. Mpanga's logic these groups and ideologists have only to clamour for action against those of whose politics they disapprove for the United Nations to be in duty bound to support them. Such a programme of world chaos is precisely what the U.N. was founded to avoid.

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"Is it not time that public opinion, which has great sympathy with the vast social and economic problems of modern Africa, made it clear to the leaders of that continent that it will support them only when they turn their attention to these problems rather than to the elevation of internecine quarrels into a threat to world peace?"

"May one, in conclusion, thank Lord Willis for his amusing account of how 50% of Americans approached in the street with a request to sign a document which was in fact their own death warrant did so without troubling to find out what they were signing? He has unintentionally given the best possible explanation of why Mr. Wilson, who insists that the future of Rhodesia shall be settled by referendum, does not care to apply the same methods to his own country."

Stoking Anti-Western Fires

African anti-imperialistic favour has this year dwindled to almost nothing, finding its expression (and almost no audience) in the set speeches of United Nations delegates, the ineffective proceedings of O.A.U., and the waning attempts by Communist propagandists to stoke the anti-Western fires", says the *Statist*, continuing:—

"The object of African wrath remains the existence of a white Southern Africa. But events seem to have conspired together to determine that Southern Africa—the Republic, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola—shall remain white.

"This year has proved a trying time not only for Mr. Wilson, who once stated that he regarded Rhodesia as his 'Cuba'. It has caused just as much loss of face to the evangelists of non-aligned Africanism, such as Mr. Nyerere or Dr. Kaunda.

"Indeed, almost everything has gone wrong. Mr. Wilson's blockade has failed to bring Mr. Smith down quickly. Zambia's headstrong attempt to help by refusing to use Rhodesian railway transport merely resulted in an economic crisis for Zambia—so that Lusaka is using the railways after all. Then there has been the World Court's decision on South-West Africa, to the effect that what goes on there is no business of any other African State."

Concluding with a reference to the prospect of Africa becoming a place of peace through the emergence of African conservatism, the article ended:

"Political realists have abandoned at last the anti-white, anti-Western parrot-cries that brought them to power. The existence of men of this calibre may ensure, in time, that Southern Africa will, of its own free will develop racial harmony. Africa's question for the future is which river, the Limpopo or the Zambezi, will mark the limit of European Africa. It may still be answered by violence. But there are reasonable men now on both banks of both rivers. Is the new trend towards reason?"

Views Attributed to the Banks

The City editor of *The Times* has written:—

"Rhodesian banks believe the economy can go on running until about next March before confidence dissolves in a sea of rising inflation. Reports from inside the country suggest that the banks are under heavy pressure from the Smith régime to step up their credits to farmers in general and tobacco farmers in particular. But the banks have not yet been fully repaid for credits extended last year and claim that their banking principles are being outraged. Meeting the régime's demands to extend credit will merely push up the money supply without supplying the goods and services needed to mop up the purchasing power the credits will create.

"A second source of worry to orthodox bankers is the new £5.5m development loan floated by the Smith administration. This will bring the total raised internally to £15m. in the past 10 months. The money will be transferred from savings and liberated in fresh Government spending power, which is liable to widen still further the gap between the supply of goods and services, and the supply of money chasing them.

"Even without mandatory sanctions the more orthodox financiers believe that the line can only be held for another six months, before price rises become dangerous and investors and businessmen find their financial good sense begins to override their sense of loyalty to Mr. Smith."

MR. E. F. G. HAIG has written to the *Guardian*:—

"You write that 'the society of the African people is rich in its own characteristics; this society is disappearing in Rhodesia; it ought not to be allowed to vanish'. Yet the constant tenor of your editorial policy for Rhodesia has been to hasten the advent of a one-man-one-vote system, a system flatly opposed to the characteristics of African society.

"In that society young and middle-aged men accept unquestioningly the authority and the edicts of chiefs and elders: and this acceptance, which is thoroughly undemocratic, is not considered to derogate from human dignity. You therefore advocate two incompatibles".

Mr. C. G. LYNAM wrote to the *Spectator*:—

"The Government should forsake wishful thinking and personal animosity and face harsh facts in Rhodesia. In the true African tradition, Rhodesia is now a one-party State. The Smith régime controls the armed forces, the police and the administration; and has an overwhelming majority in Parliament. Anyone who tried to form an active opposition or put forward an alternative Government would quickly find himself under house arrest or banished to the wilderness. The régime is the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia. It is therefore the only body with which we can negotiate, since it alone has the power to implement any undertakings given.

"Economic sanctions can inflict great suffering on the innocent: but their record of political failures is lamentable. The first sufferers in Rhodesia will be the African workers and the moderate businessmen. The last will be the wealthy supporters of the Smith régime.

"It is assumed that the Government's object now is to bring a prosperous Rhodesia back to constitutional rule—not to appease the African States, for the two aims are incompatible. It envisages two possible results of sanctions. The first is that Mr. Smith will throw in his hand in a few weeks, though there is no visible reason why he should. The régime can last a long time even if the country is impoverished; and it knows that sanctions cost us much more than them.

Foreigners Eager for Rhodesian Trade

In the *Scotsman* Miss Grace Keith said that on a recent visit to Rhodesia she had found foreign businessmen in Salisbury eager for trade.

"Devious routes have been opened up for the export of chrome and other minerals in order to permit longstanding customers to buy them ostensibly from other countries. It is estimated that 40% to 50% of Rhodesian tobacco still finds its way via 'neutral' countries to the world buyers.

"It is sheer lunacy for anyone to imagine that sanctions, however much they may be tightened up, will ever break the spirit of the white Rhodesians.

"Perhaps the saddest aspect of Rhodesia today is the attitude of the white liberals, many of whom have been gallantly rooting for their losing cause for years. The situation, as they see it, is hopeless. Sanctions will never work now; force is out of the question; only compromise is left, and compromise will mean victory for Smith and white minority rule indefinitely.

"Not the least of the reasons for Mr. Smith's apparent success is the lack of real fighting spirit in the average Rhodesian African, who, on the whole, is good-natured and friendly and would rather have a good laugh any day than harm a hair of his white boss's head".

Britain and Zambia are the main victims of sanctions against Rhodesia, in the opinion of the *Chicago Tribune*, whose London editor, Mr. Arthur Veysey, recently visited Rhodesia to report on the situation: A leading article headed "Facts (for a change) about Rhodesia", said:—

"The thriving Rhodesia which Mr. Veysey has found is very different from the Rhodesia described to us by apologists for the British and American Governments and for the 'liberals' who are out to get Ian Smith at any price.

"Week after week we have been assured that the Smith Government is about to collapse, thanks to the Anglo-American boycott. Far from being strangled, Mr. Veysey finds, Rhodesia has found other countries willing to sell it just about everything it needs to survive, though Rhodesians have had to make do with fewer new automobiles and less imported clothing.

"Far from being struck with unsaleable produce, Rhodesia has found willing customers for its gold, asbestos, chrome, iron, and coal. The only export that is suffering is tobacco, which formerly went almost wholly to Britain.

"Far from starving for lack of foreign exchange, Rhodesia is actually running a trade surplus. During the six-month period ending in June, it spent 115m. dollars on imports and more than covered this by selling 130m. dollars' worth of exports. If the Government can in addition sell the tobacco it has bought from the growers, the money will be pure gravy as foreign exchange goes.

"Not only are many people in Britain and the United States being deluded into thinking the boycott is about to succeed, but, perhaps more important in a practical sense, we are losing a valuable trading partner in the process.

"Rhodesian importers have assured Mr. Veysey that even when the boycott ends they will avoid buying British and American goods. Exporters who have found other markets for their produce will be reluctant to desert their new-found friends by selling to Britain or the United States.

"In short, there is little evidence that Rhodesia is going to collapse, and there is a good deal more evidence that Britain itself and its protégé Zambia are the main victims of the boycott.

"If Prime Minister Wilson finds some excuse to settle the dispute he will jump at it; and the United States will have to go along with the settlement, admitting that we gambled on the wrong team".

Circumventing Sanctions

Mr. J. L. Henderson, writing from a London address to *The Times*, said:—

"A businessman from Salisbury came to see me last week. He is concerned with building and timber importing. Where, I asked, could he now buy his timber? From Canada, as before, he replied, in spite of Canada's official adherence to the embargo. He informed me that the day after the Canadian announcement a representative of his company's regular suppliers in Canada called on him. Imports of timber would continue normally, he was assured: 'We have been shown the way to do it'. Timber imports to Rhodesia, a vital raw material for construction purposes, have therefore continued through Beira. The man from Salisbury told me that, future oil supplies apart, economic sanctions have proved 'a farce'; they are hardly noticeable. French and German firms in particular are active in picking up business that established British suppliers have had to forgo."

Rhodesian Brevities

A record of Rhodesia's new national song has been sent to the British Prime Minister.

Mrs. Seva C. Loomis, publisher of the *Columbus Telegram*, Nebraska, has visited Rhodesia.

There are now about 60 Friends of Rhodesia groups in the United States. They are linked by a national co-ordinating committee.

In co-operation with the Friends, the National Export Council of Rhodesia is planning intensive sales promotion drives in some parts of South Africa.

In a budget of £15.3m. Salisbury City Council is including a capital programme of £2m. Bulawayo's budget of £7.5m. allows £1.4m. for new development. In neither cases will there be any increase in rates.

Leaf deliveries to the Rhodesian Tobacco Marketing Board will end on October 17. South Africa, the largest customer this season, has exported much of her own tobacco for the first time. There has been no announcement about Rhodesia's total sales, but guesses range between about 33% and 40% of a crop which is not thought to have been under 250m. lb.

The cargo of 9,100 tons of unrefined sugar from Rhodesia which was bought at the end of last year by West German interests and has since been stored in bond in Hamburg has been sold. The Westzucker Company of Dortmund paid about £162,000 for the cargo, which the United States had contracted to buy for £360,000; but President Johnson banned the import while the ship was at sea. After she had reached Hamburg the German Government agreed to a British request that the sugar should not be sold in Germany. There have been suggestions in German newspapers that the cargo has been bought for fodder purposes by a group in Chile.

The Rhodesian Government's aerial spraying unit is estimated to have destroyed at least 20m. quelea birds in the Lowveld in two months. Each bird eats its own weight of grain each day. Those destroyed by the unit would have eaten about 330 tons daily.

During the next year the Rhodesian Government expects to channel about £2.5 m. into the building industry.

Plastic milk containers are now being made in Salisbury. Packet soups are now in large-scale production in Rhodesia, which had previously spent about £70,000 annually on the import.

"I believe that the local managements of all the banks are favourable to our cause and are working on our behalf; but one must remember that these banks are subsidiary to banks in England and have their headquarters in England".—Mr. R. H. James, M.P. for Salisbury City, addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

Zambia to Receive £14m.

Yet Acting Against British Companies

THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT has decided to accept the £14m. offered by the British Government to help in withstanding the effects of sanctions against Rhodesia. £7m. was originally offered and refused, and requests were made for at least three times that sum. Now, after weeks of hesitation, £14m. has been agreed.

At the Commonwealth Conference Ministers from Zambia described the British offer as a bribe to stop Zambia from leaving the Commonwealth.

Mr. Eric Lubbock, the Liberal Party's chief whip, said on his return to London on Monday from a week in Zambia, that the Socialist Government had always done too little too late against Rhodesia and was still circulating in Zambia the overoptimistic view that sanctions would succeed in weeks rather than months. He had been repeatedly told by Zambians that they had been informed that success would come in two months. That assurance was, however, believed by nobody.

South Africa's Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. S. L. Muller, has told Parliament that several hundred African terrorists armed with Russian and Chinese automatic weapons were known to be in transit camps in Zambia and Tanzania while waiting to move into South Africa.

Two white men, Mr. William Richards and Mr. George Frost, a young Rhodesian, have been declared prohibited immigrants in Zambia. Arrested after an incident at Lusaka airport, they were sent across the border into Rhodesia a few days later.

The Finance Minister, Mr. Arthur Wina, has concluded negotiations with the Export/Import Bank of Washington for a line of credit of £1,781,468 to help in financing the purchase of two American-built turbo-prop aircraft, the 6% loan to be repaid by semi-annual instalments over five years. The aircraft, which have been in Zambia since the end of August, are used for the export of copper and the import of essential goods. The loan represents 72% of the contract price of the aircraft.

So much business is being offered from Zambia that Lusaka and the Copperbelt are reported to be "swarming" with South African businessmen. In the first six months of this year imports from South Africa had a value of £12.3m., an increase of 20% on the 1965 figures.

Imports from the U.K. in the half-year rose by 22% to £12.8m.

Fuel Crisis

A dispatch from the Lusaka correspondent of the *Economist* states:—

"Zambia's fuel crisis has reached a crucial stage with Central Africa's road-wrecking summer rains only a month away. The alternative overland routes for oil have not met expectations. Nine months ago rationed consumption was running at a monthly rate of 14,000 tons; now it is over 17,000 tons after further ration cuts. Faulty administration and a severe shortage of capable drivers have combined with a scarcity of drums and big rubber containers, that have also developed technical problems.

"This week a highly cautious mining company statement on coal was released in London only, and not in Zambia. It is difficult not to believe that pressure was put on the companies by the Zambian Government. Coal railings to Zambia are now at around a quarter their usual level, and mine stockpiles are dangerously low. With the impending break-up of the unitary railway system, both sides are concerned lest the other start hoarding trucks. It is difficult to see how anything like full production of copper can be maintained unless coal supplies improve.

"Officials are being unusually tight-lipped over the outcome of the proposed pipeline contract, which hangs between Lonrho and the Italian state-owned E.N.I.

"The Italians are already well entrenched in Zambia, with a new road transport concern and promises of ample future investment, and the E.N.I. bid is clearly favoured by Zambia's lifeline partners, Tanzania.

"Lonrho has already spent £150,000 odd on a survey with Zambian Government encouragement, and has the backing of the major Western oil companies—particularly Shell—who have now taken on full responsibility for Zambia's precarious oil supplies from the Government.

"Further clouding the issue are the facts that Lonrho is the operator of the defunct Rhodesian pipeline and is a British company. And the Zambian Government is considering excluding British companies from public contracts as a further means of impressing Mr. Wilson."

Mr. Odinga Stripped

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Leader of the Opposition in Kenya, and until recently Vice-President of the Republic, was searched and "stripped almost naked" when he crossed the border from Uganda on Sunday after attending the celebrations marking the fourth anniversary of that country's independence. He was detained for more than two hours before being allowed to drive to his home in Kisumu. Two days earlier Mr. Daniel Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, had announced in Nairobi that Mr. Odinga had flown to Uganda under the name of Mr. Rapinda, and that the Government was "keenly watching his movements". Since Mr. Odinga formed the Kenya People's Union as a political party in May nine of his supporters have been arrested and detained without trial.

Brigadier Arrested

BRIGADIER SHABAN OPOLOT, Chief of the Defence Staff of Uganda, has been deprived of his command, arrested under the emergency regulations, and accused of involvement in army intrigue. When two junior officers were sentenced in August for plotting to arrest Dr. Obote, then Prime Minister, it was suggested in cross-examination that they had been ordered to take that action when he met the Kabaka and Brigadier Opolot, who joined the King's African Rifles in 1944, was commissioned in 1961, and three years later, when British officers were withdrawn from the mutiny, was given command of Uganda's small army. President Obote said publicly not long ago that he had been at enmity with his deputy, Colonel Amin, who was given command of the army in February, when his superior was made Chief of Defence Staff.

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Roan Selection Trust

ROAN SELECTION TRUST, Ltd., reports net profits to June 30 of £8,674,517 (£7,340,230) after royalty payments of £16.8m. to the Government of Zambia and income tax of almost £12m. Dividends of 12s. per share gross take £7.6m., the general reserve receives £1m., and the carry-forward is £33,133. Profits on sales of copper after royalty but before income tax were up by £2.2m. to £5.3m. Dividends, less tax, from subsidiaries total £6m. The Mfulira subsidiary is to pay a final 11s. 9d. gross and Chibuluma 2s.

Additional pumping equipment installed at Chibuluma has improved the position in the flooded mine, and limited production in some areas may restart in about a fortnight, but full production cannot be expected until early next year. The African labour force is to be reduced from 1,800 to 1,000.

Zamanglo

ZAMBIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD., report net profits for the year to June 30 last of £7,370,000, against £7,245,000 in the previous year. Net dividends totalling 10s. per 10s. share are repeated, taking £6,871,000. Of the subsidiaries, Rhokana Corporation, in which Zamanglo has a 52.4% interest, made net profits of £5,491,000 (£5,427,000); Nchanga, in which the interest is 37.8%, of £11,990,000 (£9,794,000); and Rhokana Copper Refineries (45.1%) net profits of £549,000 (£280,000). Thus the net profits attributable to Zamanglo from the subsidiaries amounted to £7,653,000 (£6,675,000), and profits from other sources added £670,000 (£545,000).

Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, Ltd., report profit to July 31 after tax of £1,345,357, against £976,976 in the previous year. A paid.

State acquisition of all electricity is now under study by the Kenya Government.

Lonrho, Ltd., has acquired the *Financial Mail*, Zambia, of which Mr. Robert Cox will remain editor.

When lead fell to £85 10s. a ton last week on the London Metal Exchange, it touched the lowest price for nearly two and a half years.

News Items in Brief

The Bank of India has opened a branch in Kisumu, Kenya. The Women's Union of East Germany has sent a delegation to Zanzibar.

The Italian Consulate in Zambia was last week raised to embassy status.

Ten Canadian teachers have arrived in Uganda to serve in colleges and secondary schools.

Ndola Sugar, Ltd., Zambia, proposes to increase its capital by £2m. in order to develop production.

Twenty-four African agricultural assistants have returned to Uganda after studying in Israel for a year.

Higher operating costs have caused the Union-Castle Line to increase tourist class fares by between £7 and £9.

The only known white impala, which is in the Luangwa Valley of Zambia, has offspring all of normal colour.

The only part of Uganda not yet within the integral court system, Karamoja, will be brought in at an early date.

At a cost of about £4m. a higher college for teachers is to be built in Broken Hill by the Government of Zambia.

Registration has been refused by the registrar of societies in Zambia to the Lusaka district branch of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.

New Year's Day and Boxing Day will no longer be public holidays in Tanzania. Id al-Hajj celebrations are to be restricted to one day.

Higher prices, better seeds, and improved methods have so increased Kenya's maize production that a surplus of about 2.25m. bags is expected.

Forty-eight African students left Uganda last week for study courses in Soviet Russia. There were previously 98 Uganda students in that country.

The University of East Africa will in the forthcoming academic year admit 46 "mature age" students who do not possess the customary education certificate.

Road expenditure in Karamoja by the Uganda Government has totalled £420,000 and expenditure on education £259,000 under the current development plan.

The first power station in Africa using an aero-gas turbine for electricity generation has just been commissioned in Mozambique. The machinery is British.

Tanzania's gold exports in the first half of this year totalled 39,779 oz., valued at £501,370. For the whole of 1965 the production was 90,819 oz., worth £1,140,382.

African Jet Pilots

Three Uganda Africans who have undergone flying training in Israel flew jet aircraft over a Uganda Army parade at Gulu which was inspected by President Obote.

Tanzania is to receive, from Japan an 18-year 5½% loan for the development and processing of primary products. No interest is to be paid during the first five years.

Two contracts worth more than £800,000 for the supply of 10 diesel electric locomotives to Malawi Railways and Trans-Zambesi Railways have been placed with A.E.I.

Malawi Congress Party candidates were returned unopposed in Parliamentary by-elections in the Kasungu East, Kasungu North, Kasungu West, and Kota Kota constituencies.

A three-week tour of East Africa is being made by seven visitors from Soviet Russia. One is a radio announcer in Moscow, four are scientists, and the others are a teacher and an artist.

The Zambian National Provident Fund which came into force on October 1 is a compulsory saving scheme which all employers must join if they have a staff of 10 or more. Benefits will not accrue to employees until they finally cease work at an age above 55.

Tate and Lyle, Ltd., report profits before tax in the six months to March 31 on operations in Rhodesia and Zambia of approximately £125,000, compared with £108,000 in the corresponding six months of the previous year, but in the year ending on September 30 a loss of about £250,000 is expected on operations in the West Indies, Rhodesia and Zambia, against previous profits in those territories of £556,000.

Bird and Co. (Africa) Ltd., notify holders of the outstanding £267,280 of 7½% convertible debenture stock that each £10 of that stock may now be converted into 50 ordinary shares of 5s. Few can be expected to use the option, for the current quotations £10 nominal of debentures is worth £7 10s., whereas 50 ordinary shares can be bought for about £4 13s. 9d. The company expects a loss of about £27,000 for the year ended June 30.

Kilembe copper mine, a subsidiary of the Falconbridge Nickel Company of Canada, is reported to have made a net profit in the first six months of this year of \$1.82m., against \$2.99m. in the same period of 1965. Mr. Woodroffe, chairman of Falconbridge, has attributed reduced output and profits to civil disturbances, river flooding, a major landslide, a number of new taxes, and higher operating costs. In Toronto the shares of Kilembe, which reached a record of \$23 earlier this year, have fallen back to \$9.

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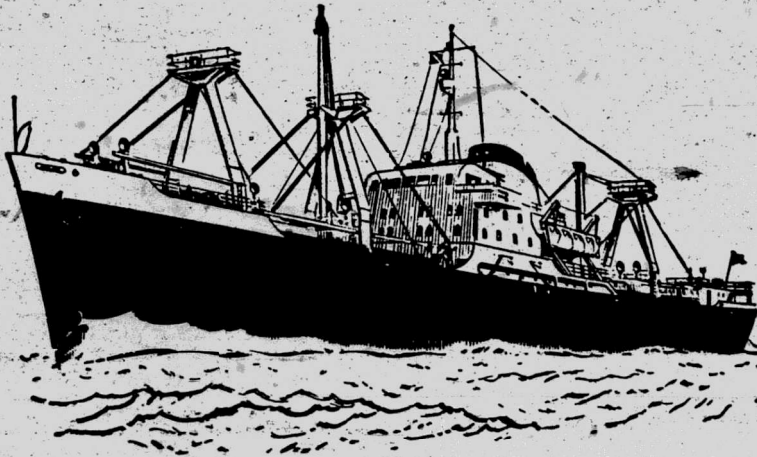
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY of lifting the Rhodesian issue to a new, fairer, and therefore more hopeful plane was thrown away by the Conservative leaders at last week's party conference. They did, it is true, abandon their unhappy and unrealistic pursuit of near bipartisanship with the disastrously misguided Mr. Wilson, who for eleven months has been able to quote their statements in support of his own dangerous declamations and decisions. As his continuing follies aggravate his predicament, as they must do, he will be more than ever anxious to quote from the many injudicious remarks made by Opposition spokesmen since last November. The obvious way of depriving him of that prophylactic was to destroy the supply, as could so easily have been done by candidly confessing the Conservative share of blame for the Rhodesian situation. In the speech in which Mr. Heath said that his aim was "nothing less than to recreate" the party—and in which he was less inhibited than usual in his references to Rhodesia—he might have said boldly that the British people, in whose name an ultimatum had been most unwisely delivered to Rhodesia, should now understand that all three political parties had misjudged the African situation for some years, and that their errors had contributed to Rhodesia's reluctant assumption of independence.

The whole outlook from the Rhodesian standpoint would have been changed if, after some such words, Mr. Heath had continued: "We politicians are not infallible, but we are less willing than other folk to admit our errors because we fear that the admission will be dragged up against us years later. I shall bear with equanimity reminders of what I am about to say if my words help towards a settlement with Rhodesia, as I am told they might. Make no

mistake about it: the Rhodesians will not submit to threats from the United Kingdom or the United Nations; mandatory sanctions will not succeed; and, after a period of cold economic war which will do immense damage to this country, we may be carried by the folly of the Government into a shooting war with all Southern Africa. That being the ghastly prospect, let me say candidly what I should feel if I were a Rhodesian—not a zealot deeply committed to any political party, certainly neither anti-British nor anti-African, but just a reasonable and responsible citizen concerned for his country's progress and prosperity, for the well-being of both the white and black communities, and for an end to the quarrel. I suggest that that man might justifiably say:—

* * *

"It amazes me and all my friends that the politicians, newspapers, and radio channels in Britain are still apparently unaware that the root causes of the trouble have been British misjudgments on almost every African political issue, persistent refusal to be guided by experience, and a habit when things went wrong of trying to cover up instead of finding a real remedy. Worried by their blunders, those in Britain who had the responsibilities of leadership engaged first in double-talk and then in double-dealing, breaking in the process solemn engagements and promises and prematurely abandoning British trusteeship of African peoples who were still far from ready for independence. What can have possessed a Conservative Government to scurry so swiftly from its obligations in Africa, when it was quite obvious that calamities and chaos must result? This is not wisdom after the event; almost every tragic consequence was repeatedly prophesied in print at the time by a few commentators who really knew Africa. Since nobody in authority would listen, things went from bad to worse. To appease a noisy but tiny *claque* of Africans,

the politicians in Britain destroyed the Central African Federation, which was potentially the best possible experiment in practical multi-racialism. Moreover, they did it by methods which made Rhodesians feel that British Ministers could no longer be trusted. There was justification for our view, for one of the most honoured men in the Conservative Party publicly described the method as "unscrupulous". Faith was similarly broken with Kenya more or less simultaneously. Then the rest of the East and Central African territories were likewise bereft of guidance, when a few more years of British administration would have given them, or some of them, real prospects of a sound start in independence.

* * *

"Because of the helter-skelter nature of what was called MacBlundellism, there have been mutinies, rebellions, revolutions, and widespread corruption in every one of those countries, whose African populations have been deprived of their former freedoms by the one-man-

Rhodesia Defends Her Future

one-vote dictatorships which quickly followed independence. Some of those States are still bathed in blood. Hundreds of thousands of Africans have lost their lives in this decade because politicians, African and European, and of course American, have been in much too much of a hurry. We Rhodesians, who live so close to these tragedies, will not have our future jeopardized in the same way. However long it may take, we shall insist on evolution, not revolution. African political advancement must be based on achievement and experience. It will not be weakly conceded merely to appease clamour, whether internal or external or both. Only when they understand that simple principle can we hope to settle our dispute with British Ministers—and there is, of course, no dispute with the British people or with the British Crown".

* * *

Mr. Heath might well have continued: "Your close attention suggests that you have not disapproved of what is certainly a unique statement from the head of a party in modern times. But the possibility of

Conscience As The Solvent

war by this country against another with a splendid record of loyalty to the Crown is also unique, and, I believe, warranted my resolve to invite this meeting and the country to face the basic facts. This is too grave an issue for pretence or party posture. If the facts expressed by my Rhodesian touch our consciences, surely we should listen, and immediately seek, not revenge or legalistic pacification, but genuine restoration of the old friend-

ship, in the hope that trust might be re-created. Bullying and blackmail will get us nowhere. Extravagant allegations at the United Nations can do no possible good; and on that ground alone there should be no reference to that international body. This is Britain's business. As I have said, we are partly to blame; and many of you may consider that this country is even primarily to blame. While we do not require a quantitative analysis, we do urgently need to tell Mr. Smith that we admit our culpability and want his help in finding a prompt, practical and lasting solution which will accord with his conscience as well as with ours; and I do not believe that the conscience of the vast majority of responsible Rhodesians, black or white, is a less sound guide than my own. Let us try conscience as the solvent".

Statements worth noting

"Rhodesia spends 22% of her budget on education".

—Mr. A. P. S. Smith, Minister of Education.

"The Minister owes me good news" — Mr. C. Hlabangana, M.P., speaking in the Rhodesian Parliament.

"Industry in Rhodesia exports almost as much as agriculture and mining put together". — Mr. T. M. Ellison, M.P.

"Jibuti has had 1,000 European officials to administer 1,500 Europeans, 2,500 Arabs, and 45,000 nomads". — Mr. Alain Vernay.

"Why don't you switch off your verbal helicopter and come out of the clouds?" — Member of the Rhodesian Parliament, in an interjection.

"If we really want a solution of the Rhodesian problem we need less moral indignation and more sense of reality". — Mr. Colin MacKenzie.

"I hope that any economies in our Government hospitality will be exercised on the Rhodesians, not on visitors". — Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister.

"In the halcyon days which will return shortly those who have helped us will of course be helped". — Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, Minister of Transport and Power in Rhodesia.

"Rice yields on the Mwea irrigation scheme are higher than those of any country in the Far East". — Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya.

"When our Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mrs. Hart, visited Dr. Banda she presented him with a silver tea service—and the British taxpayers with the bill". — Mr. John Gordon.

"I believe that the Prime Minister tried his very best a number of times to strike agreement with the British Government". — Mr. J. M. Gondo, M.P., Leader of the African Opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament.

Christmas Posting Dates

THE LATEST TIMES for posting Christmas mail are as follows, the three dates in each case being respectively for surface parcels, Christmas cards, and letters and postcards: —

Ethiopia: Nov. 12 and 14, Dec. 12; Kenya: Oct. 28, Nov. 4, Dec. 9; Malawi: Oct. 31, Nov. 8, Dec. 9; Portuguese East Africa: Oct. 28, Nov. 8, Dec. 9.

Rhodesia: Oct. 31, Nov. 8, Dec. 9; Seychelles: Oct. 28, Nov. 4, Dec. 9; Sudan: Nov. 7 and 8, Dec. 9; Tanzania: Oct. 28, Nov. 4, Dec. 9; Uganda: Oct. 28, Nov. 4, Dec. 9; Zambia: Oct. 24, Nov. 8, Dec. 5.

British Government's Final Proposals Sent to Rhodesia

No Expectation of Acceptance by Mr. Smith's Cabinet

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, received on Saturday from Sir Morrice James, Deputy Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Office, the final proposals of the British Government for a settlement of the independence issue.

The Cabinet had approved the statement on Thursday, and he and Mr. J. A. Allen, of the Rhodesian Department of the Office, had left by air that night for Salisbury. Their aircraft was delayed seven hours, and the document, which might otherwise have been handed to Mr. Smith on Friday, was consequently not given him until the following day. Then Sir Morrice and Mr. J. D. Hennings, head of the British mission in Rhodesia, spent 75 minutes with the Prime Minister at his official residence, from which they returned to Government House to report to the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs.

The Rhodesian Government is not expected to agree to the terms, which will have been considered by the Cabinet while this issue is being printed.

Mr. Smith studied the proposals on his farm during the week-end and returned to Salisbury on Monday. Press telegrams that day were unanimous that there was no prospect of acceptance of the British terms, but it was suggested that Mr. Smith was probably quite as ready as Mr. Wilson to continue the dialogue, and that further talks were therefore probable.

A report in a London evening newspaper of a Cabinet reshuffle in Rhodesia was promptly dismissed as being completely without justification.

Canine Contact

Light relief was afforded by news that a strange dog had entered Government House and exhibited friendliness. Nobody recognized the tail-wagger until a policeman told Captain Christopher Owen, the A.D.C., that it was U.D.I. (pronounced Udee for doggy purposes), Mr. Ian Smith's dog. Captain Owen took him across the road to the Prime Minister's official residence.

Mr. Bowden, the recently appointed Commonwealth Secretary, has said that the British Government's terms will be published in due course. If publication by newspapers in Rhodesia should be censored, endeavours would be made to smuggle leaflets into the country and broadcasts from Francistown and other stations would repeat the main points again and again.

No hints have been given in London or Salisbury of the content of the official message, but it is not believed to differ much, if at all, from the suggestions discussed with Mr. Smith when Mr. Bowden was recently in Salisbury for 10 days.

The British view then was that Mr. Smith and his Cabinet would tender their resignation to the Governor; that he would immediately re-appoint Mr. Smith Prime Minister on the understanding that he would form an "interim broad-based Government", including some Africans and Europeans not members of the Rhodesian Front; that that Government would negotiate terms with the Governor for legal independence; but that the agreement thus reached would require the approval of white and black Rhodesians, whose views might be tested, not by referendum, but by an independent commission drawn from Britain or the Commonwealth.

That plan found no favour with the Rhodesians, primarily because it would require them to surrender their *de facto* independence without knowledge of the terms on which *de jure* independence would be obtainable.

Even if Mr. Smith rejects the British terms, Mr. Bowden may pay another visit to Salisbury before the British Government asks the United Nations for mandatory sanctions on specified commodities.

The Commonwealth Secretary told the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association in London on Thursday that the

Rhodesian issue was the most difficult which any British Government had had to face since the last war.

"We have gone right down the middle", he said. "We have resisted extremist demands from white racialists, and we have equally resisted pressure from Commonwealth countries for action which we believe to be wrong."

"We do not seek the help of the Conservatives [who were to discuss Rhodesia that afternoon at their party conference], but we have the right to ask them to refrain from actions likely to make a solution more difficult or words which would encourage Rhodesian leaders to reject a fair and honourable solution."

"I welcome the fact that the Conservatives have reaffirmed their support of the principles their Government and ours have laid down. I hope that they will make clear today that they will not press for any settlement which breaches these principles, and that they will stand firm, in Opposition as in Government, to the principles of guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule and the demand that any settlement reached must be and be seen to be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole."

Frankenstein Monster

Mr. J. J. Wrathall, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, said at a Rhodesian Front meeting in Inyanga on Saturday that the British threat to seek mandatory sanctions was tantamount to an admission of its own failure. Selective mandatory sanctions might prove a Frankenstein monster which would ultimately destroy its creator.

"Rhodesia, after her success in combatting sanctions to date, has no fear of mandatory sanctions. There would be little difference between mandatory and present sanctions; and the longer sanctions of any kind continue, the more ways and means are found of surmounting them."

Having compared British propaganda efforts against Rhodesia with those of Dr. Gobbels at the height of Nazi power, Mr. Wrathall said that Britain was pouring out aid in order to maintain what had become a racistist Commonwealth, which was now a pressure group of embittered, frustrated, have-not Afro-Asian States.

It had to be remembered that the African delegates who had attended the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London had been drawn from a continent which had experienced 36 revolutions in six years and eight military *coups* since Rhodesia assumed her independence 11 months ago.

But Mr. Wilson had feared to take with such Commonwealth States the same tough line that he had taken with striking British seamen.

The cost of sanctions to Britain, apart from their futility, was out of all proportion to their worth, especially at a time when the British economy was in so parlous a state that it could ill afford any avoidable expenditure.

Since November the Rhodesian Government had raised a record amount in loans from Rhodesian residents. If the £44m. loan were fully subscribed three days later, that would have brought in £20m. from local funds in under a year.

Rhodesians would never surrender and would win through.

Mr. E. A. Sutton-Pryce, Rhodesian secretary of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, a Rhodesian citizen of British birth, was last week refused renewal of his British passport, for which he had applied in order to attend today's annual general meeting of the society in London. He travelled on a new Rhodesian passport.

Press telegrams from Salisbury have suggested that it was in retaliation for this British decision that the head of the British mission in Rhodesia, Mr. Hennings, was refused permission to drive on to the tarmac at Salisbury airport to meet Sir Morrice James, the British Government's emissary, whom no Rhodesian official went to the airport to greet. He was not accorded diplomatic privileges, but was subjected to the ordinary immigration and customs formalities.

That day the African Affairs Amendment Act, which provides for administrative powers for chiefs in tribal areas, was gazetted.

Mr. Angus Ogilvy and two other British directors of the Mozambique-Rhodesian Pipeline Company flew to Lisbon last Thursday for a board meeting of the company, on which there is a Portuguese majority of one. Journalists were afterwards told that the directors had considered the financial situation now that the British Government had discontinued the monthly payments made for the maintenance of the pipeline. Not until next March was an instalment of £200,000 due to the Industrial Development of South Africa, and there were several possibilities of dealing with that situation.

Rhodesians Will Never Compromise With Their Basic Principles

Ministers Speak of Chinese Menace and African Unpreparedness for Heavy Responsibilities

RHODESIA MUST BE PROTECTED from the unscrupulous ideologies which have done so much damage elsewhere in Africa, Mr. C. W. DUPONT, the Officer Administering the Government, said when he opened a town and country fair in Fort Victoria. He said:—

"Unity is the backbone of any country. To the north country after country is disintegrating owing to internal strife caused by tribal rivalry and the aspirations of ambitious individuals seeking personal prestige and power and the financial opportunities which go with them. These are no longer countries, but rudderless fragmentations which are easy prey to the unscrupulous ideologies which seek to exploit them. These unscrupulous people are the enemies of Rhodesia. There is in these countries no spirit of unity; and no patriotism.

"Rhodesia's patriotism is our strength. During the last few years our country has become united as never before; and this is now being realized by our enemies, as is evidenced by the attempts to create divisions among us. When their attempts have failed—and they have—the propaganda machines are brought into operation to create phantom divisions in an endeavour to persuade the outside world that we are on the verge of collapse. So long as we preserve this spirit of unity this can never happen".

The One Impediment to Rhodesian Progress

Mr. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information, Immigration, and Tourism, emphasized when he spoke in Umtali at a reunion dinner that there was greater unity in Rhodesia today than ever before, not only between white and white, but between white and black—"for the experiences of rampant and malevolent nationalists have caused many Africans to draw their own conclusions and ally themselves with ordered progress.

"It is perhaps perplexing to the man in the street, but I put it to you that the resumption of diplomatic relations between this country and Britain is of vital importance for two reasons. First, it would be idle to pretend that sanctions have not affected the economy of this country. Without sanctions there is no doubt that we have a brighter and limitless future, and the one impediment to our undoubted progress lies in the continuing boycott of our goods. Therefore our energies must be put to removing this impediment.

"Secondly, and perhaps more important, is the fact that deterioration of relations between ourselves and Britain is not only destructive in itself but tends to deflect attention from the real problem and menace facing the world today—Red China and her expanding designs. This is where the danger lies.

"Mao Tse-tung wrote a book on guerrilla warfare which is now a standard text in many armies. He propounds that the successful guerrilla must first control the rural areas before attacking or besieging the urban areas. His aim has always been world-conquest for his particular brand of Communism, and he has divided the world into rural and urban areas. The rural areas are Asia, Africa and South and Central America; and the urban areas are Western Europe and North America. Most of Africa and Asia are in chaos. Chou En-lai remarked not long ago during a visit to Africa that 'Africa is ripe for revolution'—which is the state in which he wishes Africa to be.

"The Communist aim is the reduction to chaos of the whole of Africa from the Cape to Cairo. Having achieved that, the next target would be South America. Controlling the Southern Pacific Oceans, the Communists would then have Australia and New Zealand in the hollow of their hands. The situation is then set up for the final assault on the 'urban' areas on Western Europe and North America.

"These areas seem to be heavily infiltrated in the seats of power by a fifth column of Communists and fellow-travelling 'liberals', as anyone can see from the control exercised in the Press and other mass communications media.

"Yet, despite the known ambitions of China seeking world domination, we still have powerful forces in the world, epitomized perhaps by the British Prime Minister himself, obsessed with the theory of majority rule, or, as it should be more clearly understood, black power, persisting that it should

be brought about in this country if not tomorrow at least the day after—and this in the teeth of the examples that have manifested themselves in Africa that black power means chaos.

"At this very moment tyranny, murder, violence, and lawlessness are taking place throughout Nigeria. Why? Because of tribal divisions and the placing of absolute power in the hands of persons untrained in its exercises. Will the people of England never learn of the realities of life in Africa? Can they not see that tribal loyalties have not yet given way in Africa to loyalty to the State? Do they not yet understand that men have a loyalty to their tribe and their tribe alone? Do they realize that once you remove controls liberty becomes licence, anarchy, and misery, as now in Nigeria?

"The same picture is found in the Sudan. Kenya faces a very grave and doubtful future, with an ailing President, the embodiment of power at present, likely in short months to leave that country subject to the same stresses and strains as Nigeria is facing. The Congo has already undergone untold suffering and disorder, and is likely shortly to suffer once again the same torments; almost certainly the Government of General Mobutu is tottering on its last legs.

"This unhappy picture of Africa some of us foresaw years ago. We know that once unbridled passions are let loose, the fires spread and that violence carries away the African. Not so many years ago, you will remember, if we had riots in Bulawayo within a day or two there would be similar, perhaps worse, reactions in turn in Gwelo, Que Que, Gatooma, and Salisbury—on the simple basis that 'anything you can do I can do better'.

"The basic conditions of progress and civilization are simply expressed—that the rule of law is the only substitute for violence; that the whole purpose of political existence and organization is to avoid the anarchy, misery and poverty into which man is bound to fall without proper government.

"In the present stages of political, material and cultural development in Africa, Africans cannot hope to operate political institutions successfully until they have the material and constitutional background that enable the European to make them work. It is not a question of race; it is one of stark reality.

Greatest Betrayal Since Judas Iscariot

"The British Government proudly proclaims that it has led 600 million people in Africa to independence and freedom. Like the Duke of Plaza Toro, it has led from behind; and it is unbelievable that it should regard with pride its betrayal of these countless millions to a state of abject despair. Here is perhaps the greatest betrayal perpetrated since the days of Judas Iscariot.

"The American Government, too, seems obsessed by the same theories and to be amongst our sharpest critics. Yet when Jefferson penned his immortal declaration asserting that all men were created equal the evidence of his daily life gave the lie. The Negroes were not among the governed whose consent gave just powers to government. The slaves were chattels, not men, items of property, not citizens. They were not even eligible for a 'B' vote. They could not vote at all. They have moved forward from that position slowly over 200 years; and yet America would insist that we leap the years of patient experience and risk the chaos this inevitably would entail.

"We Rhodesians must adhere to our chosen path—to preserve for the European and for the reasonable African that which is denied them elsewhere in Africa: the right to be justly governed, preserving the dignity and assuring his progress according to his personal ability, integrity, and merit, irrespective of all other considerations.

"This I believe to be our difficult rôle in Africa, not only for ourselves but for others, because as sure as the sun will rise, so will our position in Africa be necessary and vital for the future generations of people of all races, not only within our borders but beyond.

"Given your continued and undivided support and confidence, we shall never surrender and never compromise on our principles. Independence, an absolute state of affairs, exists in this country, and we shall hold to it whatever we may have to suffer in the process. It is not for barter.

"1967 may well prove a year of triumph. It may also be a year of endurance. Let us be under no illusions that the path will be easy. It will be hard; but let us persevere, for there is no alternative, whatever blandishments may be held out.

"Our Prime Minister is arguing the case for our country from a position of strength not of weakness, and he and his Government will not surrender the rightful heritage of the peoples of this country".

Tories Now Oppose Wilson's Government on Rhodesia

Party Conference Condemns Mandatory Sanctions and Reference to United Nations

FOR THE FIRST TIME since Rhodesia assumed her independence, the Conservative Party is committed to a policy of outright opposition to the Government, particularly in regard to the decision of the Wilson Cabinet to apply to the United Nations for selective mandatory sanctions if the Smith Government does not quickly accept its terms.

The divergencies within the Tory Party disappeared at last week's annual conference, held in Blackpool.

MR. JOHN TILNEY, M.P. for the Wavertree Division of Liverpool, moved on behalf of the national executive committee a resolution reading:—"That this conference believing that the future well-being and prosperity of the people of Rhodesia can best be assured by the achievement of independence on a legal Constitution which embodies the five principles, calls upon H.M. Opposition to press for a negotiated settlement on these lines and to oppose the handing over of this British problem to the United Nations".

The party had, he said, opposed racialism, *apartheid*, and the imposition of a Constitution by force. It preferred talk, even if it took time. It would have been better for Rhodesia, Britain, and the world if there had been no U.D.I., but Mr. Smith decided to drop the bone of self-government for its reflection of independence.

Need for Compromise

Now the issue was whether a compromise could be obtained in time. Any compromise would be thought too slow and late by most Africans and too quick and early by most Europeans. Yet without a compromise the outlook was grim for both countries.

"There is so much common ground between Britain and Rhodesia. For long the five principles seemed to be objectives agreed by both Governments. The Conservatives have supported them from the start; but many of us forget what they are.

"First, a guarantee of progress towards majority rule, as foreseen in the agreed 1961 Constitution. Secondly no retrogressive amendments to that Constitution. Thirdly, improvement in the political status of Africans. (How we regret that so many Africans, because of their internal disputes, decided not to work a Constitution which could already have given to them so much power). Fourthly, there should be steps to end racial discrimination, which means that the Land Apportionment Bill, passed originally to protect the Africans, must be amended or repealed. Fifthly, any independence Constitution must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. A sixth principle, since added, provides that, regardless of race, there must be no opposition of majority by minority or vice versa. This, too, is Conservative policy.

"Many of us have thought that through sanctions reasonable Rhodesians would change their mind. We did not want to bring chaos to the Rhodesian economy, but, unlike Mr. Harold Wilson, I never thought sanctions would work quickly. I hope they will be kept on until they do bite.

"But the danger now is that by hurry and by the venom spat at the Labour Party Conference we shall not achieve a middle course and that extremism, either white or black, will win.

"Gradually the Socialists have come to accept some of our suggestions. Talk of treason and lack of trust have given way to meetings; officials have been replaced by Ministers, but as yet to no avail; and I fear that, under the two threats of mandatory sanctions to be made by the United Nations and a time limit to expire at the end of this year, Rhodesia will refuse to compromise.

"Why should Britain, unless there is an agreement within the next few weeks, insist on majority rule for legal independence? Many United Nations members have no such democracy. How right our leader was to point out this change in Socialist policy and to demand a recall of Parliament immediately we knew of this change after the Prime Ministers' Conference!

"Rhodesia has some 4m. Africans and 220,000 Europeans. Of those whites about the same number were born in South Africa as in Britain; somewhat more, about a third, were born in Rhodesia and know no other home. Yet the whites are outnumbered by 18 to one.

Facts of the Situation

"As long ago as 1922 Rhodesia opted for self-government rather than union with South Africa. Can a country that has governed itself for 43 years accept direct rule from Britain, even for a short time?

"The South African Government next door has been correct diplomatically, but 90% of South Africa's white population—our third biggest customer—back the Smith régime.

"There is as much British capital in white Africa as in black. All the more reason then to play for time. The Prime Minister's sands need not run out; the glass should be turned again. Our main goal must remain a multi-racial society. Even the illegal Constitution of 1965, which, to my regret, made provision for permanent preventive detention, accepts multi-racialism.

"A problem as difficult as this should surely not be subject to a time limit of a few weeks. Demand for unconditional surrender is seldom the best policy; least of all to those of British stock. There must be time for amendments of the 1961 Constitution to be considered by Africans and mulled over by Europeans, who are fearful of some of the things that have happened in other parts of Africa. Independence should not be made dependent on immediate majority rule.

"Unless we get more time. I ask this conference to agree, first, that force should never be used against Rhodesia, even if the United Nations or perhaps the Liberals demand it, and secondly, that this is not a case where Britain should hand over responsibility to the United Nations. The alternatives to a compromise are at the best further heavy damage to our economy and at the worst war in Southern Africa.

"The Commonwealth is a great concept. Twenty-five or more former Colonies are now free. Most of them would object if we were to interfere in their affairs. Some might threaten to leave the Commonwealth. Is it not time to remind some people that Britain is independent too?"

After SIR CLYDE HEWLETT, chairman of the national executive committee had formally seconded the motion,

Africa's Most Promising Country

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, lately M.P. for Lancaster, said that he hoped everyone would agree with him that the unilateral declaration of independence by Mr. Smith had been an unmitigated tragedy, because it had inevitably meant economic warfare against Rhodesia, perhaps the most promising country in all Africa.

"I support this motion because it incorporates two cardinal features. First it reiterates our adherence to the five principles. The fifth lays it down to be our duty to see that any constitutional settlement arrived at in Rhodesia is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. Sir Alec Douglas-Home faithfully fought for this concept when he was Prime Minister.

"The second feature is that this is not a problem that can be handed over to the United Nations. I speak as the newly-elected chairman of the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and I express my personal view when I say that the constitutional future of Rhodesia can be settled only by the British Government and the people of Rhodesia—all the people of Rhodesia of all races. The only way in which legal independence can come to Rhodesia is through an Act of our Parliament at Westminster. Therefore, the Rhodesian problem is a British problem.

"When we say we are not prepared to hand over our responsibilities to the U.N., this does not mean that we should not canvass support or even help from the U.N. Indeed, this is precisely what the British Government did some months ago by sponsoring a Security Council resolution relating to the oil tankers at Beira. That resolution, though carried, did not remove from Britain, and never can remove from Britain, our ultimate responsibility to see that justice is done.

"It is difficult for the Rhodesians to understand the issues, because, having been there since U.D.I., I know that they are the victims of one of the most vicious forms of Press censorship which I have ever encountered. We are not asking them to accept majority rule at once. If we were, millions who take their present stand would take a somewhat different stand. What we are saying is simply that we must be satisfied that there will be created in Rhodesia a society in which people of all races, irrespective of colour or creed, will ultimately share in the government of that country. Until this principle is recognized there can be no settlement.

(Continued on page 107)

PERSONALIA

LORD TWINING is now chairman of Tysons, Ltd., of Nairobi.

MR. REGINALD PAGET, M.P., has been re-visiting South Africa.

SIR ANGUS GILLAN, a former Civil Secretary in the Sudan, has just passed his 81st birthday.

MR. MAINZA CHONA, Minister for Home Affairs in Zambia, has spent four days in Malawi.

MR. SAM ODAKA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has returned to Uganda from the United States.

SIR GLYN JONES, lately Governor-General of Malawi, and LADY JONES have recently arrived in Britain.

MR. MASIRE, Vice-President of Botswana, visited Lusaka last week for talks with PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

KING NTAVU of Burundi postponed the visit he was to have paid last week to PRESIDENT MOBUTU of the Congo.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER is to address the annual meeting of the Commonwealth Industries Association on November 8.

SIR PETER FAWCUS, lately Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland, and LADY FAWCUS arrived on Monday in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. R. D. ADAMS and MR. A. Y. THOMSON have been appointed executive directors of British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

A book entitled "The Murder of TSR 2" by MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., has just been published. He recently re-visited Rhodesia.

MR. OTEMA ALLIMADI recently presented his credentials to PRESIDENT JOHNSON as Uganda's new Ambassador in the United States.

SHAYKH MUKHTAR MUHAMMAD HUSAYN, President of the National Assembly of Somalia, has led a parliamentary delegation to China and North Korea.

MR. A. W. WILKINSON, an assistant general manager in London of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has been appointed deputy general manager for staff affairs.

MR. A. D. OGDEN, vice-president of and an examiner for the Royal Society of Health in London, has recently visited Zambia at the invitation of the Government.

MR. A. B. MACLAREN, vice-chairman of the main companies in the R.S.T. group, and chairman of some of its other companies, will retire at the end of this year.

SIR MAURICE DORMAN, Governor-General of Malta, who was formerly in the Colonial Service in East Africa, will be in this country until the end of next month.

JUDGE GERALD SPARROW is to speak in Bournemouth on October 26 at a public meeting arranged by the East Dorset and West Hampshire branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

As he passed through London on his way back from New York to Nairobi, VICE-PRESIDENT MURUMBI of Kenya received an inscribed cigarette box from some of his friends in London.

MR. A. B. MONEY-COUTTS and MR. P. G. CARDEW have resigned from the board of the Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd., a group with large African interests.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, sailed on Friday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE for the Cape on his way back to Salisbury. He is accompanied by MRS. FIELD.

MR. RONALD NGALA, Minister for Co-operatives and Social Services in Kenya, is spending a week in Denmark at a seminar on co-operatives. He will then visit other Scandinavian countries.

MR. ALEXANDER ROSS, chairman of United Dominions Trust, Ltd., which has Central and East African interests, has been appointed a deputy chairman of the Eagle Star Insurance Co., Ltd.

MR. M. W. STEPHENSON is now general manager of the Nchanga mine, Zambia. MR. A. G. KING has become general manager at the Bancroft mine; and MR. C. W. STURGEON of Zambia, Broken Hill.

MR. OLIVER WRIGHT, former principal private secretary to the Prime Minister, on whose behalf he paid several visits to Rhodesia as a British representative in the "talks about talks", has taken up duty in Copenhagen as British Ambassador to Denmark.

Students at the London School of Economics who oppose the appointment as its director of DR. WALTER ADAMS have published a pamphlet strongly criticizing his relations with staff and students at the University College of Rhodesia, of which he is now principal. The Students' Union will tomorrow debate a motion condemning his appointment.

PRINCESS MARINA, DUCHESS OF KENT, arrived back in London on Friday in a B.O.A.C. aircraft from her visits to Botswana, Lesotho, and Kenya. She made a short stop in Kenya to visit national parks and to present medical equipment from H.M. Government. Her Royal Highness lunched at State House with PRESIDENT KENYATTA. She was attended by LADY RACHEL PEPYS, SIR PHILIP HAY, and GROUP CAPTAIN J. L. GILBERT.

MR. FREDERICK STOCKWELL, who has become the first director of the Monday Club, was born and educated in France. After graduating B.Sc. at the University of Paris, he entered the Indian Police, and in 1947 was transferred to the Foreign Service, with which he served in Beirut, Alexandria, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Khartoum, and Brussels. Last year he came to London to join the Foreign Office, from which he retired at his own request to take up the Monday Club appointment. It has now offices at 53 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

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Tories Consider Rhodesia

(Continued from page 105)

"The English people who have gone to Rhodesia have built up the fine country which we know today. But among a hardcore of Mr. Smith's supporters are many people who are not pioneers, but post-war artisans who left this country because it could not offer enough for them; and in some cases they went to Rhodesia to get the best living they can find in the world. Let them stay there by all means; but let them hold back the educational and technical advance of the Africans at their peril.

"I understand Lord Salisbury's perfectly honourable, perfectly respectable position. But Lord Salisbury would have given Mr. Smith independence two years ago on Mr. Smith's terms. Sir Alec refused to do that, I believe rightly. Lord Salisbury was against sanctions a year ago. He is against sanctions now. He would come to terms with Mr. Smith, ignoring, I believe totally, those five principles in which we believe. The Conservative Party must be clear about this. We want to offer reassurance to the Europeans and hope to the Africans. I believe this can be achieved, and must be achieved, by a negotiated settlement."

Lord Salisbury's Speech

LORD SALISBURY: "We have just heard, though I had no previous intimation of the fact, that the chairman has decided that he will not allow me to move my amendment on the ground that it was already covered by the official motion that you have heard proposed by Mr. Tilney.

The addendum, as submitted, read: "And specifically to oppose by all means in their power any proposal that the British Government should call upon the United Nations to apply mandatory sanctions to Rhodesia".

Lord Salisbury continued:—

"I do not intend to follow Mr. Berkeley in what he has said this afternoon, for my view of what he thinks is already well known, and I certainly do not accept his interpretation of my own views. Moreover, I am limited to five minutes.

"I cannot say that I am not sorry that those responsible have taken this step with regard to my amendment, for I believe that the Prime Minister's decision to ask the United Nations to impose mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia unless they toe his line in only two months is the most formidable development we have had since last year's Brighton conference.

"Not only does it bring to an end that conception of the Rhodesian problem which Sir Alec voiced that it is one—and I share this view—for the United Kingdom and Rhodesian Governments alone, but it means the prostitution of the Charter of the United Nations for a purpose which was never intended—the legalization of aggression against a small, peaceful country that is not threatening any one but is seeking only to manage its own internal affairs in its own way. I feel that the utter abhorrence which I know the Conservative Party feel for such a policy should have gone out in black and white from this conference.

Opposition in and out of Parliament

"The absence from the official motion of any reference to mandatory sanctions has been, I believe, a grave error. At the same time I feel that this *denouement* has its bright side; for the very fact that it has been decided not to call my amendment on grounds that it is already covered by the official motion underlines the fact that the leaders of the party mean exactly what I do about the word 'oppose'.

"They mean opposition to mandatory sanctions by the official Opposition—the Parliamentary Opposition—by any and every means in their power both inside and outside Parliament. That is all I set out to achieve by my amendment; and as I seem to have achieved it without the slightest difficulty I shall press that matter no further.

"So far as the five principles are concerned—which are, I gather, to be the basis of the renewal of negotiations with Mr. Smith—I must confess that I have never been very enthusiastic about them, and I am not very enthusiastic about them now.

"I believe that it is not always wise to try to define too closely before negotiations start what the prerequisite of a settlement must be, and to include an explicit reference to

these principles in this motion is, I fear, only calculated to hamper a resumption of those negotiations. But I imagine that things of that kind will work themselves out if both sides really want a settlement when negotiations start and when both sides find, as I believe they will find, that they are willing to make some concessions to get an agreement.

"I certainly do not mean to move the rejection of the official motion, with much of which I am in full agreement. Having, as I say, achieved my object in moving the amendment, I shall therefore retire from the rostrum with many thanks to all those in this hall and throughout the country who have so loyally supported the views which we jointly hold through these difficult times to get justice for Rhodesia."

Nonsensical and Disgraceful

MR. TIMOTHY KEIGWIN, representing Devon North, opposed "that Brighton bomber" in North Devon, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., the official Liberal spokesman on Commonwealth matters, who had advocated the bombing of Rhodesia Railways. He asked conference to condemn, as he believed the British people condemned, that irresponsible proposal. It was militarily a nonsense and morally a disgrace.

"The Liberals say that one man one vote is the prerequisite. They have been proved utterly wrong by the anarchy and chaos and collapse of standards in every country to the north of Rhodesia. Independence must be on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. To hedge it about with impossible conditions, as Mr. Wilson has been doing all this time, is simply to prolong the agony. We are not in a position to stand over Rhodesia with a big stick for the next 20 years. Ultimately we have to trust them.

"People will say: 'How can you trust them? They are developing a police State.' I do not believe that is fair criticism. Rhodesia is in a state of siege. Guerrillas and saboteurs are coming across the Zambezi; trained, armed, and equipped by the Communists. Of course there have to be emergency regulations. We had them in 1940, and under 18B we detained many innocent people. Why? Because we too were in a state of siege. This is a thing that we accept in a democracy.

"When the Nigerian editor of the *Lagos Times* returned home from Rhodesia he said: 'The overseas picture of Rhodesia as a grim, tense police State is a massive fraud. I was disconcerted to find the country so calm and free of colour bar. I was treated with courtesy wherever I went'.

"Let us send out a message from this conference that we all want peace, progress, and prosperity for all the people of Rhodesia and a gradual widening of franchise; that we are united in our opposition to force, from whatever quarter; that Rhodesia is and must remain a British problem; and that we must on no account hand it over to the United Nations".

Mr. Wilson "Unprincipled Political Opportunist"

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., a former Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who negotiated the 1961 Constitution with Sir Edgar Whitehead, then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said:—

"Mr. Wilson tries to pretend that we are committed to his policy and that we are being inconsistent if we do not support him to the bitter end in his duel with Mr. Smith. The Conservative Party condemned U.D.I. and rightly so; but since then our approach to the problem created by it has been totally different from that of the Labour Government. While they have been steering a collision course, we have been persistently advocating a negotiated settlement.

"Only last week Mr. Wilson at Brighton accused Sir Alec Douglas-Home and me of abandoning our principles and of not caring about the unity of the Commonwealth. How Mr. Wilson has the face to lecture anybody about principles! He is the most unprincipled political opportunist that has ever entered British public life.

"As for the Commonwealth, he seems to think that in order to hold it together Britain has always got to be put in the dock and pushed around. In my opinion, that is the best way to break it up.

"We Conservatives are just as conscious as the Socialists of our responsibilities towards the Africans, but, unlike the Labour Government, we also recognize that we have a duty to the Europeans to see that Rhodesia does not go the way of Ghana, Nigeria, and Zanzibar. Yet that is precisely what will happen if we allow this initiative to pass more and more into the hands of the United Nations. New York is not the right

place to settle a dispute between Britain and Rhodesia.

"The Government are now sending some new proposal to Salisbury. I hope that this means that they are giving up the absurd pretence that they cannot talk to the illegal régime, and that they are now prepared to have straightforward negotiations. But this new initiative will come to nothing if they carry on arguing about face-saving procedures for returning to constitutional rule. Let them get on with the job of negotiating with Mr. Smith, not about the terms of his surrender, but about the terms on which Rhodesia can secure full legal independence.

No Further Down the Road to Ruin

"Mr. Smith must, of course, also play his part. If there is to be agreement, he too will have to make worthwhile concessions. I do not believe that the gap between the two sides is by any means unbridgeable. With rather more flexibility and realism, I believe it is perfectly possible to work out a fair settlement which would safeguard the true interests of all the peoples of Rhodesia and would heal the tragic rift in our British family.

"Unfortunately, it seems that the Government are more concerned with defeating Mr. Smith and appeasing African opinion than they are with bringing about a reconciliation between Britain and Rhodesia.

"Mr. Wilson is now threatening to ask for mandatory sanctions on a selective basis. But it will not stop there. The Africans are not satisfied with selective sanctions. They are already demanding a total boycott of all trade with Rhodesia. If the South Africans refuse to co-operate, we shall no doubt be asked to impose sanctions upon them also. Where is this leading us? It is the road to ruin, and I for one will not go down it with Harold Wilson one single step further."

MR. GEOFFREY WRIGHT, the prospective candidate for Wolverhampton, North-East, said that he had submitted an amendment asking that sanctions should not be lifted until the illegal régime in Rhodesia had been brought down and law and order restored. ("Shame".)

On October 5 last year, when Mr. Smith was visiting London, a Conservative Party statement said: "A unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government would have no legal validity and would have the gravest consequences". How could the party now say that U.D.I. was right? Did the passage of a year make a wrong right?

"Rhodesia is a problem for this country, and must remain so; but it is also a British obligation. The rest of the world has a right to be sure that this country is as concerned about the future of black Rhodesians as about the whites.

"Whatever the statements of the Rhodesian Government—and by their literature they try very hard to convince us—the inescapable conclusion I come to is that the Rhodesians are following the example of their friends, neighbours, and saviours in South Africa. Let this conference demonstrate our real indignation against the oppression now taking place in Rhodesia, and let us do nothing which will further the cause of the oppressors."

British Government Largely to Blame

MR. M. LYCETT (Morpeh): "I lived for many years in Rhodesia and am still in touch with people there of various shades of opinion. I speak against this well-meant motion as in my view the acceptance of five principles could land both Rhodesia and Great Britain in further charges of infidelity.

"Take the fifth principle that Britain must be satisfied that any proposed basis for independence would be acceptable to the Rhodesian population as a whole. Those in favour of the motion might argue that this means the need for another referendum, but many hold that it has an inference of one man one vote. The mostly primitive population of Rhodesia is putty in the hands of agitators and a dry sponge for Communism infiltration from Russia, China, and Zanzibar. For that reason principle No. 5 is inappropriate.

"The illegal régime has existed for nearly a year, and the responsible electorate in Rhodesia has solidified behind Mr. Smith. There have been repeated reports that the individual African is happier and more contented. Communist infiltration appears to have been slowed up following the arrest of people trained in sabotage in Moscow and Peking.

"The conduct of the rest of Africa has shown that in predominantly black States extreme power in the hands of immature hordes usually leads to unsafe dictatorship and conduct inimical to the interests of Great Britain. For Heaven's sake let us not forget that it must also be directly contrary to the interests of the white people, with whose brains and capital Rhodesia has been built into what it is—a thriving economy with law and order in one of the most remarkable success stories of our time.

"Men who achieve what the white Rhodesians have in 70 years are by their nature men of guts, in whose minds the love/hate relationship developing with Great Britain is largely the fault of British Governments. There is still time to this salvage some of their good will, vitally necessary to this county both morally and strategically. How can we be so stupid as to alienate the last outpost of British influence on the whole great continent of Africa?

"Mr. Wilson, having stated that the problem is one for Great Britain and Rhodesia alone, now has George Brown at the United Nations making, in order to placate African opinion, promises which if implemented must bring disaster to our kith and kin. I cannot emphasize enough the view frequently expressed in Rhodesia that the Rhodesians would use all the military forces at their disposal if foreign or even British troops landed in Rhodesia. The result would be a struggle bringing death and disaster.

"The motive behind this motion is dead right, in that as soon as we can we must come to terms with Mr. Smith, the Government of Rhodesia, and find means of legalizing his régime. Let us forget the nonsense talked about disloyalty to the Crown. There will be no disloyalty if we allow the white Rhodesians as well as those of other colours the right to live.

"The need for Rhodesian independence is greater than ever. I oppose the motion for the reason given, reluctantly, as it has in it the seeds of hope. I see little hope of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith coming to terms acceptable to both sides. We have to face that. I trust that the message from this conference to the Rhodesian people will be that there is hope for them at the end of the present term of government."

On the Brink of the Precipice

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., for Haltemprice: "Last year's conference decided for perfectly valid reasons not to oppose sanctions against Rhodesia. I believe that decision contributed to the uncertainty as to where our party actually stood and to our failure to make a national impact over Rhodesia. But today the situation is entirely different; we are now at the cross-roads.

"Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson both want to come to a compromise, but because Mr. Wilson cannot lose face he insists upon the repudiation of U.D.I. and the formation under the Governor of a new Government with whom negotiations would start.

"Thus the Rhodesian Prime Minister would have no real guarantee for the future and Rhodesia would revert to direct rule from Whitehall. This is unconditional surrender that could not be stomachached by any Rhodesian worth his salt.

"As Ted Heath implied yesterday in his outstanding address, there must be a compromise, and that means that concessions must be made by both sides. Had Reggie Maundling been conducting these recent ministerial negotiations in Salisbury instead of Mr. Bowden I believe we would now be in a position to reach a satisfactory solution based on the 1961 Constitution. But, because of our Prime Minister's arrogance, a reference to the United Nations and mandatory sanctions are now almost inevitable.

"We stand on the brink of a precipice. Reference to the United Nations means that Britain could no longer control what should be done. The United Nations will take charge, and as Mr. Wilson has already indicated that the veto is unlikely to be used, this means that the majority of the General Assembly—that is, the Afro-Asian bloc—may well succeed in their demands for economic sanctions against the whole of Southern Africa.

"The sanctions will, I believe, prove as ineffective as the present sanctions against Rhodesia, but they could be made effective by a sea/sir blockade, and thus an economic war could become a shooting war. This may appeal to the red guards of the Liberal Party, but surely not to any Conservative.

Fight for the Right

"I support the resolution now before us, and I particularly welcome the firm stand Ted Heath made on television last night; but why no direct mention of mandatory sanctions? Surely we learned the lesson of last year, that our policy must be made absolutely crystal clear. If it is implicit in the official resolution, why not spell it out? But this is merely a different emphasis, and I believe today the vast bulk of the party is completely united as to the Rhodesian problem.

"Conservatives—all of us—want negotiations. We want to see a legally independent Rhodesia. We want to be sure that the rights of all races are protected, but—and I hope I carry the conference with me—equally Conservatives do not want to be ordered by the United Nations to boycott their third best customer, South Africa. We refuse to bear a responsibility for the ensuing unemployment, for the devaluation of sterling, for chaos in Southern Africa. We will not engage in an economic war which could turn into a shooting war.

"I believe that this debate will show the country where the Conservative Party stands in opposing any reference to the United Nations, including mandatory sanctions. The message that must go from this conference will, I am sure, be one of Conservative unity and of Conservative determination to fight for what we know is right."

Chaos and Carnage in Africa

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Deputy Leader of the Party, said when summing up the debate:—

"I warmly welcome this resolution, which calls upon H.M. Opposition to press for a negotiated settlement and to oppose the handing over of this British problem to the United Nations. I can give you a firm assurance that that is what we shall do — in Lord Salisbury's words 'by every means in our power'!

"There are, of course, limits on what an Opposition can do. We can and will criticize and oppose, but the bitter frustration of an Opposition is that we cannot decide and we cannot ultimately prevent a Government bent upon foolish policies from wrecking the results of those follies upon the nation as a whole.

"However, this great conference, by speaking loud and clear and with one voice in the name of common sense and common humanity, may halt a situation now moving rapidly towards disaster. I use that word quite advisedly. Make no mistake about it: if the British Government and Mr. Smith cannot reach agreement now, the results will be disastrous for Britain and for Rhodesia and may well tear the heart out of the whole of Southern Africa and, indeed, the entire Commonwealth.

"Already, enough harm has been done. The economic damage alone is severe. Rhodesia is feeling the effect of sanctions; the economy of Zambia is under heavy strain; the burden upon the British balance of payments is very heavy, far heavier I think some people sometimes realize; and yet for all this there is no sign whatever of the results that Mr. Wilson predicted. The weeks he talked about have gone by, the months have gone by, and yet for all this damage there is no sign of a result. For this reason: that although economic sanctions can impose increasing damage upon the industry and trade of Rhodesia, they cannot bring about a political change there.

"We now face a very real danger that if agreement cannot be reached between the Government and Mr. Smith there will be this resort to mandatory sanctions. This will be disastrous. I am quite convinced that that is the view of this entire conference. It is a disaster for two reasons: first, because they would not work without the co-operation of South Africa, and, as Mr. Vorster made quite clear to me a fortnight ago, they will continue their policy of regular trade with Rhodesia whatever may happen: The result then would be a major conflict between the United Nations and South Africa, with all the heavy consequences this would entail, particularly for our own country.

"Secondly, a move of this kind to the United Nations would unite behind Mr. Smith all moderate opinion in Rhodesia, even those most opposed to U.D.I. This was made quite clear to me in Salisbury—namely, that even those most opposed to the Rhodesian Front or to U.D.I. would unite as a man behind Mr. Smith if threatened with mandatory sanctions from the United Nations.

Prime Minister's Tragic Misjudgment

"Here lies the great and tragic misjudgment of our present Prime Minister. He misjudged entirely the character of the people of Rhodesia.

"I believe there have been faults on both sides. It is not for me to apportion blame. The original action of U.D.I. was, in our view, an act of great unwisdom—one we have condemned and opposed throughout—and it has brought in its train serious results, not least for the future of Rhodesia; but Mr. Wilson's latest measures, especially the ultimatum, the threat of mandatory sanctions, and the apparent return to direct rule, have made the problem infinitely more difficult to solve. What else did he expect?

"To paraphrase the words 'What sort of people does he think the Rhodesians are?' They are not the sort of people to knuckle under to threats. There are so many people in Rhodesia who look north across their frontiers and see in more than one country a scene of chaos and carnage, and they say: 'We will not see our own fair country suffering this same fate.' How right they are to say that!

"At the same time it must be recognized that many in Rhodesia, also of all races, look south across their frontier and are not very happy about what they see there. They see this happening south of their border, and there are real genuine human fears that in an independent Rhodesia, unless a proper settlement is made, this might expand also within their own country.

"There are these genuine, deeply felt human fears on both sides in Rhodesia, and we in this country have a responsibility to all the people of Rhodesia, one which we cannot shuffle out of, one which we cannot ignore. Our policy as a party is well expressed in this motion. We believe the solution must be independence on a legal Constitution which embodies the five principles; independence, because nothing else is conceivable now. No return to direct rule would be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia. There must be independence on a legal basis, because we, the British Parliament, must insist on that, and because the absence of a legal basis will be a constant and continuing handicap to the future of Rhodesia itself.

"On the five principles—and here I must disagree clearly with Lord Salisbury—we have all the time accepted as a party the five principles as the basis for the right solution in Rhodesia. We still accept them, and I believe they are acceptable to Mr. Smith as well.

"As regards the measures to be taken now, I gather there has been a statement from the Government on this subject just before this debate started. I rather thought there would be: Mr. Wilson's timing gets more obvious every day. But, whatever the statement says, let us be clear on some things:

British Government's Silly Posture

"First, the technique of presenting a final demand backed by an ultimatum to Mr. Smith will not work. Secondly, it is necessary to show on both sides a genuine determination to proceed by discussion and agreement. Thirdly, the British Government must drop this silly posture of not negotiating with Mr. Smith. This can only be settled by negotiation, and there is no one else with whom to negotiate; and what on earth was the Commonwealth Secretary doing there in any case if he was not negotiating? Finally, we must surely drop some of the foolish ideas; for example, that Mr. Smith must be punished for what he has done.

"We must end recriminations on both sides—these foolish, silly, wild recriminations. Talk about rebels and traitors sounds as stupid in Salisbury as talk about a Communist-dominated Britain seeking to crush Rhodesia sounds in London. It is stupid on both sides.

"I am as convinced now as I was before I went to Salisbury that the gap between the two sides is too wide to be covered. We must concentrate upon agreement on the future Constitution. It cannot be expected, as has been said, there should be unconditional surrender. Why should Mr. Smith agree to that and then discuss the matter? It is not sensible; it is not logical.

"The right thing to do is to concentrate upon agreement on the Constitution for an independent Rhodesia, which will meet the requirements of the five principles; and, once agreement is reached on such a Constitution, I do not believe that the interim measures necessary for a return to legal rule will present any serious difficulty.

The motion was carried by an overwhelming majority.

MR. HEATH said in his closing speech:

"What about Rhodesia? We have constantly pressed for a negotiated settlement. The Government fought the last election against talks in Rhodesia—and a week after the election they began talks. Then we pressed them to have talks between Ministers of the British Government and Mr. Smith, and they fought against it. Then, after the Commonwealth Conference, they started. So we have gradually been able to force them to a more reasonable and social position.

"Now we must keep up the pressures to prevent them from indulging in follies and to persuade them, and to help to persuade Mr. Smith, that a reasonable negotiated settlement must be achieved both in the interests of Rhodesia and of Britain."

Mr. Todd Freed

MR. GARFIELD TODD, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who has for the past year been restricted to his farm near Shabani, some 200 miles from Salisbury, is now free to move at will, the one-year restriction order having expired on Monday.

Zambia's Public Holidays

ZAMBIA will have 13 public holidays next year, including Commonwealth Day (May 24), Africa Freedom Day (May 25), Heroes' Day (July 3), Unity Day (July 4), and Independence Day (October 24).

Dr. Kaunda to Address U.N.

Malawi Alone Supports Britain

PRESIDENT KAUNDA is expected to fly to Canada at the week-end and to address the General Assembly of the United Nations a few days later.

His Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, told the General Assembly on Friday that when Britain defeated an American-sponsored resolution in the Security Council in May "it became clear to us that the motivations of the British Government were racialist". He called for an immediate and positive initiative by the British Government to bring down the Smith régime. Sanctions having failed, force must be used.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan urged the Security Council to take more effective action against Rhodesia, and Chief Adebó of Nigeria declared that "some force will be necessary to bring the Smith régime to its knees".

Mr. Paul Martin, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, asked for the measures now in operation against Rhodesia to be applied with maximum effectiveness so that independence might be attained on the basis of majority rule.

Mr. S. N. Odaka, Foreign Minister of Uganda, pleaded for a concerted effort to bring down the illegal régime; voluntary economic measures having failed, comprehensive mandatory sanctions should be imposed.

The Foreign Minister of Upper Volta said that his country would "continue to assist the freedom-fighters in Rhodesia, the Portuguese Colonies, and South West Africa until all traces of colonialism have disappeared".

Ato, Ketema Yifru, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, pleaded that the United Nations should act now since the United Kingdom continued to vacillate.

Mr. Arthur Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, said that his country would never be content with a minority Government in Rhodesia.

Mr. A. M. Nyasulu, Minister of Education in Malawi, however, emphasized that his Government had agreed with Britain that there should be no use of force. To cut off all economic ties with Rhodesia would harm Malawi and Zambia far more than Rhodesia.

"We cannot expect Britain to commit economic suicide over Rhodesia or expect her to use direct force against the inhabitants of Rhodesia. Such measures are militarily impractical, and it would be asking too much of human nature to expect Britain to turn the sword of war upon her many innocent kith and kin in Rhodesia".

Italian Eyes on Zambia

Competition for Pipeline Contract

REPORTS FROM ROME—which Mr. Wina, Zambia's Finance Minister, re-visited last week—suggest that the Italian Government expects the contract for the 1,000-mile pipeline from Dar es Salaam to the Copperbelt to be placed with the State-controlled E.N.I. oil group, probably within a few days.

Among those whom Mr. Wina saw on Friday were Treasury officials and Senor Carli, governor of the Bank of Italy, who recently visited Zambia, in connexion, it is believed, both with the pipeline contract and with Italian proposals for a hydro-electric scheme in the Kafue River at a cost of £50m. or more.

Italian representatives have also discussed Italian participation in an iron and steel industry and a fertilized factory in Zambia.

Lonrho, Ltd., a British company, first proposed the pipeline, and after a survey submitted estimates. Japanese competitors then appeared on the scene. Now a bid has been made by a British consortium with which Mr. Humphry Berkeley is associated.

MR. ROBERT PITMAN wrote last week in his column in the *Daily Express*:—

"It is announced quite seriously that, as a gesture of warmth towards Britain, President Kaunda has at last agreed to accept the £14m. which we are offering to Zambia. There's a friend for you! Why don't the Tory leaders denounce this sort of aid? But so doing they would rally not only disgruntled Tories but millions of Labour voters too—and would offend only that tiny Bow Group minority which is supposed to stand for youth and progress but which, in fact, represents absolutely nobody, except perhaps Mr. Jo Grimond".

Accused of Seeking Communist Cash

Mr. Odinga Denies Minister's Charges

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Leader of the Opposition in Kenya, was said in the House of Representatives last week by Mr. Daniel Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, to have gone to Uganda a few days earlier to collect money for his party from a Communist embassy. He was therefore stopped by the police when he arrived back in Kenya. Because he refused to be searched, the head police officer in the province was called.

When he arrived "the Leader of the Opposition had consumed a good three-quarters of a bottle of whisky in public and had worked himself into a hilarious state. Of his own volition he stripped off his clothes, reducing his dressed condition to a bare minimum in a public place. He said that he wished the public and Press to see his condition".

Because the Kenya Government had closed subversive Communist missions in Nairobi, Mr. Odinga had been forced to go outside the country for money for his party. It was known to have sent emissaries to Communist States and to have been told that an embassy in Kampala would provide funds if he collected the money personally.

Mr. Odinga later denied that he had gone to Uganda to collect funds for subversive purposes, and challenged Mr. Moi to repeat his allegations outside the protection of Parliament. He had, he declared, flown to Kampala to engage lawyers to act for members of his party.

Threats to Kenya Press

THE KENYA SENATE was asked last week to prosecute and deport the editor of the *East African Standard* Mr. Kenneth Bolton, for having published allegedly biased editorial comment, and the House approved an amended motion which urged the Government to keep a close watch on the editorial articles of a number of Kenya newspapers. Mr. James Osogo, Minister for Information, had said that the Government sympathized with the original motion; that the Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression; and that the paper mentioned, which had once had the reputation of supporting the colonial régime, had since changed considerably. Newspapers which were not run by the Government were, he said, free to criticize, but the Government would not hesitate to ban a newspaper if necessary.

Liberation Movements

THE JOINT STATEMENT issued by Presidents Nasser and Nyerere at the end of the Egyptian leader's visit to Tanzania stated that the two Heads of State had reaffirmed their enduring support for the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and their determination to help Rhodesian Africans to "liberate themselves from imperialism and the racist régime". They described the *communiqué* on Rhodesia of the Commonwealth Conference as unsatisfactory and denounced Britain "for her attitude towards the usurpation of power by the racist foreign minority and for having failed to adopt decisive measures which would guarantee the right of the people to determine their future freely". President Nyerere, addressing the National Assembly, referred to "the abominable Smith régime", and accused Britain of "undertaking to deceive world public opinion".

Chinese in Tanzania

THREE CONTRACTS—for assistance in the building of a £2.5m. textile mill, the supply of textile equipment, and the sending of Chinese experts—were signed in Dar es Salaam last week between representatives of the Governments of Tanzania and China. The mill, designed by Chinese experts, and financed by an interest-free loan from China, is already being built just outside the capital. Some Chinese are already at work on the project, and others are to be sent as required.

COMPANY MEETING**Trans-Zambesia Railway Company Limited****SUBSTANTIAL UPSURGE IN REVENUE MAINTAINED****MR. V. L. OURY ON SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIES
DERIVED FROM DIESELIZATION**

THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TRANS-ZAMBESIA RAILWAY COMPANY LIMITED was held on October 13 in London.

MR. V. L. OURY, the chairman and managing director, presided.

The following is an extract from the Chairman's circulated statement:—

In my review last year I told you that the receipts for the first five months of 1965 were showing a slight increase — namely, 5.3 per cent over those for the corresponding period of the previous year — but that there was still no indication of an overall long-term improvement.

It gives me great satisfaction, therefore, to report that in the remaining seven months of 1965 there was a very substantial and, to date, maintained upsurge in revenue, with the result that, for the full year, as compared with 1964, there was an increase of £241,553 in our gross receipts, or just over 19.5 per cent. A noteworthy feature of this improvement is that it resulted from an increase in the volume of better-paying goods traffics, both export and import.

In contrast to the increase in the total gross receipts, the total operating expenditure was reduced by £46,145, or 4.6 per cent, by comparison with 1964.

The ratio of expenditure to revenue fell from 81.68 per cent in 1964 to 65.21 per cent in the year under review, and our operating profit rose to £514,389, as compared with £226,691 in 1964, representing an increase of nearly 127 per cent and a much-needed improvement in our financial position.

Dieselization Policy

Our decision to dieselize fully has now been implemented by the placing of orders for five main-line "Zambezi" Class, 1,200 horse-power diesel electric locomotives from Associated Electrical Industries International Limited. These new locomotives, due for delivery in June/August, 1967, are of similar design to our three existing units which went into regular service in April, 1964, but incorporate certain modifications which our operational experience has shown to be desirable. We have also ordered from Messrs. Andrew Barclay, Sons & Company, Limited three 355 h.p. diesel hydraulic shunting locomotives, and these are due to be shipped in March, 1967.

The advent of these eight new diesel units will render our steam locomotives redundant before they are life-expired, but the economies we have derived from only partial dieselization have been so significant that we are in no doubt as to the wisdom of the policy we have adopted.

The amount available from the earnings of the Southern Approach, for interest on the income bonds, was £30,827, compared with £12,892 in 1964. This exceeded the requirement for a full year's interest, and resulted, therefore, in a decrease of £6,865 in the contingent liability under the trust deed, which now stands at £380,884.

After providing for other fixed charges and interest, and for Mozambique income and defence taxes on the profits for the year under review, there was a surplus of

£244,084, which, together with adjustments of £88,350 in the tax provisions in respect of previous years, brought the amount available for appropriation to £332,434.

The sum of £10,000 has been transferred to provision for accidents and, as a result, this provision now stands at £90,000—only £10,000 short of our target.

Redundant Locomotives

As intimated earlier in this review, our steam locomotives will become redundant when full dieselization is achieved next year. At the end of 1967 the written-down value of these locomotives, less estimated scrap value, will be about £240,000. Attempts to find a market for them, as operational units, have so far failed, so that this sum must be considered a potential loss, and our auditors have indicated that in their view this loss should be written off over three financial years. Accordingly, we have transferred the sum of £80,000 from general reserve to provision for renewals, and similar amounts will be transferred in the accounts for 1966 and 1967.

As explained last year, full dieselization will also entail a loss of the order of £50,000 in respect of the spares we hold for the steam locomotives. Last year we set aside £25,000 towards this loss, and, as you will see, we are allocating a similar amount out of the surplus available in respect of 1965.

The present-day value of those of our fixed assets which will fall due for replacement before the end of the Company's concession indicates that the balance of the reserve for increased cost of replacement of fixed assets should exceed the present figure by more than £1 million, and this despite the fact that, during the 45 years of our existence, we have not paid a single dividend and have ploughed back any available balance of our receipts.

Heavy Renewals Programme

We have now reached the stage where we are faced with a heavy renewals programme, including the renewal of our track and much of our rolling stock, and in view of this and of the decision to replace our entire fleet of steam locomotives by diesels, we have decided to apply the balance of the year's surplus—namely, £297,434—towards making up the deficit on this reserve.

Consequently, in spite of the improved results, it is not possible to pay any interest on the 5 per cent income debenture stock.

Eight of our steam locomotives were acquired through the medium of hire purchase agreements which have been transferred to the Malawi Government, and, in order to reduce the differential between the amount still payable under these agreements and the written-down value of the locomotives, it has been decided to pay off the amount still due on two of the older locomotives. In accordance with the provisions of the agreements, six months' notice of our intention to make the payment has been given. The amount thus to be repaid will be approximately £61,000.

In my statement last year I referred to Mr. J. R. Pike's report recommending the revision and rationalization of our rates and fares, which had been accepted by us and by Malawi Railways Limited, and had been submitted by the latter to the Malawi Government for approval.

Rates and Fares Revisions

The recommendations relating to passenger fares which, *inter alia*, reduce the number of classes from four to three, have recently been approved and will be introduced with effect from November 1 of this year.

We are, however, still awaiting a decision on the recommendations relating to goods rates, which are of far greater import, since, although they provided for a small overall rates increase—now considered unnecessary in view of the increased traffics and the economies achieved—their main purpose was to ensure that the revenue from Malawi through traffics is divided between Malawi Railways and ourselves in the ratio of our respective costs, instead of in the present arbitrary and irrational manner which was condemned by both companies when it was subjected to expert study over five years ago.

Adoption of the rates structure recommended by Mr. Pike would have the great advantage of simplifying individual or general adjustments in the level of the rates, and I earnestly hope that the introduction of the new system will not be long delayed and that it will pave the way to a series of progressive reductions.

The Current Year

As regards the current year, I am glad to tell you that the preliminary figures in respect of the first six months to June 30, 1966, show that gross receipts have amounted to approximately £880,000, an increase of £239,000, or 37 per cent, by comparison with the corresponding period of 1965, and it seems clear that the political stability in the Republic of Malawi, coupled with that country's efforts to increase its productivity and attain a satisfactory economy, are making great strides.

In addition, we have, since the beginning of the current year, been carrying a considerable volume of traffic en route to and from Zambia. It is not possible, at this stage, to forecast the rate of flow which this traffic may eventually attain, nor its duration; but, as an indication of the potential, we carried in the month of May, 1966, a quarter of a million gallons of diesel fuel, and in June we began to haul Zambian copper to the port of Beira.

However, the recent official announcement that it has been decided to proceed with—and that work has already begun on—the construction of a rail link between the Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique at Nova Freixo and Malawi Railways at Mpimbe is obviously a matter of great concern to our Company, although it is too early to assess the extent to which this new and alternative route to the sea at the port of Nacala may drain off Malawi traffic which would otherwise pass over our line.

The report and accounts were adopted.

(Concluded from next column)

and the airlift may have accounted for something like 4,500 tons. Estimates of the amount carried by road to and through Malawi have ranged from 1,500 to 3,000 tons.

Last week the Government introduced regulations which make it an offence for copper mining companies to dismiss workers without official consent.

Mr. R. F. Farmer, an Opposition M.P. for a Copperbelt constituency, said recently in Parliament that some of the expatriates arriving in Zambia were "left-overs", whereas men of the highest calibre were required. Some recent arrivals from overseas had had to be taught the jobs for which they were recruited by those already in the workshops, old hands paid less than the new men.

In the year to June 30 the R.S.T. group had net profits of £8.5m. after paying £28.8m. to the Government of Zambia in royalties and income tax. Zambian Anglo American profits were somewhat under £7.4m. after tax and royalties.

Copper Output Cut by 25%

22% Wage Increase Officially Demanded

THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT published on Thursday a White Paper which called upon the seven copper mines in the Anglo American and R.S.T. groups to grant immediate pay increases of 22% to the 43,000 Africans in their employment. That would give the lowest-paid mineworkers a wage of £27 a month—and increase the wage payments of the Copperbelt companies by perhaps £6m. a year.

Three days later the companies announced that shortage of coal compelled them to cut production immediately by 25%, or some 500 tons a day, worth about £200,000 at current prices.

The companies are criticized in the White Paper for an "insensitive, if not callous, attitude to racial problems". Though the "great contribution" of expatriates is recognized, there is a threat that "the Government will not tolerate without forceful action such abuses as those of a small hardcore of racially-minded whites who have abused their freedom by fomenting racial tension". While the Government favours private investment and respects the profit motive, the White Paper states that it will not tolerate abuses of economic freedom by the companies.

Brown Commission's Report

The White Paper was published simultaneously with the report of the five-member commission of inquiry into conditions on the Copperbelt over which Mr. Roland Brown, legal adviser to the Government of Tanzania, presided.

That document almost suggests that whatever the miners demand should be paid, saying:—

"With independence, a major reorganization of the labour structure of the mining industry was necessary. The companies took full account of the need for wage restraint, but produced a result which is unacceptable to the workers in the industry. This is a situation which must be put right if there is to be any chance of industrial peace".

The commissioners denounce all forms of racial discrimination, and "look forward to conditions in which, for example, the general manager and the lasher (labourer) might find themselves having a shower side by side".

They want a single wage structure; discontinuance of the recruitment of white South Africans; and Government control of any special inducements offered to expatriates.

That White Paper—which notes a six-fold increase in Copperbelt strikes this year over the experience of 1965—states that the Government accepts the recommendations, which should be the basis for negotiations between the managements and the trade unions.

The least well paid African mineworker now receives £22 a month, or about double the wage of unskilled men in the non-mining industrial sector of the economy. Some Africans on the mines already earn up to £140 a month. The Brown report suggests that that maximum should be raised to £185, and the Government describes the proposal as "acceptable".

The Brown Commission considers that the Zambia Broken Hill Company, which mines lead and zinc, should be brought by stages over the next three years to the Copperbelt basis.

Serious Shortage of Coal

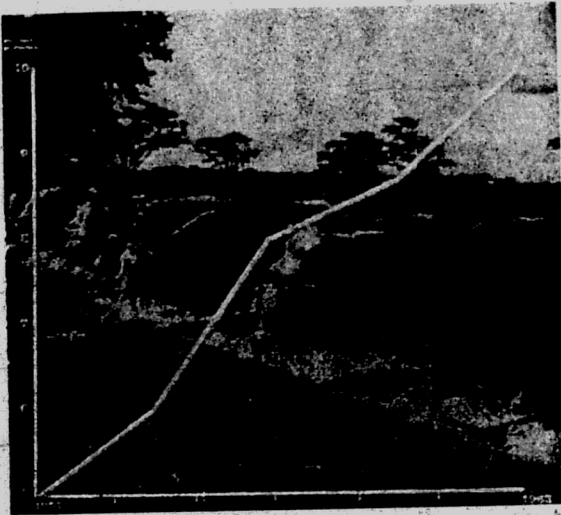
The secretary of the National Coal Supply Commission said recently that coal imports from Rhodesia in July had been the worst for 14 years. The explanation was that the Rhodesian Government now insisted on a truck-for-truck exchange at the border, which meant that the trucks available for the carriage of coal to Zambia depended upon the number of trucks released by that country.

Towards the end of September Zambia ordered 500 reconditioned trucks from this country and 800 new trucks from Japan. Those from Britain should start to be delivered through Lobito Bay next month. The Japanese contract stipulates deliveries between January and the end of April.

Zambia-Tanzania Road Services, the £5m. haulage company recently formed by the two Governments in association with a subsidiary of the Fiat group of Italy, has announced that by the end of October it will be able to carry 1,500 tons of copper weekly to Dar es Salaam. That represented only 10% of the then production rate.

About 20,000 tons a month have been sent overseas via Rhodesia Railways and the port of Beira; the Benguela Railway has been hauling some 10,000 tons monthly to Lobito;

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