



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

HAVING DITHERED for more than a year, the notoriously indecisive Mr. Wilson must within days end his double-talk on the Rhodesian issue and say plainly what the Socialist Government intends to do. A settlement could be negotiated, as Mr. Ian Smith, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Mr. Maudling, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Mr. Sandys, and many other competent judges have declared, and as Mr. Wilson himself recognized in a blinding flash of the obvious when he visited Rhodesia thirteen months ago. But he threw away that golden opportunity, botched every other opening, weakly appeased the Afro-Asian-Caribbean bloc at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in September, and has now to face the expiry of his own unwise time-limit, which he fixed and announced in the futile endeavour to placate publicists whose overriding concern is to divert attention from their own incompetence and unreliability. The influential newspapers which play Mr. Wilson's game at the slightest hint ceaselessly propagate the idea that a reasonable and patient Prime Minister is being reluctantly driven to invoke the aid of the Security Council of the United Nations because a clique of extreme racialists in Rhodesia will not accept conditions which all three political parties in Britain deem necessary. Even if it were true that the Socialist, Conservative and Liberal leaders held an identical view, that would not guarantee its wisdom, as is proved by the fact that the three parties endorsed the disastrous and dishonourable Macmillan-Macleod policy of helterskelter scuttle from Africa. They paid no heed to the urgent warnings of men who knew Africa that the inevitable consequence of their naivety would be revolutions, mutinies, murders, corruption, the serious lowering of all standards, and dictatorship by a tiny minority of black political careerists. Every item in the prophecies has proved justified, and hundreds of thousands of innocent Africans have paid with

their lives for the criminally premature grant of so-called independence by a nescent but stubbornly opinionated House of Commons. Guilt for the carnage and chaos in former British territories in Africa rests upon the three parties in Britain. Though that is still not generally understood in the United Kingdom, it is recognized by every responsible Rhodesian, who is therefore determined, assuredly most reasonably, that he and his fellows shall settle their country's problems, not political blunderers in Westminster.

* * *

Having so irrationally and tragically supported Mr. Wilson's follies over Rhodesia hitherto, the Conservatives, at last seeing the error of their ways, pledged themselves at their recent conference in Blackpool to oppose the reference of the issue to the United Nations and compulsion upon member States to engage in economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Apart from a settlement with Mr. Smith (which he would still accept if he were wise), Mr. Wilson has left himself no alternative but to resort to the United Nations, and the Conservative leadership must therefore now tell the nation quite explicitly that it will have no truck with the Government's programme. It would have been better to keep the reversal of policy agreed at Blackpool alive in the public memory. A nation-wide campaign for that purpose would have alerted the people, including the Socialists whose livelihood is threatened, to the dangers into which the country is rapidly drifting. That was not done, almost certainly, because the Conservatives have a guilty conscience about Africa. With or without that burden, they must now act, for in a few days a White Paper will reveal the communications which have passed between the British and Rhodesian Governments since U.D.I., and then there will be debates in both Houses of Parliament.

The Conservative leaders could not better serve the public interest than by saying that their party admits its share of blame for the hallucination which so impetuously imposed

Tory Leaders Should Confess

ostensible independence on the British African territories to the north of Rhodesia, with disastrous consequences in many cases; that the party recognizes that Rhodesians, black as well as white, are determined that their country shall not similarly be sacrificed precipitately to an inappropriate Westminster dogma; and that there ought to be no further long-range *Diktats*. If such a confession of past misjudgments and enunciation of new principle be made, Mr. Wilson and his associates will not be able to exploit the pretence that they are merely doing what a Conservative Government would do. Frank admission of grave miscalculations in the past is the only way of rendering Socialist jibes ineffective and of destroying the Cabinet's confidence that an Opposition haunted by its guilt complex can be no more than half-hearted in criticism.

In the nation's interest it is urgently necessary for the Opposition to discharge its duty to oppose. The spurious bipartisanship of the past year has been extremely useful to the

Puerile Promise

harassed Mr. Wilson, but most damaging to Britain, which, as a senior Minister in South Africa said at the week-end, will be "hit fatally" if the United Nations should now try to prevent trade between South Africa and Rhodesia. His timely warning that a confrontation with South Africa will do immense damage to British trade has set leading United Kingdom newspapers aflutter, for they have steadfastly refused to accept the obvious fact that South Africa would not allow Rhodesia to founder. RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has emphasized that truth ever since Rhodesia assumed her independence. It was rejected by the Commonwealth Relations Office, which in January encouraged Mr. Wilson to give the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos the puerile promise that the Smith régime would be brought down within weeks, not months. In the quarters in London, Africa, the United States, and elsewhere which were gullible enough to accept that assurance from the Prime Minister it is now equally fatuously assumed that selective mandatory sanctions will succeed. They will not—and for the same reason: that South Africa and Mozambique will in self-defence see that they fail, because their own survival depends upon the preservation of Rhodesia as a strong, civilized, prosperous and progressive State, in which the political advancement of black Africans is

determined by realism, not airy theory, by performance, not pretence or postulation.

It is fantastic that these aspects of the issue should have been brushed aside merely because they irritate a few thousand non-white politicians in Africa and Asia, scarcely any of whom has a secure position in his own country, and their errant votaries in the West. Mr. Wilson

Consequences of Appeasement

ought to have listened for several days to the fluent cliché-mongers from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean at the Commonwealth Conference in London in September, reminded them that politics is the art of the possible; and said bluntly that the only possible course for Britain was to settle with Rhodesia on the best terms obtainable. There would have been vociferous complaints, of course, but the hubbub would have subsided as soon as the objectors remembered that they now receive two hundred million pounds a year from British taxpayers who would not be disposed to continue such generosity to disrupters of the Commonwealth. Because he lacked the courage to act in that way, Mr. Wilson greatly aggravated his own difficulties. The Africans, who respect strength, felt contempt for his weakness, and the Rhodesians, who already mistrusted him, read confirmation of their adverse judgment into his proclamation that if his ultimatum were not quickly accepted by Mr. Smith the British Government would never recognize Rhodesian independence except on the basis of majority rule, meaning, in plain English, black domination. No white Rhodesian would accept that disaster, which the vast majority of black Rhodesians would likewise reject because they too abhor the idea of dictatorship by a few political careerists of their own race, in scarcely any of whom have they any confidence. Yet Mr. Wilson is now committed to that absurd course—in flagrant contradiction of his own statement in Salisbury that Africans should expect to win a political majority only by achievement, not by clock or calendar.

If that was the right prescription then, as it unquestionably was—being merely a rephrasing of the Rhodesian principle of advancement by merit—how can it be wrong today? Apart from that one statement, Mr. Wilson has said and done nothing

Opposition Must Oppose

sensible in connexion with Rhodesia since he became Prime Minister; and it was reckless of him to take personal control of this issue from the outset, thus needlessly involving his personal prestige. For the sake of the country, the forthcoming debates should

strip away the many misrepresentations about Rhodesia, so that the electorate may at last know what imbecilities have been committed in its name and with what perils the people will be menaced if an issue which can and should be settled by direct negotiations be now taken to the United Nations. From Britain's standpoint it would be far better for the Opposition to split the nation now, before the Government acts at the United Nations, than to postpone the outright and persistent attack by which means alone the British people can be aroused to the extent of the danger which is now so close.

MANY PROTESTS have, we know, been sent to *The Times* in criticism of its grossly deceptive reporting of the ceremony at the Cenotaph in Whitehall in remembrance of the Rhodesians who gave their lives in Britain's cause in the two world wars. Not until **Equivocates** four days after it had published its false and offensive heading "Uproar

at the Cenotaph" did it make a grudging withdrawal, then stating merely: "The heading 'Uproar at the Cenotaph', which appeared in the later editions on Monday, went too far. There was some cheering after the Anglo-Rhodesian Society's afternoon service, but the main commotion was in Downing Street later". Shabby misrepresentations were thus shabbily qualified. The charge is not of "going too far", but of falsification. The decent course would have been to apologize and admit that there had been no uproar at the Cenotaph; that the Anglo-Rhodesian Society had been in no way associated with the "main commotion" in Downing Street, which did not start for about half-an-hour after the ending of the Remembrance service; and that the society's parade had then dispersed. Three subscribers to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA have told us that they have reported *The Times* to the Press Council. Our leading article last week suggested that the organizers of the Remembrance service should report a number of newspapers to that body.

South Africa Warns Britain Against Mandatory Sanctions

Conservatives Want Mr. Wilson to Meet Mr. Ian Smith

THE BLUNTEST PUBLIC WARNING yet given to the British Government by a South African Minister has come from Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, who is widely regarded as second in influence to Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister.

Addressing a National Party rally at the week-end, he said: "I want to give the Prime Minister of Britain a serious warning—that he must carefully consider the consequences not only for South Africa but particularly for Britain if such a step as mandatory sanctions be taken. South Africa is Britain's best customer in the world. If this trade is obstructed it could hit Britain fatally in view of her extremely difficult financial position".

He emphasized that South Africa would continue to trade with Rhodesia even if mandatory sanctions against that country were imposed by the United Nations.

Agreement Possible, Says Mr. Maudling

Mr. Schoeman said that if the U.N. agreed to Mr. Wilson's request for selected mandatory sanctions, "the matter will get completely out of hand, and they will almost certainly ask for total mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. If this happens South Africa, and all other members of the United Nations, would have the sanctions applied to them if they did not fall in with the U.N. plan".

Having then given the direct warning to the British Prime Minister, he added that his Government held that the issue should remain a domestic matter between Britain and Rhodesia. "If good counsels prevail the dispute could still be resolved in a friendly manner".

Dr. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has also publicly warned Britain against mandatory sanctions and urged a settlement by negotiation in the interests of Britain, Rhodesia, and all Southern Africa.

MR. MAUDLING, the Opposition front-bench spokesman on Commonwealth Affairs, said last week:—

"The Rhodesian situation is fast approaching crisis point, and no one should underestimate the dangers

involved for us and for all the people of Rhodesia. In this situation a great personal responsibility rests upon the Prime Minister and Mr. Smith. They alone are the people who can achieve a solution.

"Already enough damage has been done to the economy of Rhodesia and Zambia, and enough burdens have been heaped upon the economy of this country.

"Agreement should now be possible on the basis of the six principles which both have stated they accept and which are acceptable also to the Conservative Party. Where there is agreement on principles, details should not be allowed to stand in the way of a solution. Anyone who allows considerations of face-saving or undue scruples about the niceties of constitutional law to condemn the British and Rhodesian people to a long period of struggle and suffering will carry a heavy responsibility in the eyes of history. No possible solution should be turned down out of hand.

"Mr. Smith proposes direct talks between himself and the Prime Minister. I hope this idea will not be easily rejected. Talking to Mr. Smith does not imply recognizing him, as is clear from the fact that the Commonwealth Secretary held talks with him recently in Salisbury; but, on the other hand, by talking alone can a solution be found? The use of force should surely be unthinkable. A final effort by the two men who carry the supreme responsibility should certainly be made before there is any question of a breakdown and failure".

Mr. Smith Ready to Come to London

Mr. Smith has said that he is willing to meet Mr. Wilson anywhere. He has also agreed to be questioned in London in a television programme if the British Government grants him safe conduct.

The Rhodesian problem must be studied against the general African background, Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., said when speaking in Brentwood, Essex.

The realist rather than the moralist survived in Africa. Sir Abubakar Balewa of Nigeria, Dr. Kaunda of Zambia, and Dr. Nyerere of Tanzania were recently considered

the ideal intellectual leaders in the British sense. Sir Abubakar was dead, murdered by his own people; Tanzania had virtually surrendered the island of Zanzibar to the Chinese Communists; and Zambia was in chaos. It was tough realists like President Kenyatta of Kenya and President Banda of Malawi whose countries had withstood the strains of independence.

Mr. Smith was so far the winner in the battle with the British Government. All that sanctions had done was to consolidate behind him the large majority of white and black Rhodesians. The Council of Chiefs had just declared their full support, and earlier in the year he (Mr. Wall) had presented to Parliament a petition of support signed by more than 20,000 Africans.

Even more indicative of the African attitude was the fact that the terrorist infiltration sponsored by Zambia and Tanzania had been completely defeated — largely because the Rhodesian security forces had the trust and help of the African population.

Zambia faced a major crisis because of the economic difficulties caused by the policy of sanctions against Rhodesia and because of deteriorating race relations. Senior white policemen had been sacked overnight, and there was a grave danger that white civil servants (still numbering 2,500), key miners on the Copperbelt, and white technicians elsewhere in the country might decide to leave within the next few weeks. That would mean the total collapse for Zambia.

U. N. Again Votes for Force

The General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted by 89 votes to two, with 17 abstentions, a resolution calling on Britain to use force if necessary to crush the Smith Government in Rhodesia.

Ten of the 15 members of the Security Council voted for the resolution.

South Africa and Portugal voted against the motion. The 17 member States which abstained included the United Kingdom, white Commonwealth and Western European countries, and the United States.

The resolution condemned Portugal, South Africa and "foreign financial and other interests" for supporting the Rhodesian régime; called on Britain to take prompt measures to cut off oil and other supplies and to "take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force"; and demanded that all States should give "all moral and material support to Rhodesian Africans in their struggle to overthrow the régime".

The last phrase was resented by several States on the ground that a world organization dedicated to peace thereby incited guerrilla warfare.

A similar resolution had been carried a few days earlier in the Fourth Committee, the voting then being 94 to two (Portugal and South Africa), with 17 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States).

Somalia withdrew an amendment which would have required Britain to end the rebellion by the end of this year.

Hints from Portugal

Portuguese officials in Salisbury and Pretoria said at the beginning of this week that if a blockade of Mozambique were imposed by the United Nations in an endeavour to prevent oil reaching Rhodesia, Portugal would refuse to allow Zambian copper to be exported through Mozambique or Angola [which together handle some 90% of the shipments].

It was learnt in Salisbury that a Government reply had been sent to a British request for clarification on certain points; that Mr. Smith still favoured the idea of a "summit meeting" with Mr. Wilson; and that the Rhodesian Government believed that heavy pressure was being put upon British Ministers by the United States Government, which denied reports in that sense.

Rhodesian anxiety was understood to arise from the fact that African affairs are now handled in the State Department by Mr. Joseph Palmer, who was regarded as very sympathetic to African nationalism when he was U.S. Consul-General in Rhodesia.

Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, is believed to have recommended a meeting between the British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers.

Remembrance Day Service at Cenotaph for Rhodesians

Government Pressure Disregarded by the Salvation Army

THE REV. S. E. PULFORD, Rector of Linton, Hertfordshire, has explained in the following statement why he did not conduct the Remembrance Service for Rhodesians at the Cenotaph in Whitehall: —

"I have unfortunately become the centre of a great deal of false publicity. What happened was simply this: I was asked by the Anglo-Rhodesia Society if I would conduct a Service of Remembrance at the Cenotaph for Rhodesians fallen in both world wars. I agreed, and drew up a form of service appropriate to the occasion, taking very great care that nothing in it could possibly be interpreted as political or racial. The Salvation Army band agreed to play on that understanding.

"A certain newspaper published an article saying that the service was a political racket, racist, etc. A Government office thereupon phoned the Salvation Army urging them not to touch it as it was both political and racial, which was of course untrue.

"The Anglo-Rhodesian Society were therefore forced to decide whether they should allow me to conduct the service without the band, or have the band without me. They plumped for the band, apologized profusely to me, and asked me to stand aside. I felt I could do no other.

Misrepresentations by B.B.C. and Press

"It was, however, a very wonderful service, conducted in reverent silence in the presence of 10,000 people. Both B.B.C. and some Press reports gave a centenary impression.

"As a combatant in World War I, as well as an Army chaplain, I would have counted it a great privilege to conduct the service; but in the event the form of service which I had drawn up was used in its entirety by the Salvation Army".

Protests at Press misrepresentations have continued to be addressed to the newspapers, especially *The Times*, to which Mrs. M. Pentland wrote from Oxford: —

"I took part in the very moving service organized by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. As my husband served with the Rhodesian Forces during the last war, this meant a great deal to me, as I know it did for many others. This was completely marred for me when I saw your large headline 'Uproar at the Cenotaph'.

"As we moved around the Cenotaph to take up our positions there was some sympathetic clapping and cheering from the thousands of well-wishers who had come to take part with us in this act of homage. Was this an 'uproar'? The society gave this service no publicity.

"This came from the Press after the Government banned the Scots Guards from playing. If there was 'uproar' in Downing Street after the service it was certainly no fault of the society".

Strong Protests At "Times" Report

BRIGADIER G. M. O. DAVY, who at one period during the last war commanded the British land forces in the Adriatic, wrote: —

"Your headline 'Uproar at the Cenotaph' contradicts the facts. The proceedings at the Cenotaph were as solemn, dignified, and moving as at any service I have attended there and the object was identically the same.

"We who assembled in King Charles Street—I because there had been 150 Rhodesians under my command in the Second World War—dispersed afterwards in our several directions, and I knew nothing of the episode in Downing Street until the B.B.C. news. But I was at the Cenotaph long enough to know that there was no uproar anywhere near it.

"It is deplorable that a newspaper with the standing of *The Times* should have muddled a religious service with a later and apparently spontaneous outburst in Downing Street (which is unfortunately too close to the Cenotaph) and should thus have misrepresented the facts. At the Cenotaph there was no 'uproar'.

MR. S. G. PAGE wrote: —

"*The Times* has carried the headline 'Uproar at the Cenotaph'. Uproar means tumult or violent disturbance; tumult means commotion of a multitude with confused cries.

"I attended chiefly because it was so silly to exclude the Guards Band, and stood at the Trafalgar Square end. True, as the Salvation Army marched in someone near me started to clap and the entire crowd joined in. True, at the end someone at the Parliament Square end may have called for three cheers for Smith; but at my end the three cheers were all for that magnificent Salvation Army band.

"Five minutes from the end I went past the end of Downing Street. There were not the least notice of them—Later some people may have started shouting, but if so that was in Downing Street and not at the Cenotaph, and may well have been a group who were not at the service.

"To my certain knowledge there was no uproar at the Cenotaph. May I have your assurance that this headline will be withdrawn with at least as much publicity as your headline received?"

MRS. NANCY PANK said:—

"Having taken part in the Anglo-Rhodesian Society's ceremony at the Cenotaph, I can refute any accusations of hooliganism. The members of the society were extremely well-behaved and dignified, and quite different from the hooligans seen on television that evening demonstrating outside No. 10.

"The ceremony as conducted by the Salvation Army was most impressive, and the spontaneous cheers and applause from the huge crowd on the pavements very moving.

"This was the first time the British public had been able to show their real views on Rhodesia and the shabby way Rhodesians had been treated on this Day of Remembrance by the politicians."

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., told readers of the *Guardian*:—

"What was a service to the members of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society became a national event due to the widespread resentment caused by the Government's order to the band of the Scots Guards not to play at this service. No other reason could have caused 10,000 ordinary citizens to pack Whitehall in order to display their sympathy.

"Much as I dislike drawing a comparison between the heroic war services of black and white Rhodesians as Mr. Hatch has seen fit to do, I feel bound to place these official figures before your readers—9,187 whites enlisted, of whom approximately 80% served outside Rhodesia; 15,153 non-whites enlisted, of whom approximately 10% served outside Rhodesia. This explains why there were 1,474 white and only 228 non-white casualties and why 689 whites received decorations and only nine non-whites."

MR. R. C. OLIVER, of Wokingham, protested in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Your report of events in Whitehall and Downing Street did less than justice to the Anglo-Rhodesian Society and the excellent Salvation Army band. I attended this service, which was conducted in a most moving way and was completely without incident of any kind.

"I realize that a demonstration is more newsworthy than an orderly conducted service, but it would have been more honest to describe the latter in at least something like the detail you gave to subsequent events in Downing Street."

Communism Threatens Africa from Its Base in Zanzibar

Zanzibari Confirms that 12,000 Were Slaughtered in Three days

COMMUNISM THREATENS ALL AFRICA from its base in Zanzibar, Mr. M. S. Riyami, secretary of the Zanzibar Organization in Britain, has told the Africa Group of the Monday Club.

He was convinced that the Communist-inspired revolution in Zanzibar could not have succeeded if Kenya and Tanzania had not been in such sharp disagreement about an East African Federation. Moreover, President Nyerere had resented Zanzibar's insistence on nothing more than the loosest form of union, and had therefore facilitated the spread of subversion in the island by his party, the Tanganyika African National Union. African nationalist leaders in Kenya had also co-operated in infiltrating the Afro-Shirazi Party and the ranks of the police.

The revolution—in which at least 12,000 people had been murdered in three days—was certainly not spontaneous. It had been planned in Peking with President Nyerere's full knowledge.

A ship carrying arms, ostensibly for use against the Portuguese in Angola, had put into Dar es Salaam in January, 1964, and Mr. Oscar Kambona, a Minister in Tanganyika and chairman of the Liberation Committee of O.A.U., had diverted the weapons for the revolution in Zanzibar. That island was the key to the mainland and therefore immensely important to the Communists.

Orders Given by Communist Embassies

Zanzibar had been made a Police State by terror—terror which had begun in Tanganyika. Each district of the island now had its Committee of Seven, whose activities resembled those of Hitler's S.S.

An immediate objective of the Communists had been to humiliate every experienced civil servant and every other educated citizen in order that they might the more easily exercise direct control of the country. Every doctor and every qualified teacher had been driven out of the country or thrown into prison. Uneducated men had been thrust into high Government posts to do what they were told: and the orders came from the Chinese and Russian embassies.

A secret court was recently created to deal with political deviation, its powers being made retroactive to the beginning of May. The proceedings were in camera; advocates were not allowed to represent the accused; and there was no appeal except to President Karuma.

He had said that the pre-revolution Ministers, who were still imprisoned could not be released because they would

endanger the régime. The truth was that he and his associates feared that the mass of the people would rally behind the former Ministers if they were let out. It was for that reason also that the revolutionary Government refused to have a general election.

Mr. Harold Soref, who presided, suggested that since Nkrumah had fled Ghana there could be no country in Africa closer ideologically to Communism than Tanzania. Mr. Babu, the real leader of the revolution, and now a Tanzanian Minister, had been trained in this country by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, of which he had been secretary in London before leaving for Peking. Mr. Kambona had also served an apprenticeship in left-wing circles in Britain before he helped to make Zanzibar the Cuba of Africa.

Hint for Amnesty International

Why had Amnesty International not turned its attention to Zanzibar's illegal régime? Rhodesia, about which it had issued a report, was a haven of peace in comparison. It was in Zanzibar, that Amnesty could find totalitarianism and racialism.

A member of the audience who visited Zanzibar last year said that he had found the people terrified. It had certainly not been a popular revolution. East Germans were very much in evidence, as were Chinese and Russians.

Mr. Riyami commented that the East Germans controlled the Ministries of Finance and Information and showed particular interest in the political secretary in every Government department. He had not left Zanzibar until six months after the revolution, and the Russians then had about 700 men under military training, while the Chinese had perhaps a rather smaller force at the other end of the island. Some Zanzibaris had been sent with Communist officers to Southern Tanganyika on their way to invade Mozambique, but President Nyerere quickly decided to get them out of his country and back to Zanzibar.

Asked about Egyptian aid to East African political extremists, Mr. Riyami said that children of from 10 to 15 years of age who had gone to Cairo from Zanzibar before the revolution had been sent back at 24 hours' notice when the Zanzibar régime demanded their return. Some had then been murdered.

Conditions in Pemba were even worse than in Zanzibar. The people had to do 12 hours of "voluntary work" daily and were often flogged in public. For no reason at all a whole village was sometimes confined to their huts for a week at a time, nobody being allowed out for water, food, or any other purpose. In consequence there had been deaths.

On the proposition of Mr. Adrian Fitzgerald, it was resolved to inform H.M. Government that the Monday Club deplored the continued detention of the former Ministers, to urge it to make representations for their release, and to bring the matter to the notice of the United Nations.

Telling Britain About Rhodesia

Meetings of Anglo-Rhodesian Society

ANGLO-RHODESIAN SOCIETY MEETINGS are increasing in frequency, and they have usually attracted good audiences.

Viscount Cranborne, a member of the council, presided at a meeting of the Buckinghamshire branch in High Wycombe last week at which Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., Mr. Robert Pitman, and Mr. Sorel spoke.

Mr. Sorel, who is chairman of the Africa Group of the Monday Club, said that Lord Salisbury, who had warned the country against the appeasement of Hitler, was again warning it against the forces hostile to this country. *The Times* and its then editor, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, had been the apostles of appeasement in the 'thirties. Mr. Dawson personally suppressing news embarrassing to the Nazis. Now *The Times* appeased the Afro-Asians, and published inaccurate matter which could be used against Rhodesia. It was significant that those who never ceased attacked the censorship of the Press in Rhodesia consistently censored news about Rhodesia, about which the British public was consequently ill-informed. *The Times* report about "uproar at the Cenotaph" was a bare-faced lie. It deserved to be reported to the Press Council.

Nine-tenths of the letters about Rhodesia written to the national newspapers favoured the Rhodesian cause, yet the ratio of pro-Rhodesian letters published, except in the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Telegraph*, suggested the direct opposite. That constituted wild misrepresentation. In the provinces the *Yorkshire Post*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Dundee Courier*, and *East Anglian Daily Times* took a more objective and reasonable view.

Weirdies and Z.A.P.U. Supporters

The religious ceremony at the Cenotaph on the previous Sunday had indicated the depth of feeling of the ordinary public. Yet the Government sought to bully Britain into a war against Rhodesia and sanctions against South Africa. Britain must be the worst loser from such a policy.

When speaking in Colchester on the previous evening Mr. Sorel had similarly criticized *The Times* for its misreporting of the Cenotaph ceremony, and Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., for having spoken of "the disgraceful scene at the Cenotaph". Had he forgotten his threat to bomb Rhodesia? — which might well have resulted in an additional Remembrance service.

At the time of the solemn religious service at the Cenotaph Mr. Thorpe's Young Liberal red guards were performing in Trafalgar Square in company with supporters of Z.A.P.U., the creators of violence in Rhodesia. According to *The Times*, the Liberal weirdies used the language of the gutter when they swarmed into Downing Street to demonstrate. In contrast to the 150 persons in Trafalgar Square, some 10,000 had gathered at the Cenotaph on a cold Sunday afternoon to show the genuine feeling of Britain.

Condemning the television reports, Mr. Sorel said that the ultimate absurdity had been the I.T.V. assertion that it was "a lonely demonstration". How could 10,000 people be lonely?

Captain P. B. Marriott, R.N. (Retd.), who has visited most of the newly-independent African States, said that it was dreadful impertinence for people 5,000 miles away to tell Rhodesians, who were just as capable of forming moral and political judgments, how to run their country. Not only did they know a great deal more about the problems, but they had to live with the consequences of their decisions.

Unbroken Series of British Failures

There might be some excuse if the British record in Africa since the war had been good. It had been an unbroken series of failures, and more often of disasters, with absolutely no exception. For British Government decisions on Africa the law of averages had been permanently suspended. Yet the world's best sources of information were available.

"I would not necessarily quarrel with the decision to disengage from Africa. I quarrel with the manner, the timing, and the fact that since the first great disasters started in the Sudan in the mid-fifties Ministers have shown complete inability to learn and a determination to proceed in execution of dogma. It is a moot point whether this has been from a desire to appease those who attack the basic freedoms of our civilization, or whether they have themselves been subverted by these people.

"The Belgians were forced out of the Congo by so-called world opinion. When disaster occurred, the United Nations

turned it into catastrophe by destroying in Katanga the only remaining stable area, where something might have been salvaged.

"Now we stand trembling before an anonymous world opinion in a relentless pursuit of chaos, without courage, without conviction, without in many cases even a schoolboy knowledge of Africa, let alone of the horrors which are even now occurring in inexperienced, semi-savage Black African States.

Rhodesia's Road to Survival

"If I were a Rhodesian and wished for survival, I would carefully study what any British Government wanted me to do and avoid doing anything of the kind. I would look at what the United Nations required and do the opposite. I would study world opinion and firmly resist it.

"Contrary to what the propagandists try to make us believe, Rhodesia's multi-racial experiment is not a matter of the colour of the skin. It is a matter of cultures, customs, religions, and degrees of development. A white skin indicates certain values in all these things, that is all.

"One of the most explosive racial situations in the world is in Fiji, which has a native Fijian minority and an immigrant Indian majority. There is no integration; the peace is kept by the British and a system of "separate development"; and the skin of both groups is the same colour.

"In Mauritius, an island the size of the Isle of Wight, there are no indigenous people, but a number of racial and national groups which have not integrated. Mauritius requires a special mobile force of several hundred men whose sole duties are to prevent communal riots. These are some of the unfashionable facts.

"It is in the face of these and many other similar facts that Rhodesia is trying to make a multi-racial State work. She needs sympathy and understanding, and above all time. Those who try to hasten the pace in the interests of political dogma not only show lack of judgment, but commit a crime.

"To try to accelerate political advancement ahead of economic and cultural development is ridiculous. Africa, which is pathetically backward, does not need self-seeking, corrupt, and often violent politicians. What Africans most need is protein in their bellies. They have still to learn the rudiments of land preservation and cultivation and of elementary hygiene.

"For a British Government to impose sanctions in such a situation is an act so ignorant, so tyrannical, so criminal that as an Englishman who once fought against these very things I should not believe it could occur had it in fact not done so."

Censorship in Britain

On the previous Saturday a meeting of the Hertfordshire branch had been held in Berkhamsted town hall, with Sir James Craufurd in the chair.

Mr. Sorel said that censorship about Rhodesia was very evident in Britain.

That week he had heard from Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin, the distinguished South African author, that she had been unable to find an English publisher for a book which contained contributions from the Marquess of Salisbury, Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Justice Frank Broome, and Mr. Stuart Cloete. One of the leading publishers in this country had given the following reasons for rejection:—

"(1) Except to a tiny minority of people whom one can charitably regard as misguided, the views set forth are not true or right; (2) on a less high moral level, an association with a book of this type would do nobody any good; (3) on a lower level still, it would be very difficult to find any buyers for it outside the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia."

He denounced as scandalous the fact that Commonwealth countries living under semi-barbaric dictatorship might attend Britain's Remembrance Service at the Cenotaph while Rhodesia was excluded on political grounds. Zanzibar Ministers who had organized a bloody Communist revolution, and whose Government was run by Chinese, Russians and East Germans would be entitled to be present, but not the Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

Incidentally, Mr. Babu, the pro-Chinese Foreign Minister in the "People's Republic" of Zanzibar and a Minister in the Cabinet of Tanzania, had previously been secretary in London of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and a close colleague of several politicians who are now Ministers in the Wilson Government.

Mr. David Lardner-Burke said that the B.B.C. was "tricking" Rhodesian school children and students in Britain to cooperate in their propaganda campaign against Rhodesia by telling them that they might send messages to their families. Such messages preceded programmes giving "twisted" news and views.

A resolution—described as especially directed to "Harold Wilson, Edward Heath, and James Allason"—was proposed by Sir James Craufurd and passed in the following terms: "That this meeting of friends of Rhodesia in Hertfordshire strongly deprecates any reference to the United Nations by the British Government of matters at issue between them and Rhodesia, which are of domestic and not international interest, and in particular any requests for mandatory or other sanctions against a non-aggressive Rhodesia".

Commons Debates Rhodesia

Speech of Commonwealth Secretary

MR. HERBERT BOWDEN, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, said in the course of his reply to the Parliamentary debate reported last week:—

"I will not detain the House long, particularly as it will have an opportunity as early as possible for a full debate on the whole Rhodesian problem. On that occasion the House will, I hope, have in front of it all the relevant material, proposals and counter-proposals, with a full report on my conversations in Salisbury with Mr. Smith and some of his colleagues.

"At this moment it would not be right to lay this material before the House. In the very near future we shall be able to discuss all of these matters with the facts in front of us.

"The present phase of the Rhodesian problem opened with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in September. Its main preoccupation was Rhodesia. It was probably the most difficult Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that there could possibly be.

"The British Government were under great pressure, not only from the radically orientated members of the Commonwealth, but from nearly every one of our Commonwealth partners. Nevertheless we stuck very firmly to our principles. We made it clear that we are opposed to the use of force in order to bring about a constitutional solution and settlement. We were not prepared to accept that a new and yet tougher phase should be entered into until the illegal régime in Salisbury had a further chance to take those indispensable steps which would lead to a restoration of constitutional government in Rhodesia.

Visit to Salisbury

"The Attorney-General and I flew to Salisbury immediately after the conference to ensure that the Government's intentions were known to all sections of opinion in Rhodesia as far as we were able. Under the aegis of the Governor, we met representatives of many different bodies. The people whom I saw were representatives of professional groups and trades unions which in all countries, I hope, would represent a cross-section of the people. We saw both supporters and opponents of the Rhodesian régime, white, coloured, and black.

"In my own discussions with Mr. Smith I took particular care to make sure that he realized the unique opportunity which was now being granted to Rhodesia to make an early, peaceful return to constitutional rule. Naturally, we understood the need to make crystal-clear the exact nature of the Constitution which we envisaged under a legal Government in Rhodesia; that is, the road along which the Rhodesian Government would have to go.

"Sir Morrice James communicated the statement of our terms to Mr. Smith on October 15. Last Saturday we received Mr. Smith's reply. That is now being considered, and the next steps are being weighed up carefully.

"While there is a chance of resolving the matter it would not be right to go further into the details which are at present being discussed. It could only have the effect of damaging seriously the prospects of a just and honourable settlement.

"To those who think that the secrecy of the discussions means that some dishonest deal is being made, I repeat that we, the British Government, are resolved that any settlement must be based on the six principles and on the terms of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué. Five of the six principles we inherited and endorsed completely. No proposals have been put forward which lie outside those terms of reference. There is no question of compromising on the six principles, which have been accepted by both sides of the House. We will not be a party to a dishonourable settlement or one which is not just and fair to all the people of Rhodesia, of whatever race.

"Secondly, we are committed to carry out the terms of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué. There can be no going back on that. Among other things, it means that there is now a time-limit. Mr. Smith knows perfectly well that, unless the matter can be resolved within the next few weeks the undertakings which we gave to the Commonwealth will be carried out in full. There should be no doubt about that on either side of the House.

"Finally, to those hon. gentlemen—some on each side of the House, though I think that they represent a small minority—who dislike the assurances which I have just given and would ask that we make a deal with Mr. Smith on something less than the six principles, I say this. We have the interests of the whole of Rhodesia as much at heart as they have themselves, including the white minority. We want to see a future for the white minority in Rhodesia, and we want them to play in the past in building up the prosperity and happiness continue to play in the future the rôle which they have always of that country. But there is no future for the white minority

if it is not accepted by their fellow Rhodesian citizens or by the world community.

"There is no solution in a Rhodesia independent but isolated from the world community, and there is no future for a white minority governing an increasingly dissatisfied and restive majority.

"Mr. Smith's solution of I.D.I. can be only a temporary one. World opinion and opinion within his own country will not stand still. He has now the last chance to put Rhodesia back into the main stream of world progress. He has the last chance to show statesmanship. It must be the wish of us all, even at this very late hour, that Mr. Smith will rise to the needs of the situation."

Reminder to Prime Minister

MR. DAVID STEEL: "May I remind the Commonwealth Secretary of two statements made by the Prime Minister on December 10?

"The Prime Minister said: 'We cannot negotiate with an illegal régime, particularly one which has perverted, distorted and misused the 1961 Constitution . . . We cannot negotiate with these men, nor can they be trusted, after the return to constitutional rule, with the task of leading Rhodesia in the paths of freedom and racial harmony.'

"He went on: 'Mr. Smith, although a private person, is the leader of a great political party there, and certainly his views will be sought. But as to entrusting to them, to that Government or to that Parliament, the conduct of restoration and reconstruction of affairs in Rhodesia—I think this would be absolutely intolerable.' That is the position which many of us would like to see reaffirmed.

"It is the Government's determination which has been in question, not their integrity. I hope that the statement which we have had from the Commonwealth Secretary has meant a reaffirmation of the Government's determination.

"There is a case for accepting that the whole affair is expensive and difficult and therefore the answer simply is to recognize the Rhodesian Government and wash our hands of it completely. I hope that that position is not endorsed by anyone in this House, but there is a case for it. The alternative case is to stand firm on a correct interpretation of the principles, the interpretation placed on them by the rest of the Commonwealth. There is no case for falling between those two stools and for creating doubt and confusion throughout the Commonwealth."

Names you have
learned to trust

Gloria TOUR

Atlas ROULETTE

Rhomil

PERSONALIA

DR. and MRS. MAX YERGAN are spending a short holiday in Portugal.

PRESIDENT NOVOTNY, of Czechoslovakia has paid a State visit to Ethiopia while on his way to India.

CANON J. M. AWORI, who in 1924 was one of the first Kenya Africans to be ordained as priest in the Anglican Church, has retired.

The Malawi High Commission gave a luncheon in London a few days ago in honour of Mr. J. Z. TEMBO, Minister of Finance.

THE REV. J. S. ROBERTSON, lately principal of Chalimbana Training College, Zambia, has been appointed an honorary Canon of Lusaka Cathedral.

SUPT. LESLEY ACTON, who has retired from the Malawi Police, has served in that country since 1949. There was only one colleague with longer service.

MR. D. G. CUMMING, Chief Conservator of Forests in Zambia, is on leave pending retirement after 18 years in that country. His successor is Mr. P. B. HAMILTON.

MR. CHARLES DEWAR, sales director of an agency business in Malawi, and MRS. DEWAR have left to settle in Britain. He was a past president of Blantyre Rotary Club.

MR. ZACHARIAH KEODIRELANG MATTHEWS had presented his credentials as the first Permanent Representative of Botswana (lately Bechuanaland) at the United Nations.

LIEUT.-COMMISSIONER E. A. FEWSTER, Territorial Commander in Central Africa of the Salvation Army, and MRS. FEWSTER, arrived on Monday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

THE BISHOP OF MASHONALAND has nominated the REV. S. C. HALL, Rector of Mabelreign, to serve on the Religious Advisory Committees of the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation and Rhodesia Television.

MR. HUGH TRACEY, director of the International Library of African Music, is to give the Cramb lectures at Glasgow University in January. He will deal with various aspects of African traditional music.

LIEUT.-COLONEL D. R. TWÉEDIE, P.G.D., has been appointed D.G.M. of the District Grand Lodge of English Freemasonry in East Africa, following the resignation of Mr. GEOFFREY RIVERS-THOMAS.

THE MOST REV. FRANCIS MARKALL, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salisbury, has returned to Rhodesia after an absence of eight months on account of ill-health. He underwent a major operation in Britain.

MR. P. W. ALLSEBROOK, managing director of Sagit Trust Co., Ltd., which has large Rhodesian interests, has joined the board of A. H. Moody and Son, Ltd., boat-builders of Swanwick, near Southampton.

SIR RONALD GERMAN, who was Postmaster-General in East Africa from 1950 to 1959, and who recently retired from the post of Director-General of the Post Office in the United Kingdom, has been elected a director of Williams and Williams (Reliance Holdings), Ltd.

MR. K. S. HOCKING, director of the East African Tropical Pesticides Research Institute, the largest of the E.A.C.S.O. research institute in Tanzania, has retired after 28 years' service in East Africa. His first appointment was as an entomologist with the Tsetse Research Department at Shinyanga in 1938.

CAPTAIN PATRICK KAFUMUKACHE is accompanying PRESIDENT KAUNDA on his visits to North and South America and the Caribbean as military aide-de-camp. He trained at Mons Officer Cadet Training Unit in England last year, and was then commissioned in the Zambia Regiment. He was one of the first Zambians to be promoted a captain three months ago.

Passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include the REV. and MRS. K. B. ANDERSON, REV. and MRS. B. W. M. BURDOE, the REV. T. BROUDER, the REV. A. BUIJS, the REV. A. J. GRIMSHAW, the REV. D. HARNEY, BRIGADIER and MRS. F. B. HURNALL, the REV. M. O'NEIL, BRIGADIER HILDA M. PICKLES, COLONEL and MRS. H. E. SHORTT, MR. and MRS. P. B. STRATTON, DR. and MRS. J. W. C. I. SYMONDS, DR. P. H. WILLIAMS, and MR. E. WILLIS.

Obituary

Mrs. Florence Wilson

MRS. FLORENCE KERR WILSON, O.B.E., who has died at the age of 87, founded the first commercial air service in East Africa. Wilson Airport, at Langata, near Nairobi, was named in her honour. The youngest daughter of a Liverpool shipowner, she married in 1902 Herbert Wilson, who served in the Royal Artillery throughout the 1914-18 war. On demobilization he and two Army friends and their wives decided to farm in Kenya. Their "Gunners' Venture" in the then remote Nanyuki district prospered. When her husband lay mortally ill in 1929, Mrs. Wilson realized the need for an air service in a country of great distances and bad roads, and soon after his death she started Wilson Airways to undertake charter work.

She attracted some excellent pilots, among them Mr. M. C. P. Mostert, who later became managing director of the company, whose other directors at that time were Mrs. Wilson herself as chairman, Sir Pyers Mostyn, Bt., and Mr. J. W. S. Brancker. Mrs. Wilson bore the early losses with equanimity, and encouraged the establishment of regular service to points as far away as Lusaka. Not infrequently there were flights to London, and with safari parties to the Congo and elsewhere. In a few years Wilson Airways was one of the few companies of the kind anywhere which was making profits. With the outbreak of war in 1939, however, the crews and aircraft were requisitioned by the Royal Air Force for the defence of East Africa. That ended the business.

Mrs. Wilson continued to live at Karen, near Nairobi, and she maintained her keen interest in aviation, agriculture, music, and other aspects of Kenya life. She was a generous supporter of many good causes and a helper of many lame dogs.

MR. L. A. SIMPSON, who has died in Salisbury at the age of 59, was managing director of the Mobil Oil Company for Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi, and a director of Central Africa Petrol Refineries (Pvt.), Ltd.

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR PHILIP COLFOX, M.C., the first baronet, who has died at the age of 78, was for a short time Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921.

LADY CRANWORTH, C.B.E., widow of the second BARON CRANWORTH, K.G., M.C., has died on her farm in Suffolk. At the time of their marriage in 1903 she was Vera Emily Ridley. LORD CRANWORTH died in 1964.

SIR PHILIP MANSON-BAHR, C.M.G., D.S.O., who has died at the age of 85, was for many years London's leading consultant in tropical medicine. His wife was the daughter of Sir Patrick Manson, one of the pioneers of tropical medicine, and he added Manson to his own name of Bahr. From 1937 to 1947 he was director of the clinical division of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and after he had begun to practise in Harley Street he was made consulting physician to the Colonial Office, the Crown Agents, the Admiralty, and the Royal Air Force.

Student Unions Banned

TANZANIA has banned all unions of students, in consequence of the recent demonstrations against compulsory national service. President Nyerere then ordered the expulsion of 393 students, most of them from University College, Dar es Salaam.

Friends of Rhodesia

MR. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information in Rhodesia, had said that there are now 402 Friends of Rhodesia societies throughout the world. On Independence Day, in writing to thank them for their understanding, faith, courage, and constancy, he referred to "the war of attrition against Rhodesia, that typical 20th Century war of boycott, propaganda, and guerrilla incursions".

U.N. Not Interested in Terrorists

MR. VORSTER, Prime Minister of South Africa, said in Pretoria a few days ago that the United Nations knew that some African and Communist member States trained terrorists for activities in Southern Africa but did nothing to check them. Though called a peace organization, the U.N. took no action against nations which supported terrorists who went to Southern Africa to make war and so threatened world peace.

Mr. Todd's Error

MR. GARFIELD TODD was not after all a candidate for the rectorial election at Edinburgh University, for his nomination was declared invalid because he had failed to give the university authorities the stipulated written confirmation of his intention to stand. He had merely notified his proposers by telegram. The four other candidates were Mr. Malcolm Mugeridge, who topped the poll with 1,689 votes; Mr. J. D. Mackintosh, M.P. (1,152), Lord Birsay (1,096), and Mr. Quintin Hogg, M.P. (1,014).

No Right To Expel

MR. JUSTICE WHELAN ruled in the High Court of Zambia last week that a deportation order served on Mr. J. S. Thixton was illegal because the Constitution provided that a Commonwealth citizen might be deported only if he had been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment, on which point there was a reciprocal agreement with Britain. He rejected the plea of the Attorney-General, Mr. James Skinner, that Zambia's sovereignty was infringed, saying that Parliament could repeal or amend the relevant section of the Constitution. The judge also ruled that Mr. Thixton could not be detained or restricted under the immigration laws.

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Thanks to the Salvation Army

THE SUGGESTION made on this page last week that readers might care to express their gratitude to the Salvation Army for taking the Remembrance Day service at the Cenotaph in honour of Rhodesians who gave their lives in Britain's wars has met with prompt response; and Commissioner William F. Cooper has sent his thanks for this recognition of "our action in leading this non-racial and no-political pilgrimage of remembrance for Rhodesia's dead".

The first donation received had a covering letter which described the appeal as "an inspired idea for a collective expression of gratitude". Another referred to "a splendid idea for wonderful people". A third supporter, who has resented the political involvement of Church organizations in the Rhodesian issue, thought that his contribution was for "the last non-political Christian organization in Britain".

Receipts, apart from the £100 mentioned last week, are so far as follows: Mr. Harold Soref, £5 5s.; Dr. & Mrs. M. C. Vyvyan, £5; Mrs. E. B. Agnew, £5; Mr. & Mrs. Alan W. Rudd, £3 3s.; Mrs. E. O. Wyatt £2 2s.; Mrs. Alexandra Fawcus, £2 2s.; Sir James and Lady Craufurd, £2 2s.; Mr. A. A. P. Ethelston, £2; Mr. P. Ramsay Brown, £1 1s.; Mr. E. Redfern, £1; Mr. Anthony Welwig, £1; and a token 5s. from a reader in Horsham who had already sent a cheque direct to the Salvation Army.

Cheques, made payable to the Salvation Army, should be sent to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, 26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1.

Another Kenya Mutiny?

RADIO MOGADISHU, which is controlled by the Somali Government, asserted in several broadcasts last week that 500 men of the Kenya Army based on the Gilgil camp had refused to obey orders; that Brigadier Hardy, the British G.O.C., had recommended their trial by court martial; that President Kenyatta had rejected that advice; and that the Army Commander had thereupon resigned. One broadcast asked: "What will President Kenyatta and the handful of stooges surrounding him do now that the Army has mutinied for a second time?"

Deported from Uganda

MR. ERIC SHERATON, the 40-year-old manager of a Jinja factory, has been served with a deportation order after allegedly paying a £5,000 fine on a charge of illegally transferring funds to a bank in Britain by making false statements. Two Indians holding British passports have also been ordered out of Uganda, one after paying a fine of £750 on a charge of illegally transferring £1,000 to Britain, and the other after paying £350 for allegedly selling £250 of traveller's cheques without authority. Mr. Sheraton and the second Indian are being detained pending further investigations. The other Indian was put on a London-bound aircraft last week.

Mr. Benson's Appeal Upheld

THE APPEAL COURT of South Africa has upheld the appeal by Mr. Ivor Benson, a journalist and former chief censor in Rhodesia, against a provincial court's dismissal of his defamation action against the *Natal Mercury*. He claimed damages of £10,000 after the newspaper published a report of proceedings in the Rhodesia Parliament in 1964 which, he said, suggested that he had been guilty of unethical conduct, lying, racialism, dangerous eccentricity, and of having Mosleyite sympathies. The defendants argued that the report was a fair and accurate summary. The appeal court has now asked the trial court to decide the amount of damages.

President Kaunda at the U.N.

Britain Accused of Treachery

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told the General Assembly of the United Nations last week that Britain was betraying Rhodesia's four million Africans by stages in the interest of 200,000 whites.

Her policy of voluntary economic sanctions had failed dismally; only force or mandatory sanctions would bring conditions "favourable for the normalization of the administration of Rhodesia". Not only was Mr. Smith guilty of treachery, but also Britain for refusing to discharge her responsibility over the rebel Colony.

The British attitude was that of "prohibitive procrastination in the interest of the minority", and the ultimate intention was a downright sell-out. Thus the Smith régime have been able to build "a series of steps towards a violent racial explosion". A speech lasting more than an hour ended on the note that the countries of Southern Africa were "pockets of resistance which must be overcome if we are to achieve our objective and honour our obligations under the Charter".

He spent an hour with Dr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, and saw a number of politicians, including Senators Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits.

Later the President told a news conference that Zambia would leave the Commonwealth if Britain did not solve the Rhodesian crisis satisfactorily.

In Ottawa a few days later he told journalists that if the British Government had not replied within seven days to his dispatch about the break-up of Rhodesian Railways his Government would begin immediate negotiations with the Rhodesians.

Sanctions Will Fail

He added that any sanctions were bound to fail if South Africa would not co-operate.

On Saturday he received an honorary degree from the University of Windsor, Canada.

The party then flew to New York on their way to Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, and Chile. On the return journey to Lusaka there will be a visit to Rome for discussions with the Italian President and Ministers and a private audience with Pope Pius VI.

President Kaunda is accompanied by his wife, Mr. Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, Mr. E. H. K. Mudenda, the Minister of Agriculture, and a number of officials.

Before leaving Zambia for the United States, President Kaunda had said at the funeral in Lusaka of Mrs. Maina Soko, who had been shot in a canoe on the Zambezi: "Her name is going to be written in golden letters in the annals of Zambia among those who have served their country. She was born humble, grew up humble, and a permanent memorial to remind us of the death of this Zambian mother".

Mr. David Gilbey commented in a radio talk from Salisbury: "President Kaunda should be something of an expert on racialism, with which his own country is riddled, as was proved by the recent anti-white demonstrations in Kitwe, when a white woman was stoned to death. In pre-independence days he was chairman of the racialistic Pan-African freedom Movement of East and Central Africa".

Vice-President Kamanga said when visiting the Barotse Province that the people should be made aware that the country's security was threatened by the present attitude of Rhodesia towards Zambia; and that Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories were hostile. But Zambia was prepared to fight for the freedom of countries still under the colonial yoke.

The Government of Zambia has been asked to extend for six months the President's powers to enforce the existing security regulations and to introduce new measures that be deemed necessary.

When the Minister of Health, Mr. Peter Matoka, recently visited Moscow he said that Zambia would like to send Africans for training as doctors in the First Moscow Medical School, which took students from many parts of Africa but not from his country.

Guyana has promised to send teachers, typists and 5,000 West Indian dollars to Zambia.

The Zambian Commercial Farmers' Bureau has asked the Government for an assurance that no more farmers will be deported.

The Minister of Labour and Social Development has proposed that the lowest-paid workers should receive 10s. daily, and that there should then be a wage freeze during the four-year development plan.

Each province in Zambia is to have a farm institute costing about £60,000.

Just over 17,000 metric tons of oil fuel reached Zambia in October from Tanzania, nearly 13,000 tons having been sent

by road. An oil company spokesman in Dar es Salaam said there had been no thefts but losses of about 10% from faulty oil drums. The situation would be improved by the arrival of 30,000 new drums from India.

An agreement has been signed with a French company to develop the Siankondobo coalfield, production from which may begin about the middle of next year. The Government hopes that Zambia may be self-sufficient in coal before the end of 1967.

Mr. Zulu, Minister of Mines, left at the week-end to join President Kaunda in Chile for talks about copper.

Copper production in September is officially stated to have had a value of £13m., the lowest total for any month for two years. The July figure was just over £26m.

Zambia's new National Provident Fund is now in operation, 2,358 employers with about 185,000 workers having registered as contributors. This is the first step in a plan to provide old-age benefits eventually for all employees. Employers and employees make similar contributions, except that in the case of those with low wages the employer's contribution is double that of the employee.

Trade Union Leadership

MR. M. SIPALO, Minister of Labour and Social Development in Zambia, spoke very bluntly to a recent seminar of trade union leaders.

Zambian trade union leadership in general, though there were admirable exceptions, had, he said, shown itself very weak. Too many of the leaders had seemed to speak first and think and investigate afterwards, with the consequence that there had been very serious industrial unrest over the past year; the strikes throughout the mining industry in August and September had demonstrated the tremendous need for improvement.

A good number of union officials, sometimes holding the most responsible positions, had remained shamefully silent when their members struck in breach of agreements with the employers and without regard to the provisions of the Trade Disputes and Industrial Conciliation Ordinances.

This was not the time to expect beer, boots, and bricks, but the time to pick up shovel, spade, and hope. Trade union leaders should ponder, plan, and pursue.

Because they had not clearly explained the facts to their members the working population of Zambia had been "the foul victims of rumours and irresponsible actions generated by enemies of this republic".

There would be wage changes, but it must be remembered that too high wages would be detrimental to the country's development, for the Government itself would have to pay the higher rates. There must be checks on increased wages in order to facilitate development.

"There must be no thinking in terms of large cars, big mansions, and golden beds, but of the utmost mobilization of the people, their labour, their talents and skills, and their enthusiasm".

The Government's confidence in the future was proved by decisions to spend a vast sum of money on the University College and a large sum on an educational plan, to double cotton production and build a ginnyery, to establish new cold storage for an expanding beef industry, and to undertake a further water development scheme which promised to be one of the greatest advances ever known in the country.

But more needed to be done for maize growers, for agriculture was based on maize, which was the staple diet of the African population and of livestock.

Tourism, the third highest earners of foreign currency last year, offered great prospects. Mr. Wilson's arrival with 50 disciples had highlighted the country in a way which would have cost millions of pounds in advertising expenditure.

Changed Names

SEVENTEEN STREETS in Kitwe, Zambia, are to have their names changed. Kent Avenue will become Freedom Avenue; Canberra Avenue, President Avenue; London Road, Nyerere Road; Belfast Road, Lumumba Road; Manchester Road, Dr. Aggrey Avenue, [which is misspelt Agrey in the *Official Gazette*]; and Durban Road, Zambia Way.

Delegation to Malawi

LORD SEGAL is leading a Parliamentary delegation to Malawi. His colleagues are Messrs. R. Bogy, L. Carter-Jones, John Cordle, and David Carr. They are due back in London on November 27.

Commons Questions on Rhodesia

That Telephone Talk with Mr. Smith

THE PRIME MINISTER was asked in the House of Commons by Mr. Elystan Morgan if he would amend the six principles named by him as the basis of a possible settlement with Rhodesia in order to make majority rule a condition precedent to settlement.

MR. WILSON: "Successive Governments have laid down that there must be absolute guarantees of unimpeded progress to majority rule".

MR. BIGGS-DAVIDSON: "Is not the suggestion made in the question entirely in line with the rt. hon. gentleman's own letter to Dr. Mutasa? In order to remove some of the mistrust which has bedevilled relations between London and Salisbury, will he make clear where he stands on the question whether or not there must be majority rule before independence?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have fully answered questions about the letter to Dr. Mutasa on several occasions. The Rhodesian Government were in no doubt about the position. I discussed it with them.

"As regards distrust, as the hon. gentleman knows from the exchanges, the Rhodesian Government made their position very clear, and, when Mr. Smith was on the telephone on the last morning before U.D.I., he said that he placed no responsibility on my shoulders for the breakdown. He said over a long period that it was distrust about statements made earlier, before this Government came into office, that caused the difficulty—which I have always said was a little unfair to our predecessors".

Mr. Smith's Position Stronger

MR. COLIN JACKSON asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs what steps he was taking to inform the people of Rhodesia of the exact nature of H.M. Government's plans for the future of the territory, in view of the illegal régime's censorship restrictions.

MR. BOWDEN: "With the Attorney-General I visited Rhodesia to ensure that our proposals concerning the future of Rhodesia were fully understood".

MR. JACKSON: "But my rt. hon. friend will realize that this is not going over to the whole of the Rhodesian population. Can he give some assurance that, at any rate from Bechuanaland, the transmitters are being increased in strength? Could he not try something a little more imaginative? Could not we try a little leaflet dropping?"

MR. BOWDEN: "We saw about 100 people, a pretty good cross-section, all of whom took the view that as far as possible the people of Rhodesia should be acquainted with the views of the British Government and their proposals. Taking into consideration the tight censorship, and the fact that the radio and television are controlled by the Rhodesian illegal régime, this is not quite such an easy exercise; but we shall do our best".

MR. EVELYN KING: "Is it not a fact that if anybody is censoring these proposals it is our Prime Minister? We are as anxious as anybody else to know what they are?"

MR. BOWDEN: "The House will be made aware of the British Government's proposals and Mr. Smith's reply in due course. I hope that it will not be very long".

MR. HAMILTON: "Can my rt. hon. friend give an assurance that we are in constant touch not only with our Commonwealth friends but our friends outwith the Commonwealth on the nature and the degree of the selectivity of the sanctions, with a view to making quite sure that they will be effective in bringing this Fascist régime to an end?"

MR. BOWDEN: "The Commonwealth countries will be aware of the terms of the *communiqué* issued at the end of the conference, and other consultations when necessary will take place with other interested countries".

MR. HAMLING: "Bearing in mind that the I.D.I. is 12 months old, will my rt. hon. friend consider that Mr. Smith is now in a stronger political situation than he was a year ago and that in order to bring down this régime stronger measures must be taken?"

MR. BOWDEN: "I notice the enthusiasm with which the opposition greeted my hon. friend's statement, which enthusiasm will not be shared in the country generally. As soon as it is possible to state clearly the British Government's proposals—after the proposals submitted to Mr. Smith have been returned to us and considered—we will of course make a further statement, but it cannot be immediately".

MR. MAUDLING: "In view of the remarks about bringing down the régime, will the rt. hon. gentleman confirm that the purpose of his discussion was to reach agreement?"

MR. BOWDEN: "The purpose of my discussion was to reach agreement within the six principles and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*".

MR. IAN LLOYD: "Has there been any change in the attitude of the United States Government towards mandatory sanctions from that expressed so clearly and vigorously by Mr. Mennen Williams some months ago? Unless there has been such a change, any talk of mandatory sanctions is absolute nonsense".

MR. BOWDEN: "I think that we had better deal with this question when we reach it at the appropriate place".

MR. WHITAKER asked what amount of Rhodesian copper had been exported to Great Britain or elsewhere by M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., and other companies during the past six months, and what steps he was taking to end that breach of the United Kingdom's sanctions.

MRS. HART: "We have no evidence of any Rhodesian copper being exported to Great Britain by M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., or any other company, nor specifically by Rhodesian companies to other countries. Copper has not yet been specified as a prohibited export under S. 141".

Representations to Portugal

MR. WHITAKER asked what amount of oil was reaching the Smith régime through Lourenço Marques, and what steps were being taken to end this breach of the United Kingdom's sanctions.

MR. BOWDEN: "Representations have been made to the Portuguese Government to put a stop to this traffic".

MR. WHITAKER: "In view of the crucial nature of oil, will my rt. hon. friend give an assurance that stringent contingency planning is being made for mandatory sanctions for this industry and that pressure is being put on Portugal for trade retaliation if she does not obey these sanctions?"

MR. BOWDEN: "In any future consideration of economic measures oil will play its part".

MR. RONALD BELL: "Since United Nations sanctions are illegal, why has the representations been made to the Portuguese Government?"

MR. FISHER: "As the time set by the Commonwealth Conference has now expired without noticeable progress having been made, will the rt. hon. gentleman confirm that in the event of selective mandatory sanctions being sought against Rhodesia it is not intended that there should be an economic confrontation with South Africa which this country cannot afford?"

MR. BOWDEN: "That is hypothetical. We have not yet reached that stage. Nevertheless, the point raised by the hon. gentleman is well in mind".

MR. DRIBERG: "Was one of the terms offered by the Government that African opinion in Rhodesia should be tested by a commission whose composition would be acceptable to the illegal régime? That might be acceptable to Smith but not to a large number of hon. Members on this side of the House".

MR. BOWDEN: "At the appropriate moment the whole of the British proposals will be laid before the House, but I can confirm that, in accordance with the fifth principle, the test of Rhodesian opinion as a whole will be carried out under our proposals in a way that will be acceptable to majority opinion".

MR. JAMES JOHNSON: "Will my rt. hon. friend accept that this sordid battle with Smith will be a long haul—not weeks or months but perhaps years? In this event will H.M. Government give a guarantee that we shall never give independence to Smith on the terms that he is now advancing?"

MR. BOWDEN: "It would be ill-advised of me to go beyond what I have already said. I would much prefer the House to await publication of the proposals and the reply".

MR. MAUDLING: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman confirm the undertaking given by the Leader of the House that as soon as the Government's proposals are made known this House will have the opportunity of discussing them?"

MR. BOWDEN: "Yes; that is the intention".

No Bombing of Rhodesia Railways

MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON asked the Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs if he would initiate a study of the feasibility of bombing the transport facilities in Rhodesia carrying oil from South Africa.

MR. BOWDEN: "No, sir".

MR. HAMILTON: "Would not we be within our legal rights so to bomb, in view of the fact that the régime in Rhodesia is a treacherous régime, and that to some of us at least the operation could easily be carried out by the placing of aircraft carriers in the Mozambique Channel?"

MR. BOWDEN: "H.M. Government are well informed of all the technical problems involved in this sort of exercise, but the Prime Minister stated on April 26 that H.M. Government were opposed to the use of force to bring about a constitutional settlement".

SIR F. BENNETT: "If the rt. hon. gentleman changes his mind, will he arrange for the hon. Member for Devon North, (Mr. Thorpe) to take the chair at any necessary committee of inquiry?"

MR. BOWDEN: "I recognise that there is a difference, but, as I have said, H.M. Government have already stated their position on the use of force and are not likely to move from that unless circumstances considerably change."

MR. EVELYN KING asked the Secretary of State if he would estimate the number of murders, burnings and cattle maimings attempted or committed in Rhodesia within the last 12 months by Chinese-trained terrorists infiltrating from Zambia; and, in view of his legal responsibility for Rhodesia, what protests had been made by him to the Government of Zambia.

MR. BOWDEN: "There are no definite figures or evidence available to me on this matter. The British Government's abhorrence of violence is well known."

MR. KING: "Is it not a fact that it has taken place? Will the Minister distinguish between the follies of Government—and all Governments are guilty of follies—and the murder or assault of individuals, and agree that where that takes place any country which connives at it deserves reproach?"

MR. BOWDEN: "I have already said that the British Government abhor violence from any quarter; and both the Zambian and British Governments have condemned violence."

MR. HAMLING asked if the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs would now undertake military action against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. BOWDEN: "No, sir."

MR. HAMLING: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that the failure of H.M. Government so far to bring down the Smith régime has completely discredited the policy of sanctions, and that the only way to deal satisfactorily with this rebel régime is to go back on H.M. Government's previous declaration not to use force?"

MR. BOWDEN: "H.M. Government stand on the statement against the use of force to settle a constitutional problem."

Sanctions A Ghastly Flop

SIR G. NABARRO: "In view of all these sabre-rattling questions from hon. gentlemen opposite, would the rt. hon. gentleman go so far as to confirm the view which his hon. friends have so frequently expressed this afternoon that sanctions so far have been a ghastly flop?"

MR. BOWDEN: "No, sir."

MR. MAUDLING: "The Secretary of State said earlier that he would not use force. Will he make it quite clear that in no circumstances will the Government change the policy announced earlier by the Prime Minister, which is a very important point, that the use of force to solve this constitutional problem would not be contemplated?"

MR. BOWDEN: "The Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that force would be used at the request of the Governor to maintain law and order."

MR. HEPPER: "Would not my rt. hon. friend agree that the very fact that H.M. Government have made it clear throughout that we would not use force has led us into the present very difficult situation?"

AN HON. MEMBER: "Where are the pacifists now?"

MR. SANDYS: "The rt. hon. gentleman said that it is not the intention of the Government to use force. Would he tell his Ministerial colleagues to stop talking about the possibility of using force in private conversations all over the place?"

MR. BOWDEN: "I am not aware of what happens in private conversations."

MISS LESTOR asked when discussions would begin with other Commonwealth countries about the implementation of the Commonwealth communiqué on Rhodesia.

MR. BOWDEN: "Since the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting the action we have taken on Rhodesia has throughout been in fulfilment of our purposes and intentions as indicated in the communiqué. We have kept in touch with our Commonwealth colleagues, and will continue to do so as events may develop in the light of our consideration of Mr. Smith's reply."

MISS LESTOR: "Does my rt. hon. friend not agree that by supplying Rhodesia with oil the South African Government have been largely responsible for enabling the illegal régime to continue, and that, unless action is taken very soon, it will be enough for Rhodesia to build up sufficient supplies of oil to make sanctions ineffective?"

MR. BOWDEN: "The position on sanctions was clearly stated in the communiqué issued at the end of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting."

MR. HAMLING asked if the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs was aware of broadcasts by Rhodesian radio services designed to give aid and comfort to the rebel régime, to undermine the Commonwealth, and to suborn the loyalty of Her Majesty's subjects.

MR. BOWDEN: "I am aware of these broadcasts. We are doing all we can to answer them, while pursuing our primary aim of bringing about a return to constitutional rule in Rhodesia and thus ending such activities."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what arrangements H.M. Government had made on behalf of the B.B.C. for relaying programmes by Radio Zambia.

MRS. HART: "None, sir."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is it a fact that nothing is relayed through Radio Zambia by the B.B.C.? If that is the case, why is it that so many people have the impression that the B.B.C., rightly or wrongly, is linked with incidents to violence which have been broadcast by Radio Zambia?"

MRS. HART: "There are two issues involved. One is the extent to which Radio Zambia re-broadcasts B.B.C. programmes. In fact, it re-broadcasts only a weekly sports programme from the B.B.C. The B.B.C. broadcasts no programmes from Radio Zambia and has not done so. If there is a false impression about that, I can only suggest that it comes from the propaganda of the Rhodesian régime."

MR. WALL asked the Secretary of State on what grounds Major Sutton-Pryce, a British subject, was refused the renewal of his British passport.

MRS. HART: "Major Sutton-Pryce's application to the British High Commission residual staff in Salisbury for a passport was dealt with in accordance with the policy described by Mr. Bottomley in the House on January 25."

MR. WALL: "Can the hon. lady say who made this decision? In view of the fact that Major Sutton-Pryce was employed by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation as an interviewer, is he considered more or less biased than his opposite numbers employed by the B.B.C.?"

MRS. HART: "The hon. Member must genuinely fail to understand that when there is an extremely ardent and active propagandist not only for the Rhodesian régime but against Britain it is necessary that the decision which was taken and announced in this House in January should be implemented."

Airlifting Petrol at £1 a Gallon

MR. EVELYN KING asked the cost per gallon of the fuel flown to Zambia by the Royal Air Force.

MR. REES: "By simple arithmetic, about £1 per gallon. There were difficulties of distance and type of aircraft. Very shortly now we shall have a much better type of transport aircraft, which would have brought down the price, though that is not true in all cases in other lifts."

MR. WALL asked the Defence Secretary the total additional costs to the three Services which were directly or indirectly attributable to the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence.

MR. MERLYN REES: "Since the Rhodesian illegal declaration of independence the Royal Air Force has incurred additional expenditure of the order of £2.8m. on the deployment of the Javelin air defence force and its supporting units to Zambia and of £125,000 on the air surveillance of the Mozambique Channel. No additional expenditure has been incurred by the Royal Navy or the Army."

MR. WALL asked the total cost of the movements, administration, fuelling and servicing of the Javelin squadron in Zambia.

MR. REES: "The additional cost arising from the deployment to Zambia of the Javelin air defence force and its supporting units between the first week of December, 1965, and the end of August, 1966, is estimated to have been about £2.8m."

"This takes account of the additional costs incurred in moving these units to and from Zambia, in keeping them supplied by air, in flying in fuel for the Javelin aircraft, in meeting certain costs arising locally, and paying extra allowances to personnel. The basic costs to the R.A.F. of operating and servicing the Javelin aircraft, of the personnel and equipment of the supporting units, and of certain support flying undertaken within normal transport flying rates are not included, since these would have been incurred regardless of the Zambia commitment."

MR. WALL asked the estimated cost to the Export Credit Guarantee Department directly and indirectly attributable to the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence.

MR. JAY: "The Export Credits Guarantee Department has claims from insured British exporters totalling about £660,000, of which £621,244 has so far been paid. Recoveries amount to £25,943 but are expected to reach about £280,000. The net cost to the export credit insurance scheme would thus be about £380,000. In addition, £240,069 of principal and interest due from Rhodesia this year within an earlier intergovernmental credit agreement under Section 3 of the Export Guarantees Acts has not been paid."

DR. GRAY asked to what extent H.M. Government had permitted Rhodesian insurance brokers to place business with Lloyd's underwriters.

MR. MACDERMOT: "So far as H.M. Government are concerned, Rhodesian brokers can place business with Lloyd's underwriters provided that premiums are paid in convertible currency other than sterling; but remittance of funds to Rhodesia to pay claims is suspended except in respect of permitted trade with the scheduled territories."

Mr. Oppenheimer Attacked

Minister Objects to "Meddling in Politics"

ZAMBIA'S MINISTER OF MINES, Mr. A. G. Zulu, has sharply criticized Mr. Harry F. Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation group, for so "slanting" the quarterly reports to September 30 of their mining companies in Zambia that they "could only be described as an attack on the Zambian Government".

He continued: "I do not want to see the Anglo American go on the record of Zambia that it was meddling in the political affairs of this country. Politics are the concern of the Zambian Government and must be left to the Government".

The group had that day published results for the July-September quarter which showed drastically decreased profits by its three copper mines and the Broken Hill lead-zinc mine in consequence of transport difficulties, shortage of fuel, and strikes. Mr. Oppenheimer had remarked that he could not feel optimistic about the immediate future, but retained his long-term faith in Zambia's mining industry.

Mr. Zulu changed the corporation with discourtesy in having failed to send an advance copy of the report to the Government, as it had done to journalists. Co-operation between the Government and the group could, he said, continue only if equal weight were put into each end of the scale. Mr. Zulu praised the group for its past record, its large expenditure on prospecting, its modern safety measures, and its valuable research work on the treatment of refractory ores; "but of late the company appears to be adopting a different attitude, and as a result its beautiful picture is being marred".

Zambian Anglo American, Ltd., had reported net profits after tax for the year to June 30 at £7,370,000 (£7,245,000) in 1965. Dividends of 10s. net per 10s. share take £6,871,000 (the same), and, after writing £336,000 off investments, the carry-forward is £543,000 (£380,000). The issued share capital is £7,661,000. Investments have a book value of £13.3m., but those in subsidiaries which cost just under £12.5m. have a market value of £44.6m. Net current assets total £3.6m.

What Mr. Oppenheimer Wrote

In a long statement Mr. Oppenheimer had written:—"Zambia has had to face international problems of great complexity, and its geographical and political position has inevitably involved it in economic sacrifices and internal difficulties. Participation in Britain's policy of sanctions against Rhodesia has proved very expensive.

"The most severe problems have been the disruption of rail traffic through Rhodesia and the effect on Zambia of oil sanctions against Rhodesia, which has meant that all Zambia's oil requirements have had to be imported by routes other than Rhodesia Railways. There have, as a result, been shortages of all forms of fuel needed for production, and at the same time the export of copper has been subject to interruption and delay. The Government has been active in establishing alternative transport routes, but these, being improvised, have proved expensive and rather unreliable, and in the coming rainy season road transport will become much more difficult.

"In recent months our most acute concern has been over coal, as the railways have been unable to carry our full requirements from Wankie. Part of the shortfall has been made up from the newly-opened Nkandabwe coalfield in Zambia, but at the time of writing production of finished copper has had to be reduced to about two-thirds of capacity. The impact on the country must be substantial. It is certainly so on the mining companies.

"We must be concerned at the rapid addition to the cost of producing copper, which if continued must increase the amount of unpayable ore in the country and prejudice Zambia's competitive position in world markets.

"Apart from an increase in costs generally associated with the consequences of the Rhodesian U.D.I. and from the impact of sharply increased wages and salaries, the older mines are facing rising costs owing to their operations being undertaken at progressively deeper levels where problems of heat and pressure combine to hamper production and call for increasing capital expenditure.

"In April the Government imposed an export tax equivalent to 40% of the difference between £300 and the London Metal Exchange price. Government unfortunately applied this tax to 55,000 tons of copper from the three group mines which had already been contractually priced at £336. Apart from the imposing a penal rate of tax on this copper, the effect on the companies' resources has been severe. It is vital that the extent and the methods by which Government takes its share of profits are such as not to inhibit the maintenance and development of copper mining.

"The copper mining industry is estimated to produce no less than 70% of the budget revenue for the fiscal year

1966-67: it contributed 45% of the net domestic product for the 1965 calendar year; and whereas it employs 16% of the working population the industry's wage bill amounted to about 38% of the national wage bill before implementing any of the recommendations of the Brown Commission, the direct cost to the copper industry of which will be about £4m. a year.

Group's Resources Strained

"Payments for export tax and royalty, increased capital expenditure, and the enforced limitation on sales through the cessation of copper exports through Rhodesia in June and July have strained the group's resources, and it has been necessary to arrange special loan finance from commercial banks in order to meet all commitments.

"The consequences of the political situation in Central Africa have involved the copper mining industry in very acute problems. Since I wrote the main part of this review there has been the tragic riot in Kitwe and other events which have added to the general state of uncertainty and unsettlement on the Copperbelt, and we have had an increasing number of resignations of key personnel.

"While one cannot be optimistic about the immediate future, I retain my faith in the long-term prospect of the Zambian copper industry. In particular, the proving of the Torco process after six years' intensive research and development opens up important possibilities of expansion in Zambia; but we must face the fact that this expansion programme cannot be properly implemented, nor indeed our normal scale of operations restored, until the present difficulties over import and export routes are overcome".

Anglo American Group Reports

Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., in which Zamanglo has a 52.4% holding, had net profits after tax to June 30 of £9,264,000 (£9,198,000), and again paid net per £1 share, taking £8,773,000. The general reserve received £500,000, and the carry-forward is £394,000. Issued capital is £25.7m. Fixed assets exceed £45m.

For the July-September quarter, however, the net profit was no more than £80,000. Capital expenditure in the next three years is estimated at £6m. on mining, £2.5m. on housing, and £1.5m. on other needs.

Nchanga Consolidated Mines, Ltd., in which Zamanglo has a 54.3% holding, had profits after tax to March 31 of £11,993,000 (£9,807,000). Dividends of 6s. 9d. net per £1 share took £10.8m. (the same), and after adding £2m. to the general reserve the carry-forward is £804,000. Issued capital is £32m. Fixed assets total £66.3m. and net current liability £13.4m. For the quarter to September 30 there was a net profit of only £1.1m. For the next months it was £4.3m.

The wholly-owned Rhokana Copper Refineries, Ltd., report profits to June 30 of £575,000 (£307,000), of which £500,000 was added to the general reserve. Issued capital is just under £2.5m. Fixed assets stand at £5.6m. and net current liabilities at £287,000.

Bancroft Mines, Ltd., in which Zamanglo subsidiaries have a 99.4% holding, made a loss of £413,000 in the year to March 31, but earned net profits of £264,000 in the next three months. In the July-September quarter, however, there was a loss of £203,000.

Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., made net profit in the September quarter of 77,000. For the full year the figure had been £1,047,000 after paying £485,000 in tax.

Wankie Colliery Company

WANKIE COLLIERY CO., LTD., reports profits after tax to August 31 at £1,163,000 (£1,218,000), of which £792,000 is required for dividends of 1s. 3d. net per share. After adding £250,000 to reserves and writing £100,000 of investments, the carry-forward is £363,000. Fixed assets appear at £5.7m., investments at £6.2m., and net current assets at £649,000. The issued capital is £6.3m. and outstanding debentures total £1.6m. Sales of coal exceeded 3.3m. tons and of coke 221,513 tons. Sir Keith Acuti, the chairman, foresees a steady decline in sales to Zambia, and if they fall to about 500,000 tons this year, about half the purchases during the past two years, one of the collieries will be put on a care-and-maintenance basis.

Mr. Ivan Godfrey Dixon, a 21-year-old South African laboratory assistant in Salisbury, was last week sentenced to seven years' hard labour after pleading guilty to the possession of 19 Russian hand-grenades and primers and more than 1,000 pamphlets of the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union. He said that Mr. John Conradie, a lecturer at the University College who faces similar charges, asked him to take charge of the grenades, but pleaded that he had no idea that they were to be used for violent political purposes. The prosecution asked for the death penalty, which the judge refused.

RST

PROGRESS REPORT FROM ZAMBIA



The following are extracts from the annual statement, dated November 1, by the chairman of the RST group of companies, Sir Ronald Prain, to shareholders:

Activities of the RST group of companies over the past twelve months must be viewed against the background of political events in Central Africa, for these events have had serious repercussions on our business and will undoubtedly continue to affect our affairs for some time to come.

Zambia, the country in which all our copper mining operations are located, has never experienced a more difficult year. Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence last November, followed by the imposition of economic sanctions by Britain and other countries, resulted in relations between Zambia and her southern neighbour becoming severely strained and on occasions these have bordered upon a complete break.

Zambia is a landlocked country which has traditionally depended almost entirely on routes through Rhodesia for its exports and imports and, indeed, for most of its communications with the outside world. For the copper industry, which is

the mainstay of the country's economy and of which our group is an important part, the new situation brought grave problems as to how to continue to obtain fuel and other supplies essential to the maintenance of production, and to enable its products to reach the world markets with the least possible interruption.

From the beginning of the emergency the copper companies have co-operated with the Zambian Government in exploring new routes to the coast and, as these new outlets have developed, have used them to their fullest capacity. However, to open up a whole new system of communications over thousands of miles of difficult country cannot be achieved in a few short months and, although good progress has been made, it will be some time before the capacity of the new routes will match the needs of the industry and the increasing demands of a developing country.

Despite the day-to-day difficulties in Central Africa, our group ended the financial year on June 30 with new records of copper production and sales. Since then, however, the situation has become more difficult and in addition to the continuing effects of political events

we have had new problems with which to contend.

At one time large stocks of finished copper accumulated at the mines because they could not be transported to the coast. In August and September a Copperbelt-wide strike of local employees resulted in a loss of production which, for our group, was more than 16,000 tons. In October, as a result of the irregular and diminished delivery of coal over the railways, it was decided to re-allocate all available fuel supplies on an industry basis to obtain the maximum possible output from the smelters and refineries. Despite this it has been necessary to reduce production.

At the end of September we suffered another setback when serious flooding occurred at the Chibuluma mine. Fortunately, no-one was hurt but production was halted and although it has since been partially resumed we do not anticipate a return to the full rate until early in 1967.

In the copper market we have also experienced some difficult conditions. In April a decision by the Chilean copper authorities to raise the Chilean price by as much as £160 a ton threw the market into a state of confusion. After the most careful consideration we and the other Zambian producers decided to suspend our policy of selling at producer prices and to revert to basing sales on London Metal Exchange quotations.

Our announcement of a return to pricing on LME quotations was immediately followed by the imposition by the Zambian Government of an export tax on copper at a rate of 40 per cent of the amount, if any, by which the monthly average LME price exceeds £300 per ton. In addition, our costs have increased substantially through higher transportation and fuel charges, resulting from the emergency and higher labour costs.

For much of the year we have had to operate very largely on a day-to-day basis, but this has not deterred us from going ahead with plans for further development and expansion of our industry. In April we announced that we would develop a small but high-grade mine at Kalengwa, some 200 miles west of the Copperbelt, and a few months later we announced our intention to embark on the first exploratory stage of opening up Baluba, an orebody of considerable size and importance not far from Luanshya.

Financial Results

Total production from the group's mines during the year was 280,818 long tons and sales 282,652 tons, compared with production of 276,995 tons and sales of 274,938 tons the previous year. This is the third successive year in which a record production has been achieved by the group and sales have increased every year for the past four years.

Profits from the Luanshya division and net dividends from the Mufulira, Chibuluma and Ndola companies, together with other investment income, make a total income for RST of £11.3 million, compared with £8.9 million last year.

Income tax, mainly on the profits of the Luanshya division, is estimated at £2.6 million after a credit adjustment as a result of an over-provision last year. Out of the available profits of £8.7 million, the board has decided to place £1 million to general reserve. An interim dividend of 4s 3d gross per share, equivalent to a net rate of 2s 5.9625d, was paid last June and the directors now recommend payment of a final dividend in December at the rate of 7s 9d gross per share, equivalent to a net rate of 4s 6.6375d. The final dividend is the same as last year and the total of 12s 0d gross (7s 0.6d net) compares with 11s 0d gross (6s 3.1125d net) last year.

Some measure of our business and its contribution to the national revenue can be obtained from the fact that the total profits of the group before royalty and income tax deductions was more than £42 million. Royalty payments totalled nearly £17 million and income tax will be in the region of £12 million, giving the Zambian Government a total revenue from these two sources of about £29 million.

Copper Market

World demand for copper continued to be strong in the early part of 1966, when supplies were affected by lengthy strikes in Chile and some stocking by consumers was still taking place. Possibilities of interruptions of supplies from Zambia due to the political situation in Central Africa also influenced demand. The result was heavy pressure on the marginal markets and a violent price reaction in these markets. The price of copper on the London Metal Exchange rose rapidly and at one time, in April, the cash quotation for wirebars reached a record level of £790 per long ton.

We and other leading world producers had continued to sell at a stabilised producer price, which from the beginning of January onwards had stood at £336 a ton. In April, however, Chile, second only to Zambia as the world's largest exporter of copper, increased its price by £160 to £496 a ton. This created an entirely new situation in the market and raised important issues for the future of the copper industry.

After a careful study of all that was involved we and the other Zambian producers, the Anglo-American Corporation group of companies, decided that the best course in the circumstances was to price our copper on the basis of the three months' seller's price for electrolytic wirebars as quoted on the LME. This did not result in any immediate benefit in the form of increased sales revenue because our companies were already sold forward for several months on the £336 producer price. The LME basis has also since been adopted by other leading exporting producers, including Chile.

Hopes for stability of supply and price received a setback at the end of May when the Rhodesia Railways export route for copper through Rhodesia to Beira ceased to be available and, since it was not possible to export all our production over the alternative routes, we were compelled to declare *force majeure* on

shipments to our customers. We were, however, able to lift this in August when limited railings over the Rhodesia-Beira route were allowed to be resumed, and we were in the event able to meet all contractual obligations to our customers. Unfortunately, the Copperbelt strike, which began in August and continued through to mid-September, made it necessary for us again to declare *force majeure*.

There is no doubt that during the past three years, and particularly during the present year, there has been substitution of other materials for copper. This substitution has been brought about not only by high prices, but by lack of, or fears for, assured supplies.

It is too early to say to what extent markets have been lost to copper through substitution, but I believe that time will show these losses to have been substantial. Substitution, together with the downturn in industrial activity in Europe, and particularly in the United Kingdom, will have undoubtedly resulted in a reduced growth rate in the use of primary copper in the free countries of that continent in 1966 compared with 1965.

In contrast to Europe, in the United States the consumption outlook continues favourable. There, internal marketing of primary copper is largely on a producer price basis, the price being mainly 36 cents per pound, equivalent to £288 a ton. Because of this comparatively low level, United States consumers are by no means reluctant to take in marginal supplies from the commodity markets at somewhat higher prices. This has the effect of hardening prices on these marginal markets and this aspect of demand has been reflected in the LME price levels in recent months.

Outlook

As I sign this report on November 1, our mines are operating at a rate of about 75 per cent of their capacity for the production of finished metal, while mining and milling operations continue at the normal rate, thus leading to some build-up of concentrate stocks. How long this situation will continue is extremely difficult to forecast. This statement is due to be published on November 21, and it is not possible even to anticipate the production rate at that date. The fuel and transport position is one which is liable to change from day to day, and all I can indicate is that it is unlikely, as we see it today, that full metal production can be contemplated until the new year.

Overshadowing everything else is the position created by the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia, and the continued uncertainties as to how the Rhodesian problem may be resolved. While this picture remains so unclear, our policy will be to continue to produce as much metal as is possible under the circumstances, and to continue close co-operation with the Zambian Government to find ways and means of mitigating the various difficulties I have outlined in this statement.

In the meantime it is possible to record the completion of the second year of

Zambia's independent existence as a republic as a year marked by continued stable government in the face of difficulties which would have taxed countries of much longer experience of government. Recently the Government announced details of a £429 million four-year development plan which is designed to transform the economy and the lives of the people of Zambia, with a strong emphasis on diversification of the economy and the creation of opportunity for all the people.

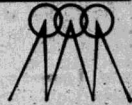
The fulfilment of this ambitious programme will continue to depend for some time on the fortunes of the copper industry. Ways and means of expanding this industry are constantly under review. It will be essential of course to ensure supplies of fuel and transportation routes on a permanent basis. Thereafter expansion will require very large capital investment which in turn will require conditions of stable government, sound economic conditions, and an assurance that private investment will be welcomed. I have no reason to doubt that these conditions can be fulfilled, and the Government has again repeated that it has no intention of interfering with the free enterprise system which has created the country's mining industry. We welcome this assurance as one of the best incentives for investment, and I look forward to conditions under which the industry can resume the steady expansion that has characterised its existence in post-war years.

It remains only for me to convey to our employees the thanks of the shareholders and board for their services. A year which has imposed such strains on our production facilities has naturally imposed equally difficult human strains on both local and expatriate employees. These strains will inevitably continue while the present uncertainties exist. The companies will, however, try to mitigate the tensions as far as is humanly possible, and to continue to play their part in creating conditions of service and an industrial atmosphere which will attract and retain expatriates who will be needed for many years yet. At the same time we will continue to provide for the development of the skills and knowledge of our local employees to enable them progressively to assume increased responsibilities in the industry.

Copies of Sir Ronald Prain's statement, together with copies of the annual report and accounts, can be obtained from the Secretary, RST International Metals Limited, One Noble Street, London, EC2

Companies in the group are incorporated in Zambia, the United Kingdom, Botswana and Rhodesia.

RST



Roan Selection Trust

ROAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., reports net profits to June 30 at £8,698,763, compared with £7,382,206 in the previous year. Dividends of 7s. net per £1 share take nearly £7.7m., the general reserve is increased by £1m., and the carry-forward is then £33,133. The issued capital is £21.7m.

Mineral royalty exceeded £9.1m. from Muflira, £5.7m. from Luanshya, and £1.4m. from Chibuluma. At the end of the year the group had a copper stockpile of 13,842 long tons. It had then flown 3,557 tons of copper to Dar es Salaam for shipment.

Fixed assets stand in the books at £60.4m., loans at £14.1m., and net current assets at £12.1m. Long-term liabilities in respect of debenture stock and loans amount to £11.1m.

The annual report, which has a number of coloured plates, gives a statistical and financial summary covering the past decade.

Difficulties in September Quarter

For the July-September quarter production from Luanshya, Muflira, Chibuluma, and Chambishi totalled 48,147 long tons, compared with 68,288 in the previous three months. Sales at 66,288 tons compared with 72,192, but the average price realized was up from £346.1 to £427.5. Export tax, however, took more than £6.1m., compared with £569,000 in the previous quarter, and profits after tax were substantially lower at £2,728,000 (£3,235,000), equivalent to net earnings per share of 2s. 6d. (3s.).

Sir Ronald Prain, points from whose annual statement as chairman appear elsewhere, emphasizes that fabricators are switching from copper to substitute materials. He fears that substantial markets have consequently been lost. Because of the fuel shortage, the mines are now operating at about 75% of their finished metal capacity, but mining and milling continue at the normal rate, thus increasing the stockpile. The fuel and transport position is such that he does not expect full metal production until next year.

O.K. Bazaars (1929), Ltd., report profits after tax to June 30 at R.5,320,000. Shareholders receive 50%, taking R.21.7m., and leaving a carry-forward of almost R.2.5m.

The Nishio Trading Company of Japan has contracted to buy 8,000 tons of copper from Uganda next year at the ruling London Metal Exchange quotations.

The business in Rhodesia of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa, Ltd., is to be transferred to a new company, Netherlands Bank of Rhodesia, Ltd., some shares of which are to be offered for public subscription.

Selection Trust, Ltd., reports profits after tax for the half-year to September 30 of £1.9m., compared with just over £1m. in the first half and nearly £2.3m. in the second half of the year to September 30, 1966, the substantial improvement being largely due to higher profits on the realization of investments. An interim dividend of 1s. 3d. has been declared, and the directors hope to maintain last year's rate of 3s. 3d. for the full year.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., incorporated in Rhodesia, reports net profits after tax to September 30 at £2,714,000 (£2,032,000). Dividends of 37½% (22½%) take £1,875,000, and after adding £827,000 to reserves there is a carry-forward of £46,000. The results include a profit of £563,000 on sales made but not priced in the previous year. The company bought 450,000 £1 shares at par in Messina Rhodesia Smelting and Refining Co., Ltd., thus increasing its holding to 80% of the share capital.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., report output for the first half of this year at 866 tons of sisal, compared with 877 tons in the first six months of 1965 and 1,662 for the whole year. Sales have been at an average c.i.f. price of £76 10s. (£89, and £84 17s. 6d.). Subject to audit, there will be a loss of about £1,600 for the half-year. In the first half of last year there was a profit before tax of £7,700 and for the whole year of £8,453. On account of the output during the second half of the current year 802 tons of sisal have been sold at an average of £77 a ton.

The Central Africa Co., Ltd., announces that in the year to September 30 its tea production in Malawi reached the record total of 3,122,590lb, compared with 2m. lb in the previous year. Sales slightly exceeded 3m. lb at an average price of 35.7d. (under 2.2m. lb at 43.5d. in the previous year). Sisal production in Tanzania at 8,721 tons was rather lower than in the previous year (9,037 tons) and the price remained unremunerative. Consolidated gross profit is estimated at £100,000 (£21,950), thanks to the better tea results. An interim dividend is not to be paid, and the question of a final dividend will be considered when group accounts are completed in March.

Somalis Incited to Revolt

RADIO ADDIS ABABA, which is controlled by the Government of Ethiopia, has incited Somalis to revolt against "the family Government of the Mahmud Sulayman". A recent broadcast said: "Six months after the union of the two Somali regions the people of the northern regions could no longer stand the actions of this one-family Government. They staged an unsuccessful revolt. The Mahmud Sulayman Government, assisted by the Fascists who have advised them all along, put down the uprising. Once the people of the northern region wrest their independence from the Mogadishu Government there are Governments willing to give them immediate military assistance, if they request it. Then they will be able to defend themselves against the one-family Government of Mahmud Sulayman. Now they have their best opportunity ever to rise and get rid of the Mahmud Sulayman Government. Otherwise they will remain under its domination for ever".

Pro-Tshombe Mercenaries

SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS have published news of an alleged plan for an invasion of the Congo early next year by pro-Tshombe "mercenaries" and advertisements inviting recruits for training as paratroopers.

A Frenchman claiming to command some 600 Katangans ready to fight for Tshombe said in Johannesburg a few days ago that he believed the Mobutu Government would fall at once if there were an attack, and that white "mercenaries" now in the Congolese National Army would not fight against pro-Tshombe mercenaries, who would have fighter-bomber and transport aircraft.

President Mobutu has announced that the Minister of the Interior will always act for him in his absence.

"Enormous damage" is officially stated to have been done when a "criminal fire" destroyed part of the buildings of the National Broadcasting Service. "If the studios had caught fire—and it was—a close thing—the revolutionary voice of the new régime would have been silenced".

Ten persons were arrested last week in Lubumbashi (Elizabethville), allegedly in connexion with the smuggling of large quantities of Congolese francs into Zambia. Among those detained were a Briton, a Belgian, six Greeks, and two Senegalese.

Two Italian missionaries who had been held by rebels in the Kivu area since April, 1964 were released by Congolese troops last week.

Uganda's High Commissioner

DR. SOLOMON ASEA, the new High Commissioner for Uganda in London, said at his first news conference: —

"As soon as the emergency is over the Buganda Lukiko will be allowed to reconvene and it will be up to them to decide about the kabekaship. The making of kabakas, omukamas and other hereditary rulers is the responsibility of the Lukiko or other local governments.

"The Central Government is not against hereditary rulers, as evidenced by the recent crowning of the Omukama of Toro, so long as they do not interfere with the functioning of the Central Government".

After that statement had reached Uganda a Government spokesman said: —

"The Government has not yet received the full record of the High Commissioner's statement, but wishes to make it clear that Sir Edward Mutesa was removed from his position as Kabaka in a revolution which he himself promoted and lost. The Uganda Government does not regard Sir Edward as Kabaka and will not take a decision which would enable him to return at Kabaka".

The East Africa Central Legislative Assembly began its 15th session in Kampala on Tuesday. The meeting is expected to last three weeks.

Because Kenya refused to allow Somali representatives to attend, the Unesco educational conference which was to have been held in Kenya next month will be accommodated elsewhere, probably in Niger.

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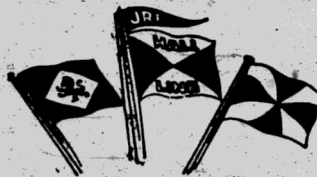
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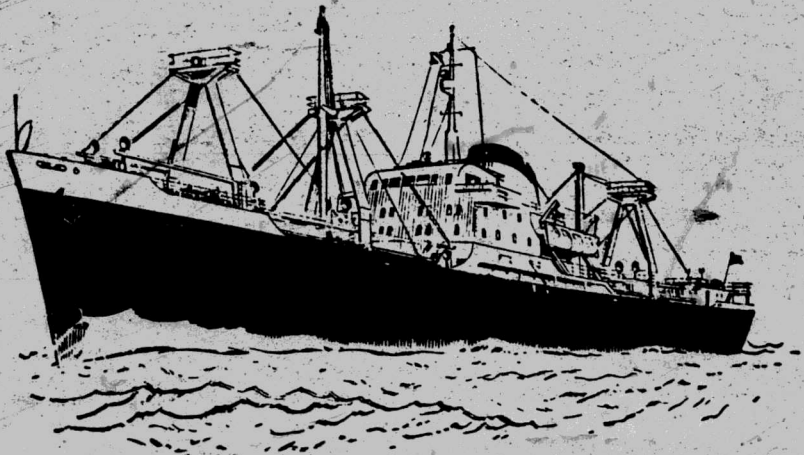
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE CRUCIAL DECISION about Rhodesia had not been announced when this issue went to press. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs had returned on Monday morning from his hurried visit to Salisbury—a visit now acknowledged to have been made at the insistence of the Governor, Sir Humphry Gibbs, who makes no secret of his opposition to the intention of the Wilson Cabinet to refer the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations. Mr. Bowden had reported to the Prime Minister, the ministerial committee concerned with Rhodesia, and the Cabinet, but the White Paper in type before his departure for Africa had to be amplified by the addition of matter relating to his exchanges with Mr. Smith last week-end. Moreover, on Monday the Prime Minister decided to send Sir Morrice James to Salisbury once more. It is therefore still uncertain on which day the Prime Minister will make to Parliament a statement which he must be expected to frame with history in mind. Indeed, it has been put about by his friends this week that Mr. Wilson might even re-visit Salisbury for the "summit talks" suggested by Mr. Smith. Yet less than a week ago he was insistent on rush tactics, from which he could not be budged by Conservative pressure or, of course, by thought of the public weal. We need not doubt that it was anxiety to avoid adequate time for thorough public discussion which was uppermost in Mr. Wilson's mind. But another of his stratagems has floundered.

intention to address the House of Commons on Monday of this week, release the White Paper on Tuesday, and debate it on Wednesday and Thursday.

Plans Upset

By Mr. Smith

Such precipitancy was excused by the pretence that the Government had committed itself to take the question to the United Nations not later than November 30 if a settlement with Rhodesia had not been reached by direct negotiations. That—like so much else said by British Ministers during the past year—was inexact: there had been no official commitment to the last day of November, but merely an undertaking to refer to the United Nations in time for action by the Security Council before it rose for the Christmas recess, which it intends to do on or about December 21. Socialists who last Friday were adamant that the deadline was only five days away were telling a completely different story by Sunday evening. They then admitted that there was no desperate urgency: the White Paper might not appear until November 30 or even the next day, and the debate could be postponed until December 5 and 6. Another instance of Government miscalculation and machination had thus been exposed. It ought belatedly to be brought home to our political masters that the nation has not only the right to, but also the need for, an appropriate delay between the Government's statement of its case and discussion in Parliament—a delay essential to careful study of the White Paper and to comment in the Press, on the television and radio channels, and elsewhere. That, we repeat, as evidently what Mr. Wilson wished to avoid. Such is the attitude to our vaunted democracy taken by a politician in power and in perplexity. It is ironical that it should be Mr. Smith who has forced this concession to decorum from the dictatorial but indecisive Mr. Wilson.

What Mr. Heath could not achieve has been made unavoidable by the Rhodesian leader, who has forced Mr. Wilson to abandon his

More Negotiations with Rhodesia or Reference to U.N.?

Another Envoy Sent to Salisbury on Monday for Further Clarifications

GUARDED OPTIMISM is now being expressed in Whitehall that a formula for settlement of the Rhodesian issue may still be attainable. Contacts continue with Mr. Smith, and after the Prime Minister's statement to Parliament on Tuesday, there were even suggestions that he might fly to Salisbury in the hope of achieving adjustments which the British Government would defend at the United Nations.

The Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bowden, who had agreed with Mr. Smith on Saturday that there should be no "leaks" about their discussions while negotiations continued, said on his arrival at London Airport: "Mr. Smith has made minor concessions. He has done a lot of talking since I left Salisbury. He says that there are only three points outstanding. There have only ever been three points outstanding".

He added that he did not expect Sir Humphrey Gibbs to resign.

On Monday Mr. Wilson told the House of Commons that Mr. Bowden had returned that morning from Rhodesia, where he had had "extensive talks with the Governor". He had also seen Mr. Smith. "The Government will of course be considering most carefully his report on his discussion, and at the earliest possible moment a fuller statement will be made".

Conservatives cheered when the Opposition leader, Mr. Heath, welcomed "the fact that efforts to reach a negotiated settlement are continuing". To that remark the Prime Minister did not reply.

Neither Optimistic nor Pessimistic

In the Upper House Lord Longford, the Lord Privy Seal, suggested that neither optimistic nor pessimistic conclusions should be drawn.

The Government has not further postponed a visit to Washington and Ottawa previously arranged by Sir Saville Garner, Permanent Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs, who left on Tuesday with other officials to discuss the Rhodesian issue with the United States and Canadian Governments and their representatives at the United Nations. Sir Saville accompanied Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley to Rhodesia in Oct. last year.

When this issue went to press Mr. Wilson was still hoping that his statement to Parliament could be made not later than today, that the White Paper could then be promptly published, and that a debate on Rhodesia could follow next Monday and Tuesday.

To Mr. Bowden's remark that the Rhodesian leader had made only "minor concessions" Mr. Smith has replied: "Let him stick to his story".

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* cabled on Monday: "The United States can be expected to go along with black Africa. British authority in Rhodesia is not expected to survive, and there will be no last-ditch defence fought for it. The Administration believe that Britain has made a mess of it. There is also a tendency to believe that she will make a further mess of it and be driven out of Africa. So the Administration does not want to be too closely associated with Britain".

Sir Morrice James, of the Commonwealth Office, arrived in Salisbury on Tuesday evening to seek clarification of certain points in the record of Saturday's discussion with Mr. Smith.

Mr. Bowden, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, had left Lyneham, Wiltshire, by R.A.F. Comet on Thursday for Salisbury, the aircraft halting briefly for re-fuelling at Nairobi and Blantyre airports. He had with him a staff of 14, among them Mr. Duncan Watson, who had led the United Kingdom team in the latest stages of the "talks about talks"; Mr. Oliver Forster, his private secretary, and Mr. J. S. Ellis, of the information department of the Commonwealth Office.

Mr. Ian-Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, cancelled an engagement to address the Rhodesian Front party in Gwelo on Saturday afternoon in order to be available to Mr. Bowden.

Rhodesia Annoyed At "Leak" in London

While the Minister was on his way a Government source "leaked" to the *Daily Telegraph* particulars of the negotiations with Rhodesia which caused anger in official quarters in that country, where the disclosures were suspected to represent an attempt to wreck the discussions about to be held with the Secretary of State.

When he arrived in Salisbury on Friday evening Mr. Bowden drove straight to Government House. He was met at the airport by Mr. P. Van Heerden, Minister of Mines, Mr. L. Thompson, Mr. Smith's private secretary, Mr. John Pestell, the Governor's secretary, and Mr. John Hennings, head of the British residual mission in Salisbury.

About the same time Lord Graham, Minister of Defence, said at a dinner in Umtali: "The Prime Minister has told you that we shall not deviate from the course that can save our people, black and white, from the massacres and mass murders, the madness and sadness into which the countries to the north of us have been so mercilessly plunged. We shall not deviate from the policies which make for peace, prosperity and human happiness for all our people".

International Communism was making its initial skirmishes in Africa. It was attacking the whole world by onslaughts on morality, patriotism, learning, law and order, and general standards.

The Governor's Position

A Government House spokesman told journalists last Thursday that Sir Humphrey Gibbs would never resign his office as Governor without the Queen's assent, and would never use the threat of his resignation as a form of blackmail upon the British Government. Sir Humphrey was very anxious that Mr. Smith and Mr. Bowden should make a last attempt to sort out the independence issue, and wished to discuss with Mr. Bowden his own future rôle if Britain referred the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations. It was generally known in Rhodesia that he had told H.M. Government of his opposition to the plan for mandatory sanctions through the United Nations.

Some United Kingdom newspapers, speculating on the prospect of resignation by Sir Humphrey, who is not in good health, mentioned Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, as the automatic successor, since nobody could be sent from Britain while the Smith Government has *de facto* control.

Mr. Smith told a visiting New Zealand journalist that the Rhodesian issue could have been settled in days if he had had to deal solely with Britain, but that there could be no satisfying the Afro-Asian bloc, which demanded immediate majority rule. Australia and New Zealand would, he believed, have come down firmly on Rhodesia's side if they were not tied to Britain by trade.

"The Trimmings" Unimportant

Mr. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Law and Order, said during a visit to Durban that, given a little good will on the British side, the differences with Rhodesia could be settled.

At an early morning Press conference on Saturday, before he had met Mr. Bowden, the Rhodesian Prime Minister said that the Government believed that it could meet the so-called six principles of the British

Government. Agreement had nearly been reached on the Constitution, the thing that really mattered; the frills, the trimmings, the mechanics, the method of return to constitutional legality were not really important.

The British Government could if it wished escape from its commitment to go to the United Nations; if it did go to the U.N. "I can see this thing escalating into quite a conflagration in Southern Africa".

He had, Mr. Smith said, new proposals to put. Since British statements had agreed that there could be no question of one-man-one-vote and immediate African rule, a settlement was possible. A braking mechanism was most desirable, so that the process of African advancement might be slowed down if that should prove desirable. Africans would eventually be in the majority under the A roll, but if when that time came the Government thought them unready to take over at the next election, they should have power to defer the takeover until another election five years later. In view of Africa's recent history that was a responsible and realistic provision.

Mr. Smith denied that there had been any pressure from South Africa, whose Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, had not tried to influence him in any way.

South African newspapers stated that Mr. Wilson had written to Mr. Vorster that Rhodesia was the mutual concern of South Africa and Britain, thus implicitly inviting his help in achieving a settlement. Mr. Smith, Mr. Bowden and the Governor talked for two and a half hours on Saturday.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Bowden did not meet on Sunday morning, as had been expected, but Mr. Gerald Clarke, a member of the Rhodesian team in the "talks about talks", and Mr. Thompson called at Government House with messages.

Mr. Smith "Very Satisfied" with Talk

Later Mr. Smith said that he had been "very satisfied" with their two-and-a-half hour discussion on Saturday afternoon. Asked if Mr. Bowden's departure indicated failure of the negotiations, he replied: "Quite the reverse, only a few major points are outstanding, and by having man-to-man talks we completed the business in one meeting. Now it remains for Mr. Bowden to gain the concurrence of his Government".

Portuguese officials in Salisbury are reported to have said that the British Government and the United Nations have been warned that Portugal might demand compensation for loss of trade through Mozambique ports if mandatory sanctions were imposed against their trade with Rhodesia. The U.N. Charter provides for compensation to a country not directly concerned in a dispute which is nevertheless harmed by collective action.

Zambia has been given a formal assurance that Portugal will not interfere with the export of copper through Beira.

The Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation drew attention to the Atlantic Charter, by which 25 years ago the British and United States Government pledged themselves to respect the rights of all people to choose their own form of Government. One point made was that British Ministers travelled long distances to discuss Rhodesia with African politicians in West and East Africa but made no attempt to consult the Rhodesian chiefs, the traditional leaders of the people.

Ms. Hart, Minister of State at the Commonwealth office, returned on Sunday from a four-day visit to Uganda, having cancelled her earlier intention to visit Kenya also.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, had seen the Presidents of Kenya and Uganda some days earlier, and had then flown to West Africa to discuss with Commonwealth Governments there the wording of a U.N. resolution on Rhodesia.

Correspondents in Washington cabled that the United States would very reluctantly vote for sanctions if reference were made to the United Nations, and that in high official circles there was little confidence that the plan would succeed and serious anxiety that it would cause a collision with South Africa.

President Banda said in Blantyre that boycotts of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Mozambique constituted the kind of hypocrisy which made him sick. "If we talk about apartheid or discrimination, are we right to do exactly what we complain about in Rhodesia or South Africa? How can Africans, especially the leaders, justify our objection to apartheid if we do the same thing to the white man?"

Mr. Mainza Chona, Zambian Minister of Home Affairs, said that Britain would not bring down the Rhodesian Government by sending Mr. Bowden to crawl on his knees to Mr. Smith: "The rebels can be toppled only by tough action".

Two Rhodesians, Mr. John Landau and Mr. John Wells, were refused admittance on their arrival in France last week because they held passports issued by the Smith Government, which France does not recognize.

Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., said in Clapton on Saturday that it would be a tragic mistake for Britain to admit that she could not deal with the Rhodesian issue; she should not wash her hands of it by reference to the United Nations.

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., had previously said: "Harold Wilson, if you care for the repute of the United Nations you will lend yourself no longer to the hypocritical pretence that there is a threat to peace from Rhodesia. The threat to peace comes from outside Powers who exploit the difficulties of new African States".

Trying to Blame Rhodesia

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., said when addressing an Anglo-Rhodesian Society meeting in York:—

"Unless a miracle happens Mr. Wilson will now hand over the control of his dispute with Rhodesia to the United Nations. In order to try and put the blame for this breakdown on Mr. Smith there have already been one-sided leaks to the British Press.

"It is, however, clear that the real cause of breakdown is Mr. Wilson's demand that the present Rhodesian Government should resign and that the official negotiations for a constitutional settlement would be undertaken with a new Rhodesian Government whose Ministers would be directly responsible to the Governor, who would also control both the armed forces and the police.

"It is with this Government that Britain would then negotiate. This is virtually equivalent to saying that Britain would be negotiating with her own servants, for the Governor is directly controlled by the Commonwealth Relations Office, which is responsible to Harold Wilson. This is tantamount to a demand for unconditional surrender. No Rhodesian Government could accept such terms, which are those which a victor would dictate to the vanquished.

"Time and again the Prime Minister has miscalculated Rhodesian reactions. He did not believe they would dare to declare independence last November. In January, after the Prime Ministers' Conference in Lagos, he said that they would be overthrown in weeks rather than months. But it was at the second Commonwealth Conference in September that Mr. Wilson was outmanoeuvred by the new Commonwealth and forced to agree to a *communiqué* which contained the terms I have mentioned—that there would be no negotiations with Mr. Smith's Government and that during what was termed 'the interim period' the armed forces and the police would be responsible to the Governor.

Socialist M.Ps. Baying for Blood

"Mr. Wilson, being a skilful politician, appreciates the consequences of handing over this dispute to the U.N., but the fear of his back-benchers, who are now baying for blood, the threat of Lord Caradon's resignation, and pressures from the Commonwealth Secretariate will probably push him over the brink. This move will in all probability be covered with a skilful public relations campaign endeavouring to place the blame for the breakdown on Mr. Smith.

"Let us therefore consider the Rhodesian reaction to the five principles as far as these are known today. Mr. Smith having agreed to accept the principles, the difficulty is therefore one of interpretation.

"He was agreed to an Upper House, 50% of whose members would be Africans, and who, together with the Africans in the Lower House, would enable the majority race to block any change in the Constitution. He has also agreed to some changes in the Land Apportionment Act and to a Royal Commission to test public opinion on Rhodesia. It is to be hoped that he could be persuaded to move even further: for example, to agree to appeals on constitutional matters being made to the Privy Council and to the entrenchment of certain parts of the Constitution.

"But so long as Mr. Wilson persists in his demand for unconditional surrender, all these constitutional negotiations are useless. The blame for a final breakdown, if this does happen, must therefore be firmly placed on Mr. Wilson.

"He very skilfully led the country down the slippery slope of sanctions against Rhodesia. At first he said that only sanctions consequential on Mr. Smith's act would be

demand. Then he banned the purchase of tobacco by an administrative order which was not debatable in the House of Commons. Later he imposed sanctions on 90% of all Rhodesia's imports and exports. Having failed to make a stand at the start, the Conservative Party was forced to follow. Then came oil sanctions, which proved too much for a number of Conservatives to swallow.

"Let us make certain that this story is not repeated over mandatory sanctions. Mr. Wilson is already saying that there is no question of handing over to the U.N.; that he is merely asking for U.N. assistance to impose mandatory sanctions on some commodities. If this were agreed the next demand would be mandatory sanctions against all goods imported by or exported from Rhodesia. Then oil would follow; and as these measures would inevitably be opposed by South Africa and Portugal, the next move would be to extend mandatory sanctions to all goods consigned to Southern Africa. Even this would be found ineffective unless it was backed by a naval blockade.

"Once we take the first step in the direction of the U.N. Britain loses control of the situation she dares not veto, and places herself as well as Rhodesia at the mercy of the Afro-Asian majority in the General Assembly. This is the path that leads to economic suicide for Britain and to military operations against four million whites in Southern Africa. The first step is the vital step, and it is to be hoped that public opinion may yet prevent Mr. Wilson carrying out an act the consequences of which could cause widespread unemployment, the devaluation of sterling, and in all probability bloodshed."

Judge Gerald Sparrow said, when speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Worthing branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society that it would be disgraceful to refer the Rhodesian issue to the United Nations. A later gale of condemnation by the British people would blow Mr. Wilson out of office. If Rhodesia were made subject to military threat, she would fight in self-defence.

The British Government wanted to evade its responsibility by transferring the Rhodesia file to the U.N., which had already voted for the use of force, meaning war. The people of England wanted peace. Voluntary sanctions had not succeeded in 12 months, and mandatory sanctions would not succeed in another 12 months. "Mr. Wilson does not understand what kind of people the Rhodesians are."

Judge Sparrow said that in May Mr. Smith had told him in Salisbury that black Rhodesians would be given political power when they were ready for it.

Pin-Pricks More Important than Massacres

Mr. Harold Soref said that those who were anxious to bring Rhodesia to her knees were the people who wanted to reduce Britain's defences and leave her impotent against Communist threats. Such people took no notice of the endless massacres of Africans by Africans in black-governed States, but they exaggerated every pin-prick in Rhodesia. These professed lovers of peace could hardly wait for a war in Rhodesia.

It was utter impudence for Mr. Wilson to suggest that Rhodesian troops and police should be transferred to the control of the Governor, who would act on instructions from London. The troops and police, paid by Rhodesian taxpayers, were no concern of the Wilson Government. For her self-reliance Rhodesia should be admired, not undermined. Conditions such as those in the Congo could be reproduced in Rhodesia if that country's black and white enemies had their way.

A resolution was passed urging Mr. Wilson to keep the dispute with Rhodesia in British hands and not to embroil the United Nations.

By this time any possibility that Mr. Smith might come to London to appear in the David Frost programme of I.T.V. had disappeared, official hints having been dropped that if he arrived without a Government safe conduct any British subject might apply for a warrant for his arrest on a charge of being in a state of rebellion against the Crown. At a B.B.C. programme before a studio audience one man shouted that he would apply for such a warrant and had already communicated with the Commonwealth Office on the subject.

The *Financial Times* wrote that Mr. Smith had proved himself Mr. Wilson's equal as a political tactician.

"If he is not sincere in his new proposals, he will still have bought some valuable time and disrupted the carefully stage-managed British time-table. If he is sincere, he may still hope to get a marginally better settlement by postponing final agreement, and hoping that the British Government and people will eventually be so bored with the whole issue as to be ready to make substantial concessions to him. The Government know that it is in the country's interests to do their utmost to come to terms with Mr. Smith, because of the dangers to the economy of a trade war with Southern Africa if they fail to do so . . .

"It is increasingly doubtful whether the sort of selective mandatory sanctions that Britain is prepared to sponsor would have anything more than a marginal and gradual effect on the Rhodesian economy.

"If Mr. Smith is really offering something, the British

Government's policy will for the first time since U.D.I. have produced some political results; such an opportunity may not recur, because sanctions will not necessarily bite harder as time passes, and Britain will be committed to withdrawing her offers to Mr. Smith once the issue gets to the United Nations. If Mr. Smith is only playing for time, nothing will be lost if Mr. Wilson and his Ministers take a bit of time to satisfy themselves and public opinion that this is the case."

The *Daily Mail* wrote:—

"Ironically, if Mr. Smith had made this offer at any other time it would have been rejected. The sheer immensity of the alternatives to Anglo-Rhodesian understanding—and the lack of time left for taking the decision—invariably forces much more serious thought to be given to Mr. Smith's offer now. Indeed, were Mr. Smith to make a formal proposition saying he was prepared to end his illegal régime it would be very difficult for Mr. Wilson to go to the United Nations at all."

Britain should either wash her hands of Rhodesia or enforce the law: Wilson lacks the courage to do either. So ends a sharply critical editorial note in the socialist *New Statesman*. It says:—

"Wilson's chronic indecisiveness in the nowher better illustrated than in his handling of the Rhodesia problem. Mr. Bowden's trip is a substitute for action. It can achieve nothing—beyond, perhaps, dissuading the Governor from resigning. Smith will rightly see it as a further sign of British weakness, our friends abroad as evidence of Britain's reluctance to stick to principle.

"The real choice before the Government has always been simple: we had either to concede that we can no longer determine events in Africa, and leave Smith to the Africans, or restore constitutional law by force. There was never a third choice, and all Wilson's writhings during the last year and more have sprung from his unwillingness to recognize the fact.

"Smith will not accept conditions which will in practice undermine the permanency of white supremacy; Wilson cannot accept conditions which will in practice allow it to continue. Therefore there is no possibility of a negotiated settlement.

"Equally, sanctions will not and cannot work. Unless they are total and embrace South Africa, they will merely strengthen the determination of Smith and his gang; and no British Government in present circumstances would take the risk of an economic break with South Africa."

The "Leak" About Rhodesia

Mr. Ian Colvin, whose "scoop" it was, had written in the *Daily Telegraph* that Mr. Bowden was taking a commentary on eight points of difference between the two Governments, only two of which seemed solvable by concession.

Britain agreed in principle to a Senate of 12 Africans and 12 Europeans, but wanted nine of the Africans to be elected and only three to be nominated by the Council of Chiefs. Mr. Smith, however, held that at least six should represent that council.

There was agreement that the Senate and the Lower House should sit together to consider proposed amendments to the Constitution, and that changes would not be made if 25% of the joint votes were negative.

There was also a suggestion of a right to appeal to the Privy Council. While not rejecting that principle, the Rhodesian Government insisted that an appeal body must be Rhodesian, not external. [Of Rhodesia's four Privy Councillors at present not one is a member of Mr. Smith's party.]

All Africans, irrespective of means and education, should in the British Government's view have a vote at the age of 30.

There was disagreement about the continuance of cross-voting under which system A roll votes have an influence of up to 25% on the pollings for B seats and vice versa.

To a British demand for a specially entrenched clause to ensure unimpeded African political advancement, Mr. Smith had replied that he would continue the 15 B roll seats (African) but would not increase their number. He suggested a similar number of permanent A roll seats for whites, so that they might be assured of representation when black Rhodesians eventually had a majority of A seats also. He reserved Rhodesia's right to re-delimit constituency boundaries if population movements made that necessary.

Rhodesian officials said that the *Daily Telegraph* story was very accurate, but that it omitted a number of points favourable to Rhodesia. They described it as another breach of trust by British Ministers, with whom there was an understanding that there should be complete secrecy about the negotiations.

Special resentment was expressed that other "leaks" in London emphasized that there must be an interim period of direct rule by the Governor, to whom control of the Rhodesian armed forces and police would be transferred.

"A Very Wide Gap of Principle," Said Mr. Wilson

Demand for "Copper-Bottomed Guarantees" from Mr. Smith

THE PRIME MINISTER told the House of Commons on Wednesday of last week that the Commonwealth Affairs Secretary, Mr. Bowden, would leave London next day for Salisbury in response to an earnest appeal from Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor of Rhodesia.

MR. WILSON said:—

"We have now studied Mr. Smith's reply to the terms for a settlement put forward by the British Government. In spite of some further elucidatory exchanges, there remains a very wide gap of principle which would have to be bridged before there could be any settlement which we could honourably commend to Parliament.

"However, the Governor has made an earnest appeal to the Commonwealth Secretary to pay a further visit to Salisbury to discuss with him the present critical position. In view of the Governor's courageous stand over the past 12 months, my rt. hon. friend has decided that this is right. Accordingly, he proposes to leave tomorrow for a short visit to Salisbury.

"Should Mr. Smith wish to take the opportunity while he is in Salisbury to convey any further views to H.M. Government, my rt. hon. friend will, of course, again make himself available for a meeting under the Governor's aegis".

MR. HEATH: "We welcome the fact that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs is to pay a further visit to Salisbury. We believe it right that he should have further talks with the Governor, who has requested them, and with Mr. Smith. We very much hope that this will be a further stage towards a negotiated settlement".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I feel it right that my rt. hon. friend should meet the Governor. All of us hope that it will still, even at this late hour, be possible to bridge this gap. But it is a gap of principle; and if this gap is not bridged we would not be prepared to commend to the House a settlement which fails to meet the principles which this Government and our predecessors have insisted on as a basis for a settlement".

Tributes to the Governor

MR. THORPE: "Would the Prime Minister agree that the loyalty to the Crown and the sense of duty and courage which the Governor has shown in very difficult circumstances should, and probably do, commend themselves in every part of the House, and that therefore any request from him should be met if possible?"

"Would the Prime Minister further agree that, in view of the six principles which are agreed in every part of the House, and which have never been opposed in the division lobbies, and as, for the past six months, Government have tried to negotiate on the basis of those six principles, if the present talks do not meet with success that will indicate that Mr. Smith is not prepared to call off his rebellion and return to constitutional rule?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I very much agree with what the hon. gentleman has said about the Governor. When I review what the Governor has had to put up with over the last year in his own country I am sometimes a little ashamed of the way some Members of the House have shown their support for Mr. Dupont.

"It is quite true that the principles have been accepted by practically the whole of the House, by all parties, and certainly I would not be prepared to commend a settlement which was in conflict with those principles, or which failed to give copper-bottomed guarantees that those principles will be carried through. It is true that these principles have never been contested in any division in the House, and I am perfectly confident that they never will be".

MR. MANUEL: "How much longer are we to have the continued experience of Ministers trotting off to see the Governor and Mr. Smith, while all the time all that is happening is that Mr. Smith and his régime are digging themselves more firmly in? We shall need to call a halt to this sooner or later, and the sooner the better".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The answer to that question was set out in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference communiqué, which was agreed to by all the members of the Commonwealth. It is not true that Ministers have been trotting off in the way he suggests.

"My rt. hon. friend—this was understood by the whole of the Commonwealth at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference—went to Salisbury to discuss with all sections of Rhodesian opinion the decisions which the Commonwealth had reached. I think that it is absolutely right, as the Leader of the Opposition has said, that my rt. hon. friend should accede to this request from the Governor. If Mr. Smith seeks the opportunity to put new proposals which show that he is even

at this late stage prepared to accept the six principles and convert them into reality, no one will be happier than my rt. hon. friend".

MR. WALL: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs will carry with him the good wishes of both sides of the House? Could the Prime Minister say that, if progress is made in Salisbury, this will lead to a meeting between himself and Mr. Smith?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I shall be very happy to meet Mr. Smith or any other Prime Minister of Rhodesia when Rhodesia has returned to constitutional rule. I am very grateful to the hon. gentleman for conveying at this late stage his good wishes to my rt. hon. friend, because on his last visit my rt. hon. friend was made painfully aware of the extent to which Mr. Smith has been encouraged in the view he has taken and in his doubts about the resolution of this Government and this House by some of the remarks addressed to him by unofficial visitors from this House who claim to speak for more than themselves".

Mr. Driberg Rebuffed

MR. DRIBERG: "Since Mr. Smith does hold these views, and since he is an unrepentant racist, what is the use of this continual dickering with him? Is it not obvious that no Government of which Mr. Smith forms part can possibly be trusted to advance towards majority rule within the foreseeable future?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am not going to describe Mr. Smith or anyone else as an unrepentant racist. I am totally opposed, as all of us are in this House, to racialism in any form. [Hon. Members: "No..."] Well, I hope that we are, and I hope that those who take a different view will register their decision in the lobby when the time comes. That applies whether to white racialism, or, as I have occasionally had to say in Commonwealth conferences, to another danger, that of African racialism.

"Certainly I do not believe that this problem will be solved by statements of the kind my hon. friend has made. It is not a question of dickering. We have made clear for two years our position on the future of Rhodesia, and in so doing have followed our predecessors in what they at that time also made clear. We made clear also from January onwards, our willingness, without negotiating with or recognizing an illegal régime, to talk about the future. This was from January onwards; it was not taken up till April.

"As to trusting any particular group in Rhodesia, the fact that they declared an illegal régime rather than accept the honourable terms we had offered a year ago does cast doubt, and this is why we have insisted on certain things in the present Constitution being entrenched and guaranteed beyond all doubt. The gap still remains about that".

Kith and Kin

MR. RONALD BELL: "In view of the immense importance of achieving a negotiated settlement of this unhappy fratricidal conflict, will the Prime Minister ensure that the Secretary of State goes to Rhodesia not only in a receptive frame of mind, as I am sure he will, and as the Prime Minister said he will, but also in a constructive frame of mind, and willing to make suggestions, as a compromise involves initiatives from both sides?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "H.M. Government have taken repeated initiatives here. My rt. hon. friend will go in accordance with the principles laid down by this House and never challenged by any hon. Members within the House. It is on that that he must stand. As to his being receptive and constructive, this he has always been.

"The hon. and learned gentleman used the word 'fratricidal'. I do not think that kith and kin arguments are to be based on colour. The whole world is our kith and kin; and the sooner this is recognized by all hon. Members the sooner we can reach the right solution on Rhodesia".

MR. JAMES JOHNSON: "Will my rt. hon. friend define his words 'copper-bottomed guarantees'? Many on the benches behind him are extremely sceptical of the words of Mr. Smith".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "H.M. Government, on my own visit to Salisbury in October, 1965, put forward proposals which many of my hon. friends might have been doubtful about, I know, but which we felt provided an honourable settlement. The fact that this was turned down and recourse to illegal methods was taken by the then Government in Salisbury underlines the need to secure something more than words from those who would have to operate any constitutional settlement. This is what I mean by copper-bottomed guar-

(Continued on page 184)

PERSONALIA

MR. MUHAMMAD HAYAT is now Pakistani Ambassador in Somalia.

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER has been elected chairman of Sea Diamond Corporation, Ltd.

COLONEL J. MCA. CUNNINGHAM sailed for the Cape last week. He will return in February.

MR. JUSTICE J. F. SPRY of the High Court of Kenya and MRS. SPRY arrived in England on Monday.

MR. R. HUBBARD, who was recently deported from Rhodesia, has been refused a visa to visit South Africa.

THE CONGOLESE AMBASSADOR and MME. CARDOSA held a reception at their London residence last Thursday.

MR. P. K. F. V. VAN DER BYL, Deputy Minister of Information in Rhodesia, is on Government business in Europe.

MR. PER HAEKKERUP, Foreign Minister of Denmark, who recently visited East Africa, has left the Cabinet at his own request.

DR. GERALD K. HELLEINER has been appointed a director of the Bank of Tanzania in place of PROFESSOR W. F. HELLMUTH.

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, a Minister in Tanzania, and secretary-general of the Tanganyika Africa National Union, has visited Guinea.

MR. DANIEL AWDRY, M.P., has been elected to the board of B.E.T. Omnibus Services, Ltd., a company with large African interests.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE has been re-appointed chairman of the Commonwealth Development Corporation for a further three years.

THE VERY REV. PATRICK APPLEFORD was on Sunday installed as Dean of Lusaka and the REV. A. W. EATON as a Canon of the Cathedral.

MAJOR-GENERAL T. H. BIRKBECK presided on Saturday at the annual dinner of the King's African Rifles and East Africa Forces Officers' Dining Club.

MR. ADOLF VON THADDEN, deputy leader of the National Democratic Party in Germany (the so-called neo-Nazis), recently paid a short visit to Rhodesia.

COLONEL NDOLO, the first African commander of the Kenya Army, was the first African in the country to receive a commission. He holds the M.B.E.

GENERAL SANTINI, Director-General of Civil Aviation in Italy, has led a delegation to Zambia to negotiate a two-way air traffic agreement between the two countries.

SIR WILLIAM LUCE, who has joined the board of the Eastern Bank, was at one time in the Sudan Political Service and later Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Aden.

MR. EDUARDO MONDLANE, chairman of Frelimo, the Mozambique nationalist organization, has visited Moscow and Czechoslovakia and is to go on to East Germany.

SIR ARCHER BALDWIN, M.P. for Leominster from 1945 to 1959, who had visited East and Central Africa, whose cause he steadfastly pleaded, left £64,874, on which duty of £17,261 has been paid.

LORD ALDINGTON, chairman of National and Grindlays Bank, and LADY ALDERTON are visiting East Africa accompanied by MR. H. D. CAYLEY, chief general manager, and MRS. CAYLEY.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, the former Governor-General of Uganda, has been elected deputy chairman of Metal Industries, Ltd., the board of which he joined last year. He is also a director of Assam and African Investments, Ltd.

MR. J. F. MALLABAR has been appointed chairman and financial controller of Harland and Wolff, Ltd. DR. DENIS REBBECK has relinquished the chairmanship, but will continue as managing director and deputy chairman.

MR. GEOFFREY STEWART-SMITH, chairman of the foreign affairs study group of the Monday Club, has been adopted as prospective Parliamentary Conservative candidate for Belper, Derbyshire, now represented by MR. GEORGE BROWN, the Foreign Secretary.

MR. ARTHUR BISHOP, a former chairman of the Uganda Tourist Advisory Board, has been appointed general manager of Kenya's Tourist Development Corporation. Since he left Uganda a year ago he has been on the staff of the British Travel Association.

MR. KULUBYA KYAZZE, editor of the Buganda newspaper *Taifa Empya*, was arrested in Kampala last week and detained under emergency regulations after his paper had published a photograph of SIR EDWARD MUTESA, the former Kabaka, at a birthday thanksgiving service in London.

Two Conservative M.P.'s, MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON and MR. HENRY CLARK, two Socialist M.P.'s, MR. J. MENDELSON and MR. C. ROWLAND, and one Liberal, MR. D. STEEL, are to discuss Rhodesia at a meeting at the Royal Commonwealth Society on the evening of Monday, December 5.

SIR DAVID HUNT, now British High Commissioner in Cyprus, and previously in Uganda, is to succeed SIR FRANCIS CUMMING-BRUCE as High Commissioner in Nigeria. His book, "A Don at War", describing his experiences in the Western Desert, Sicily, Italy, and Greece, has recently been published.

MR. SAAD MORCOS, the Egyptian director of conference services of the Organization of African Unity, MR. EMILE KHOUAM, the Egyptian editor of its conference reports, and MR. MICHEL THEA, a Guinean shorthand-writer of O.A.U., are taking a six weeks' training course at the Geneva headquarters of the International Labour Organization.

Obituary

MR. LINDSEY GORDON TROUP, O.B.E., a well-known agricultural scientist, who has died suddenly while visiting the Isle of Wight, had visited East and Central Africa for the Colonial Office between 1952 and 1957. At one period he had a farm in Kenya.

Sir Edward Mutesa

THE FOREIGN MINISTRY in Uganda gave notice that November 19, the birthday of Sir Edward Mutesa, was not to be observed as a public holiday, and added: "Sir Edward Mutesa was permitted by the British Government to enter Britain on the assurance that he would remain in Britain as a private person. We have instructed the High Commissioner in London to make it known to H.M. Government that any attempt by Sir Edward to consider himself as the Kabaka of Buganda and to spread false information about the situation in Uganda will be regarded by the Government of Uganda as an act contrary to the assurance given to the Government of Uganda by H.M. Government".

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Portuguese Highly Critical

"Contempt for Britain's Devious Wrangling"

THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT has again told the British Government that it continues to regard the Rhodesian issue as of no concern to any country except the United Kingdom and Rhodesia. Dr. Nogueira, the Foreign Minister, has repeatedly said that Portugal will remain neutral in the matter.

The Lisbon correspondent of the *Financial Times* telegraphed last week:—

"Not even after Goa were Anglo-Portuguese relations so bad as they are at present. There is ridicule, indeed contempt, for what is considered to be 'Britain's twisting and turning and devious wrangling in the crisis', as one official put it to me. Another said: 'The British are hypocritical beyond belief. The old alliance between our two countries is a dead duck now. If Britain wants to cringe before her black and Communist masters, let her do so. We want no part in it'."

The dispatch referred to "intense overt support for Dr. Salazar's determination to stay in Africa, and to 'scarcely-hidden public outrage at Britain's handling of the Rhodesian problem, with its serious side-effects on Portugal's African position'".

Guerrilla Raids into Mozambique

A special correspondent of the *New York Times* who has been visiting northern Mozambique has written in the course of a long report:—

"According to the Portuguese, the important guerrilla camps in Tanzania are at Mbamba Bay, Songea, Nachingwea, Newala, Tunduru, Masasi, Kitangari, Mingoyo and Mtwara. At the first four places the Portuguese say they have evidence of the presence of Chinese instructors. At the others the Tanzania Army and police units are said to be helping the guerrillas.

"The Portuguese estimate the guerrillas' total strength at 3,500, but Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the Liberation Front's leader, says he had 7,000 men.

"About their own military strength in Mozambique the Portuguese say nothing, but foreign estimates put the number of troops at 40,000 or more.

"The guerrillas say they have killed 3,000 Portuguese, wounded 4,000, and shot down 20 aircraft. The Portuguese say their own military losses, including not only those killed in combat but also those who died of sickness or in accidents, are 300. None of their aircraft has been shot down, they say.

"Dr. Mondlane directs the guerrilla war from Dar es Salaam, and declares he can get all the weapons he needs from other countries. The Portuguese still regard him as non-Communist and pro-Western, but his second in command, the Rev. Uriah Simango, as pro-Chinese. They believe his aide, Marcelino dos Santos, who studied in Lisbon, is in league with Portuguese Communists.

"Dr. Mondlane says he receives adequate funds from the Organization of African Unity and private organizations in Britain, the United States, Sweden, and the Netherlands.

Traffic through the port of Beira in the first 10 months of the year totalled 2.9m. tons, a reduction of rather more than 900,000 tons on the comparable 1965 figures. About half the shortfall is attributable to the cessation of crude oil traffic for Rhodesia. As Beira serves Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi, it is not possible to judge to what extent each of those countries has been affected. It is clear, however, that sanctions are affecting Mozambique's economy.

South Africa Stockpiles

AS A PRECAUTION against mandatory sanctions by the United Nations, the South African Government is encouraging industrialists to build up at least a two-year supply of essential goods and materials.

Ninety-four large underground oil storage tanks are being built at Government expense near Cape Town and Durban, and others at Port Elizabeth and elsewhere. There are plans for a total of about 400, which would accommodate enough petrol for two years without rationing, and provide for Rhodesia's requirements.

Another oil-from-coal plant will soon be commissioned, and oil companies are intensifying their prospecting in South Africa and the neighbouring seas.

Thanks to Salvation Army

OUR THANK-OFFERING APPEAL for the Salvation Army in recognition of its invaluable help to the Anglo-Rhodesian Society at the Cenotaph service on Remembrance Day for Rhodesians who gave their lives in Britain's cause in two world wars had brought donations totalling £130 when last week's issue went to press.

We have since received the following additional gifts: Mr. W. D. Macpherson, £10 10s.; Mr. T. D. Abbott, £10; Mrs. A. C. B. Mathews, £5; Mr. E. D. E. Nuttall, £2 2s.; Mr. D. M. Mullins, £2 2s.; Anonymous, £2 2s.; Mr. & Mrs. R. L. Lister, £2; Mr. & Mrs. R. A. Snoxall, £2; Mr. John Biggs-Davidson, M.P., £1 1s.; Mrs. H. V. de M. Goldsack, £1 1s.; Mr. G. Wellard, £1 1s.; Mr. & Mrs. Graham Jordan, £1; Mr. A. A. Pardy, £1; Mr. F. J. Clifford, 10s.; a Colonial pensioner in Bedford, 5s. Cheques, made payable to the Salvation Army, should be sent to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, 26-Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1.

Congo Hint to Communists

PRESIDENT MOBUTU said at a parade in the Congo capital in which half a million men and women were said to have participated that the country wanted normalization of relations with Socialist States and would accept diplomatic missions from Soviet Russia or any other Eastern nation if that were in the interests of the Congo.

No Trip to Las Vegas

MR. D. DIVARIS, M.P., said when the Rhodesian Parliament discussed the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the laws relating to lotteries and gaming that he would very much like to be a member if there was to be a visit to Las Vegas. He was promptly disillusioned by the Minister of Internal Affairs, who remarked that a Select Committee had never gone beyond the country's borders.

Tanzania Expels Kenyans

SIXTY KENYA AFRICANS who reached Kisumu by steamer on Monday from Mwanza said that they had been deported from Tanzania. A spokesman told reporters that their money had been confiscated and that they had therefore been without food for 24 hours. A Tanzanian official had announced on November 14 that all foreigners were to be deported, and the police had then rounded up people in the streets of Mwanza and detained those who were not Tanzanian citizens for 10 days without allowing them to visit their families. Another man said: "The Tanzanian friends who came to see us off were arrested on the quay. Seven of us who had not received expulsion orders were just thrown on the boat with the rest".

Financing Subversion

ALLEGATIONS IN KENYA that the Opposition Kenya People's Union had received financial aid through Communist embassies in Uganda have been denied by that Government. The Minister of Home Affairs had said in the Kenya House of Representatives: "Since Kenya Government action against Communist missions in Nairobi, who were known to finance the K.P.U. and certain subversive elements, the channels which have been left open for the flow of funds have been either Uganda or Tanzania"; and there had been previous official suggestions that Mr. Odinga, the leader of the Opposition, had gone to Kampala to collect money from a Communist mission. Mr. Batarangaya, Minister of Internal Affairs in Uganda, has now told his Parliament: "The Uganda Government is not aware of any subversive elements being financed here in Uganda against Kenya".

Questions in the Commons

(Continued from page 181)

tees. At the end of the day, when, either as a result of an agreement we are able to publish our proposals, or if, as may be the case, as a result of disagreement, we have to publish our proposals, my hon. friend will see the type of guarantees on which we have insisted".

MR. GOODHEW: "Will the Secretary of State consult the Governor on any mechanics he may be proposing for the actual means of return to constitutional rule?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, sir. He did that. I do not know what the hon. gentleman thinks my rt. hon. friend did on his visit. There were the fullest consultations with the Governor. The hon. gentleman must recognize that the Governor has put up with an awful lot in the past year both from his own fellow-countrymen and from some of ours as well. As regards a return to constitutional rule, this must be quite unequivocal".

MR. MAXWELL: "While continuing to hope against hope that Mr. Smith will accept the six principles, could my rt. hon. friend tell the House, U.D.I. having survived a year and South Africa having declared formally and firmly that she will not allow the Rhodesian régime to fail, what is the use of continuing these negotiations? And, if they fail, what will be the consequences to Rhodesia and to the United Kingdom?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "On two counts the question is hypothetical. In the first place, the South African Government have said nothing of the kind. In the second place, as my rt. hon. friend is about to go out there, and it is up to Mr. Smith to put forward proposals for bridging the gap, I think that it would be premature for me to start talking about the situation which will arise if the gap is not bridged".

MR. HASTINGS: "Will the Prime Minister confirm that we may still expect full debate on this matter in the early future so that some of us may have a chance to point out what we perfectly sincerely believe to be appalling dangers to this country of a failure to reach agreement?"

House Has Shown Greatest Patience

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, sir. As soon as the position becomes clarified a debate ought to be held. Whatever differences we may have, I think that the House has shown the greatest patience over the past few months in not pressing for detailed information. I recognized that before and after the summer recess. At the earliest possible moment compatible with trying to reach a solution, a statement must be made and it must then be debated".

MR. FAULDS: "Does my rt. hon. friend realize that many of us on this side believe that he has given the rebel Smith quite enough chances to come to heel? Will he make a categorical reaffirmation of the Government's intention that, when law and order breaks down in Rhodesia, as it will under the Smith régime, they will adopt the customary colonial fashion for imposing order?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "My hon. friend is dealing with a hypothetical situation. To take the point which I think he has in mind, I have repeatedly stated H.M. Government's position".

SIR S. McADDEN: "Will the Prime Minister, in an effort to solve the differences which exist on this matter, tell us how many of these principles are at present causing difficulty and which are the points outstanding?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "That is a perfectly fair question. The real issues, when I said that there was a wide gap to bridge, relate to the six principles, and there is also the very important principle of the mechanism of return to constitutional rule. But I do not think that it would be helpful in the job which my rt. hon. friend has to do in the next few days for me to go into that now".

"If we do reach an agreement—I have expressed my doubts about the possibility of it, though I have said that I hope we can—what differences there have been up to now will not matter very much because the House will have to judge on the terms of the agreement; though I repeat that the agreement will be 100% within the six principles or we shall not commend it to the House. If we do not reach agreement, the House will be fully informed of those of the principles on which agreement could not be reached".

MR. HALE: "Will my rt. hon. friend bear again in mind that it is now nearly 60 years since South Africa was granted self-government after a debate in which on both sides of the House the most solemn assurances were given that the Africans of South Africa would advance to participation in governing their country? Will he bear in mind—I know he will—the great difficulty of accepting assurances on this which come from someone who has already broken certain solemn assurances? It is not easy to see what guarantees can be given for the future if any measure of self-government is now given".

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have stated that the fact that our offers in October and November, 1965, right up to my final telephone call with Mr. Smith on the morning of U.D.I. were refused and recourse to illegality was taken instead, must be taken into account both in a return to constitutional rule and in connexion with any underwriting of guarantees for the future. There must not only be words, but guarantees going beyond words in the agreement".

MR. FREDERIC HARRIS: "Is there any association between the cancellation of the visit of the Minister of State to President Kenyatta and to Uganda and the rt. hon. gentleman's statement?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No connexion at all. The House will be aware of the circumstances of the Minister of State's visit. It has nothing to do with this. After the Secretary of State had decided that it was appropriate for him to respond to the Governor's request our Commonwealth colleagues were informed. But in terms of chronological time that could not have affected the Minister of State's visit".

MR. ELYSTAN MORGAN: "I appreciate the great patience shown by the Government, but will my rt. hon. friend confirm that the Smith régime will be unable to use these talks as a subterfuge for further delay, which would be more beneficial to it than to the ends we may attain?"

Approaching Finality

THE PRIME MINISTER: "H.M. Government have been prepared to discuss this matter from the moment I authorized the previous Commonwealth Secretary to visit Salisbury last January. This was rejected by Mr. Smith, or was associated with intolerable terms of recognition and entry. The Government have shown their patience over many months. The timetable was set out in the *communiqué* issued by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, following our own proposal. There is now a real sense of urgency on which we and not just our Commonwealth colleagues are insisting, but this House will want to know the final position by next week".

Next day MR. WALL asked the Prime Minister what further correspondence he had had with Commonwealth and United Nations authorities about the Rhodesian situation.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We are in constant touch with our Commonwealth colleagues and our representative at the United Nations".

MR. WALL: "Will not reference to the United Nations involve us in economic war with South Africa? Will the Prime Minister say what effect this would have on the British economy? What advice has he received from the Governor about the effect of United Nations intervention?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The hon. Member had better wait to see what happens, because my rt. hon. friend is on his way this afternoon to Rhodesia. Anxieties about the South African position are one of the things we fully discussed with Commonwealth colleagues at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, and I think that on this question they showed a high degree of responsibility and understanding, as on the whole question of the Rhodesian issue, which I wish hon. Members opposite would also show".

Need for Compromise Based on Realities

MR. SANDYS: "As this may be the last opportunity, may I ask the Prime Minister whether he does not feel that the time has now come to make a compromise settlement based on the realities of the situation?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Any suggestion that we could support will take full account of the realities of the situation, and has done so. What I am not prepared to do—nor was the rt. hon. gentleman until October, 1964—is to compromise with principles".

MR. WINNICK: "Is the Prime Minister aware that many people in this country feel that the illegal régime are spinning out the process as long as possible in order to avoid a final decision being taken by Britain to take the matter to the United Nations? Will he confirm quite clearly today that under no circumstances shall we adopt the cowardly and despicable line of the Tories on this issue?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I do not think that we shall solve this problem with epithets. It is much too serious a problem. In any case, I do not know what the line of the Tories is on it—whether it is cowardice, whether it is despicable behaviour or any other epithet—because they have not condescended to tell us, though they will soon have to do so".

"I am aware that many people in this country feel, obviously including my hon. friend, that the régime there are trying to postpone coming to a decision. I think that we have given them a very great deal of time to make up their minds, because they had the first chance to talk in January. My rt. hon. friend was there late in September. They know perfectly that neither we nor world opinion nor the Commonwealth can wait indefinitely. On the time-table we stand by the *communiqué* issued after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference".

Rhodesian Brevities

DR. LEONARD VERWOERD, a brother of the late Prime Minister of South Africa, has re-visited Rhodesia to present a portrait of his brother to Milton School, Bulawayo, at which they were both pupils more than half a century ago. Dr. Verwoerd said that South Africa would stand by Rhodesia, whatever the sacrifice which might be required.

Dr. Etienne Rousseau, chairman of Sasol, the South African oil-from-coal industry, who has led a group of South African businessmen on a visit to Rhodesia, said in an interview in Salisbury that he had been very favourably impressed by the industrial developments which he had seen and the confidence of the people he had met, who were planning expansion in many directions. His colleagues and he had been surprised to find such normality after a year of sanctions.

Mr. Hobson, general manager of Durban Chamber of Commerce, said in Salisbury a few days ago that South Africans were more favourably disposed to imports from Rhodesia than ever in the past, and that this was the moment for Rhodesia to ask for revision of the trade agreement between the two countries.

Mr. W. R. Perry, president of the Association of Rhodesian Industries, said on his return from attending a convention in Johannesburg of the South African Federated Chambers of Industry that Rhodesia is now "exporting in quite a big way" to its southern neighbour and could greatly increase that trade if more industrialists with export capacity would visit South Africa to explore the prospects.

Trade with South Africa and Portugal

In order to develop trade between South Africa and Rhodesia, the Federated Chambers of Industry and the Handels Institute of South Africa have appointed a joint committee to make an immediate study of the situation.

A Rhodesian trade mission of six members arrived in Lisbon recently to seek increased two-way trade between the two countries. The leader of the mission is Mr. J. Maltas, chairman of the Rhodesian National Export Council. One of his colleagues is Mr. John Graylin, chairman of the Rhodesian Tobacco Export Council. Portuguese imports from Rhodesia totalled 83,413 tons of various commodities last year. In the first eight months of this year the total was 25,607 tons, including nearly 2,000 of sugar, more than 320 of tobacco and 133 of meat. Exports from Portugal to Rhodesia in 1965 are officially given as 3,356 tons.

Mr. Hans Reimann, a businessman from Cologne, said in a broadcast interview during a visit to Salisbury that a number of German companies were still doing good business with Rhodesia. There did not appear to be much difference between pre-independence and present conditions. Since Germany was not a member of the United Nations it was not much concerned with sanctions.

Mr. McLean, Minister of Health, said when accepting a gift of three ambulances and a quantity of medical supplies from the Western Cape branch of the Friends of Rhodesia Association that the World Health Organization had dishonoured an agreement to start a campaign for the eradication of malaria from Rhodesia. Having withdrawn its facilities, W.H.O. had added insult to injury by asking Rhodesia to renew its membership for 1967.

Tobacco growers who in August received an extra 5% on the basic guaranteed grade prices are to have a further supplementary payment of 7% in the case of producers of Virginia flue-cured tobacco, of 10% for growers of Burley, and of 16% for Oriental-type leaf.

Mr. Ronald Gostick has returned to Canada via London after spending some weeks in Rhodesia. He had previously toured Australia and New Zealand under the sponsorship of the Australian League of Rights.

Mr. John Hooper, Rhodesian Information Officer in Washington, said last week that there were now at least 60 Friends of Rhodesia organizations in the United States, all having arisen spontaneously.

U.S. Purchases from Rhodesia

Official figures issued in Washington last week show that in the first nine months of this year United States imports from Rhodesia had a value of \$7.8m., pig iron, chromite, and tobacco accounting for nearly 90% of the total.

Pig iron imports have slightly exceeded \$3m., thanks to a 70,000-ton contract outstanding from pre-U.D.I. days, of which some 15,000 tons have still to be delivered.

Chromite imports in the nine months reached \$2.9m. Union Carbide, the chief importers, said some months ago that it had stockpiled about 140,000 tons of the Rhodesian metal in Mozambique.

U.S. imports of Rhodesian tobacco were worth \$850,000 in the nine months. A North Carolina company expects to obtain British Government consent to the import of leaf worth about \$800,000 left over from the 1965 crop.

Mr. Mussett, Minister of Commerce and Industry, has told Parliament that no currency allocations will be made for the import of built-up light commercial vehicles after April 1, the purpose being to encourage local assembly plants. Trucks of Japanese manufacture are to be assembled in Rhodesia next year by the Rover group.

An issue of £1m. of 6% stock by the Rhodesia Electricity Supply Commission was oversubscribed last week.

The Finance Minister has announced that when Rhodesia converts to decimal currency in 1970 the monetary units will be called dollars and cents.

Fossilized algae from a limestone quarry near Bulawayo are being exchanged for books with American universities and museums. The fossil, said to be 2,700m. years old, is considered to be the oldest in the world.

Mr. Carl Erasmus, leader of a trade and travel mission from Durban, said in Salisbury that he hoped South Africa and Rhodesia would form a common market in regard to tourism; if they combined in that way they might, he believed, attract some 250,000 visitors annually from Europe, especially from Germany.

1,000 Whites Leaving Zambia for Rhodesia

Rhodesia Railways have announced that 442 of its employees will leave Zambia within the next four months on transfer to Rhodesia. With wives and children it will mean the withdrawal from Zambia of well over 1,000 whites.

Four African terrorists who had been captured in the Zambezi Valley after passing into Rhodesia from Zambia have been sentenced to death by the High Court for the possession of sub-machine guns, rifles, grenades, rockets, and mines, some of Russian and Chinese manufacture. They pleaded guilty. Two of the party were killed and one wounded in exchanges with Rhodesian security forces. Rejecting their plea that they should be treated as soldiers, Mr. Justice Fieldsend said: "If you behaved during a formally declared war in the way in which you have behaved you would probably have been shot out of hand".

When six Africans appeared in court in Salisbury on charges of throwing a grenade into the flat of a European family and attempting to throw a grenade at a car, the prosecutor said: "The evidence will disclose that there existed a subversive group consisting among others of former lecturers at the University who were responsible for organizing violence in the Salisbury district". Mr. Treacy added that the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union had "a committee of four to organize violence in Salisbury", two of the four being among the accused. The other two would be Crown witnesses.

Four Africans have been committed for trial charged with the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Viljoen in May. All had been members of a terrorist group sent from Zambia. Some had confessed to shooting the two whites as they opened the door of their farmhouse. One of the accused has said that he was trained in Tanzania and given weapons in Zambia by an official of the Zimbabwe African National Union.

Two of the Africans tried in the High Court last week for the illegal possession of two sub-machine-guns and ammunition were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment each and the third to eight years.

A number of Africans in the Gumosa district, 550 miles north of Lupani, came under fire from an ambush last week and one of them, an elderly man, was killed. Spotter aircraft and security force teams with tracker dogs were immediately sent to the area.

Back-benchers on the Government side of the House shouted "What about Mrs. Myburg?" [who was stoned to death by an African mob during a recent riot on the Copperbelt of Zambia] when an African Opposition M.P. asked questions about the death of an African woman, Mrs. Soko, in a canoe on the Zambezi.

Lord Graham, the Defence Minister, replied that all canoes were first challenged, that trained terrorist groups had previously crossed the river at that point and infiltrated Rhodesia, and that a full report on the incident would shortly be completed.

Three white women wearing black sashes have paraded outside the Rhodesian Parliament with placards reading "Ban Press Censorship".

The first such demonstration was made by Mrs. Aileen Smith, wife of the editor of the *Rhodesian Herald*, who said that her husband did not know of her action. Her protest was made outside the Dutch Reformed Church, which the Prime Minister was due to attend.

O.A.U. Did Not Want the Truth

Mr. Mkudu, deputy leader of the United People's Party, and Mr. Behane, the Opposition chief whip, have said that although they held Rhodesian passports issued before the unilateral declaration of independence the Ethiopian Government refused them permission to enter the country to attend the O.A.U. conference. Mr. Mkudu felt that Rhodesian African nationalists in exile had been responsible for the decision because they did not want the conference to hear the views of educated Africans who were not members of the proscribed nationalist parties.

The Rhodesian Government has withdrawn its scholarships and grants to 31 students at the University College in Salisbury who were suspended in July for participating in demonstrations on graduation day. A number of the students have left the country to study at the University of Zambia and some have been restricted, while others are in their final year. The number affected is believed to be about 10, of whom two are white.

The Minister of Agriculture has announced a subsidy of about £450,000 to farmers buying nitrogenous fertilizers between April 1 last and the end of February next. A rebate of 3d. per gallon on diesel fuel purchased in bulk by farmers is also granted for the same period.

Gwebi Agricultural College, Rhodesia, has had an all-time record maize yield of 31 bags to the acre. Other averages were 1,700lb for Virginia tobacco, 1,500lb for Burley tobacco, 1,300lb for cotton, and for maize legume silages 19 tons to the acre.

Mr. Leslie Stanford, of a light engineering concern in Salisbury, said in a radio interview that the company was making about 100 knapsack sprayers a day, of which more than half were exported, and that in the year ahead it would probably do more trade in South Africa than in Rhodesia itself. Many products previously imported from the United Kingdom were being manufactured.

Forty-five Government and private schools throughout Rhodesia have received between them more than £2,000 subscribed by South Africans for the purchase of school reference and library books.

Economic Facts

The Finance Ministry of Rhodesia has published "Economic Survey for 1965", a 61-page document containing a mass of statistical detail. It shows gross domestic product last year at over £355m., compared with £329m., £312m., and £302m. in the three previous years. In 1955 the figure had been £186m. Gross capital formation was £47.1m. and £43.1m. in 1965 and 1964 respectively.

The Friends of Rhodesia Trust has decided to make an initial distribution of £35,450. The National Export Council will receive £10,000 for an all-out drive to find alternative markets for Rhodesian goods, and the Graylin Committee the same sum for loans to farmers who have been seriously affected by sanctions. £5,000 will be spent on radio sets manufactured in South Africa for use by the police and other security forces in Rhodesia; and the same sum on medical supplies and hospital equipment made in South Africa. The fund still holds some £30,000 in Salisbury and more than £70,000 in Johannesburg.

Chibero College of Agriculture, near Norton, is being extended at a cost of £35,000 in the first stage to accommodate 80 students.

Since July last year 64 dams have been constructed in tribal trust lands in Rhodesia by the Ministry of Water Development.

"We expect that by 1970 half of the children who complete the primary school course will be accommodated in secondary schools"—Rhodesia's Minister for Education.

Westminster Model

THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT is not satisfied with the system inherited from the days of British rule. Mr. Felix Onama, Defence Minister, said a few days ago in the National Assembly: "It is the British or French democratic systems we have inherited that are throwing African countries into tragedy. This system must be re-examined".

Christmas Charter Flight

A CHRISTMAS FLIGHT to Rhodesia by chartered aircraft at a cost of £155 return has been arranged by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. Passengers will leave Gatwick airport at mid-day on December 15 and are due in Salisbury at 5.30 p.m. next day after halts at Las Palmas and Luanda (Angola). Departure from Salisbury will be on January 19.

Parliamentary

MR. W. M. IRVINE, having suggested in the Rhodesian Parliament that some of the African Members should "get off their backsides" and persuade Africans in their constituencies to re-register as voters, was required by the Speaker to withdraw his remark. He apologized and proceeded: "I would suggest that hon. Members opposite get up off their posteriors, and do some work in their districts".

Malawi Confiscates

PRESIDENT BANDA has ordered the confiscation of the property in Malawi of Major Peter Moxon, a former member of the Legislative Assembly, who left for Zambia at the time of the Cabinet crisis in 1964. He was later declared a prohibited immigrant. The property of nine Malawi Africans who are alleged to have been trained for subversion against Dr. Banda's Government has been similarly confiscated.

E.A.R. & H.

EAST AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS have just amalgamated their operating and commercial departments into a traffic department under Mr. G. G. Geddes, hitherto chief commercial superintendent, with Mr. C. Tamale, lately assistant general manager in Uganda, as chief traffic manager. Mr. R. M. L. Lemmon, former chief operating superintendent, has been appointed to the new post of chief planning officer in the office of the general manager.

C.A.A.

THE RHODESIAN MINISTER OF TRANSPORT has said that his Government would not wish to continue an association with unwilling partners and would therefore participate in discussions with the Zambia and Malawi Government for an agreed and orderly dissolution of the jointly-owned Central African Airways. Rhodesia's share of the assets would be invested in a new statutory corporation which would serve Rhodesia as C.A.A. had served all three territories. The new corporation would offer employment to all C.A.A. personnel who might wish it.

Tanzanian Students

PRESIDENT NYERERE, who recently ordered the dismissal of 393 students because of their objections to national service and declared that they would not be reinstated or even given Government employment, said on Friday that the students were to be pardoned on condition that they went home and helped their parents in their ordinary work for two years. If they then obtained letters from the parents testifying that they had reformed and worked obediently the heads of the educational institutions from which they had been dismissed would be asked to reinstate them.

Zambia's Position Perilous

TOO MANY district secretaries of the ruling United National Independence Party in Zambia are ill-educated office-seekers who are reminiscent of the many Hall ward bosses, Mr. John Bulloch has written from Lusaka to the *Daily Telegraph* in a dispatch which also said, *inter alia* :—

"One such man who stirs up his members over some trivial wrong or imagined slight can undo all the moves towards racial harmony coming from the top. The death in Kitwe of Mrs. Myburgh is the direct responsibility of such people.

"Every appointment within the Government of civil service has to be scrutinized to see that the Bemba, the most powerful tribe, are not getting too much power; to ensure that Lozi from Barotseland, where there have been rumblings about secession, are getting a fair share; or to make sure that hot-heads are not being put in positions where they could cause damage.

"It is wrong to think of President Kaunda as the moderate influence restraining his colleagues. He is as eager as any of them to do everything possible to bring down the Smith régime. The question-mark over Zambia is whether Dr. Kaunda can push through his non-racial policy and still keep control of the party machine.

"Nearly £20m. has been spent so far in improving the land routes to Tanzania and Malawi, buying lorries and building depots and other installations. The nucleus of a fleet of transport aircraft is already flying. The Zambian economy is in a more perilous position than ever."

Responsibility Rests on Mr. Wilson

MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HUTSON wrote in the same paper :—

"We are within days perhaps of the final collapse of the talks with Rhodesia. Neither the terms of Mr. Wilson's last offer nor the nature of the reply from Salisbury have been made public. Statements are appearing, however, intended apparently to give the impression that Mr. Ian Smith has left no opening for further negotiation and that the rupture when it does occur will consequently be his doing.

"Ever since U.D.I. a settlement has almost certainly been possible on the basis of responsible rule leading to majority rule when the Africans are fit for it. This responsible rule is the keystone of Mr. Smith's constitutional thinking and, as such, is not negotiable. Nor, as Mr. Smith has said on many occasions, is his country's independence.

Consequently only the conditions which would make responsible rule acceptable to Britain are left for negotiation, and it is around these that the bargaining would have had to be done and a settlement reached.

"Right from the start, however, Mr. Wilson has seemed to be 'totally opposed' (his own words) to granting independence to Rhodesia as long as the Government of that country remains under the control of a white minority.

"In face of such an attitude there can never have been any real negotiations. Responsibility for the rupture when it comes must therefore rest with Mr. Wilson and not, as attempts are being made to make us believe, on Mr. Smith."

Threat to the Commonwealth

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., wrote :—

"The danger to the future of the Commonwealth is that, particularly since the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat, it appears to be following the path of the United Nations. In a short time the demand for a majority vote may be formulated: it will then become quite clear that the Commonwealth is no longer a multi-racial organization but a club in which the white nations are expected to obey the wishes of the non-white majority. In the United Nations the Great Powers are protected by the veto, but no veto exists in the Commonwealth.

"The relationship between donor and recipient is seldom a happy one. In the Commonwealth Britain and to a much lesser extent Canada and Australia are the only exporters of capital. This enables the charge of neo-colonialism to be made by our enemies, and because of their sensitivity to this accusation the newer members find it necessary to become increasingly intransigent and abusive.

"Every nation must put its own interests first; the Commonwealth will continue to work if all members are prepared to put Commonwealth interests second. If, however, continental or bloc attachments are placed higher than Commonwealth interests, then the future will indeed be grim. Commonwealth interests, then, interest to preserve the Commonwealth, we must consider the cost of so doing. South Africa is already lost. Rhodesia may follow. Is it worth losing these economically powerful countries to maintain the questionable friendship of certain African members who are already actively increasing their association with the Communist Powers?"

Mr. Wilson's Double-Talk

THE CONSERVATIVE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT has issued two pamphlets on the double-talk of the Socialist Government of Britain.

The section on Rhodesia reads :—

"Mr. Wilson has tried to present himself as a great statesman handling the Rhodesia crisis with avuncular calm, always prepared for any eventuality. The true facts do not bear out this picture.

"Speaking of the Rhodesian question during the 1966 election campaign, Mr. Wilson said: 'The problem, like so many others, was left to the Labour Government to settle'.

"It is certainly true that the Conservative Government had successfully averted U.D.I. and it is more than possible that U.D.I. would never have been declared had a Conservative Government remained in power.

"However, once Mr. Smith had declared independence the Government's competence in handling the situation declined, while the number of Mr. Wilson's earnest television appeals to the nation went up. Thus in December two senior Ministers were contradicting each other at the same time:

"Lord Gardiner, Lord Chancellor: 'It is open to Mr. Smith now to put before the Government any proposals which he has to make and any proposals will be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government'. (House of Lords, December 7, 1965.)

"Mr. A. Bottomley, Commonwealth Secretary: 'He (Mr. Smith) has lied not only to me but to others. This is one of the reasons why we cannot deal with Smith in any way—because he is not a man to be trusted'. (Hansard, December 7, 1965.)

The Great Obstacle to Peace

"Two days later Mr. Paget, Labour M.P. for Northampton, echoed the doubts many people were having about Mr. Wilson's handling of the situation: 'Mr. Wilson—the great obstacle to peace in Rhodesia... Today there are many people in Rhodesia who would accept the authority of the Queen, quite a lot who accept the authority of the Governor, but almost nobody who would accept the authority of Mr. Wilson'. (Evening Standard, December 9, 1965.)

"The Lagos Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in January, 1966, issued a *communiqué* which stated: 'The Prime Ministers noted the statement by the British Prime Minister that on the expert advice available to him the cumulative effects of the economic and financial sanctions might well bring the rebellion to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months'. (January 12, 1966.) Two months later Mr. Wilson was saying: 'They (sanctions) are producing results all the time... We shall make the economic sanctions effective'. B.B.C. TV, March 10, 1966. Now six months after the original statement the economic sanctions have still not brought the 'rebellion' to an end.

"During the 1966 general election campaign Mr. Heath, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd (who had just returned from Rhodesia), and other Conservatives were constantly urging the Government to open talks with the Smith régime, initially at a low level, to try and achieve a just solution.

"Mr. Wilson was bitterly scornful of such constructive suggestions: 'The speeches of Conservative M.P.s and leaders and above all, the Selwyn Lloyd manoeuvres have stiffened the resistance of the Smith régime. The Smith régime have been holding on for two months in the hope of a Tory victory, followed by appeasement, indeed surrender. This is irresponsibility almost without parallel'... (Southampton, March 20, 1966.)

"On April 27, 1966, Mr. Wilson made an about-turn and told the House of Commons that talks between British and Rhodesian officials had been arranged to examine whether a basis exists 'on which a solution of the problem can be reached'. Conservatives welcome this further change of heart but it is in direct contrast to the bitter words Mr. Wilson used five weeks previously."

PROFESSOR R. C. PRATT, now of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Toronto, wrote from Canada to *The Times*:—

"Perhaps the experience of the University College, Dar es Salaam, during the period 1961-65 when I was its first principal, and even more so since, is relevant to the present controversy over the continuation of the British grant to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"At University College, Dar es Salaam, British academics have played a most important rôle in the development of the College. They continue to do so and in large numbers. The international team of which they form the most important contingent is succeeding in building a first-class university which is in deep sympathy with the aspirations of the vast majority of the people, which seeks to contribute imaginatively to the solution of problems of pressing national concern and which has already become a genuinely national university in which the people and their leaders take a proper pride.

Problems of the Sisal Industry Real Threat from Synthetic Products

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association opens with the emphatic statements that synthetic products now really threaten sisal, that there is a danger of over-production of the fibre, and that producers will survive only by stabilizing price and output, engaging in intensive agriculture, and keeping down the cost of production.

Research is being undertaken into new uses, particularly as a reinforcing agent in polyester and other types of synthetic resins, and independent advisers from Holland have made a close study of the methods on 29 estates and made recommendations for improved efficiency and productivity.

Consul H. Tanner is president of the T.S.G.A., and Mr. Abdulla M. A. Karimjee and Sir George Arnatoglu were the vice-presidents for the year. Mr. Anver Karimjee was chairman, and Mr. B. J. J. Stubbings vice-chairman.

Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. announce that after providing for taxation and transfers to inner reserves net profits for the year to June 30 amounted to £3,506,524, compared with £3,019,881 in 1965 and £2,642,256 in 1964. There is again a transfer of £1m. to reserves. Dividends totalling 114% gross take £2.7m., and the carry-forward is more than £1.6m. Profits were actually lower than in the previous year, but the net profit disclosed is higher in order to take account of the additional tax charge for the same rate of dividend in consequence of the alteration in tax methods in the U.K.

Leaving Zambia

FOURTY-FOUR WHITE MINERS employed at the Rhokana mine resigned on Thursday after an incident on the previous day, when about 200 African miners crushed against a barrier 10 whites who were waiting to enter a lift cage to return to the surface. More than 220 white miners had resigned during the previous few weeks.

Uganda's copper exports in the first nine months of the year totalled 11,291 long tons, worth just over £5m.

Amalgamated Metal Corporation, Ltd. reports group profits after tax for the six months to June 30 at £426,000 (£424,000).

The Uganda Trade Union Congress and the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions have merged as the Uganda Labour Congress.

A wage increase of 8% has been granted by the Zambia Broken-Hill mine. Negotiations with the union about the 22% increase recommended by the Brown Commission are to follow.

Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd. reports profits after tax to June 30 at £2,095,808 (£1,907,713). Dividends of 2s. 6d. per 5s. share take £1,361,851. Last year 3s. was paid, costing £1.65m.

J. L. Morison, Sons & Jones (East Africa) Ltd. have acquired 80% of the share capital of Wardles Wholesale, Ltd., pharmaceutical distributors in East Africa. Both companies continue to trade under their own names.

Rhodesia Cement, Ltd., report group profits to August 31 at £240,165 (£79,064) before tax of £2,000 (£300). The general reserve receives £34,589 and the tax equalization reserve the same sum. A dividend of 10% is to be paid, against 5% last year.

M.T.D. (Mangula) milled 286,100 short tons of ore in the September quarter for a recovery of 2,552 long tons of copper, making 10,205 tons for the year. The leach plant produced cement copper containing 1,1554 tons of copper, making 2,612 tons for the year.

Alex. Lawrie and Co., Ltd., a group with interests in Malawi and Tanzania, report profits after tax to June 3 at £166,329 (£132,954). After adding £55,000 to the general reserve, the carry-forward is £43,179. Against issued capital of £848,000 there are investments of £882,521, fixed assets of £329,293, and net current assets of £449,920. The Malawi subsidiary had its best year.

Dalgely and New Zealand Load, Ltd. report group profits after tax to June 30 at £1,918,056 (£2,022,849). Dividends of 12% take £721,000. The carry-forward by the company and the subsidiaries totals £821,257. The group has a 50% holding in Mackenzie Dalgely, Ltd., and Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., Dalgely (East Africa), Ltd., and the African Mercantile Co. (Overseas), Ltd., are subsidiaries.

Richard Costain, Ltd. report group profit after tax for the six months to June 30 at £175,000 (£294,000), but point out that in the building and civil engineering industries trading results should not be judged over a short period. An interim dividend of 2% has again been declared, and the total for the year is not expected to be changed. The subsidiary in Zambia has just received a £2.2m. contract for Ndola hospital.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd. report group profits before tax at £6.64m. (£7.24m.) to June 30, the fall being due entirely to devaluation of the Indian rupee. The 11.55% dividend is repeated.

Charter Consolidated, Ltd. have bought from Venesta, Ltd., their holding of 2,475,000 shares in Pillar Holdings, Ltd., for £1,299,375 in cash. The original cost to Venesta was £620,000 less than the price it now receives.

East Africa and the Common Market

East African negotiations for association with the European Common Market are stated in Brussels, the headquarters, to have broken down, but Ministers have said on their return to East Africa that they expect talks to be resumed after Christmas.

All private insurance companies in the Congo have been ordered to cease their operations at the end of this year, when a Congolese national insurance company will begin business. The private companies have been told that they may resume business in 1972.

E.W. Terry & Co., Ltd., engineers and merchants operating throughout Southern Africa, report profits to August 31 after tax at £135,000 (£75,426). Provision for terminal losses will still leave a debit balance, and neither preference nor ordinary dividends will therefore be paid.

Uganda Development Corporation, Ltd., reports profits before tax for 1965 at £1,706,389, compared with £1,126,369 in the previous year. Group trading profit was just under £2.5m. (£1.8m.), and gross turnover slightly exceeded £21m. (£15.6m.). Tax required £611,513, leaving group net profit at £896,826 (£502,480).

Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd., which has substantial mining interests in Zambia and Rhodesia and in many other countries, reports net profits after tax to June 30 at £7,242,000 (£6,267,000). Dividends of 5s. 6d. a share take £3.7m. Investments standing in the books at £31.5m. have a market value of £89.5m.

Sagitt Trust Co., Ltd., which has subsidiaries in Rhodesia and East Africa, reports group profits after tax to June 30 at £139,336 (£165,530). Shareholders receive 274% (the same), costing £66,000, and leaving a carry-forward of £184,030. Investments with a book value of £880,946 have a market value in excess of £12.5m.

Mashaba Rhodesian Asbestos Co., Ltd., reports net profits for 1965 at £1,544 (£4,000), mainly from a dividend and royalties from D.S.O. Asbestos (Pvt.) Ltd. The issued capital is £262,500. Fixed assets appear £117,071, development at £47,217, trade investments at £36,000, current assets at £12,732, and current liabilities at £4,056.

Expecting a maize surplus this year of about 3m. bags, or double the normal annual requirement, the Kenya Government, finding it impossible to export yellow maize, has decided that it shall be sold for stock feed at the subsidized price of 28s. a bag and that millers shall use new white maize only. About 1m. bags of white maize will be exported.

Tanzanian Assembly Rebuffs Cabinet

Though all Ministers in Tanzania, including Mr. Kawawa, the Second Vice-President, voted in favour of a Treasury loan of £14,048 to Tanganyika National Transport Co-operative, Ltd., the motion was rejected in the National Assembly by 74 votes to 57. It was the first time that the House had divided on estimates or supplementary estimates.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., the parent company of the Mangula copper mine in Rhodesia, reports net profits after tax to June 30 at R.9.6m., a large increase on the R.6.2m. of the previous year. Shareholders receive dividends exceeding R.3.9m., compared with R.1.7m. last year. The transfer to reserves is up by R.1m. to R.5.5m. and the carry-forward is more than doubled at R.403,000.

Ellerman Lines, which serve Beira, are repeating the 5% dividend on the £4m. of privately-owned deferred ordinary stock. Trading profits for 1965 were £2.9 (slightly below the previous year's figure), but investment income rose to £809,000 from £660,000. The net balance was £237,000 (£428,000) and the carry-forward £1,175,000. The fleet stands in the books at £36.64m.

Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., which has large holdings in mining companies in Zambia, reports profits after tax to June 30 at R.10,523,000 (R.10,033,000), income from investments having risen from R.8.8m. to R.9.6m. The dividend is raised from 60 to 65 South African cents, taking R.4.55m. Investments with a book value of R.59.5m. had a market value of R.149.8m.

Roschough (Africa), Ltd., owners of a tea estate in Malawi, report profits before tax to June 30 at £30,383, against losses in the two previous years of £1,189 and £2,411. The output increased sharply to 764,427 lb. from 463,700 lb., bringing the estate cost per lb. down from 29.3d. to 18d. The issued capital is £175,000. The estates have a book value of £209,062, net current assets total £23,525, and the carry-forward is £59,008.

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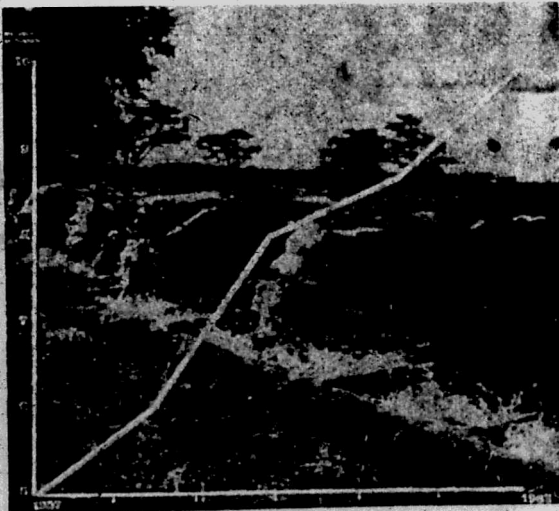
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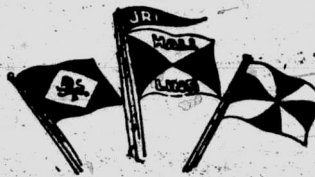
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A SETTLEMENT WITH RHODESIA which was within his grasp has once more been lost by Mr. Wilson—for though the formality of rejection came on Monday from the

Gun-Boat Diplomacy

Rhodesian Cabinet, that decision had in fact been made certain by the terms which the British Prime Minister sought to impose. What he had described as talks of relaxed informality with the Rhodesian Prime Minister aboard H.M.S. TIGER are now seen to have contained demands such as are imposed upon a defeated enemy. The self-defeating and disastrous Wilson version of gun-boat diplomacy shows that he and his Cabinet still understand nothing of the Rhodesian character, of the Rhodesian will to maintain an independent existence at all costs, and of the determination of her South African and Portuguese neighbours not to be blackmailed into withdrawal of the support which they have given Rhodesia throughout the past thirteen months, thereby making voluntary sanctions a mockery. Moreover, they have given notice that they will similarly ensure the failure of mandatory sanctions through the United Nations. For all his posturing, Mr. Wilson has now for the third time run away from a settlement with Rhodesia.

The first occasion, as was immediately emphasized in these columns—and nowhere else at the time—was during his short visit to Salisbury in October last year, when, after

Opportunity Thrown Away

talking with scores of people, including African nationalist extremist leaders, he was driven to recognize that their demand for immediate majority rule was absurd, and to say publicly that it could reasonably be obtained “only by achievement, not by clock or calendar”—which was precisely what Rhodesians themselves said, though in the simpler phraseology of “advancement by merit”. Had a settlement then been Mr. Wilson’s overriding consideration, as it should

have been, he could have worked out the details of an agreement with Mr. Smith there and then. Characteristically, having suddenly seen the obvious (which he had denied throughout his political career), his immediate concern was to rush off to consult the Presidents of Zambia, Nigeria, and Ghana, while his then Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, followed his bad example by flying off for talks with the Presidents of Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. Rhodesians could draw only one conclusion: that the views of six black-governed States were more important to the Wilson Government than a settlement with Rhodesia. Since every black-governed African country except Malawi demanded that the Rhodesian Government should be “toppled”, and that pressures should then be mounted to cause the collapse of responsible government in South Africa, it was already clear to the Rhodesians and South Africans, and to the Portuguese on their flanks, that they must be prepared to stand together.

* * *

Mr. Wilson’s second retreat from reason and reality was at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London in September. Its primary purpose was to assess the

Second Retreat

results of the policy which he had outlined to a Commonwealth Conference in Lagos in January (which half of the twenty-two Commonwealth Heads of State or Government did not trouble to attend). Between January and September the calamitous ineptitude of any number of African Governments had been yet more clearly demonstrated—by more revolutions, more murders of Presidents and Prime Ministers, more massacres, and more civil wars. While British politicians, Press and radio took astonishingly little notice of these tragedies, the African politicians continued their silly talk of unity in order to divert attention from the harsh facts of their incompetence; and a bemused Western world took more notice of the chatter than of the carnage

and chaos. Africa being in disastrous disarray when the Commonwealth Conference met in September, the Prime Minister had a splendid opportunity of telling his attackers to set their own countries in order before presuming to dictate to Britain. But the man who is now so belligerent towards Rhodesia could not withstand a vociferous but unimpressive non-white *claque*. Instead, he submitted weakly, even promising those professional pressure-mongers that if the Rhodesian problem had not been solved before the end of this year the British Government would, *inter alia*, (1) declare formally that it would never recognize the independence of Rhodesia until the country came under black rule (which it will certainly not do for years), and (2) invite the Security Council to instruct all member States of the United Nations to compel their citizens to refrain from buying from Rhodesia or selling to that country.

* * *

Mr. Wilson seems still to be under the delusion that such economic warfare can be successfully waged against Rhodesia without involving a clash with South Africa provided only that oil products be excluded from the list of commodities under sanction. The *Afro-Asian-Caribbean bloc* at the United Nations, incited and supported by the Communist and pro-Communist Powers, will inevitably press for the inclusion of oil. If they get their way, the United Nations will then have either to admit its incapacity to implement the resolution or prepare to mount a full-scale and ruinously expensive blockade of all Southern Africa. Whence could the ships, aircraft, men and money be obtained? From the United States, with its open-ended and ever-increasing commitment in Vietnam? From the United Kingdom, already finding it difficult to spare a brigade or two when military police action becomes essential somewhere in Asia or Africa? From the loud-voiced, distracted, and disunited Organization of African Unity, whose major members can scarcely maintain internal order, and some of whom are under serious threat of invasion by fellow members? Any realist would recognize the folly of risking United Nations intervention in such circumstances, especially as the Communists will be eager to send troops, not for Africa's sake, but in order to extend their foothold in the continent and so prepare access to the great mineral complexes of the Congo, Zambia, Rhodesia and South Africa. These ghastly prospects, directly derived from Mr. Wilson's mismanagement of the September conference, are brushed aside with the pretence that he

then saved the Commonwealth. The lamentably weak Conservative Opposition in Parliament, which has allowed him to build up that false image and lurch from folly to folly with no real and continuing exposure, will almost certainly neglect its present urgent duty of arousing the country to the consequences of the attempt aboard H.M.S. TIGER to bully the Rhodesians into submission. To vote against sanctions in the House of Commons is not enough. Its responsibility is to start and maintain a nation-wide campaign which would force the Government to deal with Rhodesia realistically and immediately. There is so much instinctive public sympathy for Rhodesia that it could be quickly converted into a political weapon for the defence of both Britain and Rhodesia against further calamities.

* * *

Mr. Wilson's chronic indecision has alternated with incredible misjudgment and reckless impetuosity. From Lagos he told the world that sanctions would bring down the Smith régime in "weeks, not months"; and he and his Cabinet naively believed that nonsense. Before leaving last week for the Mediterranean meeting with Mr. Smith he announced that he must be back in London within three days—to preside over a dinner party! If that revelation of his priorities was intended to put pressure on Mr. Smith, he evidently fails even now to assess his opponent. After they had talked for two days he insisted that both Governments should give an unqualified "Yes" or "No" to the "working document" by 10 a.m. on Monday of this week, which meant that, even if the Rhodesian leader's return flight went according to schedule, he would have only four or five hours for Cabinet discussions. That was an unreasonable requirement, especially as Mr. Smith had indicated his agreement with the constitutional proposals, but had naturally not accepted the demands made for a "return to legality". It was likewise imprudent (to use a no harsher term) to insist on acceptance or rejection of the document in its entirety, thus slamming the door in the face of Cabinet Ministers in Rhodesia who had every right to expect to be heard. What Britain and Rhodesia needed was a solution to their constitutional differences. That had been achieved after forty-eight hours of hard bargaining; and on Monday afternoon the Rhodesian Government officially announced that it accepted "the constitutional proposals by Mr. Wilson which fulfil the six principles as a basis for a Constitution for an independent Rhodesia".

Negotiations have nevertheless collapsed because Mr. Wilson tried to impose such terms for "the return to constitutionality" as no self-respecting State could accept unless it had suffered outright defeat.

Irresponsible At no time in the past thirteen months has Rhodesia looked like being defeated.

And Repugnant Support for Mr. Smith has increased, not weakened. Even Mr. Wilson knows that there is no alternative leader; otherwise he would not have met him. No Rhodesian, whatever his party political beliefs, could agree to those parts of the Wilson plan which Mr. Smith has termed "utterly irresponsible" and "repugnant". To suggest that Rhodesia should abandon her present Constitution before a new Constitution has been worked out and put to the test of local opinion is both irresponsible and repugnant, as is the demand that a country which has governed itself in peace and war for more than forty years should transfer its military, air, and police forces to the control of a Governor who must take his instructions from a Government in Britain which Rhodesians profoundly distrust. Because Sir Humphrey Gibbs, a loyal and respected Rhodesian, is widely trusted, some people in Mr. Smith's party might even say: "The principle is wrong, but as it is to Sir Humphrey that control would pass, let's agree in the confidence that he would always play fair". That cannot be the Government view, for if he were to die suddenly the successor appointed by Mr. Wilson might not be equally reliable and acceptable.

Mr. Smith's short statement ended: "It is considered by the Cabinet that the Rhodesians would be extremely foolish were they to abandon the substance of the present Constitution for the shadow of a mythical Constitution yet to be evolved. So the fight goes on". That fight—**Desperately** which is now about legalistic **Dangerous** stubbornness, not the basic issue of a Constitution which the British Government could present to the world as satisfactory—is desperately dangerous to the British economy, which is already losing much trade with South Africa and will lose very much more now that the Socialist Government has insisted on humiliating Rhodesia—emphatically not merely the Rhodesian politicians—presumably in retaliation for the humiliations which it has itself suffered from its follies in dealing with Rhodesia from the very moment when Mr. Wilson became Prime Minister. His very first broadcast to Rhodesia was brutal. His attitude has obviously not changed. A year hence he will be seen to have done immeasurably more damage to this country than to Rhodesia.

Statements Worth Noting

"Kenya is in dire need of investment to tackle the serious problem of unemployment which confronts us". —Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Labour.

"More than half a million passengers now pass through Nairobi Airport every year". —Mr. E. N. Mwendwa, Minister for Power and Communications in Kenya.

"Here in Africa it seems that Islam has passed the peak of its influence. It does not offer the freedom, equality and progress that Africa particularly desires today". —Bishop Stephen Neill.

"Kenya must increase her average wheat yield by about 25%. In other words, we must try for a farm average yield of about 6½ bags to the acre". —Mr. E. E. Khasakhela, Assistant Minister for Agriculture.

"Asian experience shows that if blister blight once entered Africa it would quickly spread to every place where tea is grown. Its control might well cost Africa £3m. every year". —Mr. J. D. Otiende, Minister for Health in Kenya.

"Rhodesia's deciduous fruit industry is expanding rapidly. The cash value of the crop, which was £30,000 in 1962 and £54,000 in 1963, should easily exceed £100,000 in the coming season". —Mr. G. W. Rudland, Minister of Agriculture.

"There is no post in Uganda of Head of the Civil Service. There is a Secretary to the Cabinet and a Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister, and as both are held by the same man he becomes in a non-functional way head of the Civil Service". —President Obote.

"Education in Zambia has suffered a more serious drain on its professional staff than any other Ministry. They have taken up top posts in the new Zambia as Permanent Secretaries, Ambassadors in foreign countries, and even as Cabinet Ministers". —Mr. J. M. Mwanakatwe, Minister of Education.

"Both at Karoi and Tengwe transport costs for maize create a real problem to the producer, and I emphasize once more the need, which I have stressed over and over again, for the extension of the railway into this rich agricultural and mineral area." —Mr. Lance B. Smith, Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia.

"The United National Independence Party is going to crush any holder of public office, be it at local or central level, who tends to use a council as an instrument for personal power or aggrandisement. It is our duty to follow all party instructions, whether we be councillors, mayors, or ministers". —Vice-President Kamanga of Zambia.

"Sending needed capital abroad, allowing land to lie idle and undeveloped, misusing the nation's limited resources, and conspicuous consumption when the nation needs savings—these are examples of anti-social behaviour that African Socialism will not countenance". —Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya.

"The Government of Zambia spends twice as much on education as on any other Ministry. Education receives just over 3s. in every pound spent by the Government. Already it has spent £94m. on building new secondary schools and improving and expanding old ones". —Mr. C. H. Thorneycroft, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education.

"It is quite ridiculous that teachers should get one full term's leave every three years in addition to their normal school holidays. It would be better to make the money available to them by way of salary. There could be a scheme under which a teacher in the early years of his career could get away for perhaps five years to gain experience in some other country". —Mr. V. M. Irvine, M.P., addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

Prime Minister's Report on Failure of Negotiations

Mr. Wilson's Account of His Meeting with Mr. Ian Smith

MR. WILSON said in the House of Commons on Monday evening:—

"Since my announcement of April 27 that informal talks were to be held the House has been extremely patient and has recognized my inability to give information on the progress of the talks, which it had agreed would be confidential. The time has now come when the House must be put in full possession of the facts as they now stand, more than seven months after Mr. Smith indicated to the Governor his desire to engage in informal talks.

"Altogether, three series of talks were held in London and Salisbury at official level before the first visit of the Commonwealth Secretary to Salisbury with the Attorney-General in September.

"These talks were mainly directed to two main issues: first, the method and conditions of a return to legal and constitutional rule in Rhodesia and the determination of the question with whom official negotiations could subsequently take place; second, an informal exploration in detail of the constitutional problems to see what amendments would be needed to the 1961 Constitution to give effect to the six principles which had been the basis of discussions with the legal Rhodesian Government up to November 11, 1965.

Twin Problems

"Practically the whole of the discussion during this period was on the problem of an ultimate constitutional settlement, though the representatives of H.M. Government made it plain at the outset and repeatedly warned that a settlement would have to be reached on the problem of return to legality, and warned too that before independence could be granted a fair and free test of Rhodesian public opinion would have to be carried out under a constitutional Government.

"Mr. Smith, through his officials, insisted on discussing the constitutional proposals first, indicating that he needed to be satisfied about the ultimate constitutional settlement before being ready to discuss what he regarded as a purely procedural matter of the return to constitutional rule. We insisted that before any settlement could be reached both issues would need to be dealt with.

"By the time of the visit of my rt. hon. friends in September no progress had been made in the constitutional talks. Nor, indeed, though their visit was extremely useful in informing a wide section of Rhodesian political opinion of our requirements and proposals for a settlement, was there any advance whatsoever on either the constitutional settlement or on the conditions for a return to legality during their visit.

"Mr. Smith and his colleagues were left in no doubt of our intention to act within the terms of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué* and no doubt at all about the fact that, while adequate time remained for a settlement if the will were there, the programme envisaged in the *communiqué* did not admit of unlimited time nor to wasted time. It was not, in fact, until my rt. hon. friend again took the initiative in visiting Salisbury on November 25 to 27, just as we were getting very near the operation of the time-table of which Mr. Smith had been informed, that any signs of movement were detected.

First Real Possibility of Agreement

"My rt. hon. friend returned a week ago with a report indicating for the first time a real possibility that a satisfactory agreement might be reached on the constitutional issues which would give full guaranteed effect to the six principles on which we insisted. The report also indicated, very much for the first time, some sign of movement on the question of return to legality.

"Mr. Smith had in fact indicated that he was prepared to consider returning to the legal 1961 Constitution if a satisfactory constitutional settlement could be agreed. This was said last week for the first time. Mr. Smith said, in fact, to my rt. hon. friend that, given a satisfactory solution, he would be prepared to consider surrendering what he called his independence by returning to the legal 1961 Constitution—provided that a satisfactory Constitution and settlement could be agreed.

"Despite all disappointments—and I can put it no higher—of every round of discussions which we, and indeed our predecessors, have had with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, the Government decided that before we finally had to report to the House, with all the consequences that would ensue, that there was no prospect of an agreement, one last effort should be made.

"Accordingly, last Tuesday Mr. Smith was informed that my rt. hon. friends and I would be prepared to meet him, on the clear understanding that the purpose of such a meeting

would be to reach a final settlement, if it proved possible to reach agreement both on the terms of a constitutional settlement and on satisfactory arrangements for the return to legality.

"He was informed that I should have full power for this purpose and that it was essential that Mr. Smith should have similar powers and should be authorized to reach a final agreement if the basis for a settlement were seen to exist.

"As the House knows, we met him, and the Governor of Rhodesia, who was accompanied by the Chief Justice, for two days of intensive talks in H.M.S. TIGER at the end of last week. I will not weary the House with the successive twists and turns of these discussions, but their outcome was that we both signed at midnight on Saturday in the presence of the Governor a working document setting out in detail all the essentials for a settlement.

Return to Constitutional Rule

"On the amendments necessary to the 1961 Constitution which would be required to give effect to the six principles, Mr. Smith and I reached complete agreement, as hon. Members will see when the White Paper is available. The requirements of the six principles have been met in full, with effective constitutional and external guarantees.

"On the return to constitutional rule, again the document sets out in detail what is required. The programme envisaged that an Order in Council would be made immediately to give the Governor the constitutional powers required for setting up an interim Government. He would then have appointed a broad-based interim Government, to be headed by Mr. Smith, and this Government would have been, in effect, on a legal basis by the middle of this week.

"Mr. Smith and I agreed, subject to a condition which he laid down and which I will come to later, possible names for five non-Rhodesian Front Ministers, European and African, who would be included in this interim Administration. The existing Legislature would have been dissolved and the Governor would have exercised full legislative authority.

"During this period the test of acceptability under the fifth principle would then have been carried out and, provided that it had been completed, fresh elections would have been held not later than four months from the date of restoration of constitutional rule.

"Agreement was also reached, without conditions and again in detail, about the procedure, as distinct from the timing, for testing the acceptability of the proposals for an Independence Constitution to the Rhodesian people as a whole. This was to be done by Royal Commission, to be appointed by H.M. Government, after consultation with the new Rhodesian Government. Censorship was to have been lifted and freedom of political association and activity on democratic lines would have been permitted.

Political Detainees

"We agreed also on a procedure to give effect to the requirements laid down in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué* for the release of political detainees. To deal with this, a judicial tribunal was to be appointed by the legal Rhodesian Government, but including a British representative nominated by the Lord Chancellor, to consider the detention and restriction of persons on security grounds. Such detention and restriction would have been authorized only if the tribunal was satisfied that the persons concerned had committed, or had incited the committing, of acts of violence or intimidation.

"It was agreed that if, as a result of the report of the Royal Commission, H.M. Government were satisfied that the proposed constitutional settlement was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, then immediate effect would be given to it by legislation, which we undertook to introduce in this House, the agreement to be further underwritten by a treaty binding both of us to maintain the Constitution.

"This treaty, as I explained to Mr. Smith, would be registered, as we are required to register it, with the United Nations; and any breach of this treaty, such as a *coup d'état*, either by European or by African extremists, would entitle us—indeed, I feel, would require us—to seek from the United Nations mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII, sanctions not necessarily confined to economic sanctions.

"If, as a result of the report of the Royal Commission, H.M. Government decided, however, that the proposed Constitution was not acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, there would still have been a legal Government under the 1961 Constitution with whom we could have explored alternative new proposals for an independence Constitution.

"After all that has happened, the House will understand the anxiety I expressed to Mr. Smith that in these circumstances, if complete agreement had been reached, Mr. Smith, if the Royal Commission reported adversely, might perhaps again illegally declare independence. Nor did Mr. Smith's reply to my expression of anxiety do anything to dispel those suspicions.

"This would mean that while we had ended sanctions, as we were ready to do this week if Rhodesia returned to constitutional rule, he might once again return to illegality, an easier operation, you might think, than the re-imposition of sanctions. Therefore, I thought it right in these circumstances to leave him in no doubt that if this were to happen we would go immediately and without any preliminaries to the United Nations for effective mandatory sanctions.

"Equally I thought it right to warn him that in conditions of a second U.D.F. he could no longer in all circumstances count on, still less abuse, the assurance I had given before the first declaration—that we would in any circumstances not use force, for example, to reinforce economic sanctions.

"And in the condition envisaged in a breach of the treaty to which I have just referred, including a possible *coup d'état*, either by European or African extremists, equally we would not consider ourselves bound by our earlier pledge that force would never be used. Mr. Smith understood this.

"By 5 p.m. last Saturday it was open to Mr. Smith to sign an agreement with me covering all the issues providing for an immediate return to constitutional rule, the immediate unwinding of our sanctions provisions, and the urgent initiation of all the procedure leading to independence on terms which I would have not hesitated in recommending to this House as fully implementing all the six principles and that of the guarantees, internal and external, that this House has the right to demand, and as equally implementing the terms of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*.

Mr. Smith's Reservations

"Mr. Smith who had throughout indicated his willingness—within the authority he had been given—to reach agreement on the terms of an appropriate independence Constitution, continued—as he had every right to do—to reserve his position on two points related to the return to constitutional rule.

"First, while he was prepared to discuss the procedures for an immediate return to legality—which he had told my right hon. friend a week earlier he was prepared to consider—he had yet to make up his mind whether he could accept a situation in which he gave up what he called his independence Constitution hope and not the certainty that the Independence Constitution we had agreed would be shown by the Royal Commission to be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

"While he was confident that it was acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole, there was, he felt, the possibility that the final verdict might go against him. He continued to insist that the illegal Government should continue, sanctions being lifted, until he knew where he stood as a result of the Royal Commission's report.

No Commitment

"I told him that a fair and convincing test of acceptability would be quite impossible in circumstances where an illegal régime was possessed of emergency powers and executive control, including broadcasting and television, and that we were not prepared to grant even interim recognition which he demanded, particularly since it was clear—as he made clear—that if the verdict went against him he would insist on maintaining his present illegal powers indefinitely.

"No British Government and few hon. gentlemen could have agreed to such a proposal. Equally, though we discussed in great detail, the composition of the broad-based Government, including the outgoing as well as the incoming personalities, he said that he had not yet accepted the principle that a broad-based Government should be created.

"It was understood that having the document as a whole now before him, he would inform me later in the evening whether it was acceptable in its entirety or not. However, after a delay of some hours, Mr. Smith informed me that he had no authority whatsoever from his colleagues to give his agreement on either of these two points, or even to commend our agreed working document to his colleagues.

"Knowing his difficulties—and I did not underrate them—I agreed that instead of reaching a final settlement which I had authority to do—and I understood that he had come on the same basis—he should return to Salisbury without any commitment on his part either to sign the document as a whole or even to agree to recommend it to his colleagues.

"It was therefore, agreed that both documents should be considered by the British Government and by Mr. Smith and his colleagues on the clear understanding that it must be accepted or rejected as a whole, and a straight answer given, 'Yes' or 'No' by this morning. It was, therefore, understood and agreed that there could be no question of further amendment of the document, which expressed clearly a decision on the principles and issues of policy which have been discussed time and time again between the British Government and the Rhodesians for many months—indeed, many of them for many years—and which could not, as we both agreed, be fudged by any form of words which sought to evade that decision.

"Before he returned to Salisbury Mr. Smith in the presence of the Governor was left in no doubt about the consequences of any refusal or failure to accept the document. He was told

Why Rhodesia Refused

Accompanied by every member of his Cabinet, Mr. Ian Smith told a large crowd outside the Cabinet Office late on Monday afternoon that the Government was prepared to accept the constitutional proposals as the basis for a Constitution for an independent Rhodesia.

The other proposals in the "working document" were, however, unanimously rejected.

"The British Government's expectation that the Rhodesian Government should abandon the 1965 Constitution before a new Constitution had been finally secured and put to the test of public opinion is utterly irresponsible.

"The proposals also envisaged by Mr. Wilson under the head of 'a return to legality' are repugnant to the Rhodesian Government, involving as they do (a) that control of the armed forces and police be invested in the Governor; (b) that the Governor be invested with discretion to appoint Ministers of the Crown, of whom no less than five are to be persons outside the Government party and not less than two of whom must be Africans; (c) the dissolution of Parliament, and the Governor being invested with legislative powers which, in general, will be exercised on the advice of his Ministers, but which in certain cases may be exercised at his discretion".

Such proposals involved a departure of a major nature from the accepted principles of Parliamentary Government which had existed in Rhodesia for 43 years.

Furthermore, the fact that this interim Government was to be vested with the powers of government—Parliament having been dissolved—created a situation which the Rhodesian Government could not tolerate. That statement was loudly cheered.

The Rhodesian Government, Mr. Smith continued, was anxious to remove the differences that had existed over the past year between Britain and Rhodesia with all the consequential difficulties caused to both Governments. "Nevertheless the Rhodesian Government cannot be expected to yield such fundamental principles and in a manner which amounts to surrender and submission of power."

Acceptance of Mr. Wilson's proposals for an independence constitution was "surely all that matters. It is considered that the Rhodesian Government would be extremely foolish were they to abandon the substance of their present Constitution for the shadow of a mythical Constitution yet to be evolved".

The Prime Minister ended with the words: "So the fight goes on".

He was loudly cheered and "For he's a jolly good fellow" was sung.

Dr. Wrathall, the Deputy Prime Minister, said that the Cabinet had been "absolutely united".

that the consequences set out in paragraphs 10A and 10B of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*—on the conditions laid down in those paragraphs—would be set in motion.

"He was told that this would mean for Rhodesia, and of the immediate dangers for Africa and even more widely, if he and his régime whose claim to legality has not been recognized by a single country in the world, insisted in continuing on a course which has earned the condemnation of practically the whole of mankind. He was left in no doubt about the action which we would take, and also the action which would be taken internationally. Equally he was left in no doubt about our resolve—however long it might take—to bring to an end a situation which, when he created it, he said would be a nine-days' wonder.

"The House knows that H.M. Government announced yesterday their acceptance in its entirety of the document Mr. Smith and I worked out together. This evening the House will have heard with sadness that the same document has been rejected by Mr. Smith and his colleagues. They have confirmed that they insist on maintaining their illegality until, in conditions in which no free expression of Rhodesian opinion would be possible, a Royal Commission has reported and independence has been granted.

"They have announced that they have accepted the principal changes in the 1961 Constitution which are set out in the document as a basis for independence. Their refusal to accept the settlement as a whole stems from their insistence on their refusal to return to legality unless they themselves can remain in power while the agreed constitutional settlement is being tested by Rhodesian opinion.

"The implications are obvious, and no one in this House would be ready to accept those implications. Indeed, if reports from Rhodesia which have come this evening are correct, they have also rejected any concept of sharing power with representatives of a wider section of Rhodesian European opinion, and they have rejected the proposal that two respected Africans, whose names were agreed between Mr. Smith and myself, should become part of the interim broad-based Government that we have proposed.

"At least the House and the world have been left in no doubt about the issues which are at stake, after all that has happened since last Thursday. It is clear that power for its own sake and the insistence of retaining that power in the hands of a small unrepresentative minority have dictated the outcome.

"An Honourable Way Out"

"I believe that it was right to try to reach a settlement which we could defend consistently with the principles we have proclaimed and consistently equally with our honour both in this House and before the bar of world opinion.

"No one—including many in Rhodesia who have previously put their trust in that group of men—could condone their refusal to accept the settlement which would have provided for them an honourable way out of the situation that not we but the illegal régime created.

"For us to have accepted what they were demanding would have been a betrayal of the principles on which our own democracy is based and the principles to which the multi-racial Commonwealth and the United Nations are dedicated.

"When my friends and I decided to hold this parley with Mr. Smith we knew that some might say that we were mistaken to venture on such a task. I believe that we were mistaken in what we did. The fact that the hand we proffered has been rejected does not alter that conviction.

"From that rejection certain inevitable consequences must now follow in accordance with the programme that we agreed with our Commonwealth colleagues in September. Mr. Smith was clearly warned of this in terms he clearly understood. He knew that we, the British Government and this House, were not prepared to suffer the destruction of our principles—or of the Commonwealth—for the sake of safeguarding from world opinion the actions of a small and irresponsible minority.

"The Foreign Secretary will fly to New York tomorrow to take personal charge, so far as H.M. Government are concerned, of the actions which must follow in the United Nations. Lord Caradon has been instructed to ask for an early meeting of the Security Council.

"I regret to have had to present this report to the House. I believe that we could have done no more.

Mr. Edward Heath, Leader of the Opposition, said that it would be a bitter blow to millions in this country and elsewhere that it had not yet been possible to reach a negotiated settlement.

Later he announced the Conservatives would vote against the Governments in this week's debate.

Preparations for the Negotiations on a British Cruiser

Emphasis on Danger of Sanctions Which Are Now to be Invoked by Britain

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT has rejected the proposed basis for a settlement with Britain which was worked out last week aboard the cruiser TIGER by negotiators representing the two Governments.

Mr. Wilson had as his senior colleagues Mr. Herbert Bowden, the Commonwealth Secretary, and Sir Elwyn Jones, the Attorney-General, while Mr. Ian Smith was accompanied by Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information (who is a lawyer) and Mr. Gerald Clarke, Secretary to his Cabinet (and Mr. Leonard-Thompson, his private secretary).

It was arranged that each Government should notify its acceptance or rejection of the document by 10 a.m. G.M.T. on Monday. The Rhodesian Cabinet had, however, not then completed its deliberations, and the British Government was so informed. Its own acceptance had been made public on the previous evening.

It was not until late on Monday afternoon that the Rhodesian Ministers ended their deliberations with a unanimous vote for rejection. Mr. Smith announced their decision immediately. His statement appears on the previous page.

"Leaking" the Way to the Cruiser

It was on Sunday, November 26, while Mr. Bowden was on his way back from Salisbury, that Mr. Wilson decided to meet Mr. Smith—though he had told the House of Commons only three days earlier that he would not see him until after he had ended his illegal régime. Mr. Wilson's first intention was, it seems, to have the "summit talks" on an aircraft-carrier.

When Mr. Bowden returned on Monday he said at the London Airport that Mr. Smith was prepared to make only "minor concessions". Later that day Mr. Wilson told other Ministers that mandatory sanctions would incur the risk of a ruinously expensive trade war with South Africa, and on Tuesday Mr. Callaghan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, emphasized to the economic committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party that sanctions had already cost the United Kingdom about £120m., that the cost in the next year might be as much as £300m. if there were a clash with South

Africa over mandatory sanctions, and that immense damage to Britain's economy was thus threatened.

That day, however, the Cabinet approved the departure for Salisbury of Sir Morrice James, Deputy Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Office not to get further elucidation from Mr. Smith of points raised in his talks with Mr. Bowden (as was officially put about) but to convey Mr. Wilson's invitation for a meeting and a promise of safe conduct. Mr. Smith, who for weeks had argued the need for such a meeting, accepted the proposal and agreed to accompany the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, to Gibraltar.

Chancellor's Anxiety

On Wednesday the Chancellor told a well-attended meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party that sanctions against Rhodesia would indefinitely postpone the easing of the economic restrictions in the United Kingdom about which many Socialist M.P.s continue to complain. Lobby correspondents were told that he had used the phrase: "Heaven help us if we get into a trade war with South Africa".

The ground was thus prepared for Mr. Wilson's statement to the House of Commons at 4 p.m. on Thursday that he would leave within a couple of hours with the Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General to meet Mr. Smith. They flew from London Airport in an R.A.F. Comet, accompanied by a party of 18, and reached Gibraltar four hours later, having flown over the sea in order to avoid Spanish air space.

The Rhodesian party had left Salisbury at dawn that day in the R.A.F. Comet in which Sir Morrice James had flown to Rhodesia. No announcement about the journey had been made, and the news became known only because a photographer at the airport saw Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, board the aircraft. Thinking that he was witnessing the Governor's departure from the country, he was about to leave when another car arrived with Mr. Smith (carrying his wartime R.A.F. greatcoat), and Mr. J. H. Howman, the Information Minister, Mr.

(Continued on page 202)

British Proposals for A Settlement with Rhodesia

Full Text of White Paper* Published on Tuesday

THE WHITE PAPER, of 12 pages, states:—

The Six Principles

The approach of successive British Governments towards the problem of granting independence to Rhodesia has throughout been governed by certain basic requirements. These have been formulated as five principles, to which the present Government subsequently added a sixth. These are as follows:—

- (1) The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.
- (2) There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.
- (3) There would have to be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.
- (4) There would have to be progress towards ending racial discrimination.
- (5) The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.
- (6) It would be necessary to ensure that, regardless of race, there was no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London in September this year the British Government notified to the conference their decisions as regards a settlement of the Rhodesian problem, and stated that they proposed to communicate their intentions through the Governor to all sections of opinion in Rhodesia, and to inform the illegal régime that, if they were not prepared to take the initial and indispensable steps whereby the rebellion was brought to an end and executive authority was vested in the Governor, certain related consequences would ensue. The section of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué* relating to Rhodesia is reproduced at Appendix A.

Discussions in Salisbury

The Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General visited Salisbury from 19 to 28 September for the purposes explained in the *communiqué*. During the course of their visit they met, under the aegis of the Governor, a cross-section of representative opinion in the country including Mr. Smith and members of the régime. In these talks they made clear the British Government's requirements for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem and what the consequences of rejection of the British proposals would be.

Discussion of those proposals continued during a visit to Rhodesia in October by Sir Maurice James, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Office; and in a further effort to resolve the problem the Commonwealth Secretary again visited Rhodesia between 25 and 27 November.

In the light of the Commonwealth Secretary's report on his return, the British Government decided that a further meeting with Mr. Smith should be arranged with the purpose of ascertaining whether or not a settlement of the Rhodesian problem could be reached, on the basis of the principles and within the programme of action to which they were committed by the *communiqué* of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting.

Prime Minister's Meeting with Mr. Smith

The meeting took place in H.M.S. TIGER off Gibraltar from 2 to 4 December, 1966. There were present the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, and the Attorney-General; the Governor and the Chief Justice of Rhodesia; and Mr. Smith and Mr. Howman representing the illegal régime.

The meeting resulted in a working document covering all the essential elements of the problem. A statement was signed by the Prime Minister and Mr. Smith, in the presence of the Governor, on 4 December, indicating that this document was without commitment on either side and that both sides would decide by 12 noon (Salisbury time) on Monday, 5 December, whether it was accepted in its entirety. The texts of the statement and the document are reproduced at Appendix B.

In the view of the British Government the document forms the basis for an acceptable settlement. It sets out proposals for an Independence Constitution which satisfy the six principles.

The Principals Meet

It provides for unimpeded progress to majority rule (*i.e.*, the first principle), while finding a means of introducing European reserved seats (to give effect to the sixth principle). It meets the second principle by establishing an effective blocking mechanism in a Senate and Lower House voting together, and by providing a right of appeal against the amendment of specially entrenched clauses of the Constitution, in the first instance to a Constitutional Commission in Rhodesia and from that commission, as of right, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

It meets the third principle (*i.e.*, an immediate improvement of the political status of the Africans) by an extension of the B roll franchise to cover all Africans over 30 years of age; by increasing B roll seats in the Lower House from 15 to 17, and by a total of 14 African seats in the Senate of which eight would be elected and six would be chiefs.

The fourth principle is met by a Royal Commission to study and make recommendations on the problems of racial discrimination and land apportionment.

Finally, satisfactory arrangements are suggested, within the requirements indicated in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*, for a return to legality by means of the appointment by the Governor of a broad-based administration, and for the testing of the opinion of the people of Rhodesia as a whole as required by the fifth principle after constitutional Government has been restored.

The British Government accordingly instructed the head of the British residual staff in Salisbury on the evening of 4 December to inform Mr. Smith, through the Governor, that they accepted the document in its entirety.

On the evening of 5 December the head of the British residual staff in Salisbury was informed by the régime that they were unwilling to accept the document in its entirety. As was made clear to Mr. Smith in H.M.S. TIGER, and as he recognized in signing the document at Appendix B, the illegal régime have thus rejected that document.

Conclusion

Throughout the constitutional discussions before the illegal declaration of independence on 11 November, 1965, and in the exploratory talks which have taken place since that event culminating in the meeting in H.M.S. TIGER, the British Government have sought a solution which would be fair to Europeans and Africans alike and which would win the acceptance of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. If such a solution could have been agreed they would have been prepared to commend it to the British people and Parliament as a just and honourable settlement which would be calculated to establish Rhodesia as an independent State with the general goodwill of the world community.

By their refusal to accept in its entirety the document which the British Government have accepted the illegal régime have made it clear that they are not prepared to take the necessary steps to bring the rebellion to an end. The responsibility for the situation which now arises rests wholly upon them. The related consequences foreshadowed in the *communiqué* of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London in September will now ensue.

APPENDIX A

Extract from the Final *Communiqué* of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London 1966 (Cmnd. 3115)

1. The Commonwealth Conference devoted a major portion of its discussions to the problem of Rhodesia.
2. As at Lagos in January of this year, the members of the conference reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rested with Britain but they acknowledged that the problem was of wider concern to Africa, the Commonwealth and the world.

(Continued on page 200)

PERSONALIA

MR. F. KUDERNATSCH is now Austrian Ambassador in Tanzania.

SHAYKH JABIR ABDULLAH AL-SABAH, of Kuwait, has been visiting Kenya.

MR. RICHARD MANNATHOKO is Botswana's first High Commissioner in Zambia.

MR. MAINZA CHONA, Minister of Home Affairs in Zambia, paid a four-day visit to Kenya last week.

MR. ION MAURER, Prime Minister of Rumania, is this week paying a four-day State visit to Ethiopia.

MR. DEREK MASSEY, a Briton employed by the Ministry of Agriculture, has been expelled from Tanzania.

MR. B. PONTIER, a former M.P. in Rhodesia and also a former Mayor of Salisbury, and MRS. PONTIER have arrived in London.

MR. MORRIS SAKALA has been appointed acting manager of the Land and Agricultural Bank of Zambia, following the retirement of Mr. R. M. FOSTER.

MR. KAMBOLA BWALYA, regional secretary of the United National Independence Party, has been elected chairman of Abercorn Town Council, Zambia.

MR. SIMON KATILUNGA, High Commissioner for Zambia, is one of a number of African diplomats in London, who are taking lessons in French at the Africa Centre.

The first two citizens of Zambia to qualify as pilots in the Zambia Air Force are Flying Officers D. C. ARNESON and C. J. KABWE. Most of their training was with the R.A.F. in Britain.

PROFESSOR A. M. GUERALT, a leading authority on dairy processing and marketing, is spending a fortnight in Zambia at the invitation of the Dairy Produce Board, which plans a new factory in Lusaka.

MR. ANDREW THOMAS WILSON, a former Deputy Director of Agriculture in Zambia, has been appointed agricultural adviser to the Caribbean development division of the Ministry of Overseas Development.

MR. PUMULO M. MUYANGWA, now Commissioner of Town and Country Planning in Zambia, is an honours graduate of Durham University and associate member of the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain.

DR. B. S. ELLIS, former Director of Research and Specialist Services in Rhodesia, has been appointed chairman of the advisory council of Chibero Agricultural College. He succeeds Mr. CHARLES MURRAY.

MR. DESMOND W. SMITH has been appointed sales manager of McConnell and Co., Ltd., manufacturers' representatives in Malawi. He has been in Blantyre since 1959, and is hon. secretary of the Malawi Lawn Tennis Association. In the last war he was a pilot in the Royal Air Force.

THE REV. ARTHUR BLAXALL has been appointed chaplain of Mindolo Ecumenical Centre, Kitwe, and will shortly leave for Zambia. On a charge of aiding banned political organizations he was sentenced in South Africa three years ago to 28 months' imprisonment, but was immediately paroled.

MME. KANZA LIHAU has been appointed Minister for Social Affairs in the Congo. A 26-year-old sister of Mr. THOMAS KANZA, who was "foreign minister" in the rebel Government based on Stanleyville, she is a graduate of Geneva University and has been a lecturer at the University of Kinshasa (Leopoldville).

The appeal of Mr. MICHAEL FENTON HADDON, a 52-year-old mining engineer and company director, against sentence of four years' imprisonment on charges of defrauding brokers in New York over deliveries of copper concentrates was rejected by the Appeal Court of Rhodesia last week, the three judges being unanimous.

MR. ZEPHANIAH BALIDDAWA had returned to East Africa after completing a two-year training course in aviation in the United Kingdom. He obtained a commercial pilot's licence and took the air traffic control officers' course. After on-the-job training he is to occupy a senior post in the East African Directorate of Civil Aviation.

MR. OLAV JOHAN OLESON, who has been wheat breeder at Salisbury Research Station, Rhodesia, for the past 11 years, and recently reached the retiring age, has been re-appointed for an initial period of three years. Two varieties of wheat which he has developed, named Marodzi and Mazoe, have given yields of up to 40 bags per acre under experimental conditions.

MR. JOHN BRANSTON, who has been appointed town clerk of Mufulira, went to Zambia five years ago from Uganda, where he was assistant town clerk in Kampala. A Middlesex man, he had been on the staff of Essex County Council and Holborn Borough Council before the last war, in which he served in the Royal Corps of Signals in the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe.

SIR FOSTER ROBINSON, president of the family group of paper product companies, who has repeatedly visited Rhodesia, where there is a subsidiary, married on Tuesday MRS. JEANNIE BATEMAN-CHAMPAIN, widow of the former Bishop of Knarborough, whose son-in-law, the BISHOP OF TWCKESBURY, conducted the service. The first LADY FOSTER died three years ago. SIR FOSTER is now 86.

MR. G. C. W. LUTTA has been appointed Legal Secretary (designate) to the East African Common Services Organization, and will be the first East African to hold the post when he takes over in a few months from Mr. A. M. AKIWUMI, a West African. He read law at the University of Cape Town, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1958, and practised with a Kampala firm of advocates for two years before joining the chambers of the Attorney-General in Kenya late in 1960.

Obituary

MR. ANTHONY BULLER PHILLPOTTS, O.B.E., who died last week, was in 1947 appointed general manager of the East African Standard Ltd.

CAPTAIN NIGEL PELLY, who has died at the age of 58, took part in the Cairo-to-Cape flight of the R.A.F. in 1931. He flew the then Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to Germany to meet Hitler at Munich in 1938. During the last war he did much flying in North and East Africa.

MR. LIONEL POWYS-JONES, who has died in South Africa, aged 72, served in East Africa in the 1914-18 war with the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment, was afterwards commissioned in the 60th Rifles, and was wounded in France. He had been a Rhodes scholar at Oriel College, Oxford, before the war. He became Chief Native Commissioner in Southern Rhodesia in 1949 and retired six years later.

VISCOUNT KNOLLYS, G.C.M.G., D.F.C., who has died at the age of 71, served with distinction in the 1914-18 war, entered Barclays Bank, and in 1929 went to Cape Town to work as a local director of Barclays Bank D.C.O. Three years later he returned to England and became managing director of a large assurance corporation; when he retired from that office in 1954 he was made chairman. In 1941 he was appointed Governor in Bermuda, and two years later became the first whole-time chairman of British Overseas Airways, which he largely reorganized and expanded, travelling a great deal in Africa in the next four years. Then he resumed his business career, and until last year was chairman of the English Steel Corporation. Since 1953 he had been chairman of the council of the R.A.F. Benevolent Fund and a member of the finance committee of the British Empire Cancer Campaign.

Revolution in Burundi

P.M. Proclaims Himself President

THE PRIME MINISTER OF BURUNDI, Captain Michel Micombero, and a group of young officers overthrew the monarchical régime last week while the 19-year-old King Ntare V was visiting the Congo and declared the country a republic. The Prime Minister proclaimed himself President and announced that a new Government pending the formation of the Cabinet had been replaced by a "provisional revolutionary committee" of 12 officers.

In a broadcast he accused the King of treason, nepotism and corruption. Less than five months ago he had placed him on the throne in a *coup* against his father, Mwambutsa IV, who had been absent in Europe for some months.

Provincial governors have been replaced by military officers, a curfew has been imposed throughout the country from dusk to dawn, and the only airport was closed to civilian traffic.

The new President, a 26-year-old Tutsi, who was formerly a captain in the police, has told the people that "the monarchy is the cause of all our misfortunes". If King Ntare returned he would be treated as an ordinary citizen, without special privileges.

One-Party State

Only five days before his deposition the King had issued a royal decree declaring Burundi to be a one-party State, outlawing all parties except Uprona, and describing the single-party system as the most authentic form of democracy because it definitely identified itself with the nation. The people were "freely and democratically to exercise their sovereignty within Uprona, the single-party of unity and national progress". All decisions at national level in connexion with the Government's programme would first be submitted to the party's executive committee, which would control the youth movement and trade unions.

"All participating in the creation or management of any other political association will be liable to punishment up to five years' penal servitude or a fine not exceeding 20,000 francs; those joining such an association will be liable up to 12 years' penal servitude and a fine not exceeding 10,000 francs."

The National Committee of the Revolution, believed to be exclusively Tutsi, suggested at its first meeting that the new Government should be "fairly small" and composed as far as possible of members of the armed forces; that the information services should be so modernized as to counter any form of subversion; and that "lackeys should receive the punishment reserved for traitors".

Mr. Gregoire Kayibanda, President of the Republic of Rwanda, has congratulated the people of Burundi on liberating themselves from the "reactionary yoke of feudal monarchy", and expressed his confidence that the establishment of a republic will bring closer contacts with other African States and so "consolidate democracy and freedom in our beloved continent".

Radio Burundi has been renamed Voice of the Revolution. Bujumbura District Electoral Commission has demanded the trial for high treason of "the Mwami and his lackeys".

President Mobutu of the Congo said that the *coup* was "a very discourteous gesture towards the Congolese people"; those who had seized power should have waited for the return of Ntare V before launching their operation.

In Geneva a spokesman for ex-King Mwambutsa said that the *coup d'état* might lead to civil war; supporters of the monarchy were likely to rebel.

Ntare had been considered a figurehead, the real power resting with a small group of military and police officers, with whom trade union and youth leaders were in close contact. Opposition had been forcefully suppressed.

The small but well-trained army still has a number of Belgian officers. Most of the rank and file are Hutu tribesmen. Tribal sentiments are strong and potentially dangerous.

Crown Prince Louis Rwagasore was murdered in 1961, and a Prime Minister, Mr. Ngendandumwe, was assassinated early last year. An attempt on the life of another Prime Minister, Mr. Biha, was made in October, 1965, when an attack was made on the royal palace.

Mass executions followed, many in public. The Chinese Communists, who had established an embassy in Bujumbura with a staff of 19, had been active in local politics and in stimulating the Congolese rebellion of 1964, for which they provided arms, training and advice.

Secret Court

THE ZANZIBAR GOVERNMENT announced on Sunday that it had suspended the decree issued in October and retrospective until May establishing a secret court for the trial of persons accused of political offences. President Karume is now to decide on what date the decree should come into operation.

Somali Aggression

DR. MUNGAI, Kenya's Defence Minister, has said that the Republic of Somalia is giving military training to *shifita* (brigands, or terrorists) and supplying them with standard military plastic mines, weapons and ammunition for use in aggression against Kenya. There would be swift retaliation against guerrillas entering Kenya to commit sabotage.

Death for "Imagining"

ANY KENYAN convicted of imagining, inventing, devising, or intending the death or wounding of the President or his removal from office will, according to a new Bill, be guilty of treason and subject to a mandatory death sentence. Life imprisonment is provided for aiding Kenya's enemies and interfering with public order. Hard labour for seven years and corporal punishment will be the maximum penalty for stealing a motor vehicle.

Murdered in Nairobi

MISS ALISON SMITH, a 23-year-old Scot working in Kenya with Voluntary Service Overseas, was found dead last week on waste ground behind a Nairobi hospital. She had been raped and strangled, apparently four or five days previously. Though due to return to Britain in September, she had postponed her departure in order to travel with a girl friend on a ship leaving Mombasa just before Christmas. Her father is Dr. James Smith, director of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute in Scotland. An African medical orderly has been arrested.

Expulsions from Tanzania

MR. SJAONA, Minister for Home Affairs, has said that the repatriation of Africans residing in Tanzania had not been confined to the 69 Kenyans expelled from Mwanza. A number of Africans from Rwanda, two from Burundi, four from Uganda, and one each from Somalia and Malawi had also been rounded up because there had been "a terrible crime wave in Mwanza involving house-breaking, robbery with violence, and other offences". Some of the Kenyans had not possessed entry permits, and some had been growing *bhanga*. Sixty-six Tanzanian Africans had been sent from Mwanza to their tribal areas.

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What Parliament Was Told before Mr. Wilson Left for Gibraltar

Repeated Insistence on Six Principles—Which Rhodesians Had Accepted

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS was told on Thursday afternoon of Mr. WILSON'S decision to meet Mr. Smith. At the end of question time the PRIME MINISTER said:—

"I shall be leaving this afternoon, with the Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General for a meeting with the Governor of Rhodesia and Mr. Ian Smith to ascertain whether, within the programme of action to which the British Government are committed by the *communiqué* issued at the end of the recent meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, a settlement of the Rhodesian problem can be reached on the basis of the principles to which successive British Governments have throughout adhered.

"The fact that this meeting is taking place should not be allowed to disguise the fact that, despite the signs of movement we have had in the last week, there is still, so far as I can at this moment judge, a considerable gap to bridge.

"The House will wish us to do everything in our power to get a settlement, and this we shall seek to do; but the House equally will insist, as the Government are insisting, that there can be no question of a settlement which does not honour the principles which all of us in this House stand by. The House, I think, will further agree that a decision one way or the other cannot be delayed any longer. If no settlement on the terms which we are prepared to commend to this House is possible, then it is right that this fact should be known, and known quickly.

MR. WINNICK: "Is the Prime Minister aware that so many of us on this side of the House believe so strongly in the six principles that if any of those principles were to be abandoned many of us could not continue to support the Government on this issue? Would the Prime Minister agree that if we were to lose this battle with an illegal racialist régime it would bring lasting shame and disgrace to all of us?"

Machinery for Mandatory Sanctions

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The hon. Member need have no anxiety. If there were any question of abandoning the six principles which the House has endorsed I could not support H.M. Government either."

MR. KENNETH LEWIS: "Is the Prime Minister aware that he will get the full support at least of this side of the House to secure an agreement, and that we hope he will come back with an agreement with Mr. Smith?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I thank the hon. gentleman. In all the talks about talks our position has been that if a situation arose in which we could make progress at a direct meeting of this kind we could have this meeting. I believe that a great deal of the progress which has been made so far—and there is a long way to go yet—has been due to the patience shown by the Commonwealth Secretary in what I believe to have been two historic visits and by the line which he took, particularly last week. It has also been shown by the fact that everyone in Rhodesia, whatever some visitors from the House have told the Rhodesians, understands the utter determination of H.M. Government not to give way on any point which infringes the six principles."

MR. HOOSON: "While we hope that the Prime Minister will be able to achieve an honourable settlement—and this, I feel, will largely depend on Mr. Smith—may I ask him whether he is satisfied that adequate international machinery exists for the implementation of mandatory sanctions? If not, what steps are H.M. Government taking in that matter?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, sir. Of course, during and since the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference a great deal of attention and consultation has been given to this very question, and since that time these consultations have been going on. The fact of this meeting will not halt the action now being taken—the meeting of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee on Monday and other consultations.

"We hope that these sanctions will not be necessary if this meeting goes well, but I am perfectly certain that if we had not made it quite clear what the consequences would be of a refusal or further delay or procrastination, we would not have got to a point where I would feel justified in the meeting which will begin this evening."

MR. HEATH: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the whole House will be glad that he is now going to meet Mr. Smith and that we greatly hope that it will be possible for him to make an acceptable settlement with him? We would only like to assure the Prime Minister that he should take whatever time he feels to be necessary to achieve it."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I thank the rt. hon. gentleman very much for what he has said and the spirit in which he has said it."

MR. WOODBURN: "We would all hope that Mr. Smith will bow to the will of the world in regard to what is right for the Government of Rhodesia, but if not, since this country has already imposed every economic sanction and has practically ceased all trade with Rhodesia, would my rt. hon. friend explain to the members of the United Nations that all we would be asking them to do is to carry out what we have already done?"

"Knowing Mr. Smith As Well As I Do"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, sir. Knowing Mr. Smith as well as I do, I am not sure that his motive in any settlement—and I do not say this in any sense which he would consider critical—is bowing to the will of the world. He will decide what he thinks is best for Rhodesia, and I think that he will now see what is best for Rhodesia in these circumstances.

"We have to look at wider considerations. But my rt. hon. friend is right. If we fail to get agreement there is no question of surrendering our present control of this problem so far as it is in our control. We apply sanctions, but some other countries do not, and some legally cannot unless the sanctions are mandatory."

MR. SANDYS: "While joining in expressing satisfaction that the rt. hon. gentleman, despite his rebuke to me last week, is now to try to negotiate a compromise settlement based on the realities of the situation, may I ask him whether, in view of his earlier statement that he would be prepared to meet Mr. Smith only if Mr. Smith had become the head of a legal Rhodesian Government, that condition has now been fulfilled?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "If the courteous reply which I gave to the rt. hon. gentleman last week and which he calls a rebuke was in fact a rebuke, it was because I did not consider his interpretation of the realities of the situation to be the same as my interpretation.

"Nor have I considered his visit to Salisbury in any way helpful, unlike the visits of certain of his rt. hon. and hon. friends, if I may say so, who have taken the national view when they have been there. While it is true that the rt. hon. gentleman pressed on Mr. Smith the need for a settlement—I grant him that—he has given some wrong impressions while he has been there.

"The answer to his question is that the position is that I would not have contemplated the visit today unless I had enough reason to think that we were within hailing distance of a possible solution which would involve a return to constitutional rule. I do not say that we are there—there is a very big gap to bridge—but it may be possible that the condition to which the rt. hon. gentleman has drawn attention may become enough of a reality in the near future to justify my visit after what I have said."

MR. GRIMMOND: "Will the Prime Minister confirm that the reason why we have come within what he describes as hailing distance is simply and solely because of a shift on the part of Mr. Smith? Can he tell us whether it is true that he is going to meet Mr. Smith at sea, and why negotiations cannot be conducted on land in the normal way?"

On the Slippery Slope to War

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I used the phrase 'hailing distance', but I hope that this will not be misunderstood. On sea or on the land I hope that we shall find it easier to talk to one another rather than by that particular means. I did not mean that I thought that we had now reached a position where a settlement is likely. I think that it is possible; but there is a gap to bridge.

"With regard to the question of who has moved, I do not think that it would be particularly helpful at this moment to go into the issues. The House will be given the full story. Last time we published all of the exchanges, and the House will have the full story this time when a White Paper is published, either as a result of the success—as I hope—or sadly, in other circumstances. The House can then judge."

MR. PAGET: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that a great many people in this country who have felt that we were on the slippery slope to war, not only with Rhodesia but as the inevitable concomitant, with South Africa, are very grateful indeed to him for the action which he is taking?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am grateful to my hon. and learned friend for the last part of his question. He has never understood in the way that we do the great dangers that would have been involved if we had taken his advice at various times in this unhappy history. My hon. and learned friend, and some hon. Members and one or two rt. hon. gentlemen opposite, must examine their own records in this matter to see whether they have not made it much harder to reach the situation which now exists and perhaps delayed our getting there."

MR. SHINWELL: "Can my rt. hon. friend give a firm assurance that he will not allow any consideration or calculation of economic loss or gain to cause him to depart from the principles that he has laid down or from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I can certainly give that assurance. I read some of the comments in certain papers this morning suggesting that we have changed our attitude as a result of some calculations which I am supposed to have just seen—in the last 48 hours—about the possible effect of mandatory sanctions. This is totally untrue. It is a totally unworthy slur upon myself and some of my hon. friends who were named in these stories to suggest that we would be likely in any circumstances to depart from the principles that we have laid down for the solution of this question. The calculations on this issue were made a very long time ago."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "In his efforts to solve this national British problem will the Prime Minister keep in mind the very strong feeling that transcends parties in the country, and possibly to some extent in this House, should if a British Commonwealth community and a British problem were to be shuffled off on to the United Nations it would be considered a humiliating failure of statesmanship?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I explained that last week there may have been some misunderstanding about the phrase 'shuffled off'. The mandatory sanctions ensure that other countries are able to do what we have been doing, a very different thing from discharging ourselves of the responsibility either for the jurisdiction over Rhodesia or for the solution of the problem. The hon. gentleman, who knows a good deal about this, and who has been to Rhodesia a number of times, can make his own calculation about the kind of humiliation that we would have suffered if we had listened to him."

Advance to Majority Rule

DR. GRAY: "Does my rt. hon. friend agree that in accordance with the six principles advance to majority rule should have a termination point? Does he further agree that this period should be brief or at the maximum 10 years?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We stand by the six principles. The salient parts of those have been laid down by our predecessors, and we have stood by them. I do not think that it would be helpful at this stage to go into any more detail."

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman agree that in view of the tremendous importance of ending this conflict upon proper terms, a conflict which neither side will win, it would be much better that we just extend to him our good wishes and stop further questions?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am most grateful to the rt. hon. and learned gentleman."

MR. ASHLEY: "Would the Prime Minister recognize that every possible difference between the letter and the spirit of the six principles is of profound importance not only to this House but to the whole of Africa?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "My hon. friend can be well assured from our record in this matter over two years, and indeed from that of our predecessors, that we are well aware of those considerations."

MR. IAN LLOYD: "When during his discussion with the Governor and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia the questions of the extent or timing of universal-suffrage arise, as they surely will, will the Prime Minister give close attention to the remarks of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan in his luncheon speech at the Mansion House last week, when he referred to the relevance of Western democratic principles to conditions in Pakistan, which are undoubtedly common to Pakistan and Rhodesia?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We shall bear in mind the views of the other Commonwealth Heads of Government. The plans made in case there is no agreement have been drawn up in complete agreement with the other Commonwealth Heads of Government."

On the previous day Mr. Wilson had told the House that he had no present plans to visit Rhodesia, but that on the previous evening, Sir Maurice James of the Commonwealth Office had left for Salisbury to see the Governor, "and under his auspices to clarify certain issues which have risen from the Commonwealth Secretary's report to the Government on his recent discussions in Salisbury."

MR. W. HAMILTON asked if Mr. Wilson was aware that there would be "very grave misgivings" on the Socialist benches if he or any other Minister again travelled to Salisbury "to be merely an accessory to Mr. Smith's prolonged and rather cunning procrastination?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "As to procrastination, the timetable, or programme, was laid down in the *communiqué* following the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, where it was understood and agreed that we would make one final effort to try to reach a settlement within the terms of the six principles and that, failing that, certain action would be taken. We are adhering to that programme, so that therefore, even if anyone wanted to procrastinate, it would not be possible."

MR. FISHER: "Will there be adequate time for hon. Members to consider the documents before a debate and to debate the matter before there is any approach to the United Nations?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It is very difficult to give categorical assurances, but certainly it would be my intention that no irrevocable commitment would have been made in this matter until the House had had a chance to debate the matter."

Keep Issue Within British Control

SIR KNOX CUNNINGHAM: "Will the Prime Minister bear in mind that great numbers of people in this country believe that this is a matter which should be settled between Rhodesia and ourselves and are firmly opposed to it going to the United Nations?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We have throughout said that this is a matter which we want to keep within our own control and settle between Rhodesia and ourselves, but of course a situation arises if after prolonged discussion there is not an acceptance in Rhodesia of the only conditions which this House could possibly tolerate for its settlement—all parties in this House."

"So far as recourse to the United Nations is concerned, I think there had been some misunderstanding, inevitable perhaps, between a decision to hand over legal sovereignty of Rhodesia to the United Nations—which is not in contemplation—or to say that we cannot solve the problem, let the United Nations decide it—which again is not in contemplation—as compared with the action envisaged in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*, where, in order to make sanctions work as we are working them and some countries are not, it is desirable to have common United Nations action to make those sanctions effective."

MR. KELLY: "Is there now a possibility of approaching people in Rhodesia of alternative political ideals to those of the present régime to try to obtain a settlement by virtue of that approach?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "When my rt. hon. friend was in Salisbury early in October he had the opportunity of discussing with representatives of very wide-ranging political opinions in Rhodesia this possibility. He was not able to see Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Sithole but he spoke to a number of like-minded people. I do not think those soundings suggested that there is any immediate settlement possible on the basis suggested."

MR. HEATH: "Is the Prime Minister aware that he will have the support, certainly of everyone on this side of the House and I believe in the greater part of the House, so long as he continues efforts to reach agreement by negotiations, but that we shall certainly try to dissuade him from interfering with those efforts by any idea of a particular time or date-line?"

Concentrating the Mind of the Opponent

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It depends on what the rt. hon. gentleman means by negotiations. We have been over that argument before. So far as timing is concerned, in so far as as there has been—and there has been—a small movement in the last few days I hope the rt. hon. gentleman does not underrate the importance of having fixed a programme and a time-table in getting that degree of movement."

"We would require a good deal more movement yet before we saw the possibility of the kind of agreement envisaged in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*. I am not sure that it was helpful to this when the rt. hon. gentleman at the end of the conference condemned the time-table and used words which may have been taken by some people in Rhodesia as an invitation to reject the propositions of the conference."

MR. HEATH: "There was certainly no invitation to anybody to reject the idea of a negotiated settlement, but is the Prime Minister aware that even those opposed to Mr. Smith, like Sir Roy Welensky who was on television last night, say that any question of insistence on an ultimatum, programme, or date-line would certainly not produce an agreement? What we want the Prime Minister to do is to continue to work for a negotiated settlement."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am quite sure that if there had been a time-table related to the end of December instead of the end of November, we would have got the movement we got last week-end round about Christmas-time. The rt. hon. gentleman, with his long experience of negotiations, should not underrate the importance sometimes of helping to concentrate the mind of a person with whom one is negotiating. This I believe we have done. We have yet to see whether it will reap the results which I am sure so many of us in this House are hoping for."

White Paper Proposals

(Concluded from page 195)

3. They reaffirmed the view expressed in the *communiqué* issued at the end of the Lagos Conference as follows: "The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it. They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority for the benefit of a privileged few was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights. The goal of future progress in Rhodesia should be the establishment of a just society based on equality of opportunity to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential and from which all could enjoy the benefits due to them without discrimination or unjust impediment. To this end several principles were affirmed. The first was the determination of all present that the rebellion must be brought to an end. All those detained for purely political reasons should be released. Political activities should be constitutional and free from intimidation from any quarter. Repressive and discriminatory laws should be repealed."

4. They further reaffirmed the statement made in their London *communiqué* of 1965 and repeated in Lagos that "the principle of one man one vote was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia".

5. They remain unanimous on the objective that the rebellion in Rhodesia must be brought to an end speedily. In order to achieve this objective, most of the Heads of Government expressed their firm opinion that force was the only sure means of bringing down the illegal régime in Rhodesia. Others, however, shared the British Government's objections to the use of force to impose a constitutional settlement, while agreeing that it was not ruled out where necessary to restore law and order.

Majority Rule Before Independence

6. Most Heads of Government urged that Britain should make a categorical declaration that independence would not be granted before majority rule is established on the basis of universal adult franchise and that this declaration should not be conditional on whether the illegal régime agreed to surrender or not. They further urged that Britain should refuse to resume discussions or to negotiate with the illegal régime.

7. The British Prime Minister stated that the British Government would not recommend to the British Parliament any constitutional settlement which did not conform with the six principles; that they attached particular importance to the fifth principle, namely that any settlement must be, and be seen to be, acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole; that they regarded it as implicit in this fifth principle that the test of acceptability must enable the people of Rhodesia as a whole to indicate whether or not they were prepared to accept any settlement which provided for the grant of independence before majority rule was achieved; and that there would be no independence before majority rule if the people of Rhodesia as a whole were shown to be opposed to it.

8. The conference noted the following decisions of the British Government:—

(a) After the illegal régime is ended a legal Government will be appointed by the Governor and will constitute a broadly based representative administration. During this interim period the armed forces and police will be responsible to the Governor. Those individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted provided that they are conducted peacefully and democratically without intimidation from any quarter.

(b) The British Government will negotiate, with this interim administration, a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule, on the basis of the six principles;

(c) This constitutional settlement will be submitted for acceptance to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by appropriate democratic means;

(d) The British Parliament and Government must be satisfied that this test of opinion is fair and free and would be acceptable to the general world community;

(e) The British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it.

Unconditional Release of Detainees

9. Most Heads of Government made it clear that in their view political leaders and others detained should be immediately and unconditionally released before an interim representative Government was formed, in which they should

be adequately represented. They further expressed the view that any ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be by a referendum based on universal adult suffrage, i.e., one man, one vote.

10. The Heads of Government also noted that the British Government proposed immediately to communicate its intentions as indicated above through the Governor to all sections of opinion in Rhodesia and to inform the illegal régime there that if they are not prepared to take the initial and indispensable steps whereby the rebellion is brought to an end and executive authority is vested in the Governor, the following related consequences will ensue:—

(a) The British Government will withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement which have been made; in particular they will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule.

(b) Given the full support of Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations, the British Government will be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council of the United Nations before the end of this year a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

11. The conference had before it an analysis of the working of economic sanctions prepared by the Sanctions Committee set up in Lagos. It was agreed that, though sanctions had undoubtedly depressed the Rhodesian economy, they were unlikely at their present level to achieve the desired political objectives within an acceptable period of time. Accordingly, the Heads of Government were generally agreed on the need for stronger and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Most were convinced that mandatory sanctions of a general and comprehensive character should be applied under Chapter VII, Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter, and should cover both exports and imports. Others favoured sanctions on selected individual commodities important to the economy of Rhodesia. The Heads of Government recorded their appreciation of the work of the Sanctions Committee and requested it to continue its work.

12. There was unanimity of view that Commonwealth countries should continue to co-operate to the fullest extent possible in the pursuit of these objectives for Rhodesia notwithstanding some differences of opinion as to the most effective means of achieving them.

13. It was also agreed unanimously that assistance should be given to Zambia to produce a more complete cut-off of trade with Rhodesia and to assist her to withstand any serious effect on her economy resulting therefrom. To this end they requested that the Zambian Sub-Committee of the Sanctions Committee should continue its efforts in co-ordinating further Commonwealth assistance. Continuing consideration should also be given to the problems of Malawi.

14. The Heads of Government agreed that the problem of Rhodesia should be kept under constant review, and that they would meet again soon if the illegal régime were not brought to an end speedily.

One Overriding Purpose

15. The Heads of Government have had one overriding purpose in their consideration of the Rhodesian situation, a consideration which has now extended over four meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. That purpose is to end the perpetuation of power in that country in the hands of a minority, with only ineffective and inadequate guarantees of the political rights of the majority. Such a situation must be replaced by an arrangements based on a multi-racial society in which human and political rights will be vested in all the people without discrimination and in accordance with the true principles of democracy.

Appendix B is prefaced by the following statement, dated December 4:—

The attached document was worked out by the British Prime Minister and Mr. Smith in H.M.S. Tiger off Gibraltar on 2nd/3rd December, 1966. It is without commitment on either side and both sides will decide by 12 noon (Salisbury time) on Monday, 5th December, 1966, whether it is accepted in its entirety.

I. DOUGLAS SMITH

HAROLD WILSON

Signed in my presence

HUMPHREY GIBBS
(Governor)

RHODESIA INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

The following are the principal changes which are to be made in the 1961 Constitution to meet the first, second, third and sixth principles:

1.—The Governor

Governor-General to be appointed on the advice of the Rhodesian Government.

2.—The Legislature

The composition to be:

Legislative Assembly

- 33 A roll seats
- 17 B roll seats
- 17 reserved European seats

Each block of seats to cover the whole country

Senate

The composition to be:

- 12 European seats (elected by Europeans on the A roll. Six members to represent Mashonaland and six members to represent Matabeleland).
- 8 African (elected by Africans on the A and B rolls voting together. Four members to represent Mashonaland and four members to represent Matabeleland).
- 6 Chiefs (elected by Chiefs' Council).

3.—Franchise

The B roll franchise—to be extended to include all Africans over 30 who satisfy the citizenship and residence qualifications.

Reserved European seats—to be elected by the European electorate.

Cross voting to be retained and applied to all seats.

4.—Delimitation

Alterations in the composition of both Houses and in number of seats to be effected by special entrenchment procedure. But the terms of reference of the Delimitation Commission are to incorporate the agreed formula as follows: The overriding objective of the commission is so to divide the constituencies that the proportion of those with a majority of African voters on the A roll at the time of delimitation is the same as the proportion of African voters then on the A roll for the country as a whole. Subject to this, the commission is to take into account the factors specified in Section 38.

5.—Terms of Office of Senators

20 elected members—as for Legislative Assembly.

6 chiefs—as for Legislative Assembly although a chief will vacate his office as a Senator if he ceases to be a chief. Chiefs are only to be removed from office on the recommendation of an impartial judicial tribunal.

6.—Powers of Senate

The powers of the Senate will be: (a) review of legislation; (b) special legislative powers in respect of tribal land, law and custom; (c) amendment of Constitution—see below. Members of the Senate may be appointed as Ministers.

7.—Executive Powers

The Governor-General will act on Ministers' advice in all matters.

8.—Amendment of the Constitution

Ordinary amendments of the Constitution will require, as now, a vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the Legislative Assembly.

The amendment of the specially entrenched provisions of the Constitution will require a vote of at least three-quarters of the total membership of both Houses voting together. In addition there will be a system of appeal against such an amendment. The amendment will not come into force until the time for appeal has expired or the appeal has been fully disposed of. The appeal will lie in the first instance to a Constitutional Commission in Rhodesia, consisting of the Chief Justice and other judges; with further appeal as of right to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The permitted grounds of appeal will be that the amendment discriminates unjustly or has the effect of discriminating unjustly between the races or contravenes any of the provisions of the Declaration of Rights contained in the Constitution.

9.—Fourth Principle

As a minimum requirement to give effect to the fourth principle, a Royal Commission will be set up without delay to study and make recommendations on the problems of racial discrimination, in particular Land Apportionment in Rhodesia, and the possibility of extending the competence of the

Constitutional Council to embrace pre-1961 legislation: and a Standing Commission will keep the problems of racial discrimination under regular review.

10.—Return to Legality and the Fifth Principle

An Order in Council will be made as soon as possible permitting the appointment by the Governor of a Prime Minister and other Ministers in Rhodesia.

11.—The existing Legislature will be dissolved. The Governor will be invested with legislative powers, to be used on the advice of Ministers—except in those cases where he is empowered to act in his own discretion. No later than four months from the date of dissolution of the Legislature, and on the assumption that the test of acceptability referred to in paragraph 17 below will have been completed in that interval, new elections will be held. If that test has shown that the new Constitution is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, a further election, on the basis of that Constitution, will be held as soon as possible either immediately before or immediately after independence.

12.—As soon as the Order in Council mentioned in paragraph 10 is made, the Governor, in the full exercise of his constitutional powers, will invite Mr. Smith to head a broad-based interim Government which will include, in addition to representatives of existing political parties, independent members and Africans.

13.—This Government will be appointed by the Governor in his discretion.

14.—The restored constitutional Government will be based upon the 1961 Constitution, modified (by Order in Council which will be made as soon as possible) to provide that during the interim period before the first election is held Rhodesian Ministers will be appointed by and responsible to the Governor, who will normally act on their advice in all internal matters of administration but, as regards his ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of human rights, will be advised, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces, by a Defence and Security Council, comprising the responsible Ministers, together with the heads of the Defence Forces, the Chief of Police, and a representative of the British Government.

Detention Only for Intimidation or Violence

15.—During the interim period, and before any testing of opinion under the fifth principle is carried out, censorship will be removed; and normal political activities will be permitted, provided they are conducted peacefully and democratically and without intimidation from any quarter. In this connexion an impartial judicial tribunal, appointed by the Rhodesian Government, but including one British representative nominated by the Lord Chancellor, will be set up to consider the detention and restriction of persons on security grounds. Such detention and restriction will not be authorized unless the tribunal are affirmatively satisfied that the persons concerned have committed, or incited the commission of, acts of violence or intimidation.

16.—As soon as possible after the return to legality the British Government will negotiate with the legal Government the details of the constitutional settlement for an independent Rhodesia in accordance with the arrangements already agreed informally and described in Part I of this document.

17.—The agreed settlement will be submitted to the test of acceptability to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by a Royal Commission whose composition and terms of reference will be agreed by the British Government with the legal interim administration.

18.—If the settlement is shown to be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, the British Government will at the earliest possible date introduce the necessary legislation to grant independence to Rhodesia on this basis and will commend this legislation to Parliament.

19.—The two Governments will also negotiate the terms of a treaty guaranteeing the independence Constitution. They will also enter into discussions on the desirability of negotiating an appropriate Defence Agreement for the purpose of regulating future defence relations between the two Governments.

20.—If however the settlement is shown to be unacceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, the two Governments will immediately confer together to consider what steps should be taken to devise alternative proposals for an independence Constitution.

21.—On the restoration of legal government, the British Government will take all action in their power to bring about the immediate discontinuance of the economic and other sanctions at present in force.

[Editorial comment is made in Matters of Moment.]

Meeting on H.M.S. "Tiger"

(Continued from page 194)

Gerald Clarke, and Mr. L. Thompson. As soon as they were aboard the aircraft took off.

It refuelled at Luanda, Angola, and went on to Ascension Island, to which two long-range Britannia aircraft of the Royal Air Force had been sent. The Governor, Chief Justice, and Sir Morrice left in one, and Mr. Smith's party an hour later in the other, making the whole journey to Gibraltar over the sea in order not to have to ask any African State for over-flying permission or risk a forced landing anywhere in Africa.

The delay in departure of Mr. Smith's aircraft meant that Mr. Wilson had the opportunity of an hour's talk with Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Sir Hugh Beadle before the arrival of the two Rhodesian Ministers, who were taken by launch to H.M.S. TIGER, a 9,550-ton cruiser, which was waiting about half a mile off-shore. She had interrupted a courtesy visit to Casablanca and arrived off the Rock only a little while before the party from London arrived.

No Further Amendments or Delays

For the next two days, with breaks only for meals, negotiations continued almost uninterrupted as the ship patrolled in calm waters to the east of Gibraltar. Then, at 7 p.m. on Saturday, the TIGER entered Gibraltar harbour, but when it was expected that the visitors would leave the two Prime Ministers decided to talk on for a few more hours. At 1 a.m. local time on Sunday (midnight in London) Mr. Smith and Mr. Howman landed in a launch, went straight to the airport, and left in the Britannia which had brought them to Europe.

Mr. Wilson remained aboard the cruiser until 9.30 a.m. on Sunday. On reaching London Airport he said that the British and Rhodesian Governments had until 10 a.m. (G.M.T.) on Monday (noon in Salisbury) to indicate acceptance or rejection of a "working document" which had been drawn up as the basis for a settlement. If it were accepted the agreement would take immediate effect. A one-word telegram from Mr. Smith saying "Yes" or "No" was all that was necessary.

The document had, he said, been worked over in every detail. By far the greater part of it had been agreed, but there were one or two outstanding points; they could not be solved by any further processes of amendment or delay. It was a question of accepting or rejecting the document as a whole.

He had begun the Press conference by reading a formal statement agreed with Mr. Smith. It said:—

"The Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith have concluded their discussion in H.M.S. TIGER. They have produced, without commitment on either side, a working document. They are returning to report on this to their respective colleagues. It is agreed that both sides will agree by 10 a.m. G.M.T. on Monday, December 5, whether it is accepted in its entirety."

A great deal of hard work had gone into the document, Mr. Wilson emphasized. "We were on the job the greater part of the 48 hours we were on board. The 24 hours immediately ahead are pretty crucial, and you would not want me to say anything that might harm the chances of what we have done coming to a satisfactory settlement."

Asked if it was completely satisfactory in the context of the six principles, Mr. Wilson replied: "Yes. As far as the constitutional side is concerned I and my colleagues are perfectly satisfied that this is fully within the six principles and within the terms of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué. In my view there is no reason at all why this document should not provide the basis—unamended—for a settlement."

"Would Totally Solve Mr. Smith's Problems"

No further time ought to be needed for discussion. "We have already gone beyond the time that we set ourselves for reaching an agreement. All the time we were on board was beyond that time. There cannot now be—and this is fully understood—any further delay or further argument."

"There is no reason why this document should not be the basis of a settlement which will be honourable as far as the legitimate requirements of both sides are concerned and which would totally solve Mr. Smith's problems."

The talks, he said, had been very relaxed and constructive and entirely without formality.

The Cabinet met at 2.30 p.m. to consider the document and when it rose at 5.10 o'clock there was an immediate announcement that: "After listening to a comprehensive report from the Prime Minister, the Commonwealth Secretary, and the Attorney-General on their discussions with Mr. Ian Smith in H.M.S. TIGER, the Cabinet have fully endorsed the course of action recommended."

As soon as Mr. Smith reached Salisbury late on Sunday evening there was an immediate Cabinet at his residence. It ended at 12.10 a.m. on Monday and was resumed at 8 o'clock (6 a.m. G.M.T.). But when the deadline was reached four hours later no decision had been made and the British Government was so notified. Later it was announced that Mr. Smith hoped to make a statement at 5 p.m. G.M.T.

It was not until even later that he made known that the Cabinet had unanimously resolved on rejection—not of the

constitutional changes proposed, but of the method of return to legality.

Hopes of a satisfactory settlement had been encouraged by reports that the Governor had given with the V sign as he left the airport; that Mr. William Harper had said after the midnight Cabinet meeting "I am happy"; and that most other Ministers had then seemed pleased.

Determined to Keep Independence

Mr. Wrathall, the Deputy Prime Minister, had said during Mr. Smith's absence: "I say categorically that there is absolutely no change in the Government's stand. We have our independence, and this we are determined to keep."

Mr. Douglas ("Boss") Lilford, a strong financial backer of the Rhodesian Front had said on Friday evening: "Any agreement with Wilson which Ian Smith makes will have the support of most people in this country. He is the best Prime Minister this country has had, and so far he has made no mistakes in his negotiations with Britain."

Officials of the Rhodesian Front denied rumours of sharp differences in the Cabinet over Mr. Smith's decision to fly to Gibraltar. Commander F. Bradburn, the party secretary, said that he knew of no substantial discontent, and the vice-chairman commented that the last party conference had given Mr. Smith a mandate which he could be trusted to observe; reports of differences within the party were part of the war of nerves. The party chairman, Colonel M. Knox, had left Rhodesia on private business before Mr. Wilson's invitation had been sent.

The rumours were that Lord Graham, Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Rudland, Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Partridge, Minister of Local Government, opposed negotiations with Mr. Wilson as likely to extort undesirable concessions from Rhodesia. That view was understood to be held also by Mr. Lardner-Burke.

Before his departure Mr. Smith had ordered that the censorship of local newspapers should be relaxed, and on Friday neither the Salisbury nor the Bulawayo dailies had any blank spaces showing that items had been cut by the censors.

Mr. Josiah Gondo, leader of the African Parliamentary Opposition, complained that no African was participating in the negotiations for a settlement.

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* suggested that Mr. Smith might tender his resignation to the Governor aboard the TIGER and be promptly sworn in by the Chief Justice as Prime Minister free to select a more broadly-based Government. That paper and the *Rhodesia Herald* referred to a probable split in the Cabinet.

Press Comment

There is an immense gap between agreeing to a piece of paper and implementing it in practice, said the *Financial Times*.

"A settlement may be denounced on both sides as a 'sell-out', but conflicting allegations of this kind tend to cancel each other out. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith each have political situations to handle at home and each must try to convince his supporters by claiming success. Mr. Wilson should be able to justify a settlement to his party on the grounds that this may be Britain's last chance to get concessions from Mr. Smith on behalf of the Africans. The effects of further sanctions might be to weaken Britain's negotiating position more than Rhodesia's."

A settlement may not afford much satisfaction to the Labour left-wingers or the black members of the Commonwealth, wrote the *Sunday Telegraph*, "but it represents a welcome escape from the disasters that would have followed if United Nations sanction had been involved."

"If the proposed settlement is ratified, the world will be able to see the problem of white rule in Southern Africa as a whole, and not in terms of a technical rebellion against the British Crown. If it is wise it will abandon all thought of blockade or bloodshed, and allow economic evolution to follow its predestined course."

"What white Africans might fight to preserve today they will have to concede gradually under the impetus of industrial expansion. The white Rhodesians, brought back from the precipice, may now have the chance to set an example of determined gradualism to their South African cousins, who, fundamentally, face the same dilemma."

To apply a one-man one-vote system to Rhodesia today would court disaster, while to ask the white Rhodesians to wait for years for their independence was asking too much, said the *Sunday Times*, which emphasized that there was no certainty that mandatory sanctions "would in the end pave the way to a completely satisfactory and water-tight settlement". The leader ended by quoting Oliver Goldsmith's remark about Edmund Burke that he was "too fond of the right to pursue the expedient".

According to the *Observer* the basic issue was that of "political slavery in Rhodesia". The leading article also said:—

"If Britain fails to secure the essential guarantee of a serious military presence in Rhodesia, the Africans, with the help of the independent African States, will be obliged to look for

this support elsewhere. Having tried in the first place to supply it themselves, they will turn to the United Nations. If that fails then, they will look for help through Russia or China. Cold war politics will be injected into a continent already struggling through the natural growing pains of instability and disunity.

"If Britain feels that because of her economic weakness she cannot take the initiative in Rhodesia, with all that that implies for Southern Africa as a whole, her only sensible and honourable course is to hand the problem to the United Nations and get what help she can as a member. The worst thing would be to use a phoney deal with Mr. Smith as an excuse to prevent the United Nations from trying to make the legitimate protests of Rhodesia's African majority effective".

Pernicious Afro-Asian Bloc

The *Sunday Express* described U Thant, who had just decided to continue as Secretary-General of the United Nations, as "the captive spokesman of the pernicious Afro-Asian bloc" and said that if his policies on Rhodesia had been adopted war in Southern Africa would have been almost inevitable. "It is a disturbing revelation of the dream world in which the Whitehall Establishment lives that such a man should be regarded as a friend and peace-maker".

The Rhodesia Emergency Committee of the Monday Club welcomed negotiations for a settlement fair to all races in Rhodesia and emphasized that mandatory sanctions through the United Nations would bring the dangers of blockade, reprisal, bloodshed, and chaos, from which only the enemies of African progress could profit, while still more British trade would be thrown away to the benefit of Japanese, German, French, American, and other competitors.

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., said when addressing Hull University on Friday that Mr. Wilson had indulged in brinkmanship to the nth degree on Rhodesia, and that his promises to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in December hung round his neck like a millstone. Those promises could be fulfilled only technically and as a sham. There was no difficulty about agreement on the six principles, which no-one disputed: the difficulty lay in their interpretation. Having said that he would not meet Mr. Smith until after Rhodesia's return to constitutional legality, Mr. Wilson had sensibly gone back on his own statement.

Mr. Harold Soref said when speaking on Thursday in Chelmsford at an Anglo-Rhodesian Society meeting that it was fantastic that judgment on Rhodesia should be passed at the United Nations by Burundi, which had revolted against its monarch for the second time within a year, which had assassinated one Prime Minister after another, which had held mass executions in public, and killed an estimated 30,000 Tutsi, rulers of the country for about three centuries, although they numbered not more than one-fifth of the population. The new Revolutionary Council was declared to be composed solely of Tutsi. Was this the majority rule for which critics of Rhodesia clamoured?

Many left-wing Socialists in this country were spoiling for a fight, among them Mr. W. Hamilton, M.P., as he had shown in a television programme two days earlier, and Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal M.P. who wanted Rhodesia Railways to be bombed. British Socialists had put into the heads of black Africans notions of which they would never of thought themselves.

Missionary Views

The African Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Society wrote:

"No settlement can be valid unless adult African Rhodesians are: (1) in a position to reject it; (2) nevertheless accept it by a genuine majority.

Two conclusions of first importance flow from this fact. First, Mr. Wilson cannot assent to any settlement until the 95% of the people of Rhodesia have spoken. Second, a Royal Commission would in practice constitute a betrayal of the plain words of the fifth principle.

"Africans will not feel able to give their honest opinion to a body of Europeans, even if the majority, including the chairman, be British judges. They will see the commission arrive escorted by police under white officers. They will enter the building where the hearings are held past more police. Inside they will note that the interpreters and the stenographers are employees of the white régime. In such circumstances few Africans will be brave enough to risk the consequences of speaking in opposition to a settlement which they know has been agreed already by the white authorities. They will fear for their liberty, their lives, and for their wives and children. Who can blame them?

"The only honourable way of ascertaining whether or not the people of Rhodesia as a whole accept any settlement is by secret ballot, as already in use in elections in Zambia to the north and in Botswana to the south. Many Commonwealth countries will regard the presence of Commonwealth observers as a further indispensable safeguard if justice is to be seen to be done.

"On this issue we could lose the African and Asian Com-

monwealth, and the reputation for integrity which we believe our country still retains".

The Africa Bureau—whose honorary presidents include Lord Hemmingford, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Lady Longford, and the Very Rev. George MacLeod, and whose executive committee has among its members Lord Campbell of Skan, Mr. Humphry Berkeley, Dr. Rita Hinden, Mr. Richard Hornby, M.P., Mr. James Lemkin, Mr. Charles Longbottom, Mr. Christopher Rowland, M.P., and the Rev. Michael Scott—could not await Mr. Wilson's statement to Parliament. While the negotiators were still aboard H.M.S. TIGER it issued over the signature of Mr. Peter Calvoceossi, the chairman, a long statement which said, *inter alia*:

"The prime responsibility of the British Government, Parliament and people is to secure the rights of the four million Africans and to avoid for all time the fear and degradation of them being condemned to live under a white racialist Government. Their rights have in the last 12 months been imperilled by U.D.I. and the actions of the illegal Government.

"If the meeting between the British Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith is the first in a series leading to a settlement in which the rights of Africans have not been made secure, the British Government will have betrayed its specific obligations to the people of Rhodesia and the general moral and human principles for which this country has stood and fought. Any surrender to the white minority in Rhodesia will gravely jeopardize the maintenance of Commonwealth ties".

Barred by U.N.E.S.C.O.

The general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris, decided last week by 72 votes to 11, with 26 abstentions (among them the U.S.A. and France), that the Rhodesian "illegal régime" and the Governments of South Africa and Portugal should be denied all assistance from Unesco and excluded from its conferences. The resolution, supported by all African member States, demanded the grant of independence to all Colonial peoples as rapidly as possible.

By 60 votes to 38 (including those of Britain, France and the U.S.A.) the conference rejected the request of Portugal to refer to the Internations Court in The Hague last year's decision to exclude that country from Unesco conferences. Malawi and three other members abstained from voting. Six days previously the legal committee had agreed with the Portuguese request after a two-day debate.

Names you have
learned to trust

Gloria OUR

Atlas ROYAL CANADIAN

Rhomil STOCKHOLM

President Kaunda's Tour

Statements About Rhodesia

PRESIDENT KAUNDA, said at Lusaka Airport on Sunday on returning from his visits to the U.S.A., Canada, the West Indies, Chile and Italy that an explosion would occur in Rhodesia sooner or later, that it would be racial and ideological in character, and that if oil were not included in the United Nations sanctions Zambia would "wash her hands" of future sanctions programmes and "seek other methods of ending the minority régime in Rhodesia.

He had said in Rome on the previous day that there must be majority rule in Rhodesia before independence; that there was very serious danger that Mr. Wilson's "deceitful and dishonest ways" would produce a settlement which would greatly increase racial disturbances on the Copperbelt, and that the six points were not a sufficient safeguard from the standpoint of Zambia, which was being let down very badly. He repeatedly referred to "Mr. Wilson's false promise".

Italian Impressions of Threat to Mines

Journalists gathered from Italians who had met President Kaunda that his Government was likely to demand a 50% shareholding in the copper mining companies—following last week's action in that sense by the Congo Government—and that Zambia would in turn remove the royalties and export taxes on copper. It is also suggested that Zambia, the Congo and Chile were likely to agree on a common price for copper.

When he received an honorary degree from the University of Windsor, Canada, Dr. Kaunda said that the legacy of the Colonial past lingered in Zambia to perpetuate certain sectional interests among the white community who did not welcome the equality of opportunity which independence brought with it and who are opposed to all that we stand for.

He alleged that such persons would "like to see chaos and destruction for Zambia, if only to prove their undoubted fear of our alleged political immaturity and administrative inexperience", and he complained that small crises in Africa were sensationally reported and "interpreted as imminent political anarchy, chaos and doom".

"Colonialism in Africa was not one of the proud pages in the history of the human race. It was a blot on that history, but what matters now is that the African nations are willing to forget that blot for the sake of the future".

Canada and Zambia are to establish direct diplomatic representations.

On his three-day visit to Jamaica President Kaunda attended a Cabinet meeting, addressed both Chambers, and was made a freeman of Kingston. He received a 21-gun salute on arrival at the airport, where he was met by the Governor-General. There were said to be some 500,000 people lining the 14-mile route to King's House, where the President and Mrs. Kaunda stayed.

The Rhodesian crisis was discussed with Sir Alexander Bustamante, the Prime Minister, and other Ministers, whom the Zambian leader told: "Britain should send an army and blow them to pieces".

Five members of the United Kingdom Parliament who were in Jamaica at the same time as guests of the local branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association were suspected in one report issued on Dr. Kaunda's behalf of "being here to ensure that Jamaica is fed with Britain's line on Rhodesia and to offset President Kaunda's tough but consistent, human and non-racial approach to the Rhodesian rebellion".

Jamaica was asked to send Zambia agriculturists, journalists, stenographers and technical personnel.

In Trinidad, where crowds shouted "Kaunda, Kaunda. Down with Ian Smith", Dr. Kaunda was stated to have been welcomed "not as an African Head of State, but because of his confrontation with the Rhodesian rebel régime". He asked for assistance through the supply of agricultural economists, engineers, doctors, nurses, stenographers and locomotive drivers.

The visit to Guyana was the first paid by an African Head of State since its independence. The President was made a freeman of Georgetown. A reception given in his honour by the Prime Minister was attended by about 2,500 guests. He told a rally which was officially stated to have been attended by "tens of thousands of people" that Rhodesian Africans were bound to rise one day against the white minority; his only fear was that that revolt would explode into a racial rising.

Zambia, he announced, had decided not to quit the Commonwealth "because of Afro-Asian and Caribbean support on Zambia's stand on Rhodesia". At the United Nations Zambia would demand the inclusion of oil in the mandatory sanctions.

During the visit to Chile arrangements were stated to have been made for Chilean interests to manufacture mining and other heavy equipment in Zambia, to process articles made in copper, and to produce other items of equipment now imported. Technical advice in regard to the creation of a copper corpora-similar to that of Chile was promised: The president was made a member of the Order of Merit, Chile's highest decoration.

The 65-minute speech made on November 15 to the General Assembly of U.N. has been broadcast in full on Zambia television.

Russian Delegations in Zambia

TWO RUSSIAN DELEGATIONS flew into Lusaka a few days ago. One, led by Mr. Alexander Musikjan, consists of representatives of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Foreign Trade Bank of the U.S.S.R., and the motor manufacturing industry. It is expected to be in Zambia for about a month for discussions on aid for different aspects of the four-year National Development Plan. The second delegation, led by Mr. Berezin, comprises members of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers on Foreign Economic Relations. Russia is to send two surgeons, two physicians, and two anaesthetists to Zambia as a result of the recent visit to the U.S.S.R. of Mr. Peter Matoka, Minister of Health.

Panga Attack on Briton

MR. HENRY TURNER, aged 34, formerly of Ruislip, Middlesex, the factory manager of a dried milk plant at Naro Moru, some 120 miles north of Nairobi, was badly slashed with bush-knives when attacked on Sunday night by four Africans. He was flown to Nairobi for medical attention. There has been one arrest.

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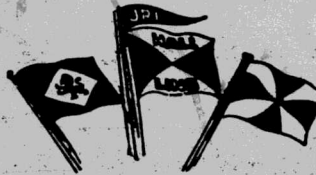
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