



# Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

Thursday, December 15, 1966

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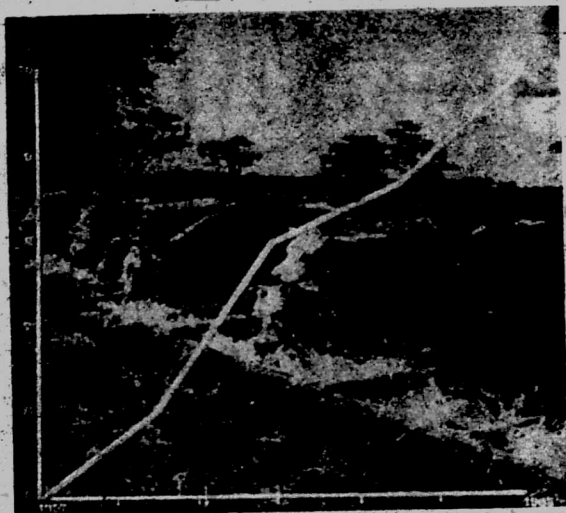
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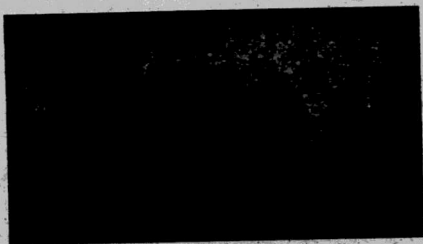
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## Contents

*Because of the importance of the Parliamentary debate on the failure of negotiations between the British and Rhodesian Governments, practically all the space in this issue is given to speeches made in the House of Commons.*

*Proceedings in the House of Lords will be reported next week.*

*The annual statement of the chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O. is also recorded in this issue.*

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1966

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**A VOTE AGAINST SANCTIONS** in the House of Commons is not enough; the responsibility of the Conservative Party is to start and maintain a nation-wide campaign which would force the Government to deal with Rhodesia realistically and immediately. Two days after those words were written for publication in this column last week the Conservatives in both Houses of Parliament voted solidly against the Government's decision to invite the Security Council to concern itself with the independence of Rhodesia, which should of course be kept a strictly domestic issue between that country and Britain. Mr. Wilson and his colleagues are so well aware of their guilt in involving the United Nations that they have set themselves to confuse the public by talk, talk, and still more talk, little of it trustworthy. On Monday Mr. Enoch Powell likened their behaviour in this matter to that of the Nazi leaders, who practised the "technique of the great lie" in the confidence that it was the best way of preventing public understanding of their perfidy. This journal has often emphasized that the African nationalist propagandists, many of them trained by Communists and neo-Communists, are faithful followers of the insidious Dr. Goebbels, whose methods they were using against Rhodesia long before U.D.I.

That country's unforgivable offence from their standpoint is that it should be committed to the gradual development of a genuine multi-racialism based on the maintenance of civilized standards. Such a policy is anathema to the advocates of black domination. They blandly ignore the incalculable damage done to vast areas of Africa in the last few years by the disastrously premature installation of black Governments, and

they still conspire to inflict the same fate upon Rhodesia—which, fortunately for herself and all Southern Africa, will resist their machinations at whatever cost. That the Wilson Government should now have committed itself to refuse recognition of independence until Rhodesia has a black Government is damning and damnable evidence of its inanity. The extent of its stupidity would have seemed incredible if it were not on record in its unending tally of follies throughout the past thirteen months, culminating for the moment in the rejection aboard H.M.S. TIGER of the third opportunity of a reasonable settlement with Rhodesia, in a succession of silly speeches in the House of Commons last week, and in the pathetic performance of the Foreign Secretary in New York. What inglorious material all this presents to the little group of Tory M.Ps. who, dissatisfied with the inactivity of their party, have just decided to hold meetings throughout the country to awaken the nation to the danger of the attitudes and acts of those who gamble so recklessly with its interests and future.

\* \* \*

Mr. Wilson declares that at the Commonwealth Conference in September he fought valiantly for eight days in defence of the Commonwealth and against the use of force against

Rhodesia, and emerged victorious from his lonely stand. His insistence will have transmuted that fiction

into fact for the millions of people who do not know that he surrendered abjectly to the pressure of the Afro-Asian-Caribbean bloc, promising to ask the United Nations for mandatory sanctions if Rhodesia had not capitulated before the end of this year, and that if that step were taken Rhodesia would never be allowed independence except under black majority rule. Could anything have been more nonsensical than the pretence that it would be right to negotiate terms for legal

**Why Rhodesia Is Assailed**

independence on December 31, but wrong to accept anything less than a black majority on January 1? Yet that imbecility was accepted by the Commonwealth Conference and the Cabinet, and it has still not been denounced as idiotic by any Parliamentary party; by the national Press, or by the regular run of radio

commentators (most of whom are left-wing apologists for abdication from British responsibilities, standards and obligations). The basic threat to Britain is just that lack of honest, intelligent, and courageous leadership. The "frightened little men" are in high places in London, not in Salisbury.

## Angry Exchanges on Rhodesia in House of Commons

### Prime Minister and Opposition Leader in Bitter Clashes

MR. WILSON was more scathingly criticized last week in both Houses of Parliament during their debates on Rhodesia than at any time since he became Prime Minister.

One of his own back-benchers, Mr. Reginald Paget, Q.C., Socialist Member for Northampton for 21 years, said that Mr. Wilson had "a remarkable capacity for getting himself distrusted; he is not trusted in Rhodesia and many other places". Two hours before the division Mr. Paget resigned the party whip in order to be free to vote against the Government.

Mr. Maudling, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, accused the Prime Minister of leading the country into "one of the most disastrous situations of this century". He was constantly interrupted by Socialist M.P.s. and angrily by Mr. Wilson.

On the second day of the debate Mr. Wilson made what the Leader of the Opposition called a "scurrilous attack" and a speech of "sheer hypocritical cant" in which he falsely claimed to be acting on moral principle. In an 80-minute speech Mr. Wilson spoke savagely and sometimes scornfully, alleging that the Conservatives by their apologies for the Rhodesian régime had shown their disloyalty.

Charging the Opposition with the intention to "vote against me, not against Mr. Smith", he added: "Every one of them is more interested in trying to get rid of the legal Government here than of the illegal Government there".

### "Unmitigated Abuse"

In winding up for the Opposition Mr. Heath regretted that the debate had been "dominated by almost unmitigated abuse and recrimination, led by the Prime Minister".

As Mr. Heath "knocked Mr. Wilson all over the floor" (to quote the Parliamentary correspondent of *The Times*), Labour M.P.s. shouted "Steg Heil", "Suez", "Munich" and "Traitor".

Halfway through the debate three M.P.s., Mr. Evelyn King (Conservative), Mr. Paget (Labour), and Mr. Bessell (Liberal), cabled to Mr. Smith asking: "Would you accept Royal Commission to test public opinion on the Constitution proposed in the working document? Would you implement its article 15 to enable Commission to carry out its work? Will you on behalf of your Government undertake to accept findings of Royal Commission?" The Rhodesian Prime Minister replied: "Yes; yes; yes".

The Government majority of 109 (353 votes to 244) included 11 Liberals (all the Liberals in the House except Mr. Peter Bessell). He and Mr. Paget voted with the Conservatives. One Socialist, Mr. Fred Bellinger, and two Tories, Mr. Michael Alison and Mr. Kenneth Lewis, abstained. A Welsh Nationalist, Mr. Gwynford Evans, and a Republican Labour representative, Mr. Gerry Fitt, voted with the Government. There were seven pairs. Twelve M.P.s. were absent on official duties at home and abroad.

According to the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Wilson was in a "ferocious mood; his peroration came perilously close to sheer corn". By that time, however, "the tumult and the shouting, the cheers and the groans, were so loud that it was not possible to hear everything the Prime Minister said".

### Mr. Bowden's Speech

MR. HERBERT BOWDEN, secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, opened for the Government, moving "That this House endorses the decision of H.M. Government to accept the working document worked out by the Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith on December 3, deplors its rejection by the illegal régime in Rhodesia, and supports the decision of H.M. Government now to implement the undertakings given in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*".

He said in the course of a long speech:—

"For many years Britain has had the responsibility for Rhodesia, but without power. Since 1923, when Rhodesia became a Colony, while we have had certain constitutional powers connected with that country, we have had no civil servants, nor have we had an army, on the spot. This is fundamentally different from the position in other Colonies.

"The 1961 Constitution, which was never considered to be an independence Constitution—this was a view clearly expressed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home and others—rested upon the belief that in the hands of responsible men the provisions, such as those concerning the Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Council, would ensure that Rhodesia would go forward in peace and stability. Legally, whatever the convention, the British Parliament remains constitutionally supreme.

"The Government and their predecessors made absolutely clear that any assumption of independence without the authority of this Parliament would be illegal and have the most serious consequences. The break-up of the Federation naturally led to considerable pressure from Southern Rhodesia for her independence. Because Southern Rhodesia was governed by a minority of her people, successive British Governments endeavoured to reach agreement on a Constitution which would honourably comply with the principles which have always guided us.

"This Government, like their Conservative predecessor, made every effort to ensure that the Rhodesian leaders were fully aware of the consequences of seizing illegal independence. However, on November 11, 1965, Mr. Smith declared illegal independence in complete defiance of the British Crown and Parliament. He had no clear mandate from his electorate. The popular will was never tested.

"As soon as I.D.I. took place the Queen dismissed the Rhodesian Ministers; the declaration of independence was denounced as illegal and invalid; sanctions were immediately applied and then progressively intensified; and Britain reported the situation to the United Nations. No Government has recognized the régime, and virtually all countries have co-operated in sanctions.

### Tribute to the Governor

"The Governor, the Queen's representative, has remained at his post despite the humiliation and indignity which he has had to face. Sir Humphrey and Lady Gibbs deserve the highest praise for their courage and loyalty.

"One of the first acts taken by the illegal régime was petty to steal the Governor's car and cut off his telephone. Today a 'stooge' Governor rides around in the stolen car, but the telephone was reconnected when the talks started. It was most encouraging to the Governor when on the anniversary

## CONSTITUTION WHICH MET THE SIX PRINCIPLES

of the illegal declaration of independence over 3,000 loyal Rhodesians queued up to sign the Governor's book—some of them members of the Armed Forces, some of the British South African Police, in uniform.

"Rhodesia today has a very tight newspaper censorship. Even church magazines have to be submitted for censorship. There are over 400 people in detention, most of them Africans serving up to five years' detention without charge or trial. I would not pretend that there has not been some intimidation and some burning, but of that 400 a large percentage are there simply because of their political opinions.

"In the late 'thirties people in Central Europe became familiar with 'a knock on the door at night'. That is happening in African townships today. No political meetings may be held without police permission. No African family in the townships is allowed a visitor to stay for even one night without police permission. It is an offence to expose people holding public office to ridicule.

"This régime, whose own judges have pronounced their actions to be illegal, have strictly controlled their own television and radio programmes and jammed broadcasts from outside. The so-called 1965 Constitution, which is illegal, gives the Rhodesian Front power to amend any part of the Constitution, whether entrenched or not.

"The so-called 'talks about talks' took place at official level during the summer without any progress being made. These talks were exhaustive and related mainly to constitutional detail. In September the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference met in London. Its main preoccupation was naturally Rhodesia. The British Government was under very great pressure from nearly every one of our Commonwealth partners. Nevertheless, we made it clear that we were opposed to the use of force to bring about a constitutional solution, and that the sanctions weapon, if it got out of hand, would have an incalculable effect on the British and whole world economy.

### Commonwealth Delegates "Naturally Incensed"

"Our colleagues were naturally incensed that a small white minority, in numbers about the size of an average provincial town in Britain, should get away with this illegal act. Many of our Commonwealth colleagues found it difficult to understand why Britain persistently refused to use force to end the rebellion. The British Government were firm that we should at least try once more to get a Constitution on which independence could be granted if it was found acceptable to Rhodesian opinion as a whole.

"The Conference agreed that we should try again before the end of this year to get the illegal régime to return to legality and acceptance of the six principles which had been laid down. This Constitution would have to give unimpeded progress to majority rule, with sufficient guarantees that this current situation could not arise again.

"The Government decided to inquire whether a visit from myself to Salisbury for discussions with the Smith régime would be likely to be helpful. This was acceptable to the régime, and the Attorney-General and I, with officials, visited Salisbury in September. We held a number of meetings with Mr. Smith in Government House and one in the dining-room at police headquarters. We did this for protocol reasons, and thought it not unreasonable. Mr. Smith and I had one or two private talks to clear the air before meetings at official level.

"From the very outset of the first official meeting it became absolutely clear that the régime were not prepared to discuss a return to legality until they saw what the constitutional arrangements they would be expected to accept were likely to be. I did not regard this as unreasonable, but nevertheless insisted that we should at the same series of meetings discuss the return to legality.

"The régime insisted on a braking mechanism the effect of which would be that when the Africans on the A-roll reached parity with the Europeans on the A roll, the Rhodesian Government of the day should have the right to add additional European constituencies and so delay advancement to majority rule. In a subsequent discussion with me he felt that the position could be met equally if, as the Africans gained an A roll seat an additional A roll seat could be phased in up to a total of 15. This meant that the Africans would have to win 16 A roll seats before gaining one.

"About a fortnight ago I felt it worth while to go to Salisbury again to see whether there was any change in the position because the deadline for the promise made to the Prime Ministers' Conference was drawing near. At first there was little change, but I had a glimmer of hope during the last hour of the meeting when Mr. Smith agreed that he would entrench the whole of Chapter III, the main bone of contention earlier and in fact his braking mechanism. He said, in addition, that he was now prepared to consider the return to legality.

"The meeting aboard H.M.S. TIGER last week-end arose out of my visit to Salisbury. The working document produced in H.M.S. TIGER would have fully satisfied the six principles. The proposals would have been perfectly fair and in no way vindictive. They provided an honourable future for Rhodesia in which all her people could have played a constructive part.

### Assembly and Senate

"Instead of the present 50 A roll and 15 B roll seats the Legislative Assembly would have been rearranged to provide for 33 A roll seats, 17 B roll seats, and 17 European reserved seats. The increase of the B roll from 15 to 17 would have assured the Africans of what is known as a blocking quarter. Any effort to change any of the entrenched clauses could have been blocked by the Africans. By the introduction of the European reserved seats the Europeans also would be permanently assured of a blocking quarter when the Africans gained a majority.

"The delimitation arrangements and retention of the voting together with the extension of the B roll franchise to Africans over the age of 30 would have satisfied the third of the six principles—that the Africans should be given a means of immediate political advance.

"All this—and this is always the unknown quantity assumes that Africans would take part in political activities, register, and vote. We sincerely hoped this would happen if Rhodesia was given a fresh start with a Constitution acceptable to the people as a whole, which is Principle V. Unimpeded progress to majority rule would be assured by the arrangements for adequate blocking mechanisms.

"The proposed Senate was to comprise 12 Europeans, eight elected Africans, and six chiefs, and would have voted with the Legislative Assembly on amendments of the specially entrenched provisions of the Constitution, to alter which would require a vote of at least three-quarters of the total membership of both Houses. If any amendment had been repugnant to the Africans, or to the Europeans when there is an African majority, the blocking powers guaranteed could have been used to prevent it.

"Additionally, there was to have been a system of appeal to a Constitutional Commission against such amendments. A further right of appeal lay to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and I discussed with Mr. Smith on H.M.S. TIGER the number of Privy Councillors in Rhodesia available to form part of the Judicial Committee if it were necessary. Our second principle—guarantees against retrogressive amendment to the Constitution—would have been fully met.

"To give effect to the fourth principle a Royal Commission would have been set up to make recommendations on the problem of racial discrimination, and in particular of land apportionment.

"Such a Constitution, which would have been commended to the people of Rhodesia as a whole as an Independence Constitution, fully satisfied the six principles.

### Long Process of Persuasion

"Mr. Smith was persuaded after many hours of discussion to move forward on the question of entrenching the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly. That was of absolutely key importance. Up to that point Mr. Smith had all along attempted to keep power almost indefinitely in the hands of a minority by his braking mechanism. The position of Mr. Smith and his colleague, Mr. Howman, on the matter on H.M.S. TIGER, when they agreed to entrench paragraph 37 of Chapter III, was therefore an advance. Unfortunately, in our final talk Mr. Smith came back to that point, which would seem to indicate that he was still unhappy with the proposed changes.

"When the prior discussions took place at official level to work out the details of our visit to H.M.S. TIGER it was clearly understood, certainly on our side and I hope on the other side, that both the Prime Minister and Mr. Smith would attend with full authority to settle. However, it became apparent very quickly that Mr. Smith was not prepared to reach agreement without further reference to his colleagues.

"One or two new things were in fact mentioned, and to meet him on this we placed signalling facilities at his disposal. We even made an offer that if he wished some of his colleagues could be flown to meet him at Luanda or some other place, so that urgent discussions could take place between them. But he insisted that when we finished our work on the document he would have to take it back to Salisbury and discuss it there with the other members of his régime.

"I suggested that if he had to take the document back he could perhaps agree when we had finished our work on the document to tell us whether he could or could not commend it to his colleagues. His reply was that he would advise us before he left the ship if he could do that. Within the



## BRITISH ACCOUNT OF THE TALKS ON H.M.S. TIGER

last 20 minutes before he was due to leave his answer was rather mysterious. He said: 'I must think about it, because I cannot yet convince myself'. That did not strike me as the action of a particularly strong man, which we have always understood him to be.

### Proposed Changes in Rhodesian Cabinet

"When we were considering the interim Government to be led by Mr. Smith, which would under our proposals be in existence for four months before an election, we got down to such detail as even to discuss with him the names of Europeans and Africans who would form the added members of what would then be a legal Rhodesian Government.

"Six of us were present—the Prime Minister and myself, Mr. Smith and Mr. Howman, and the Governor and the Chief Justice of Rhodesia. I was under the impression that Mr. Smith's so-called Cabinet comprised 10 members; he corrected me and said that there were 13. On being asked how many he would need for the interim Government for four months his answer was 'Twelve'.

"We had already discussed the addition of five non-Rhodesian Front members. Therefore he was prepared to ask six of his present colleagues to stand down. He said in reply to a question that he did not find that difficult. The Press this morning reports the names of certain people we discussed with Mr. Smith. Strangely enough, it does not include one of the five people whom he agreed with us might be approached to take on this public duty for four months.

"I had a list of Europeans and Africans who would be sufficiently public-spirited to do this work had they been approached—they had not been approached—and we agreed and went through it talking about each individual name. I had biographical details, and was corrected by Mr. Smith and Mr. Howman on many of them. We reached a position in which we had three Europeans and two Africans—but I have no intention now or at any other time of telling the House or anyone else the names of those five gentlemen. They do not know that their names have been mentioned. They had not been invited to do the work, and if I mentioned their names they might easily find themselves in detention tomorrow."

MR. R. T. PAGET: "Does not Mr. Smith know the names?"

MR. BOWDEN: "After our discussion the names of the five gentlemen chosen—three Europeans and two Africans—were typed out on a piece of paper which I handed to the Governor. I assume that Mr. Smith and Mr. Howman were doing precisely as I was—taking a note. Those five names were agreed, and if that operation had been carried out they would have been invited by the Governor. That is why the names were handed to the Governor.

"The real character of the régime in control in Rhodesia is demonstrated by the dishonest Press statement issued yesterday and extensively quoted in the British Press this morning as though reflecting the régime's views on the possible settlement contained in the document signed on board H.M.S. TIGER. In effect, however, the statement relates entirely to the position reached up to October 15. We both moved some way since then, but the régime is still fighting the battle of October 15.

"The statement says that the British proposals stipulated that there would be a permanent right for British troops to be based on Rhodesian soil. The document which Mr. Smith took back from TIGER did not impose any such condition. It says that no time limit is set for the interim Government: the document clearly lays down four months, provided that the testing of opinion in Rhodesia as a whole had been completed in that period.

### "Irrelevant Statement"

"On the constitutional proposals the document issued from Salisbury yesterday has no relevance to the final constitutional arrangements, which, in his statement on Monday night Mr. Smith had accepted.

"The Press statement said that the régime could not accept that there should be any limitation upon the Rhodesian Parliament to determine the number of constituencies. So, despite the TIGER document, we are back to paragraph 37 of Chapter III, where we started months and months ago. The Press statement says that the régime sees no reason whatever for increasing the number of B roll seats, whereas last week-end Mr. Smith agreed that the B roll seats should be increased from 15 to 17.

The Press statement says that the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would be inconsistent with sovereignty. Last week-end Mr. Smith accepted a right of appeal on constitutional matters to the Judicial Committee.

"During the exploratory discussions the British Government asked Mr. Smith whether it was still his position that the

testing of opinion under Principle V must take place before there had been a return to constitutional government and legality. He has now made clear that that is still his position.

"How could a Royal Commission conduct a fair test with the illegal régime in existence, with its censorship, its detentions, its ban on political discussion? What would the world think of us if we agreed to that?"

"In rejecting our proposals Mr. Smith has taken exception to the powers of the Governor during the interim Administration. There was no question in these proposals of direct rule or rule from Whitehall. The Governor is himself a Rhodesian, and his advisers and the members of the Administration would all have been Rhodesians. I see no Colonial rule, no Whitehall rule in this.

"Further, once Mr. Smith had returned to legality, and until the new Constitution had been approved by the people of Rhodesia, the Government of Rhodesia during that interim period would have carried on under the 1961 Constitution, suitably amended. The new broad-based Government would have had full executive authority under that Constitution. All its members would have been agreed with Mr. Smith, and the Government would have been headed by Mr. Smith. The Governor would have acted on the advice of those Ministers in all matters of administration. I cannot for the life of me see what is offensive to Mr. Smith in these proposals, because they are already all provided in the 1961 Constitution.

### Powers of the Governor

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS: "The rt. hon. gentleman has said that the new broad-based Government during the interim period would have full executive power under the 1961 Constitution. Did that include control of the police, which is a very important Government function?"

MR. BOWDEN: "I am coming to the question of the armed forces and the police. In addition, under that Constitution the Governor was already head of the armed forces and the police."

MR. SANDYS: "Nominal."

MR. BOWDEN: "It is the rt. hon. gentleman's own Constitution, so if he says that he intended it only to be nominal. So there is nothing new about that, and no reason at all to take offence at returning control of the armed forces to the Governor."

"The only thing new in the proposal was the creation of a Defence and Security Council to advise the Governor in the discharge of responsibility for law and order. This Defence and Security Council would comprise six members, five of whom would be Rhodesians, and one of whom would be a representative of the British High Commission, this during the four months.

"What constructive suggestions has Mr. Smith made? He suggests now a high-powered, unbiased commission to assess public opinion on the constitutional proposals. But this is no different from his original suggestion that the fifth principle test as to whether the new Constitution was acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole should take place before the return to legality. Such a test carried out under the present conditions in Rhodesia could never be accepted as a fair and impartial test of Rhodesian opinion. Would Africans be able to speak freely in these circumstances? Are detainees going to speak freely in front of their warders?"

"Mr. Smith has made clear by his insistence on retaining his power during the test that, even if the test went against him, he would not accept its verdict. In answer to a direct question put to him in the TIGER whether in these circumstances he would have a second unilateral declaration of independence, he said: 'I would have no alternative'. Any test of opinion before a return to legality would be an absolute mockery of our fifth principle."

MR. PATRICK WALL: "If the document were accepted by the Smith Government, would the Governor be in a position to receive no instructions at all from this Government?"

MR. BOWDEN: "It would have required an Order from this House enabling the Governor to dismiss the Government and form an interim Government for four months."

MR. WALL: "During the four months would the Governor have ruled with a new Government? During the period would he receive any instructions from the British Government or Parliament, or would he act only on the advice of Rhodesian Ministers?"

### Seeking Maximum Damage

MR. BOWDEN: "The only instructions he would receive would be on the actual formation of the Government, which would have included 12 Ministers—seven from the Rhodesian Front and the five others I have mentioned. This was agreed with Mr. Smith.

"We estimate that the voluntary sanctions have reduced Rhodesia's exports from an annual figure of £143m. to about



## APPEAL TO HOLDERS OF THE QUEEN'S COMMISSION

£80m. In deciding the formula for mandatory sanctions we have had in mind that they should cause the maximum economic damage to the illegal régime, subject to the need to safeguard the economic interests of neighbouring Commonwealth countries, such as Zambia, Malawi and Botswana, and, of course, that we reserve our position over any proposal which may involve direct economic confrontation with third parties.

"There is considerable pressure for action to stop the oil leakages. The Prime Minister made it clear that action must not be allowed to develop into confrontation, economic or military, with the whole of Southern Africa.

"In going to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions we are not abdicating responsibility for Rhodesia. Nor are we transferring responsibility for the Rhodesian problem to that organization. This is simply a continuation of the steps we took last year at the United Nations.

"Some hon. Members opposite may take the line that, with agreement reached on the Constitution, we are allowing the whole business to break down because we rigidly insist on a few technicalities, points purely of procedure or protocol.

"The procedure for the return to legality is not a matter of protocol or irrelevant trivia. It is a basic question of principle. We have insisted on this procedure in order to provide some guarantee that Mr. Smith and his colleagues will carry out sincerely any constitutional agreement made with them.

### Challenge to Mr. Smith

"For the first time in recent history we were proposing to grant independence to a minority Government, a Government who by their illegal declaration of independence have seriously shaken world faith in their trustworthiness. Therefore it does not seem to be asking too much that we should have some guarantee in future of their good behaviour, that Mr. Smith should make his Government a National Government and vest certain powers in the Governor—for a temporary period of four months. Otherwise, we would not be justified in handing over to him responsibility for seeing that four million Africans enjoy normal political and democratic rights and the unimpeded progress towards majority rule which they must have."

SIR ROBERT CARY: "Why should we not have had a period of negotiation for the return to legality, and not a time-table which stopped at 10 o'clock?"

MR. BOWDEN: "Despite the fact that we were given to understand on H.M.S. TIGER that there was agreement on the procedural points, when Mr. Smith was about to leave he came back to the question of entrenchment in Chapter III. As to a time-table and further negotiation, this matter has been going on for 12 months. In our efforts in September to hold the Commonwealth together it was absolutely necessary to give a firm assurance that we would endeavour to settle the problem quickly.

"One way in which Mr. Smith could prove me to be wrong about the assertion that he accepts the constitutional points but not the return to legality would be to introduce now into his own illegal 1965 Constitution through his own illegal machinery the necessary amendments to give effect to the constitutional agreement which we reached on H.M.S. TIGER.

"He says that he accepts the constitutional agreement. He could now implement the six principles if he so wished. This would be a test of good faith over the next few months. Let Mr. Smith introduce the Senate and the blocking mechanism and immediate African advancement. Let us see whether he really believes in progress and majority rule."

MR. A. J. IRVINE: "If Mr. Smith did that what would be the response from H.M. Government?"

### Bent Over Backwards

MR. BOWDEN: "I can give an absolute assurance that we would treat this matter very seriously indeed, but we would have to see what action Mr. Smith took.

"We have now reached the end of another chapter in his tragic story. I put the blame squarely on Mr. Smith and his colleagues. The settlement which we offered to them on H.M.S. TIGER was as favourable as any British Government could have offered after all that has happened, short of a complete sell-out.

"We bent over backwards to make things easy for him. We met him on point after point after point. Within an hour of the final discussion of the constitutional points which formed the basis of this document Mr. Smith brought forward three amendments, each of which we accepted. We bent over backwards. We conceded points to him which, while within the six principles and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué, would probably be condemned by some of our Commonwealth colleagues and some of my hon. friends. Despite this, he rejected the offer.

"We were prepared to see Mr. Smith as the acknowledged leader of the majority of Europeans in Rhodesia, as Prime Minister of an interim Government. We were prepared to allow him to keep at least seven of his Cabinet colleagues in the interim Administration. We would not have boggled at about a figure of 14 instead of 12, or 10 instead of 12. We were prepared to see elections in four months, which would probably have returned his party to power. All we asked was that if we gave him all this we should have some assurance that he would then genuinely work the constitutional proposals which we had agreed with him and honestly work for swift and unimpeded progress to majority rule.

"Everyone in Salisbury told me in September that if Mr. Smith went to the country and said that the British had made him an offer which he proposed for the good of Rhodesia to accept the bulk of Europeans in Rhodesia would follow him without question, and his own extremists would be powerless to stop him. I put this to Mr. Smith on three separate occasions. I appealed to him to use his personal authority, his prestige, to do what he knew to be best for his country.

### Ditching Mr. Smith's Right Wing

"We discussed the possibility of ditching his right wing and taking only his moderates into the broad-based Government. We were as frank with each other as that. He told me on at least one occasion that at least 30 of his people were an embarrassment to him. Tomorrow night's division will probably show that to be true of H.M. Opposition.

"When it came to the point he was unable to grasp the opportunity to set his own party and Rhodesia on the road to moderation. All our experience has shown that Mr. Smith takes decisions only when facing a deadline, only when right up against it. It was right for the Commonwealth Conference to give him one more chance before the end of this year, but the future of Rhodesia and the whole of Southern Africa is at stake.

"There are many loyal and liberally-minded Rhodesians. They must now make their voices heard before it is too late. They have all got to stand up and be counted. What a tragedy it would be if, in his endeavours to save the totalitarian Rhodesian Front from splitting itself to pieces, Mr. Smith succeeded only in destroying Rhodesia.

"Many of them, and hon. Members opposite hold Her Majesty's commission, many of them gallantly and with great distinction. I urge them to think very deeply before going into the lobby tomorrow night in support of the Rhodesian rebel régime."

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said, *inter alia*—

"This is the last of our great Imperial problems, and always in prospect the toughest, a problem which could become for us what Algeria was for France. Success in solving this problem would have crowned our history of Empire and of transition from Empire to Commonwealth. Failure will bring much that is already constructed tumbling down with it. It is all the more bitter that the breakdown has come when success was within 'hailing distance'.

"I feel that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs will on reflection think his last remark unwise. Members on both sides will vote on the basis of what they believe to be right for this country and the people of Rhodesia.

"The action proposed by H.M. Government of taking this matter to the United Nations and asking for mandatory sanctions my colleagues and I believe to be wrong. We believe it will do harm by adding a new dimension of danger and hardening opposition to any possible solution.

### Dangers of Reference to United Nations

"Once the Government have gone to the United Nations it will not be possible to maintain British control of the situation. Even if this were possible, mandatory sanctions would not be effective without South African co-operation, and this co-operation would not be forthcoming. There would clearly be a danger, of which the Prime Minister is acutely aware, of this escalating into a confrontation against Southern Africa as a whole. The consequences, politically and economically, for the whole Western world are incalculable.

"The Government's action is also wrong because it brings into effect paragraphs 10(a) and 10(b) of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué, which in effect demand from now on unconditional surrender and give up any attempt to find an agreed solution.

## MR. MAUDLING PROPOSES INQUIRY BY COMMISSION

"Once reference has been made to the United Nations there are very clear dangers—first, that an attempt will be made to extend the mandatory sanctions to commodities that the British Government are not proposing; second, that an attempt will be made to extend them to countries which the British Government do not wish to include. Once mandatory sanctions have been imposed, will it be within the decision of the British Government alone to decide when they should be lifted? I do not believe so.

"Will the Prime Minister make it absolutely clear in advance that the Government will use their power of veto to prevent any extension of mandatory sanctions, either in commodity or in country, beyond what they are proposing? If he is not prepared to declare that the Government will use this veto, it cannot conceivably be said that the Government are retaining control over the march of events. This is of fundamental importance.

"How can we ensure that the time of removal of sanctions lies within our hands? How can we prevent a situation arising when, an agreement having been reached with the Smith régime, other members of the Security Council, not being satisfied with it, are not prepared to remove the mandatory sanctions? Does the Prime Minister really think that he can confine the resolution imposing the sanctions to some definite time or base it upon an objective test? If he cannot do that, then clearly it will not be within the power of the British Government alone, without the approval of the Security Council, to bring sanctions to an end. For this reason I maintain that, by going to the United Nations and asking for these mandatory sanctions the British Government are losing control of an essentially British problem.

"I do not think that the sanctions will be effective without the co-operation of South Africa. No one knows exactly how much the exports of Rhodesia have been cut down. This is quite clear from the estimates given by the Government, which were wildly wrong. They totally over-estimated the initial effects of sanctions. Making sanctions mandatory will have some additional effect upon Rhodesia's exports, but the effects will be small and very slow.

### Terrible Dilemma

"To make these mandatory sanctions effective there must be legislation in many countries. How long will that take? Can the Government be certain that in the United States legislation will be passed by Congress? What happens in important countries not members of the United Nations? Making sanctions mandatory will have some effect upon the exports of Rhodesia, but it will be much smaller and much later than the Government imagine, and its political effect will be precisely nil.

"Rhodesia can withstand a very severe cut-back in her imports. She can largely feed herself and provide many things from her own resources which up to now she has been importing, and she can draw for supplies of many kinds on neighbouring countries.

"The only way to break the Rhodesian economy—now the Government's objective—is by the co-operation of South Africa, especially in the matter of vital oil imports. This co-operation will not be forthcoming. Recently I saw Mr. Vorster and he made it absolutely clear that from the point of view of South Africa maintaining the principle of regular trade with her neighbours is of fundamental importance.

"Co-operation from South Africa is even less likely now, because she has an immense interest in ensuring that mandatory sanctions do not bring down the Government of Rhodesia, since if once this weapon is fired and is successful it will be turned on them next time.

"Therefore the pressure for widening the attack and bringing mandatory sanctions to bear against the whole of Southern Africa would grow rapidly, presenting the Prime Minister with a dilemma of the most terrible kind, namely, that he will accept that his mandatory sanctions are useless or will yield to the pressure to bring himself and this country into that confrontation with Southern Africa which he is so strenuously denying.

"It is clear from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué* that the British Government will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule. This cannot be right. What was right yesterday cannot become wrong tomorrow. If from now on there is no prospect of a settlement with independence before majority rule, it is for people in Rhodesia a fight to the finish.

"Loyal and Liberal Rhodesians whom the Commonwealth Secretary and I know, people of independent stature who might well have been admirable members of a broad-based Government, told me when I was in Salisbury why they disapprove of U.D.I. and disagree with the Rhodesian Front.

But they said: 'We as Rhodesians, once you talk about direct rule and bring in the United Nations with mandatory sanctions, we will all join Smith and fight to the end'.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The rt. hon. gentleman cannot run away from this question. He said that this was a new dimension of danger. He must know that if we had not, after the most terrific struggle at the Commonwealth Conference three months ago, given Mr. Smith a last chance to return to constitutional rule, the situation would have got totally out of our hands in the United Nations in September. We should have been powerless to prevent it and the Commonwealth would have broken up. Will he now say that we were wrong to fight for that last chance and wrong to give the pledges which we did? Is he saying that we should break the obligations which we have given to the Commonwealth?"

### Disastrous for the Commonwealth

MR. MAUDLING: "That is the Prime Minister's judgment of what would have happened. Our judgment is that what is now proposed will be disastrous for the Commonwealth and the Western world, and that there is a way of tackling this problem different from the way which the Prime Minister suggests which is consistent with the Commonwealth *communiqué*.

"The initial blame lies fairly and squarely on Mr. Smith for an action of historic unwisdom which from the start we on these benches opposed, as we have criticized violently many of his other actions, such as his treatment of the Governor and his totally repugnant Press censorship.

"In the last few days, by refusing to bring independents into his Government, he has given the impression of being more concerned with the Rhodesian Front than with Rhodesia. He has shown a disappointing lack of strength and determination to exert his undoubted influence in his country in the last 48 hours. That is where part of the blame lies; but blame also lies on the Prime Minister and his colleagues for their conduct of these affairs. Their total misjudgment of the effect of economic measures and of the strength of Mr. Smith's position in Rhodesia; by Ministers' use of language which appeared to make negotiation with Mr. Smith impossible when it was obvious all the time that it would have to come about; the talk of direct rule, which did immense harm in Rhodesia to the prospects of a settlement; and, finally, the technique of the ultimatum, which is not the right technique to handle a problem of this kind with people like the people of Rhodesia.

"It is quite astonishing that so much agreement should have been reached on the Constitution. It is therefore all the more tragic that when the Constitution, which is to last indefinitely, has been agreed, there should be a breakdown on the arrangements for a few weeks of transitional period.

"Both the British Government and Mr. Smith have made contributions to this agreement, H.M. Government by accepting a very long time for the achievement of majority rule—it might be 20 years or more under the proposals—and the idea of a European blocking quarter. Mr. Smith has abandoned the braking mechanism and accepted the idea of a treaty and of appeal to the Privy Council."

MR. WHITAKER: "When the rt. hon. gentleman condemns the régime and supports the Governor, does he not agree that it is all the more lamentable and contemptible that some of his colleagues on a visit to Rhodesia paid obsequies to Mr. Dupont?"

MR. MAUDLING: "Even if that were true it would not be a contribution to this serious debate.

### White Paper Criticized

"It is not easy to be clear about the proposals for interim rule set out in the White Paper; and the Secretary of State's speech made it no clearer. Certainly the propaganda from Salisbury is a very long way indeed from the terms of the White Paper. Equally, the terms of the White Paper are a little way from the impression given by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary. Are the amendments to the 1961 Constitution referred to in the White Paper of major importance? The impression given this afternoon was that they were not. I think they are. If so, let us be told. If they are only of minor importance, why make them a sticking point for the whole future of Southern Africa?"

"The House requires information about the selection and position of Ministers in the interim Government, and the extent to which the Governor would be a constitutional or an executive Governor. This is fundamental. The White Paper states that the Government would be appointed by the Governor in his discretion, but we have heard that it had been agreed on H.M.S. TIGER that Mr. Smith could have left Gibraltar as Prime Minister-designate of Rhodesia authorized to form a broad-based Government. Was it for Mr. Smith

## NO TIME FOR FACE-SAVING OR FALSE PRIDE

to form the Government or was it in the Governor's discretion?

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "We reached interim agreement on H.M.S. TIGER about the names of the members of the Government who would be added. We also had discussion about some of those who would be subtracted. The phrase about the discretion of the Governor means that he would appoint a Government on which informal agreement would have been reached between us on H.M.S. TIGER, and the names of the members of the Government would have been those agreed between Mr. Smith and ourselves before he left the ship. That was the only point of discretion involved.

"The Governor would have had no executive authority. That would have been within the hands of the legal 1961 Constitution Government. The position about the dissolution of Parliament was that we asked Mr. Smith whether he wanted it and we would be guided by his decision".

### Need for Explanations

**MR. MAUDLING:** "It sounds a rather strange use of the word 'discretion' in the White Paper. The second point is the position of the Governor. We must know more clearly, because this is the point, according to Mr. Smith, on which things broke down. To what extent will he act as a constitutional Governor on the advice of his Ministers? The White Paper states that he will do this 'except in those cases where he is empowered to act in his own discretion'. What are those cases?"

"Does this apply to defence and the police? The White Paper states that the Governor will be advised by a Defence and Security Council. Does this mean that he will be constitutionally advised or not? This is the Prime Minister's dilemma. He may try to cover up the fact that he is departing from the idea of direct rule which he talked about in the Prime Ministers' *communiqué*, but the Governor has either executive authority or purely constitutional authority. Which is it?"

"If the Governor has executive authority, it is right to say that direct control of the forces has been returned to this country. If he does not have executive authority, if he merely takes the advice of his Ministers, what is the purpose of all this farrago?"

**MR. JEREMY THORPE:** "Will the rt. hon. gentleman tell us whether he regards the matters on which there has been a breakdown as of minor or major significance? Would he agree that what Mr. Smith has refused to do is to call off the rebellion, reinstate the Governor, dismantle the police State, and empty the concentration camps? Is this minor?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "This is not a statement of Mr. Smith's position in any sense at all. The position is that there is agreement—[*Interruption*]. I am sorry that the Prime Minister has sympathy for me. I have sympathy for a man who may lead this country into one of the greatest disasters in its history".

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "I am sorry only that the rt. hon. gentleman, in view of his own great record in Colonial affairs, is now having to speak as though he has been reduced to an apologist and a spokesman for Mr. Smith".

### Prime Minister's "Contemptuous Arrogance"

**MR. IAN LLOYD:** "Is there any way, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in which the House can protect itself against the contemptuous arrogance of the Prime Minister?"

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** "That is not a point of order".

**MR. MAUDLING:** "I place the primary blame for this situation on Mr. Smith's unilateral declaration of independence. That is not an apology in any sense whatever.

"There is this remarkable agreement on what the Constitution should be. The only outstanding question is its reference to public opinion in Rhodesia. If approval could be given, legal independence could be achieved in permanency. The only valid reason for insisting on rigid conditions in this brief interim period is to ensure that the Royal Commission can do its work of carrying out Principle V.

"There is clearly a fear of what the position would be if the Royal Commission said that public opinion did not accept this. The British Government would then have abandoned their sanctions, and it would be very hard to reinstate them. On the other hand, Mr. Smith would virtually have thrown in his entire hand and be helpless. This is why the position is stuck as it is.

"This can be met, first by appointing straightaway a Royal Commission of men of independence and standing. Such people are available even in this cynical modern world. Appoint it now. If it is to operate censorship must be removed, there must be normal political activities, and there must be an impartial judicial tribunal to examine individual cases. None of these things has Mr. Smith ever repudiated. All these conditions are laid down in paragraph 15. That is my answer to the hon. Member for Devon North.

### Let Royal Commission Assess the Facts

"Let the members of the Royal Commission judge whether they can carry out their appointed tasks. If they say that their efforts are impeded, that they cannot properly test opinion in Rhodesia, the offer falls to the ground. Surely it is right to give this body of responsible men the task of testing opinion, to try to bring out the result which we all want, agreement on the Constitution? If they are satisfied that they can do it in conditions as they find them, let it be so.

"Mr. Smith would have to recognize the legal authority of the Governor. I do not think that he should be pressed in these circumstances to accept those elements of direct rule which he thinks exist in the White Paper—and which, if they do not exist, create no obstacle. Finally, I think that the British Government should not depart from the present level of economic sanctions on Rhodesia.

"We on this side believe that the course being pursued by the Government is wrong. I have outlined what, though not a perfect solution, is a way out of a tragic situation. This is no time for personal recriminations or exercises in saving face. It is a stark choice between agreement and disaster. The verdict of history will lie heavy on anyone who by reason either of timidity or false pride allows prejudice or faction or excessive regard to constitutional niceties to condemn the people of Britain and Rhodesia alike to a long dark night of struggle and anguish".

**MR. R. T. PAGET,** Socialist Member for Northampton, said:—

"The other day the Prime Minister said that this was an illusory, Walter Mitty independence. A year ago I warned him that U.D.I. would certainly happen. I begged him not to play it up but to treat it as an illusory declaration that meant nothing. The Rhodesians—and I suggested that he should say this to Mr. Smith—must travel on our passports, post their letters under our postal authority, communicate with other countries through us. I said that anything they did outside the Constitution should be treated as illegal and of no effect by their own courts.

### Never An Issue of Principle

"Unfortunately, the Prime Minister did play it up. It is no illusory Walter Mitty thing now. It is a great event. Rhodesia is an independent country in its effect and in its emotions. We made it so.

"The issue was never about the advancement of the Africans—never. This police State which the Prime Minister constantly denounces is not the State of U.D.I. The police State was under the 1961 Constitution. Whitehead had nearly 4,000 people under detention. Smith has about 400.

"Under the 1961 Constitution quite legally a permanent majority of seats could be assigned to areas reserved for the whites, and the Prime Minister in his final telephone conversation promised Smith that if he would stick to the 1961 Constitution there would be no interference from the British Government. In other words, he said to Smith: 'You can have your police State. You can hold your minority Government as long as you like as long as you do not embarrass me by declaring U.D.I.' It has been an issue of punitilio, never an issue of principle.

"I went to Rhodesia in January because I was tremendously interested in the Africans of Rhodesia. For 20 years I have been fighting the cause of the Africans of Rhodesia.

"I am no great believer in written Constitutions. It works only if it reflects the actual power relationships. No reserve clauses have ever effectively protected a minority if that minority has not had effective power. It is the social relationships which grow up which matter.

"Rhodesia will be ruled by Africans when those Africans are effective enough in their education and in their positions in the economy to rule it. At that point they will rule Rhodesia. Nobody will be able to prevent them. When they have not reached that point, nobody will be able to impose them.

"When I talked to Mr. Smith that was what I aimed at. I said that the first important thing was education, and I suggested to him: 'Your spending on African education is the largest item in your budget, but it is on primary education. Suppose we were to spend an equal amount on secondary education and that we did that together with an agency to run African education independent of the Government'. He agreed to that as a proposal, provided that it was fitted into a plan for the economic development of Rhodesia, so



## SOCIALIST DENOUNCES P.M. AND RESIGNS WHIP

that the Africans who came through the educational system went straight into jobs for educated people, reserved for them under the economic plan, at the same wages and on a basis of equality with white men with the same education.

### Practical Programme Rejected for Punctilio

"He also accepted the entrenchment clauses, the reconsideration of the Land Apportionment Act, and the handing over of constituency management and so on to the courts. These were the proposals with which I returned. I talked about them to the Prime Minister for an hour. He gave me a wonderful hearing, but the breakdown in our conversation was on this same point—that there must be a return to legality, the point of punctilio and not a point of substance.

"I again went to Africa in October largely to ascertain the South African position. I got the clearest information. I saw the Government, bankers, and businessmen, and asked what would happen about mandatory sanctions. It was made absolutely plain to me that on the import sanctions Rhodesia was to have all she wanted. South Africa has built up her oil reserves and by February had three years' supply. She has printed the coupons if she has to ration—and has printed coupons for Rhodesia.

"The second issue is that of exports. If there be a gap—and one exports only in order to get money, and none of the South Africans to whom I spoke thought that there would be a gap—the Rand businessmen are determined to fill it for Rhodesia.

"Consider what a simple task this is. The Rhodesian Budget is about £85m, which is half the budget of De Beers Consolidated, a single company on the Rand. I was sitting at lunch with eight businessmen. The gross national product of Rhodesia is £335m. The men at that table said that the sales of the companies they represented were double the gross national product of Rhodesia. It is not difficult for South Africa to support Rhodesia if she is determined to do so.

"On the TIGER to my joy the six principles were agreed. But a condition was imposed. The important thing is to realize how that condition looked in Rhodesia. Journalists on papers of every colour and opinion in Rhodesia all agreed that they could not find one person in Rhodesia who believed that it would have been possible to accept those conditions. No newspaper in Rhodesia could find anyone, liberal or opponent, who thought that it would have been possible for the Rhodesian Government to accept the condition.

"In Rhodesia it looked as if it was to be a Government appointed by a Governor in his discretion, who will normally act on advice but would have command of the forces. This was in the background of their having been told that they would be submitted to direct rule. They were to surrender their independence indefinitely unless a Commission to be appointed by our Prime Minister decided otherwise.

### Prime Minister Distrusted

"What has to be realized is that the Prime Minister is not trusted in Rhodesia. Let us face it: there are a good many places where he is not trusted—Zambia, for instance. The Prime Minister is a very great man, but, like David Lloyd George and Napoleon, he has a remarkable capacity for getting himself distrusted. It may be that he is too clever. He has done a lot to make himself distrusted.

"There have been ultimatums. There is this question of union, suddenly produced out of the hat yesterday. We are told that he suggested union. We have the same question about Malta. The snag was social services. Did it mean free immigration? Are we to pay family allowance for the African families? Half the population is under 16 years of age. Will they get rating equalization? If not, why not? When one produces this sort of gimmick one gets oneself distrusted.

"The result is that the Prime Minister has been distrusted. The great achievement of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs was that he got himself trusted. The change in the air that made the new approach possible was entirely due to the effect which he had in Salisbury. They had found a man whom they could trust.

"Then came the trouble with the Prime Minister, who was back again on the scene. There was this performance on the Toren—this dash to a warship, this Winston Churchill show—this attempt to humiliate, with the Prime Minister in the Admiral's cabin and the visiting Prime Minister in the marine lieutenant's quarters. Of course this created the worst possible atmosphere.

"The last thing which the Prime Minister said—it was one of those ultimatums—was that there would be no question of Mr. Smith being allowed to return to consult his Cabinet. Of course he had to do so. Then there was to be a deadline at 10 o'clock. That did not apply either. All this builds up to the sense of mistrust which is at the basis of all this.

"We cannot say: 'We do not trust Mr. Smith'. We must look at it from the Rhodesians' point of view. We should not break on a point of prestige, a point which has nothing whatever to do with the African interest. At no point has the African interest been primary. It has all been a question of prestige.

"Let us try sending a commission. Would the alternative improve our relations with the Commonwealth? How do we think things will work out in the next few months when we veto Commonwealth proposals at the United Nations?

"We shall have to negotiate again. I said this a year ago, and I was hissed at. I say again that we have to keep on negotiating with Smith. Let a commission composed of men of great authority decide whether the conditions are such that it can do its task. That is Mr. Smith's challenge. Take him up on it. I am not suggesting that the sanctions should be stopped. If we postpone negotiations for one, two, or six months we still have to negotiate. I hope that we shall succeed in making the positive approach which I attempted last January through education and common economic development, the attempt to create the positive conditions which will work.

"I urge this party to make this final effort. If it is refused, I regret to say that for the first time in 21 years I shall find myself in the other lobby".

### Sir Alec Douglas-Home

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said that the issues were as momentous as any that had ever occupied the House.

"When, as today, those issues involve human rights, questions of race, and it may be even the choice between peace and war, emotions will run strong and deep and tensions will be taut. However strongly we feel, I hope we may avoid assumptions or imputations of bad faith in those who may think the opposite to the views we hold.

"I was particularly sorry that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, who is so widely respected by all parties in this House, saw fit to allow himself to say at the end of his speech that should the Opposition go into the lobby this evening against the Government they would in effect be supporting the rebel régime in Rhodesia. He knows that this is not true.

"Secondly, it would be intolerable if rt. hon. and hon. Members who disagreed with the Government of the day or saw fit to go into the lobby in opposition to them were to be accused of being traitors to the Queen.

"When the leaders of two peoples who speak the same language and enjoy the same religious, cultural and political inheritance fail to reconcile their differences by negotiation, and remembering that we in this House preach to others that they should never break off negotiations in anger but should sit around the table until negotiation is complete, and when as in this case we have parted with a neighbour and partner in the Commonwealth in so bad a temper that one threatens the other with force—for mandatory sanctions are a form of force—defeat takes on an element of shame.

"Yesterday I thought that I sensed a change of mood, a determination that the House would not allow defeat for negotiation and for reason to be final. I want to try to find a way if I can to reconciliation.

### Seeking Reconciliation

"The sole reason why Britain has continued an association first with the Central African Federation and secondly with Rhodesia is that we wished to create in the centre of the African continent a multi-racial democratic society. We felt that this would not only be good for the African continent, but, if we succeeded, would have repercussions far further afield. The experiment in human relations of trying to integrate one race with another has by no means yet proved to be possible. The division between black and white is not the only colour division in the world. There are Malays and Chinese, Arabs and Jews, Negroes and Indians between whom feelings run just as high.

"But Parliament has felt all through the years that to deal with this daunting problem we should persevere until we were able to establish, if it is humanly possible, a multi-racial society in which African and European could live in dignity. Our purpose was and is not to enforce a political system in which one man, one vote is established within a rigid timetable, but to entrench in a Constitution the rights of African and European which will provide, as far as is humanly possible, a life for them which is free, just, and dignified. That is so high a stake that to lose patience would be a crime.



## AGREEMENT THROWN AWAY AT MOMENT OF VICTORY

"A number of hon. Members have equated Rhodesia with South Africa. There are a number of racial practices in Rhodesia which should go; and go soon—racial discrimination. But from the equation of the situation in South Africa with that of Rhodesia—some very tragic errors may flow, because there is all the difference in the world between the two. In South Africa *apartheid* is entrenched. In Rhodesia multi-racialism is entrenched in the Constitution. This is true of the 1961 Constitution, and even of the 1965 Constitution. The principle of multi-racialism is written into it.

"In every case, even in the 1965 Constitution, if an African gains the educational and economic qualifications written into the franchise he gains the vote equally with the Europeans. There are too few and the process is too slow, but the principle of multi-racialism is written into the Constitution. So far, at least, it has been kept alive.

"I hope the Prime Minister will tell the House that he will not operate paragraph 10(a) of the Commonwealth Ministers' *communiqué* until all hope is gone. Should, as that paragraph declares, all previous Constitutions be scrapped, and all offers, including the offer which the Prime Minister made to Mr. Smith on H.M.S. TIGER, be withdrawn, I believe that multi-racialism in Rhodesia would be given a mortal wound.

### Prime Minister's Mistake

"Central to our debate and to a future settlement in Rhodesia is the fact that the Prime Minister was successful in getting an agreement on constitutional proposals. These proposals are a basis for a multi-racial Constitution and consistent with the six principles. Although they gave independence before majority rule, they provided unmistakably for uninterrupted progress towards majority rule. They included provision for the abolition of the racialist practices which are a blot on the record of Rhodesia.

"The proposals are not only within the letter but within the spirit of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's *communiqué*. Otherwise the Prime Minister would not have signed them. We must therefore accept them as a proper basis for a multi-racial society in Rhodesia. After all these years that was a great prize. I gladly concede to the Prime Minister that he won great concessions.

"How was it that these constitutional proposals were thrown away in the moment of victory? If I had been as successful as the Prime Minister in securing the constitutional settlement, I would have separated that from the method of applying it. Here a mistake was made."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "There was not at any time on the TIGER a message from the so-called Cabinet in Salisbury that it accepted the constitutional settlement. When Mr. Smith left he reserved the entire position of the whole document, although of course he and I got very close and both of us said that we were prepared to accept it. Since then they have gone back on the constitutional settlement."

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "I had understood that after the Prime Minister's return to London there was a message from the Cabinet in Salisbury accepting the constitutional proposals. I think this is so. I know that the Commonwealth Secretary said yesterday that in some respects Mr. Smith had gone back on the proposals, or that statements had been made in Salisbury that led him to believe that Mr. Smith had gone back on the proposals.

"We have seen all sorts of statements coming out of Salisbury. I saw one attributed to Mr. Smith saying that if only these constitutional proposals had been in their hands before there would have been no need for U.D.I. The fact is, as I understood it, that the Prime Minister received in London a message from the Cabinet in Salisbury that they accepted the constitutional proposals.

### White Paper and Ministers At Variance

"I do not make this point of separating the constitutional proposals from the method of applying them because I think that the modalities, so-called, were trivial. I do not think that they were trivial. On the contrary, the method of handing over power is not only important but complex. No reasonable person could have requested a settlement on this in the limited time available. The great error was that the constitutional proposals and the modalities had to be settled against a rigid time-limit which had been tied around the Prime Minister's neck at the time of the Prime Ministers' Conference.

"On a point where clarity is vital, clarity is missing. The Commonwealth Secretary said yesterday that it was H.M. Government's intention during the period of interim government that the Governor should act strictly as a constitutional Governor, as he had acted previously under the 1961 Constitution, accepting the advice of the Rhodesian Ministers, accepting advice in the case of the Defence Council of

Rhodesians, with the addition of one member of the British High Commission.

"I accept this, of course, from the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary, but this is not what the document says or seems to say. It says two different things in two different places. If the Prime Minister would read the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué* with the statement which he himself put out, it is written of the interim period and the functions of the Governor that the executive authority should be vested in the Governor.

"It may be that Mr. Smith and his Government are using this as an excuse because they do not like the whole arrangement, but the Prime Minister will see that it could make all the difference to the Rhodesians' reception of the whole document and of the proposals, because if the Governor is to exercise authority during this particular period the Governor would then be under the orders of the British Government and bound to take any orders that the British Government might give him.

"If that is not so, and he is acting on the advice of Rhodesians and the convention which ran with the 1961 Constitution was still intact, then every Rhodesian would know that there would be no interference during this interim period from the British Government. I gather from the Prime Minister's nod that this is so. I hope this will be made absolutely clear, because on a reading of the document it is not clear at all. In the atmosphere of distrust which prevails between Whitehall and Salisbury the interpretation which the Prime Minister puts on it must be made clear so that the illegal Government of Mr. Smith and the people of Rhodesia shall know exactly what is proposed.

"The Prime Minister proposes an interim Government more broadly based than Mr. Smith's present Government; and there is a lot to be said for that. Mr. Smith might take an entirely different view of this proposition if he knew that the Governor was not an executive authority, but was to be a constitutional Governor advised by Rhodesians.

"Mr. Smith seems to accept the instrument of the Royal Commission, and it might still be used for the wider purposes proposed yesterday.

### Misuse of the Charter

"So vital is the prize of this constitutional settlement in the context of a multi-racial future for Rhodesia that it must not founder on a misinterpretation of words or on rigid protocol. Therefore, I ask the Prime Minister to clarify this position this afternoon, to interpret this beyond dispute. If he accepts, negotiations might be directed again to this more limited field of the modalities. It might be possible to ask the Lord Chancellor to help the Rhodesian Government to make order and sense out of this interim machinery for this short interval, because on the reasonable handling of this interval the whole future of a multi-racial society in Africa may hang.

"Mandatory sanctions mark the bankruptcy of statesmanship which we should never admit in a civilized world.

"Let me turn to the misuse of the Charter of the United Nations. If nations feel entitled to invoke mandatory sanctions because the Constitution of a country falls short of the standards of democracy that we require, we should be at war with half the world. I said when first we discussed voluntary sanctions that their result would be to drive Rhodesia into South Africa's orbit. Mandatory sanctions will do much more and something much worse. They will make Rhodesia totally economically dependent on South Africa, and will thereby identify South Africa's political system with that of Rhodesia in a way that nothing else could do. When the country is under siege not even the moderate Rhodesians can afford to threaten or oppose Mr. Smith and his Government. Does anyone in the House intend to push Rhodesia into the arms of South Africa and identify her completely with South Africa's system?

"The Government believe that by applying selective sanctions they can keep control of the United Nations. I wonder whether the Foreign Secretary thinks that today. They will not keep control of the United Nations unless they veto Afro-Asian resolutions to apply mandatory sanctions not only against Rhodesia but against South Africa in respect of oil. This would damage Commonwealth relations to a far greater extent than if the Government had kept these matters in British hands.

"Already on the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Sanctions the majority want oil sanctions. The only thing that the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth mean is sanctions, including oil, directed against South Africa—and enforced. I hope that before the Foreign Secretary commits Parliament in New York the Prime Minister will categorically tell us that if there is a proposal to bring oil sanctions against South Africa the British Government will use their veto.

## SANCTIONS THE BANKRUPTCY OF STATESMANSHIP

### A Vote for War

"A vote for mandatory sanctions, including South Africa and Portuguese Africa is in effect a vote which could, which I believe certainly would, lead us into war at some future date. Therefore, my plea to the Prime Minister is basically not to accept the defeat of negotiation, which narrowed to a front which is manageable if further negotiation is undertaken. I myself have lived too long with this problem not to know the difficulties. I know how hard it is to ask the Prime Minister to exercise even greater patience, but I do not believe that he can refuse this, for the stakes in terms of humanity are too high".

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "Sanctions are not proposed because we do not approve of the Rhodesian Constitution, or think that it is not multi-racial enough, but because after every effort over four or five years Rhodesia insists on remaining in a state of illegal rebellion, and the United Nations has voted that this is a threat to peace.

"The hon. gentleman had the responsibility for some years of dealing with Southern Rhodesia, and as Prime Minister he laid down in the strongest terms the attitude that any British Government must take on the question of illegality and the terms on which any British Government must insist as a condition for independence. He and the then Commonwealth Secretary—who showed the same firmness in these matters—made clear that this was not an Independence Constitution.

"We are dealing with a revolt against the Crown and a direct challenge to Crown and Parliament. Both parties have spoken in equally strong terms about the insistence that if, uniquely, Rhodesia were granted independence on an amended 1961 Constitution, that is, in advance of majority rule—and this would be unique in our lifetime—there must be some specific and enforceable guarantees ensuring that there will be steady and unimpeded progress to majority rule. The then Commonwealth Secretary (Mr. Sandys) was in those days no less emphatic. In 1964 he warned the then Rhodesian Government about the consequences of U.D.I.

"More than a year after I.D.I. no Government in any part of the world has extended recognition. There have been no exceptions.

### Backing the Illegal Régime

"Tonight when he and the Leader of the Opposition go into the lobby against us they do not vote against individuals, but against a motion. They could have amended this motion, but did not seek to do so. They are disagreeing with our motion which deplores the rejection of the working document. They are backing the illegal régime in rejecting that document.

"Since that document was rejected—we are told purely because we insist on legality—by their vote they are no longer insisting on legality. It is no good their trying to wriggle out of this. They are voting against a motion which endorses the Government's acceptance of the document. They are voting against a condemnation against the criticism—(an hon. Member: 'They are voting against you'.) Yes, against me, not against Mr. Smith. Every hon. gentleman opposite is more interested in trying to get rid of the legal Government here than the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

"They could have moved to leave out all the last part of the motion relating to mandatory sanctions but they have deliberately decided to vote against the whole resolution, and to that extent they are voting to endorse the rejection of the working document by Salisbury.

"Has Mr. Smith had enough time?" Have we become slaves of a time-table which should never have been laid down? Immediately after the illegal declaration all parties in the House decided that there could be no dealings with the illegal régime. The Leader of the Opposition said it on November 12 last year. We all said it.

"In January, however, despite what he and I had said, I authorised the then Commonwealth Secretary to visit Salisbury—he was in Lusaka with me on the way back from a visit to Africa—and authorized him under the auspices of the Governor to have informal talks with Mr. Smith or any of his colleagues provided this did not involve in any sense recognition of the régime. The régime said that he could go there only on conditions which involved recognizing them as Ministers. Therefore, he did not go.

"In February rt. hon. Member opposite, who had to face some difficulty in making up their minds—we saw this last December when they split three ways—decided that they could best unite on a formula for talks which carried them through the general election in which we were told that they would make Rhodesia a main election issue.

"In March a senior official of the Commonwealth Office was in Salisbury for a fortnight and was authorized to let the régime know, and did do, that he could meet Mr. Smith; but Mr. Smith, who had had his hopes raised as a result of the visits by a number of hon. Members, thought it right to await the result of the general election, in which he actively intervened. In an interview with the *Glasgow Herald* Mr. Smith made his partiality clear.

"In April, facing the reality that we had for a long time to come a Government who were determined to stand by the statements of their predecessors, and faced also by our clear determination, shown by the Beira operation, to make sanctions effective, Mr. Smith indicated to the Governor his willingness to engage in talks about a settlement.

"From May to August the informal and exploratory talks continued in London and Salisbury. During that period the Rhodesian representatives moved not one inch towards us either on the constitutional issues involved, including the guarantees required for fulfilment of the principles on which we have agreed, or on the issue of a return to constitutional rule. They were stiffened by the advice which they were getting from their friends in this country, and their visitors, into the belief that the seamen's strike and then the July economics crisis would drive us into a position of weakness—indeed, even into a coalition.

"Indeed, just as talks were resumed for the third time, the régime, having already distinguished themselves with certain oppressive acts against academic freedom in the university, made it very difficult to continue any talks by introducing a constitutional amendment designed to give them power to introduce permanent legislation for preventive detention—to detain people without trial, even though no state of emergency existed.

### Near Disintegration of the Commonwealth

"By September, when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference began, no progress had been made in the so-called 'talks about talks'. The House knows with what difficulty my rt. hon. friend and I, after nine days of agonizing debate, secured from our Commonwealth colleagues agreement that we could have time to make one last determined attempt to secure a satisfactory agreement with Mr. Smith.

"It was a 'new dimension of danger', said Mr. Maudling yesterday, referring to our decision to seek mandatory sanctions at the United Nations. It was not a new dimension; it was a deferred dimension. If we had allowed the Commonwealth Conference to break up over Rhodesia without agreement, not only would we have seen the disintegration of the Commonwealth as we know it today, but the matter would have been raised in the U.N. by an angry and hostile majority determined to remove the issue from British control, where we have kept it.

"We were able not only to produce an agreed Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué, but, despite the strong feelings of our colleagues, many of whom wanted us to use force, to secure their acquiescence, however reluctant, to a last series of talks with Mr. Smith. Any hon. Members who had heard the exchanges at the Commonwealth Conference up to the last minute would have thought this impossible, and a miracle to achieve. Now they criticize us for a time-table. Our achievement was to defer the problem for three months.

"A few days after the Commonwealth Conference my rt. friend went to Salisbury, where under the Governor's aegis he explained to all the Rhodesians whom he met of a very wide range of public opinion the decision of H.M. Government. Despite a formal request to Mr. Smith, he was not allowed to see Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, although he saw a number of their supporters.

### A Century Apart in Basic Thinking

"He had long talks with Mr. Smith and certain of his colleagues. There was not one inch of movement on the constitutional issue or a return to constitutional rule. Mr. Smith was left in no doubt that progress must be made within about three months, which provided adequate time to anyone who wanted a settlement.

"All that emerged was an agreed statement of the position of the two sides—miles apart, some would say worlds apart, certainly a century apart, in our basic thinking.

"In October our proposals were clearly set out to Salisbury. A formal rejection of all the essential points was received. However, exchanges continued after that. Up to a fortnight ago there had been no movement whatsoever on their part on either issue.

"There was no agreement in sight on the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule, because Mr. Smith still insisted on a braking mechanism—on the right to create additional European seats and new constituencies, when in this



## PRIME MINISTER ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. SMITH

words he felt that a braking mechanism was necessary as a safeguard against the premature advent of African rule. He insisted on the right to determine the pace of African advance.

"His braking mechanism would, we calculate, have delayed for 10 years more compared with the progress inherent in the 1961 Constitution, and if he were to use the freedom for which he insisted of manipulating constituencies he could have delayed African advance indefinitely, for ever. This House was committed—all of us—to guarantee and unimpeded progress to majority rule. My rt. hon. friend did not succeed at that time in persuading Mr. Smith that a braking mechanism was an impediment to gradual and unimpeded progress towards majority rule. There was no advance on the question of the return to legality.

"Nevertheless my rt. hon. friend a fortnight ago today took the initiative in again visiting Salisbury. Some signs of movement were at last revealed. Rt. hon. gentlemen opposite displayed unparalleled naivety when they refuse to relate this last-minute beginning of movement to the fact that it was the last minute and that the timetable was running out. Mr. Smith began to discuss a basis on which Chapter III of the 1961 Constitution could have been entrenched without a braking mechanism. We could have done this six months ago. He also said that he was prepared to consider a return to the 1961 Constitution. When asked whether that meant willingness to renounce his purported independence Mr. Smith said, 'Yes, that was what he had meant.'

### Programme of Procrastination

"The Government decided that they must make a final effort. Accordingly, the Deputy Under-Secretary of State was sent to Salisbury last week to invite Mr. Smith and any colleague he chose to meet the Attorney-General and myself in a final effort to reach agreement on the basis that both of us would have power to settle at that meeting.

"We could have been talking in January or March. We were talking in April. It was not until November 27 that Mr. Smith began to take the talks seriously. Indeed, the work of our predecessors and ourselves has gone on for over three years. What the régime has fought for is the right, not to settle, but to buy time and procrastinate, and not to deal seriously, as I believed that Mr. Smith was coming last week to deal seriously, and in good faith.

"Sometimes we have seen them acting in bad faith. Last year they went through the motions of pre-I.D.I. negotiations when we were in Salisbury, when all the time they had legal documents printed bearing the very date of our arrival in Salisbury. They declared I.D.I. the following week.

"We regarded the agreement reached and set out in the working document last Saturday as an honourable settlement which enshrined in constitutional terms—[interruption.] I know that the reply from Mr. Smith has come to three hon. Members. It means no more than the situation did a week ago. Perhaps hon. gentlemen will listen to the facts. They had better stick to the facts now."

MR. EVELYN KING: "On a point of order. I am sitting perfectly quiet reading the telegram. There is no reason for that offensive observation."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Hon. Members opposite have shouted enough about this. They had now better try to understand the facts. We regarded the agreement set out in the working document as an honourable settlement which enshrined in constitutional terms the six principles on which we have all insisted in this House and which provided effective internal and external guarantees of those principles. Because they fulfilled those principles we could have commended them to the House."

### Amendments in Favour of Europeans

"The concessions we made were generous. Although the 1961 Constitution was not an Independence Constitution, in the agreement we turned it into one with only the minimum number of amendments, those mainly designed to entrench the clauses needed to secure unimpeded progress to majority rule and with a further provision to provide adequate external guarantees.

"In one respect we provided a major amendment designed to make it more acceptable to European opinion in Rhodesia. In January I added to the existing five principles a sixth principle, namely: 'To ensure that, regardless of race, there was no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.' The reason was that not only should the Africans, while effective political power was denied to them, have guarantees against any oppression by the politically powerful European minority. It was important also to ensure that equally, after majority rule, the Europeans in the multi-racial Rhodesia for which all of us have been working would have a similar guarantee against any form of oppression by the majority.

"That was ensured by the British proposal which we made last week-end, which Mr. Smith accepted, of 17 reserved European seats—reserved to Europeans for all time and entrenched, starting now and persisting up to and after majority rule, which would always give them a constitutional guarantee against unacceptable amendments of the Independence Constitution. In this respect as well as others the working document provided a more acceptable Constitution from the European point of view than that of 1961.

"We insisted, however, as our predecessors had done, on some immediate improvement in the political status of the unfranchised African population, even though its effect in terms of seats would not have been immediate. We also added two extra B roll seats to the Lower House. There would have been eight elected Africans as well as six chiefs in the proposed Senate. We agreed upon universal adult suffrage for all Africans over the age of 30, and insisted with this new electorate against what Mr. Smith wanted, namely, the continuance of cross-voting.

"We provided—this is something Mr. Smith was keen to have—for a Constitution including chiefs as well as elected Africans. The House must agree that, while insisting on all points in asserting the integrity of the principles which we have laid down, H.M. Government have approached all these constitutional questions with imagination and, indeed with generosity.

"Nearly three months ago we made it plain that if agreement could not be reached on an amended 1961 Constitution we were ready to consider any possible alternative which the Rhodesians wished to put forward, including a number of ideas recently put forward in Salisbury. We were thinking, for example, of the Holderness Constitution, which attracted a great deal of interest in Rhodesia and more widely. Mr. Smith showed no interest.

"We told him that we were willing to agree with him on the composition of a high-level commission of constitutional experts—because there are few types of Constitution which have not been considered or tried somewhere in the Commonwealth. That commission would have worked out under Anglo-Rhodesia auspices a new solution to the problem. This suggestion was rejected.

### Canadian P.M. "Ought to Have Been Acceptable"

"Following consultations which I had had at the Commonwealth Conference, my rt. hon. friend proposed a mission, fact-finding and mediatory, of Commonwealth leaders, headed by the Prime Minister of Canada and consisting of other Commonwealth leaders, all of whom ought to have been acceptable to Mr. Smith. This was rejected.

"It is a little late now to ask whether we cannot have a high-powered commission, because we have been discussing these things for four years. The latest offer, which was taken up with such avidity by rt. hon. gentlemen opposite, must be judged against the rejection last September of all these proposals.

"There was also our proposal, that, given the agreement of the three major parties in this House, we would offer them an Act of Union under which we envisaged that they would have both European and African elected members in this House playing their full part in our affairs, while Rhodesia would enjoy full domestic self-government. I do not underestimate the difficulties of this proposal, particularly to any Prime Minister who has had to operate with a majority of three British Members. An offer of such unprecedented generosity was an indication of the length to which we were prepared to go to solve this problem. This also was rejected.

"I come to the events of last week-end. Some feel that it was wrong to enter into direct contact with those who, under our law, are in a state of rebellion against the Crown. I felt that it was right to meet Mr. Smith. Prime Ministers have met rebels before.

"Equally, I defend the proposed terms of settlement under which Mr. Smith could have left H.M.S. TIGER as designate Prime Minister of Rhodesia—though many would have criticized us for giving authority to the Governor to appoint him Prime Minister of Rhodesia."

### Monstrous Campaign of Misrepresentation

"My rt. hon. friend and I would not have wished to draw aside the veil of secrecy which surrounded our talks if it had not been for the monstrous campaign of misrepresentation of what we said and did there which we have had in these last 48 hours, and which some rt. hon. gentlemen seem only too ready to accept at face value.

"We went there with authority to settle. So, he informed us before he came, did Mr. Smith. By Friday evening we had reached an agreement over a wide part of the field, which anyone 10 days earlier would have regarded as miraculous.

## RHODESIA OFFERED ACT OF UNION WITH U.K.

That evening, as we were prepared to engage on a late-night sitting, he asked that we might adjourn, indicating that, because we had raised a number of new issues, he felt that he should secure the agreement of his colleagues in Salisbury.

"What were the new issues? One was the embodiment of the Constitution in a treaty registered with the United Nations, and our own proposal for reserved European seats to protect in all circumstances the European minority. The idea of a treaty had been mentioned by Mr. Smith to Opposition leaders in October, 1965, and we discussed it with him in Salisbury immediately afterwards. Our proposal about reserved seats could only have been welcomed by anyone in Salisbury who wanted an agreement. It was a great concession to the European minority.

"True, we proposed a council to advise the Governor on defence and security matters, consisting of five Rhodesians and one British representative; but that was in substitution for our earlier proposal, unacceptable to him, that he should agree with us on a British military presence in Rhodesia. That was not mentioned at any time in our talks last week.

"I agreed to his proposal that he should have time to telegraph the facts to his colleagues, and proposed that we should work out jointly a draft agreement which we would help him to communicate to Salisbury. By Saturday lunch-time he decided that that was not enough; he felt that it would be necessary for him to go back and urge personally on his colleagues the acceptance of whatever agreement we reached. This meant that I had to agree that, instead of settling on board ship, a further period should be allowed for him to persuade his colleagues to accept the agreement.

### "Members May Think We Were Suckers"

"We agreed—and hon. Members may think that we were suckers—that, when we had completed discussions and secured a draft for us both to study, he would study it on his own or with his colleagues and indicate whether he rejected it out of hand or was prepared to take it to Salisbury and commend it to his colleagues. That was the third change from the original position of power to settle.

"By Saturday afternoon, not only had we reached full agreement on every detail of the Constitutional settlement, but we had gone through a precisely worded text, which is available to all hon. Members, covering all aspects of the return to legality. Mr. Smith reserved his position both on the question of timing—whether there would be a return to legality before or after the test of public opinion by a Royal Commission—and on the question of whether or not there should be a broad-based interim Government—a Government more representative of Rhodesian opinion than the Rhodesian Front.

"After our discussion on Saturday afternoon Mr. Smith went away to commune with himself and his colleagues, it being understood that he would either reject the document as being unacceptable and we should break up without agreement, or that he agreed to return to Salisbury and commend it to his colleagues; and he told me that, if he agreed with his colleagues, it would go through, but it would require his presence to ensure it.

"It was not until three hours later as he was preparing to get off the ship that we met and he told me that he was prepared to initial the document as a correct record of our discussions but could not say one way or the other whether he personally would accept it. He needed to convince himself before he could start the process of convincing his colleagues.

### No Commitment by Mr. Smith

"The basis on which we had begun—of authority to settle—had been weakened now three times: first, that he would telegraph the text; secondly, that he would take it back with his own support and commendation; and, thirdly, that he would just take it back.

"Nevertheless—and this is another sign of weakness on our part, I suppose—I agreed that he should take it back without expressing a view about whether it was acceptable to him. In those changed circumstances naturally I reserved the British Government's position as well. H.M. Government accepted the document. Next day the Rhodesian régime rejected it, we are told unanimously.

"The TOEA document represented significant movement by both sides. The recent propaganda from Salisbury in many and major respects is totally irrelevant in telling not what we agreed in the Tiger but what we ourselves put as an opening bid or a statement of our position in October, on which we have since made many concessions.

"The working document, we are now told, though we were not told it on board, is rejected because it demanded direct rule. At no time since informal talks began in May has there been any suggestion by the Government of direct rule from Whitehall or of Governor's rule in Rhodesia.

"It is rejected, we are now told, because the Governor would have direct control of the armed forces and police. But under the 1961 Constitution in all matters of law and order the Governor acts on the advice of his constitutional Government. The only new element in our proposals—and only for the four months between now and an election, during which the Royal Commission would complete its task of testing Rhodesian opinion—would be that in law and order matters the Governor would be required to act not on the advice simply of the responsible Ministers but of a newly-constituted Defence and Security Council, to include the responsible Ministers, the heads of the armed forces, and police, all of them Rhodesians, and one British representative.

"We were prepared to accept this proposal in substitution for our earlier suggestion, which some of the distortions from Salisbury now say that we are still demanding; that there should be some form of British military presence in Rhodesia. Mr. Smith never raised any point on it; he had no criticism of it whatever. There was no suggestion by him in all those 48 hours that this meant direct rule, Governor's rule, or some unacceptable derogation from the 1961 Constitution. This he has thought up since he got back to Salisbury.

"We are demanding one effective British representative on the Governor's Defence and Security Council. Is that not reasonable? To have this degree of British involvement in the maintenance of law and order in Rhodesia during the period when we should be testing Rhodesian opinion is essential, particularly if the Royal Commission is to do its job.

"We are told now in accents which I find impossible to reconcile with those that I heard last week-end that the British Government are insisting on a dissolution of Parliament and some form of authoritarian rule for the next four months. That is a complete travesty of the facts. The Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bowden, and the Governor will stand witness to the fact that it is a travesty.

### Dissolution of Parliament

"The proposal to revert to the 1961 Constitution for the interim period assumed that the Rhodesian Parliament would remain in session. Under orders approved by the House, it is in abeyance. Therefore I asked Mr. Smith whether, if we agreed to constitute it, a Parliament so elected was not likely to cause him some embarrassment as head of the interim Administration; for example, by refusing supply or other necessary legislation. His view was that little if any legislation would be required during these four months, and we agreed that if necessary he could, if he found Parliament difficult to handle, recommend to the Governor that Parliament be dissolved under the Southern Rhodesia Act to provide the legislative authority which he needed.

"It was only when we considered the suggestion—which was not made from the British side—that it might be more convenient that the Governor should immediately dissolve Parliament that we then invited Mr. Smith's view on this proposal. The 1961 Constitution already provides for government by the Governor without Parliament during the period of a general election. It would no more involve authoritarian rule in this case than in any other pre-election period under that Constitution, or under our own Constitution when we have no Parliament sitting during a general election.

"We felt that it might be of advantage to him. I indicated to Mr. Smith that I had no strong views on the matter either way—whether there should be a dissolution or not—but would be guided by his views. I could not help recalling when I said this to him that in earlier discussions he had indicated that an election might be welcome to him for the purpose of easing out 'some 30 of his chaps'. That is not my phrase.

### "What Mr. Smith Is Up Against"

"If either the Leader of the Opposition or I were to welcome a general election as a means of dropping three-fifths of the hon. or rt. hon. Members sitting behind each of us, if either of us had power to do that, it would demonstrate a degree of embarrassment in running a Government or an Opposition. That gives some indication of what Mr. Smith is up against. I am not sure that we realize enough what he is up against.

"Many say that, given an election, there may be new groupings, that the Rhodesian Front might break up, and that the extremists will disappear, and not before time, and the more liberal wing, in its Rhodesian sense, will join other middle-of-the-road people; and there might be a case for saying that Mr. Smith might have wanted a general election for that purpose.

"It was for him to decide, and in our document, when we considered a final draft, we put before him in square brackets the proposals for a dissolution with all that would follow. It



## "MR. SMITH WAS NOT TALKING IN BAD FAITH"

was after the discussions with him that we felt it was his preference, which we were prepared to accept, that the square brackets should be removed, and what is now paragraph 11 should, unamended, form part of the document. That disposes of another new Salisbury legend.

"The powers of the Governor do not vary in the slightest from the powers under the 1961 Constitution, which also referred to discretion. Mr. Smith did not at any time on the ship raise any question of the powers of the Governor, or say that they were unacceptable. He said that there were two points: timing and the test of opinion, and the question of the broad-based Government.

"Sanctions were to be dismantled as soon as we had reached agreement, and the Southern Rhodesia Act would enable us to make Orders if they were required during the period of reconstruction, for example, if Parliament was not sitting, to give powers to a tribunal. All this would have been done by, with, and through the advice of Mr. Smith's interim Administration. There was never any argument about this. As far as I could tell, he fully accepted it. He raised no points on it."

SIR ALEC DOUGLIS-HOME: "I raised a point about a statement in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué which said that executive authority was to be vested in the Governor. The Prime Minister is now saying that this is not so."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am describing what we said in the TIGER document. The position was—and I envisaged this possibility as long ago as last January—that for a certain time executive authority would be vested in the Governor, which I said in the House might be for only a matter of minutes. The Governor would be the executive authority and would ask Mr. Smith to become Prime Minister. Mr. Smith had no difficulty or misunderstanding about this until he got back to Salisbury. Somebody I think then told him what he ought to say."

### No Authority to Override Interim Government

MR. SANDYS: "Could the Prime Minister make clear the position of the Governor in regard to the armed forces and police? The White Paper is not very clear. I understood from it that the Governor would have executive authority in regard to the police and the armed forces, but would consider the advice given to him by an advisory council."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, except that he would have no authority to override the interim Government. Mr. Smith understood this."

"The question of a broad-based Government was discussed in private, not in a full session. My rt. hon. friend was there. I said that I recognized that it was very difficult, even invidious, involving as it did a discussion about the future of some of Mr. Smith's colleagues. I began by asking whether, if our agreement went through, he would expect resignations; though I said 'Do not answer that if you do not want to'. We got in reply the strong statement that it would not be a question of resignations, but that Mr. Smith would move first and sack the undesirables."

"We suggested five additional members for the interim Cabinet. I assumed that he would want to increase his existing Cabinet by two or three—that if we asked him to take five more, his Cabinet would be enlarged by less than five. Mr. Smith said that his Cabinet of 13 should not be increased to 15 or 16, but reduced to 12. My arithmetic suggests that in return for the new members, which we were insisting on, he was prepared to dispense with six of his existing so-called Ministers. It would not be helpful to name the personalities who might have been involved."

"As to those who would have been added to the Cabinet, Mr. Smith, no doubt recalling that many are called but few are chosen, has now on Rhodesian television punctiliously named some of those we discussed. It was a long list, but he has carefully failed to mention any one of the five whom he and I agreed. I will observe the same degree of discretion, and not name the five; but all five, European and African, would be regarded by the House as men—most of them well known outside Rhodesia—of the highest standing, more than adequate to the task."

"If the outcome of the talks in H.M.S. TIGER had been different, everything that we said to one another would have remained confidential; but in view of the fantastic misrepresentation by the Rhodesian Information Services my rt. hon. friend and I had to put the House in possession of the truth. It puts a very different slant on what is coming out of Rhodesia."

"The House may well ask how it has come about that the Mr. Smith with whom we were dealing in H.M.S. TIGER appeared to be so different from the Mr. Smith who read out in Salisbury the statement last Monday evening which many of us saw on television. I find it difficult to answer."

"Whatever the evidence to the contrary—and the evidence is substantial—I do not believe that Mr. Smith was talking to us in bad faith. I do not believe that, but there is a lot of evidence to the contrary."

"I saw that television programme. It was not the Mr. Smith that I know. His manner, his demeanour, his voice, suggested to me that, whatever I had thought or whatever he had said to me, once he got back to Salisbury he was not his own master. I believe that this is the explanation of the twists and turns when he was on board ship—that he was getting instructions perhaps not entirely disconnected with the fact that Mr. Lardner-Burke, to his great surprise, arrived back in Salisbury on Saturday, and not on Monday night."

"I believe that Mr. Smith's authority with the existing Rhodesian electorate is such that he could have secured acceptance of an agreement which he considered reasonable. Some of my friends will consider me naive in my interpretation of Mr. Smith; but history has many examples of the honest man who passes the bad penny."

"Either because Mr. Smith rejected the working document or was overborne—as he should never have allowed himself to be, with the authority that he commands—by men more reactionary and, who knows, more powerful than he, the settlement we had worked out with such care has been rejected. This is why there is no future in ingenuous proposals for further talks with that régime as at present constituted. Monday proved that the real motivation is that of a group of men insisting at all cost on clinging to power, unrecognized though they are either by their own courts or by any Government in the world."

"Rt. hon. gentlemen opposite have suggested that rather than come forward now with mandatory sanctions we should run the risk of the total disintegration of the Commonwealth. They have suggested that we should not have signed the Commonwealth communiqué. It may be that the Leader of the Opposition does not care very much about the future of the Commonwealth—[Interruption.] It may be."

"He felt that we were wrong to sign that communiqué, though he must have known the consequences if we had not. Immediately that communiqué was signed, with his rather endearing posture of instant opposition—[Interruption.] He always rushes in with these things and thinks afterwards. The ink on it was barely dry before he condemned the communiqué, which was signed by the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Malaysia, Singapore: I will not go through the whole list. I hope he does not think they have all gone mad, even if he thinks we have."

"According to the *Guardian* report of his speech he asked his youthful audience how they would react if threatened with an ultimatum of this kind and answered 'You would tell those who sent it to go to hell. Any British citizen would. No people, whether acting legally or not, would knuckle down to crude threats'. That was his comment on the communiqué. He condemned the 23 members of the Commonwealth in that rejection. In Salisbury his remarks were taken as one more proof that the Conservatives were ready to break with the Government on the whole issue of Rhodesia."

### Proposal to Fluff the Issue

"The rt. hon. Member for Barnet (Mr. Maudling) proposes that we should fluff the issue which divided Salisbury and London last week—end with a suggestion that an independent commission be now appointed to test in Rhodesia the acceptability of the constitutional settlement which Mr. Smith and we have agreed was reasonable. If Salisbury is now turning to the idea of an independent mediator—at the 13th hour, having rejected it at the 11th—we have to recognize that a year ago the mediation of Sir Robert Menzies was rejected. Nearly three months ago our other proposal for an independent commission of Commonwealth constitutional experts and our proposal for a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' mission were also rejected."

"I never thought that Mr. Smith's acceptance of my invitation to join me for what he has called man-to-man discussion in H.M.S. TIGER was just a public relations exercise. Some thought that he had come to put us in the wrong if we could not reach agreement, but I do not take that view. But the new proposal put forward by Mr. Smith on Tuesday night is a public relations exercise, and I am amazed that the rt. hon. gentleman should have fallen for it."

MR. PETER BESSELL rose.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "If there is one hon. Member in this House to whom I will not give way on any Rhodesia question it is the hon. Member for Bodmin, who has played the issue unworship part. I happen to know the effect on the so-called Government of Rhodesia of some of the visits of hon. Members opposite, including the hon. Member for Bodmin."

## P.M. SPEAKS OF CHINESE PENETRATION OF AFRICA

"The proposition is that the illegal régime in Salisbury should remain in power while Rhodesian opinion is tested by this new commission. We are dealing here with what the Leader of the Opposition, the Leader of the Liberal Party, and myself have called a police State. Would there be the free expression of opinion which this House and the world could accept before the verdict was finally pronounced?"

"A coerced, submissive African population—only too well aware that the penalty of political deviation could be imprisonment without trial—might find it difficult to express to a Royal Commission of strangers its uninhibited views. They might be thinking of what would happen after the strangers had gone away. In most of these villages there are, living among the Africans as Africans, plain-clothes members of the African police, reporting to the police authorities on every sign of political deviation. Hon. Members should consider this before they vote.

### Ingenious Exercise in Escapism

"Mr. Smith offers to lift censorship. I do not know what he needs it for. He would not give up control over the other forms of communication if he did; and he has still insisted that, if the answer is 'No', he will remain in his present illegal post. Do the Opposition intend that the illegal régime, condemned in such strong terms by their leaders when in Government, should continue if the Royal Commission gave a negative verdict?"

"If so, Rhodesians, under threat of coercion and at risk of their liberty, would be offered a choice between accepting a document or continuing to live under an increasingly oppressive illegal régime. I grant that this is ingenious. It is an exercise in escapism, but a prescription for the destruction of the Commonwealth. Tonight this House must pronounce, by the simple verdict of 'Yes' or 'No', on almost the most complicated issue which any Government of this country have ever had to face in this century.

"Rt. hon. gentlemen when in office stood firm over Rhodesia. While they rushed on some constitutional settlements in certain countries where it suited them, they did not seem in a hurry to settle Rhodesia. They neatly landed us with that—[Interruption.] They had four years to settle it up to 1964. There was no sense of urgency in settling the Rhodesian question. Rhodesian Ministers and ex-Ministers have said to me that, if they had been dealing with us they would have known where they stood and what they could not stand was then—[Interruption.] I am telling the House what they said—Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Winston Field, and Mr. Smith."

"In the last two years we have had to go straight down the middle of the road in a multi-dimensional situation. There is the Rhodesian constituency, whose complications most of us recognize. There is the British constituency, also capable of infinite variation, including the changes from time to time of the Opposition's position. They have never unequivocally supported us; tonight they are unequivocally opposing us."

"There is the Commonwealth constituency. Some of us believe that the maintenance of our multi-racial Commonwealth in a world where problems of race and colour occupy the centre of the stage is not a matter to be dismissed. There is the United Nations constituency, with its own complications."

"The danger of Chinese penetration of Africa will remain and grow as long as this Rhodesian problem continues to fester. I talk of the danger of Chinese intervention: Mr. Smith talks about the growing fact of Chinese intervention."

### Risk to the Commonwealth

"There is a fifth constituency—Southern Africa—covering, as well as Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal. For over two years, for over one year since I.D.I., we have had to face the fact that every action we took, however right in one or another constituency, might be disastrous in a fourth or fifth."

"The rt. hon. Member for Barnet said he thought that Mr. Smith was more concerned for the Rhodesian Front than for Rhodesia. For over a year now I have felt that rt. hon. gentlemen opposite have sometimes been more concerned with 1922 Committee and Conservative Party pressures than with the interests of Britain. Even before I.D.I. they were seeking to suggest that they would not be committed to sanctions if I.D.I. occurred. A year ago the Leader of the Opposition was shattered at my suggestion that this was a moral issue."

"He has claimed to support us throughout on sanctions. Not last December. When the call went to hon. Members then to stand up and be counted, some voted against us, some with us, and the broad-based rump of the Conservative Party sat there in a massive and masterly abstention."

"Perhaps they feel that we should now risk the break-up of the Commonwealth by postponing this issue for many months more. If this is their position on mandatory sanctions they could have moved to leave the third part, and the third part

only, out of our motion. That they did not do so means that they are voting not only against mandatory sanctions but for the proposition that H.M. Government were wrong to endorse the working document which Mr. Smith and I worked out. They are voting for the proposition that the illegal régime was right to reject that agreement."

"If they are going on record as saying that Mr. Smith and his colleagues—or Mr. Smith overborne by his colleagues—were right and H.M. Government wrong, they are wrapping round their necks every decision which the illegal régime takes from now on—every act of censorship, of oppression, or of illegal interference with the judicial process. Having got themselves into a procedural mess, they had better vote with us."

"I ask them to consider that the process over the past generation and more of granting independence to previously subject people and territories is one of the greatest chapters in world history. We must not allow this great record to be tarnished—the image which history will accord not only to the British Empire but to the even greater record of the advance from Empire to an independent Commonwealth."

### "Voting with Sense of Shame"

"Hon. gentlemen may vote at their party's call, but some of them will vote with a sense of shame, a shame with which they will have to live over all the years to come."

"After tonight's vote we shall have a most extraordinary situation—that while no country in the world supports Salisbury, the British Conservative Party does."

"The situation which the House faces arises from the rt. hon. gentleman's own conception of party leadership. At the Conservative Party Conference in October 1965, when Rhodesia was a live issue, before I.D.I., he refused to give the lead required of him, so that, at the end of the day he could maintain a fictitious unity, a contrived appearance of the lion lying down with the lamb, the Monday Club with the Bow Group, that what was acceptable to the Marquess of Salisbury was acceptable to Mr. Humphry Berkeley. This is why he is in the mess he is in today."

"The power and leadership of a great party in this democracy of ours means sometimes that there are more important issues than a contrived appearance of party unity; that pressures of ancestral voices and powerful party members are less important than a betrayal of principle."

"The same thing happened at this year's Conservative Conference. The rt. hon. gentleman talked about a great divide over Rhodesia. On what? Is it that we should give more time for yet another time-consuming manoeuvre? If there is a divide today, it is on the question of whether we are prepared to see not only the destruction of the Commonwealth, not only the acceptance of a posture of moral isolation in world affairs, but a posture of conditional surrender to rebellion. Then let us divide, and let every hon. Member stand up and be counted."

"What at Blackpool was only a great divide is now a great alliance—forged between the Conservative Party and those whom they are by their vote protecting in Salisbury. They have whipped up their supporters in the Press to the expectation of the greatest confrontation of any international question since Suez. We accept the challenge."

"We seek, without bloodshed, to bring an errant British territory back to the comity of the Commonwealth. We have accepted the need to publish every exchange, without concealment; and in our record there is no secret treaty of collusion."

### "Despicable Parliamentary Manoeuvre"

"They will vote tonight for party unity, not for principle. If the leaders of the party opposite call upon hon. Members to sacrifice principle to the dictates of party, this will be the most despicable Parliamentary manoeuvre in the history of the Conservative Party. If they do that, they must accept responsibility for every action of the Salisbury régime from now on."

"MR. EDWARD HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, described this debate as of immense importance to Rhodesia, Britain, and Parliament."

"Instead of being devoted to a careful weighing up of the various policies possible and of the merits and dangers involved in an attempt to continue the policy of securing a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia, it had been dominated by almost unmitigated abuse and recrimination, led by the Prime Minister."

"I believe the Prime Minister's meeting with Mr. Smith was absolutely right. We had urged him to do this."

"The Prime Minister this afternoon remarked on the amicable relationship which exists between himself and Mr. Ian Smith. He might care to refer to the Blue Book and the

## MR. HEATH'S REPLY TO MR. WILSON'S ONSLAUGHT

message of December 15, 1964, from Mr. Smith to the Prime Minister, which reads: 'It is with regret that I have to record that during the short tenure of office of your Government in Britain there has been a drastic deterioration in relations between our two Governments'. That is the real position.

'I have condemned illegal independence, and still do. I have no sympathies with the Rhodesian Front. I have condemned those aspects of a police State so often recalled by the Prime Minister. Racialism and any form of persecution is abhorrent to me.

'Agreement has been reached on a new Constitution embodying the six principles. Both sides made important concessions. They were right to do so. Mr. Smith said on his return that 'the Rhodesian Government is prepared to accept the constitutional proposals by Mr. Wilson which fulfil the six principles as a basis for a constitution for an independent Rhodesia'. He is committed to this new Constitution.

'The Prime Minister has said that 'the requirements of the six principles have been met in full with effective constitutional and external guarantees'. This is a statement of the utmost importance. It means that it is effective in every way. It does not depend on trust, confidence, people or personalities, but has effective internal and external guarantees.

### Major Prize Secured

'This means, therefore, that if this Constitution were to be approved in Rhodesia and the election took place afterwards—even if the Rhodesian Front were returned; even if somebody like Mr. Dupont was re-elected; even if the present Prime Minister put Mr. Dupont into his Government—the Prime Minister is satisfied that the internal and external guarantees of this Constitution are sufficient to maintain the six principles. This is a very important point, because it concerns the transition to independence.

'After independence, on the new Constitution, the Prime Minister cannot influence, which party is elected, who is Prime Minister, or who is in the Government. So we see that, if nothing else changes, he is prepared to have the people who are there at the moment again in office as Ministers under a Constitution which, he now believes, would be absolutely effective. Surely this is a major prize to have secured. This the Prime Minister should hold.

'The problem is how to carry out the fifth principle. Great progress has been made here as well by the Prime Minister. The acceptance of the Royal Commission and of the impartial tribunal to deal with detainees has not been challenged in Salisbury. Paragraph 15 of the working document about Press censorship and normal political activities have not been challenged.

'The problem is how to move from illegality, which in no way do we condone, to the new Constitution once it is approved. There are two ways. The Prime Minister's proposal of going back to the 1961 Constitution has the advantage of providing a proper background for the work of the Royal Commission and the tribunal. I wish Mr. Smith and his colleagues had accepted this; but they have not.

'I believe that fundamentally what still lies at the bottom of the breakdown on this part of the working paper is the suspicion in Salisbury that the British Government would try to intervene in affairs during the interim period under the 1961 Constitution if they went back to it. That suspicion exists. Every Press report has dealt with it. It goes back to the Prime Minister's statement of January 25 in which he outlined an interim stage based on direct rule either by the Governor or from Whitehall. What is more, it was embodied in the Commonwealth *communiqué*, in paragraph 8, to the effect that there was to be direct rule by the Governor or responsibility to the Governor of the Armed Forces and also of the executive.

### Proposal Kept for Television

'It has also to be taken against the background of the talks between Easter and in the TIGER. The House has never been given the record of those talks. I ask the Prime Minister being given the record of those talks. I ask the Prime Minister why the House cannot have a White Paper setting out in full all the official exchanges which were made during that time. We always understood that that was to be in the White Paper. That was why we asked for proper time to consider the White Paper. The House has not been given those facts.

'There is also the proposal for union. We were not told about that—not even in the Prime Minister's statement on Monday evening. It is rather surprising. It was kept for television on Tuesday. We still do not know the details which had been worked out by the Government, if any had been.

'The Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary have said that the Governor was not to have discretion; that he was to do what had been arranged with Mr. Smith; and

that there was to be a Defence Council but that he would not have control over the forces. That is not what the working paper says. I believe that this is one of the major causes which have led to the rejection of Part II of the working paper.

'Under the interim arrangements proposed in the working paper, would it not be possible for the British Government here in Westminster to give a single order to the Governor or a single instruction to the forces through the Defence Council? That categorical undertaking in itself would help clear up this position?'

'THE PRIME MINISTER: "I gave that undertaking this afternoon. Mr. Smith knew it, and never raised any doubts about that point in the TIGER".

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister's assurance is now more specific, and I believe that it is immensely important. But what is also striking is that so far as I know not one moderate Rhodesian in Rhodesia or in this country has come out in favour of Part II of the working document. This is striking confirmation of the fact that it does not in its present form appeal to the most moderate people in Rhodesia who ought to use their influence.

"Why, having got the new Constitution agreed, the Royal Commission agreed, the tribunal agreed, all the action in paragraph 15 of the working paper agreed, is the Prime Minister not prepared to take the further steps to get agreement on the rest?'

"I know that the Prime Minister feels affronted, but I do not believe that he is justified in refusing to go on seeking a settlement. That is the crux of this debate and what the vote is about.

"The time-table in the Commonwealth *communiqué* is December 31. That is the time limit, not December 8. The Security Council can meet at 12 hours' notice. It is only in the authority of the Security Council. He cannot seek mandatory sanctions from the General Assembly. Why therefore does he mutter 'General Assembly'? The plain fact is that the time-table is the end of the year?'

'THE PRIME MINISTER: "I said before the General Assembly adjourned. It will adjourn next week. This was insisted on by our Commonwealth colleagues".

### Two Points for Exploration

MR. HEATH: "Will the Prime Minister say where in the Commonwealth *communiqué*, it says before the General Assembly adjourns?'

'THE PRIME MINISTER: "This was minuted by the Commonwealth Conference, and it was part of the deal which was done to get that *communiqué*".

MR. HEATH: "If it was such an honourable arrangement, why was it not in the *communiqué*? The Prime Minister has done a deal which he did not tell to the British public or to the British Parliament. If the Prime Minister really believes his argument that it is the time factor which has brought Mr. Smith to negotiate, why does he not go on in the time which remains with further negotiations?'

"I do not share the Prime Minister's judgment on this. I believe that Mr. Smith moved for other reasons. One was that he had confidence in the Commonwealth Secretary. I hope that the Commonwealth Secretary will do nothing to impair that confidence.

"There are two ways in which the Prime Minister could go from the present illegal position to one of legality. First, he could try to clear up the question of going back to the 1961 Constitution. The Commonwealth Secretary, who has the confidence of Salisbury, should do it personally.

"The second method is to move to a legal position when the new Constitution has been accepted under the fifth principle. What are involved are satisfactory conditions in which the Royal Commission and the tribunal can do their job. To this point the Prime Minister never addressed himself. Why cannot the Commonwealth Secretary explore both points and try to reach a settlement on one or the other?'

"The Prime Minister spoke of this as a great moral principle, and of what was going on in the United Nations as a great moral principle. Where is it? We have the great moral principle of mandatory sanctions provided we do not do anything which affects South Africa. What are the people of Manchester to think about a moral principle of this kind?'

### Prime Minister's "Base Hypocrisy"

"This is sheer hypocrisy of the basest kind. This wipes the whole of the end of the Prime Minister's speech into insignificance. Saying that he wants mandatory sanctions but of course will not have a confrontation with Southern Africa. How are these sanctions to be effective when there



## P.M.'s HYPOCRITICAL CANT ABOUT 'A MORAL ISSUE

is no confrontation with Southern Africa? If they were effective with Southern Africa the cost to this country could be enormous. The rt. hon. gentleman knows this: the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells him almost every day. Let us hear no more of this hypocritical cant from the Prime Minister.

"We are opposed to mandatory sanctions because they cannot be effective in the way in which the Prime Minister is applying them; because we believe that, if they are effective, they will lead to a confrontation in Southern Africa, possibly leading, as the Prime Minister himself said, to war; because we believe that the Government are already sliding into a confrontation and the situation is out of control; because we believe that the Government are incapable of keeping control over these matters at the United Nations.

"Until they give a solemn undertaking to use the veto if the United Nations wants to go further than the Prime Minister has promised he cannot tell the House that he is keeping control. To do so is just deceiving the House.

"Once it is in the hands of the Security Council, any final settlement with Rhodesia is not in the hands of the British Government but of the Security Council itself. [An hon. member: 'So what?'] Because the Prime Minister has always said that it must remain in British hands; and the hon. gentleman does not mind. If the Security Council is not prepared to remove mandatory sanctions at the request of the British Government, a decision on any settlement with Rhodesia then lies in the hands of the Security Council, and for that also we are opposed to this Government's action.

"The Prime Minister is in a dilemma. The great majority of his party have shown in these two days that they have had a sense of relief—as one of them put it—that there was not a settlement. The most logical of all, Mr. Michael Foot, said quite frankly that he wants to see a confrontation with Southern Africa. He is prepared to go to war, to see a financial crash in this country and the economy in ruins, to see anything in order to try to deal with the Smith régime in Rhodesia.

### Mr. Wilson's "Scurrilous Campaign"

"What has been the Prime Minister's response? It has been to start a scurrilous attack on all his opponents. What he is now doing is to run a deliberate campaign against the whole of the Conservative Party and its supporters. Is it not interesting that the man who last weekend went to try to negotiate a settlement today turns on those who urge him to go on doing it?

"Burke said in 1777: 'I know many have been taught to think that moderation in a case like this is a sort of treason and that all arguments for it are sufficiently answered by railing at rebels and rebellions and by charging all the present or future miseries which we may suffer as the responsibility of our brethren'. The Prime Minister might take those words to heart.

"The Government are now committed to wiping out all the previous starts in these negotiations and the chances of moving towards majority rule in Rhodesia. Surely the Government should consult their colleagues in the Commonwealth before they do so.

"We are going to vote against this motion tonight because the Government refuses to continue negotiations and to try to get a settlement; because they are demanding mandatory sanctions; because they are losing control at the United Nations; because they will not be able to make a settlement themselves. It will be in the hands of the United Nations.

"The Government are wifully, indeed compulsively, leading this country on a course which can only produce further tragedy for Rhodesia and for Britain".

[Some other speeches will be reported next week.]

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THE SECURITY COUNCIL of the United Nations has been told by Mr. George Brown, the Foreign Secretary, that the British Government will not oppose an oil embargo against Rhodesia if the proposal be "in acceptable terms". That concession was announced after he had introduced a resolution which excluded oil from mandatory sanctions.

In the House of Commons on the previous day Mr. Bowden, the Commonwealth Secretary, had said emphatically that action at the United Nations over oil sanctions must not be allowed to develop into a confrontation with the whole of Southern Africa. A few hours later Mr. Brown flew to New York and there told Commonwealth Ambassadors to the United Nations that he had not brought a cut-and-dried resolution on sanctions; he was willing to be convinced about oil by the arguments of other people.

Mrs. Judith Hart, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Office, had told Parliament that in return for a British decision not to oppose the inclusion of oil, Afro-Asian Commonwealth countries had agreed that economic sanctions should be strengthened against Rhodesia only, not against South Africa or Portuguese Africa.

The British motion asked the United Nations to decide that all its 121 member States should prevent the import into their territories of Rhodesian asbestos, chrome, copper, iron ore, pig-iron, tobacco, sugar, meat products, hides, skins, and leathers.

The British resolution also calls for a prohibition on the sale or shipment to Rhodesia of weapons and ammunition of all types, military aircraft and vehicles, and equipment and material for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition.

In its discussions with the British Government, Mr. Brown said in moving the resolution, the Salisbury régime had maintained a stubborn attitude, with the consequence that the dangers to peace and stability in all Central and Southern Africa were now acute, and stresses had been created between nations even outside Africa.

### No Independence Before Majority Rule

Rhodesia's economic activities and earning power could be most effectively reduced by impeding her exports. Sanctions were intended to cause maximum economic damage to the illegal régime. Exports of the commodities listed had been worth about £84m. in 1965.

If, with full support of the Commonwealth, the resolution were passed, "Britain will withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement made to the Rhodesians; in particular, we will not thereafter be prepared to submit to Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule".

Because the strength of the support for the inclusion of oil in mandatory sanctions was understood, the British delegation would not oppose an amendment in that sense if made in acceptable terms. "I say this on the basis of a full understanding which it is clear also exists among delegations here of the importance of not allowing sanctions to escalate into economic confrontation with third countries".

Mr. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, the next speaker, denounced British policy as "abominable dishonesty" and as collusion with "a racist minority régime that is committing crimes against the people of Zimbabwe". In a long and harsh speech he said:—

"World opinion holds the Wilson Labour Government as criminally responsible for the denial of freedom, independence, and self-determination to these people and for all the racial turbulence and menace to our peace and security which seems sure to attend Southern Africa".

The \$39m. which the Wilson Government had promised Zambia was not "aid", as they called it, but compensation. "The more their bankrupt Southern Rhodesia policy destroys our economy the more compensation they are going to be called upon to pay".

The British Government should emerge from "behind its mask of hypocrisy. The only way of quickly bringing down the Smith régime was by a British military presence or by military intervention.



COMPANY MEETING

# BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.

## CONTINUED EXPANSION OF BUSINESS

### IMPORTANCE OF PRESENT FORM OF ORGANIZATION

#### FURTHER INCREASE IN DEPOSITS AND RESERVES

#### MR. FREDERICK SEEBOHM ON INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE BANK

THE FORTY-FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 4, 1967, at 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, MR. FREDERICK SEEBOHM, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1966:—

For Barclays Bank D.C.O. the financial year which has just ended has brought so much of interest, so much of change and challenge, that it is not easy to select the matters of greatest significance. The year has once more thrown into relief the essentially international character of the Bank, and it is this subject that I shall discuss first. As recently as 1964, in describing our progress overseas, Sir Julian Crossley said: "It is the international rôle that our Bank has progressively assumed in recent years that may well have the greatest value in the future for the developing countries. Most of them nowadays have their own indigenous banks and, where this is the case, we are free from any taint of monopoly which might have applied in earlier days".

#### Local Companies Not The Answer

I have, nevertheless, noticed in my travels during the past year that this is still not properly understood in many of our host countries, even by some of our staff. It seems, therefore, worthwhile to stress once again why we feel it is so important for the Bank to remain in its present form, operating throughout the world through branches rather than being fragmented into a series of small local companies, with or without local participation. I am convinced that it is very much in the interests of the countries in which we operate, as well as of the Bank, that this organization should remain unchanged.

The advantages claimed for the formation of local companies are, first, that they would become more closely associated with the country in which they operate; secondly, that they would attract a greater amount of business from the local population; and, thirdly, that by giving local participation part of the profits could be seen to remain in the country and not to be expatriated.

As regards the first point, the Bank operates under local laws and is therefore obliged to conform with the directives of the local authorities; in this respect the formation of a local company changes nothing. Our practice of appointing local boards to supervise our business, often with members from outside the Bank, is evidence of the importance we ourselves attach to seeing that local interests receive full consideration. So far as encouraging local customers is concerned, this again would not be improved by the formation of a local company as the service we could offer would, in fact, tend to deteriorate owing to reduced flexibility in the movement of staff and funds, and the restriction of the international rôle of the Bank. Costs and therefore charges would be likely to rise as the full machinery of a head office would have to be set up. Lastly, with regard to profits, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out

that local taxation already obliges us to contribute a substantial part of our profits to the local revenue, in some cases over 50 per cent.

It is even suggested in certain quarters that we should be content with a minority interest in our business overseas, but as we would no longer have control this would necessitate the dropping of the name of Barclays Bank and thus result in the parent becoming a mere holding company in a great number of small institutions abroad. This would be the end of the Bank as we know it, and its international character would be destroyed.

At present a great part of our resources is centralized, which normally enables us to lend developing countries foreign exchange for short periods and also to inject funds into the territories themselves as a temporary measure when the local resources are insufficient to finance important business. It is unnecessary to catalogue the many other benefits that derive from a unified bank of this size, but there are certain aspects of high-level training of staff, mobility of experts, and the centralization of information which are of great value to Governments as well as commercial customers. The strength of the Bank is such that it is possible to establish credits of considerable size in almost any country of the world on behalf of our customers, and it is doubtful whether fragmented institutions could perform this rôle to the same degree.

#### Overseas Stockholders Welcome

This is not to say that we would not welcome warmly many more overseas stockholders on our registers. Until recently our stock has not always been attractive to the overseas investor owing to the British methods of company taxation. The introduction of the principle of a Corporation Tax, coupled with a "withholding" tax on dividends paid, seems likely to make an investment in the Bank's stock considerably more attractive. New regulations published by the Inland Revenue should result in non-residents of the United Kingdom being able to receive their dividends at their face value less only a small withholding tax, and negotiations to this end are in progress with the United Kingdom Inland Revenue. In any case, the new taxation system will bring about a simplification in the procedure for reclaiming any refund of tax deducted at source due to overseas holders. This form of participation in the world-wide activities of the Bank should prove a better investment in the long run than participation in a comparatively small local institution with possibly very big variations in profitability from year to year.

#### 1966 A Year of Tight Credit

I now turn to the events of the current year. In many countries inflation to a greater or lesser degree has continued and credit is both tight and expensive. Governments are making strenuous efforts to control inflation, and in several of the territories where we operate, including the United Kingdom, a ceiling has been placed on the total volume of lendings. This has

resulted in greatly increased liquidity, but this method of control has a serious effect on profits as we find ourselves in the position of taking deposits which we are unable to utilize other than in the short-term market, where rates are naturally very much lower and sometimes not even half the rate that can be obtained on commercial lendings.

All Governments appear to have a common failing, and that is that they spend too much money, find it difficult or unpalatable to cut this back, then rely on squeezing the private sector to get themselves out of trouble. Inflation seems to be accepted by more and more as a natural and inevitable process. Where this is the case the normal pattern of savings is destroyed. The investor is no longer interested in Government stocks or in holding cash, but seeks all the time for a haven, either overseas or in bricks and mortar, where there is some chance of maintaining the real value. One can only hope that the coming year will prove that some of the serious measures taken in 1966 will have borne fruit and that some inflation will have been arrested.

This financial climate has made our profit rather less than last year in spite of the higher figure of £3,506,524 shown in the accounts as our net profit. This figure is not comparable with the previous year's result owing to the changes in the method of taxation. The Bank, however, continues to expand, and I see no reason for pessimism provided we can continue to run our affairs without political interference. We, therefore, feel justified in maintaining the same rate of dividend as last year.

#### Commodities—International Agreement Desirable

I mentioned last year how greatly the prosperity of the Bank and our customers is affected by the level of commodity prices. Once again the year has been disappointing: only some minerals have boomed and the high but violently fluctuating price of copper has not been welcome even to producers. The world price of sugar has been lower than at any time since the war and at around £15 to £16 a ton represents less than half the cost of production to many producers: even those in the Commonwealth have been seriously affected as the Commonwealth negotiated price covers only about two-thirds of production in most cases. It is difficult to see how a developing country can be expected to plan its development, wages policy, budget estimates, etc., when the price of its main commodity can swing from £100 down to £15 in a matter of months.

Cocoa prices have been at a much higher level than in the previous year, and reached a peak of £225 a ton in the summer. The increase in price, however, seems to have been largely based on speculative activity which later brought a strong reaction. The need for an international agreement to bring greater stability of prices to producers seems as clear as ever and is widely accepted by many consumers. It was therefore a serious disappointment that once again an international conference broke down in June. It would appear that considerable progress towards agreement had been made and that the collapse was due to failure to agree on the floor price, though it is believed that the margin of disagreement was as narrow as one cent a pound (£8 a ton). There is still hope that a new conference will be held this winter and that the delegates will have less rigid instructions.

I also said something last year about the rural economy as the key sector for economic development. This has become even clearer in the past twelve months in view of the warnings that a world catastrophe is not far off unless action is taken. Food production in the poorer countries has not been increasing fast enough even to keep pace with their growing populations, and starvation has been averted in some countries only by

the import of surpluses from the developed countries, particularly the United States: these surpluses are diminishing and cannot be relied on for ever. Of course the catastrophe may well be averted by increased production in the developed countries, but it seems to me common sense to say that this is no solution in the long run.

#### Vital Need for Rural Development

Imports of food by the poorer countries must either be a debilitating form of charity or a charge on export earnings which they can ill afford; in either case a serious handicap to economic development is the result. In most countries in Africa the great majority of the population depends on agriculture for a living, and until they start feeding their own populations adequately from their own resources there can be little hope of raising the standard of life in these countries.

There is no easy or quick way of tackling rural development. It is, however, the only way of getting down to the basic problems of the poor countries and also the best method for the donors of aid to make a little money go a long way. There is some scope for the large aid-giving agencies, particularly the World Bank, to undertake the finance of large schemes for irrigation, land settlement and mechanization, but there is also immense scope for small projects and for introducing improved methods and better storage and marketing facilities. Relatively small amounts of capital are required, and part of the requirements is, often for a relatively short term. These needs can only be met by those operating on the spot, and we already play a part in this field.

We are seeking new opportunities to increase this type of finance with the assistance of our agricultural adviser who took up this new appointment last February: he has already visited several territories and made some detailed studies of great value to the Bank and to those on the spot. Two agricultural officers have since been engaged to work in the field. We cannot expect quick results, but I believe that this will make a valuable contribution to the economic growth of many of the countries in which we operate: ultimately this is the real source of growth for the Bank itself.

#### Overseas Aid—A National Commitment

It is perhaps only natural that people in this country are so obsessed with their own economic difficulties that they are unwilling to see any outflow of capital which does not bring immediate commensurate benefits. I do not intend here to repeat my argument that only 30 to 50 per cent of British aid represents a strain on the national balance of payments: the most relevant point at the present time is the fact that aid is a national commitment which we must fulfil. The question whether we can afford aid is an unreal one: the real question is how are we to arrange our domestic economic affairs so that we can afford to meet that commitment.

The Government measures in July, however unpalatable, at least showed a determination to meet this and other commitments from our earnings: aid cannot be turned off and on like a tap, and indeed a time of deflationary domestic policy is a time for increasing rather than reducing aid. In the near future there are only two genuine limits to the amount of aid Britain can afford: one is that we cannot get too far out of step with other donors of aid, and the other is that we should not give aid which cannot be usefully absorbed by the recipients.

The international aid effort is in line with British policy and is to our national advantage. Keeping in step with other donors is consistent with giving a lead and taking the initiative: it does not mean waiting for others. I would like to mention briefly the two most urgent needs of the next year. One is the replenish-

ment of the funds of the International Development Association, the "soft loans" affiliate of the World Bank. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer has expressed our willingness to contribute, but the matter is so urgent that I should like to see the British Government taking the lead in pressing other Governments on the subject of even making a voluntary contribution immediately to help to keep the work going. With high interest rates prevailing and with increasing debts to service, more and more of the poorer countries cannot afford to take World Bank loans at 6 per cent (still less, contractor finance and commercial loans) for long-term development of infrastructure even though it may be shown as essential and economically justifiable.

#### Important U.N. Conference Next Year

The other need for the coming year is for the formulation of a British policy at the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which opens in Delhi next September. The first conference held in Geneva in the spring of 1964 nearly ended in a dangerous failure: something was salvaged from the wreckage largely by eleventh-hour rescue operations by the British. The story of the Geneva conference must not be repeated at Delhi. At Geneva the 77 developing countries for the first time got together and presented a united front while the richer countries one by one raised objections and had no constructive suggestions to make. It is easy to dismiss the volumes of paper produced by the 77 as unrealistic lists of demands and leave it at that: the result, however, could be a dangerous split of the world into the "haves" and "have nots" replacing the spirit of co-operation in a common endeavour.

I am not advocating acceptance of all the demands of the poorer countries, but I do think that they should be examined seriously by the richer countries and some action should follow where they seem reasonable and practicable. Probably no country in the world is better placed than Britain in this respect. Our history and Commonwealth connexions should enable us to have a better understanding of these problems than any other of the developed countries. We can only take advantage of this position, however, by formulating a policy which has an appeal to the developing countries and which stands some chance of acceptance by the developed. A second conference is a great opportunity, but it could easily end more dangerously than the first.

I was much impressed by the recent remarks made by Mr. George Woods, President of the World Bank Group: "Today the disparity between the living standards of a prosperous fraction of mankind and the rest of humanity is a gulf that separates the two; but tomorrow it may swallow up both rich and poor in political strife and economic chaos. We must begin to act decisively, and now, to avoid that outcome".

#### New Loan Stock Issue

Our last issue of capital in 1964 raised the total issued to £24 million, and our capital plus published reserves to £44 million, which was in line with deposits then standing at over £900 million. The growth of the Bank, however, has continued rapidly, and in March 1966 our deposits stood at over £1,100 million and once more our capital position had to be considered. In July we decided to raise £15 million by offering for public subscription £15 million  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent unsecured capital loan stock 1986/91 at 97 per cent. This in due course took place and the total of our capital, published reserves and capital loan stock now amounts to £60 million. Although we have had to pay a high rate for the new money, it is still considerably cheaper than making a rights issue, owing to changes in taxation. This is, I believe, the first time in the history of English

banking that a joint stock bank has raised capital by way of loan stock, although it is quite a normal method of raising funds in the United States.

The increase in our deposits has not ceased, and stockholders will notice that the balance sheet now shows total deposits of £1,165 million.

#### Progress in U.S.A. and Elsewhere

I referred in my last statement to the opening of Barclays Bank of California in San Francisco which was formed in partnership with our parent, Barclays Bank Limited. In August of this year a second office was opened in Los Angeles. This has necessitated an increase in our investment in California, and we are confident that our banking business there will continue to grow. I am therefore very pleased to refer to the appointment of three local residents, Mr. Webster V. Clark, Mr. Boris H. Lakusta and Mr. Charles J. Detoy, to the board of Barclays Bank of California and to say how much we value their counsels. Mr. D. Wray, formerly manager of the Northampton branch of Barclays Bank Limited, is in charge in Los Angeles and has also been elected to the board of Barclays Bank of California.

During the year we have opened a further 56 offices, bringing the total to 1,533. Worthy of particular mention is the re-opening of a branch at 359 West Street, Durban, in a new multi-storey building, a part of the site which was occupied by the Bank of Africa in 1905 and by the National Bank of South Africa and ourselves until the present redevelopment was commenced. Plans are also in hand for the erection of another major building in Lusaka, which will not only house our main banking business, but provide six floors for letting.

There has been only one change in the composition of the board with the appointment of Mr. A. F. Tuke as a director in March. His name will come up for re-election in the ordinary way at the annual general meeting. On the London committee, Mr. A. S. Aiken, Mr. G. G. Money, Mr. F. R. Goodenough and Mr. E. V. Whitcombe have been welcomed as new members during the year, while Mr. T. H. Bevan has had to retire due to increasing commitments with our parent company.

I am very sorry to have to refer to the death in June of Mr. G. F. Lewis, who had continued to serve on the London committee since his retirement from the board in 1965. His loss has been most keenly felt by us all.

Our overseas boards have seen several changes during the year. In the Cape, Mr. H. C. Greenless, who has been chairman of our board there since October 1951, has retired from this position for reasons of age, and has been succeeded by Mr. A. A. Penzhorn, though he will, I am glad to say, be remaining on the board. At the same time I am sorry to report the death in September of Mr. J. du P. Oosthuizen, who had been on our Cape board since 1954. We have also suffered a sad loss in the Orange Free State with the death of Mr. C. J. H. Reitz in June, after ten years' service on the local board. Two of our general managers in South Africa, Mr. L. D. Jones in Johannesburg and Mr. G. A. D. Harrison in Cape Town, have retired. In Johannesburg, Mr. F. P. Kightley has been appointed general manager (staff) and Mr. H. S. Morony and Mr. D. J. Band have been appointed general managers. Mr. W. P. Beatty has been appointed a general manager in Cape Town in succession to Mr. Harrison.

In Zambia, Mr. S. G. Holliman has been appointed a local director, and in Malawi we have been very pleased to welcome Mr. J. F. Rhodes as a member of the board. Mr. C. S. Skipper, who has been a member of our boards in Zambia and Malawi since their formation in 1963, has retired from these positions, and



we are most grateful to him for the very valuable services he has rendered to the Bank in these two countries.

In East Africa, where formerly the Nairobi board controlled our business, we have now established separate local boards in Tanzania and Uganda with the appointment of Mr. G. E. A. Elliott as local director resident in Dar-es-Salaam, and Mr. A. G. Woodcock as local director in Kampala.

In Malta, M. N. Hill has retired and Mr. E. M. Casson has been appointed a local director to succeed him.

In London, Mr. F. A. Boreham has retired and has been succeeded as general manager (staff) by Mr. J. P. G. Wathen and Mr. A. W. Wilkinson has been appointed deputy general manager (staff). Mr. R. H. Oakley, an assistant general manager, retired early in the year.

#### How the Bank Is Run

Stockholders may be interested to know something more about the way the Bank is organized and staffed now that it has become such a large institution. Efficiency can be maintained only by considerable decentralization of authority, and the Bank has today no less than 31 control centres, each of which has appropriate delegated powers, though of course not all to the same degree. One of the advantages of a large business is the ability to centralize routine matters so that full use can be made of mechanized methods of operation, including the use of computers. At the same time decision-making must be decentralized if the organization is not to become monolithic and to be weighed down by overheads. There are difficulties in carrying decentralization too far too quickly, and in pursuing our policy of getting the point of decision as near to the customer as possible we always bear in mind the need to ensure the proper preparation and training of all concerned.

Broadly speaking, the local head offices and other local controls are responsible for the lending of money up to high limits, for engaging and training staff, for planning expansion, and supervision of premises. The co-ordination of all these activities is dealt with at head office where capital expenditure is controlled and the expansion of the Bank as a whole is kept under constant review. High-level staff training is another important function, and, in addition to employing our own O. & M. teams, we are about to avail ourselves of the services of outside consultants who will have a good look at our high-management structure.

Staff, obviously, constitute our prime cost but are also our principal asset. The total staff increased between 1956 and 1966 from 17,200 to 22,600, an increase of 31 per cent and, while no accurate assessment of the increase in productivity can be made, the following comparisons for the ten-year period are of interest:

Number of offices	increased by	48%
Number of customers' accounts	"	181%
Total balances of customers' accounts	"	93%

It is hoped that the greater use of mechanical aids that is now taking place will help to increase productivity still further.

I have recently visited our computer centre in Johannesburg, which now processes the work of 17 branches handling 37,000 accounts in all, with a striking improvement in customer service and in the working conditions in the ledger departments. The London computer centre is scheduled to start operations early in the new year, and at the appropriate time further computers will be brought into use elsewhere.

The increases in productivity have occurred at a time when there has been considerable change in the composition of our staff. The number of British staff

serving outside the United Kingdom has risen but there has been a considerably greater increase in the number of locally engaged staff. We no longer normally recruit in the United Kingdom for Southern Africa, but taking the rest of the Bank we find that, while the number of British covenanted staff has increased by 26 per cent, this actually represents a decrease from 11.5 per cent to 7.5 per cent of total staff. This means that locally engaged staff are now being promoted to an ever greater number of responsible positions. In Cyprus for example there are at present no expatriate staff at all, while in the Sudan out of 15 branches and four sub-branches only three are managed by British staff.

#### The Staff—No Lack of Opportunities

I believe there may be some doubts in the minds of both our local staff and our British covenanted staff serving overseas on their prospects for promotion. The local staff may sometimes feel that the best jobs are reserved for British nationals, and, on the other hand, our British staff see our policy of localization being vigorously pursued and the number of jobs overseas for them apparently diminishing. Neither of these views is correct.

It is perfectly true that the policy of localization is one which we shall continue to pursue vigorously not only because it is constantly urged on us by our host Governments, but also because it is increasingly justified by rising standards of individual performance; and we avoid the expenses (passages, housing, etc.) inseparable from the employment of expatriate staff. However, for those members of the staff, wherever their origins, who show ability and make the effort to qualify themselves, there is no shortage of opportunities. In fact, the difficulty of staff department at the moment is to plug the gaps which keep recurring in positions of responsibility. With the continuing expansion of the Bank into new fields and new territories this position is likely to remain for many years.

The increase in the number of staff, with higher recruitment locally, has put a heavy burden of instruction and guidance on the senior staff in branches and our training centres. The latter now number 20, providing courses in all aspects of routine and management. The number of students going through training centres in 1966 was two and a half times the 1956 figure. Training, of course, has not been confined to our centres and branches. It has included attachments to other organizations, interchange with our parent bank, outside courses, etc., to achieve that broader outlook and wider experience so necessary for up and coming management in these highly competitive days. I cannot stress too much, however, the importance of training within branches and the necessity for individuals to make strenuous efforts to train themselves.

#### Tribute to Overseas Staff

I think I have said enough to illustrate that on the staff front things are very much alive. As ever, it has been an inspiration on my visits abroad to see the men and women in the front line. The year's results show that the fight has been harder than usual, but I can assure stockholders that from what I have seen and know of the staff today, the business of the Bank is in as good hands as it has ever been. The past year has brought its difficulties in many parts of the world but the response of the staff throughout has been deserving of the highest praise. Nowhere has this been better demonstrated than in Nigeria, where the situation in the North has been particularly difficult. The performance of our staff there in continuing to carry out their duties, sometimes in circumstances of personal danger, can only be described as magnificent. I hope to be able to say more about this at the annual general meeting in January.

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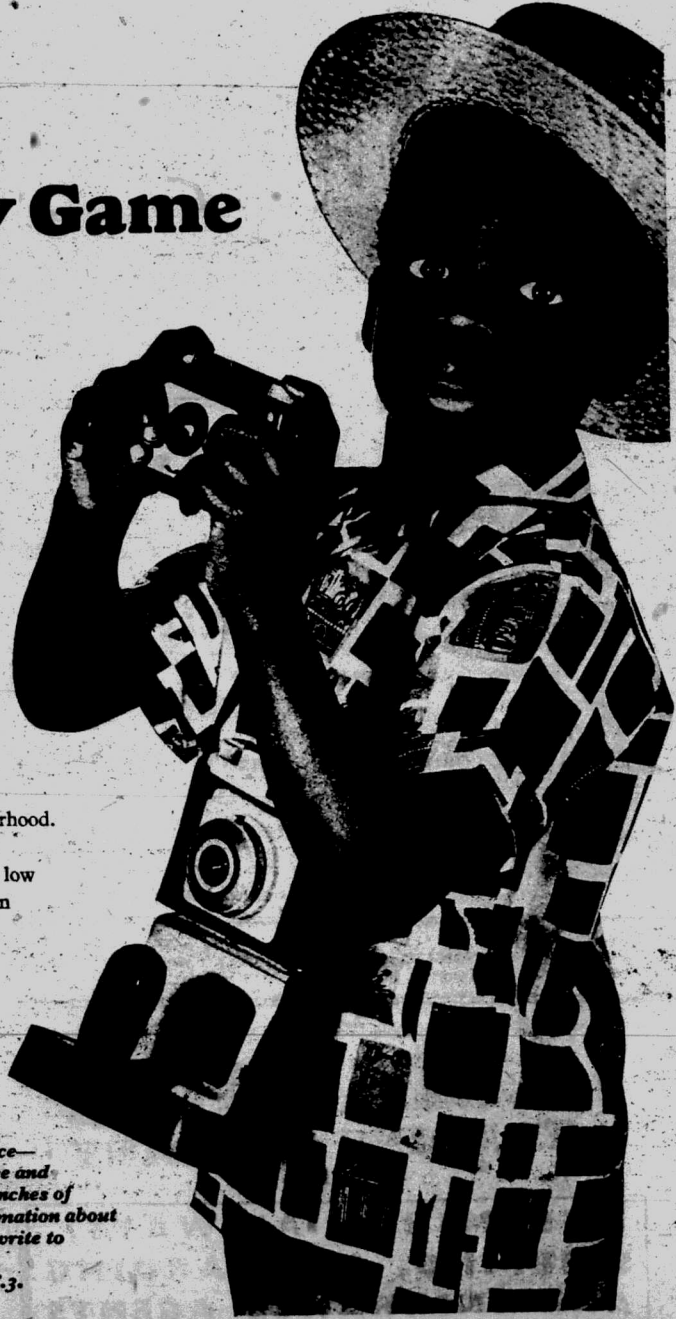
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## Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment A. . . . .	225	Lord Malvern's Initiative . . . . .	233
Mandatory Oil Sanctions against Rhodesia . . . . .	226	Prime Minister's Broadcast . . . . .	238
Lords Debate on Rhodesia . . . . .	227	Nation Deceived. Says Mr. Heath . . . . .	239
Commons Debate: Report continued . . . . .	231	Company Meeting: Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd. . . . .	240
Personalia . . . . .	232		

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SEVENTH SUCCESSIVE YEAR of abject appeasement of African agitators by the United Kingdom Government has ended with British-sponsored chicanery at the United Nations which could lead to war with Southern Africa. Dishonourably disregarding the Charter, the Security Council has for ten days discussed a matter which was *ultra vires*, but which suited the posturing politicians who are nowadays very much in the show business, with a repertory embracing charade, farce, and tragedy. Were the political correspondents of leading newspapers as frank as their colleagues the theatrical critics, public life would be much healthier. Unhappily, they are so inured to deceit, cynicism, and defeat presented as triumph that the objective analysis which is needed by the nation is extremely rare. Thrice in the past three decades the British Press has completely failed to alert the country to events overseas which were an offence to its good name and its economic and financial health: first, when Nazism planned the third German war within a lifetime; secondly, when the Macmillan-Macleod scuttles from Africa wrecked generations of devoted British endeavour; and, thirdly, when the contemptible dissolution of the Central African Federation made constitutional confrontation with Rhodesia inevitable. Had the political parties and the national newspapers done their plain duty, there would have been no war in 1939, no slither to chaos in Africa in and after 1960, and no U.D.I. last year, when a sensible settlement with Rhodesia was thrown away by Mr. Wilson with scarcely a word of protest anywhere except in these columns.

Humbug has replaced honour in public affairs. Ability to trick Parliament, outwit

interviewers and lie persuasively before the television cameras and readiness to present a flimsy fiction as the truth are nowadays the distinguishing characteristics of all too many occupants of high office.

### Political

### Dishonesty

RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has reported far more fully than any other publication the recent debates on Rhodesia in both Houses of Parliament. Readers might care to count on how many occasions peers and M.Ps. said quite explicitly that the Prime Minister had shown himself untrustworthy. The Blue Book issued by the Rhodesian Government on this year's negotiations with Britain says equally directly that false statements have been made on behalf of H.M. Government—which has based its reference to the United Nations on deliberate distortion of the rules of that body. Though that violence to legality and morality was obvious, no member State except France refused to join in the hypocritical pretence that the peace of the world is threatened by Rhodesia (which was refused the elementary right to put her own case). His devious purpose achieved, the Foreign Secretary persists in the puerile equivocation that South Africa can be expected to cease supplying oil to Rhodesia, when that Government's spokesmen continue to declare that they will not take part in any trade boycott. Since mandatory sanctions can therefore not bring down the Rhodesian Government, the black African hotheads will soon complain of their inefficacy and renew their clamour for the use of force, starting with a blockade of all Southern Africa, which, if attempted, would almost inevitably cause war. Not even Mr. Wilson—and Mr. Sandys is not the only senior Parliamentarian who says that the Prime Minister "must be going right out of his mind"—can expect the nation to pay that price for his brash bungling.



# Security Council Imposes All-Nation Ban On Oil For Rhodesia

## Some African Amendments to British Government's Resolution Are Defeated

THE SECURITY COUNCIL of the United Nations, which has 15 members, decided on Friday by 14 votes to nil, with France abstaining, to order all member States to impose immediately an embargo against the supply of oil to Rhodesia, and by 11 votes to nil, with four abstentions, to impose mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia's main export commodities—except coal and manufactured goods. The list prohibits the import of Rhodesian asbestos, chrome, copper, iron ore, pig-iron, sugar, meat, meat products, hides, skins and leather.

The oil sanction resolution records that all members of the United Nations "shall prevent participation in their territory, or territories under their administration, or in land or air transport facilities, or by their nationals or vessels of their registration, in the supply of oil or oil products to Southern Rhodesia".

A proposal by African States that "the Government of the United Kingdom be invited to prevent by all means the transport to Southern Rhodesia of oil or oil products" was rejected, failing to secure the minimum of nine votes necessary. Though it was tantamount to demanding a naval blockade of all Southern Africa by British ships, seven States voted in favour and none against, eight abstaining.

An amendment which deplored the failure of the British Government to use force to overthrow the Smith régime obtained six votes. There were nine abstentions.

### African-Majority Rule Not Approved

An African amendment requiring Britain to withdraw all offers hitherto made to the Rhodesia régime and to declare categorically that it would grant independence to Rhodesia only under majority rule also obtained seven votes, and there were eight abstentions.

A motion reaffirming the right of the people of Rhodesia to independence, under majority rule was adopted by 12 votes. There were three abstentions.

A call to all member States to abstain from aiding Rhodesia financially or economically had the support of 14 members, France alone abstaining. The British representative, Lord Caradon, agreed to give British support on the understanding that it would not interfere with the payment of pensions or the work of missionary, medical, and other charitable bodies.

When he opposed a demand for a ban on the purchase of Rhodesian coal and manufactured goods because such measures would damage Uganda, Mr. Kironde, described Lord Caradon's remarks as "insufferable priggishness".

He asserted that Mr. George Brown, the Foreign Secretary, in his talks with Africans in New York a few days earlier had "insisted that both coal and manufactured goods should be included".

The British resolution was amended to include an embargo on the supply of motor vehicles and aircraft or parts and machinery and equipment for their manufacture or assembly in Rhodesia.

### Warning to South Africa and Portugal

By 14 votes to nil, with France abstaining, an amendment directed at South Africa and Portugal reminded member States that failure to implement the resolution would constitute a violation of the United Nations Charter, which makes decisions of the Security Council binding on all members.

France abstained through "because of her insistence that the problem of Rhodesia falls within Britain's domestic jurisdiction and should not have been taken to the United Nations. The French delegate said, however, that France had carried out the voluntary sanctions so far and would consider the new proposals.

African delegations at the United Nations are reported to be angry that alleged pressure by Britain on a number of States caused the defeat of the amendment calling for an explicit British declaration that all offers made to the Smith régime would now be withdrawn and that Britain stood committed to refuse independence until after African majority rule had been established.

They emphasize that the Foreign Secretary undertook that if the British resolution succeeded "with the full co-operation of our partners in the Commonwealth, Britain will proceed to the related further step which we have already undertaken

to carry out in those circumstances"—that further step being the "no independence before majority African rule" pledge in clause 10a on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué.

### New Zealand "Marked Misgivings"

New Zealand's Prime Minister, Mr. Keith Holyoake, said on Sunday that his Government had "marked misgivings about the wisdom of pressing a policy of sanctions too far, not least because of" the grievous effects of their intensification on the people of Rhodesia, and firstly upon the African population". He said that he had appealed to the British Prime Minister to continue negotiations with Rhodesia.

"It is my view that the United Nations resolution should serve as the foundation for a renewed appeal to both parties to recognize the urgency of a negotiated settlement. It should provide the impetus towards joint British and Rhodesian efforts to reach an honourable and fair compromise. It remains this Government's firm belief that a lasting settlement of the Rhodesian problem can be brought about only by negotiation. New Zealand is firmly against the use of force".

President Banda of Malawi has told his Parliament that the substance of recent resolutions at the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity would involve the use of force by Britain against Rhodesia. It was not fair to make that demand. It was purposeless to continue to pass such resolutions when neither O.A.U. nor the U.N. could compel the British Government to use force, and he had therefore instructed Malawi's delegate at the United Nations to abstain from voting on such resolutions. It was not to the credit of African States to keep on passing resolutions which could not be implemented.

"It is hard to think that one day, because of the resolutions passed by the U.N., Malawi might become a major battlefield for armies organized outside our country. Guilty and innocent Europeans would suffer, but Africans would suffer more".

Rhodesia was a human problem rather than political. Pressure tactics at the United Nations would boomerang. For the British people Rhodesia was a kith-and-kin affair, and they would not allow their Government to attack their relatives in Rhodesia.

Officials in Washington said that within a few days President Johnson would issue an executive order under an act of 1945 which provides for fines up to \$10,000 and 10 years' imprisonment for non-compliance. They expected that United States trade with Rhodesia would decline by at least 80% in consequence. A spokesman said that the American Government still hoped for "some co-operation" by Portugal and South Africa.

Senator Robert Kennedy, who recently paid short visits to South and East Africa, said, however, that he had strong doubts about the success of mandatory sanctions.

### "Even More Crackpot Than Usual"

Sir Gerald Nabarro, M.P., commented that the addition of motor vehicles to the sanctions list was "even more crackpot than usual", for it would mean no more than that vehicles would be driven across the border from assembly plants in South Africa. "By the time our enterprising Prime Minister is through he will have destroyed British trade in Southern Africa and we shall have one million on the dole here in Britain".

In Lusaka on Sunday Mr. Kapwepwe, who had put the case for Zambia at the Security Council, said that his Government would now decide whether to support mandatory sanctions or not. He saw no difference between those now imposed by the U.N. and the voluntary sanctions previously introduced by Britain.

Mr. Maree, Minister of Community Development, repeated that South Africa would not recognize mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. "South Africa will never participate in sanctions voluntarily or under pressure. We shall never trade our right to self-determination for economic advantage".

Mr. Jacobus Fouché, South Africa's Minister of Agricultural Technical Services, said that South Africa was strong enough militarily, financially, materially, and spiritually to withstand any boycotts and could hold out for years if it came to war. If the U.N. sent a military force "we will finish them off before breakfast".

Three days earlier the General Assembly of the U.N. had by 84 votes to two, with 13 abstentions, carried a resolution declaring that mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa offered the only peaceful means of stamping out apartheid, and requesting the Security Council to take note that universally applied sanctions were essential. The United Kingdom, United States, France and other Western nations were rebuked for continuing to trade with South Africa.

# Government Defeated in the House of Lords

## Peers Debate Rhodesian Issue Until Well After Midnight

**BY 100 VOTES TO 84** the House of Lords defeated a motion which called upon it to endorse "the working document" worked out by the Prime Minister and Mr. Ian Smith, deplore its rejection by the illegal régime in Rhodesia, and support the Government's decision to implement the undertakings given in the September *communiqué* of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

In a debate lasting from 2.11 p.m. until 12.45 a.m. two peers, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester, and 35 peers made speeches.

The Government's case was opened by the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Longford, and closed by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, *inter alia* —

"What is the charge against the Rhodesian Government and public which is held to justify the Draconian measures which it is now proposed to take against them? It is that by making their unilateral declaration of independence they have rendered themselves guilty of treason. I prefer to stand on the words of Edmund Burke, who said in rather similar circumstances: 'It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason and justice tell me I ought to do'. Judged by that test, set by one of our greatest patriots and political thinkers, it is one of the oddest forms of treason.

### Not A Revolt Against the Sovereign

"This is not a revolt against the Sovereign. The Rhodesians have remained obstinately loyal to the Crown. It is a dispute between two of Her Majesty's Governments, one in Downing Street and the other in Salisbury, both constitutionally elected and both loyal to the Crown, as to the extent of the jurisdiction which one can properly exercise over the internal affairs of the other.

"The Prime Minister thought that he had only to blow his trumpet and the walls of Jericho would fall down. They are still essentially undamaged, and show no signs of collapsing either now or in the immediate future. So the whole conception—which was originally his own conception: that this was a constitutional dispute of direct concern between this country and Rhodesia alone—has had to be pushed into the background, and we are now told that the Rhodesian problem is a danger to peace and, that being the case, that the United Nations must take action to deal with the situation under Chapter VII of the Charter.

"But—I hope I may say this with some knowledge, because I was one of the Ministers who represented H.M. Government at the San Francisco Conference where the Charter was drafted—Chapter VII was inserted for one purpose only—to deal with aggression. It can be invoked in three situations only: a threat to peace, a breach of the peace, or aggression.

"Aggression, in the *Oxford Dictionary*, means 'an unprovoked attack; the first attack in a quarrel; an assault, an inroad'. There is a danger of aggression. But certainly not by Rhodesia. She threatens no one; she seeks only to remain at peace within her own boundaries.

### Afro-Asians Using Hitler Technique

"If it is argued by the Afro-Asian countries that by her very existence, under her own elected Government, she is inviting a breach of the peace, I reply that that is just the kind of thing that Hitler said when he was attempting to justify his actions against Austria and Czechoslovakia.

"By no stretch of the imagination can Rhodesia be construed as contemplating aggression against anyone. To use Chapter VII, therefore, for the purpose for which the Government are now proposing to use it is to prostitute the Charter for a purpose for which it was never intended and to create a most dangerous precedent.

"Great play has been made by Government spokesmen as to what happened on H.M.S. TIGER, and the picture that has been given us is of the Prime Minister making attempt after attempt to get agreement, but always coming up against the obstinate intransigence of Mr. Smith and his colleagues. Surely that is a travesty of the facts; this is so proved, I believe, by the Prime Minister's own triumphant words on his return:

that he had given nothing material away, and that the working agreement was both within the terms of the six principles and what had been agreed at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in September—at which Mr. Smith was not present. If, then, an agreement on the working plan was reached on the TIGER and the Prime Minister had not budged, it can only have been Mr. Smith who made the concessions.

"Nor, I believe, is there any more validity in the suggestion which is being sedulously spread abroad that failure of the talks resulted merely from differences on minor matters of the machinery which was to be set up to bridge the interim period between the signature of the agreement and the restoration of legal government in Rhodesia—mere matters, it is said, of protocol.

### Prime Minister Would Have Been A Puppet

"Look at the White Paper. The Government of Rhodesia, elected by an overwhelming majority, was to be swept away, and a new Government was to be appointed which would be responsible, not to the electors of Rhodesia, but to the Governor. Though Mr. Smith would remain as a kind of puppet Prime Minister, his own Ministers would be appointed by and be responsible to the Governor, not to the Prime Minister.

"The Prime Minister would no longer have any control over either the armed forces or the police. They, on whom the maintenance of law and order depended, would be responsible not to the Prime Minister but to the Governor. Nor would the Prime Minister have any say as to who should be detained on security grounds. That would be decided by a judicial tribunal, responsible not to him but to the Governor, who would become a sort of autocrat.

"Nor would Mr. Smith have any say as to the way the Rhodesian people as a whole were to be consulted as to the Constitution under which they were henceforth to live. That would be done by a Royal Commission, whose composition and terms of reference would be agreed, not by any democratically elected Government representing the people of Rhodesia, but by a Government responsible only to the Governor and the Government of the United Kingdom.

"These are not mere matters of machinery or protocol. I described them on Monday as 'terms imposed on a beaten enemy'. They are terms that no Government with a shred of pride could have thought that had to be avoided was to give the impression of a determination to rub the Rhodesians' faces in the dirt.

### Mr. Wilson's Utter Misunderstanding

"The reported remark of the Prime Minister that all the white Rhodesians wanted was 'power for its own sake' showed utter misunderstanding of the whole position. It is not power that the Rhodesians want; it is the preservation of law and order and the security of the lives of the Rhodesian peoples, black and white, and their wives and children, and the right to run their national life in the way they believe it must be run if these things are to be preserved—just those things for which we have always fought in this country when they were threatened.

"Mr. Maudling yesterday suggested a Royal Commission for one purpose. There was the suggestion by Mr. Smith for a different Royal Commission with different terms of reference. Both might be explored. The great thing is to prevent the Afro-Asians rushing the United Nations off its feet and taking complete charge. Their aims are not the same as ours, and irreparable damage might be done before wiser counsels prevailed. Let us keep open the lines between London and Salisbury.

"In continuing to pursue this disastrous policy the Government are like a man who has started to walk on the water he believes to be firm sands and then suddenly begins to feel them shifting and quaking beneath his feet, and yet through mingled obstinacy and a lack of understanding of the dangers that are threatening him continues to plunge forward, sinking deeper and deeper into the quicksand which, if he continues too long on his way, will finally engulf him. We are in those quicksands now. Yet, in spite of warnings, the Government seem bent on staggering and lurching into even deeper dangers. Can they not even now feel their way back on to firmer ground? Soon control of the situation will have passed into the hands of others who care nothing for the welfare either of Britain or of Rhodesia.

"The policy of sanctions has failed disastrously. Let us then make the best terms we can. That is a decision which I firmly believe the British people want. Only so will they avert disaster, not only for Rhodesia but for this country and in the long run for the United Nations too."

## CHRIST SAID NOTHING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE

LORD COLERAINE, having recalled that the Lord Privy Seal had remarked that no one could fail to pay tribute to the Prime Minister for his indomitable efforts to solve the Rhodesian problem, continued:

"I must disabuse him. A lot of people feel that the Prime Minister has made every mistake in the book from the start until his last broadcast; right until, I have no doubt, the speech which he has made in another place this afternoon.

"Most unprejudiced people, when they have studied the facts and reflect on the events of the last 13 months, will come to the conclusion that the Prime Minister has wrecked Africa and the Commonwealth and looks like wrecking this country.

"The Prime Minister's policy was designed to divide the Rhodesian people against their Government. It has united them. It was designed to secure cohesion in the Commonwealth and command the respect of world opinion. The Commonwealth is bitterly divided, is quite clearly cracking up; and as for the respect of world opinion, ask President Kaunda about that. We have earned nothing but derision and contempt.

"The Prime Minister on the TIGER, modelled himself, I have no doubt, on a 'former naval person', but he is not a former naval person; he is more like a pinchbeck Hitler.

"Since he came back from the TIGER the Prime Minister has made to show how utterly reasonable and considerate he was; how fair he was to Mr. Smith; how he met Mr. Smith at every point; and how Mr. Smith rejected all those courtesies, all this fairness of mind, and went away and rejected the arrangement which he had already come to. Of course he had not come to the arrangement, because even on the Prime Minister's admission he had reserved certain points.

"I think that meeting in the TIGER will strike the historian very much like the meeting between Dr. Schussnigg and Herr Hitler at Berchtesgarden. It was, in fact, for Mr. Smith a summons to Berchtesgarden. He was, cut off, isolated, with no communication with his own Government, completely isolated except for the few men he brought with him. How could he protect himself under all the pressures exerted? To imagine that this was a negotiation between equals is fantastic.

### Majority Rule Not A Moral Issue

"The Prime Minister, after 13 months, has brought this country to a position which cannot be held, from which there can be no retreat without shame, and from which there can be no advance without ruin.

"At the beginning of this controversy some of us compared the Rhodesian rebellion to the American War of Independence. By comparison with our present Prime Minister, Lord North was a Solomon for wisdom, an Aristides for probity, and a Churchill for magnanimity.

"What is the moral principle behind majority rule? I have been unable to discover it. The wisdom, or otherwise, of majority rule must be purely a matter of political judgement. Palestine in the early years of the Christian era knew nothing of majority rule. The Holy Land was a colonial dependency of Imperial Rome. If majority rule had been an issue of such supreme moral importance, surely that would have been evident in the sayings of our Lord. But there is not a word about it. All we have bearing on that subject is: 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's'.

"Of course oppression of man by his fellow men is a moral evil. It was a moral evil in the Holy Land 2,000 years ago. It is a moral evil in Birmingham today. It is a moral evil in Rhodesia or South Africa. It is a moral evil all over Africa, wherever it occurs. But majority rule does not preclude the oppression of one man by another. Indeed, there is a great deal of evidence that majority rule intensifies oppression by man against man.

"The International Commission of Jurists, a body of eminent lawyers from every country—the United States, India, Nigeria, this country, every country—explains in its September Bulletin how the moment Malawi got its independence under the system of majority vote it became a one-party dictatorship. It explains that it became the worst possible kind of police State, because one body of the population—the Young Pioneers—was put even above the authority of the police.

"The Bulletin sums up the position by saying: 'The resulting position in Malawi today is that people live in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, while Government supporters commit a wide range of offences from murder down, free from the risks of prosecution'. That is one of the fruits of majority rule.

"The Prime Minister said the other night in his broadcast that never in this century had we given independence to any State except on the basis of majority rule. He did not go on to say that in practically all the States to which we had given independence on the basis of majority rule, majority rule has ceased to exist. We make a great mistake in elevating this principle of majority rule into a moral imperative. In the context of Africa today it is dangerous, and dangerous above all to the Africans. We talk of a police State in Rhodesia; but the dictatorships in the independent States of Africa are far worse than anything Rhodesia can show.

"One of the reasons for the tragedy we are going through now is that everybody has pretended that this is a moral issue when it is really a political issue. I wonder what our descendants will think of us. The 18th century was called the age of enlightenment; the 19th century the age of progress. I think this century will be known as the age of humbug".

### Lord Wedgwood's Maiden Speech

LORD WEDGWOOD, who farmed in Kenya for many years, said in a maiden speech:—

"Until recently I have spent all my working life in Africa at grass-roots level and in everyday contact with the realities of life and the problems of Africa and its peoples. I have also had the personal experience of seeing how some of the new African countries reached independence and of seeing some of the consequences that followed.

"It seems to me a tragedy that, having agreed on this most complex subject of a Constitution, the terms and procedure for putting that agreement into effect should have been framed in such a way as in my view makes acceptance by the Government of Rhodesia unlikely.

"From reading paragraphs 11 to 20 of the White Paper, and with some little knowledge of the suspicions that exist, whether rightly or wrongly, about British intentions, I am not surprised at the reaction from Salisbury. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Commonwealth Relations have said in another place that no intention was held of anything in the nature of direct rule from Britain through the Governor of Rhodesia and his appointed members of the interim Government. If that is the case, the White Paper reads badly and cannot but give rise to certain fears, for anyone such as myself perusing it could come only to a quite different conclusion.

"Paragraph 20, in particular, could appear as almost an incitement to extreme nationalist politicians to stir up the maximum opposition, through intimidation and worse, in order to make the agreed Constitution unacceptable. It is capable of that interpretation, and is thoroughly dangerous.

"The implications of a continuation of this conflict are grave, and, in spite of the assurance given by the Prime Minister that selective sanctions against Rhodesia only will be invoked at U.N.O., the likelihood of continuing them at that level seems to me utterly remote.

### Democracy Seldom Survives in Africa

"It is deeply disturbing to see the spreading chaos in parts of Tropical Africa, an area which until recently has shown so much promise and hope, and which could again do so if certain attitudes, both here in the Western world and in Africa, could be reorientated. A great deal has been said about democracy and majority rule. The combination in Africa is rare, and seldom survives for long.

"During the past 70 years in Africa British rule, with all its omissions and mistakes, provided the cement which bound tribes and regions in great disparity together and maintained a great measure of justice, tranquillity and growing prosperity. The over-hasty withdrawal of the Colonial Powers has dissolved that binding material, which, with insufficient preparation of durable substitutes, has resulted in catastrophes.

"Whatever may be the cries of nationalist politicians, sometimes perfectly genuine, sometimes power-hungry, sometimes self-motivated, the real cry of all Africa is for just those same things which we all recognize: security and the chance to make some sort of living free from hunger and fear and the awful chaos of civil strife.

"Rhodesia has had possibly the best record of race relations, as well as great constructive growth. In a short period Rhodesians of all races have developed a modern economy, with no great riches to rely on, built one of the fairest cities in Africa, and lived together harmoniously. That peace and achievement are now in jeopardy.

"Proved and effective government, that pre-requisite of all future hope for prosperity, has been required to give way, with no apparent surmise for the future, to the experiment of



## NO FAITH IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S UNDERTAKINGS

indirect or interim rule. Taking into consideration events elsewhere, perhaps the action of Mr. Smith in rejecting the mechanics for this possibly undetermined period, as outlined in the White Paper, with all the unknown consequences, is not so directed to purely sectional advantage as some opinion in this country might have us think.

"All countries and all races, particularly those adjacent in Central and Southern Africa, are vitally affected by what will happen to Rhodesia in the next year or so and by the wisdom and restraint shown here in Britain, through, I hope, an increasing understanding of the basic issues and their complexity. I do not believe it makes sense to attempt through further sanctions—and possibly later other measures as well—to try to destroy a going concern and bring down a Government which, even under great pressure, is so obviously supported by a large proportion of those in Rhodesia, black as well as white.

### Good Government Rare in Africa

"Further hostile action now will kindle animosities, already too apparent, and might light a torch which will burn away our historic links with Africa, to our own great financial disadvantage, and have adverse effects on all those other African countries which now rely on us for financial help and much else.

"Can we be sure that, in attempting to destroy a nation's economy to bring down its Government in face of that country's defiance, we are not assisting in the precipitation of a series of national disasters such as those which overwhelmed Nigeria, the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Zanzibar?

"Good and responsible government is a rare plant in Africa. The arts of government are not easily acquired, particularly by peoples so far unaccustomed to their exercise. Dictatorships and the rule of the army become more prevalent almost every month.

"In Salisbury men of both races still sit in Parliament together, a somewhat unique feature if one looks across the map of Africa to-day. Do your Lordships not think that they would have a greater chance of working out their destiny together given a more understanding attitude here in Britain? It is their own destiny at stake, not ours. It is in Africa that the solutions must be found.

"If we are to have any residual influence or through our own experience and greater wealth to be of any further help to Africa, it is essential to go carefully rather than prejudice and possibly destroy the work of the past 70 years in Rhodesia, to the detriment of all its inhabitants and its immediate neighbour.

"What is required now is some inspired act of statesmanship to bring about some reconciliation on these details of the return to legality, so that there may yet be a chance that this hard-won and agreed Constitution can be implemented, with all that that will mean in fresh hopes and renewed progress for all. Threats and international sanctions and hatreds are not the right way to deal with Rhodesia and all those problems which, we might well remember, are not confined to Rhodesia alone."

### All Political Parties Guilty

LORD HASTINGS opened with the statement that the House was discussing the destruction of Rhodesia. He continued (in part) —

"I was a permanent resident in Rhodesia from 1951 to 1957. I still own my farm, which is now worked in partnership, and I go there for a period every year. I have always tried to take a middle road on Central African affairs.

"Immediately after U.D.I. I pronounced the view that we all shared a deep moral guilt for what had happened—not only the Europeans in Rhodesia but the Africans there too; the Africans outside Rhodesia; the United Nations; and by no means the political parties of this country. I still hold this view with conviction.

"Before U.D.I. the negotiations were all about getting a Constitution on which independence could be granted. We now have such a Constitution agreed. If it had been possible to agree it more than a year ago there would never have been a declaration of independence. The Government have this agreement, but the whole thing has fallen down on the procedural side.

"I wrote in a little book after spending five weeks in Rhodesia last February and March: 'The Europeans intend to cling to their independence. This may not be entirely rational, but even the liberal ones have no faith whatever in any future undertakings that may be given by any British Government'.

"It is quite clear that the Prime Minister is suspicious of Mr. Smith and his Government, and he may well be justified. But it is equally clear that Mr. Smith and his Government are very distrustful of the Prime Minister—and

this is something that goes back for many years. I said as much in your Lordships' House in 1960, warning your Lordships of the terrible distrust that was even then growing up among the Europeans in Rhodesia against the Conservative Government of that day and also against the Labour Opposition. This is the real reason the whole thing has broken down.

"Throughout Africa it will be almost impossible to find any country which is not a police State in the sense that Rhodesia is.

"The problem is essentially how to fulfil our obligations on behalf of the four and a half million people of Rhodesia. This exercises me deeply. The principle at stake really is not democracy as we know it, and still less is it one man one vote or majority rule; it is a question of individual liberty and justice.

"My attitude towards the Government's policy and the pressure of sanctions through the United Nations is taken purely from the moral base and the belief that this is not a Christian attitude; that it is an immoral action.

"So far as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is concerned, the undertakings given by the Prime Minister that 'the British Government will withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement which have been made' and that they are not prepared 'to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule' are not only impracticable but also immoral."

LORD GRIMSTON OF WESTBURY said in the course of his speech:—

"Lord Gifford dismissed the Rhodesian people as a lot of idlers who had simply gone there to enjoy a luxurious and idle life. It is just that sort of approach which has bedevilled the situation and forced the Rhodesians to say to themselves: 'We have got to stand up for our self-preservation against a Britain in which these views are so prevalent'.

"He is a young man. He might spend some months there working on a ranch or a tobacco farm. Perhaps he would then learn something of the hard life many Rhodesians have gone through in order to build in 70 years what was practically a desert into the wonderful country it is to-day.

### Wrong Psychological Approach

"The whole psychological approach to the Rhodesians, of which the last speech was a telling example, has been utterly wrong. If we had approached them with the idea that they would react in the way in which we should react we should never have threatened them with sanctions to 'clobber' them into submission. We should have done far better to take the view: 'We sympathize with your fears. We know what you have seen happen throughout the rest of Africa. If only you will let us, we will help you to bring about majority rule by a really gradual process'. If we had made them understand that our sympathy was with them we should never have had U.D.I.

"The mistake has been in the approach—not only by this Government, but before them—to the Rhodesians. The present Prime Minister went wrong from the word 'go'. He talked about the Rhodesians as a bunch of 'frightened men'. He said they would be brought to their knees, and that the Smith Government would be toppled 'in a matter of weeks rather than months'.

"It has also been said that it is intolerable that a few white Rhodesians should stand in the way of the great march of African nationalism. I wonder whether much the same thought did not go through Hitler's mind when he had overrun the whole of Europe, and the only thing that stood against his complete domination was this wretched little island which had the nerve to stand out against him. That is how the Rhodesian people see themselves to-day.

"They have seen what has happened in the rest of Africa—dictatorship; what has happened in Nigeria; public executions in the Congo; what has happened to Uganda—the loss of life which there has been, over this last year. We are telling them: 'We want to force you into the same conditions as rapidly as possible'. They are just not going to have it, any more than we were going to have it from Hitler. They have reacted exactly as we reacted in 1940.

"The most reverend Primat's speech shocked me. I did not detect any generosity in it. I was sad that the head of my Church should adopt what I thought an un-Christian attitude. I resent the most reverend Primat's suggesting that unless we are prepared to stand for handing Africans over to their own extremists, and to the terrorism exercised by them, we are failing in our moral duty.

## IGNORANCE IN WHITEHALL AND WESTMINSTER

"Unless sanctions embrace South Africa and Portugal they are humbug. The people who know it best are the Afro-Asian States, who are probably telling Mr. George Brown this now in New York. If they do embrace South Africa and Portugal it will mean war in Southern Africa, disaster in this country, and probably for a large part of Africa as well.

"The constant reference to moral issues is simply a smoke-screen to cover up the ghastly mishandling of this problem. The Government and the Prime Minister are set on taking this country to disaster. I shall go into the lobby to-night against the foolhardy process that is going on, and try to show that we do not all behave like the 'Gadarene swine'."

**LORD MILVERTON** said in a short speech:—

"Having spent most of my life in endeavouring to help nascent nations to learn the art of self-government, I am allergic to speeches which indicate that one can work miracles by a few noble words and a stroke of the pen. It takes a great deal longer in practice.

"The agreement on the Independence Constitution seems to me a really great achievement, and I can only join with those who have expressed sorrow that so promising an advance should have been wrecked by insistence on terms for what is called 'return to legality' which never could have hoped for acceptance by Mr. Smith and his colleagues. They amount to a demand for absolute and unconditional surrender.

### Blueprint for Gradualism

"Mr. Smith has been asked in effect to go bound hand and foot into a four months' interlude during which time the British Prime Minister would in effect become the dictator of Rhodesia. Mr. Smith could not possibly have accepted such a position without a complete loss of dignity and self-respect and the trust of his supporters. It seems to be overlooked that Rhodesia is in effect a small nation now, proud of its past and confident of its future.

"The stand being made in Rhodesia is designed to establish that the Rhodesians themselves, not the British Government, will decide the pace of African political advancement in that country. The 1961 Constitution has been called the blueprint for gradualism, the slow march to majority rule. Many of us believe that if left to continue managing their own affairs, which they had done successfully for 43 years, the European population of Rhodesia will inevitably face and recognize realities. African economic progress, educational progress, and training in civic responsibility will see to all that, without unnecessary intervention from people in this country, in Whitehall and Westminster, who mostly do not understand what they are thinking and talking about.

"Even now African literacy is higher than in most other African countries, and the bulk of educational funds must be raised by taxation of the European minority. Were education—and these are official figures—made compulsory for all Africans, and their teachers obliged to have the same qualifications as in European schools, the cost would be £140m. per year—about £44m. more than the total national budget. £64m. was allocated in the last budget, this constituting the largest single item in that budget.

### Africa's Downfall of Law and Order

"The rest of Africa is ridden with the downfall of all that we call law and order; and the chance of education, except in the art of eliminating your fellow man, is almost nonexistent in many of the countries.

"A little generosity from our own Prime Minister, and a recognition that complete victory for his views is not worth the tragic price that seems likely to be exacted might yet save the situation."

**LORD RUSSELL** of Liverpool said that anyone who visited countries in Central Africa which had obtained their independence must understand why the Rhodesians had been discouraged, dismayed, and made apprehensive.

"Furthermore, anyone who visited the Congo when the United Nations force was there and did so again after they left—and I did both—must fervently hope that there will be no direct intervention by the United Nations in Rhodesia.

"If one wants to see in Central Africa a monument to African democracy, what one sees is tragic and frightening. The Congo, until the Belgians suddenly gave it independence before the Africans were ready for it, was noted for its peace, good order, and economic advancement. Immediately independence was declared it dissolved into tribal conflict. Within a couple of weeks the mass exodus of Europeans had begun, and within a short time the economy was wrecked, law and order gave way to anarchy, and bands of terrorists roamed the countryside looting, murdering, raping, and committing other terrible atrocities, even including cannibalism. Many of

the victims were missionaries. Far the greater proportion of those massacred were Africans.

"Anyone who has recently visited the Congo can be under no illusion that independence has brought with it any benefits to the ordinary African.

"Nor has there been any improvement in the African's living conditions in Tanzania, which includes Zanzibar. When Tanzania was given its independence it was heralded as 'going forward under sane, balanced leadership to become a valuable influence on the African continent'. Look at Ghana and Nigeria. The former soon after independence became a sink of bribery and corruption; a revolution eventually took place. The latter is now in the throes of tribal warfare.

"It is always unwise to predict, but I predict that after Kenyatta goes it will not be long before exactly the same thing takes place in Kenya. Little wonder that the Rhodesians fear what might happen in their country should there be majority rule before there has been an adequate advance to maturity.

"It is the habit in Government circles to blame Mr. Smith for almost everything, and it is generally thought that the oil-air-lift to Zambia, which cost the British taxpayer so much, became necessary because Mr. Smith refused to allow oil to reach Zambia via Rhodesia. That is quite untrue. As early as last January Mr. Smith offered to supply Zambia with the oil she needed, and no strings were attached to the offer.

"The real reason for the present breakdown is that neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Smith trust each other. If Britain had been represented by Sir Alec Douglas-Home I firmly believe that we should not be in this tragic and dangerous position.

"Mandatory sanctions will not only hit Rhodesia and other countries: they will hit us, too, and hit us hard. They are almost bound to lead to a blockade, and may develop into war."

### Lord Forester on Rhodesia Today

**LORD FORESTER** said in a short speech:—

"I am half Rhodesian. I returned from that country only a month ago.

"As to the 'police State' which noble lords opposite so like to get their tongues around, until the Rhodesian Front came to power there was mass intimidation and thuggery in all the Native towns. You were unable to show lights in the hub; if you did somebody from Z.A.N.U. or Z.A.P.U. would come in, and if you were wearing the wrong tag you were beaten up. The Rhodesian Front brought in stern measures, and now all is peaceful. The Natives there say: 'Thank God for this police State!'—if that is what you call it.

"In my district there is an unarmed white policeman to 15,000 people. This is supposed to be a bad area, on the edge of the Zambezi, but the security is excellent, chiefly because the loyal Africans there are 90% behind Mr. Smith and will at once give away terrorists who go out and come back.

"These terrorists are trained in Peking to murder white and black. The last man they murdered was a black lorry-driver. They are taught to maim cattle and destroy crops. To cope with them, armed police go out, and so far they have captured them to a very satisfactory extent.

"There is censorship of newspapers, but because the only two daily newspapers in Rhodesia are both violently anti-Government and run from outside the country.

"I believe that the British people as a whole are now moving solidly behind Mr. Smith. Recently a count was taken along a big train of workers. We asked every man his view and 80% plumped for Mr. Smith. So if this House rejects the motion it will express the true wishes of the British people."

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# No Confidence in Prime Minister, M.Ps. Emphasize

## Direct Rule from Whitehall Abhorrent to Both Black and White Rhodesians

SOME OF THE ANGRY EXCHANGES in the Commons debate on Rhodesia were recorded last week.

Extracts from other speeches are given hereunder.

MR. R. T. TURTON : "The Prime Minister has asked about what we will be voting tonight. About the future of the people of Rhodesia, both African and European; and because the policy which he has been pursuing will not lead to a peaceful conclusion in Rhodesia. I shall vote against the motion.

"These negotiations broke down as a result of a failure of trust on the part of two men—the Prime Minister towards Mr. Smith and Mr. Smith towards the Prime Minister. The negotiations have been dominated far too much by the confrontation between these two men.

"At last, after two years of negotiation, we have an agreement on the six principles. If we had had that before November 11, 1965, the stupid act of U.D.I. would never have taken place. Now what divides us from the Government?

"Mr. Smith had made two reservations. The first was on the transitional period. This seems to be construed by him as a reference to direct Colonial rule, which appears specifically in the Commonwealth Prime Minister's communiqué. The Prime Minister says that it is a matter of timing.

### Prime Minister's Unreasonable Expectation

"The second reservation concerns the broadly-based Government. I cannot see how the Prime Minister could possibly have expected Mr. Smith to go home and tell his Cabinet that he intended, with the agreement and selection of the Prime Minister, to dismiss five of its members and get unanimous approval of such a solution. Suppose that the Prime Minister had been asked by Mr. Smith for the dismissal of the hon. lady the Minister of State, who has had a number of interviews with some of Mr. Smith's enemies. Suppose that he had asked for the dismissal of the Minister of Overseas Development, who has said that he would never deal with Mr. Smith. Suppose that he had asked for dismissal of the rt. hon. lady the Minister of Transport. Were all these to be the price of an agreement the Prime Minister would never have secured agreement.

"The Commonwealth Secretary said yesterday that Mr. Smith could now implement them if he so wished, and added: 'This would be a test of good faith over the next few months'. 'I do not believe that recourse to selective mandatory sanctions is likely to be effective, or without great damage to the economy of Africa and the world.

"If we attack Mr. Smith's régime because it is denying opportunities to Africans there will be the responsibility on our shoulders to make an offer of £1 for each £1 they put into African secondary education. African development, and African smallholding schemes. A step like that would remove the great sense of mistrust between all those living in Rhodesia—African as well as European; and that is what this House seldom remembers—and ourselves. Any idea of direct rule from Whitehall is as abhorrent to the Africans as to the Europeans.

"One of the great difficulties of the last two years has been that the action taken by the Prime Minister have driven more and more of the normal-minded Europeans to feel that they have no other leader for Rhodesia than Mr. Smith.

### Oil Sanctions Will Produce War

"The Prime Minister has refused to say whether sanctions will include oil. Let us be in no doubt that if so it will start a war throughout Southern Africa. Sanctions can never be effective without force. That is why my party opposes the motion to take the matter to the United Nations.

"A great many mistakes have been made over the problem of Rhodesia. When the Federation broke up and Zambia and Malawi got independence, the ordinary people of what was then Southern Rhodesia—not only the politicians—asked 'Why cannot we have the independence that the other two have?' Since 1923 they had had virtual independence.

"The Prime Minister could have had no hope of success for a plan which meant that six members of Mr. Smith's Cabinet would be turned out. I beg the Government to think again before they take an action that will divide Africa and cause mass unemployment not only in Rhodesia but also in Zambia, Malawi, and here.

"Who do the Prime Minister or the Minister of State suggest could today be head of the Government in Rhodesia other than Mr. Smith? There is no one. Z.A.N.U. and Z.A.P.U. are so divided that they could not suggest a leader. We are very foolish to create anarchy in this country. We should make every endeavour to find a peaceful solution to this most distressing problem."

MR. SANDYS said (in part): "The Prime Minister's hysterical speech was deplorable. Never have I heard a speech which fell so far below the level of events. It was the speech of a frightened man.

"The Prime Minister has repeatedly accused me of abandoning my principles since I left office and of supporting the illegal régime. He complained that my visit to Rhodesia in July had been unhelpful and accused me of siding with Mr. Smith when I pressed for a meeting between him and the Prime Minister. That one, at any rate, has answered itself.

"I did my best to discourage a unilateral declaration of independence at the time of the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, when feeling in Salisbury was running very high. That was a more difficult and emotional moment in Rhodesia than the period with which the present Government had to deal in 1965.

"When U.D.I. occurred I condemned it as illegal and irresponsible. At a meeting of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, the most pre-Smith organization in the country, in the Albert Hall I described U.D.I. as a reckless adventure. I was booed for saying so.

"In Salisbury I did all I could to encourage Mr. Smith to settle on the basis of the six principles. On my return I gave the Prime Minister in writing an outline of the constitutional settlement which I thought he should aim at. This closely resembled the constitutional arrangements now published in the White Paper.

"On the other hand, I have strongly criticized the Prime Minister's insistence on a period of Governor's rule. This always seemed to me an unreasonable complication. I warned the Prime Minister that while Mr. Smith might be willing for procedural purposes to return for a short time to the 1961 Constitution, he would not take anything on trust.

### "Mr. Wilson Has Let Down Everyone"

"He has no confidence in the Prime Minister; and he is not the only one. Throughout this whole miserable affair the Prime Minister has misled and let down everyone in turn, the Africans—[interruption.] What about the letter to Dr. Mutesa during the 1964 elections in which the Prime Minister wrote: 'No Government which I lead will ever give independence to Rhodesia except with majority rule?' The Prime Minister has let down the Africans, the Europeans, the Commonwealth, Parliament, and the whole British people. I am prepared to publish a charge sheet giving chapter and verse to substantiate my accusations.

"To ask Mr. Smith, the man in possession, to give up control without being certain that the agreed settlement would in fact be implemented was quite unrealistic and unnecessary. The Prime Minister has argued that public opinion could not be fairly tested without the ending of U.D.I. I do not believe that to be so.

"The Commonwealth Secretary assured us that the Governor's position under the White Paper proposals would be virtually the same as under the 1961 Constitution, and that effective executive power would rest with the Rhodesian Ministers. The Commonwealth communiqué and the White Paper make it quite clear that this is not so; they provide that the Governor will himself control the Armed Forces and the police.

"That was not the position under the 1961 Constitution. Yesterday the Commonwealth Secretary said that under the Constitution of 1961 'the Governor was already head of the armed forces and the police; so there is nothing new about that and no reason at all take offence at returning control of the armed forces to the Governor'. That does not bear any resemblance to the facts.

"The rt. hon. gentleman made much of the fact that the Governor was the Commander-in-Chief. He holds the title as the Sovereign does in this country; but of course it is purely titular and honorary. The 1961 Constitution makes it perfectly clear that full executive authority over all matters, including the armed forces, is exercised by Ministers. The Governor never had any control over the police. The White Paper proposal therefore represents the withdrawal of Ministerial responsibility in two of the most important spheres of government.

"A revised Constitution has been agreed—and that is a very remarkable achievement. But now the Prime Minister is casting it all away by insisting on a wholly unreasonable and unnecessary act of surrender. He must have gone right out of his mind. He secured everything that he originally set out to achieve, and now, over a question of procedure and personal prestige, he hurries everything back into the melting pot.

"To ask for mandatory sanctions is bound to end in disaster. In next to no time the British Government will lose all control of the situation. Even before the matter has been discussed

(Continued on page 234)



# PERSONALIA

MR. JOHN JUNOR, editor of the *Sunday Express*, is visiting Rhodesia.

PRESIDENTS KAUNDA and NYERERE have met at Abercorn, Zambia.

EARL DE LA WARR has been appointed a director of Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd.

MR. RICHARD HALL, editor of the *Times of Zambia*, has returned after a short visit to England.

SAYYED AHMED EL-MAHDI has been appointed Sudanese Minister for Defence and Information.

MAJOR F. B. H. DRUMMOND flew from London at the week-end to spend a couple of months in Rhodesia.

MR. W. L. WOOF, a director of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, sailed on Friday for Cape Town.

MR. J. PALMER, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the Government of the United States, is visiting East Africa.

MAJOR-GENERAL R. B. PENFORD has been appointed Chief of Defence Staff in Kenya (a new post) and adviser to the Minister of Defence.

MR. and MRS. DAVID LARDNER-BURKE (née VIRGINIA ALLISON) have flown from London to spend their honeymoon in Rhodesia.

MR. W. G. FLINT, a director of Charter Consolidated, Ltd., has joined the board of Pillar Holdings, Ltd., in which Charter now has a large holding.

HIS GRACE EMMANUEL NSUBUGA has been consecrated Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kampala by CARDINAL RUGAMBWA, Bishop of Bukoba.

Postponement of the State visit to Rome this month of the EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE is attributed in Italy to unrest in army and political circles in Ethiopia.

MR. N. SPOEL, general manager of the Rhodesian Coal Storage Commission, and MRS. SPOEL are returning in the PENDENNIS CASTLE from a visit to Britain.

MR. LAWRENCE VAMBE presided at a recent conference on industrialization in Africa held at the Africa Centre in London. PROFESSOR LUCY MAIR and DR. WALTER ELKAN were the main speakers.

SIR AL-KHATIM KHALIFA, Sudanese Ambassador in Rome, and a former Prime Minister, has delivered a message to THE POPE inviting his help in ending the rebellion in the southern provinces of the Sudan.

SIR PERCY WYN-HARRIS, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya and afterwards Governor of the Gambia, has reached New Zealand in his yacht nine months after leaving the West Indies with a friend.

MR. PHILIP BROADBENT, who is retiring from the post of director of the Commonwealth Producers' Organization, and MRS. BROADBENT were the guests at luncheon at the House of Commons last week of SIR RONALD RUSSELL, M.P., the chairman.

THE HON. C. M. NAMIER sailed on Friday in the PENDENNIS CASTLE on his way back to Rhodesia. He is a member of the council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society in London and of the executive committee of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society of Rhodesia.

## Obituary

SIR CARLETON ALLEN, M.C., Q.C., warden of Rhodes House, Oxford, from 1931 to 1952, has died in Oxford, aged 79.

MR. PHILIP HOPE PERCIVAL, who has died in Kenya, was president of the East African Professional Hunters' Association from 1940 to 1950.

MRS. AUDREY WARD, wife of a Briton serving in the Kenya Police, fell into the Nile when visiting the Murchison Falls in Uganda and was drowned.

## 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 £171 14s. when the last list was published.

We have since received the following additional gifts: Mr. J. M. Hastings, £2 2s.; Mrs. I. B. Lamport, £2 2s.; Mr. and Mrs. N. J. Store, £2 2s.; Mrs. Hadden-Paton, £1 1s.; Mrs. M. B. Kabell, £1 1s.; Mr. W. B. Birch, £1; Mr. D. M. D. Stephens, £1; D.C., £1; Anon, £1; Mrs. Ling, 10s.

## Eight Ministers Dismissed

PRESIDENT MOBUTO dismissed eight of his 21 Ministers on Saturday, saying that "this is in connexion with my campaign to rid the Congo of incompetence, corruption and opportunism". Only four of the eight have been replaced.

## Malawi M.P. Goaled for Rape

NELSON AARON MWAMBUNGU, M.P. for Karonga North, has been sentenced to five years' hard labour for raping a 17-year-old schoolgirl. The magistrate said that the supreme penalty for the offence in Malawi was death. The accused told the court that he had "about seven children".

## Mauled by Lion

MR. ANDREW MACDONALD, a South African Rugby international, who farms in Zambia some 60 miles from Livingstone, is in hospital in that town after being mauled by a lion in its death throes, which he had shot. He has had to have more than 400 stitches in his head, shoulders, and one hand.

## Sandhurst Sword for Rhodesian

THE SWORD OF HONOUR, Sandhurst's highest distinction, has been awarded to Senior Under-Officer James Strong, from Umtali, Rhodesia, who is to be commissioned in the Royal Artillery. His father, Colonel Jeremy Strong, served in the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and the Indian Army, and now lives in Rhodesia.

## Sir Cornelius Greenfield

SIR CORNELIUS GREENFIELD, a member of the Rhodesian public service for 41 years, and chief economic adviser to the Prime Minister since May, has been released by mutual arrangement. His retirement was due seven months ago, but at Mr. Smith's request he continued on duty for a limited period. He led the Rhodesian team in the "talks about talks" and accompanied the Prime Minister to H.M.S. TIGER. He was formerly Secretary to the Treasury.

## Tory Campaign on Rhodesia

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., a former Secretary of State for the Commonwealth and the Colonies, Sir Tufton Beamish, M.P., and three other Conservative M.P.s, Messrs. J. Biggs-Davison, Nigel Fisher, and Patrick Wall, two from the right and two from the left wing of the party, have formed a group of back-benchers who will hold open air meetings in the main cities to mobilize opinion behind the demand for continued negotiation with Rhodesia. They are convinced that mandatory sanctions will prove ineffective and that they risk a trade and possibly armed conflict with South Africa.

## Lord Malvern's Initiative

### "Make Constitutional Changes Now"

**LORD MALVERN**—who was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for 23 years, and then the first Prime Minister of the Central African Federation—is leading a movement in Rhodesia for the prompt introduction of the Constitution which was worked out aboard H.M.S. TIGER by Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson.

Though that "working paper" was not accepted in its entirety by the Rhodesian Cabinet—which was unanimous in rejecting Mr. Wilson's terms for a return to legality—Ministers did agree to the constitutional changes outlined.

Lord Malvern's statement urges the Government of Rhodesia to adopt without delay the constitutional proposals relating to the composition of Parliament, the creation of a Senate, and the franchise.

#### To Demonstrate Good Faith

It continues: "We believe that these proposals offer a solution to the problem with which we are faced in Rhodesia to preserve responsible Parliamentary government with justice to the people of all races. We believe further that, by demonstrating our good faith in this way, Rhodesia will be in a position to demand of Britain and the rest of the world, by right, that our independence and sovereignty be recognized."

Those who approve the statement, which was advertised in Rhodesia's two daily newspapers, were invited to complete and return a coupon. The text was said to have been passed for publication by the full Cabinet.

Mr. Ian Smith is understood to have decided to invite the Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain and the Chief Justices of Australia, New Zealand and Canada to serve on a commission to test public opinion in Rhodesia on the constitutional proposals worked out aboard H.M.S. TIGER.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said in a B.B.C. broadcast that the proposals worked out between Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson, would make it quite impossible for the Africans to obtain a majority during this century.

#### Mr. Smith's Offer

In reply to the Commonwealth Secretary's challenge that he should introduce the constitutional amendments proposed in the discussions on H.M.S. TIGER, Mr. Smith commented: "The other half of the agreement was that the British Government would in return acknowledge Rhodesian independence. Presumably I am correct in assuming that as a mark of good faith Mr. Bowden would recommend such a step to the British Government. If this position can be cleared it would be possible for me to fulfil my side of the bargain." There has been no response from the British Government.

The executive council of the Rhodesian Front has passed unanimously a vote of confidence in the Prime Minister, Cabinet, and Parliamentary members of the party. About 90 were present at the meeting.

Mr. N. A. F. Williams, chairman of the Constitutional Association, and Mr. David Butler, a former Leader of the Opposition, have suggested in the *Rhodesia Herald* that the Government "squandered the opportunity of a settlement that clearly favours the Europeans".

This joint article said that the interim Government would control internal affairs, and that during the four months following the dissolution of Parliament the Governor would be Sir Humphrey Gibbs, an old and loyal Rhodesian. If for some reason he was unable to act, the responsibility would devolve on the Chief Justice, and from him to the senior justice judge, not on a British-paid Governor responsible to the British Government.

"The Governor would, in accordance with the working document, appoint a caretaker Government led by Mr. Smith as Prime Minister with at least seven members (a majority of the new Cabinet) chosen by him from his own party. The other five Ministers, two African, would be appointed by the Governor, but only after consultation with Mr. Smith, so that persons with whom he would be unable to work could be avoided.

"There is nothing to prevent those present Ministers who would be temporarily superseded from continuing as Deputy Ministers, thereby making use of their experience until the following elections would give them the opportunity of complete reinstatement."

The Governor, having appointed the new Administration, must normally act on its advice. Even if he acted outside this advice it would be at his own discretion as a Rhodesian, not as a representative of the British Government, which did not now claim the right to advise the Governor. "This is a major concession by Mr. Wilson, and is far removed from 'direct rule' or a so-called 'Quisling Government' and would be for only four months".

Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, replied that it would have been "irresponsible and abhorrent" to adopt the British proposals since the Government had no right to transfer power from Parliament, even for four months. There was no guarantee that the Governor would not be charged at Mr. Wilson's whim, and nothing to prevent the Governor from dismissing the interim Government and appointing an entirely new Cabinet, not including Mr. Smith or members of his party.

Mr. Butler thereupon asked if the constitutional proposals would be acceptable if Britain did not insist on the dissolution of Parliament and undertook that Sir Humphrey Gibbs would remain Governor throughout the interim period until independence was legally recognized.

## Settle, Say South Africans

### Mr. Wilson Near Edge of Precipice

MR. VORSTER, the South African Prime Minister, has sharply criticized the British Government for going to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, saying that that act would create interminable bitterness and damage and serve no good cause. He believed that agreement with Rhodesia was still possible, "provided conditions are not insisted upon which make a settlement impossible".

MR. B. SCHOEMAN, the Transport Minister, said last week that Mr. Wilson's decision that Rhodesia's independence could not now be recognized until a black Government was in power in Salisbury showed his lack of knowledge of human nature. The obvious reaction of white Rhodesians would be to fight to the death, for the Wilson plan "could lead only to the extermination of the whites and a second Congo".

It was astonishing that Mr. Wilson should allow a settlement to be stopped "by a matter of procedure". He appealed for agreement while there was yet time. More and more demands on Britain would be made at the United Nations, where "Mr. Wilson is now moving close to the edge of the precipice". Even at this late hour he should come to his senses.

Speaking later in his constituency, he said that Britain ought not to give in to the pressure of black African States. "The outside world, and especially the war-mongering African leaders, must understand that the white man in South Africa is not expendable. Their decisions at the United Nations will not wipe the white man off the face of Africa because we are here to stay. Let nobody mistake it".

Dr. Muller, the Foreign Minister, said that negotiation with Rhodesia was the right course, not sabre-rattling.

The Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Joniathan, has said that his reply to Mr. Wilson, who had written to him about Rhodesia, would be that he (Mr. Wilson) had created the problem and must solve it. Lesotho was opposed to all sanctions and the use of force.

## P.M. "MUST HAVE GONE RIGHT OUT OF HIS MIND"

(Commons Debate continued from page 231)

in the Security Council a large number of countries, including Commonwealth countries, are clamouring for sterner measures.

"The pace will soon get too hot for us. Before long we will have to pull out. We shall then be accused of bad faith and be told that we are perfidious and cowardly. We shall get the worst of every world. We shall hurt ourselves financially and delay our whole economic recovery. We shall lose the good will and respect of the very countries that we are trying to please, and we shall be no nearer a settlement with Rhodesia.

"I would say to Mr. Smith that we welcome the agreement reached on an independence Constitution based on the six principles; and we now wish to discuss further the possibility of resolving the difference which exists on the procedure for testing opinion. That is the only course that makes any sense.

### Situation Disastrously Mishandled

"The Prime Minister imputed unworthy motives to anyone who voted against him. He said that we would be voting for illegality and rebellion. That is utterly contemptible. Our vote is to condemn the Government's disastrous mishandling of the situation; to register our opposition to mandatory sanctions; and to demand that a further attempt be made to bridge the remaining gap between London and Salisbury before Britain is irrevocably committed to a ruinous and perilous course which provides no solution whatsoever to the problem of Rhodesia.

**MR. FAULDS:** "Within the lifetime of every hon. Member we shall see an independent majority Government in Zimbabwe and the demise, political or physical, of most of the little men in Smith's Cabinet. That cannot come too soon. I want to see the Government take whatever action may be necessary to end the rebellion in Rhodesia."

**MR. PATRICK WALL:** "The hon. Member for Smethwick (Mr. Faulds) considers that everybody who disagrees with him, is—to quote some of his words—"a racist, stupid, moronic, sunk in stupor". I wonder why he is so worried and why the Prime Minister behaved almost hysterically today. The reason is that he knows the consequences of going to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions.

"He knows that many hon. gentlemen behind him want the differences between Britain and Rhodesia to escalate. He knows that it will escalate, that that will mean unemployment, and that it will be impossible to fulfil the Labour Party's economic plans. He knows that some hon. gentlemen behind him want even to take us into war with South Africa.

"The main mistake is to judge events in Africa from a European background. Yesterday the Commonwealth Secretary catalogued what he called injustices perpetrated by the Rhodesian régime. I also feel that it is stupid to censor the Press in Rhodesia. But all the things that Mr. Smith is doing have been done at one time or another by a British Government in a British Colony in a state of emergency. There are occasions when some of these things can be justified. Most were used by the Federal Government, presumably with British backing, during the emergencies in the days of Federation.

### As Blameworthy As Lord North

"I want the Africans to have their full share in the government of Rhodesia. I want them eventually to have the major share in industry, social affairs, economics, and the government of their country. But I want this done on a stable basis. It does not benefit any race to create chaotic conditions in which all races suffer.

"Race relations in Rhodesia today are good. Why does the rural African constantly report 'freedom fighters' coming over the border so that they are picked up by the security forces? How is it that the average earnings of Africans in Rhodesia are four times more than in Kenya, eight times more than in Malawi, and 12 times more than in Tanzania?

"The number of African children educated in Rhodesia is higher almost than in any other country in Africa. In April 1966, well after this campaign of sanctions started, the *de facto* Government announced that the present 25% of children undergoing secondary education would be increased during the next few years to 37%. Last year 20 new secondary schools were opened, with 13 more this year.

"Many of my friends in Rhodesia do not belong to Mr. Smith's party, but if H.M. Government bring the United Nations into the affair they will back Mr. Smith. They are

loyal Rhodesians and put their country first. They wish to maintain their loyalty to the Crown, but they have rejected Westminster. So did the Americans in their day. We started an economic war against the Americans—the sanctions of those days. It developed into a military war which we lost because of logistics. I feel that history will repeat itself. Today the Prime Minister gave the best example of Lord North which I have ever seen in the House.

"The Prime Minister has changed his attitude on a number of occasions and made some fundamental mistakes. At U.D.I. he talked about traitors and frightened little men. He dropped that pretty quickly. On November 11 he said: 'We do not approach this tragic situation in a mood of recrimination. We do not contemplate . . . any national or international action for the purpose of coercing even the illegal Government of Rhodesia into a constitutional posture'. Later he donned the mantle of Lord North, and on December 10 said: 'We will not deal with illegal régimes'. Then at the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos he allowed it to be said in the *communiqué* that the rebellion would be over in weeks rather than months.

"Still in the mantle of Lord North, on January 25 he talked about direct Colonial rule when U.D.I. ended. That did more damage to the British cause in Africa than anything else, because it united behind Mr. Smith people who had previously been utterly opposed to him. There was then a switch to caution again. In May talks started; in September we had the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, when the Prime Minister made certain statements which I am sure he now bitterly regrets.

### Unpleasant Stories from H.M.S. Tiger

"Some unpleasant stories have been circulating about how Mr. Smith was treated on H.M.S. TIGER. It was extremely tactless that he should have been treated with scant courtesy, given a small cabin, and not had any meeting with the Prime Minister except officially. A B.B.C. television programme implied that he was treated as a rebel."

**MR. FAULDS:** "He is a political pariah".

**MR. WALL:** "That was exactly the attitude of Lord North to the leaders of the American Revolution. If the Prime Minister throws this last chance away when he has had great success in getting agreement on the six constitutional points history will condemn him almost as much as it condemned Lord North.

"The Rhodesians have made very great concessions.

"Principle 1: unimpeded progress towards majority rule. The British wanted entrenchment of the whole of Chapter 3. They got it. The British wanted the B roll seats increased from 15 to 17. The Rhodesians had been against this for a long time. The British wanted a blocking third. They got the 17 B seats and the blocking third.

"Principle 2: no retrogression. The British demanded appeal to external authority. The Rhodesians wanted appeal to internal authority. They finally conceded appeal to the Privy Council.

"Principle 3: immediate political advance. The B roll was increased for all Africans over 30 years of age—by mutual agreement. The Rhodesians were determined that cross-voting should be abolished, but it was retained.

"Principle 4: elimination of racial discrimination. The Rhodesians conceded not only the Royal Commission but a Constitutional Council which was to embrace the pre-1961 legislation—an enormous concession—and also a standing commission.

"Principle 5: They agreed on the ending of censorship and the release of detainees.

"Principle 6: no oppression. This is the first time that it has been seriously tackled by a blocking third—both ways. The Africans have a blocking third now, and the Europeans would have a blocking third when the Africans have the majority.

"I pay a sincere tribute to the Prime Minister's diplomacy in getting as far as this, but most of the concessions have been made by the Rhodesians to meet these particular points. Now more is called for. This is where we have failed—because of the background of complete lack of trust.

### British Governments Not Trusted

"The Rhodesians do not trust British Governments, and therefore do not intend to surrender their so-called independence if confronted with a Governor appointed by this country who can be told to carry out certain actions. That is what an executive Governor means.

"If he is a constitutional Governor, if he can act only on the advice of his Rhodesian Ministers, the situation is quite different. Mr. Smith in that case would be very foolish to refuse. This is the absolutely crucial point, and we have not



## RHODESIANS HAVE MADE GREAT CONCESSIONS

had a clear answer. From our experience in the past when we do not have a categorically clear answer to a fundamental question some fudging is going on, and the Rhodesians may be right not to trust the Government.

"If the mandatory sanctions go wrong, as I think they will, the Government may decide to put pressure on Portugal because they are frightened to put it on South Africa. That would be utterly dishonest.

"The Government will get mandatory sanctions through the Security Council, but the real danger will come in February when members of the United Nations realize that those sanctions are not very successful. They will say: 'Oil is still coming in. We must include both South Africa and Portugal'. Pressure from the General Assembly will intensify, and the Government will have to use their veto. What will that do to the Commonwealth? Last November the Prime Minister said, in effect: 'If I use the veto, I lose the Commonwealth'.

"Let us set up a Royal Commission and start talking. It has been said that Mr. Smith has put the Rhodesian Front before Rhodesia. It could be said in future, if events go as I suspect they will, that the Prime Minister put the unity of the Socialist Party before the good of the nation. Unless we are very careful, disaster lies ahead for Great Britain; and mandatory sanctions by the United Nations will mark the point of no return."

### Prime Minister's Infinite Capacity

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "This is a sad debate. It has run more or less on party lines until the last two speeches. I do not think that there is any political honey in this for any party.

"U.D.I. was an unnecessary tragedy. I told every Rhodesian to whom I spoke, particularly members of the Rhodesian Front, that that was what I thought—that they had to be prepared to share power with African Rhodesians, that they had a great deal of leeway to make up on racial discrimination, and must realize that the British Parliament retained its responsibility for all Rhodesians.

"Our opposition in no way accepts or condones U.D.I. We shall not go into the lobby in support of the illegal régime. We oppose the Government's decision to go to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions. That is what we propose to vote against.

"The Prime Minister is a very good politician, but no man makes bipartisanship more difficult. The Prime Minister has infinite capacity for rubbing up his opponents the wrong way. He did that on Monday and in his interventions today.

"He worked hard for a settlement, but the Government have consistently misjudged the situation. They thought last November that they had frightened Mr. Smith out of U.D.I. They thought that sanctions would bring the Rhodesian régime to its knees in a matter of weeks, and they thought that an alternative Government was available. The Prime Minister made a basic psychological mistake in using words like 'frightened men' of Mr. Smith and his colleagues.

"The Prime Minister said on January 25 in this House that he would not negotiate with the illegal régime. He has been negotiating with them. He said on January 20 that he would not have any dealings with them. He told us in February that the Rhodesians would give in. Then it was February; then March; then after the tobacco auctions; and then at the end of the summer; and then in the autumn.

### Consistently Wrong About So Much

"The Prime Minister has made another misjudgment in this thinking that Mr. Smith could or would sell Part II in its present form to his colleagues. His final misjudgment is about the consequences of the steps which he proposes to take. For the consequences of the steps which he proposes to take, for a man of his intelligence it is surprising that he should be consistently wrong about so much.

"I have always thought that agreement was possible to give effect to the six principles. I said so before U.D.I. I said it in this House after U.D.I. on November 12, 1965. I said it in Bulawayo and in Salisbury in February. I said it in this House in May. The scheme in the White Paper to deal with the first four and the sixth principles seem to me sound and cleverly constructed. I am surprised that there is nothing in the White Paper about education. Nevertheless, I congratulate Mr. Hon. gentlemen opposite on the way they have worked out good arrangements to deal with those five principles.

"The fifth is extremely important. We now begin to realize that the phrases in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué about most Heads of Government thinking that the answer rested in a one-man-one-vote referendum are not a very good way of taking opinion in Africa. We realize this very good way of taking opinion in many other African countries when we consider what has happened in many other African countries. The only way is to have a Royal Commission of men of

experience who know how Africans make up their minds.

"To give an example, I visited an African township just outside Salisbury with an official who was not a politician. He profoundly disapproved of U.D.I., but he said that there had been a recent incident when some nationalist youths had tried to beat up the people in the name of freedom. The inhabitants put down road-blocks, caught the youths and sent them away. The official told me that that would not have happened a year before; but he was absolutely sure that if certain people were released from detention the inhabitants of the town would be out in the streets to cheer them because they knew that the alternative was to have a petrol bomb through the window.

"Reference has been made to men under sentence. I hope that the Rhodesian authorities will not be as foolish as to carry out the sentences. But there are ghastly incidents of physical pressure and of people being killed by petrol bombs coming through the window. That is the difficulty of getting genuine expressions of opinion. The only way to do it is to have a Royal Commission.

"Another reason why I thought that Mr. Smith would have difficulty in selling Part II to his colleagues was the extreme vagueness of paragraph 17, concerning the working out of the terms of reference and composition of this Royal Commission.

"Mr. Smith was wrong over U.D.I., over the treatment of the Governor, and censorship, and in not broadening the basis of his Government. He has been timid in dealing with racial discrimination. He has been slow to assert his authority; and I told him this more than once. From discussions with Mr. Smith and his colleagues I know how difficult it is to make progress.

### Wrong to Invoke Mandatory Sanctions

"I am convinced that it is wrong to go for mandatory sanctions. During the debate on November 12 I expressed reservations about sanctions. I agreed that the illegal régime had brought certain economic consequences on itself—loss of preference, exclusion from the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, and so on—but I expressed doubt then about further sanctions, and made three points. Would they consolidate support behind the régime which they were supposed to weaken? Would they hurt the innocent more than the offenders? Would they be effective in subduing the opponent? They have strengthened Mr. Smith's position, hurt Zambia more than Rhodesia, and have not subdued the opponent. I accepted that as time went on they would be a persuasive force towards a settlement and that is why I did not oppose them.

"They have been very costly to us. The Prime Minister said that there was a loss of £35m. of exports. The *Guardian* today mentions a figure of £100m. They have also lost us much good will and created a great deal of bitterness. The new proposals for mandatory sanctions will strengthen the position of the extremists in Rhodesia. The extremists will gain and the moderates will be silenced. This action is the most friendly that the Government could take towards the extremists in Rhodesia.

"There will be countries which will say that their laws do not enable them to forbid their merchants to trade. The United States have increased imports of Rhodesian goods this year. Germany is not in the United Nations. Other countries will be cynical and will pay lip-service.

"Mr. Osbert Lancaster's cartoon in the *Daily Express* today was right when it showed a Japanese and a German salesman lifting their hats and saying 'God bless Wilson'. There will be continual friction with South Africa, and we shall lose trade. That is if they do not escalate.

"But I do not take that view, and I come to the Prime Minister's final misjudgment. On December 5, talking of his discussions with Commonwealth Prime Ministers, he said: 'As we said, and they agreed, that this must not be allowed to develop—they understood this—into a confrontation whether economic or military involving the whole of Southern Africa. As the House will join my Commonwealth colleagues in recognizing such a confrontation, economic—and economic consequences might lead to military—could have incalculable consequences to Southern and Central Africa, going far beyond the issues raised by the Rhodesian problem. As I told my Commonwealth colleagues, it could rapidly dwarf the Rhodesian problem, and nothing would ever be the same in Central Africa again'. I think the Prime Minister believed that when he said it, but I am not so certain that his Commonwealth colleagues really agreed with it. That is the real issue of the debate.

"Two hon. Members in full cry want confrontation with Southern Africa. Like Samson, they want to pull the temple down; but unlike him, on the innocent as well as the guilty; but they are logical. I do not believe that what the Prime

## GUARANTEES WHICH BRITAIN SHOULD OFFER

Minister is proposing can be effective unless there is an economic and a military confrontation with Southern Africa. That would be disastrous for our economy, the economies of other countries in Africa, and the defence of the Western world. It would be much more likely than anything else to break up the Commonwealth, and the African Commonwealth.

"I agree with the criticisms made of paragraph 10(a) of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué. We ought to be considering how to get agreement on the way to obtain constitutional Government in Rhodesia, and agree on the method whereby it can be done. If so much could be done in 48 hours on the TIGER why not make a further effort?"

### Trojan Horse

"I understand H.M. Government's concern about a second U.D.I. If agreement is not reached about the tasks and the composition of the 'acceptability' commission, or if its conclusions are adverse to Mr. Smith and he does not accept them, or if there are other difficulties which present his accepting them, and if Rhodesia in the meantime has replenished its reserves and resources, it may refuse to carry out the agreement, so that, in effect, there would be a second U.D.I. To meet that point Rhodesia must accept that sanctions will continue until an Independence Bill has been through the House.

"There must be an interim Government. I hope the Prime Minister will clarify his idea of its exact functions. I thought he was giving a degree of direct responsibility to the Governor. He seemed to qualify that today. The Rhodesians are afraid that once the interim Government are in the saddle British troops will be introduced into Rhodesia to enable the United Kingdom to use force. That is the Trojan horse to which reference is made in the papers. The answer is that H.M. Government should guarantee that Sir Humphrey Gibbs will remain Governor. I join warmly in the words of tribute that have been paid to him. If he remains Governor it is absurd for the Rhodesians to talk about a Quisling Government, especially with Mr. Smith as Prime Minister. H.M. Government should agree not to bring in British troops unless both the Governor and Mr. Smith ask for them.

"If those two points can be dealt with in that way we would be well on the path to getting agreement on what methods should be used. I firmly believe that other difficulties can be surmounted. Therefore I beg the Government to think again. I hope that Mr. Smith and his colleagues will do nothing to make the situation more difficult—for example, by declaring a republic.

"Let both sides propose some mutually respected intermediary to get to work at once on Part II. It is utterly wrong and irresponsible to decide that tomorrow, whatever may be right or wrong in the future, without a further effort of agreement, we shall go to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions. It is utterly wrong to break off negotiations even with an illegal régime when there is a hope of settlement. The course upon which the Government are embarked is fraught with the gravest dangers.

### Prime Minister's Contradictory Statements

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON said that the trusteeship of this country for Rhodesia had never been effective. Rhodesians themselves had always been responsible for the welfare of the Africans. The reserve powers were never invoked by any British Government.

"It is precious little aid that this House has ever voted for the Africans of Rhodesia. We have probably voted more to Yugoslavia than to these people for whom we claim responsibility. Very high standards of living, education, and conditions of work have been achieved in Rhodesia by a very small European community. If anyone doubts that, let them study what U.N.E.S.C.O. has to say about the Rhodesian achievement in education.

"Sooner or later the House will recognize Rhodesian independence. The High Court in Salisbury has said that the illegal régime is the *de facto* Government. Despite sanctions—or perhaps because of sanctions—Mr. Smith still heads this illegal but very real Government.

"The Prime Minister has said many things about Rhodesia. Sometimes they have been contradictory. His knowledge of Africa is not very deep. But I was astonished to hear him say in this House on December 5: 'It is not much that we have had to ask the régime in Rhodesia—not to give up anything of value, not to give up independence, because it has no independence, but to give up a titular independence which they and they alone believe in. It is a delusion from which they suffer.' Any hon. Member who has been to

Rhodesia knows that this independence is a fact, not a delusion. They are in control. It is our power to influence them which is so pitifully limited".

"It is a reasonable assumption that Mr. Smith is gaining African support because this régime has removed from the townships and tribal areas the very brutal political terrorism which made the lives of ordinary people wretched—admittedly at the price of one in 10,000 of the population being in detention or restricted. This is the price paid for ending the rule of the bicycle-chain and the petrol bomb. The stuff of politics for Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. was the burning of churches, schools, and clinics.

"Hon. Members know of groups, called terrorists by one side and freedom-fighters by the other, who infiltrate across the Zambezi. Some of these guerrilla fighters have been captured by security forces who have found on their persons pamphlets by such dignitaries of the Communist world as Mao Tse-Tung and Marshal Lin-Piao. It was Mao Tse-Tung who said that in a people's war one should draw one's soldiers from the peasantry of the country one intends to liberate; the guerrilla groups can then move safely and freely in their own element, like fish in the sea.

"In Rhodesia these subversive groups crossing the Zambezi are having no success whatever. They are not fish in the sea but fish out of water, because the Africans of Rhodesia are against them. It would be impossible for perhaps a quarter of a million Europeans to hold down this African population if there was no degree of government by consent. These groups are well-armed, well-indoctrinated, and well-trained further north in Africa. If the African population really were seething with discontent, they would be able to build a basis of revolt.

### Southern Africa—the Target

"Rhodesia has a state of emergency, but what State in Africa has not a state of emergency? We are not proposing to have a crusade to destroy every Government in the world which is using repressive power. Those Powers in the United Nations to which rt. hon. and hon. gentlemen are willing to submit the question of this particular illegal régime have in many cases Governments far more repressive than anything which has happened in Rhodesia. The double standards applied are explained by the fact that the Southern African complex of which Rhodesia is a part is a main target in the struggle in the world today.

"Many Powers which are now so interested in extending this internal British matter to an all-out war against South Africa are doing so not because they care tuppence about the welfare of anyone in Rhodesia but because their target is Southern Africa, because the wealth and strategic situation of Southern Africa is a crucial fact of power and survival. Mao Tse-Tung has also said: 'Once Asia and Africa are separated from the capitalistic centres of Europe, the European continent will completely collapse economically'.

"The Government have shuffled off their responsibilities. The longer we delay talking again and trying to reach an honourable solution the more we shall lose of our trade and influence. We shall lose our influence. Some hon. Members are burning to take on both Rhodesia and South Africa. They should not make the mistake of thinking that they are the same thing. Responsible Government came in Rhodesia because the electors voted in a referendum to remain separate. While Europeans in Rhodesia like to take their holidays in South Africa, they do not want to live there. They prefer the British-type institutions which have been developing in Rhodesia—and which are endangered, together with all liberal tendencies in that country, by the continuation of economic and psychological warfare against them. It is distressing for an Englishman to find the extent of anti-British sentiment, directed not just against the Prime Minister and his Administration but now unfortunately against Britain in a country conspicuous in the past for its devotion to Crown and Commonwealth.

"Either mandatory sanctions through the United Nations will be a catastrophe because to make them effective we shall drift into a war-like situation—which would be disastrous for the world and certainly for Britain—or they will just be a charade and have only the effect of making the present rulers of Rhodesia the more determined to assert their position.

"In the matter of the earlier U.D.I. of the U.S.A., Chatham said: 'You may ravage but you will not conquer'. I believe that those words are applicable today.

MR. F. J. BELLINGRA, a Socialist who abstained from voting, said in the course of his speech:—

"Can we blame the white Rhodesians? Many of them have turned their eyes to the north and seen the result of one

## MINISTER'S IDEA OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

man, one vote: they have observed the corruption, brutality, and more in those countries.

"Many in the black Commonwealth do not bear this country a great deal of good will. Many bear us great ill will. The rt. hon. Minister can offer us no assurance that mandatory sanctions, even perhaps including oil, will keep the Commonwealth together".

### Mrs. Hart's Reply

MRS. HART, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, said in winding up for the Government:—

"We say that the fifth principle means that the Rhodesian people as a whole have a right to determine their own future, to accept or reject any settlement put to them. But the régime says: 'We will keep our illegal independence until the Rhodesian people as a whole accept the Independence Constitution which meets with our full agreement'.

"Mr. Smith's message says: 'It would be irresponsible of us to abandon the 1965 Constitution before we have assurances, without any shadow of doubt, that your constitutional proposals will be secured to us instead of some possible Constitution of an unknown nature'. Do Members opposite still think that this is a matter of a technicality, a point of prestige?"

"This is what my hon. and learned friend—is he still?—the Member for Northampton (Mr. Page) was saying when he spoke of the break having arisen on a point of punctilio, and it is what the rt. hon. Member for Streatham (Mr. Sandys) was saying when he spoke—this was the worst of all—of the Prime Minister's prestige?"

MR. TAPSELL: "Will the hon. lady on behalf of the Government repeat in definite terms the half-assurance given by the Secretary of State yesterday that if the Smith régime gives effect to the constitutional arrangements agreed in H.M.S. TIGER, the Government will continue negotiations on that basis?"

MRS. HART: "Mr. Smith has said: 'As the other half of the agreement made in H.M.S. TIGER was that the British Government would in return acknowledge Rhodesian independence', the two things would be tied together."

"Our attitude is that we can carry out a proper test of opinion of the people of Rhodesia as a whole only under a broad-based Government in conditions in which illegality has already been abandoned, because we have to take account of the possibility that the people of Rhodesia as a whole may reject the proposals put to them, in which case we would have to work out a set of new proposals. But this could not take place in a situation of illegality. This is the fundamental of the thing."

### No Apology After Cry of "Traitor"

"The noble lord, the Member for Berwick-upon-Tweed (Viscount Lambton), when in Salisbury in September called on members of the Rhodesian Front but not on the Governor or our mission".

VISCOUNT LAMBTON: "The hon. lady is quite wrong. I called on the Governor. He was out".

MRS. HART: "In the noble lord's own interests he might have done better not to mention that".

SIR STEPHEN MCADDEN: "On a point of order. I heard an hon. Member opposite refer to my hon. friend as a traitor. [An hon. Member: 'He is!'] That has now been endorsed by hon. Members opposite. Surely it is an unparliamentary expression and ought to be withdrawn."

MR. SPEAKER: "If an hon. Member used that expression he ought to stand up and withdraw it".

MR. FAULDS: "A Member—I do not have the benefit of either his name or his constituency—pointed a finger at me. It was not I who used the word 'traitor'."

MRS. HART: "We are in no doubt at all about our capacity to control the operation that is now at the United Nations. We know exactly what is now meant by the full Commonwealth support that we have been promised."

"I detected in the speeches of many hon. gentlemen opposite a note of sadness that the wind of change which introduced the new Commonwealth seemed to have blown itself out. It seems to have been swept away by a tide of reaction. I do not weep crocodile tears here. It would do Britain nothing but harm in the eyes of the world if there is to be such an end to the bipartisan approach to the ideals of non-racialism and the rights of man and the common ideals of the new Commonwealth."

"We shall be voting for our belief in non-racialism, for the future of the Commonwealth, for Britain's honour and integrity, for our belief in democracy and the human rights of men and women, and for the simple proposition that principles should determine politics and that moral issues demand moral decisions".

### Sack the Britons

MR. T. OKELO-ODONGO, M.P., a K.P.U. member, said in the Kenya Parliament that Britons holding top Service jobs should be replaced by Egyptians, Indians, or Yugoslavs if qualified Africans were not available. His leader, MR. ODINGA, held that the army should reflect the racial character of the country.

### Inflation in Zambia

MR. ARTHUR WINA, the Finance Minister, has told the Parliament of Zambia that the cost of living is rising by 15% annually for the lower income groups and by more than 6% for those with higher earnings. Inflation was becoming dangerous in consequence of recent wage increases coinciding with higher transport costs and the interruption of supplies, and an aggressive savings programme was therefore necessary. He would introduce a development bond scheme and a State lottery. A stock exchange is to be established.

### Kenya Blames Somalia

DR. MUNGAI, Defence Minister of Kenya, said a few days ago: "The civilian death-roll in the North-Eastern Region, caused by the *shifita* (terrorists), is well over 5,500, including men, women, and children, mostly Somalis. The butcher's bill lies on the shoulders of the Somali Government". He called the *shifita* "foolish hotheads who arrogantly consider themselves too superior to be governed by 'down-country' Africans". Trained, armed, harboured, and sustained by Somalia, they were trying to dismember Kenya "in pursuit of the illusory mirage of Greater Somalia".

Names you have  
learned to trust

Gloria OUR

Atlas POWERFUL

Rhomil STOUT HEELS



# Rhodesia Offered Generous Settlement, P.M. Insists

## Avoiding the Danger of Setting All Africa Ablaze

**THE PRIME MINISTER** said in his broadcast to the nation on the failure of negotiations with Rhodesia:—

"It was with great sadness that I had to report to the House of Commons the breakdown of months of effort to get an honourable settlement which Rhodesia and ourselves and the world could accept.

"Mr. Smith has had plenty of time to reach agreement with us. In January he rebuffed an attempt by our Commonwealth Secretary to go to Salisbury. In March a high official spent several days there, authorized to talk to Mr. Smith; he was ignored. In April Mr. Smith himself finally told the Governor he was willing to have informal talks. For months, right through the summer these talks went on.

"They were aimed at finding an acceptable solution which had to do two things. We had to agree on the Constitution which would operate in an independent Rhodesia and guarantee beyond all doubt that the principles laid down by the British Government and by ourselves would be honoured.

"Chief among these was the guarantee that while—almost for the first time in our history—a British country would secure independence with only a minority of its people having the right to vote, steady and unimpeded progress to ultimate democratic majority rule would be ensured.

"The other requirement of the settlement was that Rhodesia must first return to legality. This was necessary to honour another vital principle which successive British Governments had insisted on—the principle that before the British Parliament could be asked to confer independence on Rhodesia the new independence Constitution should be shown to be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole, of all political views, of all races. It would have been impossible to test Rhodesian opinion freely against the background in what the leaders of all our three political parties had called a police state.

### Risked Disintegration of the Commonwealth

"During the informal talks held both in London and in Salisbury no progress was made; no movement by Mr. Smith's representatives at all. And all the time world opinion—the vast majority of our fellow members of the Commonwealth, an even bigger majority of the members of the United Nations—were demanding action and expressing their anger not only against Rhodesia but against Britain. They demanded that we crush the rebellion with force. We refused. It was not the right way.

"At the Commonwealth Conference in September for eight days I was bitterly criticized by all but a handful of the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Because I refused to use force, because I wanted to make one last determined attempt to get Mr. Smith to see reason, I was called a racist. We risked the disintegration of the Commonwealth because we fought for that last attempt. And, however reluctantly, they agreed.

"A few days later the Commonwealth Secretary flew to Salisbury, where he had long meetings with Mr. Smith and others. Mr. Smith did not move one inch.

"It was not until 10 days ago, when the Commonwealth Secretary again took the initiative and flew to Salisbury and time was running out, that Mr. Smith indicated any willingness to move. This time there was some willingness to move on the constitutional question; and also for the first time he said he was willing to consider returning to constitutional rule, to give up briefly and for the sake of permanent legal independence the independence which he claimed to possess. But, as I reminded him, not a single country in the world recognizes his régime.

"This was little enough to a move forward, but the Government felt we could not ignore any chance of a settlement. So we met Mr. Smith with the Governor of Rhodesia, whose courage and steadfastness over this past year has been beyond description. With us too was the Chief Justice. For 48 hours we went over the arguments. We reached, as Mr. Smith has since admitted, agreement on an independence Constitution.

"We worked out the detailed arrangements for a return to

constitutional rule, for a Royal Commission to see whether the constitutional proposals were or were not acceptable to Rhodesian opinion, for a lifting of censorship, for free political expression, and for action to release all but criminal detainees.

"By the afternoon of the Saturday a settlement was within our grasp, settlement which would have provided an honourable way out for a régime which had defied the authority of Crown and Parliament, a settlement which would have provided effective guarantees to ensure that all our agreed principles—and especially the principle of progress over a period of years to majority rule—would be carried out.

"It was a generous settlement we offered Rhodesia. Never in my lifetime has Britain been prepared to offer independence to a country before it had reached the stage of majority rule.

"Mr. Smith could have signed aboard H.M.S. TIGER, and he could have left Gibraltar as Prime Minister designate of Rhodesia, authorized to form a broad-based Government, including not only some of his present colleagues but also some respected European and African Rhodesians whose names he and I had agreed.

### Opportunity Tragically Lost

"By this time, had he signed, we would have started dismantling all the economic sanctions now in force. Within four months, provided that the people of Rhodesia approved the constitutional settlement we had worked out, Rhodesia would have been independent.

"In the long history of lost opportunities I find it hard to discover one more tragic than that which Mr. Smith rejected last Saturday. We had gone there intending to settle. We ended with his last-minute insistence that he should leave Gibraltar without any commitment to support that arrangement he and I had worked out together.

"The British Cabinet on Sunday endorsed the settlement in its entirety. Last night we heard that Mr. Smith and his colleagues had rejected it.

"What we all have to face now—including Rhodesia—is that the time for which I fought at the Commonwealth Conference for achieving a last-chance settlement, that time has run out.

"I believe no British Government would have done more over all these months. We were prepared to deal with men who were legally in rebellion, prepared to offer Mr. Smith the Premiership of Rhodesia. We went to the limit, within what our principles would allow, to get a settlement.

"This was not all. Nearly three months ago we told Mr. Smith we were ready to consider any alternative Constitution—for example, one to be worked out with the help of Commonwealth constitutional experts. We offered him a mission of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to visit Salisbury and work out a solution.

### Act of Union Proposed

"We went still further. We proposed that, if no other solution could be reached, we were prepared, if the three main parties here would agree, to offer Rhodesia an Act of Union whereby, until majority rule had been achieved, Rhodesia and Britain would become one country, with Rhodesians, European and African, elected to our Parliament, playing their full part in all our affairs, while Rhodesia still enjoyed full domestic self-government.

"I believe this was an offer of unparalleled generosity in the history of Britain and the Commonwealth. But Mr. Smith rejected that too, as he and his colleagues have now rejected the honourable settlement we worked out last week.

"And every rejection has been because he and his colleagues insisted on clinging to power, clinging to an unreal, illegal, unrecognized independence, even though we had provided an easy and honourable way out for him from the reckless action he had taken, even though by next spring Rhodesia, under his leadership, could have won full legal independence and with all her vast resources unparalleled prosperity. The course he has chosen—and he knows this—is beset with incalculable consequences.

"Now grave actions must follow; and Mr. Smith was left in no doubt what those actions must be. We are asking every other country to join with us in the sanctions we ourselves are already operating. We have been given assurances by our Commonwealth partners which should ensure that these actions at the United Nations are relevant but selective and do not escalate dangerously in a manner that could set the whole of Southern Africa ablaze. This is why, as throughout this past year, and now, we must do all in our power to keep this under control.

"History will place the responsibility for the situation on the shoulders of those who rejected the settlement Mr. Smith and I had drawn up. I believe that we, the British Government and people, could not have done more than we have done."

\* This broadcast would have been published last week if so much space had not been required for the report of the Commons debate on Rhodesia.

## Nation Deceived by Government

### Tories Now Attacking Mr. Wilson

**BIPARTISANSHIP OVER RHODESIA** between the Socialist and Conservative parties has ended.

That was made plain not only in the Parliamentary debates last week, but by Mr. Heath, when he addressed Young Conservatives in London.

He said that there could be no more support for Mr. Wilson because he had lost control of the situation by going to the United Nations.

"Britain will find herself embroiled in an even more dangerous situation, which may well end in military conflict".

Meanwhile Mr. Wilson has resorted to a "filthy campaign" of branding all those, including Conservatives, who favoured continuing negotiations as "rebels, racials, and traitors". That was the vilest political smear ever employed by Labour leaders.

"The policy which the Government is now following at the United Nations is fraught with dangers for Britain without hope of securing a satisfactory settlement.

### Blatant Example of Double Talk

"We are opposing the Government, first, because it has turned its back on the attempt to secure a negotiated settlement and prematurely and unnecessarily abandoned the path of negotiation. It seeks now solely to bring about the total collapse of the Rhodesian economy and the present régime.

"Secondly, we are opposed to the Government's policy of asking the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions. By so doing they have handed the Rhodesian question over to the U.N.

"The Government insist that they can maintain control of this issue themselves. But they can only do so if they are prepared to use the veto. They have consistently refused to give such an undertaking. Without this they are deceiving the British people in claiming to maintain control.

"They have already lost it. Oil was not included in the British Government's proposal for mandatory sanctions. Under pressure in New York the Foreign Secretary has already given way. The Government have lost control of the situation. How much further will it be pushed?

"It has declared that it wants the mandatory sanctions to be both selective and effective. At the same time it claims that there should be no confrontation, economic or military, with Southern Africa. What a blatant example of double-talk! What an inglorious retreat from principle to expediency!

"South Africa has already made her position absolutely plain. She will continue to carry on normal trade in all commodities with Rhodesia. How then can these mandatory sanctions be effective unless there is a confrontation with Southern Africa?"

### Serious Dangers to Britain

"This is the danger of escalation with which Britain will undoubtedly be faced. It is a threat to our economy and our financial stability, to the work of thousands of men and women in this country, to the lives of men in the Services if Britain is embroiled in the enforcement of mandatory sanctions.

"What we fear most is that these sanctions will be ineffective but at the same time will involve us in the dangers which I have mentioned. Britain will find herself embroiled in an ever more dangerous situation which may well end in military conflict.

"Thirdly, we are opposed to the Government's present policy because with mandatory sanctions it is committed to the repudiation of all previous offers or negotiated arrangements with Mr. Smith and his régime. It stipulates that from now on there can be no independence for Rhodesia without majority rule.

"On the Government's own protestations and calculations, this means that there cannot be majority rule for many years, and even this could only be achieved with the complete capitulation of the present régime.

"Mr. Wilson has given the orders for a new smear campaign and taken charge himself. This is the civil war which Mr. Wilson is bringing to Britain by his campaign of calumny and vilification. Why? Because we now are urging him to go on doing what he was doing exactly a week ago on the TROOP—to try to solve the remaining problems by negotiation".

"To loud cheers Mr. Heath concluded: "Mr. Wilson would be wise to turn back from the brink and continue on the path, however difficult, obstructed, frustrating, and often thwarted, of trying to settle the remaining problems by negotiation. He has had to adopt our policies in the past. He will have to do so again".

GENERAL LORD BOURNE: "If ever the military axiom 'maintenance of the objective' was called for it was in the talks in H.M.S. TIGER. Having at last got agreement on the main object of majority rule, the Prime Minister let it slip from his grasp".

MR. F. E. ISAAC: "Considering the character and calibre of the Rhodesian Premier and his Cabinet, our final ultimatum could not have been more surely calculated to provoke rejection, and with it the precipitation of an even more disastrous crisis".

### Crazy for the Past Year

SIR ROY HARROD, the Oxford economist, said: "We have been crazy for the past year. Our policy now should be to seek to restore a state of normalcy with Rhodesia. We could do it simply by standing completely aloof from the situation".

MR. R. G. GRIEVE: "The seeds of this mess were sown very early when Mr. Wilson tried the 'heavy' father with Mr. Smith, thinking that a masterful imposed solution would enhance his electoral image. In so trying he showed a complete ignorance of the mood of white Rhodesia".

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P.: "The Gilbert and Sullivan performance in the Mediterranean was a last-minute attempt to settle for something that was offered by Duncan Sandys and his Tory colleagues five years ago. In the end of this fratricidal dispute can be settled only at the conference table. Why not now? Settlement has been there for the taking for months. I hope it will still be achieved in spite of Mr. Wilson's passion for ultimata".

MR. JOHN GRIGG: "Mr. Wilson's terms could almost certainly not have guaranteed unimpeded progress towards majority rule in Rhodesia. They would have been more likely to prove a charter for permanent white supremacy. To hold the Commonwealth together we must be prepared to take a hard knock on our balance of payments and even if necessary devalue the pound. The struggle with the Smith régime is in reality a confrontation with South Africa, and it is wishful thinking to imagine that a sanctions programme which leaves Vorster untouched will defeat Smith".

MR. TOM STACEY cabled from Salisbury to the London *Evening Standard* that though he had talked to all sorts of people, including "the bossy Scots matron employed as floor commandant in my expensive hotel", he had still to meet anyone who believed that the Rhodesian electorate would accept the Wilson mechanism for Rhodesia's return to legality.

MR. ROBIN PURDIE, City editor of that paper, wrote: "If we are now brought into economic confrontation with South Africa the damage to our convalescent economy could be so severe as to tip standstill into slump".

## Mr. Wilson's Failure

MR. ROBIN TURTON, M.P., chairman of the Commonwealth Industries Association, and Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., chairman of the British Commonwealth Union, have issued the following joint statement on behalf of those bodies:—

"Although the Government in Salisbury had accepted the six principles which Mr. Wilson's Government and the preceding Conservative Government had agreed as the necessary basis for independence, Mr. Wilson has added demands amounting to unconditional surrender on terms of Colonial rule which had never been applied to Rhodesia, either since 1923 or before. We regard Mr. Wilson's failure of statesmanship as catastrophic.

"The spectacle of a British Foreign Secretary asking the United Nations to wage an intensive economic war on a British Commonwealth community will revolt all who remember U.N. intervention in the Congo and Rhodesia's devotion to Crown and Commonwealth in peace and in war.

"In our view mandatory sanctions threaten the peace of Southern Africa, British trade, investments and jobs, and stering itself".

"On behalf of the Rhodesia Emergency Committee of the Monday Club, Mr. Biggs-Davison made the following statement:—

"The Monday Club condemned sanctions against Rhodesia from the start and has consistently demanded negotiations with Mr. Ian Smith. It has thus contributed to the present united Conservative stand.

"Mr. Wilson's failure in H.M.S. TIGER and abdication to the U.N. have worsened a grave situation. The U.N.'s earlier interventions in Central Africa brought bloodshed and misery to millions of Africans. Mandatory sanctions threaten Britain with mass unemployment and war. The nation will not forgive a Government that gives up the pursuit of an honourable peace. Let Mr. Wilson think and try again".

# MITCHELL COTTS

## SOUND BASIS OF GROUP'S STRUCTURE

### MR. J. K. DICK REVIEWS EVENTS AND CURRENT OUTLOOK

THE FORTY-SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF MITCHELL COTTS GROUP LIMITED will be held on January 6 in London.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the Chairman, Mr. J. K. DICK:—

We finished the year ended June-30, 1966, with a profit before taxation of £2,007,000, against £1,925,000 for the previous year. The final result is in line with our estimates, and I hope you will regard the figures as satisfactory.

The consolidated net profit for the year is £1,305,000, as compared with £1,040,000 last year. The directors are now recommending a final ordinary dividend of 15%, which with the interim of 7½% paid last May makes a total of 22½% for the year. The cover for the ordinary dividend is 1.27 times, and having regard to the company's strong financial position and in the light of the increased taxation that we are called upon to bear, we consider this to be a reasonably satisfactory margin.

Our turnover for the year was about £100 million, compared with £105 million for 1964-65. I would like to repeat that neither the magnitude of this particular figure nor variations in it from year to year have necessarily any bearing upon our profits.

After reviewing balance-sheet features, the Chairman concluded: I believe you will agree that over the years we have succeeded in establishing the company on a sound basis.

#### East Africa

In a survey of the Group's world-wide interests, Mr. Dick said he would concentrate particularly this year on East and Central Africa and the Middle East, which together accounted for 43% of total profits. He continued:—

In East Africa our companies are established in each of the three territories of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and we conduct merchandising, shipping and trading business in all three.

On the whole we had a reasonably successful year. However, we have to take account of the fact that, so far from federating, which a few years ago seemed in one form or another to be a strong probability, it would appear that the East African countries are, in some spheres, anyhow, moving more towards separate development.

Our sisal estate in Kenya has been a continuing problem to us during the year. Sisal prices have been at a very low level, and due partly to soil conditions, and partly, I think, to the altitude at which the estate is situated, we are not cheap producers. This meant that we inevitably ran at a loss, and we have been compelled to re-think our policy. We have, therefore, been actively studying switching over the estate to cattle production. In previous years we referred to the fact that we had been pioneers in the feeding of sisal waste

to cattle in Kenya. Therefore, we already have the nucleus of a valuable herd.

In Tanzania we have a factory at Arusha in which the Commonwealth Development Corporation are minority shareholders with us and where we produce pyrethrum extract for the insecticide manufacturers—primarily of America and Europe. This company had a successful year and processed a record crop of pyrethrum flowers—over 4,000 tons. Although its profitability was at a reasonably high level, the fact remains that this is an industry where technological change is going on all the time and substantial profits in good years are required to provide a cushion against the vagaries of the climate, to enable the manufacturer to amortize his plant quickly and also to keep abreast of modern research.

I think we shall have another satisfactory result this year.

#### Zambia

The results last year for our companies in Zambia were fully up to our expectations. Our business there is, however, very closely linked to the fortunes of the Copperbelt and is also naturally influenced by political developments both there and in neighbouring Rhodesia. For the coming year, I think, inevitably we shall see reduced profits.

#### Ethiopia

In Ethiopia we have the Land Rover agency, a shipping and trading business, and we do a fair volume of produce exports. We also have a steadily expanding insurance business. For us an important event of the financial year 1965-66 was the acquisition of the Fiat industrial and commercial vehicle representation, which we took over from January 1, 1966. A sales organization has been established and we have put a lot of work into the starting up of this new connexion. We are in course of creating the necessary workshop and servicing facilities. Whilst the Fiat contribution to the results of 1965-66 was naturally very modest, the effect in years to come should be important to our prosperity in Ethiopia.

#### Current outlook

At the time of writing we have naturally got only a limited amount of information but I must tell you that it is already clear that the list of adverse factors and difficulties we are facing, and are going to have to face, is a formidable one.

Having outlined numerous factors both at home and overseas, the Chairman concluded: To try and sum up in a sentence would, I think, amount to saying that I doubt very much if we can do as well as last year's profit of just over £2 million before tax. My own target would be that the shortfall would be small enough to justify us in not asking you to accept a reduction in your ordinary dividend.

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## Principal Contents

	page		page
Matters of Moment ...	241	Personalia ...	246
Door Slammed on Negotiations ...	242	Obituary ...	247
Britain Has Lost Control. Says Mr. Smith ...	244	Letters to the Editor ...	248
God's Vocation for Rhodesia ...	245	Africans Finance Anti-Rhodesia Campaign ...	249
		Britain's Brazen Lie ...	250
		Anglo-Rhodesian Society ...	251

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**T**HE POLITICAL CONTORTIONIST who to the dire disadvantage and danger to Britain is her present Prime Minister was not reminded in the House of Commons, as he should have been five days before Christmas, that the disastrous statement about Rhodesia which he had just made represented condemnation of himself and clear justification for that mistrust of his intentions and manoeuvres which responsible Rhodesians have long felt. He has talked a great deal about mandatory sanctions. Considering that he had reached agreement aboard H.M.S. TIGER with Mr. Smith on the basis for constitutional changes in Rhodesia, it was surely mandatory upon him to continue the quest for a solution of the lesser legalistic problem of ending the technical rebellion. But, as in the case of Hitler, his patience was declared exhausted at a moment convenient for the attainment of an end for which he had longed for years, but which had been obscured from time to time for the temporary purpose of baffling opponents. What Mr. Wilson told Parliament was immensely to the liking of the Socialists, whose leaders have for decades traduced Rhodesia and preached the tragic folly that independence should be granted forthwith to any African territory in which a small group of men, however ill-prepared and inexperienced, clamoured ceaselessly for control of their fellows, upon whom they meanwhile practised intimidation and all kinds of violence.

doctrinaires who really know nothing about Africa have been brushed aside as irrelevant by Parliament and Press, which have paid them scarcely any attention. The simple reason in the case of the Parliamentarians is that all three political parties share the blame and therefore have a common interest in preventing general understanding of their stubborn persistence in gullibility. Had the Conservative leadership admitted its own guilt even as late as last summer, there would have been a basis for the outright attack on the Government which was obviously necessary, but which could not develop so long as Mr. Wilson could say almost daily that his measures did not differ from those of the Tories. Unhappily, they lacked the courage to confess their blunders and so clear the way for sustained criticism of the continuing mishandling of the Rhodesian issue. Had the Shadow Cabinet taken that course, it could, and should, have led a nation-wide protest when Mr. Wilson, capitulating to the Afro-Asian-Caribbean caucus at the Commonwealth Conference in September, gave in Britain's name the scandalous promise that if a settlement with Rhodesia were not reached within three months there would be no later recognition of independence until after the establishment of African majority rule. This is not wisdom after the event. The point has been repeatedly made in these columns—and was more than once represented privately, but unavailingly, to the Conservative leaders. Nobody who knew Rhodesians could have expected the blackmail of the Commonwealth *communiqué* to succeed. It was, moreover, the worst kind of casuistry to pretend that it would be right for a further few weeks to accept a Government in Rhodesia which would be wholly, or almost wholly, white, but that it would then become wrong overnight to contemplate independence except under black political domination. Yet that was exactly the chicanery threatened by the *communiqué*.

That abject abandonment of British responsibilities and honour to the agitation of a tiny minority of Africans has caused chaos and carnage over vast areas, with the loss of hundreds of thousands of African lives. Though almost all Parties Blameworthy consequences of the pertinacity of fanatical

In the light of this month's events and Mr. Wilson's past, can we be sure that he resisted the non-white pressures with anything like the determination of which his apologists wrote and spoke at the time?

**Background** It must be remembered that the policy to which he has now committed the Labour Government is precisely that which he defined to a Rhodesian African, Dr. Mutasa, shortly before he became Prime Minister; he wrote that a Labour Government would not grant independence to Rhodesia except under African majority rule, and, despite repeated challenges, he has never withdrawn or qualified that statement. There could have been no greater encouragement to the non-white *claque* at the Commonwealth Conference three months ago than to have in the chair a British politician so pledged. Within a day or two African Prime Ministers were saying quite openly that they would break up the conference rather than accept anything less than "Nibmar". Not quite catching the

word when we first heard it, we asked for a repetition. It came: "Nibmar—no independence before majority African rule". After eight days the racists had been granted their victory. Now Mr. Wilson has the effrontery to say that his weakness saved and strengthened the Commonwealth! Have his gyrations since U.D.I. been elaborate cover for that movement to dangerously premature African rule in Rhodesia which he and his party have wanted? He has had his way—on paper. Rhodesians, having to live with the results of their decisions, will pay no heed to his supreme folly, or to the menaces which accompany this demonstration of British political bankruptcy. Their retort is quite likely to be acceptance of republican status outside the Commonwealth—and no State will ever have parted more sorrowfully from the Crown. Their disagreements have been solely with the poor-quality politicians who masquerade as mini-statesmen and drag down the British nation, its standards and its interests.

## Door Slammed on Negotiations with Rhodesia

"Government Now Committed to Disastrous Policy", Declares Mr. Maudling

**THE PRIME MINISTER** told the House of Commons last week that all offers for a settlement with Rhodesia had been withdrawn, and that there would now be no recognition of Rhodesian independence until after the establishment of African majority rule.

**MR. WILSON** said:—

"Following the approval by the Security Council of a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia, H.M. Government's policy is now as set out in paragraph 10 of the *communiqué* which was issued at the end of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in September and endorsed by a clear majority vote in this House on December 8.

"The objective of that policy is, as hitherto, to secure a settlement of the Rhodesian problem which is just and fair, and H.M. Government remain willing to reach such a settlement through discussion and subsequent negotiation with a legal Government in Rhodesia."

**MR. WALL:** "Does that reply mean that the full terms of the *communiqué* are now effective, and in particular the withdrawal of all previous British offers to Rhodesia? Has the Prime Minister finally slammed the door?"

"Prisoner of Racialists and Fascists"

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "Yes. It means precisely what the hon. gentleman has said. It means that the offers made to the illegal régime, which have been persistently rejected by the illegal régime, are no longer on offer to the illegal régime, and, despite my belief, which not all hon. Members share, that Mr. Smith wanted a settlement on the lines of the TIGER agreement, it is now clear that he is a prisoner of some very racist and Fascist-minded people, and that they forbade him to enter into this agreement.

"I know what happened on the ship as well as what happened after he went back. [AN HON. MEMBER: 'What about the berth?'] He was in a berth of his

own choosing. I know what happened when he got his orders from the racist régime there, and I know what happened after he went back, and the complete falsification of the agreement put out by them, including Mr. Smith's statement, no doubt under orders, that he does not accept even the constitutional settlement, for example on cross-voting."

**MR. HAMLING:** "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that his proposals to take this to the United Nations have the overwhelming support of the electorate of this country, and will he also note that any further action which he intends to take against the illegal régime will be strongly supported on these benches?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "I am well aware of what the House voted on December 8 and of the decision of the House, and I believe that it is the decision of the country."

**MR. HASTINGS:** "In view of the fact that the Governments of both Zambia and New Zealand appear to have the gravest doubts about these mandatory sanctions, is not the Prime Minister automatically released now from the commitment into which he entered when he so unwisely signed the Commonwealth *communiqué*; and as he is bound sooner or later to negotiate again, why does he not minimize the danger and do it now?"

**Mr. Smith Allegedly Overborne**

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "Because, as I have explained, for several months they had every chance to negotiate. They had a chance on the ship and subsequently to settle, but they rejected that settlement and were supported by hon. gentlemen opposite in doing so.

"With regard to the second part of the question, the real difference between us is that we on this side were not prepared to break up the Commonwealth in the interests of a very small minority, including a minority now which has been successful in exerting its will over Mr. Smith himself."

**MR. FREESON:** "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that, even though many of us have been rather anxious about certain compromises over Rhodesian policy which appeared to be taking place over a period of time, we welcome his categorical statement that there will be no independence for Rhodesia without majority rule, particularly bearing in mind that had that agreement been accepted on the TIGER there might not have been independence with majority rule for the rest of this century?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "The agreement worked out on the TIGER involved—if it was fully honoured, and that is why we had internal and external guarantees—a trend towards majority rule at roughly the programme set out in the 1961



Agreement, if it had been honoured. It is clear that some of those who forced the rejection have no intention at all of honouring anything like the time-table set out in the 1961 Constitution, which was itself not an independence Constitution".

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "Does the Prime Minister recognize that this reply will be bitterly regretted by many outside, and will he, looking back to the success of the constitutional talks on the TIGER, even now re-open negotiations on the method of arriving at that proposal? He said that Mr. Smith had rejected the constitutional proposals. Will he give his evidence for that statement?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The agreement reached on the constitutional provisions, which Mr. Smith never doubted at all, or suggested that he doubted, included as an absolute paramount condition the retention of cross-voting, which was in the 1961 Constitution, for which the rt. hon. gentleman had a great deal of responsibility. We were prepared to make the very generous offer which we made about 15 reserved European seats, which were not in the 1961 Constitution, only on condition that cross-voting would continue in relation to the enlarged B roll franchise. Mr. Smith two days ago exempted from his acceptance of the constitutional settlement the cross-voting provisions. He wanted all along to drop cross-voting.

"There is no doubt that his hand has been forced. I agree with the rt. hon. gentleman that there will be bitterness, but there are a lot of people who are bitter also about the fact that we have been trying, and have gone to the limit in concessions to get this agreement, some would feel beyond the limit; and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition himself on television appealed to Mr. Smith to accept it the day after he voted against it himself in this House. Some of the responsibility for not getting an agreement which I believe we could have got has been the encouragement given by many hon. Members opposite to the illegal régime and this has caused some of the bitterness."

MR. MAXWELL: "Will my rt. hon. friend tell the House what success the Foreign Secretary has had in persuading the United Nations to share some of the burdens of the cost of maintaining the blockade against Rhodesia?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "That point was made in the debate. As hon. Members on both sides of the House have pointed out, while we were loyally abiding by the sanctions agreed to by this House there were businessmen from other countries who were getting in and scooping up markets. This now makes the sanctions binding on all countries."

#### Prime Minister's Memory Faulty

MR. MAUDLING: "Are the Government now firmly committed to the disastrous policy of no independence before majority rule?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have already answered that question. I have said that we have now withdrawn all the offers. When I was asked the question I gave the answer, 'Yes', which I hope is clear. The rt. hon. gentleman was very unclear a fortnight ago. I gave the answer, 'Yes', but it was not to a question which included the word 'disastrous'."

MR. MAUDLING: "The Prime Minister's memory is a little faulty. The question he was asked was about the withdrawal of previous offers. That is a different point from the one I have just raised. My question asked about the withdrawal of previous offers under paragraph 10(a) and whether the Government will not contemplate in future any proposition for independence before majority rule. It is a different point."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I hope that the rt. hon. gentleman, who has studied this matter so much in recent weeks, will take the same view. The answer was given in my answer to the original question, which I hope the hon. Member for Hantspremp (Mr. Wall) understood. I said that H.M. Government's policy is now as set out in paragraph 10 of the *communiqué*. Strange as it may seem to the rt. hon. gentleman, paragraph 10 contains sub-paragraph 10(a) as well as 10(b). Therefore he has had his answer."

"I pay tribute to the rt. hon. gentleman for his broadcast after the evasive performance that night by Mr. Smith, when he appealed to Mr. Smith to accept the whole of the TIGER agreement although the Conservative Party almost to a man had voted that Smith was right to reject it."

MR. HEATH: "In the circumstances which the Prime Minister has now described, can he tell the House how he proposes to bring about the settlement with Rhodesia of which he spoke in his answer?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes. I am hoping that we shall have a little more support from hon. Members opposite, and that we shall have no more pressure from this country on the régime to stand out for tougher terms than this House could agree to."

"I now say that anybody at all—anyone in Rhodesia now—on becoming the legal Government—which the Smith régime could do tomorrow if it wished—is free to negotiate with us for a return to the 1961 Constitution, with the end of sanctions and with the long-term progress towards majority rule as set out in the 1961 Constitution. This will be a legal

Constitution and will involve the full restoration of self-government to Rhodesia on the basis that they have always had it."

"They could have had all this and independence too if they had not a fortnight ago overwhelmed Mr. Smith and his obvious desire—which was clear to me on the ship—for a settlement, and to do this because there were men in his so-called Cabinet who were not prepared to have majority rule in their lifetime."

MR. ENGLISH: "Does my rt. hon. friend's original answer mean that he has also withdrawn his undertaking never to use force against Rhodesia in any circumstances?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No, sir, it means nothing of the kind. I dealt with this in questions on the night that the Rhodesian régime rejected the settlement. There has been no change in H.M. Government's position so far as that is concerned. If there was a change, and it became necessitated by events, the House would be informed."

MR. SANDYS: "Does the Prime Minister's disastrous decision amount to a decision to fight this out to a finish?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "There were some who were prepared unconditionally to surrender at the beginning, including the rt. hon. gentleman. We decided that we would do everything in our power to get an agreement, and the rt. hon. gentleman himself was generous enough to say so a couple of weeks ago. It was no fault of ours that there was no such agreement."

MR. SANDYS: "I never said anything of the sort."

#### "Not Even the Rhodesian Europeans"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "If the rt. hon. gentleman thought that our offer was not generous enough, that confirms most of what I have been saying about him this year. It was the rejection of that agreement by the overwhelming of Mr. Smith by these men that made it clear that there was no future in negotiating with that group of people any further. They are not Rhodesia. They are not even the Rhodesian Europeans. They never had a mandate to commit illegality, which the rt. hon. gentleman treats as such a trivial thing."

"It is now up to the Rhodesian people to return to the 1961 Constitution, with our help. We would then be prepared to join, as the rt. hon. gentleman very helpfully suggested last week-end, not only in economic development but educational development, which he and I always thought was one of the keys to a solution."

"As to fighting to the bitter end, that has never been our aim. I thought I had proved that on board H.M.S. TIGER, with the depth of the concessions that we made, and the degree of trust that we were prepared to put not only in Mr. Smith but in a number of men who have been shown to be totally unworthy of that trust or of our confidence."

MR. TAPSELL: "In view of his reply to the Leader of the Opposition, will the Prime Minister at least confirm the suggestion put forward by the Commonwealth Secretary in the Rhodesia debate that if the illegal régime in Rhodesia were to give effect to the constitutional proposals agreed to in H.M.S. TIGER, H.M. Government would be prepared to continue to negotiate on the procedural arrangements to give effect to them?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "That is what my rt. hon. friend said, but the régime refused to do it, except on a prior assurance by us that they would have their independence anyway, whatever the result. This was totally unacceptable to us and to most hon. Members. They have tried a number of manoeuvres—the latest ended last night—to postpone the issue. They could have had a Commonwealth mission. They rejected it three months ago. They could have had an independence commission, and there were many other offers."

MR. MICHAEL FOOT: "Does not the Prime Minister's most welcome statement, accepting in full the commitment contained in the Commonwealth *communiqué*, mean that the same principle is now to apply to Rhodesia as was applied to all other British territories, namely, that independence is to be given only when majority rule is established?"

#### Oil from Mozambique

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We were prepared to make a unique exception, so far as our lifetime is concerned—I know that there was the case of South Africa, but that was before most of us were born—to the rule followed by Governments of every party, and we went to extreme lengths to work out a Constitution which would have meant independence before majority rule. This was rejected, and we have carried out what the House has endorsed—our obligation to the Commonwealth. I know that some have said that we should have broken our obligations to the Commonwealth, but we have carried them out."

Asked what plans H.M. Government had to prevent oil being sent to Rhodesia from Mozambique, the Prime Minister replied: "The Security Council have adopted a resolution calling for oil sanctions. The resolution is binding on all member States, of which of course Portugal is one."

MR. ROSE: "Since most of the oil flowing into Rhodesia comes from Portuguese East Africa, would my rt. hon. friend consider applying diplomatic pressure on Portugal and on

the Total Oil Company which supplies the oil, and, if that is not successful, would he consider sealing the frontier by taking physical action to destroy the rail link which allows for the transportation of oil into Rhodesia?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "This is entirely hypothetical, because the resolution has been passed and it would be quite wrong for the House to assume that Portugal will not abide by it. The question of what action will be taken in those circumstances is a separate one which was not covered by the resolution passed last week."

**MR. FREESON:** "Is it not a fact that, in the past, until the matter was referred to the United Nations, the Portuguese authorities were undermining the conduct of the British Government's policy with regard to economic sanctions against Rhodesia?"

**THE PRIME MINISTER:** "It is certainly a fact that a considerable flow of oil was going in from Mozambique to Rhodesia—considerably more over the greater part of the time than was going from South Africa. From my own personal knowledge in recent weeks, the Portuguese Govern-

ment were helpful in trying to create conditions in which we could get a settlement at the time of my meeting with Mr. Smith."

**MR. ARTHUR LEWIS** asked the Postmaster-General why, in view of the fact that H.M. Government did not recognize the illegal régime in Rhodesia, his Department supplied postal and telegraph services to the régime; and whether he would take action to prevent the seditious and treacherous paper *Rhodesia Commentary* being circulated in this country with the aid of the Post Office.

**MR. EDWARD SHORT:** "There is no necessary connexion between the provision of postal and telegraph services to a given country and recognition of that country's Government. In the case of Rhodesia, H.M. Government have so far taken the view that the public interest is best served by the continued exchange of mail and telegraph services."

"As to the second part of his question, my predecessor and I have frequently assured the House that no mail is censored in this country. I do not propose to depart from those assurances on this occasion."

## Britain Has Lost Control, Mr. Smith Insists

Mr. Wilson's Negligence Allows Other Powers to Veto Ending of Sanctions

**BRITAIN HAS LOST CONTROL** of the Rhodesian situation by failing to qualify the resolution on sanctions adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations, **MR. IAN SMITH**, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, told a news conference in Salisbury last Thursday. He said, *inter alia*—

"If by a miracle we reached an agreement with the British Government tomorrow Mr. Wilson could not stop what he has now put in motion at the United Nations because that would involve another resolution, which, going counter to the one passed last week, would not receive the necessary support. Mr. Wilson has often said—and he has said to me—that he believed that the Constitution that he was offering us would not be acceptable to the majority of the Afro-Asian nations, but that this was a chance he would take. Certain countries are in a position to veto a resolution to end sanctions.

### Has Republican Status Been Forced on Rhodesia?

"Britain has lost control over Rhodesia and shelved her responsibilities. They cannot have it both ways. If we did come to an agreement and Britain decided to call off the sanctions, she would be acting in breach of the United Nations resolution.

"Since we are no longer under the control of Britain I would say that we are no longer a member of the Commonwealth. If that is the position I don't know what else we become but a republic. This forewarning is subject to the views of the experts; I will have to be patient and see what our legal advisers say.

"As a Government we shall not do anything precipitate. I shall be meticulous about ensuring that I have a mandate from the people of Rhodesia before we do anything. But my legal advisers might tell me that this is something that has been presented to us. If that is the position it will mean some adaptation to the Constitution, and in that sort of thing the electors should have a say. I say again that it seems to me that we have no option, no say in the thing that has been done for us. We may have to face this embarrassing decision, an agonizing one for many Rhodesians."

### Mr. Wilson's "Technique of Lying"

In answering questions the Prime Minister described Mr. Harold Wilson as "a slippery customer", and continued:—

"This man has perfected a technique of lying his way out of corners. He has a facility for distorting the truth so that the particular circumstances of the occasion should fit in with his wants."

"On the surface, the picture is that we shall never negotiate with Britain while Mr. Wilson is in his

present position, because if he is waiting for us to reach the position of one man, one vote, this will not happen in my lifetime or his."

The Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Herbert Bowden, denied in London that Rhodesia was virtually a republic outside the Commonwealth. It was, he insisted, part of Her Majesty's Dominions and a continuing British responsibility. Any purported declaration of a republic by anyone in Rhodesia would be "unconstitutional, illegal, and ineffective".

The Southern Rhodesia (Prohibited Trade and Dealings) Order, 1966, has been laid and brought into immediate operation. It gives effect to the Security Council resolution imposing mandatory sanctions.

The leading Afrikaans newspaper in South Africa, *Die Burger*, suggested that Rhodesia as an independent State had become an embarrassment to her friends and should ask herself whether U.D.I. had not become "an empty shell, something which could have had its uses but which in the time ahead can become more and more a hindrance". Independence had not been gradually accepted internationally, and in existing circumstances no State was likely to recognize her. To return to the constitutional forms of November 10, 1965, would not mean a return to defenceless subordination to Britain.

*Vaderland*, which normally reflects the opinions of the South African Government, replied that there would be little point in Rhodesia declaring herself a republic, thereby making the break with Britain absolute, but that it was absurd to say that Rhodesia's independence embarrassed South Africa; to suggest the abandonment of independence by Rhodesia in deference to world opinion was equivalent to arguing that South Africa should abandon *apartheid* because that policy was condemned by the rest of the world.

### Was Security Council's Resolution Valid?

Dr. Franco Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, told journalists in Lisbon on Tuesday that his Government had doubts about the legality of applying sanctions against Rhodesia and was studying the "complex and delicate text" of the Security Council resolution. Repeated applications to the President of that council and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for clarification on important points had gone unanswered.

It was doubtful whether a Security Council resolution was legally valid when one or more of its permanent members had abstained from voting.

Oil was not rationed in any Portuguese territory, and it would therefore appear "a little exaggerated to attribute to Portugal the responsibility of supplying oil to Rhodesia and to throw upon Portugal the onus of policing oil supplies to Rhodesia. Portugal is not an oil-bearing country and does not buy oil for Rhodesia. Reports of the alleged flow of oil from Mozambique to Rhodesia have been exaggerated."

When asked whom he considered the main opponents to Portugal's African policy, Dr. Nogueira replied that the attitudes of the United Nations and the black African States were well known, that the interests of Britain and other European countries were noted, and that Portugal drew her own conclusions.

A shipment of 223 motor vehicles and 194 motor-cycles destined for Rhodesia were stopped at the week-end by the Japanese Government.

## Communist Threat to Africa

### Insidious Enemy on Rhodesia's Doorstep

LORD GRAHAM, Minister of External Affairs and Defence, said when recently speaking in Umtali:—

"Rhodesia is as dear to us Rhodesians of Scots descent as once were the glens and bens, the purple heather, the dry-stone dykes and the soft rain of Scotland: and as our fathers fought for Scotland, we would defend Rhodesia if need be.

"How different the insidious enemy that creeps like a canker across the world, rubbing unctuous hands, persuading men to pull down their own banners and flags, so that, without even knowing they yield, people are destroyed and eaten up. We know only too well that such an enemy is on our doorstep, for we have seen all this happen to our friends and neighbours on this continent.

"Even Lenin revealed more than his modern followers, for he once said openly: 'The citadel will be stormed under the banners of liberty and democracy', and he went on: 'Democracy is but a tool to be used and afterwards broken, liberty but a sentimental folly'.

"This is international Communism. This is our enemy, and all is international Communism—swallowed like a sugar-coated pill, sometimes by Churchmen, often by educators, frequently by well-meaning people of all classes and all races, and, with few exceptions, by the mass media.

"This enemy is not merely attacking us, but on a broad front the whole world over, its standards, its law and order, its moralities, its Churches, its patriotism, its philosophies, and even much of its learning; and it is doing all this behind a mask of reason and humanity.

### Proliferating Mini-Nations.

"There is a modern Tower of Babel called the United Nations, which, at the time it was founded, it was hoped would form a forum where the major Powers would use their influences for peace, but where, instead, we now find what have been called the proliferating mini-nations screaming for war.

"When I consider the claims of these mini-nations to be listened to together with the major Powers I am reminded of those certificates which are given on board ship to people who cross the Equator for the first time—certificates decorated with fanciful pictures of mermaids, sailors, fish, and Father Neptune, who in grandiloquent words makes the recipient a full member of his court.

"If as a grown man you ever got one of these, you almost certainly lost it before the voyage ended; but if you were a child you probably took it home and hung it above your bed, believing that you were at last half way to being a man. The paper, of course, really meant nothing.

"It was a counterfeit document; and of no greater worth are all the charters and constitutions, the hauling down of flags, and the setting up of new nations which resort to internal violence and show that they are not ready or able to survive without the annual provision of untold millions in financial aid from others, and who are not ready or able to run their own country without a vast background of expatriate know-how and expatriate officials. They are, but paper screens with a few dozen smiling black faces passed upon the front, and behind them a dark void filled only with the groans of the hungry and the cries of the assassinated.

"These are the mini-nations. They are like children playing soldiers in paper hats who demand that the grown-ups should smash the mirror Rhodesia in which they set their own ineptitude—a demand encouraged by the forces of world Communism as a smokescreen for yet deeper penetration".

### Communist Network

AN OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT in Kinshasa, capital of the Congo, states that "a vast Communist network of subversion" has been discovered to have operated under cover of the General Federation of Congolese Workers. That organization has consequently been proscribed. All other trade unions have been warned against the infiltration of "subversive elements" disguised as defenders of the cause of the workers".

## God's Vocation for Rhodesia

### "Fear Ourselves, Not Sanctions"

THE VEN. A. R. LEWIS, Archdeacon of Inyanga, said in his sermon on Independence Day:—

"However clever our politicians, however astute our financiers, Rhodesia would not have come through this first year of independence with the world against her without God's help. God has been with us, in spite of the ecclesiastical Jeremiahs who seem to equate Christianity with knuckling under to the outlook of the contemporary world.

"Christians need not fear to stand alone if God is with them. That is what Our Lord did, and He is our example. That is what the first disciples did as they went out to face the might of the ancient Empire of Rome. In a later time it was the courage and determination of a handful of men and women which brought to an end the age-old institution of slavery, in the teeth of the opposition of the majority. In our own day it was the few to whom the many owed so much.

### The Lights of Freedom Going Out

"There is nothing unchristian in belonging to a minority if you are sincerely trying to do God's will. If it is God's vocation for Rhodesia to keep alight the torch of Christian civilization in a continent where one by one the lights of freedom are going out, then we must not be surprised to receive God's help: we must expect it, unworthy though we are.

"God has been with us. This is not to say that God is on our side. Warring nations have so often claimed that God was fighting their battles. We can be on God's side, not He on ours. He will be with us while we are with Him, while we are trying to do what He wants us to do.

"It is here that Rhodesians have real reason to fear. We need not fear sanctions: we do need to fear ourselves. For how far are we honestly attempting to make Rhodesia the sort of country God wants?

"To what extent are we really trying to provide equality of opportunity for everyone, of whatever race? How hard are we striving to give all the chance to become equals? It cannot be done overnight, but are we trying? Or are we putting it off into some remote future when we shan't be here?

"The world believes we are fighting for white supremacy. How much truth is there in this jibe? Certain it is that our most damaging enemies are within. In the past few months, when people of all races should have been standing together, I have heard people call Africans 'munis' and 'Kaffirs' and treat them with shocking discourtesy. If this is the Rhodesia we are fighting for, then... I was going to say 'God help us'. But God will not help us.

### Rhodesian Africans Want to be Friends

"Saint Paul said: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all in all'. If he were alive today, he would certainly say 'There is neither black nor white'. He did not mean that these differences do not exist or aren't important. He did mean that they are quite unimportant compared with the thing that unites us: we are all children of one God, and therefore brothers.

"This brings me to the part of our Africa fellow-citizens—often our fellow-Christians—in the present struggle. It is not a vocal part. How could it be when they can see that much of Africa and the world is against us? But no one who lives and works among them can doubt for a moment that they want to be friends with us, with you and me. They want to respect us and be respected by us. As our Prime Minister said last night, it is vital that we should not let our attitude to the Africans in Rhodesia be coloured by the hostility of African leaders to the north of us.

"In the past year Rhodesian Africans, seeing the attitude of so much of the world, have had every possible opportunity to make life unpleasant for us white people. They have not taken it. True, they owe much to us: but we owe much, very much, to them.

"So as we enter our second year of independence let us determine that the Rhodesia we are striving for is the African's Rhodesia as much as ours. Then we can confidently ask God for the help to build the country He wants to see: I will not say that we can ask as confidently as in the past, but more confidently than ever before".



# PERSONALIA

THE AGA KHAN called on PRESIDENT OBOTE of Uganda recently.

PRESIDENT NYERERE has opened the £5m. oil refinery near Dar es Salaam.

MR. D. L. C. PRITCHARD, Accountant-General in Malawi, is on long leave pending retirement.

LIEUT.-GENERAL KABADA GABRE, lately Deputy Governor of Harar Province, is now Defence Minister of Ethiopia.

A pamphlet by MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., on "The New Scramble for Africa" has been published by the Monday Club.

THE REV. B. G. C. BAKER, an assistant curate of Broadwater, Worthing, Sussex, is to join the staff of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika.

MR. GEORGE POPADOPOULOS is now Greek Ambassador in Kenya, and MR. NAZIR RAHMAN MOORE High Commissioner for Pakistan.

THE REV. C. F. M. BODDINGTON, assistant curate of St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, is to join the mission staff of the Diocese of Nakuru, Kenya.

THE REV. R. H. MOBERLY, Rector of St. Barnabas's Chingola, Zambia, has been appointed Vicar of St. Anselm's, Kennington Cross, London.

SIR GLYN JONES, who recently relinquished his appointment as Governor-General of Malawi, has been received in audience by THE QUEEN, with whom LADY JONES and he then lunched.

MR. W. D. R. BAKER, P.C. for Mashonaland South, has retired after 37 years in the service of the Rhodesian Government. He and his two brothers followed their father into the Native Department.

An Uganda Cabinet XI, captained by the Minister of Agriculture, MR. NEKYON, lost by four goals to nil when playing a team of locally resident Israelis, led by the Ambassador, MR. IUBRANI.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON will relinquish his executive duties as managing director of Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd., at the end of March. He is joint vice-chairman with LORD MOYNE.

MR. G. W. H. RELLY, resident director in Lusaka of the Anglo American Corporation group, and MR. G. C. FLETCHER have been appointed to the executive committee of directors of the Corporation.

LORD GLENCONNER is retiring from the board of Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Co., Ltd., of which MR. L. J. LEATHERS remains vice-chairman but has relinquished his full-time executive directorship.

SIR FRANCIS IBIAM, president of the World Council of Churches has led a delegation on a 10-day mission to Sudan. One of his colleagues was the REV. JOHN GATU, general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

MR. F. J. STONE, of the Old Broad Street branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has won the Sir John Caulcutt prize of £70, and MR. C. M. MALONEY, of the Lombard Street branch, the Frank Steele prize of £40 in the examinations of the Institute of Bankers.

PRESIDENT NYERERE said in a broadcast on the fourth anniversary of the creation of the Republic of Tanzania and the fifth of the country's independence that its greatest mistake had been to emphasize money, which was unimportant in comparison with the welfare of the people.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WARWICK, who has been appointed master of the new Cunard liner Q4, which will cost more than £28m. and sail on her maiden voyage in 1969, served in East African waters as an R.N.V.R. officer during part of the last war. He has commanded both the QUEEN MARY and QUEEN ELIZABETH.

MR. REGINALD PAGET, Q.C., Socialist M.P. for Northampton, who voted with the Conservative Opposition after the two-day debate on Rhodesia, resigned the party whip in protest against the Government's policy, has told his constituents that he will re-apply for the whip when the Rhodesian issue has been settled.

MR. D. R. WHITE, lately headmaster of Gifford Technical High School, Bulawayo, has been appointed senior inspector of schools for the Salisbury region of Rhodesia. After serving in South-East Asia in the last war he graduated B.Sc. at London University and taught in England for several years before going to Rhodesia in 1952.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. B. EVERARD has for personal reasons resigned the chairmanship of the Matabeleland division of the Rhodesian Front, though he continues fully to support the Prime Minister and the Government. MR. J. R. STRONG, the vice-chairman, will act as chairman and MR. W. E. STUTTAFFORD as vice-chairman until the annual meeting of the division next July.

DR. GODFREY GUSTAV DIBUE, who has been appointed regional adviser in Africa on public health administration for the World Health Organization, has been since 1960 Director of Medical Services in Cameroun, where he was born. He was appointed house surgeon-physician to Peterborough Hospital in 1953, and in the following year went to Sunderland. He had qualified at the Royal College of Surgeons and Physicians in Dublin in 1948.

MR. DENNIS GEORGE WOODS, who has arrived in Kampala to advise the Uganda Commercial Bank on its foreign operations, joined the Westminster Bank in 1940, was its assistant manager in New York from 1960 to 1963, and was then appointed assistant general manager of the overseas branch in London. More recently he has been concerned with banking operations in North America, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, Spain and Portugal.

## Zambia's First Honours List

Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, G.O.C.O.F.

ZAMBIA'S FIRST HONOURS LIST makes 84 awards, mainly for service "in the struggle for freedom" and agriculture and education. Nobody receives the Order of the Eagle of Zambia, the top honour.

MR. R. M. NABULYATO, one of the founders of the Zambian African nationalist movement 20 years ago, who was secretary-general of the African Congress for five years until 1951, a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council from 1954 to 1958, and also a member of the African Representative Council, and Mr. Donald Siwale, who with the President's late father formed the first African political party in 1923, have been appointed Officers of the Order of the Grand Companion of Freedom.

Sir Stewart Gore-Browne is the only Grand Officer of the Companion Order of Freedom. The citation says: "He has been in the forefront of the struggle for emancipation, and was particularly active in giving guidance to nationalist leaders, among them President Kaunda".

Among eight appointments as Officers of that order are Commander T. S. L. Fox-Pitt; the Rev. Colin Morris; Father Patrick Walsh ("who helped the President's family while he was in prison in Salisbury and aided many freedom-fighters"); Mr. Malcolm Clarke ("a former teacher at Munsali whose arguments demolished the 15-15-15 constitutional proposals"); and Mr. Simon Zukas ("the architect who was deported by the Federal Government for his nationalist activities").

Messrs. J. Fairhurst and R. F. Hallahan are made Grand Officers of the Order of Distinguished Service. Among Officers of that order are Messrs. D. Brooks, L. G. Butler, L. W. Corbridge, A. W. Haylett, G. Hunt, J. E. M. Landless, W. A. Nixon, R. Pailloux, and K. P. Quinn. Several other Europeans are made Members.

Three of four recipients of the Zambia Police Medal for Distinguished Service are Europeans, Messrs. L. A. Hicks, D. J. Forde, and J. B. Attenborough. Two others, Messrs. G. L. Bruce and W. F. Humphreys, receive the Zambia Police Medal for Meritorious Service.

## Queen's Message to Rhodesia *Obituary*

THE QUEEN telegraphed Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor of Rhodesia, a Christmas message, reading:—

"I should like to send you, and through you to all those who are striving to bring Rhodesia back on to a stable constitutional course, a message of encouragement and greetings. Last year I wrote of my admiration for your steadfastness in these difficult times. I again express my appreciation of your personal courage and example in seeking an honourable settlement of your country's problems. I send my good wishes for Christmas and the New Year to all my loyal subjects in Rhodesia."

Her Majesty's Christmas broadcast to the Commonwealth was relayed by the Rhodesian radio and television stations.

Neither they nor the newspapers gave publicity to a message from Sir Humphrey Gibbs saying that it was a sad disappointment that the conflict between Britain and Rhodesia had not been resolved, and expressing the hope that the differences and bitternesses of the past year would be forgotten and that Rhodesians could look forward to a just and honourable settlement.

Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government, said in a broadcast that Rhodesia was a shining example of a nation quietly and peacefully conducting its normal affairs.

### Lord Clitheroe

LORD CLITHEROE, who for many years has been keenly interested in Central African affairs, and has strongly supported the Rhodesian case for independence, has been appointed a deputy chairman of the National Provincial Bank, of which he has been a director for 14 years. The vacancy is caused by the retirement of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, a former chairman of the Standard Bank. Lord Clitheroe, sometime M.P. for the City of London, was Financial Secretary to the Treasury at one period during the last war and later chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and of the Select Committee on the Nationalized Industries. He is a director of Coutts & Co., the bankers, and of the Benguela Railway Company, chairman of Mercantile Investment Trust, Ltd., and Borax (Holdings), Ltd., vice-chairman of Tube Investments, Ltd., and joint deputy chairman of John Brown & Co., Ltd.

### High Commissioner in Zambia

MR. JOHN PUMPHREY, now Deputy High Commissioner in Nairobi, has been appointed U.K. High Commissioner in Zambia in succession to Sir Leslie Monson, who is returning to the Commonwealth Office. It had been suggested in London and Lusaka that the appointment might go to Mr. Humphry Berkeley, who at the last election lost his seat as Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, and whose attitude to Africa is very much in line with that of the Socialist Government. He has stated that he asked not to be considered for the appointment.

### Government Criticized

M.Ps. in TANZANIA, angry that the Government had bought 20 limousines from Germany instead of smaller cars, rejected a supplementary estimate for £7,860, in addition to £18,000 already budgeted, despite the fact that the request was made by Mr. Kawawa, the Second Vice-President. More than one Member suggested that the Minister responsible for the transaction should pay the additional cost himself.

## Mr. E. W. Bovill

MR. EDWARD WILLIAM BOVILL, who died suddenly last week at his home in Essex, aged 73, had for many years been interested in East African Affairs, and especially in sisal production in Tanganyika.

He was educated at Rugby School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the 1914-18 war served in France and German East Africa with the 10th Royal Hussars before being seconded to the West African Frontier Force. For nine years from 1936 he was a director of Matheson & Co., Ltd., and then founded Bovill Matheson & Co., Ltd. Later he was chairman of R. C. Treat & Co., Ltd., East African Finance Corporation, Ltd., and Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., and a director of Arusha Plantations, Ltd., and Orion Property Trust, Ltd. For some years he was a member of the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board.

He wrote "Caravans of the Old Sahara," "The Golden Trail of the Moors", "The Battle of Alcazar", "England of Nimrod and Surtees", and "English Country Life, 1790-1830". He had edited publications for the Hakluyt Society, of which he was a trustee and member of council, and was joint editor of the volume "East African Agriculture", published in 1950. Apart from writing and historical research, his recreations were fruit growing and shooting.

He is survived by Mrs. Bovill and a son and daughter.

### Mr. L. A. W. Vickers-Haviland

MR. LIONEL ARTHUR WILLIAM VICKERS-HAVILAND, who has died in Sherborne, Dorset, was a former provincial commissioner in Tanganyika. After serving in France with the Royal Fusiliers from 1914 to 1916, he was seconded to the King's African Rifles for the campaign in "German East". One of the early members of the civil administration, he served in many parts of the country before entering the Secretariat in 1931. Later he acted as Deputy Director of Agriculture. After his retirement he became chief executive officer of the newly-created Tanganyika Labour Bureau. He was for years a leading member of the Amateur Dramatic Society in Dar es Salaam and produced and played in various shows. At one period he was reckoned to be perhaps the wittiest after-dinner speaker in the country.

### Mr. E. R. Orme

MR. EDWARD ROBERT ORME, who has died at the age of 63, had been for many years a partner in the Liverpool cotton-broking firm of Reynolds & Gibson. He was educated at the Royal Naval Colleges in Osborne and Dartmouth, and in 1926 went to Tanganyika Territory for a subsidiary of the business with which he was to remain associated. Six years later he joined the Liverpool office of the group, leaving on the outbreak of war in 1939 to join the Royal Artillery, with which he served in the Middle East. Soon after his demobilization he was elected to the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board as the representative of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce. He was a younger brother of Mr. F. Leslie Orme.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., died in hospital in Nairobi on Christmas Eve at the age of 60. A memoir will appear next week.

DR. WILLIAM CECIL WIGAN, medical officer to the Diocese of Nyasaland from 1911 to 1946, has died in Bexhill.

*Letters to The Editor***In Protest Against Sanctions****Father Robert Stuart's Proposals**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

Sir,—I urge those of your readers who oppose sanctions against Rhodesia to put pressure on the Government of this and other countries by adopting the following measures without delay:—

(1) By paying strictly "to rule". In other words, not to contribute voluntarily to the support of any organizations and institutions in Britain when such contribution has the effect of easing the Government's financial burdens inherent in the maintenance of a "Welfare State" and thereby indirectly subsidizing the policy of sanctions. By maintaining sanctions (in the face of the opposition of millions) Mr. Wilson is waging an economic civil war. Let us bring it right to his doorstep.

(2) By refusing to contribute to relief or other charitable or social projects in any foreign country so long as it maintains sanctions.

(3) By withdrawing all financial and other support from the United Nations and all organizations such as the British Council of Churches and "charitable" and social projects sponsored by or connected with them until they have renounced this immoral and un-Christian policy.

(4) By spending vacations in countries which refuse to join in sanctions and whenever practicable buying their goods in preference to those from countries which, to their shame, are ranged in the opposite camp.

Fraserburgh  
Scotland

Yours faithfully  
ROBERT STUART

**Rhodesia—What Next?****No Moral Basis for Sanctions**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR,—There seems to be little likelihood of the present British Government reaching agreement with the legally elected Government of Rhodesia as their policy is based on a currently false principle. British thinking is geared round the Western conception of "majority rule", which at least 95% of people with experience of Africa know not to be a valid principle in Rhodesia at present. Nobody can accurately forecast when it will be, least of all Mr. Wilson. The ultimatum to Rhodesia emerging from the Commonwealth Conference was one which Mr. Wilson must know can never be accepted by Mr. Smith. It would appear, then, to have been deliberate on his part as though he wishes to embroil South Africa in sanctions, as his antipathy to that country is no secret. If he takes this step, Mr. Vorster will freeze £1,000m. worth of British assets in South Africa; and he is unlikely to grant immunity from attack to British warships blockading Durban as the British Navy enjoyed at Beira against a land-locked Power.

There is no Scriptural basis for majority rule amongst near-primitives. St. Paul wrote: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers". This could well apply to Christians in Rhodesia and to Christian nations at U.N.O., as it did to the Corinthians. The apostle may have seen only "through a glass, darkly", but he could see a lot more clearly than Mr. Wilson or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

There is no moral basis for sanctions. Sir Alec Douglas-Home has written: "I was and am against sanctions; they are an act of force and contribute nothing". What has come over the British people that

they support this iniquitous policy? Are they totally bemused by a Beate-worshipping Prime Minister with little moral sense who yet presumes to pontificate on "moral law"? They should return to the faith of their fathers before it is too late.

Timaru  
New Zealand

Yours faithfully  
PETER C. HIGHAM

**POINTS FROM LETTERS****Unique**

"THE INSPIRING and informative leading articles and your fair and factual reporting of news make RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA unique".

**Enemies Concealed**

"CROMWELL had the advantage of knowing his enemies. We cannot pinpoint them; they are concealed behind smoke-screens. The B.B.C. acts like a demonic propaganda tool for the Government".

**Miss Todd**

"MISS JUDITH TODD, now aged 23, spoke at a Young Liberals meeting here in Exmouth. She carefully avoided saying how peaceful a country Rhodesia is; her theme was of a police State. Her answers to questions were puerile. What Judy needs is a good spanking!"

**U.D.I.**

"THE OWNER of the British car registration U.D.I.—or, to be exact, U.D.I.—has offered to sell what he calls 'this famous registration'. Mr. Harold Wilson, Mr. Herbert Bowden, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Mrs. Castle, Mrs. Hart, Lord Brockway, and Canon Collins have, I believe, decided not to bid for the trophy".

**Unrepresentative Politicians**

"WE LISTEN here in Brazil to your virtually lone voice. Please keep up your outspokenness. I heartily agree with your comments on the Conservatives, who seem to have a little idea about the feelings of the people of Britain as the Socialist Prime Minister has about those of the people of Rhodesia".

**Spendthrifts**

"GOVERNMENT SPENDTHRIFTS gave a reception in London the other day for police superintendents from Malawi. Can you beat that for extravagance with the taxpayers' money when we are in a serious financial crisis? If a few police officers from Australia or New Zealand happened to be in London, it is a safe bet that there would be no Commonwealth Office cocktail party in their honour; but to our modern politicians black Africa is of course more important than white Australasia".

**If the Truth Be Told**

"A RETIRED DIPLOMAT, 'who lived the inside story of several independent African countries', has advertised his anxiety to make contact with a publisher who would be interested in his memoirs. If he is willing to tell the truth without evasion or equivocation, he should have no difficulty in finding a publisher, for practically no inside information has yet been given about the way in which Britain has recently scuttled from her African responsibilities. The manoeuvres and menaces by which Africans gained what they wanted are very fully on record. It would be most interesting and historically valuable to have the real facts of Macmillanism and Macleodism as seen by an insider as they pursued their disastrous course in Africa".



## White Tribes of Africa

### Mr. Oppenheimer Warns London

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER has said in an interview with Mr. Rene MacColl, of the *Daily Express*:—

"It might have been difficult for the Rhodesians to accept the last part of the 'working paper', but I do not see why they could not have gone on arguing the point . . .

"I object to black dictatorships as much as to white. So many modern Liberals seem to suffer from a sense of guilt over the Colonial past and to think in a doctrinal way that to expiate that guilt they must support everything black, including the black dictatorships.

"What the rest of the world ought to bear in mind is that there are large white tribes in South Africa who desire the same rights of self-government as black tribes. There must be a place in the sun for white African tribes as well.

"The white tribes of Africa must be dealt with by the British Government with the same understanding which the British Government extends to the black tribes. They must receive the same help and consideration as the black tribes—no more, but certainly no less.

"And London must remember that the white tribes of Africa are not Europeans. They are Africans. That is a most important point. The white Africans do not think like Europeans, any more than do the black African tribes".

## Race Relations in Zambia

### European Morale Undermined

THAT RACE RELATIONS IN ZAMBIA are sadly strained is emphasized by the Commonwealth correspondent of *The Times* in an article recording his impressions of a recent visit. He has written, *inter alia*:—

"European morale has fallen heavily in recent months after the riots in Kitwe, the expulsion of 25 Europeans at 24 hours' notice and an accumulation of other incidents. European faith in the impartiality of the police has been undermined, and the withdrawal of charges against a well-connected party member accused of fomenting the riots has weakened faith in the impartiality of the law.

"African party bosses and even some Ministers tend to think of the Europeans as a pro-Smith fifth column and cite incidents of sabotage as proof. If the whites were sabotage-minded, they could quickly wreck Zambia: in fact, only a few unbalanced individuals seem to blame.

### Difficulties of Mining Companies

"Production and costs on the copper mines are threatened by possible resignations from the key white staff, now down nearly to 6,000. Recruitment just meets wastage, but quality and experience suffer. After the Kitwe riots in October resignations jumped sharply, and another such incident would cause more—especially next March when the staff on contract is entitled to the first of three annual gratuities.

"It is impossible to say at what point attrition of the white labour force would limit production. It depends on the skills lost. But already productivity is falling because the African and European supervisors are unwilling to enforce discipline and work norms for fear of provoking violence—African mineworkers are redundant at present output levels—but to discharge them in the Copperbelt, when race tension and unemployment are alike high, would be explosive.

"In October the routes alternative to Rhodesia Railways carried 31,000 tons of copper outwards against a full requirement of 60,000 tons. These same routes brought in 16,000 tons of oil, 3,000 tons of coal and 10,000 tons of merchandise. In the same month Rhodesia Railways, in spite of limitation, brought in 100,000 tons of coal and merchandise. Without this freight Zambia would be reduced to a siege economy".

### Overseas Aid Reduced

BRITISH AID to States overseas will be cut to £205m. in 1967-68. This year's target is £225m.

## Africans Pay Europeans

### Secret Funds for Anti-Smith Campaign

SEVERAL AFRICAN STATES and a leading United States foundation are spending lavishly on an under-cover political propaganda campaign against Rhodesia.

Mr. Ian Colvin has disclosed in the *Daily Telegraph* that the headquarters are in Zurich, where the parent Interform Organization is established. It has affiliated companies in London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Frankfurt, New York and Washington.

The London company, which gives an address in Dover Street, in fact operates from Hertfordshire, where Mr. Colvin saw Mr. Kenneth Bellman, J.P., a former naval officer and later a member of the Institute of Public Relations. He admitted being the British representative of Interform, which, he said, "retains on its payroll politicians in many countries as well as economists and others whose advice can be valuable. It works with methods of propaganda rather than publicity, and never reveals the names of its clients".

When asked if Interform would have acted for Mr. Smith, he replied: "Perhaps if he had asked sooner. As it is, Interform is committed to the African States".

Key papers which were removed from the offices of an African diplomatic mission in London have been photographed and sent to a number of Governments, including that of Switzerland, which may consider that its traditional neutrality is infringed by the operations of the organization.

One document, written immediately after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in September, suggested that as mandatory sanctions were to be expected, "it is of paramount importance that the propaganda campaign be intensified in the United States and United Kingdom and extended to France, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland."

### Intensive Political Lobbying

"The success of the campaign to date in America and Britain indicates that similar results can be achieved in other countries. Unless such action is taken with the minimum of delay countries with trading commitments in Southern Africa, particularly France and West Germany, may continue directly or indirectly to bolster up the Smith régime.

"Any action taken by this Organization in Europe will prepare the ground for propaganda against the racist policies of South Africa and Portugal in any subsequent campaign that we may be instructed to supervise in 1967.

"The sponsoring Governments have approved the C.P.C. proposal that other States should now be invited to contribute, subject to the same assurance demanded by the sponsoring Governments—that under no circumstances will the name of any State so participating be made known to any other Government, organization, or individual".

The central committee was then said to have had 1½m. Swiss francs (£125,000) in hand from its original budget for a "Smash Smith Campaign" which began in January. It was estimated that a further £225,000 would be needed "to finance the campaign for mandatory sanctions in Europe and make it effective in industry, banking, and commercial circles".

A document addressed to a Commonwealth High Commissioner stated: "Intensive political lobbying, coupled with the creation of a strong body of liberal opinion, is essential to secure public acceptance of sanctions".

Another described Interform methods as "firmly based on the principle that all techniques used must be unobtrusive and that the results achieved must appear to stem naturally from a consensus of informed opinion which cannot easily be identified with any direct source of propaganda".

The *Daily Telegraph* made these revelations its main news story one day last week, giving Mr. Colvin two columns for his revelations.

Next day it became known that the Swiss Government had started an investigation, and that the Union Bank of Switzerland, which had been mentioned as bankers to Interform, had closed the account on the ground that it does not accommodate customers whose activities "conflict with our neutral political principles".

### Traders Threatened

THE CONGOLESE GOVERNMENT has warned all businesses engaged in trade, manufacturing and agriculture in the Congo that if their headquarters have not been transferred to the Congo by December 31 their assets will be seized and in no circumstances will any of the property be returned to them.

## Britain's Big and Brazen Lie

### Mr. Powell's Criticisms of Ministers

MR. ENOCH POWELL, M.P., said in his constituency, Wolverhampton, recently that the Foreign Secretary had used the Nazi technique of the big, black, bold, brazen lie when he told the Security Council that Rhodesia was a threat to the peace in Africa.

"This is the same logic as Hitler used when he declared Czechoslovakia a danger to the peace of Europe. How Goebbels would have relished Mr. Brown's statement! It is the very spit and image of Nazi technique.

"A country's neighbours and others declare themselves dissatisfied with its internal affairs and threaten to resort to force against it. That country is thereupon declared to have become a danger to peace and stability, and the mechanisms of international mob rule are set in motion—not against the would-be aggressors, but against those who were the object of the threats."

Turning to the Prime Minister's disclosure a few days ago that he had offered an Act of Union to Rhodesia, Mr. Powell said that the offer, "made behind the nation's back", would presumably have become a *fait accompli* if accepted by Mr. Smith.

### Criminal Levity or Utter Folly

"If it was not meant seriously, it was criminal levity. If it was meant seriously, it was a hair-raising piece of folly and an outstanding example of the kind of hallucination and self-delusion which arouses the astonishment and ridicule of other nations."

Referring to the suggestion of the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bowden, in the House of Commons debate that those who held the Queen's commission should think deeply "before going into the lobby in support of the Rhodesian rebel régime", Mr. Powell, who was a brigadier in the last war, said:

"I not only resent those words as personally insulting, but claim that they should be resented by the whole country as unconstitutional. If an M.P. has a duty not to go into the lobby against the Government on a particular issue, then he has that duty whether or not he holds the Queen's commission. The implication must be that those who hold that commission are under some special and separate obligation on that account. That is monstrous doctrine, which thrusts us back two centuries."

## Rhodesian Banknotes Seized

RHODESIAN BANKNOTES printed in Munich and about to be flown from Germany to Salisbury by South African Airways, have been impounded by the West German police on representations from the British Government.

The notes, bearing the Queen's portrait, are in denominations of £5, £1, and 10s., and are said to weigh 28 tons altogether. The public prosecutor in Munich told inquirers that they were "not forged in the accepted sense of the word, but were so regarded by the British authorities because the Smith Government were 'rebels'."

Sir Sydney Caine, whom the British Government appointed chairman of a new board of the Rhodesian Reserve Bank after the unilateral declaration of independence in November, 1965, said that since his board had not authorized printing of the notes he had instituted civil proceedings in the German courts to prevent the transaction proceeding. He added that the German authorities had also taken certain steps on the ground that production of the notes might constitute a criminal offence. The notes had therefore been impounded.

Frankfurt City Criminal Court ruled that no currency offence had been committed, and five days later the High Court found that the notes were not forged money, it not being absolutely clear whether the Bank of Rhodesia in Salisbury had or had not the legal right to print them.

The injunction against transfer of the notes to Rhodesia is maintained pending a civil action by the printers against the ban on their export.

About 450 paratroopers have flown to Kenya from Britain this week for training in the Aberdare forest area.

A German "Father Christmas" flew to Adis Ababa last week to present gifts to pupils of the German school in the Ethiopian capital.

A 19-year-old Rhodesian, Peter Thomas Fullard, was charged in Southampton on Tuesday with stowing away in the Union-Castle liner PENENNIS CASTLE.

## Mrs. Hart's Statement Denied

FOLLOWING THE STATEMENT in the House of Commons by Mrs. Hart, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, that the Security Council had not received an application from Rhodesia for permission to send a representative to state its case, the Rhodesian Government has announced that an application to be heard was telegraphed on December 7 to the President and members of the Security Council and also to a "private person in Washington". That person acknowledged receipt, but no member of the Security Council did so. If the communications were not received by the Security Council addressees, "it would be interesting to know how this was contrived and by whom".

Mr. Smith has denied that Australia and New Zealand were invited to appoint members to a commission to test Rhodesian public opinion on the constitutional proposals worked out aboard H.M.S. TIGER. His telegrams to the two Prime Ministers had said:—

"In view of the allegations being made about Rhodesia at the United Nations and elsewhere, I invite you as a senior statesman of the Commonwealth to send a fact-finding mission to Rhodesia to report to you on the position in this country. The mission will be given every facility. No publicity will be given to this approach without your approval."

The intention was that responsible persons should see for themselves that Rhodesia constitutes no threat to world peace. There was no suggestion of inviting anyone to intrude into constitutional discussions.

Mr. Holt, the Australian Prime Minister, has said that two letters were received, one from Mr. Smith and the other from Mr. Howman, but that neither was answered because the Rhodesian Government was not recognized. Copies of the correspondence had been given to the British High Commissioner in Canberra for transmission to London in the hope that they might help towards a settlement.

In New Zealand it was stated that the Government could not contemplate any action without prior consultation with Britain since the Rhodesian problem was essentially a British responsibility.

### Opinion in Britain

The *Daily Mail*—which has been very pro-Government and anti-Rhodesia—has stated that seven out of every 11 letters received from readers criticize the Government's policy.

A survey made in Britain by National Opinion Polls reported that 46% of those questioned were dissatisfied with the way in which Rhodesia has been handled by the Government; 43% were satisfied, and the others had no opinion. Of those who expressed a view when asked if the Rhodesian Cabinet had been right or wrong to refuse the terms offered, 57% thought that the Ministers were wrong, and 28% that they were right. Only 20% considered it right to resort to force if sanctions failed; 74% said that force should in no circumstances be used.

A public opinion poll conducted for *Africa 66* has found that 49% of the people questioned opposed the use of force against Rhodesia and another 42% thought that it should be used only if necessary to restore law and order. Only 6% considered that British troops should be used to enforce British policy. But fewer than 10% of a quota sample of 1,000 electors said that they "cared deeply" about the Rhodesian problem, and only 8% included Rhodesia as one of the two issues of most concern to them in a list of six.

That Rhodesia should become independent, granted "steady progress" to African rule, was the view of 55%; 33% thought that Africans would not be capable of running the country in the next 30 years. More than 40% replied that they would "not at all care" if some African countries left the Commonwealth over Rhodesia; 30% would "not much care", and only 7% said that they would "care very much".

President Nyerere of Tanzania said a few days ago: "Thanks to the racists and Fascists of Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson has been forced to see the light. Had the TIGER proposals been accepted by Mr. Smith, there would have been no possibility of reconciliation between my Government and Mr. Wilson's. Now we shall wait for evidence of his earnestness in bringing down a régime which he now admits is racist and Fascist-dominated".

When telling Parliament that the first quarterly instalment for 1967 of the annual grant of £250,000 to the University College of Rhodesia would be paid, Mr. Bottomley said that before other remittances were made H.M. Government would require to be satisfied that the college continued to function as a multi-racial institution. They would closely watch the number of Africans enrolled.



## Anglo-Rhodesian Society

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., said in Newport, Isle of Wight, when addressing a meeting organized by the local branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society that many Britons who had deplored U.D.I. were sickened by the spectacle of a British Government abdicating its responsibility to the United Nations, whose earlier interventions in Central Africa had brought bloodshed and misery.

"They are revolted by the prospect of intensified economic and psychological warfare against a people more conspicuous for devotion to Crown and Commonwealth in war and peace than the red guards on the extreme left in Parliament who exhibit in a kind of ideological strip-tease their obscure elation at Mr. Wilson's fiasco in the TIGER.

"Neville Chamberlain bullied the Czechs to appease the Nazis. Harold Wilson bullied Mr. Ian Smith to appease another form of aggressive racialism. Yet he knows that the logic of mandatory sanctions is blockade, reprisal, and war, and that the peace of Southern Africa is vital to the European economy and the strategy of the West. British trade, investments, and jobs, and sterling itself have been put at risk. Let him think and try again."

Mr. Mark Woodnutt, M.P. for the Isle of Wight, presided. He and the two other speakers were subject to constant foot-stamping and barracking by a considerable number of young people who kept shouting slogans and demanding that a representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union who had come from London should be invited to the platform and allowed to speak. The person in question, Mr. Hove, sat next to Mr. Peter Stephenson, prospective Labour candidate for the division.

Mr. Soreff said that Britain would now pay the price for having abdicated as head of the Commonwealth. Mr. Wilson, not Mr. Smith, was the prisoner of "disgraced elements to whom everything black is right and everything white is wrong". The Prime Minister appeared unable to understand that world opinion was a myth and national interest something very real, or that premature black rule in Rhodesia would spread misery and chaos. By concentrating on Rhodesia, which was a model for most African countries to emulate, he had sought to deflect attention for much more pressing home problems.

### Mr. Wilson Contradicts Himself

At a meeting in Lynton over which Lord Cranborne presided, Mr. Soreff said that Mr. Wilson, who was so interested in majority rule in Africa, should heed majority opinion in Britain, which was certainly sympathetic to Rhodesia, as could be testified by the men on the national newspapers who dealt with correspondence from readers; an overwhelming proportion of the letters they received supported Rhodesia and criticized the Prime Minister—who had impugned the patriotism of those who opposed him over Rhodesia while his Parliamentary associates cobbled politically with a remarkable collection of political bed-fellows.

Mr. Wilson was always contradicting himself. At one moment he suggested that Mr. Ian Smith was weak—because he had not sold the pass in the TIGER. How did that square with the other allegation that Mr. Smith operated a dictatorship in Rhodesia?

If Rhodesia were the alleged police State, why were such facilities given so freely to the B.B.C., conductors of psychological warfare against that country?

Mr. Wilson kept suggesting that Mr. Smith was the creature of extremists around him. The truth was that it was Mr. Wilson who was subject to heavy pressures from the extremists in his own party and in the Afro-Asian parts of the Commonwealth, and from the lunatic fringe at the United Nations and elsewhere.

A crowded meeting of the Colchester branch of the society was addressed by Mr. Victor Montagu, Dr. J. M. Malett, and Mr. Soreff.

Until question time the meeting proceeded quietly. Then students from Essex University and demonstrators from London and elsewhere unfurled banners and created disturbance. Most of the students remained seated while "God Save the Queen" was sung.

Mr. Soreff said that the Rhodesian situation had been created by the inability to think straight of the "progressives" whose ideas enabled dangerous prisoners to escape from Dartmoor and Wormwood Scrubs and let loose upon the public other anti-social thugs and forces. Events had blown their philosophy sky-high, but they continued their ceaseless propaganda.

In the House of Commons on the previous day a Socialist, Mr. Faulds, had asked that steps should be taken to ensure that "the Zimbabwe freedom fighters" who support the legitimate Government of Rhodesia should be covered by the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war.

African countries in which there was chaos, corruption, and little or no real freedom were jealous of Rhodesia's peace and prosperity. Supported by some left-wing elements in Britain, they were spoiling for a fight with Southern Africa. They considered the white man expendable, and wanted to extend black dictatorship over Rhodesia, Portuguese Africa, and South Africa—Britain doing the fighting and paying the ruinous cost.

### Shameful, Not Generous

Rhodesia was none of the business of the United Nations, which could not face such problems of its own as Vietnam, the Jordan-Israel conflict; the grabbing of the Syrian pipe-line, or Somalia aggression against Kenya. Ignoring such serious events, the United Nations was obsessed with Rhodesia, which threatened nobody and had for 43 years ruled herself peacefully and prosperously.

Mr. Wilson's offer to Rhodesia of an Act of Union would have ruined Britain and undermined Rhodesia. His idea was that 220,000 white Rhodesians and four million Africans should become "one country with Britain", in whose Parliament black and white Rhodesians were to "play their full part". So far from being an offer of "unparalleled generosity", it was a shameful suggestion, which would have created a "Notting Hill Gate situation writ large".

The cost of the extension to Rhodesia of family allowances and of national health, national assistance and other services on the British scale would have brought this country to bankruptcy.

## Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga

UNION MINIERE DU HAUT-KATANGA has declined to obey the Congo Government's call to transfer its domicile and central management from Brussels to Kinshasa and make over to a company registered in the Congo all its assets, wherever situated. The directors have stated that their decision is based on the ground that compliance would deprive the shareholders and others of their rights.

A Congolese official broadcast on Friday stated that the Government had nominated to a new Congo-based company a provisional board consisting of five Belgian employees of Union Miniere, four Congolese (one being a former Minister of Mines, who is a director of Union Miniere), and one Briton, Lord Colyton, chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., which has a 15% holding in Union Miniere. It was also officially announced in Kinshasa that all ore shipments from Union Miniere properties had been suspended.

The Congo Government demands payment from the company of 4,000m. Belgian francs (£28.5m.) in respect of tax arrears, the Mobutu Government claiming that such moneys paid in Katanga during the Tshombe régime did not discharge liabilities to the Central Government. The company's reply is that such taxes were paid under *force majeure*.

## Turner & Newall

THE RHODESIAN SITUATION has inevitably affected Turner & Newall, Ltd., whose report for the year to September 30 shows an increase in sales from £91.9m. to £94.8m., but net profit after tax is only slightly higher at £9,474,744 (£9,354,741). Profits earned in Rhodesia, which cannot be remitted, are given at £1,930,392. Manufacturing companies in the group which previously used Rhodesian asbestos companies of Turner supplied from Canadian and Swaziland companies of Turner and Newall. Accounts from the mining and manufacturing companies in Rhodesia are available only to November 30, 1965 (U.D.I. having been announced on November 11 of that year); in that period the subsidiaries made pre-tax profits of £2,594,000, compared with £2,779,000 for the full year 1964-65. A final dividend of 7% again makes 104%. The shares, which stood at 40s. earlier in the year, are now quoted at about 29s. 9d. Mr. R. G. Southill is the chairman.

## M.T.D. Mangula

M.T.D. (MANGULA), LTD., a company registered in Rhodesia reports profits after tax to September 30 at £2,869,502, compared with £2m. in the previous year. The chairman, Commander H. F. P. Grenfell, views the future "with confidence and optimism". Dividends totalling 37.5% take £1,875,000, and capital reserve is increased by £827,786. Issued capital is £5m. Mining assets stand at £360,821, at £602,573, and interests in group companies at £218,038. Current liabilities, including provision for the final dividend, exceed current assets by £218,038. Copper sales realized £5,244,826, against £3,759,621 in the previous year, and the ore reserves were increased by 2.5m. tons. There are indications of important extensions north and south of the existing workings.



## Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. reports net profits to September 30 after providing for tax and transfers to inner reserves of £3,506,524, compared with £3,019,881 in the previous year (though the figures are not strictly comparable). The reserve fund is again increased by £1m. to £21m., and dividends are unchanged at £2.7m. gross, leaving a carry-forward of £1,654,177 (£1,907,653).

The issued capital is £24m., and there is £15m. of 7½% loan stock. Investments appear at £171m., bills discounted at £159m., cash at £109m., money at call and short notice £114m., remittances in transit at £27.7m., holdings in Barclays Bank and fellow subsidiaries at £5.5m., in Barclays Overseas Development Corporation at £5m., and in Barclays Bank in California at £1.5m. Other trade investments total £7.3m. and bank premises stand at £21.8m. Advances to customers aggregated £594m., and liabilities by customers for guarantees, etc., £131m. Current liabilities, mainly in respect of current, deposit and other accounts, amounted to £1,302m.

Mr. Frederic Seebom (whose annual statement we have published) is the chairman, and Sir Geoffrey Gibbs the deputy chairman. There are three vice-chairmen, Messrs. A. S. Aiken, Donald Carter, and G. G. Money.

The other members of the board are Mr. W. G. Bryan, Sir Julian Crossley, Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans, Captain Derek Fitzgerald, Mr. Cuthbert Fitzherbert, Mr. R. E. Fleming, Mr. A. L. Grant, Mr. Brian Macdona, Sir Eric Machtig, Mr. R. F. Medlicott, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Viscount Portal of Hungerford, Sir James Robertson, Mr. R. D. Smith, Mr. Anthony Tuke, and Mr. E. V. Whitcombe.

## Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., reports consolidated profits after tax to July 31 at £1,345,357 (£976,976), dividends from the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga having been £747,581 (£562,772) in respect of a previous year and £373,117 (nil) for the current period. Dividends and interest from the Benguela Railway and Commonwealth Timber Industries holdings were also up to nearly £1.9m. (£1.3m.). Taxation, however, rose to £394,377 from £183,812. Holders of the ordinary stock receive 5s. 6d. per unit, taking just over £1m., and a special dividend of 8d. (£510,854). The carry-forward of the parent company is £1.6m.

The chairman concludes his review on the note that though the company is affected by many of the intricate problems which beset Central and Southern Africa, it is not without hope of recovering some of its former prosperity.

Issued capital is £9.5m. in three classes. Shareholders appear at just over £14m. and current assets less current liabilities at £1.8m. There is an outstanding debenture for £900,000.

Lord Colyton is the chairman, and Mr. R. F. Medlicott and Mr. D. H. A. Wright are deputy chairmen. The other members of the board are Lord Clitheroe, Sir Andrew Strachan, Messrs. T. P. M. Cochrane and E. F. O. Gascoigne, Dr. Alexandre Pinto Basto, and Messrs. H. Revington, A. De Spirlet, E. P. van der Straeten, Charles Waterhouse, and M. E. van Weyenbergh.

## Malawi Development Corporation

THE MALAWI DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION reports a surplus of £21,069 from its establishment in May, 1964, to the end of last year. Assets then had a book value of £985,646, against liabilities of £309,009.

The largest investment (£550,000) was in a brewery. Then follow a flour mill (£450,000), wood manufacture (£150,000), roller maize mill (£100,000), and smaller interests in the manufacture of cycle tyres, quarrying, and boat building.

National Oil Industries, Ltd. Cold Storage, Ltd., and Busa Products, Ltd., are wholly-owned subsidiaries.

Development House is being built in Blantyre at an estimated cost of £165,000, and £148,000 has been allocated to fisheries development. David Whitehead & Sons (Malawi), Ltd., is a joint venture between the English company of that name, the Colonial Development Corporation, and the Malawi Development Corporation.

M.D.C. has the controlling interest in Nzeru Radio Co. Ltd., formed about a year ago to assemble a low-priced transistor radio set, of which some 200 a week are being sold at £5 10s.

There is a project to build three hotels in association with the C.D.C., with an initial investment of some £600,000, starting with a 106-bedroom hotel in Blantyre which should be ready by the end of next year.

The East African Currency Board report for 1965-66 ends its effective rôle, as each of the three territories now has its own currency. The board points out that the new system could lead to progressive deterioration in East Africa's present financial and commercial contacts.

## Barclays Overseas Development Corporation

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., reports net profit after tax to September 30 at £291,568 (£274,506). Dividends of 4% on the A and ordinary shares take £240,000, and after adding £50,000 to contingencies account the balance forward is £88,438 (£86,870). Authorized and issued capital is £6m. and there is loan capital of £1m. in 4% stock. Investments stand in the books at £1,672,777 (£1,522,850) and loans at just under £7.5m. (£6.8m.). Current liabilities, including the dividends, are just under £1.7m. Sir Geoffrey Gibbs is the chairman and Sir Julian Crossley the deputy chairman. The other directors are Sir Edward Beatham, Mr. Joseph Burnett-Stuart, and Mr. Frederick Seebom.

The Chibuluma mine has been fully dewatered, and mining and milling operations have been resumed at full rate.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., are passing the dividend on the 6% cumulative preference shares for the half-year to December 31.

Bird & Co. (Africa) Ltd., announce that sisal production in November totalled 2,023 tons, making 9,582 tons since July.

The United States Government is to release 150,000 tons of copper in the first half of next year from its stockpile, leaving 259,000 tons.

An Italian trade delegation of 24 members, led by an M.P., Dr. G. Amadei, has visited Uganda, primarily to investigate investment opportunities.

Phoenix Mining and Finance Co., Ltd., reports net taxed profits to September 30 at £44,880 (£104,431). Investments have a market value of £764,141.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 231,344 tons of coal and 13,672 of coke in November. The October figures had been 250,202 and 11,395 tons respectively.

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., is to pay an interim dividend of 2s. 6d. net per £1 share (the same) in respect of the year to March 31 next.

Barclays Bank D.C.O., the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., and a subsidiary of the Bank of America are jointly financing a \$3.2m. tourist development project in Kenya.

A new decorticating plant for cashew nuts has been developed by Gill & Duffus, Ltd., of London, and installed by them in Inhambane, Mozambique, in a joint enterprise with Peirce Leslie & Co., Ltd.

Because of the success of the Torco process, Kansanshi Copper Mining Company in Zambia is to re-assess its refractory ore reserves. The chief shareholders are the Anglo American and Rhodesia-Katanga shares.

Mini Mini Estate Holdings, Ltd., report profits after tax to June 30 at £18,341, against a loss of £397 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 15% take £6,540. The issued capital is £89,064. Mr. C. A. Meakin is the chairman.

Stewarts and Lloyds of South Africa, Ltd., a group operating also in Central Africa, announce group profits after tax to October 1 at R1,924,964, compared with R3,440,807 in the previous year. The dividend is held at 6½ cents per 50 cent share.

Netherlands Bank of South Africa, which operates also in Central Africa, reports group net profits to September 30 at R1,646,482 (R1,400,665). An 11% dividend will take R880,000. Assets appear at R247m. Rhodesian and overseas operations increased by 18% in the year to a record of our R1.6m.

Charter Consolidated, Ltd., is to exploit a copper deposit in Mauritania in partnership with the Government of that republic, a French bank, and two leading French companies. About £20m. will have to be spent in the three-year pre-production period. The estimated operating life of the mine is 18 years, and the average annual output is expected to be about 27,000 tons of copper, recoverable by the TORCO segregation process developed in Zambia by the Anglo American Corporation.

The Zambia Broken Hill Development Co. Ltd., will pay no dividend for the year to December 31, in which net profits are estimated at £600,000 after charging £460,000 to cost of sales out of a total of £710,000 spent on essential capital and major replacement projects. The company has had to borrow £950,000 from Zambian Anglo-American, Ltd., owing to increasing costs and falling prices for lead. There is a commitment to repay £500,000 annually for the next four years in respect of a loan.

Nehima Tea and Tung Estates, Ltd., of which Mr. H. Rolf Gardiner is chairman, report profits after tax to June 30 at £47,284 (£24,925). Dividends of 20% take £20,372, leaving carry-forward of £31,820. The issued capital is £137,700. Estates stand in the books at £194,346, trade investments at £30,583 and net current assets at £234,591. The tea crop exceeded 1.7m. lb., well above the estimate of 1.4m. lb., and 60 acres of new tea were planted, bringing the total to 1,193 acres. Encroachment by Africans on the forest areas continues. "The company has made tenacious and constructive proposals for overcoming this illegal and damaging trespass; the Malawi Government seems now on the point of dealing with this baffling problem". Nehima Trust has granted a £940,800 scholarship at Egerton College, Kenya, to a Malawi African.

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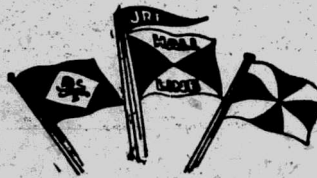
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