

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, October 29, 1964

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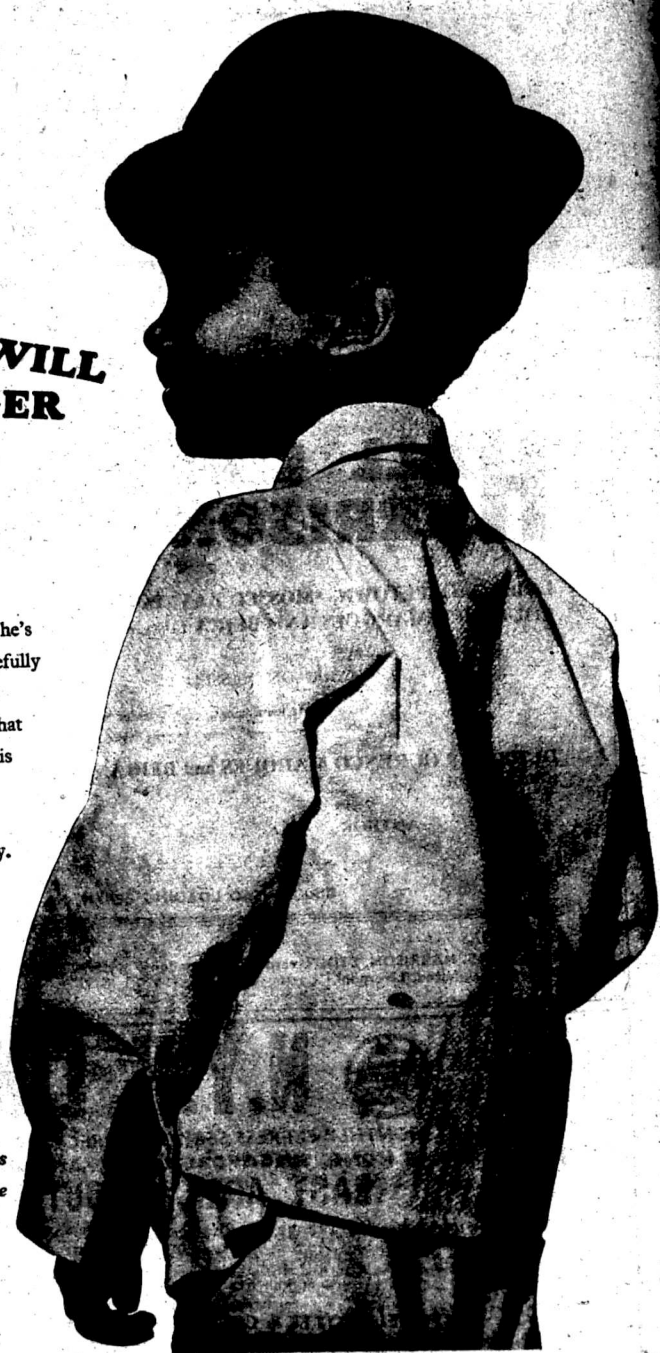
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Chiefs Call for Rhodesian Independence

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1964

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**BLAME THE POLITICIANS** in Britain, not those in Rhodesia, for what happens in the near future in that sorely tried country, for it has been the Parliamentary Members of all three

**Blame Britain, Not Rhodesia.** Kingdom who have made it quite clear that they

will accept for the most sophisticated society and diversified economy in Central Africa nothing less than the one-man-one-vote system which has been so damagingly inflicted on the territories to the north, none of which is comparable in any way with the State for whose destiny Mr. Ian Smith and his Cabinet colleagues are responsible. The world is told day after day that they are reactionaries who must not be allowed to deviate from the policy followed elsewhere in Central and East Africa. The elementary truth is that Rhodesians (except for a negligible minority) stand for the principle of advancement by merit without regard to race or colour which was expressly enunciated in Mr. Macmillan's wind-of-change speech, allegedly the blue-print for British policy in Africa, but which, as Rhodesians very well know, was constantly disregarded by Mr. Macmillan himself and his disastrously chosen Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, who was not only calamitously self-opinionated, but so devious in his wrong-headedness that one of the most experienced and honoured men in his own party, Lord Salisbury, denounced him for his "unscrupulousness". Why should Rhodesians consent to the destruction of their fine country for no better reason than conformity to the crazy pattern of MacBlundellism? — our portmanteau term in dishonour of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, their indispensable ally in the betrayal of Kenya, the first of the territories to be sacrificed to sophistry and cowardice.

That Rhodesia's circumstances differ substantially from those of all the other countries in Central and East Africa was formally recognized by the Macmillan Government when, under the chairmanship of Mr. Duncan Sandys,

**Placating Violent Men.** the then Commonwealth Relations Secretary, a new

Constitution was negotiated at a constitutional conference held in Salisbury while Sir Edgar Whitehead was Prime Minister of the Colony. That Constitution came into force rather less than two years ago, and the successor Government under Mr. Smith very naturally refuses to scrap it simply to placate the organizers of disaffection, intimidation, and all kinds of violence, including murder, arson, bomb outrages against public and private property (sometimes by the use of Russian explosives), and attempts to derail trains. The Constitution was accepted by all the African delegates to the conference, including Mr. Nkomo, president of the largest African nationalist movement, but he went back on his signature under the pressure of Africans outside his own country, who, having destroyed white influence by violence in their own territories, bitterly resent anything but black domination anywhere else.

Appetite being the distinguishing characteristic of present-day politics in the Western world, the Africans calculated that their extremism would soon prevail with the

**Mr. Smith Provoked By Both U.K. Parties.** all three parties in the United Kingdom, with the

Afroophile propagandists in the United States, and generally at the United Nations — which has been reduced almost to the status of a broadcasting station for the glib patter of Afro-Asian politicians. So far as Britain was concerned, there was no difference between the defeatist Socialist view and

that of two-thirds of the Tories in the House of Commons; and tragically few of the other third had the courage to declare their opposition and adhere staunchly to it. The change of Government has consequently had no effect upon the situation. Indeed, one of the very last actions of the old Government and very first actions of the new was to tell the Rhodesian Prime Minister that the *indaba* of chiefs and headmen which he had summoned at Domboshawa would not be considered a satisfactory test of African opinion about independence. Those provocative statements were coupled with refusal of the invitation to send British observers to the assembly of the traditional leaders of rural Africans. Hard upon it came an urgent request to Mr. Smith to visit London early this week for discussions with Mr. Harold Wilson, now the Prime Minister. It is not customary for so early a date to be specified and forthwith revealed to journalists. The invitation therefore appeared very much like a command.

\* \* \*

Whether Mr. Smith so regarded it or not, he very reasonably declined to be inconveniently rushed, for it would be unwise for him to engage in talks with the new British

#### All Rhodesians Want Independence.

Ministry until he knows not only the results of almost a week of discussion by the African chiefs and headmen, but also of the referendum which is due to be held on November 5, when all Europeans, Africans, Asians, and others on the electoral rolls will have the opportunity of voting for or against independence under the present Constitution. That there will be an overwhelming majority in favour of that proposition is certain. Disagreements between Rhodesians have not been about the desirability of independence, but about the method of its attainment. Indeed, even after his dismissal at the week-end the General Officer Commanding the Rhodesian Army told reporters that he favours independence and that the Government had no alternative but to get rid of him because he regarded his oath of allegiance to the Queen as precluding him from obeying any orders issued after a unilateral declaration of independence. Not one member of Mr. Smith's Cabinet interprets his oath of allegiance to the Sovereign in that way. Moreover, Ministers must be satisfied that the security forces will carry out such instructions as they may be given. Any waiverers anywhere will be likely to lose the sense of inhibition if, as expected, the referendum asks "Do you favour independence under

the present Constitution" ? and the response is overwhelmingly affirmative.

\* \* \*

Such is the situation with which the Wilson Government is faced. For the reasons stated above, it cannot complain. The Macmillan Government's foolish and faithless attitude to African demands

#### Unless A Formula Be Quickly Found.

for independence was precisely that which the Socialist leaders had voiced for years — but would not have dared to implement so speedily if they had come to power five years ago. The imminence of decisive action by the Rhodesian leaders has been emphasized by the statement on Sunday of Mr. Evan Campbell, High Commissioner in London, that "unless some formula can be found quickly the logical answer is a unilateral declaration of independence"; he added that it was the responsibility of the British Government to produce a satisfactory formula, and that Rhodesians desperately wanted that miracle to occur. They certainly do, for their loyalty to the Crown has been magnificently demonstrated in peace and in three wars. The eager hope of all responsible Rhodesians is for a negotiated independence. If that be denied them by political misjudgment and obsession in Britain, however, independence will be assumed — quite possibly by the turn of the year, perhaps after a general election.

\* \* \*

Since the above words were written the chiefs and tribal headmen have declared their unanimous support for Rhodesian independence under the present Constitution.

#### British Politicians Should Welcome This Evidence.

That is a triumphant vindication of the Government's confidence that the *indaba* would side with it against the African nationalist agitators. The unanimity, which probably nobody anywhere would have dared predict, must rest basically on the conviction of the African leaders that their people will fare far better under a white-dominated Government than under a black-dominated Administration. How right they are! Neighbouring Malawi has just demonstrated the instability and tyranny of African dictatorship, and the Congo, Zanzibar, and Kenya have likewise exposed the iniquity of helter-skelter surrender of responsibility to the clamour of African nationalist extremists. Because they are united in nothing except antipathy to

white leadership, they will do everything in their power to damage race relations in a country whose traditional African leaders have shown such striking good sense and courage. It is tragic that this unity should be brushed aside as unimportant by British politicians of all three parties, who ought to welcome the evidence that Rhodesia could embark upon independence with the enthusiastic support of rural Africans in general, who outnumber by at least ten to one the town-dwellers, only a small minority of whom are

professional trouble-makers. Mr. Smith's hand has been immensely strengthened by the *indaba*, as it will be again next Thursday by the referendum. It remains to be seen whether it will be weakened or further strengthened by the ultimatum delivered on Tuesday by the United Kingdom Government. The document could scarcely be more offensive — in both senses of the word. So brutal a communication cannot have been sent in living memory to any Commonwealth country.

## Notes By The Way

### Myth

THE MYTH that Kenya was not granted independence but that it was "seized from the imperialists" last December has again been propagated by Mzee Kenyatta. The truth, of course, is that the powerful Macmillan-Macleod clique worked for several years to thrust *uhuru* upon the country, breaking pledges, condoning iniquities, callously abandoning the duties of trusteeship, and ruining lives in the sordid scurry to be rid of Britain's responsibilities. On a much less disastrous scale, the same faithless course was followed in Nyasaland, whose tyrannical Dr. Banda asserts with inexactitude equal to that of the Kikuyu dictator that Malawi valorously snatched independence from its oppressors. Such ridiculous fairy tales will certainly be taught as history in the States of East and Central Africa from which British protection has been so prematurely, dangerously and unworthily withdrawn.

### Fancy and Fact

WHO WILL BELIEVE the assertion of Kenya's Prime Minister that Africanization of the army and police has "done much to augment the security of our country"? That that claim is palpably nonsensical is proved by the fact that Mzee Kenyatta called for British troops when the small Kenya Army mutinied in January? — as did the President of Tanganyika and the Prime Minister of Uganda when their countries faced similar mutinies at the same time. All three clearly demonstrated by their actions that they recognized that the security of the State could not be safely entrusted to battalions officered by local Africans. Moreover, British personnel (civilian as well as military) and British ground and air equipment have borne the brunt of the thankless task of guarding northern Kenya against Somali raids; and if R.A.F. and specialist Army aid should cease two months hence, as Kenya African nationalist agitators have recklessly demanded, the Kenyatta Government will quickly discover the immensity of its debt to the handful of capable, courageous, disciplined Britons who have been and are the real guardians of the frontier. If they depart the K.A.N.U. politicians will promptly learn why Mr. Tshombe has found the help of a few hundred white men to be absolutely essential for the restoration of order in his country. Yet the Governor-General repeatedly attributes clear vision and ripe wisdom to Mzee Kenyatta!

### From Whose Pocket?

MISGUIDANCE from the American Committee on Africa in its organ *Africa Today* is not a matter for surprise, but it is nonetheless regrettable. The journal denies that the revolution in Zanzibar was Communist-inspired, numbers the slaughtered Arabs and Indians as "close to 500" (when the most responsible quarters in Tanganyika and London consider double that total to be the very minimum), and suggests mildly that "the least the new Government could do is to make restitution to the injured and the families of the dead". There is, of course, no suggestion as to the source from which a bankrupt Government should draw the funds from which to give compensation. Does the committee not know Zanzibar to be bankrupt? Does it assume that the United Kingdom taxpayers who were to have financed Zanzibar for an indefinite period should indemnify Arab and Asian families whose fathers and sons, and perhaps, mothers and daughters, were butchered by bloodthirsty thugs recruited by members of a "Revolutionary Council" who had been trained in Communist territories in Europe, Nationalist China, and Cuba?

### Political Murder

WHY ZANZIBAR ONLY? Why should these American dispensers of other people's money—the editorial board of the paper consisting of Messrs. George M. Houser, Joseph Jablow, Homer A. Jack, William Robert Miller, and Peter Weiss—restrain its vicarious charity? If compensation is contemplated for victims of murder in Zanzibar, why not in respect of similarly fatal thuggery in Kenya, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia, for instance? Blaggards allied to political parties have killed in those territories in the last few years hundreds of other Africans whose only offence was to refuse their dictatorship. Though its magazine gives little proof of concern with this kind of villainy, the American Committee on Africa cannot be ignorant of the savagery of the youth wings and of other evil political elements in the different territories. Why should their victims be differentiated from those who were massacred in Zanzibar, or for that matter in Rwanda? An organization which has raised large sums to finance visits to the U.S.A. of extremist African politicians might start a dollar fund for the relatives of those who have been liquidated by nationalist murderers.



# Rhodesian Chiefs Call for Independence from Britain

## 196 Tribal Chiefs and 426 Headmen Unanimous After Days of Discussion

**AFTER FIVE DAYS OF DISCUSSION**, 196 tribal chiefs and 426 headmen, who had been brought to Domboshawa, near Salisbury, to tell the Government the views of rural Africans, said on Monday that they were unanimously in favour of independence under the present Constitution of Rhodesia.

The United Kingdom and United States Governments had declined invitations to appoint representatives to attend the final session of the *indaba*. It was attended by nominees of Australia, Austria, France, Greece, Norway, Portugal, South Africa and Sweden.

There were also representatives of four news agencies, Africa News, Reuter, the South African Press Association, and United Press International.

Mr. William Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs, told the assembly that he had come on behalf of the Government to hear its decision "on the matter of cutting the strings which tie Rhodesia to the British Government". The tribal representatives must understand that, if the strings were once cut, they could look only to the Government of Rhodesia, not to a Government in Britain.

A senior chief, who said that he had been authorized to speak for all, said that, in accordance with tribal custom, they did not want the one-man-one-vote system. The tribes still used the system into which they had been born.

### Government by the Country's People

From the time of Cecil Rhodes the Government had consulted the chiefs, and when a party of chiefs recently visited London they had asked the British Prime Minister to come to Rhodesia and see for himself that the chiefs really were the leaders of the African people. They felt bitter that he had neither come nor sent someone else. The spokesman said:—

"All the chiefs say that we should get independence, and that strings should be cut so that we can help the Government run the country. People who live far away do not understand the problems of our country.

"Should the strings be cut, our own Government should not forget us when important matters have to be discussed. We ask for representation in Parliament — which is not provided under the present Constitution.

"Politicians allege that we have been bought by the Government. We get paid by the Government, but so are the African M.P.s., who get far more than we do. We are not elected. We are chosen at birth by the spirits and by God.

"We want independence, and we do not want to discuss it any more. We have discussed the matter in our traditional way. We have come to our decision. We are unanimous."

Other chiefs spoke, some blaming Britain for having encouraged African nationalist politicians who had engaged in murder and other violence.

They criticized the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, who was in Lusaka last week, for not coming to Rhodesia to see them.

One said that British people had encouraged young politically-minded Africans to consider themselves greater than their fathers. Why did Britain give a hearing to such hooligans and thugs?

Because of intimidation and threatened violence, the chiefs were given protection by security forces before their visit to Domboshawa and during the *indaba*. They were also promised that special precautions would be taken to protect them on their return home.

Mr. Harper said that he understood it to be the wish of the speakers that their names should not be stated, and that no record should be kept of the opinions expressed by individuals.

The Government would note their decision in connexion with arrangements for a negotiated independence.

The extra powers for which the chiefs had asked would

involve changes in the Constitution. They would be consulted in the proper manner at the right time, and the Government would call a meeting of the Council of Chiefs. If the chiefs were worthy to be consulted on so important a matter as independence, they were worthy of being consulted in the making of laws.

### Intimidation and Violence

Before the *indaba* met the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, had said:—

"Members of the banned African nationalist parties have been actively engaged in attempts to intimidate the chiefs and headmen through murder, arson, and malicious damage to property and stock. Violence and intimidation are increasing. To ensure the free expression of opinion units of the regular and territorial defence force will help to protect chiefs and their families.

"Recently three chiefs and two headmen have had their homes destroyed at night by fire. One chief has had his car and other property similarly destroyed. On the night of October 10 a leading headman was murdered and several of his huts were destroyed by fire."

At that time it became known in Rhodesia that Mr. Harold Wilson, then leader of the Opposition in Britain (and now Prime Minister), had written to an African stating that the Labour Party would oppose the grant of independence under the present Constitution to a white minority Government. The recipient was Dr. Elijah Mutasa, of the Committee Against European Independence, formed in Salisbury. The letter, written on Transport House said to have been received from Mr. Wilson.

A similar letter was said to have been received from Mr. Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party.

An official of the British High Commission in Salisbury said that the outgoing Conservative Government in Britain had told the Prime Minister of Rhodesia that his method of consulting African opinion through the chiefs and headmen was not acceptable. The new Socialist Government had also communicated in similar terms with Mr. Smith, stating that "they do not consider that such consultations can reveal satisfactory evidence of the wishes of the African population."

For those reasons H.M. Government did not think it appropriate to nominate observers to attend the consultations with the chiefs and headmen.

Dissatisfaction with the method of consulting the chiefs was confirmed in London by the Commonwealth Relations Office, which said that the possibility of a visit to Rhodesia by Mr. Bottomley, who had left London on the previous day to attend the Zambia Independence celebrations, would depend upon whether he could see Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, the two African nationalist leaders.

Mr. Smith criticized British Ministers for pre-judging the issue and described the High Commission statement as "fantastic".

In Lusaka on Friday Mr. Bottomley said that he had written to Mr. Smith saying that he wanted to visit Rhodesia but only if he could meet a cross-section of the people, including in particular Messrs. Nkomo and Sithole. To that Mr. Smith could not agree. At a social function in Lusaka he (Mr. Bottomley) had met two Rhodesian nationalist leaders, Mr. James Chikerema and Mr. George Nyandoro.

That day President Kaunda assured Britain of Zambia's help if Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence. He told journalists that he could not believe that people would be "so mad" as to take that course, since the declaration would meet resistance from all over the world and could not last. President Nyerere and he had written jointly to Mr. Wilson welcoming his stand against the Rhodesian Government's referendum and method of consulting African opinion.

### Mr. Smith Declines Mr. Wilson's Invitation

That evening a statement from 10 Downing Street said:—

"The British Government is most anxious that there should be an opportunity for discussion at the highest level in an attempt to reach a solution of the present problems of Southern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister has now invited the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, to come to London for discussions early next week."

Mr. Smith at once declined the invitation, saying that so early a meeting would be premature. He suggested that the discussions should take place after the free



expression of opinion by the people of Rhodesia — the reference being both to the *indaba* and the referendum to be held on November 5.

The High Commissioner in London, Mr. Evan Campbell, said: "Unless some formula can be found fairly quickly there is no doubt that the logical answer is a unilateral declaration of independence. I think it is up to the British Government to use every endeavour they can to produce this formula. We would desperately wish for this miracle to occur".

At that stage it was announced in Salisbury that Major-General John Anderson, Chief of the General Staff and General Officer Commanding the Rhodesian Army, had been retired on account of his age. He is 50.

General Anderson told a Press conference that he had been represented as the only stumbling-block in the armed forces to a unilateral declaration of independence, but he thought that he had the support of some others in the security forces. If as commander of the Army he had been ordered by the Government to implement a unilateral declaration of independence he would have disobeyed. He therefore thought that the Government was justified in dismissing him; in fact, it had had no alternative.

When the Federation was dissolved he had told the then Prime Minister, Mr. Field, that at the time of his appointment as G.O.C. there had been no question of unconstitutional action by the Government. When Mr. Smith became Prime Minister earlier this year he had been asked his attitude to a unilateral declaration, and had replied that he would not support it.

Latterly he had had two interviews with Mr. Smith, who told him that he had been overheard expressing criticisms of the Government. Some of the allegations he had completely denied. He had not been confronted by his accusers, as he had asked, but there was probably evidence that he was not sympathetic to the Government.

General Anderson recently refused an invitation to a party for Army officers given by Mr. Douglas Lilford, who largely finances the Rhodesian Front.

#### Dismissed General Favours Independence

General Anderson told reporters: "I should like this country to get independence, but to me my oath of allegiance means that I have to uphold the constitutional Government".

On Sunday Mr. Bottomley told journalists before he left Zambia: "The Europeans in Southern Rhodesia probably did more for Africans than many Colonial Powers and many other people who profess to want to help Africans". Rhodesians were, however, doing themselves a disservice by failing to see that the help which they had given to Africans meant that there was a higher level of intelligence among Africans who were competent to contribute to the running of their country. Being a born optimist, he was still hopeful. There was a great future for Southern Rhodesia if people could be got to work together; but time was running out.

That day about 50 guests at the Zambia Independence celebrations, including a Cabinet Minister and a Negro member of the American delegation, were asked to leave the bus and show their passports when they reached the Rhodesian border post on their way to the Victoria Falls. An African official is stated to have said: "Whites over here, Coloureds over there". After protests had been made all but five of the party decided not to cross the border.

Among the party were Mrs. Golda Meier, Foreign Minister of Israel, the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Mr. Richard Hornby, lately Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Humphry Berkeley, a Conservative M.P., and Mr. John Papworth, who had been declared a prohibited immigrant by the Federal Government.

Correspondents in Salisbury for a number of United Kingdom newspapers have included in their messages comments highly critical of Rhodesia.

A column story in *The Times* on Tuesday, for instance, opened as follows:—

"Under the baton of an experienced conductor of African matters, Mr. Stan Morris, whose title is Rhodesian Secretary for Internal Affairs, 196 tribal chiefs and 426 headmen gave a polished performance of the show wanted from them by the Rhodesian Government at Domboshawa today. They said 'Yes' to independence for Rhodesia under the present Constitution in an immaculate chorus without one dissentient voice.

"Special 'spots' were given to several performers to castigate African nationalist politicians as 'children'; to berate Britain for not being among the audience; and to ask the Front Government for representation in Parliament and for more powers.

"I have never seen any stage performance so well rehearsed", said one of the four journalists allowed to attend the final session of the chiefs at their meetings".

## Stern Warning to Rhodesia

### British Attempt to Influence Referendum

THE BLUNT WARNING against a unilateral declaration of independence which would have been given to Mr. Ian Smith this week if he had accepted Mr. Harold Wilson's invitation to visit London was published on Tuesday with the admitted intention of influencing the voting in next Thursday's referendum.

The statement, in which cross-headings have been inserted editorially, reads:—

"The British Government look forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia can take her place as an independent sovereign State within the Commonwealth. The decision to grant independence rests entirely with the British Government and Parliament, and they have a solemn duty to be satisfied that, before granting independence, it would be acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. Indeed, the present Government of Southern Rhodesia have already recognized that independence must be based on general consent and that the British Government are entitled to be satisfied about this.

"(2) The British Government trust therefore that the progress of Southern Rhodesia will proceed on constitutional lines. Nevertheless, in view of reports that there might be a resort to a unilateral declaration of independence, they find it necessary to declare what serious consequences would flow from such an act. The British Government cannot believe that, once the consequences have been made clear, the Government and people of Southern Rhodesia will take an irrevocable step of this kind.

### Defiance, Rebellion, Treasonable

"(3) A mere declaration of independence would have no constitutional effect. The only way Southern Rhodesia can become a sovereign independent State is by an Act of the British Parliament. A declaration of independence would be an open act of defiance and rebellion, and it would be treasonable to take steps to give effect to it.

"(4) In the final *communiqué* of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in July it was made clear that no Commonwealth Government would be able to recognize a unilateral declaration. There would then be no prospect of Southern Rhodesia becoming a member of the Commonwealth, with all the economic consequences that would then ensue.

"(5) The British Government would be bound to sever relations with those responsible for such a declaration. It would not be possible for Southern Rhodesia to establish a new and special relationship with the Crown or with Britain. The British Government would not be prepared to advise Her Majesty to accede to any request that she should become a separate Sovereign of a territory which has rebelled. The ultimate result would inevitably be that Southern Rhodesians would cease to be British subjects.

"(6) The reactions of foreign Governments would likewise be sharp and immediate. With one or two exceptions, they are likely to refuse to recognize Southern Rhodesia's independence or to enter into relations with her. Many of them might recognize a Government in exile if, as seems probable, one were established.

### Disastrous Economic Effects

"(7) The economic effects would be disastrous to the prosperity and prospects of the people of Southern Rhodesia. All financial and trade relations between Britain and Southern Rhodesia would be jeopardized. Any further aid or any further access to the London market would be out of the question. Indeed, most serious consequences would be involved for anyone in the United Kingdom who afforded aid financial or otherwise to the illegal Government. Southern Rhodesia's external trade would be disrupted.

"(8) In short, an illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia would bring to an end relationships between her and Britain, would cut her off from the rest of the Commonwealth, from most foreign Governments and from international organizations, would inflict disastrous economic damage upon her, and would leave her isolated and virtually friendless in a largely hostile continent".

[This issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had closed for press when the above statement became available. It has been possible, nevertheless, to include the text at the last moment, but not to report a Press conference by Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, or to comment editorially on this grave development. — Ed.]

# PERSONALIA

SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE has resigned the chairmanship of Dennis Brothers, Ltd.

SIR HILTON POYNTON has been elected an honorary fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

MR. D. S. KAMTEKAR has established a diplomatic mission for India in Blantyre, where he is Acting High Commissioner.

MR. R. W. BROWN, manager of the Standard Bank's head office in London, has been appointed an assistant general manager.

MAJOR M. M. RUSHTON is on leave in this country pending retirement from the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. R. C. S. BLUE, who has been in London for a few days from Canada, has travelled widely in East, Central, and West Africa.

MR. W. G. BAWDEN, Assistant Crown Agent, has just retired. His successor is MR. E. A. MORRIS, who has served in the office since 1928.

COLONEL C. D. TRIMMER, a former director of the National Parks of Uganda, yesterday addressed the Fauna Preservation Society on "Wildlife Management in Uganda".

THE RT. HON. BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development, has appointed MR. D. H. ENNALS, Socialist M.P. for Dover, to be her Parliamentary Private Secretary.

DR. LUEBKE, President of Western Germany, arrived in Addis Ababa last week on a six-day official visit. HERR WALTER SCHEEL, Minister for Economic Co-operation, accompanied him.

In view of the return to Africa of SIR KEITH ACUTT, his seat on the board of the Standard Bank will pass to MR. W. D. WILSON, resident director in London of the Anglo American Corporation group.

MR. DONALD BOWEN, assistant curator of the Commonwealth Institute, will speak on "Contemporary Art in the Commonwealth" at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts at 5.15 p.m. on November 5.

CAPTAIN G. H. MAYHEW, a former director and marine superintendent of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, and MRS. MAYHEW are on their way to South Africa in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, flew to Lusaka last week with Lady Hawker to attend the Zambia Independence celebrations. They will pay a short visit to East Africa on their way back to London.

SIR ANDREW COHEN has been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development. He was previously Secretary to the Department of Technical Co-operation, which has been taken into the new Ministry.

GENERAL JOAO CARRASCO, who commands the forces in Mozambique, is paying an official visit of 10 days to South Africa to see military and industrial establishments. The Commandant General of the South African Defence Force recently visited Mozambique.

MR. G. W. WALKER has been elected chairman of the East African Shippers' Association in London. MR. J. M. WELLS is the deputy chairman. The other four members of the committee are Messrs. T. W. CURTIS, G. F. DU MAY, L. JOSEPH, and P. MCNEILL.

The statement of MRS. MARY CRIPPS, now aged 92, that none of the male Pioneers of Rhodesia were still alive has been proved erroneous. MR. H. A. GREENFIELD, of Sekukwe, having stated that he was brought into the country at the age of six in 1886, a year before MRS. CRIPPS arrived. Cecil Rhodes sent him south to be educated in Grahamstown long before he established the Oxford scholarships.

LADY HONE, wife of SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia until last week, has been seriously ill, and, accompanied by a doctor, flew to London at the week-end in the R.A.F. aircraft bringing back MR. BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

MR. G. E. TRUEMAN, assistant editor of *The Times*, Blantyre, (formerly the *Nyasaland Times*), and Mr. C. M. NAMALUESO, a free-lance journalist who is employed on Namadzi tea estate, have arrived in Britain on a month's visit as guests of the C.R.O.

MR. E. H. MORLAND, deputy chairman and managing director of Associated Fire Alarms, Ltd., has resigned from the board "by mutual agreement". Before joining the company as joint managing director two years ago he was a director and secretary of the Uganda Co., Ltd.

DR. TOM SOPER, deputy director of the Overseas Development Institute, will address a lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London on November 5 on "Independent Africa and Its Links with Europe". SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, M.P., will preside.

MR. L. A. HICKS is now Commissioner of Police in Zambia. He succeeds MR. ERIC HALSE, who has spent 33 years in the country, joining the force as a constable and rising to the top position. The strength of the force increased in that time from about 100 Europeans and 500 Africans to 1,000 Europeans and 5,000 Africans.

THE MOST REV. LESLIE BROWN, Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, who flew to Rome to attend the service in St. Peter's for the canonization of 22 young African adherents of the Roman Catholic Church who were martyred by Mwanga, was afterwards received in audience by the POPE. More than 50 Roman Catholics from England flew to Italy to attend the ceremony. MR. H. B. THOMAS, who was in the Colonial Service in Uganda from 1911 to 1941, accompanied them by invitation, though he is an Anglican.

## Obituary

MR. D. A. ANDREWS, a Nairobi businessman, was found dead on Dar es Salaam beach last week. He had head injuries.

MAU MAU BONIFACE, a Rhodesian African boxer, who was knocked out last week by the featherweight champion of Zambia, died in hospital without regaining consciousness.

THE RT. HON. ARTHUR CREECH JONES, who has died in a London hospital from thrombosis at the age of 73, was the most successful of Socialist Secretaries of State for the Colonies. His insistence in judging issues in the light of the facts as he found them while in office brought great unpopularity in his own party, and when he lost his seat in the 1950 general election he was kept in the political wilderness for four years, until Wakefield refused to listen to headquarters and returned him to Parliament in 1954. A memoir will appear next week.

MR. EDWARD ATIYAH, who died last week at the age of 61 while addressing the Oxford Union, was born in Lebanon but spent most of his youth and early manhood in the Sudan, where his father was a doctor, and after graduating at Brasenose College, Oxford, he was for 20 years in the Sudan Civil Service, from which he resigned in 1945 to become secretary of the Arab Office in London. It closed four years later, and he was then for a time a journalist and afterwards press officer at the Iraq Embassy. He was a good public speaker and broadcaster, and he wrote a number of books, including an autobiography entitled "An Arab Tells His Story", and "Black Vanguard", about intellectuals in the Sudan. One of his sons is a professor at Oxford University.

## Britain's New Socialist Government

### Mr. Harold Wilson's Selection

**MR. HAROLD WILSON**, the new Socialist Prime Minister (aged 48), has appointed more office-holders than there were in the Conservative Government headed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home which was defeated at the general election in the middle of the month.

The new House of Commons has 317 Labour Members, 304 Conservatives, and nine Liberals. Votes cast for Labour candidates numbered just over 12.2m. (44.1% of the total), for Conservatives slightly more than 12m. (43.4%), and for Liberals 3,093,316 (11.2%). Only 77% of the electorate voted.

Only two of Mr. Wilson's lieutenants, Mr. Gordon Walker and Mr. James Griffiths, have previously been Cabinet Ministers.

The arrangement that one Minister (Mr. Duncan Sandys) should control both the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office has been discontinued.

### C.R.O. and C.O. Changes

**MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY**, the new Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, aged 57, held two junior ministerial posts in Mr. Attlee's post-war Labour Government, and was made a Privy Councillor shortly before the general election in 1959, in which he lost his seat at Rochester and Chatham. He now represents Middlesbrough East. He was mayor of Walthamstow in 1945-46. While in office under Mr. Attlee he visited the Rhodesias, and more than once paid public tribute to the way in which Southern Rhodesians had developed that territory.

**MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES** (48), appointed Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, is a solicitor who has been M.P. for Anglesey since 1951. Educated at Holyhead Grammar School and the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, he has been town clerk of Holyhead, and a member of Anglesey County Council. Welsh affairs have been his speciality. After visiting St. Helena he published a report criticizing conditions in the island.

**MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD**, 53, Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, who was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School and Balliol College, Oxford, is the son of a former Cabinet Minister. On the far left of the party, he has been an Aldermaston marcher, and in 1960 challenged the late Hugh Gaitskell for the party leadership, but withdrew his nomination when Mr. Wilson consented to stand.

### Representation in House of Lords

**LORD TAYLOR**, 54, Parliamentary Secretary for Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Affairs, was created a life peer six years ago. He has been medical director of Harlow Industrial Health Service, a member of Harlow New Town Development Corporation, and chairman of the Labour Party's study group on higher education. He has written books on medical subjects. While M.P. for Barnet from 1945 to 1950, he was for a time a Parliamentary private secretary.

**MRS. EIRENE WHITE**, 55, Parliamentary Secretary to the Colonial Office, is a daughter of Dr. Tom Jones, who was well known as deputy secretary to the Cabinet and a confidant of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Baldwin, and other Prime Ministers. She is a former chairman of the Fabian Society, a member of the party executive, and has long been interested in Colonial affairs. Two of her other special interests have been education and the film industry. She is a graduate of Somerville College, Oxford.

**MRS. BARBARA CASTLE**, 53, Minister of Overseas Development (a new portfolio), has been a most active left-winger. A former journalist, she visited Kenya for the *Daily Mirror* during the Mau Mau Rebellion and later went as a special correspondent to the Federation, which she was asked to leave after a colour-bar dispute in a hotel. She has written and spoken most critically about East and Central Africa. Mrs. Castle was one of the strongest supporters of the late Aneurin Bevan, and consistently sided with Mr. Wilson against Mr. Gaitskell. She has served on the national executive of the party for 14 years.

**MR. ARTHUR EDWARD ORAM**, 51, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development, M.P. for East Ham South since 1955, attended the London School of Economics, became a school teacher, and was the first research officer of the Co-operative Party.

### Foreign Office

All five politicians appointed to the Foreign Office have shown interest in East African affairs.

**MR. PATRICK GORDON WALKER**, 57, the Secretary of State, was Commonwealth Relations Secretary for about a year in the last Attlee Government and then visited Central Africa. Having been defeated in Smethwick, he will contest a by-election.

**SIR HUGH FOOT**, 57, appointed Minister of State and U.K. Representative at the United Nations, was for many years a member of the Colonial Service. He resigned the post of British Representative at the United Nations last year because he disagreed with the British Government's policy in connexion with Southern Rhodesia. He is expected to receive a peerage.

**MR. WALTER PADLEY**, 48, also a Minister of State, has been M.P. for Ogmore since 1950. While a clerk in a co-operative society at Chipping Norton he won a Trades Union Congress scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford. He is president of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, and a strong opponent of Communism.

**MR. GEORGE THOMSON**, 43, the third Minister of State, is a journalist who was at one time editor of *Forward*, a Socialist journal published in Glasgow. Latterly he has been Labour spokesman on Commonwealth and Colonial matters, M.P. for Dundee East since 1952, he is a member of the executive committee of the Fabian Society.

**LORD WALSTON**, 52, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is an old Etonian, was at one time a Liberal candidate for Parliament, and then fought four times unsuccessfully as a Socialist, for which party he has spoken on agriculture in the House of Lords. He farms on a large scale. He visited Rhodesia last year.

### Other Appointments

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD**, 58, Lord Privy Seal, is the holder of an Irish peerage, but sits in the House of Lords as Baron Pakenham of the United Kingdom. Once a Conservative, he was converted to Socialism; once an Anglican, he became a Roman Catholic. Though a Socialist, he has been chairman of the National Bank. For many years he has been interested in East and Central African affairs.

**LORD HOBSON**, 60, appointed a Lord-in-Waiting, was made a life peer in January. As Mr. CHARLES RIDER HOBSON he was Assistant Postmaster-General in the Labour Government of 1947-51. He has been concerned with African affairs for many years, and still serves on the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board. Right of centre in the party, he strongly supported the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and was outspokenly critical of the Macmillan-Macloed policies.

**MR. DINGLE FOOT**, Q.C., 59, Solicitor-General, sat as Liberal M.P. for Dundee from 1931 to 1945. He joined the Labour Party in 1956 and in the following year was elected for Ipswich. He has specialized in Commonwealth affairs politically and professionally, and has often visited East and Central Africa in connexion with the defence of African nationalist politicians. He is a brother of Sir Hugh Foot.

**MR. RAY GUNTER**, 55, Minister of Labour, the son of a miner and lately president of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, has visited Central Africa.

**MR. A. M. SKEFFINGTON**, 55, one of two Parliamentary Secretaries to the new Ministry of Land and Natural Resources, has shown continuing interest in Colonial affairs. He was at one time a lecturer in economics at London University. He is a barrister and a former chairman of the Fabian Society.

**MR. DENIS HEALEY**, 47, Secretary of State for Defence, the youngest man in the Cabinet, was for a while the party

spokesman on Colonial matters. Latterly he has specialized on defence.

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN, 52, Chancellor of the Exchequer, concerned himself largely with Colonial affairs in the House until he was asked to specialize in finance and economics.

MRS. WILLIAM RODGERS, 36, Parliamentary Under-Secretary with special responsibility for regional planning in the new Ministry of Economic Affairs, entered Parliament for Stockton only two years ago. He has been general secretary of the Fabian Society for seven years.

MR. ROY MASON, 39, Minister of State at the Board of Trade, is to pay particular attention to shipping and tourism. He is a former miner, who took a T.U.C. course at the London School of Economics. He has visited East Africa.

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE, 39, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, has continued to exploit the notoriety which attended his expulsion from the Central African Federation, which declared him a prohibited immigrant. He used the term as the title of a book. Before entering politics he spent a couple of years in Uganda on the staff of an African co-operative society.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, 74, who has been given the new office of Secretary of State for Wales, was Colonial Secretary under Mr. Attlee, to whom he became deputy leader of the party. He visited East and Central Africa some years ago. Having first favoured the creation of the Federation, he soon became a consistent critic. It was he who made the damaging decision that members of the Colonial Service in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who were asked for advice by Africans who trusted them should decline to give guidance about the proposal to federate those two territories with Southern Rhodesia.

"Quoodle" (alias Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P.) has written in the *Spectator*:—

"We are to have a Colonial Secretary once more, although independence even for Gambia (population 316,000) has been charted. True, the difficulties of planning the constitutional future of the Seychelles seem nicely matched to the abilities of Mr. Anthony Greenwood, but one suspects that the only possible reason for his inclusion, even in this Cabinet, is that Mr. Wilson thinks it safer to have him in than out. Perhaps he's right."

Mzee Kenyatta telegraphed the Socialist leader that he had "learnt with joy" of his party's victory.

## Giant Base for Subversion

TANGANYIKA is becoming a giant base for subversion, not directed exclusively, or even mainly, against Mozambique, but also at Central African countries, Dr. Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, told journalists in Lisbon a few days ago. The landings of arms and men in Tanganyika were on a massive scale. Both China and Russia were intervening actively in Eastern Africa; "off the coast of Mozambique, particularly in the north, we see Chinese and Soviet ships."

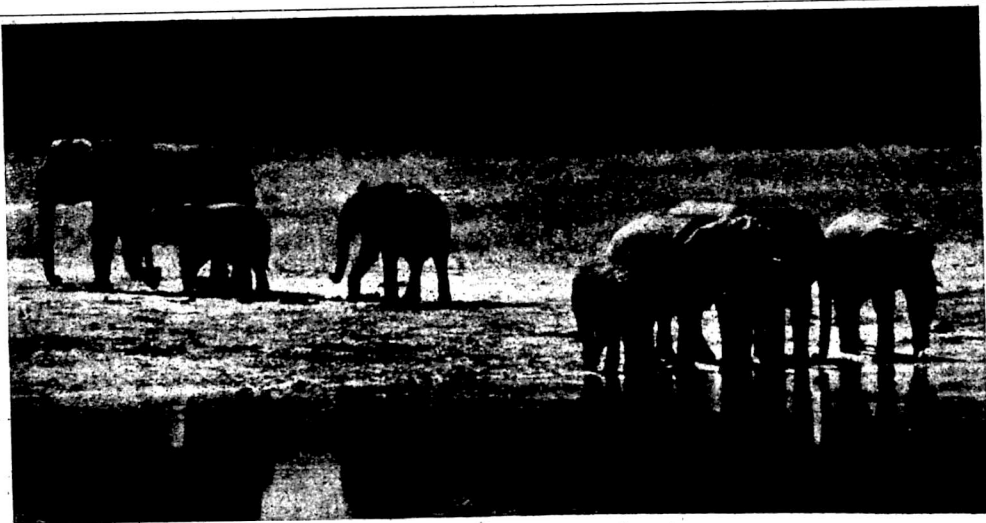
"Any Government, any member of the international community, should raise its voice to say that no country, whether a member of the British Commonwealth or outside it, be it Tanganyika or any other State, has the right to harbour in its territory groups for subversive attack and aggression against foreign or neighbouring territories. The circumstances should be more than enough to have all voices in the world raised unanimously to condemn such behaviour."

More Portuguese troops sailed from Lisbon for Mozambique on the same day, on which it was reported that two Soviet submarines and two Russian cargo ships had been sighted in Mozambique territorial waters.

In Dar es Salaam that day the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) issued a call for armed insurrection in Mozambique.

## 156 Strokes

A DAILY TELEGRAPH report has stated: "When Mr. Karume, the former Zanzibar President, who is now Vice-President of the Tanganyika and Zanzibar Republic, returned home after his visit to London and Cairo every teacher and student was given two hours' notice to line the route. Because of the short notice attendance was poor, and the next morning teachers were summoned to a special meeting. There senior Government officials waved whips in front of their faces and warned them that if they showed 'disloyalty' again they would be given 156 strokes".



## WONDER AT THE HEART OF AFRICA

Southern Rhodesia is packed with scenic splendours which make the heart of Africa a Wonder of the World. The Victoria Falls, where the mighty Zambesi River thunders into a deep chasm more than a mile wide and three hundred feet deep, are the greatest natural spectacle in all Africa. Then there is the famous game reserve of Wankie, where, from comfortable viewing sites you can thrill to the call of the wild as you spot lion, elephant, antelope—and many other species in great numbers.

Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. And—thanks to the miracle of modern travel—you can reach Rhodesia in just 14 hours. A two-week package tour (including jet travel between London and Salisbury) costs as little as £260.

Please write or call for further details:

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## Chief Murdered in Malawi

### Guest of Dr. Banda

CHIEF TIMBIRE, of Nkata Bay, who had gone to Zomba as the guest of Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, was hacked to death a few days ago on waste ground near the hospital.

A few days earlier Mr. Orton Chirwa, the dismissed Minister of Justice and Attorney-General (representative for the Nkata Bay constituency) was beaten up outside Dr. Banda's official residence.

As soon as news of the murder became known in Government offices, African civil servants went home to protect their families. A little while previously they had absented themselves in protest at an attack on the wife and child of one of their number. The wife was wounded by shotgun pellets, and the five-year-old child is still in a critical condition, having a bullet wound in the head.

Men of the Malawi Rifles were ordered to patrol the African locations of Zomba. At that time Dr. Banda had not left his residence in Zomba for nine days.

While this issue is being printed the Malawi Parliament will consider legislation empowering the Prime Minister to detain anyone in Malawi without trial "in the interests of defence, public safety, and public order".

### Nine M.P.s. Suspended by Party

Authority is proposed by amendment to the Independence Constitution (which is less than four months old). One amendment would enable Dr. Banda to dismiss any M.P. who "ceases to represent the party for which he was elected".

Nine M.P.s. have recently been suspended from the Malawi Congress Party, six having been Ministers.

Mr. Henry Chipembere, who resigned his portfolio, has cabled the British Prime Minister asking him to advise the Governor-General of Malawi, Sir Glyn Jones, to withhold the Queen's assent from the proposed changes in legislation, since to give assent would be to connive at tyranny.

Mr. Chirwa saw Dr. Banda last week, but declined to rejoin the Government unless Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Chisiza were taken back into the Cabinet.

At the week-end the Prime Minister attended a national conference of the Malawi Congress Party in Limbe.

On Monday the 300 delegates of the party recorded their continuing confidence in Dr. Banda. There was unanimous support for 13 resolutions endorsing different aspects of domestic and foreign policy. Delegates called for the detention or imprisonment of those who were engaged in subversive activities, for the enforcement of regulations denying civil servants the right to engage in active politics, and for the unseating of M.P.s. who were no longer members of the Malawi Congress Party.

Dr. Banda said that he knew that Mr. Chiume had plotted against him in Dar es Salaam and was still plotting, adding: "We must be ready for anything. Every man and woman, every boy and girl, will have to know how to use a gun, even a machine-gun. I will face Kanyama Chiume with his foreign allies. Watch everybody who comes to this country from Tanganyika."

He would recognize Peking China as soon as Malawi had become a member of the United Nations, where he would try to persuade other people to recognize that Peking controlled most of China.

## Malawi Congress Party Purge

### Official Dismissed for Political Activities

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, broadcast to the nation last week, thanking the people for their loyalty and confidence, promising never to let them down, and stating that incitement against him among officials in Zomba had been mainly in the Government's printing department—of which seven members were that day served with restriction orders.

One African civil servant in Zomba was dismissed for "secret and subversive political activities", and it became known that a chief had been deposed, and that a number of petty officials of the party had been replaced throughout the country. Yet the Prime Minister continued to claim that he enjoyed total support in the country areas.

A secretarial college was ordered to close, and the students, all girls, were told that they might re-apply for entry but that permission would depend upon proof of their party loyalty.

### President Nyerere and the Party Newspaper

The State-operated Malawi Radio repeatedly thanked President Nyerere for his statement that differences within the Malawi Cabinet were a domestic matter and not one for consideration by the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Government. That affirmation, it was said, had been made just in time to avoid a misunderstanding between the peoples of Malawi and Tanganyika.

President Nyerere's statement would, however, have to be regarded as "double-faced" if he did not prevent his party's newspaper, *The Nationalist*, from continuing with its "persistent and bitter campaign" against Malawi.

The director-general of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Aleke Banda, is also editor of *Malawi News*, the organ of the Malawi Congress Party, and secretary-general of the party.

Dr. Banda announced that he had received a message of loyalty from the "Malawi Brotherhood" in Tanganyika, despite the fact that Mr. Chiume and two other ex-Ministers were in Dar es Salaam at the time. The small minority of civil servants who opposed him had, he repeated, been incited by ex-Ministers Chiume, Chipembere, and Chisiza.

The "Malawi Brotherhood" claims to represent some 10,000 Malawi citizens in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Its message to Dr. Banda alleged that ex-Ministers Chiume, Chokani and Bwanausi were in Dar es Salaam and engaged in trying to persuade Malawians to support them.

When speaking recently in Kasungu Dr. Banda said: "The new capricious want to sell the country to the Chinese in Dar es Salaam and Peking. The old capricious wanted to sell us to Europe and Welensky."

## Princess Launches "Southampton Castle"

### World's Fastest Non-Passenger Ship

PRINCESS ALEXANDRA—who was accompanied by her husband, Mr. Angus Ogilvy, a director of a number of Rhodesian companies—launched at Swan Hunter's Fyneside yard last week a new mail-carrying cargo ship for the Union-Castle Line. The SOUTHAMPTON CASTLE will be the fastest non-passenger vessel afloat. Her service speed will be 22½ knots, but it is believed that she could when necessary add another five knots.

Sir Nicholas Cayzer, chairman of the line, said that 15 builders in Britain and abroad had tendered for the two ships. He was glad that a British yard had won against such fierce competition.

World ship-building capacity was far beyond requirements, and only the most up-to-date and efficient builders could hope for business. Given the very best efforts, however, they were not badly placed to compete, for much had recently been done to modernize British shipyards.

Shipowners were likewise struggling for survival, both industries being affected by the economic nationalism which was sweeping the world. Population, however, was growing rapidly, as were food production and industrial development. Between 300m. and 500m. people were hungry. They must be fed, and once the problem of distribution was solved, there was a ready market for shipbuilders and shipowners.

Britain's future depended on ability to compete in a highly competitive world and to play a leading rôle politically and economically.

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## Zambia Celebrates its Independence

HOW THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA would celebrate its independence was described in last week's special issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

The Queen was represented at the Independence celebrations in Lusaka by H.R.H. the Princess Royal, and H.M. Government by Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the new Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

The only African Head of State attending the celebrations was President Nyerere. Israel and the Irish Republic sent their Foreign Ministers.

Dr. Kaunda said that Zambia looked forward to the growth of a new political relationship with the British Government, and that it would show no half-heartedness in supporting nations which had yet to attain independence.

One of the new Government's first actions was to release 200 "freedom fighters" still in gaol for sedition. About 2,000 persons in prison on so-called political offences had already been amnestied; all had committed criminal offences, ranging from obstructing highways to arson of schools, churches and dwellings, and attempted murder.

It was announced that Russia and Communist China would send diplomatic missions to Lusaka, where 15 African freedom movements have opened offices.

### Independence Could Become a Coffin

In London the Queen was represented by Princess Alexandra at a thanksgiving service in Westminster Abbey.

The Most Rev. Archbishop Lord Fisher of Lambeth said that the progress to independence had been greatly helped by the friendship and happy collaboration between the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, and Dr. Banda, both Christians by training and conviction.

No nation or person could be really independent. Freedom was not to be won on an appointed day. It could flourish only where all claims to independence were subordinated to inter-dependence. Independence was a shell which could become a coffin. Zambia now started along the road of national freedom which Britain had been so perilously treading for so long.

### Zambia's National Colours

INQUIRIES concerning the use of the national colours of Zambia having been received from manufacturers and others, the Government has announced that there is no present intention to exercise control, but that its decision may be reviewed if the colours should be used without tact, discretion, and good taste. Control of the use of the national coat of arms and national flag will be imposed and no photographs of the President may be used without his express consent except in the Press.

## ZAMBIA



For information APPLY TO  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER for the  
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA  
7-11 Cavendish Place, London, W.1.

Telephone: LAngham 0691

## Chartered's £4m. Compensation

A JOINT STATEMENT issued in Lusaka on Friday stated that the Governments of Britain and Zambia and the British South Africa (Chartered) Company had initialled an agreement vesting the mineral rights in the President of Zambia from the moment of independence, it being agreed that the Chartered Company should receive an *ex gratia* payment of £2m. tax-free from the Government of Zambia and £2m. from H.M. Government. Whether the British payment will be subject to tax is not known.

Had the Chartered Company not agreed to this settlement before Independence Day, the Zambia Government would, it had announced, pay nothing.

A year ago the Chartered Company expected a minimum of £50m. Recently the figure was reduced to about £36m. While the Finance Minister of Zambia was in London earlier this month the claim came down to £18m., equivalent to three years' purchase of the average annual royalty income in recent years.

## Poor Price for Record Tobacco Crop

RHODESIA'S FLUE-CURED TOBACCO CROP, the marketing of which closed on the Salisbury auction floors a few days ago, reached a record of 323m. lb. and a record sales total of just over £35m. The average price of 26d., however, was the lowest since the last war. The average cost to producers is put at 25d. per lb. Last year the average selling price was 41.62d., a crop of almost 195m. lb. realizing nearly £34m. Under a voluntary quota scheme next year's crop will, it is hoped, be kept between 240m. and 250m. lb.

## During 42 years...

the Rhodesian Milling Company has developed into the largest organization of its kind in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Its two principal products — Gloria Flour and Rhomil Stock-feeds are household names throughout Central Africa. Representatives are stationed at most centres to give advice and assistance on any matter connected with a Rhomil product.

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SALISBURY HARARE BULWYER BULWA WINDHOEK LUSAKA GYMPH

## Serious Rioting in Khartoum

DEMONSTRATIONS against the Government and the United States began in Khartoum and Omdurman last Thursday and continued throughout the rest of the week. Travellers reaching Cairo on Sunday said that eight deaths had been announced but that the real total was very much higher, that many people had been wounded by firing from tanks and armoured cars, and that hundreds had been arrested.

The trouble appears to have started when police broke up a meeting of university students at which problems of the Southern Sudan were discussed. There were apparently general protests against the military régime of General Abboud and a demand for the return of Parliamentary Government.

### American Missionaries Blamed

Some speakers said that secessionist movements in the Southern Sudan had been brutally repressed. Others blamed United States missionaries for having stirred up the secessionist movement.

"Down with American imperialism" was shouted by students who roamed the streets of Khartoum on Sunday. They also shouted "Down with the traitor Government". An attack was made on the American Embassy, which is said to have been set alight. The United States Information Service Library was also attacked, and a Sudanese newspaper office was burnt.

That day President Abboud broadcast an appeal for calm and order. He said that one student had been killed and that others and some policemen had been wounded.

According to Cairo newspapers, Mr. Ismail el Azhari, the first Prime Minister of the Sudan, is one of those who have called on General Abboud for the restoration of the democratic system.

### Judges Dismissed

General Abboud has dismissed two judges of the High Court, allegedly for "openly inciting all members of the judiciary to go on an indefinite strike".

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was due in Khartoum on Monday on a day's visit for the purpose of trying to mediate between the clashing factions.

President Abboud said in a broadcast on Monday that he had dismissed the Cabinet and the ruling military junta, "in accordance with the unanimous will of the people and as a first step to hasten the desired objectives". The Army had, he said, not wanted to remain in power for ever, and planned to provide a Constitution satisfactory to the people.

General Mohamed Irwa, Minister of the Interior, who described the situation as gradually returning to normality, said that an inquiry into the riots would be made.

About 80 Sudanese students in Beirut entered the Sudan Embassy, smashed portraits of President Abboud, and asked the Chargé d'Affaires to forward to Khartoum their written protest demanding an end to military rule and condemning repression and terrorism.

It was said in Cairo on Monday night that some Sudanese military units had mutinied.

## Rhodesia Beaten by M.C.C.

RHODESIA scored 281 runs in their first innings against the M.C.C. in Salisbury at the week-end, but the touring team ran up 298, thanks to a stand of 146 for the fourth wicket. For Rhodesia A. J. Pithey (captain) made 65, C. Bland 66, A. de Caila 40, and J. du Preez 25. The top M.C.C. scorer was P. H. Parfitt (82), followed by K. F. Barrington (74) and M. J. K. Smith (captain) with 39. J. M. Parks, D. A. Allen, and D. Brown all failed to score. In Rhodesia's second innings N. Frangos made 82 and A. J. Pithey 49. The total of 225 was passed by M.C.C. for four wickets, R. W. Barber scoring 108.

In the first match in their tour of Southern Africa the M.C.C. beat a Matabeleland XI last week by 10 wickets. Playing in Bulawayo, Matabeleland scored 133 and 144, and the visitors replied with 253 for nine declared and 28 for no wickets. In the Rhodesians' second innings R. McTavish scored 48. Only two other batsmen topped 20, H. Carlisle (23) and D. Townsend (22). The M.C.C. captain, M. J. K. Smith, made 60 in the first innings and P. H. Parfitt 55. Titmus took seven wickets for 58 runs in the second innings and three for 35 in the first. For Matabeleland E. Turner took four for 72. At one period M.C.C. batsmen scored 100 runs in 100 minutes.

The Union-Castle Line has acquired all the shares in Travel Savings, Ltd.

A 10-year campaign against blindness is planned by the Southern Rhodesian Co-ordinating Council for the Blind.

The Imperial Tobacco Company's factory in Limbe, Malawi, is being extended and equipped with the most modern machinery at a cost of about £60,000.

The Finance Minister of Somalia said on returning to Mogadishu from Peking that the Chinese had agreed to build a factory in Somalia to manufacture 15 kinds of textiles and to establish a State rice farm.

A fortnight after it had given £45,000 to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Ford Foundation made another grant, of £30,000, so that a three-year law course might be started next March.

Three Africans from Uganda and one from Tanganyika have arrived in Britain to train as commercial air pilots. Two Kenyans and one Tanganyikan will soon join them at Airport Services Training Establishment, Perth.

Three members of the New Zealand Parliament have just spent six days in Southern Rhodesia as guests of the Government while on their way to a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference in Jamaica.

A five-member Soviet trade delegation has arrived in Zan-zibar, to which it was accompanied from Dar es Salaam by the Russian Commercial Consul in that city. The leader of the delegation is Mr. Prikadov, vice-president of the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce.

The 61-year-old Sabi mine, near Shabani, once owned by Mr. I. B. Dillon, now Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Mines in Southern Rhodesia, has had new machinery installed by the Anglo American Corporation, which is deepening the shafts and engaged on a considerable development programme.

Appointment of an East African Agent in London has been considered by a meeting of the East African Common Services Organization, which had before it a report made on the East African Office in London by the Secretary-General of E.A.C.S.O. The former agent, Mr. Shadrick Okova, was recalled in March.

Two by-elections in Southern Rhodesia will be held on November 26. The vacancy in Matabeleland South was caused by the death of Mr. J. Masola (Rhodesia Party) and that in the Charter constituency by the resignation of Mr. C. W. Dupont, Deputy Prime Minister, to oppose Sir Roy Welensky in a by-election in Arundel.

Twenty-seven African countries, which had disrupted an African broadcasting conference in Geneva by insisting on expelling South Africa and Portugal, had a few days later to abandon the attempt to continue with the conference, from which all the West European delegations, led by Britain, had withdrawn in protest against the unconstitutional exclusion of two nations. Despite the failure of their go-it-alone attempt, the African chairman said at the final meeting that they could register "a smashing victory for right, justice, and common sense".

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## Kenya Celebrates Kenyatta Day

KENYATTA DAY, the 12th anniversary of the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta for the management of Mau Mau, was celebrated in Nairobi last week by a parade in which British troops participated. The Prime Minister past whom they marched was flanked by five of his old Mau Mau associates. He had ordered the release of 82 Africans who had been imprisoned for taking illegal oaths.

"Last December we seized our independence from the imperialists. It was not given to us, as some people seem to think", he declared.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Governor-General, said in a message of congratulation that Mzee Kenyatta was "a supreme statesman endowed with clear vision, unspeakable steadfastness, indomitable courage, ripe wisdom and compassionate humanity". He was humble and simple, treating even the humblest of his fellows as his equal.

All Ministers had been asked by the Government-controlled news agency for messages for publication. That of Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the South African-born Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, read:

"Generations to come will celebrate this day remembering our Mzee, even if a lot of what is being done today is forgotten. I know our Prime Minister will want everyone to celebrate Kenyatta Day in a joyful, jovial, friendly and free-feeling mood, looking into the future and not back into those dark days when he suffered. It is a great honour to work under and for such a wise statesman and leader. I am very proud indeed to be one of his Ministers".

In a broadcast on the previous evening Mzee Kenyatta had asked that Kenyatta Day should be an occasion on which all committed themselves to erase from their minds all the hatreds and difficulties of the years which now belonged to history. "Let us agree that we shall never refer to the past in the spirit of revenge."

"Through our programme of Africanization we have done much to augment the status and security of our country."

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Nearly all the high appointments in the civil service are now held by Africans. In the police force this process will shortly extend to the rank of inspector-general. The Kenya Army will soon be commanded by an African officer. We have many African officers of high rank; we have founded the Kenya Air Force; and a Kenya Navy will be formally established before long.

"Government will not discriminate against any citizen on matters of employment opportunity, recruitment, and promotion. All citizens of Kenya, regardless of their race, colour, or country of origin, have equal opportunities and duties in the building of our public service. I expect all civil servants, including those who have become Kenya citizens, to work loyally for the country."

"Many expatriate officers are serving a critical need. We shall have to recruit more expatriate officers, technicians and professional men, if the country is to progress rapidly in fulfilment of the development plan. It is most important that officers be made to feel welcome here and be assured that the job they are doing for Kenya is appreciated. I must therefore urge some political leaders and some members of our National Assembly to bear this in mind. Now and for some time ahead they should refrain from making any statement likely to undermine the spirit and the confidence of these expatriate officers."

A cheering crowd estimated at 250,000 at Kamukunji is officially stated to have given the Prime Minister "full mandate to introduce a one-party State in Kenya; by a show of hands they all agreed to support only one party, K.A.N.U."

### Made to Dig a Grave

"Mr. Kenyatta urged his listeners not to attend meetings organized by other political parties at Kamukunji. 'This is a K.A.N.U. ground, and you should show to those who come here to talk nonsense that you support K.A.N.U. by staying at home whenever they hold their meetings'."

"The Prime Minister told the crowd: 'When I was arrested together with my colleagues we were told that we would never return and that we would die and be buried in the desert where we were detained'. He then introduced his colleagues—Mr. R. Achieng Oneko, Mr. Paul Ngei, Mr. Kunju Karumba, Mr. Fred Kubai, and Mr. Bildad Kaggia, saying: 'These are the people who were made to dig a very deep grave where we were to be buried'."

"All citizens should remember the struggle and the sufferings they experienced during the fight for Kenya's independence. 'Last December we seized our independence from the imperialists; it was not given, as some people seem to think."

"I was arrested as president of K.A.U., and for those who do not know, K.A.U. is the party that later became K.A.N.U., with the same flap."

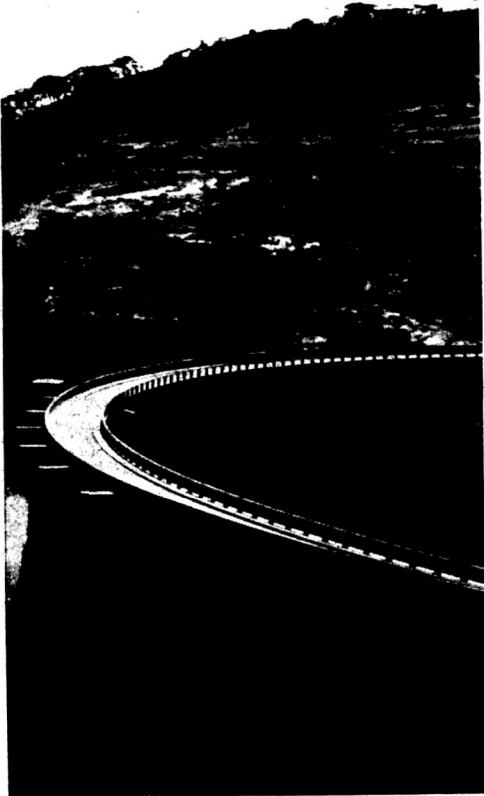
In a speech in Nakuru lasting an hour Mr. Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs, said that the first political parties were started in 1922. Mr. Harry Thuku, one of the veteran politicians, had been arrested, and many people had been killed in Nairobi in clashes with the police.

In 1928 Mr. Kenyatta went to Britain to present African grievances. For 18 years he pleaded, with little success, for the return of the land which the colonialists had robbed from the indigenous people. In 1946 Mr. Kenyatta decided to return, as he had then realized that *uhuru* and justice could be obtained only by agitation in Kenya. He was angry. He immediately joined the Kenya African Union and became its president. Mr. Kenyatta was invited by the Governor to work in the Public Works Department at a salary of 500s., which he refused. Instead he chose to fight for freedom and justice.

### Mr. Odinga's Story

Recounting his own part in the "freedom fight", Mr. Odinga, a Makerere-trained teacher, said that in 1948 he was dismissed from his post as headmaster of the Veterinary School, Maseno, where he earned 133s. a month. He went into business. In 1951 Mr. Kenyatta visited Kisumu. At the time the present Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. R. Achieng Oneko, was chairman of the K.A.U. branch in Central Nyanza. On the visit Mr. Kenyatta told him that the Europeans had created enmity between the Luo and the Kikuyu, which Mr. Kenyatta desired to stop. Mr. Odinga agreed to co-operate in bringing unity between all tribes and asked Mr. Oneko who was working with him in the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation, to go with Kenyatta and work with him. From then onwards he (Mr. Odinga) had become an ardent nationalist. He had presided at the last K.A.U. central committee meeting in Nairobi in August 1952, before the arrest of Mr. Kenyatta and other leaders.





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Thursday, November 5, 1964

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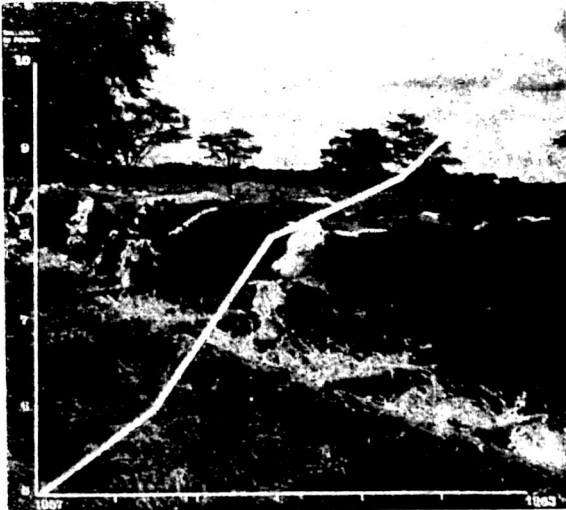
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**RHODESIANS** will today declare by referendum whether or not they want independence under the present Constitution. Had there been duress of any kind by their own Government, there would have been howls of indignation from the mischievous and often malevolent political busybodies in the Western world who are automatically and glibly critical of Europeans in Africa but contemptibly complacent about the iniquitous malpractices of black politicians (many of whom have been instructed and indoctrinated by the aforesaid meddlers and intriguers and are now sustained by their financial backers). Duress from a United Kingdom Government, however, has been greeted with glee, despite the fact that it involves that deliberate intervention in the internal affairs of Rhodesia which is forbidden not only by custom but by an officially negotiated "convention" which has all the force and solemnity of a national guarantee — or, rather, had that character until the Macmillan-Macleod régime embarked upon its desperately dangerous and despicable "disengagement" in Africa, that term being its cover for criminally craven abandonment of scores of millions of Africans to the whims of a few thousand townee tub-thumpers and their thugs (who, of course, were joined by a small minority of a better type, a few of them able and well-intentioned, when it became evident that faithless British politicians of all parties were resolved to scuttle from Africa and that politics offered the quickest way to wealth).

Socialist Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, to Mr. Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, that the recipient has justifiably denounced it as an exercise in cold war tactics and as intimidation bordering on blackmail. This journal had already described it as offensive in both senses of the word, and said that "so brutal a communication cannot have been sent in living memory to any Commonwealth country". Though it was addressed to a community with a magnificent record of loyalty, there was not a note of sympathy in the message. The Cabinet responsible for bludgeoning Britain's most stalwart ally in all Africa would certainly not have used such bluster and threats against any of its enemies. The insults were reserved for staunch upholders of Britain's ostensible (but callously betrayed) policy of advancement in Africa by merit. Their offence was to dare in this period of apostasy to cling to the faith taught by their British forebears, and indeed by their Conservative contemporaries in Britain until just under five years ago. The climacteric, marked by the resignation from office of Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the disastrous appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies of Mr. Iain Macleod, was shortly to be memorialized by the wind-of-change speech of his cynical master, Mr. Macmillan, who showed no more determination to practise its precepts than to fulfil still more specific undertakings. Only if this background be recalled — which not one newspaper in Britain has been honest enough to do — can the bitter resentment of Rhodesians and their leaders be understood.

\* \* \*

The duress from Britain which must influence today's referendum took the form of so ruthless a communication from the new

\* \* \*

Mr. Wilson's merciless message was released at the remarkable hour of six o'clock in the morning in order that the

B.B.C. might broadcast it throughout the world during the whole of the day and Rhodesians hear it at breakfast time. The Commonwealth Relations Secretary has admitted that the purpose was to affect today's referendum. The Cabinet committee which agreed to the ultimatum (for it was nothing less) gambled that it would significantly reduce the vote for independence under the Constitution negotiated with Britain and brought into operation less than three years ago. To what extent that assumption was warranted will be known soon after these words appear in print. On the very day on which Mr. Wilson's *Diktat* was delivered to Mr. Smith six hundred and twenty-two chiefs and headmen declared themselves after five days of discussion to be unanimous for independence and against domination by black politicians. Yet Rhodesians are told from London that they will be outlawed if their Government should decide to assume independence without the consent of the politicians of all parties in Britain who have lately inflicted such immeasurable and irremediable tragedies upon one African territory after another.

\* \* \*

Neither the Government nor the Press of the United Kingdom has faced the real issue as Rhodesians must see it — which is that they are being ordered to introduce the one-man-one-vote principle which

**Real Issue Not Faced.** they profoundly mistrust because they are convinced

that it will destroy the standards introduced and established during three-quarters of a century and substitute the chaos, eagerly exploited by Communist and other wreckers, to which so many other previously peaceful territories in Africa were reduced by the Macmillan-Macleod régime, which, because it gave effect to the plans of the Socialists, escaped the criticism which would have been normal from an Opposition. The constructive bi-party African policy for which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA pleaded for many years was rejected by Tories and Socialists for no other reason than that the party propagandists found in the Colonies useful ammunition for their petty exercises. To their discredit, they found no obstacle to bi-partisanship in destruction even when the manipulators of power resorted to trickery and falsehood. That, basically, is why Rhodesians profoundly distrust British political spokesmen, from whom they have ceased to expect understanding, intelligence, loyalty, and courage.

\* \* \*

The argument which Rhodesians are enjoined to accept on pain of being deprived

of British citizenship and normal trading facilities (at a time when special efforts are urged upon British business to increase trade with the Communist world!) is that elsewhere in Central and East Africa political power has been thrust upon Africans and that Rhodesians cannot depart from that pattern because nonconformity would arouse uncontrollable outbursts of Afro-Asian anger. In plain English, men who have already wrecked the British Empire, undermined the Commonwealth, and made the United Nations an instrument for political blackmail are serving notice that Rhodesia is expendable. Yet in not one country in Africa has the recklessly swift grant of so-called independence been for the good of the population in general. The beneficiaries of British shuffling, pusillanimity, and duplicity have been a small minority of ambitious African agitators, most of them men of little or no achievement, who coveted, and have now obtained, ministerial, diplomatic, and other posts which they were quite incompetent to fill, but from which scarcely any will be dislodged because there is everywhere a shortage of possible candidates with even their modest claims. While a few thousand avid Africans have been pushed into positions of power and prestige, usually with absurdly high pay and prerequisites, the masses have been deprived of elementary freedom and the normal processes of law and order, and made subject to the intimidation and violence which are the daily routine of the thugs used by the party dictatorships. These basic truths — of which politicians, journalists, and broadcasters in Britain take no account — are never absent from the minds of responsible Rhodesians, black as well as white.

\* \* \*

Why should they accept for their country the calamities implicit in the very words Mau Mau, Malawi, and Congo? Why should they disregard the warnings that

**Warnings from All Over Africa.** litter all Africa? — such warnings as that in January of this year the Government of Zanzibar

was brought down by revolt; that in that same month there were army mutinies in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, in all of which States the African leaders could cling to power only by pleading for the restoration of order by British troops; that during this year there has been an immense increase of Communist activity in Africa, not only from Russia and China, but even from East Germany; and that, according to the African

leaders of Malawi and Zambia, both of which border Rhodesia, the Communists need close watching. In those two neighbouring States, moreover, Rhodesians have quite recently been given striking evidence of the consequences of the premature enfranchisement of the ignorant African masses. In Northern Rhodesia (as it was until the other day) a rising, partly political and partly religious in origin, caused the deaths in less than a month of perhaps a thousand Africans. In Malawi (lately Nyasaland) Dr. Banda's dictatorship has been revealed in all its ugliness. Three Ministers whom he dismissed and another three who promptly resigned in protest have fled the country. According to the Prime Minister, they had planned to kill him, plotted with Chinese Communists, invoked the aid of witch-doctors, and incited civil servants to disloyalty. Now there have been forced out of Malawi the one European who had served in his Cabinet but resigned, another European M.P. who had been very pro-Banda, and a Scottish missionary who had also been sympathetic to him. Such is the *uhuru* imposed by foolish theorists in Westminster and Whitehall. Having himself picked every candidate for Parliament and ordered that none should be opposed at a farcical general election, Dr. Banda can still get a unanimous vote of confidence in a House from which he has suspended any with the courage to dissent. But everyone, except perhaps the Prime Minister himself, recognizes that this buffoonery is nearing its end. It appears quite safe to predict that he will soon flee the country or be murdered — which will, of course, solve nothing, for his potential successors inspire no confidence whatsoever.

What has the brief recital of events outside Rhodesia to do with the attitude of Mr. Smith, his colleagues, and his electorate? Everything: for it is the catastrophes under the one-man-one-vote system in unready Africa which make responsible Rhodesians, black and white, determined to protect themselves from similar disasters. Their standards can be upheld and their country's development continued only by a qualitative franchise and progressive absorption into government, the professions, industry and commerce of adequately trained Africans who will learn by doing and rise by merit. That reasonable policy is anathema to African political extremists with little to offer but the gift of the gab; but, unhappily, it is they who have impressed politicians in the Western world (men who have often had the same sparse attribute). Had either party in Britain been

ready to accept advancement by merit the present tragic confrontation would have been avoided. When Mr. Duncan Sandys negotiated the present Constitution as Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Rhodesians understood that time was to be granted them for adjustment according to ability. Within a very short period, however, Mr. Sandys was talking freely in private of an African majority in Parliament within five years — an absolutely nonsensical idea if merit was to be the criterion. At that time no man in public life in Rhodesia thought that the transformation could take place in less than a dozen years; and most put the minimum at fifteen.

\* \* \*

There might have been compromise if there had been the slightest disposition to be reasonable on the British side. But the dominant consideration was an accelerated

**If Britain Had Been Reasonable.** scuttle from responsibilities overseas, not the welfare of the territories concerned. If five years

was the maximum period for transition which a Tory Government visualized, Rhodesians naturally assumed that a Socialist Administration would demand a swifter pace, whatever the risks. The Smith Cabinet has therefore had to face two possibilities, each repugnant: (a) of accepting a black majority in Parliament far too soon, or (b) of seizing independence, with all the attendant risks, in order to gain time, yet knowing that in the long run the struggle will be lost, not because multi-racialism might not work admirably, but because black Africa and brown Asia, supported by defeatists in power in the Western world, have been determined that the experiment should not be given fair trial. The predicament of Rhodesia is dire. It should have evoked the sympathy of the politicians in Britain who are primarily responsible for the saddest situation in all Africa.

"Although some people have resented being told that Africanization must not be at the expense of standards and efficiency, we cannot compromise on this vital question".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Kenya Minister of Justice.

"We deplore the continued detention without trial of Tanganyika trade union leaders who were arrested in January following military unrest in that republic".—Mr. H. M. Luande, M.P., of Uganda, speaking at an I.C.F.T.U. gathering in Nigeria.

"What the world's people need more than anything else to-day is tolerance and a willingness to understand the other man's point of view".—Mr. M. J. Chimba, Minister of Labour and Mines in Northern Rhodesia, when opening a new students' hall at the Nchanga Mine.

## Notes By The Way

### Political Murders in Malawi

EIGHT AFRICANS, three of them officials and the others members of the Malawi Congress Party, have been sentenced to death for the murder of a Jehovah's Witness who for religious reasons had refused to join the party or register as an elector. His home near Mlanje had been set alight in February and he had been killed. There is to be an appeal to the Supreme Court. Apart altogether from this case (about which comment would be improper), I have good reason to know that M.C.P. thugs have killed other Africans in Malawi who were adherents of the sect and obedient to its order not to engage in political activities. In one town a gang of about 30, with sacking over their faces, roamed the streets in broad daylight before the election, assaulted many Africans, and killed several. The police, who had previously been ordered to avoid involvement in political incidents, took no action. Similar crimes have recently been repeated in that and other localities. My informant, who witnessed some of these outrages and was given details of others by African friends, has heard of only one arrest and does not expect a conviction. None of the cases of which he has knowledge has been reported in the local Press.

### Facts Filtered for Dr. Banda

DR. BANDA may, he thinks, be unaware of many of the murders which are now so frequent in Malawi, for Europeans and Africans are convinced that facts are systematically filtered before being presented to him. Most administrative and police officials consider it prudent to avoid submitting reports which would enrage the irascible Prime Minister, especially as they could be turned to their personal detriment by the suggestion that there could not be such occurrences if their duty were fully performed. The blind eye is habitually turned because so much licence has been given in the recent past to party officials and agents, whom everyone knows to be virtually exempt from the normal processes of law and order. They act on that confident assumption, and, in the words of one friend who has spent almost half his life in Nyasaland and loves the country, "they get away with murder, literally murder".

### Victimization

THE ATTITUDE to the Malawi Congress Party of the Jehovah's Witness sect has been analogous to that of the adherents of the Lumpa Church in neighbouring Zambia; and in both countries the stubborn refusal to join the dominant nationalist party has been met with violent reprisals. In many cases huts have been burnt down at night with the occupants inside, and there have been many murders with axes, spears, and clubs, mainly in country areas from which reports of such terrorism are extremely unlikely now that the people recognize that the security normal in pre-Banda days has been destroyed, and that any complainant runs grave risk of injury, if not death. The kind of victimization suffered by Jehovah's Witnesses has also been visited upon a few bold spirits who dared to say that they might be candidates for Parliament against an M.C.P. nominee. There were few such cases, for everyone knew the hazards entailed. Several Africans popular and influential in their own district who were urged by their admirers to stand did consider the matter. I have been told of more than one case in which the potential opponent of Dr. Banda was warned that

he would be killed if he did not change his mind. All did, for in not one of the 50 constituencies was there a contest.

### "Loyalty"

SUCH IS THE STATE of Malawi today. Despite this denial of the elementary decencies and the "freedom" promised to the people, almost all Europeans in the country are convinced that the present negation of law, order, and justice is better than the state of affairs which must be expected when Dr. Banda quits the country or is killed. Scarcely anyone counts nowadays on his survival. Discussion is about the possibility of his deciding to leave before somebody kills him, despite the strong bodyguard by which he is always surrounded. That he cannot rely on the police is proved by the ease with which ex-Ministers evaded the search for them and later escaped from the country. Some policemen will expect the reward of promotion — as will civil servant conspirators — when politicians now on the run return to power. Then, of course, the Parliamentary clique which still applauds the Ngwazi will equally obediently praise his supplanters, for there is little loyalty in African politics, which is about pelf, perquisites, prestige and power, not principle.

### Ministerial Denunciations

WHAT WOULD BE SAID by Africans if EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA were to assert that African trade union leaders go abroad to collect money as representatives of their organizations and return to spend it on drink? Howls of indignation would certainly be heard. Those exact words, however, have been used by Mr. G. B. K. Magezi, Minister of Housing and Labour in Uganda, in an address delivered in Jinja to the delegates of 17 labour organizations. He followed that sharp criticism with the suggestion that labour leaders should not be allowed to travel abroad as spokesmen of the country on labour matters without his personal consent. In such an audience that restriction might have been expected to be resented. It was unanimously approved.

### Rhodesia, Not Southern Rhodesia

THE PRIME MINISTER and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary still insist on referring to "Southern Rhodesia", though the name of the country was changed to "Rhodesia" when Northern Rhodesia became the Republic of Zambia. As it is difficult to believe that officials of the Commonwealth Relations Office can have failed to point out the solecism, it must be assumed that the politicians have been petty enough to decide to use this as an opportunity to rub a little more salt into a wound which they would be better advised to seek to heal. Mr. Bottomley has made the absurd assertion that Mr. Wilson's message to Mr. Smith was not published in a spirit of hostility or as an ultimatum. The U.K. Press has certainly interpreted it as an ultimatum, and that word appeared in many of the headlines.

### American Interference

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT has impertinently intervened in the quarrel between the Rhodesian and United Kingdom Governments, presumably to please the latter. What would Americans say if Rhodesia were to compose and publish a message highly critical of U.S. shortcomings — in relation, say, to the Negro problem?



# British Waging Cold War Against Rhodesia

## Hope Abandoned of Independence by Christmas

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told the country in a television broadcast last Thursday evening that he had abandoned his hope of independence by Christmas, the actions of the British Government in the past week having "upset everything".

Heavy voting in the referendum was, however, essential in order that Rhodesia should prove to the world that her case for independence was good. A strong "Yes" would, he promised, not be taken by the Government as a mandate for a unilateral declaration of independence. The next step would be a full public statement of the pros and cons, a statement on which the Government was now working. If the result of that exercise proved adverse, it would be accepted. If the conclusion were favourable, he felt certain that it would be accepted by the electorate. There were many ways in which public opinion could then be tested. It might be by a general election.

He had been optimistic about the negotiation of independence with a Conservative Government in Britain, but that appeared impossible with the new Labour Government. He had no fears, however, that Britain or the United Nations would use force against Rhodesia. Since its Congo experiences the United Nations was a little more careful, and it was ridiculous to suggest that British troops might be sent. Calling Lord Mountbatten to a Cabinet meeting had been a matter of show. Britain would not shoot Britain.

### Blackmail

Speaking earlier in the Assembly, Mr. Smith had said that the statement by the new British Prime Minister was "if not blackmail, then an attempt at intimidation". Economic boycotts had never worked. The new British Government had decided that Rhodesia's future leaders were to be African nationalists now in jail.

It was regrettable that the Commonwealth Relations Secretary should have gone to Zambia to see the Union Jack pulled down, but, despite a personal appeal from Mr. Smith, not have come to Rhodesia, "where we are still trying to keep the Union Jack flying". The chiefs had been kept an extra day at the *indaba* so that Mr. Bottomley might meet them; but the British Government "have already chosen the leaders of this country; they are in prison in Gwelo [a reference to Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole]. Rhodesians have to make up their minds whether to accept us or the others".

Rhodesia would declare independence unilaterally only if Britain withdrew her support at the United Nations or attempted to interfere in the country's internal affairs. In no circumstances would his Government seize independence without consulting the people.

In the television interview the Prime Minister said that it was "criminal" of Britain not to send observers to the *indaba* at which the chiefs demanded independence. Britain wanted to lower standards in Rhodesia by introducing rule by Africans; his Government stood for the maintenance of standards.

Before he decided to go to London, some questions needed to be cleared up. If the attitude of Mr. Wilson's Government was that which he had expressed recently in a letter to an African racistist—that there should be immediate African rule—there would be no point in a visit.

### Subversive Interference

In the Parliamentary debate Mr. Smith said:—"I am a farmer, with my roots deep down here. I have a young family, and every penny I possess is in this country. If I did anything not in the interests of this country I should complete my own destruction. No man could give a better guarantee".

Britain was waging a cold war against Rhodesia similar to that which Communists were waging elsewhere in Africa.

He took strong exception to the remark of Sir Hugh Foot (Lord Caradon), British Minister at the United Nations, that

he would not blame Africans if they took violent action against Governments which in their view denied them their rights. That was tantamount to flagrant and subversive interference in Rhodesian affairs. Such remarks could be construed as incitement to violence.

By 29 votes to 19 the House approved the Prime Minister's motion "That the House take note of the attitude of the British Government towards the independence issue and rejects any policy based on the result of the referendum on November 5".

Sir Edgar Whitehead, saying that Britain might use military force if there were a unilateral declaration of independence, said: "You don't talk about rebellion and treason unless you reserve the right to use force as a last resort. This is a clear implication in the statement from Britain. If independence were seized it would end in an African nationalist Government within six months".

He promised the support of his party if Britain directly interfered in Rhodesian affairs and offered to co-operate in a negotiated independence.

He thought that the Government had made the *indaba* look phoney even if it was not. Why had the original number of 800 chiefs and headmen dropped to 630 when the result was announced?

### Blatant Bullying

Mr. Harry Reedman, Minister of Roads and Immigration, referring to Britain's readiness to use force, said that he had a son in the British Army and a brother in the R.A.F., and added: "I am not prepared to go so far as to join in conflict with my own family".

Mr. Winston Field, the former Prime Minister, criticized Mr. Wilson's statement as "one of the most blatant cases of attempted bullying I have ever experienced". He added: "We certainly must not give in".

Parliament has been adjourned until February 23, subject to earlier recall if necessary.

The Association of Rhodesian Industries stated that a unilateral declaration would have a catastrophic effect on industry, causing widespread unemployment at all levels through loss of markets.

The general secretary of the African Railways Workers' Union, Mr. A. H. Mwanza, said: "Unconstitutional action by the Rhodesian Government will create disaster and chaos. Africans will never recognize such independence".

Telegrams from Lusaka reported that within minutes of a unilateral declaration a government-in-exile would be formed there by Mr. George Nyandoro, and Mr. James Chikerema of Mr. Nkomo's proscribed People's Caretaker Council, and that it would be recognized by the Zambia Government.

Spokesmen for the rival Zimbabwe African National Union stated that its representatives would form a rival government-in-exile, probably in Malawi. Dr. Banda has sided with Mr. Sithole, the Z.A.N.U. leader, against Mr. Nkomo.

### Insidious Intimidation

On Friday Mr. Smith told a meeting of businessmen in Bulawayo that the U.K. Government had subjected Rhodesia to the insidious procedure of the cold war as perfected by the Communists.

"Without firing a shot or taking off your coat, you can so intimidate people that they run away or leave it to you. This is the process we have been subjected to by the British Government—by those people who are supposed to be our kith and kin. The behaviour of the new Labour Government has sunk to a level we never expected from a Government in Britain".

In certain circumstances a unilateral declaration of independence would be inevitable. "There would be no need to think twice if the British Government tried to do what their present Prime Minister said they would do—upset the Constitution". There were thus exceptions to the rule that a unilateral declaration would not be made without the prior knowledge and consent of the electorate. "If they violate what we consider to be the moral contracts we have with them—these are the exceptions".

If the constitutional conference which Mr. Bottomley wanted was to include the two imprisoned African nationalist leaders Messrs. Nkomo and Sithole, he would not get Mr. Smith to attend. There would be no point in his going to London if the Socialist attitude was that Rhodesia could not have independence until there was an African majority; but if they were prepared to be reasonable he would go to Britain.

The examination of the economic effects of the seizure of independence which had been started earlier in the year had

been discontinued some months ago, but it would now be pursued. As soon as the exercise was finished it would be put to the people to criticize.

In Gwanda that evening Mr. Smith told an audience of about 600 that they must not be stampeded by British Government statements about independence. A massive "yes" vote in the referendum would be a shot across the bows of the British Government.

He would go to London for talks only if the British Government could prove that that would be in Rhodesia's interests. "We will maintain all the principles which we have inherited. We will not lower our standards or do anything that would lead to a sell-out in Rhodesia".

### Go Under or Break Away and Survive

On Sunday he warned the electorate: "We either go under or break away and survive". Rhodesians had no hope of survival unless they could unite to sever the final strings which tied them to Britain and rendered Rhodesia a pawn at the disposal of the British Government. "We really have no choice when we face realistically what we see in Africa to the north of us today and consider the shameful behaviour of the British Government towards us".

An Opposition Party statement described the referendum as a futile exercise not worth the expense.

Mr. William Harper, Minister of the Interior, has expressed the view that "no Rhodesian with guts could vacillate just to serve the whims of a British Prime Minister". Rhodesia had had 4,000 days of tough words and no action. Every Rhodesian wanted to be reasonable, but he could not tailor his views to the political antics of changing leadership in Britain.

Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, said at the week-end that Rhodesians should resist British interference and determine their own destiny. Time, courage and patience were vital in solving Rhodesia's problem. South Africa would help where possible.

Mr. Smith wrote in a circular letter issued on Monday:—"I am confident that the British Government's views on Rhodesia are not representative of the people of Britain; but unfortunately we have to deal with the Government, not the people. . . Our established standards of political, public and private morality and integrity, are pitted against expediency and selfishness."

"The struggle is intensifying in Africa today, and the ideals by which we live are in danger of being lost in the pathetic contest for the favour and support of black extremist Africa. Whatever price we have to pay I, as a born Rhodesian, think it will be cheap by comparison with what we stand to lose — our country as we know it and love it".

— our country as we know it and love it". A *Daily Mirror* correspondent reported from Salisbury that Mr. Smith had told him that the condition of his coming to London was that Mr. Wilson should retract his statement that Rhodesia would get independence only with an African majority in Parliament.

The Rhodesian branch of the Institute of Directors, with 480 directors of local companies as members, issued a statement on Monday saying: "The committee believes that the financial and economic consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence would be disastrous for the whole community. It therefore welcomes with relief the latest assurances by the Prime Minister and hopes that the question is now being shelved indefinitely". Lord Malvern, Prime Minister of Rhodesia for more than 20 years, is president of the branch.

## Statements by British, U.S., and Other Ministers

### No Agreement About Method of Consulting African Opinion

**MR. BOTTOMLEY**, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, told journalists in London shortly after his return from Zambia that he believed the British Government's statement would be appreciated by such Rhodesian leaders as Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, and Mr. Garfield Todd and make Mr. Smith think again.

Release of the statement had been timed to swing the Rhodesian electorate against backing Mr. Smith in the referendum. Rhodesians who had not realized what Britain would do now knew. The statement had been communicated to Mr. Smith before the results of the chiefs' *indaba* were known. Severance of trade with Britain was a possibility.

There was no thought of bringing in the United Nations. The Commonwealth could handle the problem.

The question of preparations for the dispatch of British troops did not arise at the moment. Pressed to say if there were contingency plans for military intervention, Mr. Bottomley answered: "Nothing is being considered at the moment".

### Chief of Defence Staff Called In

Next day, however, Admiral Earl Mountbatten, Chief of the Defence Staff, was called to a special meeting of the Cabinet.

In the evening Mr. Evan Campbell, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, saw Mr. Bottomley.

It was made known that Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Leader of the Opposition, had been shown the final draft of the statement before it was dispatched to Mr. Smith. He was understood not to have suggested changes.

When Mr. Gordon Walker, the Foreign Secretary, returned to London from Washington in the middle of last week he said that Mr. Wilson's statement had made "a very fine impression" at the United Nations, and that the American Government would "line up with us".

A little later the State Department made an an-

nouncement which was said not to have been drafted during Mr. Gordon Walker's visit. It stated:—

"The United States Government has followed the course of events in Rhodesia with intense interest and mounting concern. We have on frequent occasions expressed our hope that a solution would be found to the Rhodesian problem acceptable to the majority of the people. We continue to hope that Rhodesia will gain independence as a united nation with a Government based upon the consent of the governed."

"We have been encouraged by the forthright position taken by the British Government in insisting that it would not sanction independence for Rhodesia until satisfied that the people have been allowed the full exercise of self-determination."

"Prime Minister Wilson's message to the Rhodesian Prime Minister makes clear some of the serious consequences which could befall all Rhodesians should their Government continue to follow its present course. The United States hopes that the Rhodesian Government will continue to discuss with the United Kingdom Government ways to achieve a satisfactory solution."

Press messages from Pretoria said that the South African Government would not recognize a unilateral declaration by Rhodesia since that would damage its relations with Britain.

### Commonwealth Interventions

Mr. Holyoake, the Prime Minister, said that New Zealand looked forward to seeing Rhodesia a full Commonwealth member, but on the basis of a Constitution responsive to the will of all the people, as he had told Mr. Winston Field and Mr. Dupont.

Canada's External Affairs Minister said that his country would not recognize Rhodesia if she declared independence without the agreement of the British Parliament.

In Nairobi it was stated that the Kenya Government would recognize a Rhodesian government-in-exile.

Spokesmen for India, Uganda and Malawi said that their countries firmly supported the British attitude.

The United Nations Committee on Colonialism decided to draw the attention of the Security Council to the "gravity of the situation" and appointed a delegation to visit London and "aid the United Kingdom to implement the previous resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly".

Mr. Cecil King, U.K. representative on the committee, said that "the aim of British Government policy is to proceed to a peaceful transition to African majority rule. The British Government looks forward to the negotiation of a new Constitution".

"Thirty-four African members of U.N.O. denounced the "senseless" policy of the Rhodesian Government as a serious threat to international peace".

#### Not an Ultimatum

Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association in London on Friday:—

"I want to dispose of allegations made in Salisbury that the British Government has gone back on its word in declining to accept the recent *indaba* as a satisfactory consultation of African opinion.

"It is clear from the *communiqué* issued after the talks in September between Mr. Smith and Sir Alec Douglas-Home that the former Government were not committed to any particular form of consultation. On his return to Salisbury Mr. Smith himself said that he had not yet finalized the method to be used to sound African opinion, and that the process might take a couple of months. He then set up a committee of both sides of the Southern Rhodesia Assembly to study the best method, and gave an assurance that the House would have opportunity for full discussion of its recommendations before any formal step were taken.

"Before anything emerged from all this — indeed, so far as I know the Parliamentary committee has even now produced no report — Mr. Smith informed the British Government, on the day before the general election, that he intended to proceed with the *indaba* within a week. He was informed the following day by the previous Government that they could not regard the proposed method of consultation as acceptable and would not therefore nominate observers. A message from me confirming this view on behalf of the new Government was delivered to Mr. Smith on the morning of October 20.

"There is no truth at all in the suggestion that the British Government has departed from any agreement on the method of consultation of African opinion — because no agreement was reached in London on this point.

"Our statement about the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence was not published in a spirit of hostility towards Southern Rhodesia or as an ultimatum. Nor should it be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

"The grant of independence can be made only by Act of the British Parliament, and what we gave was a considered warning against any attempt to seize independence by rebellion. The previous Government had already given such a warning; and, as the Southern Rhodesia High Commissioner here has said, our warning did not differ very much from what his Government had received from the Conservatives.

#### Solution Through Discussion

"However, a resort to such a declaration was being increasingly mooted in Southern Rhodesia, and the Southern Rhodesia Government had not seen fit to let their people know what the consequences would be. We felt with regret that it was necessary — and, indeed, our duty — to put the consequences squarely before the people of Southern Rhodesia. They had not, I am sure, previously understood the dangers, and it was essential that they, and their Government, should take stock of where they might be heading. I am glad to see that apparently our action has had the effect of making people pause to think.

"We want to see a solution reached through discussion and negotiation. Unconstitutional action will not provide a solution; nor will violence from any quarter.

"We wish to see Southern Rhodesia take her place as an independent State within the Commonwealth, but we must be satisfied that the basis on which independence is to be granted is acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. We hope to see a peaceful transition to African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, but we do not wish ourselves to stipulate how this might be achieved or when that stage should be reached. Our aim is to explore and promote any line of negotiation that might lead to a satisfactory solution".

## Lord Salisbury Denounces Mr. Wilson's "Diktat"

### Ludicrous to Talk of Rhodesians as Treasonable

LORD SALISBURY has denounced Mr. Wilson's statement for its "violence" and the "ludicrous" suggestion of treason on the part of Rhodesians. He wrote in a letter to *The Times*:—

"I am shocked by the violence of the ultimatum levelled by Mr. Wilson at the Government of Rhodesia. To anyone who knows the Rhodesians it can only be described as ludicrous to talk of them as treasonable, in any hitherto known sense of that word. There are no more loyal people anywhere, as they have shown in two world wars.

"Indeed, one of the main reasons for their present attitude is no doubt that they fear that, were they to do what Mr. Wilson demands, their link with the Crown would inevitably be broken, as has happened in other African countries. In these circumstances, let us leave treason out of it.

#### Will Not Commit National Suicide

"There is one reason alone for their present attitude. They regard themselves as a Government, responsible, just as much as the Government here in Britain, for the security and welfare of their country, and they believe, rightly or wrongly, that to accept what they regard as his *Diktat* would mean national suicide.

"I am not one who has been in favour of a unilateral declaration of independence if it can possibly be avoided, for that would mean a failure of statesmanship on both sides. But surely at the present juncture, to hold a pistol at the Rhodesians' heads and face them with the peremptory demand 'Your money or your life' is only calculated to stiffen them in the present position.

"I appeal most earnestly to Mr. Wilson and his colleagues so to moderate their attitude as to make it possible to reopen the normal channels of negotiation

between the two Governments for a happy solution of the issues that at present divide them".

#### Arrogant and Offensive

MR. VICTOR MONTAGU (lately Earl of Sandwich), and formerly Viscount Hinchinbrooke wrote:—

"The Prime Minister's 'warning statement' is couched in terms almost amounting to the ultimata delivered to Germany and Italy a quarter of a century ago. It surpasses in tone and temper any formal notes I can recall which were sent to the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war.

"It contains, too, an intolerable threat to British nationals who may offer any aid (is trade included?) to Rhodesia should independence be declared. Were Britons, treated thus when America, Eire, Burma, and South Africa seceded from the Commonwealth?

"The Prime Minister's claim to address a great self-governing Dominion on behalf of Britain in such arrogant, offensive, and censorious terms cannot possibly be substantiated. Parliament should instantly repudiate his utterance".

MR. T. C. KEIGWIN wrote from The Old Vicarage, West Anstey, South Molton:—

"In seeking to bring about an African majority in Rhodesia at an earlier date than that envisaged under the present Constitution, signed on behalf of the United Kingdom by Mr. Sandys in 1961, we are inviting white Rhodesians to commit race suicide. This they will not do — and neither would you if you lived there. We are putting them in an impossible position. They are neither rebels nor traitors. Our action seems a strange repayment of their sacrifices in two world wars".

DR. T. A. A. HUNTER asked from Marlborough College:—

"Is the *indaba* method really such a disreputable and undemocratic way to sound the wishes of a politically inarticulate electorate? It seems to me to have a great deal in common with the card vote procedure which is used in the most self-consciously democratic assemblies".

(Continued on page 177)

# PERSONALIA

MR. L. J. HOWE-ELY, Clerk to the Rhodesian Assembly, is in London.

SIR ROY WELENSKY arrived in London yesterday on a private visit of about a week.

MR. D. J. DALTON, Electricity Supply Commissioner in Malawi, has arrived in London.

SIR ALAN DUDLEY has been appointed Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Overseas Development.

MR. R. HAWKINS, Rhodesian Front candidate in the Charter constituency by-election, is not to be opposed.

MR. W. R. TAYLOR, Director of Education in Seychelles, and MRS. TAYLOR sailed last week in the KENYA CASTLE.

LORD HURD, who has paid a number of visits to East Africa, has joined the South Midlands Committee of Lloyds Bank.

BRIGADIER K. R. COSTER has been appointed Deputy Chief of the General Staff and Chief of Staff of the Rhodesian Army.

MR. SHAFIQ ARAIN, M.P., and DR. I. M. MAJUGO have flown back to Uganda from their visit to the United Kingdom.

MR. T. B. BAZARRABUSA, Uganda's High Commissioner in London, has returned from a brief visit to Uganda for consultations.

By a majority verdict Mr. NKOMO has won his appeal against conviction and sentence for allegedly making a subversive statement.

MR. MICHAEL FABER, a former lecturer at the university in Salisbury, who is now Economic Adviser to the Zambia Government, was detained in the Rhodesian capital when he flew from Lusaka to see the M.C.C. play. He was unaware that he had been declared a prohibited immigrant.

BRIGADIER R. J. PUTTERILL, lately Deputy Chief of Staff in Rhodesia, has been appointed to command the Rhodesian Army, with the rank of major-general.

MR. WILLIAM W. OTTEWILL, lately editor of the *Tanganyika Standard*, has been appointed manager of Barclays Bank's new Press and Information Department.

MR. P. K. F. V. VAN DER BYL, Parliamentary Secretary for Information in Rhodesia, flew back to Salisbury at the beginning of the week after a short visit to England.

MR. FRANK ALLAUN, M.P., has been appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MR. NORMAN DODDS, Labour M.P. for Erith and Crayford, has been appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to MR. BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

LADY HONE, wife of SIR EVELYN HONE, lately Governor of Northern Rhodesia, has been admitted to the London Hospital for Tropical Diseases suffering from jaundice. SIR EVELYN is also in London.

MR. A. B. ADIMOLA, Counsellor in the Uganda High Commission in London, and MRS. ADIMOLA and their two children will sail next week in the S.S. KENYA for Mombasa on their way back to Uganda on leave.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA arrived in Cairo on Sunday for a five-day visit. During a month's absence from Zambia he will visit many capitals in Africa, Europe, and America. MR. KAMANGA, the Vice-President, is Acting President.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor-General of Kenya, is to become High Commissioner in Nairobi after the country becomes a republic on December 12. He will then come to Britain for short leave, returning in January.

SIR KENNETH MADDOCKS, Governor of Fiji from 1958 until last year, and previously for many years in the Colonial Service in Nigeria, has been appointed director and secretary of the East Africa Association in London.

MR. PETER MATOKA, Minister of Information and Postal Services, unveiled Zambia's first national monument — at the source of the Zambezi, in the far northwest of the country — just after the stroke of midnight on Independence Day.

SIR HUGH FOOT, the newly-appointed Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to represent H.M. Government at the United Nations, has chosen the title of BARON CARADON of St. Cleer in the County of Cornwall on his elevation to be a life peer.

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, Socialist M.P. for Kettering, and lately U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya, suffered slight concussion in a car accident outside his home in Cambridge on Friday. He was unable to attend the State opening of Parliament on Tuesday.

MR. P. N. NAYER has been appointed chairman of a commission of the East African Governments to report on the feasibility and desirability of adopting the metric system of weights and measures. He is a Hindu, and was in charge of the change to the metric system in India.

Two R.A.F. men stationed in Kenya, FLIGHT-LIEUT. JOHN EDWARDS and CORPORAL WILLIAM THOMSON, have climbed the East Face of Mount Mawenzi, the 16,896ft. peak of Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain. The last 5,000 feet are an almost vertical wall of rock and ice.

MR. EUGENE WASON, editor of the *Salisbury Daily News* until it was proscribed, has been charged with two offences under the Law and Order Maintenance Act. He had been due to fly to Britain yesterday to take up a post in Newcastle. The case is to be heard next Wednesday.

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*Letter to the Editor***Commissioner's Reply to Mr. Murray  
Respective Contributions of the Rhodesias**

TO THE EDITOR OF EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Mr. J. P. Murray, Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia, claims in your issue of October 22 that from 1952 onwards Northern Rhodesia subsidized Southern Rhodesia and Malawi to the tune of £70m. — money which could have been invested within Northern Rhodesia's own borders. Further, that Northern Rhodesia was saddled with an unduly large portion of the Federal debt when so many of the tangible assets of the Federation remain in Southern Rhodesia.

Nobody will disagree that in the first four years of the Federation Northern Rhodesia's contribution towards it was considerable. In the last four years of Federation Southern Rhodesia's contribution had risen faster than Northern Rhodesia's. From 1954 to 1962 Federal Government spending rose from £8.2m. to £18.5m. in Northern Rhodesia without a rise in tax revenues from that territory. In Southern Rhodesia over the same period tax revenues rose from £16m. to £40m.

It is difficult to deal satisfactorily with the contention regarding Northern Rhodesia's financial contribution to the Federal pool as unfair. The two territories had an integrated economy: one cannot cut railways or road at a boundary and allocate the cost simply within territorial limits. On a geographical breakdown for roads, for instance, only £3.9m. appeared to have been spent on roads in Northern Rhodesia during Federation. In practice, however, nearly £12m. had been spent on roads either in or serving Northern Rhodesia.

Consider Kariba. Had Northern Rhodesia gone ahead and built the Kafue project instead, it would have cost her many millions of pounds. Sharing the Kariba grid, she has enjoyed power without so much of the financial burden.

The credit-worthiness and stability of the Federal Government was of great value to both Northern and Southern Rhodesia making such large sums available in capital expenditure as over £21m. to Northern Rhodesia and over £26m. to Southern Rhodesia.

The Federal Government spent more than £11m. on postal and telecommunication services in Northern Rhodesia. Over the same period it received only £8.5m. in income from the territory.

In 20 years before Federation only one new hospital was built by the Northern Rhodesian Government. The Federation Government built four new hospitals and modernized six in Northern Rhodesia.

In education, although Northern Rhodesia's school population was only 23% of the total for which the Federal Government was responsible, some 40% of the capital expenditure on education was spent from 1954 to 1961 on Northern Rhodesia. The actual figures were £4,087,886 out of the Federal total of £10,244,656.

Yours faithfully,

E. R. CAMPBELL,  
High Commissioner for Rhodesia.

Rhodesia House,  
London, W.C.2.

**All-African News Agency**

MR. ACHIENG ONEKO, Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism in Kenya, has said that independent African States will shortly receive proposals for the establishment of an All-African News Agency. It would "reflect the feelings and aspirations of the African people and facilitate the work of such fledglings as the Kenya News Agency".

*Obituary***Mr. Arthur Creech Jones  
Through Prejudice to Impartiality**

THE RT. HON. ARTHUR CREECH JONES, Socialist M.P. for the Shipley Division of Yorkshire from 1935 to 1950 and for Wakefield from 1954 until the dissolution of Parliament in September, has died from thrombosis at the age of 73. He had been in hospital since August.

From 1946 to 1950 he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Attlee Government.

He left Bristol for London at the age of 16, quickly became interested in Socialism, and in 1913 was elected secretary of Camberwell Borough Labour Party and Camberwell Trades Council. A pacifist and conscientious objector to military service he was imprisoned for nearly three years during the 1914-18 war but was not embittered. For a short time he was in the civil service, which he left in 1923 to become national secretary of a group in the Transport and General Workers' Union. Later he was organizing secretary of the Workers' Travel Association. He also served on the executive of the London Labour Party.

He was unsuccessful in his first attempt to enter Parliament in 1929, but soon after his election for Shipley six years later became prominent in the House as one of the most persistent questioners and speakers on Colonial affairs. Afterwards he was for many years chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and a member of the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee of the Trades Union Congress. He wrote and spoke frequently about Colonial Africa, being in those days often wrong in his facts, naïve in his assumptions, and unrealistic in his proposals.

Consequently he was under frequent attack in this journal, which, however, recognized his sincerity. Basically a fair-minded man, he likewise understood the honesty of the criticism. A warm friendship with the editor developed, each, however, reserving his position on numerous matters.

Creech Jones's views broadened during the 1939-45 war, partly through close contact as his Parliamentary Private Secretary with Mr. Ernest Bevin, then Minister of Labour, and partly from contact with and growing admiration for the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Stanley, who in 1943 appointed him a member of a commission sent to West Africa to inquire into higher education.

In the post-war Socialist Government he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a year later was made Secretary of State and sworn of the Privy Council. When he lost office in the 1950 election we wrote:—

"He proved himself to be the best Colonial Secretary since Mr. Amery. Since that is high praise, it should be recalled that in his years in opposition in the House of Commons no newspaper criticized him so frequently or frankly as we did."

On his appointment to the Colonial Office we had written: "Mr. Creech Jones has given abundant proof of his readiness to work hard; he will not fail in courtesy or candour in his personal discussions with the representatives of the Colonies; he has courage, the confidence of his colleagues, and an absorbing interest in the Colonies; and if, as we trust will be the case, he should make a marked success of this great chance, none will be more pleased than the peoples of the Colonies."

He achieved far more than the optimists would have thought possible; indeed, far more than could have been done by a Coalition or Conservative Minister constrained to avoid falling foul of Socialist critics. He had the initial advantage of tutelage under Mr. George Hall (now Lord Hall), who was well disposed to European settlement in Kenya and hoped that his chief lieutenant would soon sit in his chair. "Ask Arthur", he would say; "if you can persuade Arthur, I will agree".

When Creech Jones became Secretary of State he had to face troubles in Palestine, Malaya, West Africa, and the West Indies, and in East and Central Africa grapple with the aftermath of war, a wide range of development and constitutional problems, and re-organization of the common services.

He had behind him in Parliament a party with an overwhelming majority and preconceived and often misconceived ideas about the Colonies. His dilemma was to ensure that decisions were reached from the facts, not from sentimental theories. It says a great deal for his sense of fair play, sound judgment, and firmness in adhering to what he believed to be right that so little of the policy for which he was primarily responsible can be regarded as Fabian. Indeed, much of his work was bitterly attacked by leading Fabians.

A prodigious worker, he took great pains to get the facts before reaching conclusions. It was his habit not only to study the official documents but non-official criticisms and to seek the candid comments of non-officials. No Minister can have listened more attentively to well-informed critics.

#### Moral Courage Rare in Politics

He was patient, unassuming, and imperturbable, and, with moral courage rare in politics, did what he conceived to be his duty without regard to the many extremists in his own party, who waged a relentless whispering campaign against him because he declined to judge by outdated theories. His opponents within his party grew in number, while many people in and connected with the Colonies who had been his political opponents for years learned to appreciate his sincerity.

Having persuaded the Treasury to agree to increased expenditure, he set himself to extend the adviser system in the Colonial Office and to send more senior officials and Parliamentarians to visit the Colonies. He brought leading officials and non-officials from the Colonies to London for formal and informal conferences, started the Colonial summer school at Cambridge, transformed the information services at the C.O., and generally promoted candour in the dealings of the Office with the public, insisting that public business was the business of the public, not a hidden mystery for groups of officials.

He took very seriously the responsibility of making recommendations to the Sovereign in regard to vacant governorships. Not all his choices were successful, but he unquestionably raised the proportion of successes. Moreover, he had the courage both to get rid of unsatisfactory governors and to give unqualified support to those who came under unjustifiable attack from doctrinaire commentators in his own party.

#### Attitude to White Settlement

He repeatedly described European settlement as an essential element in the life of East Africa and a major stabilizing factor. Indeed, he procured generous grants for the extension of white settlement.

In one interview, he told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA:—

"The more I travel in East and Central Africa, the more I appreciate the contribution which European thought and enterprise have made and can make to African development. Explorers, farmers, planters, traders, missionaries, teachers, technicians, miners, and officials have in countless useful ways brought health and better social and economic standards. Their services have completely transformed vast areas. We cannot exaggerate the results of their initiative, courage and work, which have brought to Africans blessings and opportunities which they could never have received in any other way."

He greatly helped the development of Makerere College, Uganda, and obtained largely increased grants for all sorts of welfare projects, including the rehabilitation of African land and the promotion of better husbandry and better markets. He was equally ready to face the problems of defence and internal security. Two

of his monuments were the East Africa High Commission and the Central Legislative Assembly.

For many years one of the most valuable internationalists, he was a bonny fighter against internationalism run mad at the United Nations, where he staunchly resisted attempts by the General Assembly to determine policy and supervise administration in trust territories.

He paid a number of visits to East and Central Africa, and the more he travelled the greater grew his enthusiasm for Britain's work overseas.

His personal relations within the Colonial Office could not have been happier. On his last day he visited every room to bid farewell to the staff, a courtesy which no previous Minister had ever shown. Similarly, on the previous Christmas he had called alone and without prior appointment at the London office of every Colonial Government to offer his good wishes to the commissioners and their staffs.

Unhappily, he was not a good speaker, usually talking too long, and boring the House of Commons. Partly for that reason, he was never fairly treated by the Press.

Sir Roy Welensky has described him as one of the "few men I have met in public life whose word is his bond". The writer of this tribute knew him for 30 years with increasing intimacy, and throughout that period found him absolutely straight in all his dealings.

It was, indeed, that straightforwardness which angered so many of his Socialist colleagues, who wanted him to act, not as an impartial judge of Colonial needs, but as the impulsive agent of theoretic Socialism. His resistance to their pressures cost him four years in the wilderness after the loss of his seat in 1950 in a four-cornered contest. He got back to Parliament in a by-election in 1954 only because admirers in Wakefield refused to accept guidance from the party hierarchy in London and insisted on his adoption as their candidate. Character and courage had eventually prevailed. In difficulty he had been sustained by his faith and fortitude.

## Military Government Ended in Sudan

### President Abboud Deprived of Authority

PRESIDENT ABOUD, who abolished the political parties in Sudan six years ago, and has since been Head of State of a military dictatorship, dismissed the Cabinet and the military junta last week and appointed an all-civilian transitional Government under Mr. Sirt el-Khatim el-Khalifa, Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education, the compromise candidate of the various factions of the National Front.

President Abboud remains Head of State, with responsibility for the armed forces.

A constituent assembly in March at the latest is to decide on a new Constitution.

The Prime Minister has said in a broadcast that there will be an end of military rule and emergency laws in areas in which security is not threatened; that freedom of speech and of the Press will be restored, together with the right of political organization; that all political prisoners will be released; and that the country's unity will be preserved.

The new Government will support non-alignment and the principles adopted at the Arab and African summit conference in Cairo, and will co-operate against the "imperialists" in Africa and South Arabia.

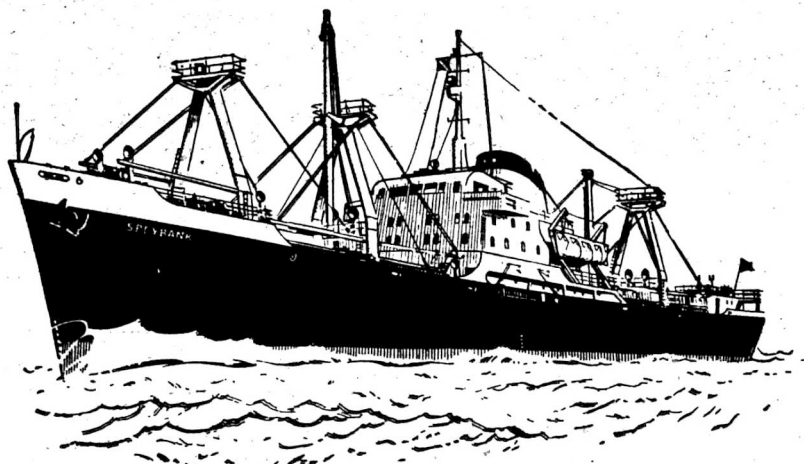
### Communists in Cabinet

Of 14 Cabinet Ministers nominated five are considered to be Communist or pro-Communist. Two Ministers are from the Southern Sudan, one of them, Mr. Clement Mboro, being Minister of the Interior, and the other, Mr. Wob, Minister of Communications. Mr. Mboro, a Roman Catholic who speaks fluent English, at once appealed to the Anya Nya terrorist group in the south to suspend activities against the Government.

There are nominees in the Cabinet of all the main political

(Continued on page 180)

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## Mr. Chipembere Escapes from Malawi Dr. Banda Wanted Him Dead or Alive

MR. H. B. M. CHIPEMBERE, who on October 1 was ordered to remain within four miles of his home at Malindi, on Lake Malawi, has fled from the district and arrived in Tanganyika. He was the Prime Minister's chief critic, and resigned his office as Minister of Education when Dr. Banda dismissed three members of the Cabinet and others resigned in sympathy.

Dr. Banda told the Malawi Parliament last week that he had ordered a full-scale search for Mr. Chipembere, whom he wanted brought back, "alive if possible, but, if not, any other way".

He thought it probable that he had gone to join other rebel ex-Ministers in Dar es Salaam, where he knew that Mr. Chiume, the former Foreign Minister, was plotting "with his foreign allies". He (the Prime Minister) would deal with him, Mr. Chipembere, and Mr. Yatuta Chisiza, former Minister for Home Affairs.

Mr. Chipembere, he alleged, had consulted a witch-doctor and had been sleeping on a grave in the belief that it would give him magic protection. He had posed as a courageous man and a leader, but "he is not the 'Lion of Malawi' [one of the terms of praise bestowed on Dr. Banda]; he is not a leopard or even a cat; he is a hyena". The witch-doctor's medicine would not save him. He had been afraid of being sent to Port Herald — where a detention camp is being prepared.

The Prime Minister announced that he had deposed three chiefs who were supporters of Mr. Chipembere, was investigating a fourth, and would see other chiefs and civil servants and businessmen who had sided with the ex-Minister.

### Civil Servants Dismissed

That day three African civil servants in the Information Department were dismissed for "political activities against the Government".

On the previous day nine African civil servants and a student had been sent under restriction to the Port Herald district, bringing to 18 the number placed under restriction within a week.

Nine M.P.s. who had been suspended from the Malawi Congress Party did not attend the re-opening of Parliament. Mr. Chipembere's application for permission to be present had been refused. The 40 members present, all of whom had been personally selected by Dr. Banda and returned unopposed at the general election, loudly applauded his statement about Mr. Chipembere.

They were told by Dr. Banda that he intended to move the capital from Zomba to the Lilongwe district at a cost of from £3m. to £6m., Lilongwe being at the centre of the country, near to Lake Malawi, and adjacent to great crop-growing areas. Its airport could also be easily extended. Zomba's buildings would house the projected University of Malawi. The new capital would be sited about 10 miles from Lilongwe township.

Speaking on the second reading of the Constitution Amendment Bill, Dr. Banda said that Mr. Chipembere should have

been the last person to appeal to Britain to decline to consent to the new legislation, for he did not believe in the British connexion, the Queen, or the Governor-General. "He was always damning the British. Now he poses as a loyal subject of the Queen. I hope that Mr. Wilson is not deceived". In any event, the British Government could not interfere in the internal affairs of Malawi.

The powers of detention which he sought would merely restore the law of the old Colonial Government. The powers proposed were needed to deal swiftly and without mercy with Messrs. Chipembere, Chiume, and their dupes.

Mr. Michael Blackwood, the European Leader of the Opposition, said that he disliked powers of restriction without recourse to the courts, but that in Africa, where rumour ran riot and action followed rumour, Governments must be able to act quickly.

A back-bencher said that all M.P.s. were liable to be killed. He had been beaten up, and 85 houses in his constituency had been burnt when a chief was deposed.

The amendments give authority to detain anyone without trial and to dismiss from Parliament any member expelled by his party.

The intention to introduce preventive detention is believed to have caused the resignation from the Cabinet a few weeks ago of Mr. Colin Cameron, the only European Minister.

In Parliament on Friday Dr. Banda said that he hoped other missionaries and professional and businessmen would leave of their own accord because they had been "intriguing in my politics". He would not use his powers to detain without trial Europeans or Asians if they did not meddle in politics.

### Guns for Young Pioneers

In Cholo on Saturday he told Young Pioneers that he would buy them tractors with which to till the soil and guns with which to protect it and to defend the country against any attacks organized by Mr. Chiume.

The Tanganyika Government newspaper, *The Nationalist*, now couples Dr. Banda's name with that of Mr. Tshombe. It reported that Dr. Banda "is so swayed by superstition that he now walks with a limp because of a human molar tooth which he has been advised to keep under his toe to counter witchcraft".

Mr. Surtee, Deputy Speaker, has been elected Speaker, the previous holder of that office, Mr. Alec Nyasulu, having become Minister of Natural Resources.

Mr. Manson Chiumba, M.C.P. vice-chairman for the Northern Region, has been expelled from the party because he was "an active supporter of Mr. Chirwa, lately Minister of Justice".

Radio Malawi announced on Friday that three of the former Ministers, Messrs. Chipembere, Chisiza, and Chirwa, had reached Tanzania (the new name of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar). Mr. Chiume was already in Dar es Salaam. Two other ex-Ministers are in Zambia.

### Britons Forced Out

Next day Major Peter Moxon, a European farmer, and his African wife and three children were ordered to leave Malawi. They did so at once. Until a few months ago he had been an Independent member of the Malawi Parliament and a strong supporter of the Malawi Congress Party. He is considered to have been victimized for speaking in favour of Mr. Chipembere.

Mr. Colin Cameron, Dr. Banda's Minister of Works until he resigned recently, has also been forced to leave the country. As a solicitor he had been acting for Mr. Chipembere, and came under such intimidation that the British High Commissioner appealed at the week-end for a guarantee for the safety of Mr. and Mrs. Cameron and their three children. The Prime Minister having refused, they decided to leave.

They had been accommodated in the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in Blantyre, allegedly at the suggestion of the Governor-General, Sir Glyn Jones, who had arranged for a police guard at the mission. At very short notice the Camerons sold their furniture preparatory to departure for Britain.

Mr. Albert McAdam, of the mission staff, who has a wife and four children, is also to leave. Malawi Youth Leaguers had threatened Mr. McAdam and Mr. Cameron (who told journalists that he had taken no part in politics since his resignation).

### Rhodesian Tobacco Sales

TOBACCO SALES at the Salisbury auctions to October 20 had produced £35,022,296, an average of 25.94d. for the 323,836,126 lb. of leaf sold. U.K. buyers have bought rather more than 120m. lb. this season.

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## Criticisms from General Public

(Continued from page 171)

MRS. MARY GOODALL wrote from Gerrards Cross:—  
"Has Mr. Wilson forgotten that not so many years ago this country encouraged young Britons to emigrate and put money into the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland? So surely the U.K. has some responsibility to these young people now the Federation has disintegrated.

People like myself with children and grandchildren out there deplore this hostile policy of interference with their internal affairs, and will continue to give them our support in peaceful co-operation. Rudeness and aggression will not intimidate Rhodesia, but rather have the opposite effect. If we are able to find a peaceful, just, and amicable solution to the problem, we can hardly hope to do so in the councils of the world, where the larger nations cannot be bullied".

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., said in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*:

"The Prime Minister has seen fit to precipitate a crisis in Rhodesia less than two weeks after taking office and before he has held any discussion with any Rhodesian Minister.

"The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has apparently said that the purpose of this threatening statement from Downing Street was to make the constitutional position clear to Rhodesians before the referendum on independence. If this is so, then the Labour Government should also make clear what their own intentions are with regard to Rhodesia.

"Will they alter the 1962 Constitution? If so, how soon do they anticipate African majority rule? Do they intend to stand by the convention of non-interference or not? Will they continue to support Rhodesia at the United Nations or will they not?

"Let Mr. Wilson declare his own hand honestly and openly before he talks of treason to a people with a record of gallantry and loyalty unsurpassed in the Commonwealth".

### Does One Ask the Crew?

MR. GRAHAME MERVYN, of Godalming, dismissed as wholly unrealistic the one-man-one-vote principle, asking: "Does one ask the crew of a ship who the captain shall be?"

"One has only to compare Rhodesia and Bechuanaland to see the enormous benefits that British colonization has brought to the former country—one with an organized life of the 20th century; the other remaining as primitive as was most of Africa south of the Equator when Rhodes first visited the territory.

"Let us make no mistake about it: with the exodus of the white man the whole economy of Rhodesia will run down. One has only to look at the Congo and Algeria. There must be thousands in those countries who look back to the days when the Belgians and the French gave them jobs and stability.

"If the same disaster happens to Rhodesia, who is to repair the damage? Loans from our own hard-pressed economy, or from the United Nations—already vastly in debt?

"Why on earth should the opinions of the chiefs be of no value? It is said that they are an anachronism. Yet they still hold the tribal power and tribal life is still essential to Africa. At present we are more inclined to listen to the noisy political leaders, and more prepared to side with them.

"Are we to be asked to bear arms against our own kith and kin?"

MR. D. R. MYDDELTON wrote:—

"Is it relevant to ask, as you do, whether the tribal chiefs really understand the complexities of the Southern Rhodesian Constitution? The question, surely, is how far they represent African opinion', not what is the depth of knowledge behind that opinion. The less the tribal chiefs understand about constitutional complexities the more representative they will be of that African opinion' which you, among others, are now so eager to sample."

Another correspondent took the *Telegraph* to task for its editorial comment, saying:—

"If one is to consider your statement seriously, I presume that when Wilson goes to Washington in the near future to kiss feet on taking office he will remind the President that Britain considers the Thirteen Colonies to be still in a state of rebellion and that he, the President, is a successor of a revolutionary junta.

"By publishing your leader you place yourself alongside the rabble who are now in control of Britain, and accordingly deserving of an award for devotion to asininity.

"Should the Rhodesians choose independence they will acquire a higher status than that enjoyed by the people of these Socialist-ridden isles".

MR. J. W. SKILLINGTON, of Wellingborough, pointed out that:—

"Quite apart from the rights and wrongs of Mr. Smith's actions, it should be borne in mind that probably not one African State Government (except perhaps that of Nigeria) would care to carry out a detailed consultation with all its nationals—as Mr. Smith is apparently pressed to do—and in addition adopt any recommendations made. Not many would consult the traditional chiefs".

MR. JOHN CONNELL asked how it was proposed to distinguish between the Rhodesian Government and the Rhodesian people. When would a law-abiding citizen be considered a sedition-monger? British supporters of Indian nationalism, Kenya African nationalism, Malawi nationalism, Arab nationalism, and Zionism had been allowed to speak and write vigorously without the threat of suppression now made against those who would wish to support Rhodesia.

## Chiefs' Indaba in Rhodesia

"Most Impressed," Say New Zealand M.P.s.

MR. J. H. GEORGE, M.P. Chief Government Whip in New Zealand, and two other Members of the Parliament of that country, who attended the final session in Domboshawa of the *indaba* of Rhodesian chiefs and headmen, have said that they were "very impressed with the most fair conduct of the *indaba*, which certainly showed no signs of having been rigged in any way". They felt that the chiefs had expressed their conviction that there would be peace and happiness in the country but for external interference.

The leader of the delegation, Mr. George, paid tribute to the fairness of Mr. Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs, and the manner in which he had put the situation to the chiefs.

As a result of their six-day visit, he and his colleagues had, he said, a very different opinion of Rhodesia, which their Prime Minister had asked them to visit on their way to the annual meeting in Jamaica of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. They could thus speak with some personal knowledge when Rhodesia was discussed at the conference.

The *indaba* was also attended by Mr. Peter Grey, M.P., on behalf of the official Opposition in Rhodesia, and by members of the diplomatic and consular corps.

Last week's report can now be somewhat amplified. The first speaker at the final session, an elderly chief, declared that all present wanted independence for Rhodesia because people living overseas could not see and understand its problems. African politicians had forced people in the rural areas to sign petitions denouncing independence. The one-man-one-vote principle, which those politicians wanted, was no part of the African system. Government and chiefs could together end the troubles in the tribal areas.

As to the propaganda against the chiefs and the argument that they had been "bought by the Government", both chiefs and M.P.s. were paid by Government—the politicians receiving far more than chiefs.

The second chief to speak said that the country was being destroyed by African politicians who were quite incapable of running Rhodesia. Only the Government could do that: it should strike while the iron was hot. Chiefs did not operate under Government duress, and they did not want to see repeated in their country the great chaos which had been created in countries to the north.

Given independence, said another speaker, there would be peace in the country. It was deplorable that European politicians should make common cause with African politicians, and thugs who now threatened the lives of people of Rhodesia.

Several other chiefs blamed overseas politicians for encouraging the African trouble-makers. It was an open secret that they received support from overseas.

In countries to the north, said one speaker, the African politicians were like packs of dogs fighting over a bone. Wild dogs and hyenas had also got among the herd in Rhodesia. It was absolutely clear that the country could not have an African nationalist Government. The Europeans must support the African chiefs in maintaining order, and the ties with Britain must be cut.

## Press Comment on Rhodesia

### Anxiety About Prime Minister's Message

PRESS COMMENT in the United Kingdom has indicated anxiety about the wording of the Prime Minister's message.

If Mr. Wilson's aim was to give Rhodesians the greatest possible shock, even at the risk of hardening their resistance, he has gone the best way about it, said *The Times*, which wrote, *inter alia*:—

"The tone of Mr. Wilson's warning was stern and grim, unsoftened by any indication that he was addressing people who are still our friends and fellow-citizens even if their politics are obsolete and they now harbour dangerous thoughts. Mr. Wilson seems determined to heighten the effect by calling the Chief of the Defence Staff to a Cabinet concerned with Rhodesia.

"British interference with the Rhodesian Constitution would provide Mr. Smith with the justification he seeks. Mr. Wilson is unlikely to accept the African nationalist demand that the British Government should unilaterally abrogate the Constitution. Even so, the new British Government plainly does not think it sacrosanct, and Mr. Smith may find ways of accusing it of interference. Fortunately, he seems to have soft-pedalled his promise of independence by Christmas—but he has to look over his shoulder at his own extremists.

"Mr. Wilson was right to tell Rhodesians that unconstitutional action would end in disaster for them. He went farther, however. To say that those who give effect to any act of 'rebellion' would be guilty of 'treasonable activity' may be technically right, but risks being absurd. The average Rhodesian will find it ridiculous if applied to himself.

### Clumsy

"Even if it is only intended to show how British importers of tobacco or exporters of tractors could be brought into an embargo, it is clumsy. The Government has other ways of penalizing trade or financial aid to a defiant Rhodesia.

"It needed saying that a rebellion would make it constitutionally impossible for Rhodesians to retain the Crown (which they revere) or Commonwealth membership; and that it would render them international outcasts. Of course they would lose British citizenship too—if the rebellion succeeded. But they have not rebelled yet.

"Nor will they condone treason in saying 'yes' in the referendum though the question—whether the voters approve the obtaining of independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution—is equivocal. We must hope Mr. Smith may yet settle for the Welensky-Whitehead policy of living within the autonomy of the present Constitution. The Rhodesian public should know enough to step back from the brink."

"Rebellion and Interdict" was the title given to the *Daily Telegraph* leader, which included the following passages:—

"Mr. Wilson has rightly given the sternest possible warning that he who takes the law into his own hands sets his foot upon a slippery slope towards an abyss of which he cannot see the bottom.

"If he carries out his threat, Britain and the collective Commonwealth could lay Rhodesia under the secular equivalent of an interdict. It would be the duty of the Governor-General to dismiss Mr. Smith and his colleagues from office, and if he failed to discharge it he would himself be removed by the Queen on the advice of her United Kingdom Ministers. Mr. Smith and his Cabinet would be reduced to the status of a revolutionary junta; it would be an offence to aid and abet them; officers and men continuing in their service would be guilty of mutiny.

### No Way Back into Commonwealth Comity

"Rhodesians would be deprived of access to the London money market; fiscal preferences would disappear; all who tried to trade with them would meet with difficulties that might easily involve them in illegalities. The status of British subjects, which Rhodesians have enjoyed, could be revoked by Parliament. Rhodesia would be left isolated in a mainly hostile continent. Nor would there be any way back into the comity of the Commonwealth.

"It is scarcely conceivable that Mr. Smith, his party and his constituents, have fully realized these disastrous results of the step they contemplate. Tempers are high, and wild and whirling words may be forgiven and forgotten when the heat of the moment has passed. If Mr. Smith returns to the quest of an agreed solution to Rhodesia's dilemma he will be given credit for his manifestly sincere desire to remain loyal to the Queen and the British connexion. But he cannot return to the

*status quo ante*. He cannot harmonize Rhodesian policy with that of Britain unless he is ready to move forward—at whatever pace may be agreed—in the general direction that the whole Commonwealth is travelling.

"As the suzerain Power the U.K. is responsible for the provision of an expanding future for more than three million Africans in Rhodesia. The very great degree of self-government that has been extended to the white rulers of the country makes it impossible to secure these interests by any authoritarian means. There has always been a presumption that the Government in Southern Rhodesia would work in its own way towards the same goal. Mr. Smith has brought this presumption to an end, and left Britain at the bar of world opinion in a position of responsibility not only without power but without influence. That is not a situation which can drag on for ever."

### Remember South Africa

The *Guardian* said:—

"Mr. Wilson's message, stiff as it is, is in line with the discussion at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in July. It is not an eccentric departure by Mr. Wilson. It springs from the consistent attitude of the British Government, which ever party is in power, and has the support of the Commonwealth countries at large.

"The Rhodesian Constitution is a creation of the British Parliament, within whose jurisdiction its amendment still lies. If the Rhodesian Government acts as its leader indicates, Rhodesians will cease to be British subjects. Few, if any, foreign Governments will recognize her. The financial and trade relations between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom (which takes nearly half of her exports) will be jeopardized; and she will be left 'isolated and friendless in a largely hostile continent'. It is astonishing that this grave and explicit warning should be described by the Rhodesian Premier as 'irresponsible behaviour by Britain'.

"Sir Edgar Whitehead, as ever sensible and unexcited, said that Rhodesia had missed the boat by failing to demonstrate African support for independence—it is plain what his opinion of the *indaba* is—and that it would be best to let the present Constitution stand for a time, not to seize independence on a trivial excuse."

"Mr. Smith's attitude must arouse a sympathetic response in the South African Republic, and he may have at the back of his mind the possibility, if other links are broken, of becoming a satellite, or even a province, of the one country on the continent in which the dogma of white superiority is entrenched. One cannot believe that this would be welcomed by many who now give him their excited support. But if the wrong turn is taken now, the logic of events may drive him into Dr. Verwoerd's arms. That is a possibility to be borne in mind by everybody concerned."

### Labour Precipitating a Crisis

The London *Evening Standard* considered the warning to be couched in terms of astonishing gravity.

"This ultimatum can only aggravate a delicate situation. It offers no persuasion, only threats. It proposes no constructive way in which a solution acceptable to Britain could be worked out. Instead of the conventions of diplomacy it uses blackmail.

"The hot-headed tone of this statement can only encourage hot-headed action by Rhodesian whites who were already bristling at the prospect of active interference.

"By brandishing words like 'treason' and 'rebellion', by promising 'serious consequences' to anyone in the U.K. who aided or traded with an independent régime, the Labour Government is simply precipitating a crisis which was still just short of the boil. The effect will be to destroy any vestiges of trust which the country's leaders had placed with the British Government."

The *Statist* thought it infinitely sad that loyal British subjects should be driven towards treason. If the Rhodesian bomb blew up in Mr. Bottomley's face it would be because he had tried to smother it rather than defuse it.

Mr. Smith's best way of keeping the white man on top for as long as possible, said the *Economist*, was to stay put and leave Mr. Wilson to do the worrying.

In the *Spectator* Mr. Iain Macleod wrote:—

"While Zambia rolled smoothly towards her independence, Ian Smith was presenting his charade of chiefs to an unimpressed world. It was inept of Mr. Wilson to issue his invitation summons to Mr. Smith at a moment when he must have known Mr. Smith could not leave Salisbury. It was

inept foot of Mr. Bottomley to lose his opportunity of confronting the Southern Rhodesian Government by insisting on conditions that had little relevance to the immediate explosive situation. But no exception can be taken to the British Government's firm statement of the consequences of treasonable action against the Crown. The commander-in-chief has gone. The judges and the Governor remain.

"This is not a problem which can be dumped on the United Nations. If (perhaps now one should write 'when') a declaration of independence comes from Rhodesia the best hope of averting a bloody uprising rests with the British Government. Secondly, with the Commonwealth. The U.N. is a bad third".

### Last Chance for Sanity

The *New Statesman* said in a comment headed "Small Hope for Rhodesia": —

"Mr. Wilson's dramatic statement has succeeded in breaking through those barriers of silence and deception which the Rhodesian Government had erected. It was a statement that should have been made at least two months ago.

"Rhodesians will have to bear the obloquy, isolation, and financial loss should they decide to support Mr. Smith and his wild men. Britain had to make clear to them as starkly as possible just where they are heading.

"This week was the last chance for sanity. The referendum was due on November 5. Our obligation to the 3.6m. Africans in the country is profound. We could not leave them to the mercies of a regime which has organized for them conditions of life bad even by some South African and Portuguese standards. British policy, restated at the U.N. this week, is one of 'peaceful transition to African majority rule'.

"Rhodesians have been encouraged to see themselves as a nation betrayed by Britain, even as the victims of some international racial or Communist conspiracy. They have come to resemble a nation of ostriches led by a super-ostrich... The ostrich's head desperately needed to be raised from the sand. The only chance for Rhodesia, and particularly for its African population, is that the British statement will restore sanity and lead to civilized and peaceful negotiations between the two Governments in pursuit of a new Constitution. It is a small — but by no means negligible — hope".

### Like Ultimatum on Eve of War

The *Church Times* said: —

"The whole tone of the message was unprecedented in modern diplomacy, being far more harsh than any language ever employed, for instance, to a Communist country during the cold war; it was like an ultimatum on the eve of war.

"The British action is dictated chiefly by the necessity to go along with the overwhelming feeling in favour of Africanization which is found among other members of the Commonwealth and at the United Nations.

"Mr. Wilson's Government, like its predecessor, is determined only to give Rhodesia her independence if the Rhodesian Constitution is changed to allow the principle of one-man-one-vote, which would mean the immediate end of white rule in Salisbury.

"Now that the British Government is twisting the arm of small Rhodesia, is it also prepared to give parallel treatment to big South Africa in an attempt to induce a change of heart on apartheid?"

The diplomatic correspondent of the *Financial Times*

concluded an examination of the effect of economic sanctions: —

"In the last resort the time factor is vital to any consideration of economic sanctions. If Britain and her friends were unable to bring Mr. Smith to reason by such methods within six months to a year, Southern Rhodesia might gain a degree of *de facto* recognition, as Katanga did. Legal experts quote the old saw by John Harrington:

'Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?

If it prosper, none dare call it treason'."

Ending the Commonwealth preference would not be disastrous; this season, for instance, the preference has mainly benefited British importers, not Rhodesian farmers, over production having brought down the price by almost the exact amount of the preference. Cessation of British imports would be much more serious, for British buyers take about one-third of the crop. The U.S.A. would, of course, be glad to unload some of its stockpile of 700m. lb. of leaf.

If sanctions were imposed Rhodesia would be deprived of the benefits of the Commonwealth sugar quota. Banning her beef exports would affect British consumers, Rhodesia being now the U.K.'s fourth meat supplier.

About a quarter of Rhodesia's annual output of £150m. of manufactures is sold to Zambia, the closing of whose frontiers would be a crippling blow. Dr. Kaunda, however, would be under pressure not to take extreme action, for more than half the power supply for the Copperbelt and the rest of Zambia comes from the power station on the Rhodesian side of the dam, and the thermal stations in Zambia rely on cheap coal from Wankie, also in Rhodesia.

"Worst of all, Zambia's copper is nearly all exported through Southern Rhodesia to Mozambique ports. It could use the Benguela Railway to Lobito instead, but the goodwill of Portugal—and about 50 extra locomotives—would be required".

### Left-Wing Lunacy

"Peter Simple" wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*: —

"An *indaba* of such tribal chiefs as Bertrand Russell, Bishop Mervyn Stockwood, and Fenner Brockway would, of course, lead to a foregone conclusion. But a referendum of the whole nation, after an unbiased explanation of the facts of the matter, would certainly give the left a horrible shock. I would be surprised if it showed less than a 90% vote for Mr. Smith.

"There is something nauseating in the assumption of the left, based on years of virtual control of the organs of opinion, that it speaks for the people of this country on such matters as this. The left has reached such a pitch of arrogance and complacency that it can even speak of using British troops against the white Rhodesians and be confident of arousing no more public protest than a few letters in the papers.

"But there is a difference between saying and doing. Let the Government move near to putting such a monstrous proposal into effect and there would be such a roar of indignation as has not been heard since the spring of 1940."

The *News of the World* suggested that nobody in Britain could wholeheartedly back Mr. Smith and some applauded Mr. Wilson for addressing Rhodesians in language more reminiscent of the 18th than the 20th century. Britain should tell Rhodesians, irrespective of colour, that the final solution must see justice done to all. "Above all, let us not dream of branding as traitors people who have shown their loyalty to the death in two world wars".

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## Overthrow of Sudan Government

(Concluded from page 174)

parties, Umma, the National Unionists, the Peoples' Democrats, and the Muslim Brotherhood, and representatives of the trade unions and various professional bodies, including medicine, law, education, and engineering.

Two former Foreign Ministers are included, but not the two former Prime Ministers, Mr. Ismail Azhari and Mr. Abdullah Khalil.

The climax came after more than a week of rioting and three days of general strike organized by the Communists and other leftists.

Trouble began when troops moved into Khartoum University during a debate by students, opened fire at close range, and killed one man and wounded others. The student's funeral was attended by many thousands, and there were again clashes with troops.

There were simultaneous demonstrations in Omdurman, Atbara, Port Sudan, Juba, and Malakal, and by the middle of last week the dead were said to number about 50 and the wounded and injured to run into many hundreds.

Demonstrators in Khartoum and Omdurman set fire to many petrol stations, two hotels, two pro-Government newspaper offices, a number of bars and cabarets, and some public property.

The military junta closed the university, dismissed several judges, and made wholesale arrests.

At that stage President Abboud negotiated for the formation of a Government equally divided between military and civilian members, but while discussions were proceeding machine-gun fire was opened at close range on a crowd, described as good-humoured, near the Palace. Twelve youths were killed and dozens wounded.

A few hours later the generals had been dismissed and civilian administration accepted.

The new Prime Minister, who served for some time in the south, and is known to be sympathetic to the aspirations of the southern provinces, has appealed to the leaders of the revolt, now nearly 10 years old, to cease their resistance on the promise of a new deal from Khartoum.

## Lonrho Buy Riddoch Motors

LONRHO, LTD., has acquired a 51% interest in Riddoch Motors, Ltd., Tanganyika, a business founded in 1941 by Mr. John L. Riddoch as a private company with a capital of £18,000. Since 1950 the issued capital has been £250,000, held by some 300 shareholders in Tanganyika, Kenya, Britain, and elsewhere. The headquarters are in Arusha, and there are branches in Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Moshi, Iringa, and Mwanza.

The balance sheet for the year to May 31 shows fixed assets at £249,695 and current assets at £213,290. The trading profit was £126,597, against £77,179 in 1963, and after paying £38,732 in taxes, there was a net profit of £57,900 (£50,929). The 12% dividend is repeated. After adding £10,000 to the dividend equalization reserve the carry-forward is £80,985.

The report gives interesting statistics of the part played by the company in the economy of Tanganyika. It has re-invested £300,000 of profits in the acquisition and development of property; has paid about the same sum in tax since 1946; has paid customs duties of £470,000 in the last decade; has made annual local purchases exceeding £185,000; and has disbursed about the same amount each year in the salaries and wages of some 440 people, whose dependents number 1,500.

Mr. Riddoch intends to resign from the board, whose other members are Mr. A. T. Bewes, managing director (who will shortly retire), Mr. D. R. McDonald, Mr. E. McDonald, and Mr. H. E. Sarwatt, M.P.

## Rhodesia Wants British Capital

MR. RONALD WALKER, chairman of the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia and of the recently formed Mining Export Promotion Council, and a director of the Rhodesian subsidiary of the Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, told journalists in London on Friday that it was hoped to increase mineral exports from about £25m. to £32m. annually, and that there were to be talks in two or three months with British mining finance interests in the City.

New techniques in prospecting, mining and treatment made it likely that deposits in a highly mineralized country which it had not previously been economic to exploit could now be profitably worked. Perhaps as much as half of Rhodesia had been inadequately prospected. Nearly all the present gold mines had been based on ancient workings, dating back 900 years or more.

## Kenya Republican Constitution Regional Assemblies Deprived of Power

THE CONSTITUTION proposed for Kenya when it becomes a republic next month is under sharp criticism — not only from the Kenya African Democratic Union, which struggled for two years for the creation of seven regional assemblies with wide powers in matters of land, education, police, and civil service, and had safeguards written into the Constitution negotiated in London, but also from the Nyanza Regional Assembly in regard to the position of the Vice-President of the republic.

Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, is to become President, with a seat in the Cabinet, and it is generally assumed that he will nominate Mr. Odinga, the popular Luo leader, as Vice-President.

The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill, however, provides that the Vice-President may hold no other public office and does not ensure that he will succeed if the President should die.

After many hours of debate the Nyanza Regional Assembly resolved to recommend that the Vice-President should not be nominated by the President but be elected by adult suffrage.

Mr. Odinga is believed not to want to surrender his office as Minister of Home Affairs (with control of the police), and that view was reflected in a number of speeches.

In a long speech in Parliament Mr. Mboya said that the Westminster model was being rejected and the President would be an M.P. That would correct the weakness of the American Constitution of lack of co-operation, and even hostility, between the executive President and the Legislature though both were elected by the people.

He attacked the Leader of the Opposition for describing the Bill as "a dictatorship Constitution" and for talking of totalitarianism and an ugly personality cult. The danger of democracy in Kenya came not from totalitarian tendencies in K.A.N.U. but from the wild irresponsibility of K.A.D.U. The purpose was not to abolish regional assemblies but to give the Central Government the right to decide which matters should be administered centrally and which locally.

### Right to Address Both Houses

As Head of State the President could address both Houses and without interruption, but as a member of the Lower House and head of the Cabinet he could take part in debates in that House and vote. Like other Ministers, he could speak in the Senate but not vote there.

The Vice-President would be appointed from the Lower House, and other Cabinet Ministers from either House.

Parliamentary Secretaries would in future be described as Assistant Ministers, because outside the Commonwealth the title Parliamentary Secretary was not understood and the holders of the office were being mistaken for clerks.

All matters of national importance, including education, agriculture, health, and economic development, would rest with the Central Government, not with the regions, and the provisions of the present Constitution concerning relations with the regional assemblies would be swept away.

In the new circumstances presidents and members of regional assemblies must not expect salaries; payment of allowances for attendance would be considered.

Regional Government agents would revert to the old title of district commissioner.

Tribalism did not stem from the masses of the people, but from some leaders.

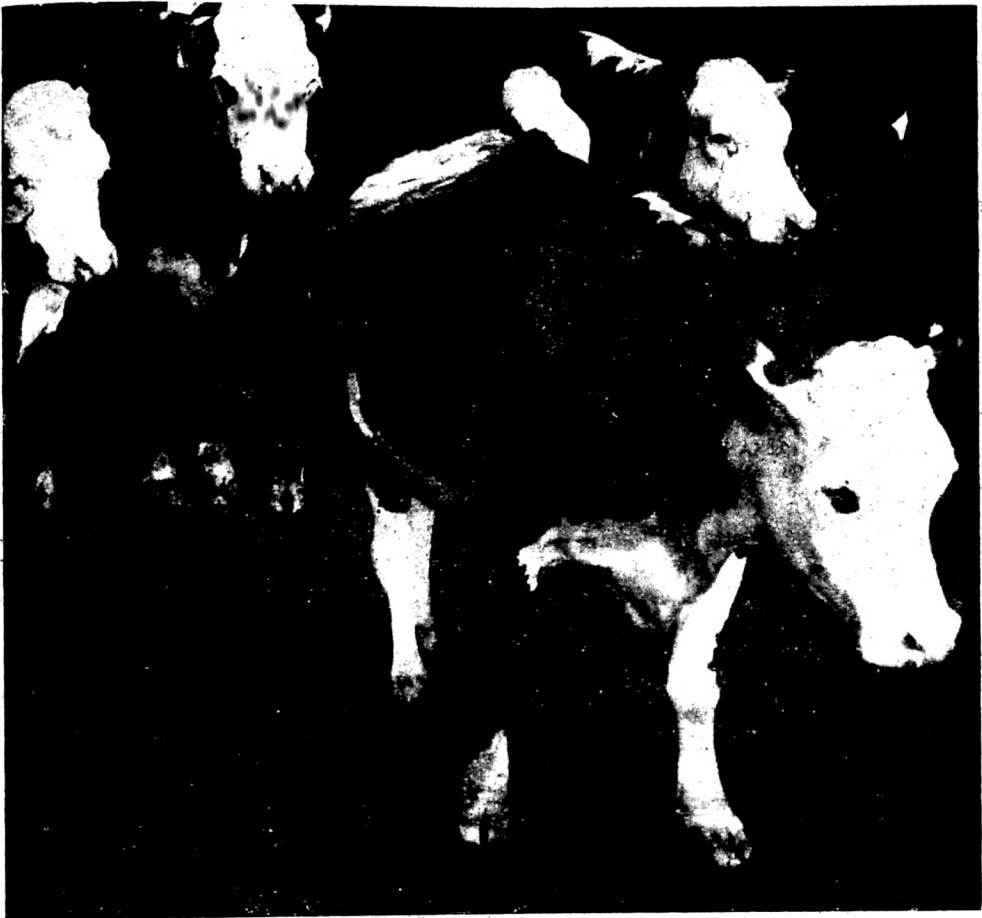
"The non-Africans must pay more than lip-service to the task of nation-building".

K.A.D.U. spokesmen have strongly criticized the Bill as making Kenya a dictatorship.

In the hope of obtaining a 75% majority for the Bill, all members of the House of Representatives travelling abroad were summoned a few days ago to return immediately. K.A.D.U. has only 22 votes out of 129 in the Assembly, but Mr. Ngai's Kamba group has 11. In the Senate K.A.N.U. has 27 seats out of 41, four less than the necessary majority. On Tuesday in the Lower House the Government had 101 votes to 20, the necessary majority.

INSTEAD OF CONTINUING the annual metal bonus paid to their employees, the Copperbelt mining companies have decided to increase basic wages by 21% and to pay a Christmas bonus of 5%. The Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Trade Union, considering that a greater percentage should be consolidated into the basic wages, has given notice of a dispute. Mr. N. D. Hunt, of the Ministry of Labour and Mines, has been appointed conciliator.





## Beef: a safe investment in Rhodesia

After the Argentine and Australia, Rhodesia has probably the best potential for export beef production in the world, but is as yet largely undeveloped.

*PHILLIPS REPORT 1964.*

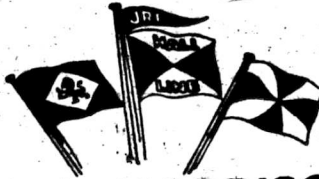
Rhodesian herds are increasing and now number over three and a half million head. Rhodesian beef is welcomed in the meat markets of the world. Moreover, the African continent, with a rising standard of living, will call for more and more beef.

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1964

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN** which last month received 44.1% of the votes cast in the general election has rejected the claim to independence submitted by a Government in Rhodesia which last Thursday received 88.1% of the votes recorded by referendum on the subject of independence, in favour of which there had been unanimous support a few days earlier by an *indaba* of more than six hundred chiefs and headmen. These most striking statistical comparisons with recent events in Britain have, so far as we know, not been thought worthy of notice by even one United Kingdom newspaper, though it was, of course, the duty of commentators with any claim to responsibility to work out these facts from the statistics available. That none should have taken the trouble to do so indicates that the Press in general has once more been as indifferent as the radio and television channels and the politicians of all three parties to impartial assessment of the Rhodesian case. There is among the Parliamentary members of the Conservative, Socialist and Liberal parties a consensus of defeatism, against which tragically few Tories, headed as always by Lord Salisbury, continue to warn the public—a public which has ceased to be shocked and shamed by dishonourable behaviour by a British Government.

While completely disregarding the awkward truth that the Prime Minister of Rhodesia has the support of a poll exactly double that of the new Socialist Government in this country, the British Press has emphasized that only 62.4% of the Rhodesian electorate voted. No attempt has been made to present that proportion in its proper perspective. While a higher turnout would obviously have been more impressive, it is unreasonable to deride that result and ludicrous to lampoon it as un-

representative of responsible opinion. In order to encourage the largest possible number of Rhodesians to express their judgment, Mr. Smith had to adopt an optimistic attitude, but at no time did he suggest a poll of more than 70%; and some Rhodesians who bitterly oppose his tactics (though strongly in favour of negotiated independence) told us well in advance of the referendum date that the Rhodesian Front would have cause for great satisfaction if it could gain 75% of the votes in a poll of not under 60%. It obtained, we repeat, 88.1% in a 62.4% poll. Support for early independence (though not by seizure) is demonstrably even higher, for there can be no doubt about the sentiments of the 944 electors who deliberately spoil their papers by voting "yes" and adding some such words as "but by negotiation". If any of the 944 had shared the views of those who voted "no", they would manifestly have acted similarly. The pro-independence vote must therefore be taken as 58,091 plus 944, making 59,035, or 89.5% of the total. Even that underestimates the feelings of the country, for some citizens who would be glad to see Rhodesia free from interference by politicians in Britain must have answered "no" as a means of restraining their own Ministers until every conceivable alternative to a unilateral declaration of independence had been tried and exhausted.

It is fantastic that such figures should be dismissed as of no practical value by a Socialist Government in Britain which has slipped into power on a minority vote totalling 12.2 millions, against

**Mr. Smith Wins by the Westminister Test.** the 15.4 million votes for anti-Socialist candidates—a Government which, despite this minority of 3.2 millions, has 317 seats in the House of Commons compared with 313 held by the two other parties. When the obviously crazy system of Parliamentary

"democracy" which has produced such absurdities serves the interests of careerist politicians to whom it has brought office, or of others before whom it dangles the possibility of that change of fortune at the next hustings, they withhold their criticism; but when non-professionals in an African territory which has been self-governing for forty years receive an incomparably higher percentage of votes, the figures are decried. If the measure of endorsement by the electorate is to be regarded as the true test — as the Westminster system insists — Mr. Smith has a far, far better title to fulfilment of his policy than Mr. Harold Wilson has for his programme. Since it will be objected that the vote in Rhodesia was on an illiberal franchise, be it recalled that the basis was prescribed by a United Kingdom Government, was not criticized by the then Opposition (now the Government), and was promptly accepted by the African delegates at the conference, including in particular Mr. Nkomo — who, in the manner customary among so many African politicians, went back on his signature immediately agitation was stoked up by worse extremists. As usual, they were counselled from outside the country, and have ever since been sustained by such organizers and encouragers of conflict, who never experience difficulty in providing funds, supporting noises in the Press and on the radio, and nowadays the plastic bombs and other insignia of modern "anti-colonialism".

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Political gamesmanship may amuse and cheer its cynical practitioners in the West, for whom it produces welcome thrills to lighten their labours, but it cannot be expected to be

#### Irrelevant Antics of Political Theorists.

appreciated by its victims, actual or potential, in Africa. Rhodesians are in no mood to be entertained by the irrelevant antics of theorists in Britain and the United States, at the United Nations, and among lately independent African States, from all of which quarters they receive a plethora of abuse and advice which has little or no bearing on their dilemma. From the elected leaders of the United Kingdom, to which Rhodesians have shown a loyalty unsurpassed by any other Commonwealth country, they have received a message so brutal that it reads like an ultimatum. It contained not one word of sympathy. Evidently recognizing the grave folly of the communication, Socialist spokesmen are now trying to pretend that the intention was not unfriendly, that the Wilson Administration genuinely wants free discussion, and even that there is no plan to thrust upon Rhodesia an un-

realistically early date for a black majority in Parliament. These excuses bear no sort of relation to the belligerency of Mr. Wilson's much publicized letter to the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, who is consequently entirely justified in saying that he sees no purpose in accepting an invitation to London unless he can be assured in advance that a visit would be in the interests of his country. Sir Roy Welensky, who leads the party which opposes Mr. Smith's Rhodesian Front, was thinking similarly when he said on arrival in London that "it is time the heat was taken off Rhodesia".

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The Wilson plan, however, is to live dangerously, on the principle that he will thereby prevent splits in his own following and survive assaults from opponents who

#### Unfriendly Acts of Socialist Ministers.

have no relish for another general election in the early future. By sending to the United Nations as the chief spokesman for Britain one of the bitterest and most vocal critics of Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson deliberately or recklessly touched a raw nerve in that country, which, having felt itself inadequately defended by British representatives on a number of earlier occasions, cannot but interpret the appointment of Sir Hugh Foot (now Lord Caradon) as an unfriendly act. The stipulation that the Commonwealth Relations Secretary would visit Rhodesia only if he could talk to African politicians who have been jailed for what Mr. Smith has called "heinous crimes" was another piece of unfriendliness. What would Britons think if a Rhodesian Minister offered to come to London for discussions only on condition that he could confer with men sentenced to terms of imprisonment on seditious or similar charges? If a tragic and worsening situation is to be relieved, Socialist Ministers must show a more realistic attitude and take into account both the facts of life in Rhodesia and the immeasurable damage suffered by that country in the last few years from the follies and faithlessness of British politicians. The main blame is theirs, and it is upon them that the chief responsibility lies for realistic understanding.

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MR. CHIPEMBERE, the most likely successor of Dr. Banda in the office of Prime Minister of Malawi, has thrown down a challenge which that vain and irascible man will find it extremely difficult to ignore. As he recently told Parliament, he wanted the most powerful of his enemies

brought back "alive or in any other way". A couple of days later he had to admit that the troops and police to whom he had given the dead-or-alive order had failed to intercept the fugitive (to whom they perhaps wished good luck) and that he had reached Tanzania (Tanganyika) and joined other Malawi refugees in that country. To the surprise of everyone, assuredly including Dr. Banda himself, Mr. Cameron, another of his ex-Ministers, said last week before boarding an aircraft on quitting the country that Mr. Chipembere had not been out of the country and intended to remain in it. Those were not the idle words of a man leaving in anger, but the message entrusted by a client to his legal adviser for publication. The obvious purpose was to say to Dr. Banda with maximum dramatic effect: "Discover where I am and get me if you can".

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If "the great Kamuzu" ignores the challenge, his prestige, already very much battered, will be further weakened. But how is the dictator to scotch a movement which could easily plunge the country into civil war? The popular "Chip" is probably in hilly country with hundreds of young admirers who would

die in his defence. Assuming that they could not hold up a military force except very temporarily—and Malawi has only a very small force—the killing of many young men who had declared themselves against Banda and his Malawi Congress Party would cause disturbances in many parts of the country and possibly mutiny among the troops, many of whom are from Mr. Chipembere's locality and tribe. And in case of need Mr. Chipembere could still skip over the border. The troops already resent the dictatorial attitude of the many petty party bosses, and also Dr. Banda's recent announcement that his Young Pioneers are to be armed with rifles. The one battalion of Malawi Rifles is still officered almost entirely by Britons — and they ought certainly not to be allowed by H.M. Government to be employed in any punitive expedition against one man, lately a Minister of the Crown, simply because another politician wants to get even with him. The Devlin Commission was scathing in its reference to Mr. Chipembere, whose extremist views and antipathy to Europeans are known to everybody. That record, however, will not help Dr. Banda to settle by force a quarrel which he most imprudently started and is very unlikely to win. He will, we believe, soon flee the country or be murdered.

## Notes By The Way

### Commonwealth Committee

TORY BACK-BENCHERS in the House of Commons, who have long had committees covering almost all important aspects of public affairs, have hitherto elected their own officers, who have been responsible for keeping the party leaders informed of the views of Members especially interested in the various subjects. That custom is, I hear, to be abandoned, and the leader of the party, now Sir Alec Douglas-Home, is to appoint the chairman of each committee. As he is expected to call upon the "Shadow Minister" responsible for each particular topic, it is to be assumed that Mr. Duncan Sandys, lately Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, will preside over the Commonwealth Committee.

### Advantage or Disadvantage?

TWO-WAY TRAFFIC of this kind is obviously advantageous when leaders and followers are in accord. When there are sharp differences, however, the new system may not work so happily, for, human nature being what it is, an ex-Minister, especially if exceptionally self-opinionated and stubborn, would scarcely be likely to emphasize to the Shadow Cabinet that his strongest endeavours to press his opinion on an explosive subject had been resisted by his committee. Fortunately, whips attend the meetings, and there is at least a possibility that they would report objectively. Their in-

stinct, however, is in support of discipline, and therefore not on the side of rebels, however good their case. The change could consequently prove an obstacle to that free flow of opinion which it is intended to facilitate.

### New Names

ARTIFICIAL NAMES for newly independent territories can be unattractive, confusing, and even detrimental. No one can argue that Tanzania, the choice of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, sounds better than Azania, the proposal which I made here some time ago. One point in its favour, I emphasized, was that in International gatherings, where precedence is so often alphabetical, the representatives of the United Republic would be near the top of the list. Tanzania will put them near the bottom; and United Republic of Tanganyika another step down. Azania, moreover, has existed for hundreds of years, being the name given in the days of the early Portuguese explorers to the East African coastal areas in general, so covering not only Zanzibar but Tanganyika (which has had that name only since the end of the first world war). I am unconvinced that the new hybrid is not an improvement. The competitors who suggested it get a £10 prize among them. How many will participate I do not know. If they get a few shillings apiece I shall not regard them as underpaid!

## Pity the Map-Makers

WHAT FOR DECADES has been called Northern Rhodesia is now Zambia. Did those who made the decision consider that postal authorities all over the world may confuse the name with Gambia, and that correspondence intended for the one territory may not infrequently be long delayed by being sent first to the other? (And, of course, an ignorant proletariat will not readily distinguish between Tanzania and Tasmania!). Map-makers naturally loathe these changes. It will be years before the new names appear in all the atlases—and by that time others will be in later lists for amendment.

## Asians Denounced as Arrogant

ASIANS were sharply criticized by Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Justice, when he addressed a large Kenya African National Union rally at Kericho. Kenya Ministers would, he said, no longer accept invitations to tea in Indian shops after rallies. According to the Government's own news agency, he described Indians in Kenya as arrogant men who paid only lip-service by befriending African leaders while despising the ordinary African. Such stupid behaviour must stop forthwith, and Indians must show whether or not they were with the Africans in nation-building. Indians should attend public rallies and hear what the African leaders had to say.

# Rhodesia's Overwhelming Majority for Independence

## Union Jack Will Not be Pulled Down, Says Mr. Smith

AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY of the votes cast in the referendum in Rhodesia last Thursday favoured independence on the basis of the present Constitution—58,091 voting "yes" to that question, 6,096 voting "no", and 944 spoiling their papers.

The total electorate was officially given as 105,628. Africans, numbering rather more than 12,500, were not expected to vote owing to intimidation and the fear of violence if they disregarded the warnings of nationalist thugs. Large numbers of Europeans, perhaps some thousands, have left the country since the present register was compiled.

The turnout of 62.4% compares with 68% at the general election three years ago. The Rhodesian Front had hoped for a 70% poll. On the A roll there are 94,269 names, nearly all European, and on the B roll 11,359, mainly Africans, but with some Asians and Coloureds.

## Rhodesian Front Could Sweep the Country

Almost 90% of the votes cast were in favour of Mr. Smith's Government—which on the basis of these results might expect to sweep the country in a general election and so obtain the two-thirds majority permitting a movement for changes in the Constitution.

Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the (Opposition) Rhodesia Party, who has not a seat in Parliament, voted before leaving for London on private business. He said he had expected a larger majority for independence under the present Constitution, and regarded the figures as an encouragement to moderation and as showing a marked desire for negotiated independence.

Lord Malvern, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for more than 20 years, said that he had been fighting for independence for 40 years, but had voted "no" because he believed that in present circumstance it would be best to persevere with the present Constitution. He was not impressed with the results of the *indaba*, because many of the Shona chiefs were "rather dodderers", whose real influence had been destroyed during the 1896 rebellion.

He told a special correspondent of *The Times* that Ministers were behaving rather like schoolchildren and that the voters had undergone brain-washing. The Rhodesian Front had, however, strong cards, and it was a question whether they could be wrested from them. In present conditions independence would be worth nothing; if it were seized there might be a re-writing of the Constitution, as in the case of other newly-independent

African States. The danger was that the Government's methods were becoming totalitarian. If, having gone to the brink, they settled down, they would probably do as well as any other Government.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, suggested that the new Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, was now duty-bound to visit Salisbury for discussions. He would be allowed to see "anyone who is free to be seen, African or European, including restrictees; but if he wishes to see the two men he is reported to wish to see and who are presently in prison [the African nationalist leaders Messrs. Nkomo and Sithole] the answer is that the laws of this country must be abided by; these two men are in prison because the Government knows they are responsible for heinous crimes".

## Ready for Inter-Government Discussions

That day Mr. Smith telegraphed to the British Government: "Now that the overall test of public opinion in the issue of Rhodesia gaining independence is over, my Government believe the moment is right to discuss the matter between our Governments".

Mr. Wilson promptly replied through Mr. J. B. Johnston, the High Commissioner in Salisbury:—

"I have received the message which your High Commissioner handed to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations this evening.

"As I explained to you in my message of October 24, I am deeply concerned about the future relations between our two countries and I entirely agree that, as I have said in messages to you and have also repeated in our Parliament here, early discussion between our two Governments is essential.

"It was for this reason that I invited you to come to London. In your reply to me of October 24 you agreed that it was very important that we should have discussions as early as possible and said that you would be very pleased to visit London for this purpose. You suggested, however, that our meeting should take place after the referendum on November 5.

"I understand that since then you have said in public that you would not be able to have a meeting with the British Government unless you were convinced that it was in the interest of Rhodesia. I am sure that it would be in the interest of Rhodesia that you and I should meet to discuss the problems now confronting us. We are as anxious as you are to see this matter settled, and I look forward to constructive talks with you.

"The Commonwealth Secretary had, as you know, been anxious to pay a visit to Southern Rhodesia when he attended the independence celebrations in Zambia, but felt it was his duty in that event to obtain a cross-section of European and African views. To our regret you did not feel able to meet his request on this point and, unless you are able to do so now, I am afraid it would not be possible for him to accept your invitation.



"I hope therefore very much that you will be able to include with your invitation to the Commonwealth Secretary an assurance that he will be able to meet representatives of all sections of Rhodesian opinion or, failing that, that you and I will be able to have full, frank and free talks in London soon."

Shortly after that message had been delivered to him, and without mentioning its receipt, Mr. Smith told journalists in Salisbury that it would be a waste of time for him to go to Britain if the Government there insisted on African majority rule as a prerequisite to the grant of independence. He was determined on independence under white rule.

### Over Our Dead Bodies

"If Britain thinks they are going to send out some poor member of the Royal Family to pull down the Union Jack in this country, then it will be over our dead bodies."

Making similar statements to television interviewers, Mr. Smith said that independence might not now come by Christmas, as he had previously hoped, but he would, of course, be glad if it could be arranged by then.

A few days earlier he had said: "I have been accused of treason. Messrs. Wilson, Bottomley, and company should take a look at themselves and see that the guilt of treason lies more on their shoulders than on any others."

Rhodesians, he was sure, would not sit paralyzed with fear and see 60 years of civilization sold down the river. He believed that most people in Britain had tremendous sympathy with Rhodesians in their critical situation.

On Monday the Rhodesian Cabinet decided to send another letter to H.M. Government, from which it is expected to seek certain assurances. The letter was delivered at the C.R.O. on Tuesday evening.

### Statements by Rhodesian Leaders

Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, said in Bulawayo at the week-end that there was now no moral reason for the British Government to withhold the grant of independence; if, after the referendum result, the answer was still "no", Rhodesians would know that the British Government "have finally abandoned all political morality in their dealings with us".

Sir Robert Tredgold, a former Chief Justice of the Federation, and two associates bought advertising space to advise electors to vote "no" and face a constitutional conference before Rhodesia moved to independence.

Mr. Britnell, a businessman, took full-page advertising space in a Salisbury newspaper on the eve of the referendum to say: "Mr. Smith Must Go. Vote No." Later he sought police protection after receiving many threats by telephone.

The Rhodesia Party came under criticism for not advising its supporters how to vote. It merely told them: "Use your intellect, not your emotions." It described the referendum as a waste of time and money.

Sir Roy Welensky said on arrival in London that Britain had no right to interfere in Rhodesia's internal affairs and that the Government of Rhodesia was alone entitled to call a constitutional conference. Rhodesians resented much in Mr. Wilson's recent statement; the warning should have been couched in different terms and would have been better made months earlier. Then it would have been unnecessary for him to re-enter the political fray.

The London branch of the Zimbabwe African National Union asked the Commonwealth Relations Office for military intervention in Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence and for Mr. Smith's detention if he should come to London. All political prisoners in Rhodesia should be released; a constitutional conference should be called; Britain should warn Portugal against sending arms to Rhodesia; and a commission should examine the dismissal of Major-General John Anderson.

### Points About the Polling

One surprise of the referendum was the low poll in some country districts in which the electors overwhelmingly support the Prime Minister. In his own constituency, for instance, the percentage poll was only 56.1%. The assumed reason for

the low turnout in country areas is that a heavy "yes" vote was taken for granted and that electors who found it inconvenient to travel to polling stations therefore regarded their abstention as unimportant.

In Sir Edgar Whitehead's constituency in Salisbury there were 1,155 "yes" votes and only 172 "noes".

For the first 26 constituencies of which results have reached London they were as follows:

Highland South, Yes, 1,136; No, 145. Bevedere, Yes, 1,171; No, 107. Greenwood, Yes, 938; No, 162. Willowvale, Yes, 686; No, 137. Mabelreign, Yes, 1,330; No, 71. Salisbury Central, Yes, 913; No, 116. Rusape, Yes, 1,101; No, 49. Greendale, Yes, 1,188; No, 97. Bulawayo-East, Yes, 1,046; No, 260. Arundel, Yes, 1,401; No, 260. Umali East, Yes, 1,223; No, 85. Marandellas, Yes, 1,083; No, 143. Gwebi, Yes, 1,379; No, 79. Bulawayo Central, Yes, 917; No, 116. Gatooma, Yes, 1,020; No, 63. Mtoko, Yes, 970; No, 155. Eastern, Yes, 1,091; No, 190. Waterfalls, Yes, 1,277; No, 59. Borrowdale, Yes, 1,106; No, 277. Hartley, Yes, 1,135; No, 77. Highlands North, Yes, 1,057; No, 222. Braeside, Yes, 1,300; No, 46. Bulawayo North, Yes, 1,142; No, 100. Marlborough, Yes, 1,261; No, 160. Avondale, Yes, 1,286; No, 200. Salisbury City, Yes, 754; No, 81.

### Africans Consulted Before The Indaba

One chief who afterwards suggested that he and others at the Domboshawa indaba had not really believed in cutting the links with Britain — though the indaba unanimously resolved on independence — has been accused of distorting the truth by others who were present.

Three chiefs who resented his statement told the *Rhodesia Herald* that he had lied. All were agreed on the following 11 points: —

That all the chiefs had fully consulted the people before their attendance at Domboshawa; that they knew the subject of independence was to be discussed; that all three had spoken at the indaba and expressed the wishes of their people; that not a single chief or headman spoke against independence at the indaba; that no-one was in any way frightened to say what he thought; that no chief was refused a chance to speak; that their decision was unanimous by acclamation in accordance with tribal custom; that the chiefs' views as expressed were not in any way influenced by Government officials; that the tribal chiefs were also representative of urban Africans; that they did not think there was any value in the Government consulting the African nationalists, either before or after the indaba; and that it was time for the chiefs in Rhodesia to have direct Parliamentary representation.

Mr. David Adamson, a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, reported from Salisbury that there was very little prospect of a solution unless the African nationalists agreed to accept a compromise by which they recognized the Constitution (which they first accepted and then repudiated) while Britain undertook to prevent the Rhodesian Front Government from using the two-thirds majority which it could probably get in a general election to increase the number of European seats in Parliament and thus destroy the prospect of an African majority.

"The alternative is chaos of the sort the Africans say they would prefer to continued European rule, but which would in fact be just as unpleasant for them as for the Europeans.

"What is needed now is a cooling-off period for the Europeans while they begin to take a fresh look at their position.

"The two nationalist leaders have so far proved irreconcilable. Sithole despises Nkomo as a political layabout more interested in controlling party funds than in providing the moral guidance and courage which an African party needs in abundance at the top.

"Nkomo is a political failure, but he has stuck where he is with the bulk of the African population still behind him because he is good-humoured, a bit lazy and unexciting, and a good speaker in a demagogic fashion. A lack of Mr. Nkomo's defects — without some of his compensatory virtues — is the reason why Mr. Sithole attracts the intelligent Africans but bores the masses.

"Attempts have been made to heal the split, but the last one, in Lusaka shortly before Zambia became independent, failed when Mr. Nkomo's supporters refused to co-operate.

"Who would lead a united party if one were possible? Mr. Nkomo might be as disastrous as Dr. Banda. It is quite possible that if Britain managed to get the nationalists released Labour would find itself saddled with having to build an effective nationalist party with a new leader.

"Whoever leads, in the end, the hostility between the two factions and the frequent bloodshed it has caused would seem

(Continued on page 195)

# Mr. Smith Denounces Subversive Interference and Intimidation

## Eve-of-Referendum Broadcast by Prime Minister of Rhodesia\*

WE GO TO THE POLLS to vote for or against independence under the existing Constitution. That alone is the issue. My first duty is to place that issue fairly and squarely before you so that you know without a shadow of doubt what you are voting for—or against. My next duty is to issue a grave eve-of-referendum warning.

The people of Rhodesia, African and European, have been and still are the target of a continuous campaign of intimidation. Our enemies know that in a fairly conducted referendum there must be an overwhelming vote in favour of independence, which would greatly strengthen the hand of your Government in any future negotiations with the British Government. That is why they resort to intimidation.

They know they cannot persuade you to vote "no". So they try to frighten you, to stampee you on the eve of the referendum. We may be sure we have not yet seen the worst of this campaign of intimidation. I warn you to be ready for some last-minute attempt to scare you.

First they tell you that you are not voting for or against independence under the present Constitution but for or against a unilateral declaration of independence—that you will be giving the Government a blank cheque. Once this deliberately twisted idea has been planted, they go on to draw a most frightening picture of what might happen in the event of a unilateral declaration. All sorts of people and organizations have been drawn into this campaign to cloud the issue and prevent the people in Rhodesia from firmly declaring what they want and which way they intend to go.

Other countries have also tried to frighten us. Statements have been made by prominent political leaders abroad which can only be described as subversive.

### U.K. Government Has Two Standards

Among these I include statements made by the British delegate to the United Nations, Sir Hugh Foot, to the effect that, while he deplored violence, he could readily understand that African nationalist leaders were resorting to illegal means if they could not obtain their objectives by legal means. What a fantastic thing for a responsible Government official to say! That means that the United Kingdom Government has two standards — one standard for extreme racialists and Communists and the other for those of us who are trying to uphold civilization and democracy.

Then we have the remark reported to have been made by Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in an interview at London Airport when he said: "My own feeling is that, like all the people who are struggling to get their rights, if you are not allowed to do it by lawful means then sometimes other methods have to be employed".

This is flagrant interference in the internal affairs of this country. Moreover, it is subversive interference, because in the minds of the primitive people of this country it could be construed as an incitement to violence.

In other words, the British Government recognizes and is prepared to condone the campaign of violence that has been taking place in this country. This means that Britain encourages despicable tactics used in places like Highfield township, including burning and intimidation.

\*The text of this broadcast to the nation has been slightly abbreviated. Cross-heads have been inserted editorially.

Over the last few days I have had reports of a lowering of morale amongst those people living in African townships who are wondering if recent statements on the part of the British Government will lead to the return of intimidation and all those shocking things which the Government has recently cleaned up: This will not happen. The Government will continue to keep thugs and hooligans in their place.

### Interference by U.S. Government

The recent actions and utterances abroad were intended to influence the result of the referendum. The Secretary of State admitted that this is no coincidence. Immediately after Mr. Wilson's threat or warning—call it what you like—the Government of the United States also made diplomatic history by trying to interfere directly in the internal affairs of this country.

Are we Rhodesians going to allow ourselves to be frightened and stampee by people who have made it perfectly clear that they will be satisfied with nothing less than a handover to African extremists, even if this involves bringing to this country the same chaos and suffering that now prevail in some other countries to the north of us?

For the first time in many years the people of Rhodesia have a Government which clearly expresses their values, their interests, and their purposes. If they allow themselves to be intimidated, and fail to give the Government the solid support it needs if it is to fulfil its task, then they will deserve the results, for they will have thrown away the last chance of saving all those things for which they have worked and struggled down the years. If they fail to support the Government which they themselves have chosen, they will have converted the promise of a great victory into certain failure and defeat. There is no safety in flight or appeasement or in even trying to postpone the inevitable choice.

Our chiefs and headmen have set the voters of Rhodesia an impressive example. In spite of a monstrous campaign of intimidation and thuggery carried on against them for years and brought to a climax in recent weeks, they have decided unanimously to support the Government in its demand for independence.

As one of the chiefs put it: "We have decided that Rhodesia must cut its strings. Now let the Europeans show us that they are brave enough and strong enough to do what they have asked us to do".

### Fool Attacks on Tribal Unity

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived or confused by much that has been said and written about the recent *indaba* at Domboshawa. These brave men, who have experienced intimidation of the most brutal kind, including the burning of their homes and the murder of many of their people, represent an overwhelming majority of the African people of this country, as they have represented them down the ages.

If they have seemed weak in the presence of this campaign of intimidation it is only because they have continued to be loyal to civilized standards and because in their acceptance of the constitutional Government of this country they have not taken the law into their own hands. Always obedient to the law, they have had to contend with men who have not shrunk from the foulest methods in efforts to break down tribal unity and tribal loyalty.

These chiefs and headmen have had to suffer not because they were weak but because they were true to those standards of the civilized Government which we have always tried to uphold in this country. Now all of a sudden we are told that these chiefs do not speak for the African people.

They were consulted by Rhodes in 1898 at an *indaba* in the Matopos. They were consulted when Southern Rhodesia became self-governing in 1923. They were consulted when Federation was mooted: Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker himself insisted on this. They were consulted when Southern Rhodesia was called upon to decide for or against the present Constitution in 1961.

Accusations have been made that the chiefs and headmen in their turn had not consulted their people. Needless to say, these accusations are totally untrue. Independence for Southern Rhodesia has been under discussion in tribal areas at all levels for some years. Not only is it true to say that the

chiefs have consulted their people, but in fact they are the only ones who have consulted the African people. Certainly there has been very little consultation on the part of the African extremists. These men have demonstrated very clearly what they mean by "consultation": they mean a mass reaction created almost entirely by means of intimidation.

### So-Called African Nationalism Completely False

If, as certain political leaders abroad so loudly proclaim, the African people really stand behind men like Nkomo and Sithole, why has it been necessary to employ methods of slugging and intimidation on such a massive scale? Surely that is not the pattern of a genuine spirit of nationalism? Never before in history has a genuine spirit of nationalism expressed itself in that way.

Where there is genuine nationalism the people eagerly rally around their leaders, as in many of the countries of Europe in the last century. The Irish leaders did not have to beat up their own people and burn down their homes in order to turn them into good Irish nationalists.

The truth of the matter is that this thing called African nationalism is completely false. It is neither African nor nationalist. The real power behind it, the energy and the skill that direct it, and the finance which supports it are not African. The motivating force is Communism.

In fighting for our freedom and independence we are not

merely fighting for what our enemies like to call "white supremacy" or "white minority government". The people of Rhodesia of all races are fighting to preserve the best interests of all; and there is no one better qualified to defend the interests of the Africans in particular than their natural and traditional leaders.

It is most important that the people of Rhodesia should realize that they stand in the front ranks of a struggle of world-wide significance. They should be proud rather than fearful when they consider that destiny has placed them where the eyes of the civilized world are on them and where they have the opportunity to make history not only for themselves but for the whole continent of Africa.

We are facing a great challenge with implications that reach far beyond our borders. It is the preservation of that Christian civilization which our forefathers brought with them from Britain when they came to pioneer this land, and which ever since we have cherished and cultivated until today it has been developed to a very high standard and is the envy of many less happy lands.

It should therefore be with a heavy sense of responsibility that we Rhodesians go to the polls to make our decision. What is needed is a massive "yes" vote that will strengthen the hand of your Government in negotiations and indicate to the whole world our united voice on the question of our independence. I hope each and every one of you will make sure to stake your claim to your independence.

## Mr. Wilson Accused of Savage Brutality

### Lord Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords

SAVAGE BRUTALITY was the description of Mr. Wilson's message to Rhodesia used by the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY when the House of Lords debated the Queen's Speech.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, the new Lord Privy Seal, had said that the situation in Rhodesia — which he and other Government speakers continued to call Southern Rhodesia — was very delicate. It heartened him to find that the issue was being handled in this country in a non-partisan way.

LORD SALISBURY said:—

"I am sure that I am not the only person — indeed my postbag tells me this — who has been shocked by the ferocity of the ultimatum levelled by our new Prime Minister at the Government of Rhodesia.

### Will Leave Legacy of Bitterness

"It may be retorted that my own party were in favour of a warning, and that this particular warning has at any rate been effective in its results. It may, indeed, be that it has helped to postpone the crisis. But make no mistake, my lords, the savage brutality of that message — which to me savoured of old-fashioned colonialism at its very worst — and in particular the use of the word 'treason' as applied to the loyal Rhodesians, is going to leave a legacy of bitterness and is likely to make a final solution of this thorny problem more difficult than it was before.

"I shall be told that the American Government supported the action of the United Kingdom Government in sending this ultimatum, and that it is not for me to criticize the actions of another Government. But I cannot help thinking that George Washington must be turning in his grave at the enthusiastic support that has been given by his country to the dragooning of colonists by a Home Government thousands of miles away.

"There is really only one bright spot — and it is a bright spot — in this grim picture. It is the fact that if Mr. Smith has drawn in his horns H.M. Government seem to be drawing in theirs, too.

"A speech by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, delivered on Friday, was couched in very different terms from the original ultimatum. He said:—

"There will be no attempt to stampede Mr. Smith into

hasty action by demanding the release of the African nationalists or by calling for a round-table conference. What we wish to see is a solution reached through discussion and negotiation. We hope to see a peaceful transition to African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. But we do not — and I beg noble lords opposite to remember these words — wish ourselves to stipulate how this might be achieved or when that stage should be reached.

"That is a very different tune from the rhodomontade of the previous Tuesday.

"If the question of independence can be left in abeyance for the time being at any rate, that might produce a breathing-space out of which something more permanent might emerge. I believe that at present this is the best chance".

### Unparalleled Offence to Friends

LORD COLYTON "strongly endorsed" Lord Salisbury's remarks about "the message which amounted to an ultimatum", and added: "In all my diplomatic experience I cannot recollect a more offensively worded message addressed to a friendly country, let alone to one of our great self-governing territories. All my up-to-date information from Rhodesia leads me to believe that, far from having the effect which Mr. Wilson intended and now claims, this message has served to harden opinion behind Mr. Smith's Government in a way nothing has done before.

"The gracious speech laid emphasis on the Government's intention to give increased support to the United Nations. But what sort of United Nations is it to be? Is it to be one in which the double standards that have prevailed during the past few years still persist? Is it to be one in which self-determination is denied to Gibraltar because the inhabitants want to remain British and to Nagaland because they want to split away from India? Is it to be a United Nations which countenances attempts to expel Portugal or South Africa from international bodies because of their domestic policies? — which in racial matters are completely contradictory to one another. Only yesterday a vote of the general conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. decided that Portugal should be expelled from the annual congress on public education. A resolution to this end was moved by Afro-Asian and Communist delegates, in spite of the fact that a similar motion was declared to be illegal at a conference in Geneva last July. Yesterday the British delegation voted against the motion. Will they do so in future and against similar motions at the United Nations and other bodies?"

"Lord Caradon, then Sir Hugh Foot, said when he resigned in 1962: 'My faith in the United Nations is based on my faith in the newly-emerging nations — in the Afro-Asians'.

"I am a little more sceptical. In my experience, some of the Governments of the newly-emerging nations, like other Governments, are good and some are bad. Some we can trust

and some we cannot. We must rely, at the United Nations and elsewhere, on our true and trusted friends, whether they be in the United States, in Europe, or in the Commonwealth. There is no substitute for them.

LORD TAYLOR, in a maiden speech as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, said: "When the Prime Minister asked me if I would do this work, you could have knocked me down with a feather. . . .

"In the last Parliament your lordships were served by two Ministers of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lansdowne. Now you are limited to one Under-Secretary of State. Not only that, but I have to speak for the Minister of Overseas Development as well. So I am serving two masters and one lady master. One good thing in this situation is that we are four old friends; indeed, we were all elected to Parliament on the same day in 1945, and I assure you that four hearts beat as one.

#### Society of Friends

"I find it hard to speak without emotion about the Commonwealth. To say that it has become 'a gigantic farce' is pernicious rubbish. The Commonwealth is a society of friends bound together by a common language — our wonderfully flexible English language — and a common tradition of belief in individual freedom under the law, democratic government without corruption, and a multitude of ties, industrial, educational, scientific and technical, professional and commercial. We are a family of nations who do most things in much the same sort of way; and, like all families, we sometimes have our little rows. But we also like family gatherings.

"The new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, tells me that it is his task to work himself out of a job as quickly as he can. The Labour Party election manifesto had a section called 'The End of Colonialism'. That is our aim. We want to speed our remaining Colonies on the road to free self-government, but many of them are very small indeed, often very isolated, and some are very poor. So they need help to form themselves into groups so that they can live on their own. They need help in economic and social planning, and in developing full, free-working, democratic Governments. They are little countries with big problems. I should not be surprised if we do not hear a good deal more about them as this Parliament proceeds.

"I am grateful to the noble Marquess for having been very restrained in his remarks about Southern Rhodesia. The Lord Privy Seal, Leader of the House, has outlined our broad approach to this problem. I am almost sure that almost every noble lord agrees about the whole approach.

"The result of the action we have taken has been to give a pause, which gives us all, whether in Britain, or in Southern Rhodesia, the first thing we need — time to think things over quietly, and then to begin to talk them over with Mr. Smith and his Government.

#### Rhodesians Were Not Told

"Lord Salisbury was very critical about the warning statement. Well, there is a little bit of history behind this. The Conservative Government had sent a warning of the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence to the Southern Rhodesian Government months before the present Government sent its warning. But the people of Southern Rhodesia had not been told what was in that message; they did not know the consequences. There seemed to be a great danger that an irrevocable step would be taken without the Southern Rhodesians knowing what the result would be.

"Mr. Smith had told our Prime Minister that, while he felt it was important to have talks as soon as possible, he would not be able to visit London until after his referendum on November 5. In this situation, and in the absence of any assurance from the Southern Rhodesian Government that no declaration of independence would be made, we felt it was our duty to act. So we issued publicly the warning statement of which the House is aware.

"I must emphasise that there was no hostility behind this statement. It was not a threat; nor was it an interference in Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs. Southern Rhodesia can be made independent only by an act of this British Parliament, and we simply wished to place the full facts before all the people of Southern Rhodesia.

"Our action has been strongly supported throughout the Commonwealth, and by the United States and many other countries which have been watching the trend of events in Southern Rhodesia with concern. In Rhodesia itself it has resulted in people seriously talking stock of where they might be heading. That is an improvement. Nothing can be settled by acting against the law, or by violence from any

quarter; and when people are deeply worried or over-anxious there is always this risk.

"If this problem is to be resolved it must be tackled by constructive discussion. This is what we want. We hope that Mr. Smith will soon come to London for talks in just this spirit.

"Like the previous Government, we must be satisfied that the basis on which independence is granted is acceptable to the people of the country as a whole, and Mr. Smith himself accepted this. We hope to see a peaceful transition to African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, but we do not seek ourselves to stipulate exactly how this might be achieved or when the stage should be reached. We are ready to explore any line of negotiation which may lead to a satisfactory settlement.

"We in Britain have many ties of kinship and friendship with Southern Rhodesia. We remember their help in the war. We remember how many of our airmen enjoyed Southern Rhodesian hospitality under the Air Training Scheme; and Mr. Smith's old chief, Lord Malvern, was a graduate of the hospital where I trained as a student.

"We know that Mr. Smith is a Rhodesian; that he was born there, and went to school there; and it is his homeland just as it is the homeland of all the other people of Rhodesia.

"When he comes to Britain, as I am sure he will, he will meet, in our Prime Minister and our Commonwealth Secretary two good men and true, men who speak simply and clearly in a way which I am sure we will understand and respect. We want to see a great future for his country inside our Commonwealth. This means real statesmanship and understanding on all sides. Only on this basis can that future be built".

#### Democracy Will Not Work

LORD SOMERS, who visited Bechuanaland in August with a Parliamentary delegation, said (in part): —

"A paragraph in the gracious speech speaks of racial equality. What is racial equality? Equality of opportunity, of course, but not necessarily similarity. The African and the white man are not alike. In some ways we are better; in others they are better. The Africans produce some very fine men indeed. However, they think along different lines; their minds work in different ways.

"Democracy is not necessarily the best form of government for countries in Africa. It might possibly work in some cases when they get further developed. At present the African cannot see an Opposition as an integral part of the Constitution; he considers an Opposition a sort of rebel organization seeking to overthrow the Government. That is why I feel that democracy would not work there.

"Such countries as Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland would do far better under their own form of government by the chiefs. That is their traditional form of government. Why should we seek to impose our ideals and traditions? I am not saying that all the chiefs are blameless. Can we say that all members of the Government are blameless?

"In Bechuanaland we had an interesting interview with Chief Bathoen, a distinguished, very forward-looking man, who has done an enormous amount to develop his town.

"The leader of our delegation asked him outright: 'Do you think that the people of Bechuanaland will be happier under the new Constitution — the Constitution planned on democratic lines by our own Government — than they are now?' His answer was an unqualified, 'No'. He went on to say: 'Many times my people have come to me and have said: 'But we must have freedom'. I have said to them 'You have freedom. What freedom do you want that you have not got now?'

#### Great Impertinence

LORD COLERAINE said that those who had asked for a debate on Rhodesia a week later felt that, in the light of the statement of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, the demand no longer existed. There was at any rate, a risk that the debate would not take place.

"I would stress with all the emphasis that I can command that we should in the immediate future take our stand on the existing Constitution; that we should hope that Mr. Smith and his colleagues will forget about a unilateral declaration of independence; and that we here should stop incessantly pressing the Rhodesians to go further than they deem wise, prudent, or even safe.

"All of us in this House, in another place, in the Press, and in the country generally should re-examine the assumptions on which we base our attitude towards this tragic problem of Rhodesia. Those assumptions are broadly that Parliamentary democracy is a good thing; that it is a good thing for the African whatever his stage of development may be; and that, come what may, we must press ahead to bring all the influence we can on Mr. Smith's Government to grant universal suffrage at the earliest possible moment.

"That seems to me a great impertinence. It is not directly



our problem; it is theirs. We have never, in effect, been responsible for the internal government of Southern Rhodesia, which has never been a Crown Colony; it passed directly from the control of the Chartered Company to the status of a self-governing Colony, and by a convention which has never been broken we have never interfered in its internal affairs.

"We are now straining all the time to break that convention, and we ought rather to support it. This seems to me the more important when we look over the field of what has been happening in Africa as a whole over the past few years; when we see how things have worked out so far; when we see the extent to which Parliamentary democracy has worked in these territories. We should be very wise if we ceased to weaken the convention by which we do not interfere in Rhodesian internal affairs.

"Some years ago a commission was appointed by the then Government to examine the situation in Nyasaland, and it began its report with the bald declaration that Nyasaland is

a police State. I wonder what kind of State the Devlin Commission would think Nyasaland was today.

### Must Not Be Forced Into Disaster

"We must have some regard to what has been happening in other parts of the continent, and we ought to have more faith in the intentions of our own people in Southern Rhodesia. There are a quarter of a million of our fellow subjects there who have been brought up as we have been brought up, who have brought that country to a high state of cultural and economic development, brought it there from the bush. Can we not trust them in their own time to make the advances that are necessary?

"In my judgment, and I think in the judgment of many noble lords on this side at any rate, and some on the other side, if we seek to force them into premature action we shall force them into disaster—not only them but the Africans in Rhodesia as well."

## Lower the Temperature, Says Sir Alec Douglas-Home

### Commonwealth Secretary's Inept Interference Criticized

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said during the House of Commons debate on the Queen's speech:—

"I am not criticizing the decision of the Prime Minister to emphasize the possibility of the serious consequences of a declaration of unilateral independence in Southern Rhodesia. Although the extremists in Southern Rhodesia have to be convinced of the consequences of a unilateral declaration, I trust that now the Prime Minister—and, in particular, the Minister of State, at the Commonwealth Relations Office—will do everything in their power to lower the temperature and gain a pause for sober thought and discussion with Mr. Smith.

"If this is to be achieved, I say, with respect to the Minister of State, that he must abandon the kind of language which he used last week—that the British Government's statement was designed to swing the Southern Rhodesian electors away from Mr. Smith towards Mr. Garfield Todd, Mr. Whitehead, and Sir Roy Welensky. Anything more inept it is impossible to imagine, or anything better calculated to thwart the objective which I know the Prime Minister has in mind.

"If that is not interfering in the internal affairs of another country, I do not know what is. That is something which so far all parties have been able to avoid.

### Reference to Military Intervention

"When asked about military intervention, the rt. hon. gentleman said that it had not been considered at the moment. I hope that this kind of language will cease.

"This is one of the most difficult problems which we have to face. I must ask the Government to be sympathetic in this matter and to remember that these people, who are our kith and kin, are faced with one of the most desperately difficult problems which has ever confronted anyone.

"This is a matter, I think, of finding acceptable machinery for testing the opinion of Southern Rhodesians as to whether they wish independence under the present Constitution, or—as I think much more likely—on a variant agreed between the British Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia. This is difficult, but it is not impossible; and I hope that we will have the necessary patience to see that we find a solution."

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Wilson, said in the course of his reply:—

"The Leader of the Opposition referred to Southern Rhodesia. The first thing that needs to be said, and can be said, is that through the last months of the late

Administration and the period since October 16 there has been a national policy on this issue which did not even in the election become a matter for party controversy.

"In past years there have been deep differences—on Central Africa, on Holar, on Nyasaland, on Southern Rhodesia. But in this same debate a year ago I pressed the rt. hon. gentleman hard for assurances, and I am bound to say that at the end of his speech at any rate and after a little pressure, and consistently afterwards, he showed on the issue of Southern Rhodesia a ready response to the challenge which we had put to him.

"We had anxieties before and during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting, but the wording of the *communiqué*, as far as this subject was concerned, was clear and forward-looking. The Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth countries welcomed the decision already announced by the British Government that, as in the case of other territories, the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia. They also noted with approval the statement already made by the British Government that they would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence; and the other Prime Ministers made it clear that they would be unable to recognize any such declaration."

"In September Mr. Smith came to London and met the then Prime Minister. I also met Mr. Smith, but the rt. hon. gentleman will remember that I said that I could not meet him until his talks with the then Prime Minister were complete. This Mr. Smith fully accepted and regarded as reasonable. As a result of the agreeable courtesies which make our system work, I was fully informed of the progress of the talks between the rt. hon. gentleman and Mr. Smith, and I agreed with the line which the then Government had taken.

### No Division in the House

"Cynical persons may have thought that there was an eagerness on the part of both parties to sweep this issue under the carpet until the election was over. I do not accept that version. I feel that on this very grave question the nation, and I believe the world, has gained by the fact that it was not made an election issue and that there is no division in the House or in the country on where our clear duty lies today.

"Mr. Smith in the September talks outlined his proposal for consultations through his proposed *indaba* of chiefs. I do not question his sincerity about this method of consultation, but clearly—and I would like this to be understood beyond any doubt or argument—I am completely satisfied that the late Administration said nothing to encourage Mr. Smith in the view that they would regard the *indaba* consultation as either representative or adequate.

"In some quarters it has been suggested that the late Government were equivocal on this issue. I am completely satisfied that the position was frankly and fairly put. They made it clear that they could not regard this procedure as

(Continued on page 191)

# PERSONALIA

MR. ROY LEWIS is revisiting Central Africa for *The Times*.

MR. JOHN BIKANGAGA has been installed as the new Rutakirwa Engabo of Kigezi, Uganda.

MR. J. H. S. TRANTER is revisiting Tanganyika. He will return to London in about a week.

MR. G. W. RUDLAND, Minister of Trade, Industry and Development in Rhodesia, has arrived in London.

MR. C. W. ROBBINS has been appointed manager of the head office of the Standard Bank in London.

SIR ROY WELENSKY arrived in London last Wednesday. He will probably fly back to Salisbury today.

MR. JOHN MWANAKATWE, Minister of Education in Zambia, is attending this week's U.N.E.S.C.O. conference in Paris on education.

MR. F. D. WEBBER is to be British Deputy High Commissioner in Kuching. For some years he has dealt with East African affairs in Whitehall.

MR. F. JAGER, president of a New York business which is estimated to handle 60% of the world trade in cashew nuts, visited Tanzania last week.

MISS MARIEKE CLARK, who has been teaching history to Africans at Inyati Mission, the oldest in Rhodesia, has been deported as a prohibited immigrant.

Four M.P.s. from Kenya — Messrs. C. KIPROTICH, OSMAN MAKONE, G. F. ODUYA OPRONG, and DICK A. OLOO — are in this country for a month as guests of the C.R.O.

PRESIDENT NYERERE is acting as Minister for External Affairs of Tanzania while MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, the Minister, is on extended leave on medical recommendation.

Four headmasters from Rhodesia are in Britain for a month as guests of the C.R.O. They are Messrs. MICHAEL AKINO, D. W. CREAMY, E. V. S. DHLULA, and L. G. FIELD.

MR. JOHN HATCH, Commonwealth correspondent of the *New Statesman* for the past 15 years, has left to found a school of African studies in a Negro university in the U.S.A.

Three Parliamentary members of the Monday Club lost their seats in the general election, namely the vice-chairman, MR. PAUL WILLIAMS, and Messrs. NORMAN PANNIEL and JOHN HOLLINGSWORTH.

MR. E. W. KIGUNDU, private secretary to the President of Uganda, is spending a month in Britain to study Head of State affairs. He has met members of the Queen's household and the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

MARSHAL OF THE R.A.F. SIR JOHN SLESSOR, who has been much interested in African affairs, was one of 14 Knights of the Bath who were recently installed at a ceremony in Westminster Abbey attended by the Queen.

MR. DUDLEY SEERS, lately Director of Economic Development with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, has been appointed Director General of Economic Planning in the new Ministry of Overseas Development.

Arrivals in London from Rhodesia include MR. R. R. BEAVER, MR. C. E. CORSER, MR. R. W. LANGLEY, MR. R. J. LINDQUIST, MR. R. MAITLAND, MR. C. H. PALMER, MR. J. M. PATERSON, MR. & MRS. I. R. ROSIN, and MR. I. L. WYNNE.

MR. N. BUHATWA, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Lands and Water in Tanzania, MR. WAJIRI DOSS AZIZ, M.P. for Bagawoyo, and JOHN GODFREY RUPA, M.P. for Shinyanga, and SHEIKH THABIT KOMBO, secretary-general of the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar, flew back a few days ago after spending a month in Britain as the guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

SIR ALFRED VINCENT, chairman of the trustees of Kenya National Parks from 1945 until last year, has received from the board a set of ivory-handled carvers in an elephant-skin box in appreciation of his services. His successor in the chair is DR. M. HYDER.

PRESIDENT NYERERE was the first person to take out a life policy with the National Insurance Corporation of Tanganyika. Established in October last year, it had not given life coverage until the beginning of this month. The managing director is MR. C. A. JOSS.

MR. W. D. WILSON has been appointed a director and elected chairman of Consolidated Mines Selection Co., Ltd. He succeeds SIR KEITH ACUTT, who is returning to Africa for a period but remains on the board. MR. WILSON has also joined the board of Rhodesia Katanga Co., Ltd.

MR. JOHN CONNELL, who has visited East and Central Africa, is the co-author of "WAVELL: SCHOLAR AND SOLDIER". He had access to records collected by the Field-Marshal's only son, MAJOR A. J. WAVELL, who was killed during the Mau Mau Rebellion while serving in Kenya with the Black Watch.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR TANZANIA and MRS. NGAIZA were the guests of H.M. Government at a luncheon at Marlborough House a few days ago. The COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS SECRETARY and MRS. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY were the hosts. Among others present were SIR RICHARD and LADY TURNBULL, and DR. A. M. KAMANGA.

HIS EXCELLENCY S. C. KATILUNGU, High Commissioner in London for the Republic of Zambia, was received in audience by the QUEEN last week. He was accompanied by MR. VERNON J. MWAANGA, Deputy High Commissioner, and MR. P. LUSAKA, Second Secretary. MRS. KATILUNGU also had the honour of being received by HER MAJESTY.

DR. TOM SOPER, deputy director of the Overseas Development Institute in London, addressed the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies last Thursday on "Independent Africa and its Links with Europe". That evening he flew to Nairobi to direct the first course in the East African Administrative Staff College. LADY BARBARA WARD has also been invited to take part.

MR. GERALD GEORGE NAGENDA NSUBUGA, who has been appointed Counsellor in the Uganda High Commission in London in succession to MR. A. D. ADIMOLA, was born Kampala in 1925, educated at King's College, Budo, and Makerere University College, and in 1957-58 took a one-year course for overseas teachers at Newland Park College, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. In 1962 he was attached to the British Embassy in Rome for training, and later spent a few weeks on a Foreign Office and Commonwealth Relations Office course in London. Then he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Entebbe, in which he has since served. Between 1948 and early 1962 he taught in various schools in Uganda.

## Obituary

MR. JOHN SMITH, O.B.E., who has died at the age of 81, served in Northern Rhodesia as a veterinary officer from 1913 to 1933, latterly as C.V.O.

MRS. CLARA JANE BLANN, who has died in Salisbury at the age of 93, had lived in Southern Rhodesia for 71 years. There is now only one other survivor of the 1896 laager formed in Salisbury to protect the small white community during the Mashona Rebellion.

SIR PETER GUNNING, C.M.G., who has died at the age of 56, was in the Colonial Service in Nigeria for 27 years and then went to Uganda as chairman of the Public and Police Service Commissions. He left Uganda two years ago.

## Prime Minister's Speech

(Concluded from page 189)

providing conclusive evidence of the feelings of African members of the community.

"In the talks with the rt. hon gentleman Mr. Smith undertook to think further about the method of consulting African opinion. In the event, the day before polling day—and when the then Ministers were inevitably fully absorbed in the election—the Southern Rhodesian Government sent an urgent message asking H.M. Government to send observers to an *indaba* of chiefs and headmen to be held within a week of our polling day. A reply was sent on October 15 saying that, as H.M.'s Government could not regard the proposed method of consultation as satisfactory, it would be inappropriate for them to send observers; and immediately after the change of Government we took a very early opportunity of confirming this refusal on the part of our predecessors.

### Recent Events

"I come to the events of the past two and a half weeks. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who represented the Government at the Zambia Independence ceremonies, stated his willingness to visit Salisbury to meet Mr. Smith, but stated that if he were to visit Southern Rhodesia he would wish to obtain a cross-section of European and African views; and therefore on the African side, in addition to seeing the spokesmen of the chiefs and headmen, he would want also to meet other African leaders, notably Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole.

"The Rhodesian Government did not feel able to meet this condition, and my rt. hon. friend accordingly returned to London from Lusaka—having secured a notable success in the negotiations about the British South Africa Company (Chartered). I then telegraphed Mr. Smith inviting him to come immediately to London for urgent, full, frank, and free discussions.

"One purpose of this was to indicate to him privately, rather than through the public Press, our assessment of the inevitable effects of a unilateral declaration of independence. Courtesy, equally with a concern for the best possible relations between our two countries, would have indicated a private discussion; but Mr. Smith said he could not take up my invitation until after his referendum on November 5.

"In those circumstances H.M. Government had no alternative but to publish the terms of the warning we felt it our duty to issue. There was increasing talk in Rhodesia about a unilateral declaration of independence. If irrevocable action had been taken, and anyone, whether in the Rhodesian Government, in their Parliament, or any member of the public had been in ignorance of the consequences of such action, I believe that a serious charge could have been laid against us for not having made the position clear in advance. So, in the absence of any assurance from the Southern Rhodesian Government that no such declaration would be made, we acted.

"One result has been that no one can now be in any doubt about the dire consequences of what clearly would be an act of defiance and rebellion. Another result has been the support which we have had from the entire Commonwealth, and many countries outside the Commonwealth, who share our common anxieties.

### Anxious for Settlement

"One thing needs to be re-emphasized—I say this in the spirit of some of the words used by the rt. hon. gentleman—which was stated in the opening words of the statement of H.M. Government: 'The British Government look forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia can take her place as an independent sovereign State within the Commonwealth'.

"I hope that Mr. Smith will come to London now for constructive discussions. We are as anxious as I know his Government are to see this matter settled. We lay down no prior conditions for the talks. We shall enter them from the standpoint of the words I quoted earlier from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' *communiqué*. I am sure it would be the desire of the whole House that we should continue to seek to find a means by which Southern Rhodesia can be helped as a member of the Commonwealth.

"For this reason in the past few days we have considered the position of Southern Rhodesia in the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, and I am sure that the whole House will feel that Southern Rhodesia, as a member of the Commonwealth, should be entitled to benefit from one of the free quotas which exist under that agreement. Equally—taking up a point about which I know the former Prime Minister has been concerned in the past—we are considering urgently what we can now do to help with speeding up the process of African education with all the means open to a country such as ours."

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## President Kaunda in London Comments on Rhodesian Independence

PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA arrived in London on Sunday for a visit of six days as the guest of H.M. Government. Yesterday he was received by the Queen and was the guest of the Government at luncheon in Marlborough House. He will be the guest of the Prime Minister at luncheon tomorrow.

Discussions had also been arranged with the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Minister of Overseas Development, primarily about financial aid for Zambia. Zambia's chief need, he said at the airport on arrival, was for tractors and other agricultural implements.

Asked about the situation in Southern Rhodesia, President Kaunda replied: "I think the bluff has been called, and I do not now think there is any fear of a unilateral declaration of independence. If it is made I think Britain and other countries are in a position to do something about it. We in Zambia would certainly back up other countries in seeing that majority rule was instituted. This has nothing to do with colour".

The President, who will leave London for Dublin on Saturday week, had spent four days in Cairo and three in Rome, where he was received in audience by the Pope.

From Eire he will go to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Oslo, and then to Washington, New York, and Ottawa, which he will leave on December 5 for Addis Ababa. He is due back in Lusaka on December 10.

While in New York he is expected to address the General Assembly of the United Nations.

For part of his tour he will be accompanied by Mr. S. N. Kapwepwe, Zambia's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

## Zambia Defence Force

THE ZAMBIA DEFENCE FORCE is the official joint name of the Zambia Army and Zambia Air Force, which are commanded respectively by Brigadier C. M. Grigg and Group Captain W. A. Griffiths. The Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Force is Dr. Kaunda, President of the Zambia Republic. Mr. Justice W. M. Dennison has been appointed Honorary Colonel of the Zambia Regiment, and Colonel F. B. Canning-Cooke Honorary Colonel of the Zambia Rifles; he recently relinquished the honorary colonelcy of the 3rd and 7th (Northern Rhodesia) Battalions The Royal Rhodesia Regiment. Colonel N. O. Earl-Spurr has relinquished the honorary colonelcy of the 1st Battalion The Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

## U.N.I.P. Delegation in Britain

PRINCESS NAKATINDI, M.P., director of the Women's Brigade of the United National Independence Party of Zambia; Mr. A. C. Chafukhima, regional secretary of the party in the Kitwe, Kaluhushi and Chambeshi areas; Mr. P. Chanda, regional secretary in Mufulira; and Mr. W. K. C. Kamwana, regional treasurer in Kitwe, have arrived in Britain for a month's visit as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

## Mr. Chipembere Still in Malawi Surprise Statement by Mr. Cameron

MR. CHIPEMBERE, the most popular and extreme of the six ex-Ministers who have recently quarrelled with Dr. Banda — or seven if Mr. Colin Cameron, a Scot, be included — has not left Malawi for Tanzania, as Dr. Banda announced last week, but is still in the country, perhaps in the hilly country near Malindi, his home.

The contradiction of Dr. Banda's statement was made by Mr. Cameron before he left for Scotland. At Blantyre airport he said: "I am instructed by my client Mr. Chipembere to state that he is in Malawi, has always been in Malawi, and will remain in Malawi".

Mr. Cameron was Minister of Works in the Malawi Government until he resigned three months ago in protest at the decision to introduce legislation for preventive detention. He then resumed private practice as a solicitor, Mr. Chipembere being one of his clients.

### "Henry Hyena"

Mr. Chipembere had been ordered to remain within four miles of Malindi. When police reported him missing some days later, Dr. Banda referred to him in Parliament as "Henry Hyena", and said that he had given orders that he should be brought back "alive or in any other way".

Mr. Cameron decided to quit Malawi because he had been accused of meddling in local politics by giving legal assistance to opponents of Dr. Banda. Two other British subjects, Mr. Albert McAdam, a Scottish missionary, and Major Peter Moxon, a former member of the Legislature, have also had to leave, having been threatened by agents of the Malawi Congress Party.

Messages from Zambia at the beginning of the week said that Mr. Chipembere had written to friends in Lusaka saying that he had sent Dr. Banda a letter expressing the fear that he might be assassinated, and including the statement: "I may go, but you will not long survive me".

Scores of refugees from Zambia have now reached the capital of Zambia by lorry.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

## Generals Arrested in Sudan

AS THIS ISSUE went to press there were reports of an attempted new *coup* by military elements in Sudan. Seven major-generals were arrested on Sunday by order of the Minister of the Interior on charges of having urged alignment with President Nasser's policies. Seven members of the Armed Forces Supreme Council are also said to have been arrested, and army officers who helped in the uprising against the military régime are reported to have asked for a committee to purge the army. On Monday night Radio Omdurman announced that tanks were engaged in a reactionary military *coup* and appealed to the people to rush to protect the radio station and Government buildings. The Prime Minister declared, however, that the report was untrue.

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## Congo Rebel General Killed Threats to Kill Europeans

MAJOR HOARE, the British commander of 300 "mercenaries" who led the assault on Kindu, a rebel stronghold on the way to Stanleyville, said on Monday that his men had killed the rebel General Olenga, who had just inspected a parade and was in ceremonial uniform when he was shot aboard a ferry. He fell into the water and two of his men jumped overboard to try to save him. They were unsuccessful and were still weeping when caught by the commandoes. Major Hoare flew to Leopoldville to give Mr. Tshombe the general's fur hat with its rank badges of the Congolese National Army, and magic ornaments supposed to protect him against bullets.

The rebel forces are expected to stand at Stanleyville, where there are many hundreds of Europeans.

The Kindu column, commanded by a Belgian colonel, numbered some 3,000 men of the Congolese Army. In the town they found 84 Belgians and 140 Greek, Pakistani, and Indian merchants who had been told they would be taken away as hostages. The rebels fled in panic, however, and left them behind.

From Ikela, in the same area 29 German or Austrian nuns and priests, including Martin Borman, son of the former Nazi leader, were removed as hostages, as were 15 Europeans from neighbouring plantations.

Mr. and Mrs. James Grainger, Irish missionaries from a station some 200 miles north of Kindu, reached Elisabethville at the week-end. An African nurse and pastor had been shot in their presence. Once Mr. Grainger was dragged from bed and told that he was to be shot immediately. Later he and 24 other Europeans were taken on a two-day lorry journey and locked in a house in Kindu, from which they were freed five days later by Major Hoare's men. The Belgians among them had been ordered to remove their shirts before execution and were then badly beaten. Suddenly they were pushed back into the house. Twenty minutes later the first "mercenaries" set them free.

Before abandoning Boende the rebels killed six Europeans, hacking two to death in public.

## Hundreds Arrested in Zanzibar Arabs Tortured in New Wave of Terror

ALLEGEDLY FEARING A COUNTER-REVOLUTION, the Revolutionary Government in Zanzibar has made wholesale arrests during the past week. In the first few days about 300 persons, most of them Arabs, were rounded up, herded into open compounds, and ordered to stand for hours with their hands above their heads without shelter in the blazing sun. Any who dropped their arms from fatigue were beaten and kicked. It is believed that some died.

Most of those arrested were also detained at the time of the revolution in January but were later released. Some have been repeatedly interrogated, and the purpose of the present arrests is understood to be further mass interrogations, if necessary under torture, because the authorities fear a counter-revolution—despite the fact that everyone except members of the People's Liberation Army were deprived of all arms months ago.

A story circulated in the island is that a group of Arabs loyal to the Sultan who consulted a witch-doctor were told to bury a cow alive and remove the earth after five minutes; if the animal was still alive it would be a sign that the Sultan would be restored to his throne. The cow did survive.

For the past seven months Zanzibar has been in theory a "united republic" with Tanganyika, and only a few days ago the joint name of Tanzania was officially adopted. Mr. Karume, who was President of Zanzibar and is now First Vice-President of Tanzania, and his Government have, however, taken little notice of the Government of the United Republic in Dar es Salaam, where there has been talk for weeks of sterner action by the Communists in Zanzibar in order to tighten their grip.

There are believed to be some 400 East German, Russian, and Chinese Communists in the country. There are some scores of Russian and Chinese military training officers and the others are in charge of Government departments, the port, local government, and agricultural and other aspects of the country's life.

Substantial supplies of arms have been sent by all three Communist countries, which have also received numbers of Zanzibaris for training and indoctrination.

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## Cleaning Up Dar es Salaam Unemployed to be Ejected

IDLERS, beggars, and other undesirable elements were last week warned to leave Dar es Salaam, now a city of some 200,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Mustafa Songambe, the police commissioner, announced that "no unemployed men will be allowed to remain in the capital; all must leave immediately". Anyone found loitering would have to prove that he had a job. Any persons without regular work who reported within the next few days, however, would be given a travel warrant to their home area and a small sum for expenses.

Mr. J. A. Green, the town clerk, said that the many beggars were being cleared off the streets because they were a disgrace to the nation; they should either be at work or be under care if they suffered from physical handicaps and needed treatment or training.

Mr. Songambe also gave a warning that anyone found playing cards or *bao* before 5 p.m. would be arrested on a charge of idling.

Everyone in employment in the city is to receive a card giving particulars. To be without such documentary proof will entail the risk of detention by the police.

## One-Party State

KENYA became a one-party State on Tuesday when K.A.D.U. was dissolved.

## "Lost Counties" Opt for Bunyoro Four to One Vote for Reunion

THE REFERENDUM held last Thursday in two counties of Buganda resulted in an overwhelming vote for transfer to the neighbouring Kingdom of Bunyoro. There were 13,602 votes in favour of that reunion, 3,542 for remaining with Buganda, and 112 for administration as a separate district by the Central Government of Uganda.

The two counties of Buyaga and Buganzazi were part of Bunyoro until they were transferred by Britain to Buganda 70 years ago after a campaign in which the small British force received substantial aid from the Kabaka Mwanga against his old enemy Kabarega. The present Omukama (King) of Bunyoro is a son of Kabarega.

Over the years there has been increasing pressure from Bunyoro for restoration of what came to be called the "lost counties", and as Uganda approached independence there was a strong movement for settlement of the issue of separatism, it being feared that there would otherwise be persisting enmity and perhaps much bloodshed. At the constitutional conference in London before independence it was agreed that there should be a two-year moratorium on the issue and that the two counties should be administered meantime by the Central Government.

### Kabaka's Action

Soon afterwards, however, the Kabaka of Buganda—who is now also President of Uganda—encouraged the movement of ex-Servicemen into the counties, to which thousands moved. At one time there was talk of nearly 20,000 immigrants, but probably that was a highly exaggerated figure. Later many returned to their own area dissatisfied with the land which they had been given.

Dr. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister, decided to postpone the referendum to the latest possible moment, and then

decreed use of the electoral rolls current before the arrival of the ex-Servicemen. An appeal by the Government of the Kabaka against that decision failed in the High Court. The population of the two counties is about 71,000, and some 22,500 were qualified to vote; 17,256 did so.

After the results were declared there was rioting in Kampala by dissatisfied Buganda, and three people are reported killed and some 20 injured. There were 88 arrests. Troops and police patrolled the town and locality. The Prime Minister described the riots as due to political opportunists and lawless elements.

### Buganda Government Resigns

At the week-end the Government of Buganda, of which Mr. Michael Kintu had been Premier since 1955, resigned after a meeting of the Buganda Parliament in which he was severely criticized over the handling of the "lost counties" crisis. There were complaints of deception by the Government, as a consequence of which some members said that they had expected a victory for Buganda. Mr. Kintu had been head of the Government since the Kabaka returned from his two years of exile in Britain.

There is speculation that the new Premier might be Mr. Amos Sempa, a former Minister of Finance for Uganda, or Mr. Masembe Kabali, a Minister in the Kintu Government and leader of the Kabaka Yekka Party.

### Cinema Manager Expelled from Kenya

A CINEMA MANAGER in Mombasa, Mr. Kantibhai Patel, has been expelled from Kenya, in which he was born, presumably because he failed to show a Kenya independence film for a Government charity on Kenyatta Day. His action (or inaction) was described by Mr. Mboya as "an insult to the dignity of our nation". The Minister added: "The people of this country cannot stand any nonsense from anyone of whatever race who places his personal profit or other motives above our national day. Such individuals are a liability to our sense of national unity". Mr. Patel is the eighth person to be expelled from Kenya since the country became independent 11 months ago. The other seven were Britons. In some cases no reasons were given; in others they were said to have been sent out of the country "for security reasons". Mr. Patel, like the others, was given only 24 hours' notice to quit.

### Submissive Senators

THE KENYATTA PARTY will get its majority in the Senate this week for the Republic Constitution because senators of the Masai and Samburu tribes have agreed at the last moment to support the Government's Bill. Mr. Murumbi, a Minister of State, had spent days in seeking to persuade the Masai in particular of the advantages of supporting the Government; they were offered a Masai Development Council and substantial funds to raise their standards of living. On Saturday more than 60 Masai and Samburu leaders went to Mzee Kenyatta's home at Gatundu to pledge him their support. That day it was announced that the secretary general of the Kenya African Democratic Union had defected to K.A.N.U.

### Africans Mismanaging Kenya Farms

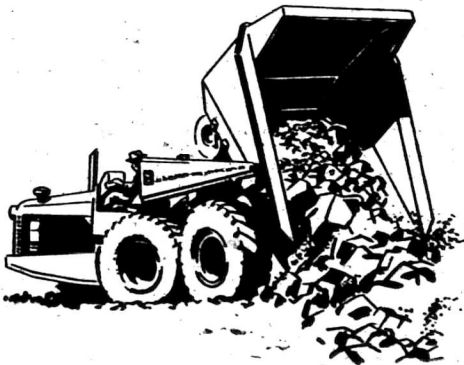
MR. J. B. POLLARD, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, said in Nairobi recently that many of the 400 large mixed farms acquired from Europeans and transferred to Africans had already deteriorated so much that they were in danger of being taken over by the Government as mismanaged or semi-abandoned. Many Africans who had bought farms were succeeding despite lack of experience and undercapitalization, but many more were in a desperate position and needed help. The Agricultural Development Corporation might become an active partner and provide strong direction until the farms were well-established, when the African owners might resume sole management.

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## Comment on the Referendum

(Concluded from page 185)

to exclude any possibility of a rapid transfer of power to African hands".

Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky were described by Mr. Adamson as "left with bridles and bits but no horses".

### Press Comment

The *Guardian* has admitted that the referendum "makes difficult for a time at any rate the broadening of the franchise to the point at which a declaration of independence might be accepted at Westminster and in the Commonwealth at large.

"It is clear enough now that Mr. Smith's opponents missed the boat: if they had been a little less hesitant about broadening African participation in political responsibility 10 or 15 years ago they would not be in the wilderness today, and the country might already have taken the decisive step by general consent.

"There is no reason to despair yet, and we must not undermine Europeans in Rhodesia. Their rule is very much to be preferred to that of the Nationalists in South Africa. There has been an appreciable advance in the position of the African population over the past two decades; the non-racial University College at Salisbury is a fine achievement in difficult circumstances. Nor has the policy of the African political leaders always been magnanimous or even prudent. The condition of Rhodesia is far from that of the Union today. But it could roll back if it does not advance".

The *Scotsman* thought it not surprising that Mr. Smith should be in no hurry to come to London, "as it is hard to see what negotiations could produce at the moment or how they could even be started".

While Britain could not concede independence without enfranchising many more Africans and giving them more representation in Parliament, H.M. Government could not hasten the process of African enfranchisement because it had no right to interfere in Rhodesia's domestic affairs.

### Britain's Failure to State Her Terms

The Rev. A. R. Lewis wrote from St. Peter's Mission, Mandaia, near Umtali, to the *Church Times*:—

"Sorrow and indignation are the reactions of many Rhodesian Christians to the announcement by the British Government with regard to the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence by this country.

"I have never met a Rhodesian who wants such a declaration. Negotiated independence is the desire of all—but Britain has yet to tell us, clearly and unambiguously, what the terms are. It is not surprising that there are those who in desperation are prepared to resort to unilateral action. Practically their plan may be disastrous: indeed, the threatening tone of this announcement suggests that Britain is determined to ensure that it would be.

"But the exponents of moderation here are being eliminated as a political force by Britain's failure to say clearly what she wants.

"There is little doubt that the Rhodesian electorate will ask in the referendum for independence under the present Constitution. The African tribal authorities have already done so. In a country where the majority have scant appreciation of the issues involved and are not accustomed to making individual judgments of this kind, it is not easy to see how a fairer expression of opinion could be had—unless the African nationalists would agree to use the vote to which so many of them are entitled. But apparently Britain has already prejudged as inadequate the whole exercise of obtaining public opinion. What then does Britain want?

"If the answer is one-man-one-vote, then at least we should know where we stand. African tribal society has no universal suffrage, and ordinary African people fall an easy prey to demagogues and agitators who appeal to racial hatred and promise what they can never fulfil: and to terrorists who burn and beat and stone and petrol-bomb.

### Death-Blow to Multi-Racial Ideals

"One-man-one-vote will not at this stage give a free expression of personal opinion. It would be a deathblow to our multi-racial ideals and might well lead to a one-party African dictatorship—to say nothing of the virtual elimination of the European minority which has done so much to make a civilized modern State in what was an almost empty wilderness.

"This is an issue about which Christians should be deeply concerned. The Christian Churches have played a major part in building up this young country, and in bringing the treasures of Christian civilization to the African people. Christians in Britain have no moral title to hand over our country to those who use intimidation and terror as their weapons, nor to abandon the large numbers of moderate Africans who are one with us in everything but colour and who fear nothing more than an extremist take-over.

"I am no proponent of a unilateral declaration of independence. But, if Britain leaves us no other way of continuing our struggle for a multi-racial Christian Rhodesia, many of us who came from Britain may have to choose between the country of our birth and our Christian commitment.

"Christians in Britain should use all their influence to bring their Government to state its terms clearly; and these terms should be such as will enable the Rhodesia of the future to develop as a civilized Christian country in which black and white can live freely as equals without the threat of one-party racial dictatorship".

British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., is to pay an interim dividend at the rate of 4% less tax (3.2%). Profits for the current year are expected to justify the forecast made by the chairman in July. Until a few weeks ago the profits were better than the forecast, but labour troubles in the docks have recently reduced freight earnings and substantially increased costs.

The Government of Tanzania is officially stated to have signed with Ralli Brothers Ltd., an agreement "finalizing the purchase of Ralli sisal estates in Tanganyika on a basis of equal partnership". An African, Mr. A. J. Nsekela, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Industries, Natural Resources and Power, is the chairman of the new board, to which the Government has nominated four directors. Sir Isaac Wolfson is chairman of the Ralli group.

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## News Items in Brief

East African Airways now carry about 650 passengers a day.

Israel has now diplomatic relations with 26 African territories.

The proposed Malawi university college is to be built in Zomba.

Of about 34,000 Federal civil servants only 670 have been found redundant.

The University of Zambia is expected to admit its first students in March 1966.

Uganda African students who have returned this year after training overseas number 120.

All-round pay increases for civil servants in Kenya will cost an additional £14m. a year.

An African black rhinoceros has been born in Bristol. The species had not previously been bred in Britain.

A new Masonic lodge, named Mutikwe, E.C.7979, has been formed in Triangle, Southern Rhodesia.

Fifteen West German technicians arrived in Dar es Salaam last week to work in a slum-clearance scheme.

A Cabinet committee in Northern Rhodesia is to co-ordinate all aspects of training, including offers from external sources.

The United Arab Republic and Ethiopia have been granted increased flying rights by the Government of Kenya.

An eight-member Russian agricultural mission is in Kenya to report to the Soviet Government on farming matters.

The number of murders reported in Uganda last year was 1,398, a sharp increase on the 1,101 of the previous year.

Mutual air traffic rights have been agreed between the Republic of the Sudan and the East African Governments.

East African shillings, legal tender in South Arabia since 1951, are to be replaced by dinars equivalent to 20s. and ffs.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa has received a bequest of £5,000 from Mrs. Ruth Voules, of Wroxall, Isle of Wight.

The Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation is on the air for about 11,000 hours a year, only 1,500 hours fewer than the B.B.C.

Ten Africans from Northern Rhodesia are to study medicine in Dublin, and the Irish Nursing Board has offered to train one sister tutor.

### From Somalia to Moscow

Ninety Somali students have been flown to Moscow for two and three-year courses in medicine, science, economics, and other subjects.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia hopes to spend about £26m. in the next decade on the expansion of African secondary education.

A "Send-the-Student Fund", started in Nyasaland to pay the fares of young Africans offered degree courses abroad, quickly reached £6,000.

Three Tanganyika Africans have arrived in Australia to take four-year degree courses in forestry under the Commonwealth African Assistance Programme.

Two men of the Kenya Army and five *shifita* were killed in a recent engagement. Seven of the Kenya Rifles were wounded and flown to hospital for treatment.

Because the name Lake Victoria is considered by the Kenyan Government to involve a "colonial stigma", a committee is to be appointed to suggest a new name.

A grant of £60,000 this year from Williamson Diamonds, Ltd., and of £20,000 during each of the next four years has been promised to University College, Dar es Salaam.

South African farming families in the Arusha district of Tanganyika have been reduced in numbers from more than 200 to 70. All the others have left for South Africa.

Government vehicles in Northern Rhodesia, which have carried N.R.G. on their name-plate, are to bear the designation G.R.Z. (Government of the Republic of Zambia).

Three Africans from Kenya and one each from Uganda and Tanganyika have arrived in London to take engineering courses of three or four years at the Regent Street Polytechnic.

Kahawa barracks, near Nairobi, built at a cost of several million pounds by the War Office, are to be converted for use as a technical college when British troops leave Kenya shortly.

A central sugar cane breeding unit for the three East African territories is to be established at Kituu, Uganda, with a sub-station in the Nyanza area of Kenya, at a cost of nearly £40,000.

Seven farms of 200 acres each are to train about 500 Africans in the Youth Wing of K.A.N.U. In making the announcement the Prime Minister said that selection would be made by the M.Ps. for the different districts; if there were four M.Ps. for an area entitled to send 100, each would choose 25. The farms are to be spread throughout the regions.

Belgium and Italy are to provide the Congolese Air Force with personnel and planes respectively. Italy has also offered further technical assistance with a £7m. export credit guarantee.

African settlers on the North and South Kinangop now number 5,581 and herd 7,000 sheep, representing some £250,000 lent by the Kenya Government. A training centre has been opened at Njabini.

East German doctors and nurses have arrived in Zanzibar to staff a hospital on the island of Pemba given by the East German Government. There are now a number of East German teachers in Zanzibar schools.

The Law Faculty of University College, Dar es Salaam, announces that all 12 students who recently sat for their final LL.B. examinations have passed. Five were Tanganyikans, five from Kenya and two from Uganda.

The African-American Institute has allocated £30,000 for an International College now being built in Dar es Salaam to provide free secondary education. Twenty-six "cross-roads" from universities in the U.S.A. are helping in the building.

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign of Gainsborough has sent £2,000 to Tanganyika so that African farmers may visit places of agricultural interest within the country. The first party was taken to the Kongwa ranch of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation.

### Aid for Uganda

For capital developments in Uganda during the next two years H.M. Government is to lend £6m. Technical assistance, now costing nearly £2m. a year, is likely to continue. These decisions follow discussions with the Prime Minister, Dr. Obote, when he was recently in London.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has approved a report from its Church and Nation Committee praying that the peoples of Africa "in their eagerness for community will not sacrifice the dignities and freedoms which the Christian view of man implies".

When accepting from the Israeli Ambassador the gift of a Landrover for use by Mombasa Municipal Council, the Minister for Labour and Social Services in Kenya, Mr. Mwendwa, said that when he learnt of the need he asked the Ambassador if his country would supply the vehicle.

Road deaths in Nyasaland during 1963 numbered 111, compared with 142 in the previous year. There were 394 cases of serious injury (418) and 886 of slight injury (850). In 2,181 recorded accidents 3,136 vehicles were involved, 1,218 being private cars, 993 goods vehicles, and 554 bicycles.

Foreigners in Uganda are organizing, financing, and spreading false propaganda against the Government, Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister, said when speaking in Bugamba. The Government, anxious to project freedom, had passed no restrictive of detention laws and had not resorted to imprisonment without trial.

Aid to Commonwealth countries, shared equitably by the developed members, should be based less on national income and political and military considerations than on the ability and willingness of the recipients to use it efficiently, the recent congress of the Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce recommended.

A fifteenfold increase in the number of scientists in Africa during the next 15 years was approved by 29 African nations meeting in Lagos, Nigeria. It was considered that by 1980 Africa would need a least 50,000 scientists, and perhaps 70,000, and that all countries should spend 0.5% of the gross national product on various forms of research.

### Big Educational Programme

In country districts in Southern Rhodesia 156 primary schools for Africans are to be built this year. There are plans for 170 new secondary schools over the next nine years. Because of the boycott of Salisbury and Bulawayo schools under pressure from African political extremists, provisional dismissal notices have been given to 540 teachers.

Some 10,000 Tutsi refugees from Rwanda are to be resettled on vacant land in the Mwezi highlands near Lake Tanganyika by the Lutheran World Federation and the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Government at an initial cost of £140,000. They will be expected to maintain local health and school services with revenue from cash crops within about a year.

Seventy-five developing countries represented at the Trade and Development Conference in Geneva have demanded the establishment of a "comprehensive organization capable of providing, on a continuing basis, the central stimulus for all work relating to international trade and development" with a standing executive council of 52 members, of whom Africa and Asia would have 23, Western Europe, the U.S.A. and the Commonwealth combined 14, Eastern Europe six, and Latin America and the West Indies nine. The proposal is strongly resisted by the U.K., U.S.A., Canada, Holland, Sweden and Japan.





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*extracts from the statement dated*  
*21st October, 1964, of the Chairman*  
**Mr. JOHN BROOKE**

circulated to Shareholders on  
 5th November, with the Report  
 and Accounts for the year to  
 30th June, 1964.

**Profit for the Year** Group net profit after tax for the year to 30th June 1964 is £3,082,727. Last year it was £2,538,857. Group profit before tax rose to £7,212,119 compared with £6,068,097. We had a good year all round in growing, buying and selling. Sales rose by £5.4m. In June, \$1,785,000 was remitted to the U.S.A. to support development there.

**Taxation** Again a heavy charge, only fractionally lower than last year at 57.3%. Indian super profits tax has, mercifully, been withdrawn and the new Indian surtax is a less onerous charge.

**Fixed Assets** We have had a professional valuation of the properties for our U.K. subsidiaries prepared by Richard Ellis & Son, which disclosed a surplus on properties excluding short leases of £1,224,707 of market value over book value at 30th June 1964. A professional valuation of the properties of Brooke Bond South Africa resulted in credit to their Capital Reserves of £102,493.

**Dividend** We are recommending a final dividend of 3d, making with the interim dividend of 1½d per share, a total of 4½d net on the increased Ordinary Share Capital of £14,062,500. Last year 4½d net was paid on the total Ordinary Share Capital of £11,250,000.

**Welfare Insurance Co. Ltd.** In March 1964 we welcomed Cerebos Ltd. as a shareholder in Welfare. They acquired for cash 55,000 new shares, making the issued capital £555,000.

**Sales News** Our world turnover has now reached £122,802,000. Much of the increase came from the U.K. where we now enjoy one third of the total packet tea trade.

Overseas sales companies have again contributed to the 'march of progress'.

On the continent of Europe more Brooke Bond tea, mainly in tea-bags, is being sold in shops, cafes and hotels. The tea in our tea-bags will ensure that natives and visitors alike can enjoy a cup of tea that tastes really British.

In the Republic of Ireland, co-operating with Musgrave Brothers Ltd., the long-established Irish tea firm, a company has been formed in Cork to pack and distribute Musgrave and Brooke Bond teas. We have a 40% share holding in the new Musgrave-Brooke Bond Company.

**Tea Plantations** Total Brooke Bond tea production for the year was 46.4m lbs. 1.5m lbs. up on last year. Star performers were the Kenya and Tanganyika Tea Companies.

In Kenya, under Mr. Kenyatta's Government, confidence in our enterprise has been sustained.

**Prospects** Profits for the past three years have been in the £5m, £6m, and £7m range. This pace is too hot to last and we shall be lucky if we can maintain present performance figures. Developments of various kinds are in hand; the drive for increased sales has the full support of all the forces at our command, and encouraging progress is being made in the early stages of the new financial year.

## Brooke Bond & Co. Ltd

### Chartered's Dividend Policy

THE BOARD of The British South Africa Company has issued the following statement on future dividend policy:

"The directors intend, in the absence of unforeseen circumstances, to recommend to stockholders for the financial year 1963-64 a further distribution of 5s. 6d. per share, less income tax, making a total of 7s. 6d. per share, less tax (the same as for last year).

"For the following year the directors intend to apply a ratio of distribution of net revenue higher than that which has been adopted in previous years. On the information now before them, they expect that the company will have sufficient investment income to pay for that year interim and final dividends totalling 4s. per share gross.

"The above is subject to any alteration of the law, or of taxation rates affecting the company."

Chartered had paid 7s. 6d. per (15s.) share in each of the previous four years. The present price of the shares is about 51s. A few years ago they reached £6.

### Bank of Zambia Appointments

SIX DIRECTORS of the Bank of Zambia, the new central bank, have been appointed by Mr. Arthur Wina, Minister of Finance. They are Sir John Moffat and Messrs. A. Chonya, E. V. H. Corbishley, D. M. Lisulo, J. Shaw and N. Tembo. The governor and deputy governor of the bank will also serve on the board; as will the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance (though without a vote). Sir John Moffat, who now farms near Mkushi, was for many years in the Colonial

Service and afterwards Minister of Land and Natural Resources. Mr. Chonya has had some 20 years in commerce and now manages a business in Kasama. Mr. Corbishley, a chartered accountant, is managing director of the Lever Brothers company in Zambia. Mr. Lisulo, who was born in Barotseland and partly educated in India, is a barrister in Lusaka. Mr. Shaw, a cost and works accountant in Chingola, serves on the Tariff Advisory Board. Mr. Tembo, lately assistant general manager of Petauke Co-operative and Marketing Union, is general manager designate of the Eastern Province Co-operative and Marketing Association.

### Lewa Sisal and General Investments

LEWA SISAL and GENERAL INVESTMENTS, LTD., report profits to June 30 at £33,392 (£32,176), subject to income tax of £17,283. After paying 22½% on the preferred stock and 12½% on the deferred stock, the balance forward will be £13,300. The issued capital is £205,122. Quoted investments with a book value of £62,856 had a market value at the end of the year of £91,754, and unquoted investments are valued by the board at £173,643. The main holding is 37,275 shares in Agricultural Development Co., Ltd., sisal growers in Tanzania; that company's net profit after tax to March 31 was £635,894 and the operating subsidiary made £348,821. Dividends totalling 75% were paid. Mr. C. W. S. Temple is the chairman, and the other members of the board have been Messrs. A. L. Miller, J. H. S. Tranter, and C. W. Aschan. Mr. Miller, who had been associated with the company since 1918, retired recently.

Company Meeting**Wankie Colliery Company Limited***(Incorporated in Rhodesia)***Sales Show Modest Improvement****Maintenance of Price Stability**

THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF WANKIE COLLIERY COMPANY LIMITED will be held in Bulawayo, Rhodesia, on December 3, 1964.

The following is from the statement by the chairman, MR. H. H. TAYLOR, which has been circulated to members with the annual report and accounts:—

Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg, who was elected chairman of the company in September, 1961, resigned from the chairmanship in January, 1964, in consequence of his move to Lusaka to take charge of the Anglo American Corporation's group interests in Zambia. Mr. Brownrigg has, however, remained on the board.

**Coal Sales**

Coal sales for the year to the 31st August of 2,893,082 tons show a small increase of 12,130 tons compared to the previous year. This very modest improvement has been achieved in spite of strikes and truck shortages to which I shall refer later, and in the face of further reductions in coal demand by the thermal power stations, Rhodesia Railways, and certain other large consumers.

As mentioned in previous years, the increased use of hydro-electric power from Kariba and the use of additional diesel-electric locomotives by Rhodesia Railways have resulted in a falling off in coal demand for power and transport, but I am pleased to say that our sales to general consumers in Southern Rhodesia and Zambia, coupled with a modest export tonnage, have offset the further decrease in sales this year, and resulted in a small improvement compared to last year. Had an adequate truck supply been available, the coal sales to the 31st August, 1964, would have shown a very much greater improvement.

**Increased Sales**

An important contribution to the increase in sales to general consumers is the increasing tonnage being sold to tobacco farmers for leaf curing. This is the result of continued efforts by our sales staff, which have also achieved encouraging results in the African domestic market, although so far the tonnage in this field is comparatively small.

Attempts to increase exports have not been as successful as we would have hoped, because of the cost of railage to the coast, a distance of 882 miles, and because of the lack of railway movement capacity. Before discussing the difficulties encountered by the Railway in supplying trucks, I should like to emphasize this company's appreciation of the steps taken by the management of the Rhodesia Railways to try and satisfy demands made on it. The management made every endeavour to maintain the movement of coal to customers in Southern Rhodesia, on the Copperbelt, and in the Congo, but despite all efforts, the supply of trucks was inadequate.

The greatest difficulties were encountered between March and August. As a result of a general increase

in goods traffic and because of the severe setbacks caused by the railway strikes in March and August, the supply of trucks at the mine was generally inadequate and erratic. The company was severely handicapped in its efforts to meet customers' full requirements, and the day-to-day wide variation in truck supplies adversely affected efficiencies and caused an increase in working costs.

The second railway strike in Zambia, in August, had a worse effect on distribution and sales than the earlier one. It resulted in a loss of 100,000 tons, much of which will be made up, but only when sufficient trucks become available.

I am glad to state that the Railway management has assured the company that sufficient trucks will be available to carry a larger tonnage of coal in the financial year 1964-65.

**No Price Increases**

It is anticipated that the net increase in coal demand, coupled with the replenishment and build-up of customers' stocks, will raise our sales for the coming year to approximately 3,350,000 tons, compared with 2,893,082 for the past year.

The re-organization of production referred to last year has so far enabled us to avoid an increase in the average selling price of 22s. per ton. During last year, we were able to reduce the amount of the deficiency revenue due to the company in terms of the coal price agreement from £141,000 to £125,000, and this would have been considerably improved upon if sales and distribution had not been adversely affected, as mentioned earlier.

In the expectation that rail movement will improve during the current year, we propose to maintain the present average selling price of 22s. per ton, which may result in an increase in the amount of deficiency revenue, but this is, of course, recoverable in future years. It is felt, in the national interest, that any price increase should be avoided at the present time.

Early in 1964, without prior warning, an unofficial strike of our African employees took place, and lasted for nine days.

In spite of appeals from the president of the Mine Workers' Union and the management, the African employees refused to return to work. Using only European labour, essential coal supplies were maintained at a reduced production level at the mechanized No. 2 colliery, until normal working was resumed. When the men returned to work, thus permitting discussions to be held with the trades union, it was agreed to pay cash in lieu of the issue of free rations.

**Financial Results**

The trading profit for the year of £1,060,000 compares with £1,141,000 for the previous year. The deficiency of revenue due to the company in terms of the

price agreement was reduced from £141,000 to £125,000, this amount being recoverable in future years. Our income from investments showed a further improvement from £380,000 last year, to £431,000. The total profit before taxation with £1,364,000, and after providing a net amount of £358,000 for tax, the net profit for the year was £1,006,000.

**Dividends**

Company tax in Southern Rhodesia has been fixed at 7s. 3d. in the £, a reduction of 9d. on the previous Federal and Territorial tax of 8s. in the £. This, with changes in certain tax allowances, has reduced the company's tax liability, but the net amount provided for tax includes an appropriate transfer to tax equalization account.

Unappropriated profit brought forward amounted to £411,000, to which has been added £86,000 taxation over-provided in the previous year, making a total available for dividends and appropriation of £1,503,000. An amount of £210,000 has been appropriated to general reserve in terms of the coal price agreement, and £200,000 has been appropriated to the fixed assets replacement reserve.

Dividends equivalent to 1s. 3d. per share net have again been declared, absorbing £660,000, leaving an unappropriated balance to be carried forward of £433,000.

During the year we continued to purchase small quantities of our own debenture stock as it became available and invested £450,000 in short-term Government securities. In addition, a loan of £250,000 was advanced to Hippo Valley Estates Limited, a Lowveld sugar producing company which is a new customer for coal. This loan is fixed for 15 years.

**Capital Expenditure**

The amount expended on fixed assets during the year was £270,000 of which about half was spent on extensions to the company's power station at the mine, and the balance on normal replacement of plant.

The amount to be spent during the current year is likely to be somewhat higher at approximately £600,000, largely accounted for by heavy replacements of mechanized equipment at No. 2 colliery. Funds for this purpose are available from short-term investments, arising from monies set aside annually for depreciation and replacement of fixed assets.

It is with regret that your board accepted the resignation of Sir Ronald Prain during the year. We are grateful to Sir Ronald for his valuable services to the company since his appointment to the board in 1953, and welcome Mr. B. D. Napper in his place. Finally, on your behalf, and on behalf of the board, I would like to thank the general manager, Mr. T. A. J. Braithwaite and all employees for their work during what has been a difficult year. I would also express our thanks to the consulting engineers, and to the head office staff in Bulawayo.

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

A Tanzanian Government local loan of £1m, redeemable in 1970-71, and carrying interest at 6½%, is being issued at 99%.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, report an estimated profit after tax for the quarter to September 30 of £75,117. The yield was 18,148 oz. gold from 67,300 tons milled.

Sagitt Trust, Ltd., reports group net profit to June 30 at £106,892 (£78,230) and a distribution of 20% against 15%. The business, formerly known as South African & General Investment Trust, Ltd., has substantial Rhodesian interests.

**Economic Adviser to Uganda**

THE APPOINTMENT of Mr. George Hoskins as Economic Adviser to the Government of Uganda was recently reported by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. The *Financial Times* has since written:—

"When Mr. George Hoskins was behind the counter of a coffee-house in Northumberland Avenue, few of his customers could have predicted that he would one day go to Uganda as economic adviser to the Government. Somebody as unconventional as he may, however, be just what Uganda needs to help with the solution of its present economic troubles.

"As a former senior civil servant (Ministries of Supply and Food) and one of the strategists of the Egg Marketing Board, he combines administrative experience with skill in tackling new problems quickly. Most recently he has been financial adviser to Centre 42, and will continue to be from Uganda.

"It may be a good omen for Uganda that Hoskins usually succeeds in whatever he sets out to do. That coffee-house, for instance, was the first of a small group Hoskins built up to make himself financially independent. He then sold it for a comfortable sum so that he could concentrate on the things that really interest him, which include economic planning. Hoskins believes in planning. Why shouldn't he when his plans for himself have worked out so well?

"It may be unfortunate for Uganda, however, that his plans include politics; he has applied to be a Labour candidate and committed himself to only six months out of Britain. Indeed, with admirable frankness he admits to ministerial hopes, and does not mind people knowing he thinks himself a pretty bright fellow. Most of them, happily, agree"

Mashaba Rhodesian Asbestos Co., Ltd., reports a net loss for 1963 of £6,695, compared with a loss of £1,538 in 1962. Plant at the Murie mine has been sold. Income came mainly from the D.S.O. mine, a 30% interest in which is owned by Mashaba. The issued capital is £204,643. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at £117,071, development at £47,217, trade investments at £36,000, and net current assets at £2,074.

Zanzibar Chamber of Commerce has been abolished by the Revolutionary Government. Its place is taken by an Internal and External State Trading Corporation under the Ministry of Trade, Development and Planning.

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## Commercial Brevities

On the London Metal Exchange copper has reached a new peak of £529 a ton.

A sugar quota of 8,423 short tons for 1965 has been granted to Rhodesia by the United States.

The third phase of expansion of the Nyanza Textiles factory in Jinja, Uganda, will cost about £2m.

In the first eight months of 1964 Rhodesia's favourable visible balance of trade almost reached £17.5m.

Low & Bonar, Ltd., have decided to change the name of the parent company to Low & Bonar Group, Ltd.

A Soviet four-member trade delegation is in Uganda to discuss the possibilities of mutual expansion of trade.

Shell Chemical Company of Central Africa, Ltd., intends to expand its Salisbury factory at a cost of about £40,000.

Howse and McGeorge, Ltd., pharmaceutical chemists in Kenya, have been acquired by R. O. Hamilton, Ltd., Nairobi.

All burley tobacco grown in Zambia is henceforth to be sold by auction in Lusaka. The forthcoming crop is estimated at 5m. lb.

An immediate official ban on all imports from and exports to Mozambique has been imposed by the Government of Tanzania.

**Sisal Outputs in October.**—Central Line Sisal Estates, 595 tons (451); Dwa Plantations, 123 tons, making 1,544 for 10 months (1,341).

Wankle Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 297,267 tons of coal and 13,210 tons of coke in October. The September figures were 216,755 and 12,872 tons respectively.

The Copper Development Association expects that by 1970 about 5.5m. tons of copper will be used annually in the free world, half in the electrical industry.

The Uganda Development Corporation plans to manufacture shirts, razor blades, and sacks (from banana fibres) and to establish distilleries in various parts of the country.

### Television in Rhodesia

Rhodesia Television, Ltd., reports profits before tax at £142,000 (£148,000). The dividend of 6d. per share, requiring £37,500, is to be repeated. Sir Andrew Strachan is the chairman.

M.T.D. (Manguia), Ltd., reports net profit to September 30 at £1,141,319 (£709,977). The transfer to reserve is increased to £500,000 from £175,000, and a dividend of 7½% has been declared.

The title of Kamna, Ltd., has been changed to Combined Austin Samuel Holdings, Ltd. Mr. J. Garton Ash has resigned from the board, to which the Hon. N. D. Campbell has been elected.

The African Lumber Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., Bulawayo, which has a contract to supply parquet flooring to a United States company to a value of £2m., expects a contract from Montreal for about £1m.

A new dehydration factory in Naivasha, established at a cost of about £90,000, expects to buy some 4,500 tons of vegetables annually in the Kinangop and Naivasha areas when it reaches full production.

Mitchell Coits & Co. (East Africa), Ltd., have been appointed general agents in East Africa for the Pan-Islamic Steamship Line, of Karachi, which is to start a new passenger service across the Indian Ocean.

Benguela Railway's net operating revenue for the first nine months of the year has amounted to £1,939,154, compared with £1,909,628 in the corresponding period of 1963. All the debentures and 90% of the equity are owned by Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd.

Rent control, extended to include restaurants, bars and hotels, and residential as well as commercial premises, is being re-introduced in Kenya to remove "exploitation of the masses by cliques". A tribunal will hear complaints from landlords and tenants.

Supersonic Radio Manufacturing Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., Bulawayo, have announced that their exports by air freight to other countries in the past few months have had a value of £250,000. The U.K. and U.S.A. are among the export markets for their transistor portable radios.

Fisons, Ltd., a group with one subsidiary in Sudan and three in Central Africa, reports net profit after tax to June 30 at £2,315,355 (£1,299,572). Dividends total 12% (10%). The issued capital is £19.7m. Fixed assets stand at £33.9m. and net current assets at £12.6m.

On the Limbe auction floors this season rather more than 22m. lb. of flue-cured tobacco was sold for £1.8m., an average of 21.04d., and 3.1m. lb. of flue-cured and 3m. lb. of sun-cured leaf realised £371,000 and £310,000. The burley crop of 8.2m. lb. was sold for £774,000.

Kenya National Trading Co., Ltd., is in process of formation as an import company under control of the Kenya Government. It will serve African wholesale distributors and a chain of "people's shops".

African Highlands Produce Co., Ltd., Kenya, had a tea crop last year of 8,775,965 lb., compared with 8,218,600 in the previous year. Owing to lower prices the profit was reduced, but the 10% dividend was maintained. The area under tea is now 9,782 acres.

To nationalize existing industries would be suicidal, said Mr. Semei Nyanzi, chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation, when speaking at the opening of a £60,000 tea factory owned jointly by the Bunyoro Government and a U.D.C. subsidiary.

In order to protect local production, Kenya will henceforth license a wide range of imports, including many foodstuffs, articles already produced by small local industries, and cement, crude fertilizers, and some animal feeds. Trade with neighbouring African territories is affected.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., a group with extensive tea estates in East Africa, reports profit after tax to June 30 at £2,969,000 (£2,439,000). Shareholders receive 4½d. tax free. The issued capital slightly exceeds £14m.; net current assets total almost £25m.; fixed assets £17m.; and investments £1.4m.

Zambia's Minister of Commerce and Industry has dismissed as inconceivable the idea of common market between Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese territories. Cancellation of the trade agreement with South Africa would, he said, not be disastrous to Zambia's industrial development.

### Another Acquisition by Lonrho

Lonrho, Ltd., have acquired a controlling interest in the Heinrich group in Zambia. Mr. W. Royland, the joint managing director, has said that the company intends to do more in Rhodesia. It is considering the establishment of a nitrogenous fertilizer plant at Umstali to produce nitrogen from by-products of the new refinery.

Nchanga Consolidated Mines, Ltd., report profit after tax for the September quarter at £2,781,000, and for the six months to September 30 at £6,160,000. In the year to March 31 the profit was £9.9m. Copper sales totalled 58,607 long tons for the quarter and 135,475 for the six months, compared with 199,882 for the 12 months ended on March 31.

The East German trade delegation recently in Tanganyika stated that very competitive prices would be quoted for the export of machinery and other equipment to East Africa, from which agricultural produce would be acceptable in part-payment. The East German Government's hope was for balanced two-way trade, so that neither country would suffer.

Wankle Colliery Co., Ltd., had a profit in the year to August 31 of £1,364,000, subject to tax of £358,000, the corresponding figures for 1963 being £1,388,000 and £412,000. Dividends of 1s. 3d. per 10s. share (the same) take £660,000. Sales of coal were slightly higher at 2,893,082 tons and of coke nearly 10% better at 134,742. The chairman's statement appears in other columns.

Eleven technical and economic experts from India have arrived in Uganda in connexion with the arrangement made in March that India would help to establish four large sugar estates, involving a cost of upwards of £10m., a bicycle factory, and a hand-loom industry. When fully developed the sugar estates should double the country's output and employ at least 30,000 people.

Commercial News Exchange, Ltd., Nairobi, has established *The Business Review*, which intends to cover all aspects of Kenya trade and industry. The editor is Mr. Odhiambo and the assistant editor Mrs. Jane Stewart, Kenya's first African chartered accountant. Mr. John Oloo, is to conduct courses on business affairs in Solidarity College, which is to be opened by the sponsors of the new publication.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., reports net profit of £653,000 for the September quarter and of £1,466,000 for the first nine months of the year. For the whole of 1963 the net profit was £648,000. The average price received for lead was £102 per long ton for the quarter and £88.7 for the nine months, whereas over the whole of last year it was £63.9. For zinc the comparable figures were £123.1, £112.8, and £73. Sales of lead for the quarter were 3,472 long tons, and for the nine months 12,810, compared with 15,207 for the whole of 1963. Zinc sales were 10,683 tons for the quarter, 31,353 for the nine months, and 46,016 for 1963.

About 60 Rhodesian tobacco growers, who claimed to represent some 800 growers, met in Salisbury last week to protest against the quota scheme of the Rhodesian Tobacco Association for the limitation of next season's crop to between 240m. and 250m. lb. Their main point is that the quota for each grower should be based on his production during the three seasons before that which has just ended, since otherwise the growers mainly responsible for recent excessive over-production will benefit much more than those who accepted R.T.A. advice against any increase in acreage last year. The R.T.A. declined to send observers to the meeting.





Picture by Gallaher Ltd.

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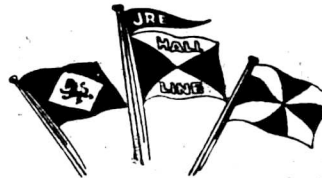
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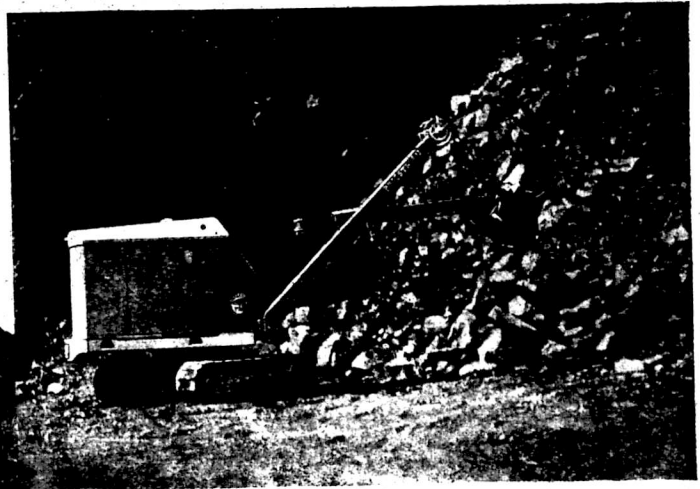
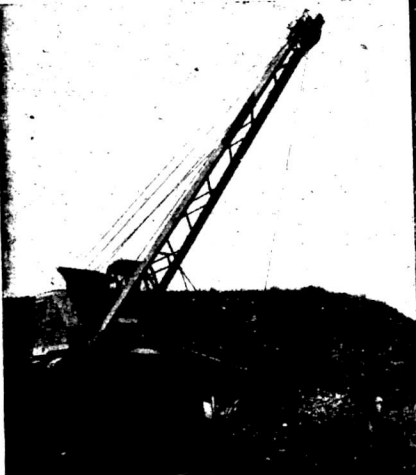
# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, November 19, 1964

Vol. 41- No. 2093

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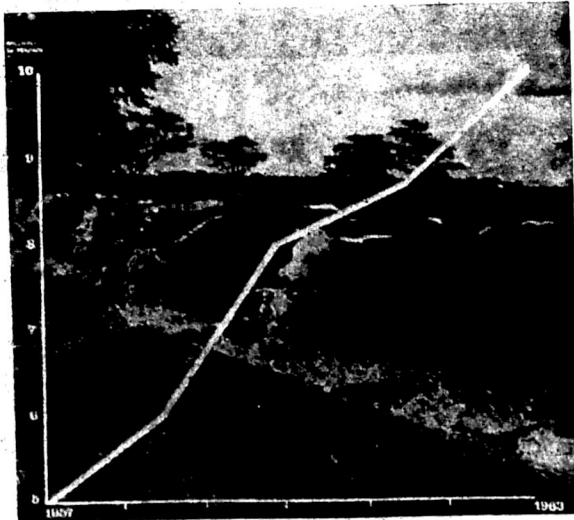
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**POLITICIANS** of all three parties in the United Kingdom who bear responsibility for the recklessness with which Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, was thrust into so-called independence will find their folly shamefully documented in the columns in this issue which report recent proceedings in the Malawi Parliament. If it were possible to record in full the speeches by the thirteen African Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, their staggering irresponsibility, immaturity, and indeed puerility would be even more strikingly exposed. Pressure on our space is much too heavy to permit that course, but the brief extracts given (except in the case of two speeches by the Prime Minister) suffice to reveal the pathetic incompetence of the men upon whom he has had to call in order to fill offices of State which should demand at least a modicum of balance, impartiality and ability, if not also some measure of independence. That the Government of Malawi almost completely lacks these essential qualities has again been demonstrated by the triviality of the transactions which we record this week.

an exercise in which he delights — for every one of these ranting exhibitionists was selected by Dr. Banda himself and returned unopposed to Parliament by his orders (their fulfilment being assured by the "persuasions" of the party thugs). The absurdities performed in the House must consequently be regarded as the best efforts which can be managed by those whom Dr. Banda regards as the cream of his country's men and women.

That African political leadership in Rhodesia is of much poorer quality than that in Zambia and Malawi has been taken for granted in Central Africa for years: Africans in the two northern territories have not been bashful in their claims to superiority, and their

### Tragic Challenge Facing Rhodesia.

judgment has not been disputed, so far as we are aware, by any European in public life. Incredible though it be, that implies that the Rhodesian Africans who covet power would, in the opinion of those best able to judge, conduct themselves even more idiotically than the Banda clique. To retort that that would be impossible will naturally not remove the anxieties of the white community, which must regard the situation in Malawi as evidence of what would occur in their country if similarly pushful and equally inexperienced nationalist tub-thumpers were free to emulate their pan-African brethren in neighbouring Bandaland. The antics of the Malawi politicians inevitably make responsible Rhodesians, black no less than white, determined to be spared similar sophism, histrionics, and hazards. Why should Mr. Ian Smith and those for whom he acts tolerate the idea of inflicting upon their much more sophisticated society and economy the dictatorship of a tiny minority of African political careerists merely because the Parliamentarians and Press of the Western world have become bemused by the asinine assumption

On a number of occasions EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been the only publication to expose the buffoonery exhibited by the elected "leaders" of the Malawi Congress Party. For anyone to attempt to parody their vacuity would be pointless, for the actuality is in itself burlesque. Yet the producer of this Parliamentary charade, Dr. Banda, assures his party puppets (and the millions whom they misrepresent) that they are doing splendidly; they are, he declares, worthy exemplars of African nationalism. That, of course, is merely another way of praising himself —

that there must be no resistance to the agitation of clamorous African politicians? Why should the future of Rhodesia be placed at the mercy of men whose prominence is due almost entirely to propaganda and in tragically few cases to even modest competence in

any profession or any business? That is the tragic challenge facing Rhodesia. For it no men are more culpable than Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, two of the most disastrous British politicians who have ever been concerned with African affairs.

## Notes By The Way

### Father of the Commons

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S retirement from Parliament left the office of "Father of the House" vacant. Mr. R. A. Butler and Mr. Robin Turton, who were elected at the same time in 1929 and have sat continuously since that year, were the two Members equally eligible for the distinction. Readers of this journal who have admired Mr. Turton's staunchness in attacking the Macmillan-Macleod policy of nerveless appeasement in Africa will assuredly regret his characteristically generous withdrawal in favour of Mr. Butler, who had so much to do with the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland — despite the fact that not many months before he administered the *coup de grace* he invited the British public to invest in the Federation in the confidence that "we will be behind you". It would have been pleasant to have as Father of the Commons one of the very few Members with a good record throughout the disastrous Macmillan era. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that Mr. Butler is much more representative of the Parliamentary feebleness and faithlessness which brought calamity to Kenya and has threatened to wreck Rhodesia.

### Doctoring the News

NEWS BROADCASTS of the Voice of Kenya, the State-operated radio, are certain to become increasingly unreliable, for the Government has just set up an editorial board to advise the newsroom staff on Kenya's policy regarding day-to-day developments both home and international. The Minister for Information and Broadcasting is chairman of this "advisory" board, and among his colleagues are one of the Ministers of State in the Prime Minister's Office and the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Defence and Internal Security, and Labour and Social Services. Their obvious duty will be to make sure that the radio is used in precisely the way which the Government would wish. For window-dressing purposes, however, there is to be a "general advisory council", to which representatives of the trade unions, commerce and industry, agriculture, and social organizations will be appointed. Only a very naive person will expect such a body to make recommendations which Mr. Achieng Oneko and his board would find objectionable.

### Denigration

I DID NOT SEE the television programme which has caused Kenya's High Commissioner in London to protest to the director-general of the B.B.C. about "deliberate denigration of Mr. Kenyatta" and other Kenya leaders. Dr. Karanja has demanded an apology and withdrawal of "unfortunate references in a pernicious attempt to deride and hold up to contempt the Head of a friendly State and flagrantly to distort recent constitutional events". A friend of mine whose knowledge of recent events in Kenya is very thorough, who

is certainly not anti-African, and whom I have heard speak very critically at times of the European leadership in that country, found nothing in the programme at which to take offence, and another friend, who has occupied very prominent positions in Kenya, has expressed identical views. Most Africans — like the vast majority of Britons — enjoy a joke at their own expense. Politicians, however, seldom share that welcome gift of laughing at themselves. Even the most thin-skinned pan-African could scarcely suggest that the B.B.C. parody (if it was a parody) of recent events in Kenya was worse than, or as bad as, some recent outbursts by Ministers in Kenya — and Mzee Kenyatta has himself recently made some statements in public which would be likely to rank for inaccuracy with anything disseminated by the B.B.C.

### Even More to the Left

THAT MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD, the new Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies, is well to the left in his politics has been noted in these columns. "Cross-Bencher" of the *Sunday Times* has now written: "I draw attention to the quiet advance of an M.P. who is not everybody's cup of tea. I mean 51-year-old Mr. Frank Julian Allau, Labour M.P. for Salford East. His extreme opinions have earned him many approving headlines in the *Daily Worker*. He is an ardent ban-the-bomb man. Last year on Castro's invitation he tripped off to Cuba to join in the anniversary celebrations of its Communist Revolution. Now in Westminster Mr. Allau takes two interesting steps up the political ladder: he has been elected chairman of the influential, 49-strong Lancashire and Cheshire group of Labour M.P.s., and Mr. Greenwood has made him his Parliamentary Private Secretary. What a turn-up at the Colonial Office! Who would have thought it possible? Mr. Greenwood has managed to find himself a P.P.S. who is even more to the left than he is".

### Columnists

QUODDLE, *alias* Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., recently remarked in the *Spectator*, which he now edits, that 81 of the last 100 paragraphs to appear in that paper's "Notebook" had been written by him and that he would be intrigued to have comparable statistics from other columnists. I wrote that all the "Notes By The Way" in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA are written by the editor. The letter has been published; but my name has been misspelt. In a journal which is often inaccurate that does not surprise me.

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# Consider the Men Who Govern Malawi

## Ministers Must Have Certain Standards, Says Dr. Banda

THE MALAWI PARLIAMENT has been told by Dr. KAMUZU BANDA, the Prime Minister, that Mr. Henry Chipembere, who was Minister for Education until his recent resignation, "ordered his thugs to kill the M.P. for Zomba North", to beat up Malawi Congress Party supporters in the Zomba area, and to tell civil servants that they would be beaten up if they did not wear arm-bands to indicate their support for Chipembere.

The Prime Minister described Messrs. Chipembere, Chiume, and Chirwa as "traitors", said that they had thought themselves indispensable, and accused them of having told various people after they had been dismissed or had resigned that they would have to be brought back into the Government.

Chisiza had complained to the Prime Minister that he was too strict in insisting that a man who was called "Honourable" in the House must not be a drunkard and must not "run after every woman". Ministers need not be angels, but they must have certain standards of decency; and so must M.P.s.

### Peace and Calm Everywhere

Those who were now buying ammunition for ex-ministers and giving them financial and other help were just wasting their money. Rebels against Malawi who were now in Tanganyika would never succeed in establishing a Government in Malawi.

In the course of his reply to the debate on the Bill which amends the Constitution by providing for preventive detention and the automatic exclusion from Parliament of any Member who has been expelled by the party for which he had been elected, Dr. Banda said:—

"Newspaper writers are making propaganda—saying that law and order is broken, there is nothing but violence all over the country, and that people would not go about the streets in peace; that the whole country is in an uproar, in turmoil. This is an absolute lie. There is peace and calm everywhere.

"The newspapers were saying two weeks ago that Chipembere had many supporters in the Central Region and that I dare not go up there. Chipembere has no supporters in the Central Region. But we must have the law, bring back the law, to avoid the necessity of declaring a state of emergency, which interferes with the liberty and freedom and actions of far too many ordinary citizens. We are back where we can deal with an individual.

### Thugs Ordered to Kill M.P.

"I should tell the House why I found it necessary to restrict Henry Chipembere—or Henry Hyena. Some newspapermen are twisting the truth. They think I restricted Chipembere because I was afraid of him politically, because he had popularity in this country. I was not, am not, and will never be afraid of Chipembere. I restricted Chipembere because he was preaching physical violence.

"On September 25—and I want newspapermen to get this clear—Chipembere ordered thugs at Mpondas to kill Kumtumanji, the hon. Member for Zomba North—literally ordered them to kill him. He was with Lubani, a member of the central executive. They had to run. Lubani and Kumtumanji had to fire a gun in the air to frighten those people that Chipembere had ordered to kill him.

"I went to the Central Region on the 26th. On Sunday Chipembere ordered his thugs to beat up a number of my supporters in Zomba area. On Monday, when the hon. Member for Port Herald North came to see

the Governor, he was knocked unconscious and almost killed. On Wednesday Chipembere came and ordered his gangs among the civil servants to organize the people, put a band on their arm to show that you are a supporter. If you didn't have that, you were to be beaten up. They terrorized Zomba township. I wasn't going to allow that.

"So I rang His Excellency the Governor-General and the Commissioner of Police from Lilongwe. When I went north I left my powers of public security in the hands of the Governor-General. He couldn't do anything. The police were powerless because there was no power to restrain anyone as we stood. The only thing we could do was to restrict him, and I alone could sign a document to restrict him. I didn't hesitate to sign it.

"Chipembere was certain that in Fort Johnston, Zomba and Blantyre nothing could be done against him. He had even begun telling lies in Fort Johnston that I had ordered the police to arrest him and the police had refused; I had ordered the army to kill him and the army had refused—that he was the real ruler of this country. That is what he was saying—in Zomba and Blantyre, let alone Fort Johnston and Kasupe.

### Showdown With Chipembere

"I decided to have a showdown with Chipembere. Who is Chipembere? Whose son is Chipembere? Whose grandson is Chipembere? [Interjection: 'Nobody!'] I wanted to have a showdown with him. I felt sure that if I signed that document it would show whether or not he had any supporters.

"When I was arrested on March 3, 1959, the whole country was paralysed. Zomba—not a civil servant, very few. Women marched from Limbe's Bar right up to here in black clothes. Fort Hill, Mlanje, Nchinji, all other places, there was nothing but war—war by men, ordinary men, ordinary women, girls like Nyagondwe, men like Flaxon Musopole, General Musopole.

"Was there any upheaval the day I restricted Henry Chipembere? Even in Fort Johnston life went on as usual. Nobody was bothered whether Henry Chipembere was restricted or not. In actual fact, he collected around him and paid money; Chipembere was buying support right here in Zomba. He had a man called Fundi to whom he was giving money to give to civil servants. I don't know where he got some of it from. [Interjection: 'from China!'] It was coming from Chipembere. Chipembere was buying popularity with money. He wanted cheap popularity with civil servants; talking to civil servants was not enough, so he had to give them money. His paymaster, Fundi, is in Port Herald now. I put him there.

"On the amendments, nobody need fear. It is not the intention of myself or the Government to use these amendments to the detriment of anyone who wants to make this country his home. We welcome people of every country, particularly people of the Commonwealth, but on this understanding that they must not interfere in our internal politics. As long as they do not interfere in our internal politics they are welcome, whether they are settlers, businessmen, missionaries.

### "I Don't Want to be Bothered"

"The minute they begin to interfere with our internal politics they are not welcome, whether they be missionaries, professional men, businessmen, settlers, or crackpots, and whether they are from any part of the Commonwealth, including missionaries, or not. There have been some missionaries and some professional men and businessmen interfering in our internal politics, openly siding with Chipembere, Chiume, Chisiza, and Chirwa. People who do this sort of thing, whether they be from Britain or Australia or Canada or any other place, will hear from us. I mean that. We are an independent State. It is understood in international law that no outsiders must interfere with the internal political situation of any country.

"Later today I will introduce the Malawi Citizenship Bill. It will restrict the privileges of Malawi citizenship to people who are fit and proper. Once that Bill is passed no-one can say, just because he lives in this country or was born in this country, that he has the right to interfere in the internal politics of this country. Anyone who does that sort of thing will be *persona non grata*. There are a few outsiders who have already made themselves *persona non grata*. I hope of their own free will they will leave this country.

"I do not want to be signing documents declaring people



who were friends a few months ago as prohibited immigrants in this country. I do not want to hear on the telephone: 'so-and-so is in trouble; the Youth Leaguers are surrounding the house'. I don't want to be bothered with that sort of thing. I want peace of mind. I am too busy to be bothered with that sort of thing.

"Anyone who does not agree with us, the way we do things, must not practise any profession in this country. He must leave this country. But if that person prefers to practise any profession and make money in this country, he must not interfere in our internal politics. Whatever his personal views, he must shut up and stick to his business of making money; after all, he came here to make money. But if he goes about saying: 'Oh! I told you so', that's why then he is *persona non grata*. He must not complain if some of the boys lose their patience and begin to show him that this is Malawi.

"This is our country and we are going to run it the way we want. Nobody must say: 'Oh! I come from the Commonwealth; so I can say anything here'. No, no; this is Malawi. Nobody must come here under the guise of exercising his freedom, siding with rebels, people who are traitors to the cause of this country.

"Chipembere is a traitor; Chiume is a traitor; Chirwa is a traitor; Chisiza is a traitor. Therefore anyone under the guise of being a missionary who supports these people has no right to be living in this country. Whatever Church, that Church must withdraw him from this country. If the Churches do not send these people back I will have to sign an order declaring them prohibited immigrants, because I must have peace of mind; and I cannot have peace of mind if some missionaries interfere in our internal politics or if some so-called professional people interfere in our internal politics. Let missionaries stick to their preaching; let professional men stick to their making money in Blantyre and Limbe; and leave my politics alone". (Prolonged applause.)

### Views of Thirteen Ministers

Seven recently appointed Cabinet Ministers and six Parliamentary Secretaries followed one another in denunciations of the ex-Ministers and protestations of loyalty to Dr. Banda.

They were, however, strangely contradictory in their references to the state of the country, some declaring it to be excellent and others deploring the prevalence of fear and the results of widespread violence.

Mr. J. D. MSONTHI, Minister of Transport and Communications, and also Minister of Education, said that there was much subversion in the country, which was fighting Chinese Communism. He did not agree, however, with those who had spoken of fear in the country. In fact, everybody was happy.

Mr. R. B. CHIDZANJA, Minister of Home Affairs, suggested that district councils should be controlled by the Malawi Congress Party, and gave notice that he would introduce a Bill authorizing him to dismiss any chairman, member, or employee of a district council. He had already dissolved the district councils in Kasupe and Nkata Bay.

Mr. J. Z. U. TEMBO, Minister of Finance and Minister of Trade and Industry, regretted that much harm was being done by rumours that people might not kill their chickens, goats, or cattle without a permit from the local M.P.

Mr. M. Q. Y. CHIBAMBO, Minister of Works, Development and Housing, and Regional Minister for the Northern Region, saw nothing in Malawi to frighten investors, but deplored the killing of innocent people. A chief had, he admitted, been murdered in Zomba.

### Much Bloodshed

Mr. A. A. MUWALO, Minister of Information, supported the idea of expelling district councillors if they ceased to be members of the Malawi Congress Party. He considered that the people of the country had never been happier than now.

Mr. G. C. CHAKUAMBA, Minister of Community and Social Development, offered to show any sceptic what damage had been done in the country—the number of houses burnt and pulled down and the number of goats slaughtered "because of the deeds of the men who call themselves leaders and have been proved traitors". They had caused much shedding of blood.

Mr. A. B. J. CHIWANDA, Minister of Labour, asserted that the people of Blantyre would cut up some of the ex-Ministers if they appeared in the town.

Mr. K. C. MUSOPOLA, Parliamentary Secretary for Community and Social Development, said: "We live in fear. We sleep in fear because we have too many hyenas. Very, very serious crimes have been committed by the followers of the ex-Ministers". People had been told to kill the Prime Minister's supporters. It was intended to "fix up these people", including "Lucifer Chiume".

Mr. H. B. KANCHOWA, Parliamentary Secretary for Home

Affairs, hoped that those who were condemned to preventive detention would not be given good food.

Mr. E. Z. K. BANDA, Parliamentary Secretary for Information, considered Malawi a bus for which the Ngwazi was the only good driver. "If Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda is to be killed, then we shall be killed too". People against the Government should be deprived not only of their seats in Parliament and their freedom of speech and movement, but of their houses and gardens; "even bathing water and drinking water should be taken away".

Mr. A. W. CHIPUNGU, Parliamentary Secretary for Health, asked to be allowed by the Prime Minister to supervise the detention camps when they were ready. Fellows who had run out of the country should be extradited from the State in which they had taken refuge. "We have Malawi members, Malawi branches, in Rhodesia, Zambia, Tanganyika. I hope our power of extradition will go through these channels; whether it be called kidnapping we don't care".

Mr. J. B. KATONDO, Parliamentary Secretary for Trade and Industry, urged the Prime Minister not to worry, because he had boys who would fight for him at any moment. Those "lunatic" ex-Ministers thought that Kamuzu could turn stones into a country without them. In fact, Kamuzu will find the businessmen. He ended: "Ngwazi, don't worry with the businessmen. I will deal with them. They will find it thick".

Mr. J. T. KUMBWEZA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Development and Housing, said that the rebel Ministers had instigated civil servants because there was no powers to detain anyone who tried to undermine the Government.

### Outburst About Ex-Ministers

Before the House was adjourned *sine die*, the Prime Minister said:—

"William Murray Chiume, and Orton Edgar Chirwa, Chisiza, Henry Shifisi, and the rest must know now that they are not indispensable in this House or outside it. After they had been to me they were boasting outside: 'Oh, he'll send for us; he can't do without us'. On the very day that I walked out on them they were telling people that they had put me on the carpet; that they were going to come out that afternoon with full powers.

"They were appointing African Permanent Secretaries in almost every Ministry, because they were going to be the ones to run the show. They make everybody believe them. Chirwa was telling Jacobson; Jacobson was telling Moxon; Moxon was telling all of their friends that it will be Chiume this afternoon, not Kamuzu in power; and many civil servants were taken in. I won't say what particular Ministry, but all of them; they thought they were going to be this and that, because when we came out of that Cabinet meeting Chiume was in charge, not I.

"Then we came here to debate the motion. Chipembere came. As the Member for Lilongwe Central and the Minister for Home Affairs stated yesterday, he entered this room like a bull. I heard about that. So I challenged him, and told the Speaker that this House would have to make a decision that day—no tea-break, no lunch, nothing. The House made a decision.

### "Chiume the Evil Genius"

"But I was not satisfied; I wanted to go to the people, meet the people myself, ask them to choose between me and Chiume, Chipembere, Chirwa, Chisiza, Bwanausi, Chokani. No, they don't count; they are just reeds who fly in the wind. But Chiume, the evil genius—Lucifer—a real Lucifer; after him Chipembere; after him Chisiza; Chirwa fourth. Well, I went to Mlanje, Chikwawa, Dedza, Ncheu, Lilongwe, Dowa, Kasungu, Mzimba, Nkhota Kota, and Visanza. I got the answers.

"Even then, when I was on my way to the Central Region, even before that, Chipembere was telling the people within two or three days that he would be the Prime Minister. That is what he was telling people when he was addressing a meeting. He said the same thing in Blantyre. Quite a number of civil servants in Zomba here believed Chipembere that Chipembere was going to be Prime Minister. So they had to be ready. That was why they were wearing that band on that Wednesday.

"Chipembere, Chiume, Chisiza, Chirwa, even Bwanausi and Chokani, sincerely believed that they were indispensable—that I would send for them. When they resigned and told the Governor-General, they said: 'We resign; he will find us if he wants us'. Then they went to tell their friends and said: 'He sacked some of us, but some of us have resigned. He is going to send for us; he cannot govern this country without us'. Well, I made up my mind to teach Chiume, Chirwa, Chisiza, Chipembere, Bwanausi and Chokani a lesson—that they are not indispensable as Ministers and Members of Parliament; that I can govern this country without them. Now

(Concluded on page 215)

# Western Powers Accused of Planning Attack on Tanzania

## Kambona Allegations Considered Based on Forged Documents

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister for External Affairs in Tanzania, who has been on sick leave, appeared unexpectedly in Dar es Salaam last week to denounce an alleged plot to subvert nationalist activities and overthrow the Government.

He had, he said, telegraphed to the Secretary-General in Addis Ababa of the Organization of African Unity:—

"United Republic has gathered sufficient documentary and factual evidence to reveal the existence of plots by certain Western Powers to overthrow the Tanzanian Government and subvert nationalist and liberation movements based in the United Republic. The plot would use Portugal and South African mercenaries to attack points of strategic importance to the security of both the United Republic and the nationalist and liberation movements. Obviously Africa's commitment to liquidate colonialism is at stake, and, since the Liberation Committee is headquartered in Dar es Salaam, I have found it necessary to inform you of the developments. Grateful if you would inform other member States".

The daily newspaper *Nationalist*—owned by the Tanganyika African National Union, the party forming the Government—published photostats of documents said to be in the possession of the Government which showed what communications had passed between agents of subversion and the Government of the United States.

One letter asked for an assurance from the U.S.A. that Britain would not interfere in an operation intended to destroy the United Republic of Tanzania. Reference was made to "special arrangements to overthrow the Government of Mr. Julius Nyerere".

### Clumsy Forgeries

An official of the United States Embassy said that had not been shown the documents, which appeared to be clumsy forgeries. The allegations against the United States were "wholly without foundation".

A spokesman for the British High Commission in Dar es Salaam said: "We know of absolutely no basis for the allegations made against Western Powers. Britain could certainly not accept the authenticity of the documents published in the newspapers".

Although deletions had been made from the letters in order not to disclose the identity of the countries in question, two of the communications (in French) purported to be written by an ambassador to a Foreign Minister, and the third to an ambassador from someone who had "accepted the delicate mission which you have entrusted to me in Tanganyika". English translations were published.

The first letter allegedly from an ambassador referred to Chinese subversion against the Congo from Tanganyikan territory, and contained the statement: "As this situation presents a serious danger for the future of the world and the peace in Africa, the United States has decided to put an end to it quickly by every means". As a first step, the U.S.A. would support Portuguese bombing of strategic Chinese supply points in Tanganyika.

The second letter mentioned that Dar es Salaam had become the point of entry for war materials for subversion in the Congo and Mozambique.

The *Nationalist* suggested that the supposed plot was linked with the seizure by the Tanzanian Government of 11 farms in northern Tanganyika owned by British subjects.

Mr. R. D. Fowler, the British High Commissioner, called on the Minister for Lands and Settlement, Mr. Sajaona, to discuss the revocation of the leaseholds of eight farms owned by Britons in the Arusha area, farms which were being well managed.

In a radio talk Mr. Kambona said that "certain big Western Powers, in collusion with Portugal, were preparing subversion and aggression against Tanzania in order to prevent it giving help to the African national movements based in Dar es Salaam". He regretted that "certain brother African

States" had fallen dupes to imperialist manoeuvres and allowed themselves to be used as tools of colonialism. Tanzania had expected the Colonial Powers to resort to such tactics, but had not thought that brother African States would be deceived by such propaganda and incitement.

A statement released to the Press by Mr. Kambona amplified those points, using very much the same language, but also saying:—

"The Government of the United Republic has at all times made public declaration of its commitment to the total liberation of the African Continent. In pursuit of this objective it has harboured refugees from the Portuguese territories, Rhodesia, and South Africa. Dar es Salaam is the seat of the headquarters of several liberation movements from those territories.

"The United Republic of Tanzania has always believed that freedom from Colonial domination could be achieved by peaceful means. Because of this belief it has addressed numerous appeals to the Colonial Powers and the racist Government of South Africa to pursue a policy of peaceful though rapid constitutional progress to majority rule and independence for their territories.

"But, equally, the United Republic has not been blind to the fact that some Colonial Powers do want such peaceful transition to occur, and that these have therefore done everything to frustrate the nationalist movements in their territories and to hasten the advent of bloodshed.

### Disappointed by Brother African States

"It would be expected that our commitment to total liberation of the African Continent would place us in opposition to the Colonial Powers, South Africa, and to their Western allies; but it should also be expected that, since this commitment is in complete accord with the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, brother African States who have subscribed to it would align with us against the force of colonialism.

"The solid commitment of the independent African States through the Organization of African Unity and its African Liberation Committee constitutes the most potent threat to the continuation of colonialism and racism in Africa. Since colonialism perpetuates itself by sowing discord and disunity in the ranks of its opponents, we should expect the Colonial Powers and their allies to seek to divide independent African States by setting one against another.

"The United Republic expected the Colonial Powers to resort to these tactics. But it also expected brother African States to guard against being deceived by such propaganda and incitement. It is for this reason that the United Republic is dismayed to note that certain brother African States have fallen dupes to these imperialist manoeuvres to delay the total liberation of Africa. It is further dismayed to note that these brother African States, including Congo, Leopoldville and Malawi, have not only fallen dupes but have willingly allowed themselves to be used as tools of colonialism to be used to hold up and subvert the freedom struggle in Colonial countries.

"The United Republic is alarmed that brother African States should turn their back against the spirit of the Charter of the O.A.U. and be used to subvert the nationalist movements within the Colonial countries, alarmed that brother African States should be willing tools of subversion against the headquarters of the various liberation movements and that of the African Liberation Committee.

### Subversion and Aggression

"We have information that certain big Western Powers are engaged in deliberate, calculated moves to render ineffective the force of the nationalist movements. We have information that as a follow-up they are making deliberate moves to bring about disunity in the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

"Information available to us reveals that these big Western Powers, in collusion with the duped brother African States, are ready to commit acts of subversion and aggression against the United Republic of Tanzania and the nationalist movements which are based here.

"We have evidence that in carrying out this mission of subversion and aggression in Tanzania these big Western Powers will use Portugal and white South African mercenaries.

"I must warn these Powers and their duped brother African States that no attempts at subversion and aggression against

(Continued on page 213)

## Sir Philip Mitchell

### Forty Years in Colonial Service

**SIR PHILIP MITCHELL**, G.C.M.G., M.C., whose death in hospital in Gibraltar at the age of 74 has already been reported, spent 40 years in the Colonial Service, all but two of them in Africa. He commented sarcastically that in that period there were 20 Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and no fewer than five during his term as Governor of Kenya.

Philip Euen Mitchell, fifth son of a Regular Army captain, was educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Trinity College, Oxford, and entered the Colonial Service in 1912 as an assistant resident in Nyasaland. When war broke out two years later he joined the King's African Rifles (initially without permission of the Governor), served in the East African Campaign, and was mentioned in dispatches and awarded the Military Cross.

Then, after a short spell as private secretary to Sir Hector Duff, Acting Governor of Nyasaland, he obtained a transfer to the administrative service which was being created in Tanganyika (as captured German East Africa came to be known). Seven years later Sir Donald Cameron promoted him Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, and head of the department two years later. In 1934 he became Chief Secretary.

### In Tanganyika Under Cameron

Cameron, an indefatigable worker, drove relentlessly those whom he selected as his chief associates, and Mitchell found himself plunged into what he afterwards described as exhausting hard labour. None of Cameron's subordinates showed such enthusiasm for the West Coast system of "indirect rule" as Mitchell, who for several years spent well over half his time travelling the territory in order to persuade a generally reluctant civil service to operate the plan.

Cynics and obstructionists, of whom there were many in official and non-official circles, found him insistent and sometimes intolerant, and his determination, carried at times to the point of ruthlessness, made him as unpopular as the cause itself—largely because Cameron, a self-centred martinet, regarded even mild criticism from any quarter as *lèse majesté* and visited his dictatorial displeasure on those under his command whom he suspected of lukewarmness. The policy had been introduced in Nigeria many years earlier by Lugard, but Tanganyika was expected to consider it the product of Cameron's masterful mind. Though Mitchell's ability was recognized, there was a feeling of relief, especially among officials, when he was appointed Governor of Uganda in 1935.

### Governor of Uganda

He promptly endorsed and pushed plans for the development of Makerere from a senior school into a university college large enough to serve all East Africa. The idea was regarded coldly by the settler leaders in Kenya, who thought it premature and objected to financial contributions from their Colony. Mitchell, however, was more than a match for them, and his advocacy prevailed.

The thoroughness with which the new Governor examined every department under his control was little appreciated by the civil servants immediately concerned, but it quickly became known that he was as ready to back an able man at headquarters or in the field as to deal sharply with the inefficient or inactive, a number of whom were either retired or encouraged to apply for transfer to another territory. The small non-official European community welcomed Mitchell's vigour and impartiality, as did the Civil Service when

it became persuaded of his fair-mindedness. There was, however, dismay over some of his appointments.

He threw himself into the movement for closer union of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya. A conference of the three Governors had been established four years earlier, and he had attended it from time to time to represent Tanganyika. The then Governors of Tanganyika and Kenya, Cameron and Grigg, whose mutual dislike neither troubled to hide, carried their personal animosities into the field of policy, and consequently deprived the Governors' Conference of much of its potential usefulness. Having had personal experience of this damaging and sometimes dangerous situation—which successive Secretaries of State negligently tolerated—Mitchell, in company with a few other senior officials, felt convinced that more effective inter-territorial machinery was urgently needed.

### Devotion to East African Union

On the outbreak of war in 1939 he insisted on resigning the governorship of Uganda in order to become deputy chairman of the Governors' Conference, being assuredly the first British governor to divest himself of that status in order to serve as No. 2 in an organization which everyone knew to be the sport of inter-territorial jealousies and obstructions. Deliberately disregarding his career, as it appeared, Mitchell made the sacrifice because he believed it to be the best contribution which he could make to the cause of union of the three territories. Had that union been made at that time the war contribution of East Africa would have been greatly enhanced. Mitchell had already proposed to the Secretary of State that the Governor of Kenya should for the period of the war be made head of a unitary Government of all the East and Central African Dependencies, and Lord Lloyd accepted the idea, subject to the agreement of all the governors. Unfortunately, some of them stood out stubbornly, and Mitchell's sacrifice did not achieve its purpose, smallmindedness in some influential quarters being allowed to prevail. He struggled along gamely for some months, until General Wavell, then commanding in the Middle East, suddenly whisked him off to be his chief political officer.

### War Services

Neither could then foresee that the first great victories of the war were shortly to be won in Eritrea and Ethiopia, for the Italians in those territories had such superiority in numbers of men, aircraft and guns that it appeared to be merely a matter of time before they overran the Sudan and Kenya. Instead of attacking seriously, however, they dithered, and so British and African troops were allowed to seize the initiative and achieve by audacity what had seemed impossible. Mitchell's responsibilities consequently expanded immensely with a few weeks, for his task was to improvise administration for all the territories won back from the Italians. He and those whom he selected for the work succeeded admirably.

In 1942, again without warning, Mitchell, now a major-general, was appointed Governor of Fiji. Having spent his working life in Africa, he was not attracted by the idea of transfer to the Western Pacific, but there could be no demur, for the Colony was threatened by the Japanese. Indeed, before he left London he was told that Fiji might fall to the enemy while he was in the air. There had been serious friction in the area between British and American representatives, and there was urgent need for an experienced administrator who could immediately get on good terms with Admiral Nimitz, the American C-in-C. Mitchell and he took to one another at first sight, and the whole atmosphere

changed, Mitchell becoming a frequent and welcome visitor to United States battleships.

### Governor of Kenya

At the end of 1944 he returned to East Africa as Governor of Kenya, with the special duty of preparing a detailed plan for the closer administrative union of the public services common to that country, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The result was the establishment of the East Africa High Commission with executive responsibility for railways and harbours, customs, postal, research, and other services, and a Central Legislative Assembly. The Governor of Kenya was appointed permanent chairman of the High Commission, which meant that Mitchell became primarily responsible for creating the organization. Nothing could have given him greater pleasure.

He also concerned himself with the problem of giving Europeans, Asians, and Africans increasing responsibility in central and local government.

Another great interest was that of land use, on which he wrote memorable dispatches. One much-quoted affirmation of his was that "an ignorant man and his wife with a hoe are a totally inadequate foundation for an enlightened state of society". Another reiterated reminder was that "when doubts and difficulties perplex, there is at hand a text-book for the business in the New Testament". He had a gift for striking phraseology, which enlivened his numerous speeches. After retirement he wrote "African Afterthoughts", which, surprisingly, was something of an anti-climax.

### Mau Mau Threat Neglected

Deciding to farm in Kenya on his retirement, he did not buy a developed property in the Highlands, but a piece of almost untamed land in the Subukia district. It was not what his experienced farming friends would have recommended, and the venture was a disappointment.

Until a couple of years before his retirement he would have been rated by everyone as a great Colonial governor. Unhappily, the Colonial Office extended his term in Kenya to eight years, and the latter part of the period was marked by blunders which went far to ruin his reputation. He had never been a good picker of men. Too often he had unwisely promoted relatively junior and inadequately tested men above others of much longer service and greater achievements and promise. Latterly he had around him too many sycophants, official and non-official, with the inevitable consequence that those who became increasingly perturbed about the situation, particularly in the Kikuyu country, were given little or no opportunity to impress their anxieties upon him.

Administrative officers of long experience who reported in ever graver terms on the evidence of impending rebellion began to doubt whether their warnings reached him, and such settler bodies as the Convention of Associations, having failed to arouse him by private representations, therefore passed strongly critical resolutions which were widely reported in the Press.

### Tragic End to Distinguished Official Career

Deeply resenting such remonstrance in public, Mitchell took the stand that the protests were ridiculously exaggerated. Nor would he heed Kikuyu-speaking missionaries who had exceptional knowledge of the widespread terrorism in Kikuyuland and the many murders by the organization which was already generally known as Mau Mau.

Indeed, on the day after his retirement from the governorship Mitchell told the East Africa Dinner Club

in London that it was nonsense to talk of African unrest; there were some subversive elements, some organized rackets, some dummies for ventriloquists in Moscow, but millions of grateful and loyal Africans were prospering as never before; the country was seething, not with unrest, but with energy, growing enlightenment, and the excitement of new opportunities inspired by British missionaries, British officials, British farmers, merchants and others.

### Ostracized

That defiant denunciation of his critics—scores of whom sat before him—was quickly to recoil upon him, for his successor as Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, had almost immediately on his arrival to declare a state of emergency and order the arrest of the Mau Mau leaders. In the rebellion of the next few years thousands of Africans lost their lives, opponents of Mau Mau being frequently murdered in cold blood by its ruthless gangs.

This tragic ending to Mitchell's long and distinguished official career clouded the rest of his life. The settler community held him personally responsible for reckless failure to take adequate precautions, and for many months he was shunned. When he entered a club, those present withdrew.

He was a keen yachtsman and sea and fresh-water angler.

He married in 1925 Margery Tyrwhitt Drake, a South African; his reason, he used to say in her presence, was that she was the only woman who had been able to beat him at golf! Less than a year ago they left Kenya to live in Spain. He had learnt Spanish as a young man and repeatedly returned to that country during his leaves, in order, as he used to say, to escape the clutches of the Colonial Office.

### Happy Relation with U.S. Commanders

Sir John Rankine wrote in *The Times*:—

"When Mitchell arrived in Fiji in 1941 it lay as the next step in the Japanese onrush, morale was at its lowest, and relations both with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand and with the Americans left much to be desired. Mitchell set all these to rights and directed and inspired the organization of its defences. He established a relationship of the greatest mutual respect and friendship with the local American commander and particularly with the overall commander in the South Pacific, Admiral Nimitz.

"With the assistance of New Zealand, which supplied officers and equipment, he raised the Fiji military forces, who soon gained for themselves a reputation as among the very best of our Commonwealth troops. The first Colonial V.C. of the war was won by a Fijian.

"Above all, it was due to Mitchell that the Union Jack still flies in many Pacific islands. Such was the prejudice at one time that many Americans were determined that American blood should not be shed in recovering the British Empire, and that if the Solomons and the Gilbert and Ellis Islands were recaptured they should not be returned to Britain. Mitchell so won the respect of the United States commanders that when the islands were recaptured it was taken as a matter of course that he should resume civil administration.

"Unfortunately, the Mau Mau outbreak soon after his retirement and the controversies surrounding it have diverted attention from his main work in Africa. When things have cleared away posterity will surely see him as one of the chief architects of East Africa's development. If asked to single out the field in which his contribution was greatest, apart from the building of an effective organization for the four territories, the choice would probably fall upon education. He saw clearly that if the African was to take his place with the other communities higher education was necessary to produce the leaders and teachers, and he laid the foundations for it."

"Sir Evelyn Hone's firmness as Governor has been tempered with a patience and tact which should be a model to those of us who are now responsible for the affairs of Zambia".—President Kaunda.



# PERSONALIA

SIR CUTHBERT CLEGG has joined the board of Viyella International, Ltd.

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL is now chairman of the company publishing the *New Statesman*.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister of Zambia, has been in London for a few days.

SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE has retired from the chairmanship of Metal Industries, Ltd.

MR. M. T. EMMANUEL has been elected to the board of East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.

MR. MAINZA CHONA, Minister of the Interior in Zambia, is leading a delegation to Moscow.

LORD CAREW, national chairman of the British Legion, recently paid a brief visit to Uganda.

MR. H. E. Y. GILLIES has been appointed general manager of Scottish Rhodesian Finance, Ltd.

MR. OBOTE, wife of the PRIME MINISTER OF UGANDA, gave birth to a son a few days ago. It is their first child.

MR. R. J. DINNIS, Registrar of Co-operatives in Rhodesia, has returned from visits to Britain, France and Italy.

SIGNOR GIOVANNI REVEDIN DI SAN MARTINO has presented his letters of credence as Italian Ambassador in Uganda.

MR. GEORGE EMMANUEL is now an alternate director to MR. ANGUS OGILVY on the board of Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd.

MR. G. L. STANDING has been appointed deputy chairman of United Dominions Trust, Ltd., which has Rhodesian subsidiaries.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA opened yesterday evening the Africa Centre at 38 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

MR. D. M. BARBOUR has been elected president of Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, of which MR. G. J. SICHEL is vice-president.

MR. M. A. REIHAN KINGO, aged 71, editor of a Swahili newspaper, was last week elected the first African mayor of Zanzibar.

MR. A. J. OMANGA, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health and Housing in Kenya, has left to visit Ethiopia, Ghana, Israel, and India.

MR. W. D. WILSON, a director of the Anglo American Corporation and other companies, has joined the board of Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd.

MR. C. J. HUGHES, president of Umtali Chamber of Commerce, has been elected vice-president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia.

MR. A. B. ADIMOLA, lately Counsellor in the Uganda High Commission in London, and MRS. ADIMOLA are on their way to Mombasa in the S.S. KENYA.

MR. JOHN RUSSELL, British Ambassador in Addis Ababa, has been in London to discuss arrangements for the QUEEN'S visit to Ethiopia in February.

SIR GILBERT LAITHWAITE has succeeded SIR EDWARD WILSHAW as chairman of Bedford Life Assurance Society and Bedford General Insurance Co., Ltd.

SIR JULIAN CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., was one of the guests of THE QUEEN at a small informal luncheon party in Buckingham Palace last week.

MR. JEREMIAH KASAMBALA, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanganyika-Zanzibar, has led a nine-member trade delegation to the United Arab Republic.

MR. D. R. BURNIE, manager of the Thika branch of National & Grindleys Bank, and MRS. BURNIE and their daughter sailed from London on Friday in the S.S. KENYA.

MR. P. MATANTE, president of the Bechuanaland Peoples' Party, who has arrived in London, was notified a few days ago that he is a prohibited immigrant in Rhodesia.

DR. M. J. RILEY and MR. P. D. TAYLOR, both in medical practice in Salisbury, are in London from Rhodesia. So is MISS C. A. COOMBES, matron of Rusape Hospital.

MR. DINGLE FOOT, Q.C., M.P., the recently appointed Solicitor General, who has paid numerous visits to East and Central Africa on private legal business, has been granted a knighthood.

MR. ANTHONY BARBER, lately Minister of Health, who lost his seat at the general election, has joined the board of British Ropes, Ltd., the largest United Kingdom buyer of East African sisal.

MR. C. WOCHIRA has been elected general secretary of the Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union, which has dismissed the appeal for re-instatement of his predecessor, MR. HERMAN ODUOR.

MR. RICHARD GEORGE PENTNEY, a master at Oundle School, who was until recently headmaster of St. Andrew's School, Minaki, Dar es Salaam, has been appointed headmaster of King's College, Taunton.

MR. LIONEL DAKERS, organist of Exeter Cathedral, has returned after spending three months in Africa as an examiner for the associated board of the Royal Schools of Music. He spent some time in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. S. KAPWEPWE, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Zambia, left Lusaka at the week-end for London to join PRESIDENT KAUNDA, whom he will accompany during the rest of his visit to Northern Europe and the United States.

Among nominations as sheriffs are MARSHAL OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE SIR JOHN SLESSOR (for Somerset), MR. H. R. GARDINER (for Dorset), and SIR PATRICK DONNER (Hampshire). Three names from each county in England and Wales are submitted to THE QUEEN, who selects the Sheriff.

Three members of the new Parliament, MRS. SHIRLEY WILLIAMS, Socialist Member for Hitchin, MR. MAURICE FOLEY, Socialist Member for West Bromwich, and MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative Member for Haltemprice, are members of the council of management of the Africa Centre in London.

When the PRIME MINISTER and MRS. WILSON gave a luncheon party on Friday for PRESIDENT and DR. KAUNDA, the other guests were MR. ARTHUR WINA, MR. PETER MATOKA, the HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR ZAMBIA & MRS. KATILUNGU, the LORD PRESIDENT & MRS. BOWDEN, the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS & MRS. BOTTOMLEY, the LORD PRIVY SEAL & the COUNTESS OF LONGFORD, SIR ALEC & LADY DOUGLAS-HOME, MR. MAURICE FOLEY, M.P., & MRS. FOLEY, SIR SAVILLE & LADY GARNER, MR. D. SADOKI, and MR. & MRS. D. J. MITCHELL.

## ZAMBIA



For information APPLY TO  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER for the  
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

7-11 Cavendish Place, London, W.1.

Telephone: LANgham 0691

MR. JAMES KISUBI, Finance Minister in the Busoga Government, has been appointed Principal Education Attaché in the Uganda High Commission in London. He is a graduate of Makerere and of Belfast University. He replaces MR. ERNEST SEMPEBWA, who has returned to the Ministry of Education in Uganda.

DR. V. K. R. V. RAO, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, director of the Institute of Economic Growth in India, and for three years chairman of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Economic Development, has visited Uganda at the invitation of the Government to discuss development plans.

The first paragraph in the Court Circular a few days ago recorded that "DOCTOR KENNETH KAUNDA (President of the Republic of Zambia) had an audience of THE QUEEN this morning". The initial word "Doctor" was rendered in full. H.M. Government gave a luncheon for the PRESIDENT at Marlborough House that day.

MR. E. MHLANGA, a businessman in Bulawayo, and one of the three vice-chairmen of the Matabeleland Division of the Rhodesia Party, will be its candidate in a by-election in the Matabeleland South constituency on November 26. He will be opposed by MR. D. H. DUBE, headmaster of a Government school in Gwek, who stands as an Independent.

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and MRS. BOTTOMLEY gave a luncheon a few days ago at Marlborough House for MR. SIMON KATILUNGU, recently appointed High Commissioner in London for the Republic of Zambia, and MRS. KATILUNGU. SIR EVELYN HONE, lately Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was one of the guests.

MR. W. FAGG, a deputy keeper at the British Museum, PROFESSOR W. O. BROWN, director of African studies in Boston University, and MR. SAM NTIRO, former High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika, were among specialists in African art who attended the Exhibition of Zambian Culture and International Art which opened in Lusaka at the time of the Independence celebrations.

Four Ministers and two new M.P.s. were on Tuesday sworn in as Members of the East African Central Legislative Assembly, namely MR. G. IBINGIRA and MR. W. W. KALEMA, respectively Minister of State and Minister of Industry and Communications in Uganda, MR. L. Lubowa, Minister of Commerce in that country, MR. MAKANA, Minister for Communications, Power and Works in Tanzania, and two elected members from that country, MESSRS. A. S. ISSA and K. M. KHAMIS.

DR. E. NJUGUNA GAKUO, the new general manager of East African Railways and Harbours, obtained a B.Comm. degree at the University of Delhi in 1952 and the M.A. (Econ.) three years later. He then lectured in the department of African studies for three years before going to the University of Freiburg, Germany, where he gained the D.Ph. (Econ.) in 1960. After his return to Kenya in the following year he was appointed secretary of the East African Tobacco Co., Ltd.

SERGEANT A. C. S. COUTTS, of the British South Africa Police, received the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry from THE QUEEN at an investiture in Buckingham Palace last Thursday. In June last year he received 23 shot-gun wounds at point-blank range when seeking to arrest on a citrus estate near Umtali a European who had killed a European social welfare officer and a young married couple on the estate staff, and wounded his own wife, the estate manager, and six Africans, one of whom later died. The assailant was executed in January. The award to SERGEANT COUTTS, who had had to undergo five operations, was for "personal bravery beyond the call of normal duty". He joined the B.S.A.P. as a constable in 1954 after two years in the R.A.F. Police.

In a by-election in Lango West the Uganda Peoples' Congress candidate, MR. MARTIN FROBISHER AROMA, was elected with a poll of 5,394 votes. The Democratic Party candidate had 2,224 and an Independent 363 votes.

MR. REGINALD SORESENSEN, Socialist M.P. for Leyton, Essex, who has shown much interest in African Affairs, is to accept a life peerage in order that his seat may be available to MR. GORDON WALKER, the Foreign Secretary, who was defeated in the general election in the Smethwick constituency.

THE RT. REV. ERIC TRAPP, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and CANON JOHN KINGSNORTH, general secretary of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, are spending five weeks in East and Central Africa in connexion with the forthcoming merger of the two societies.

## Obituary

MR. BENJAMIN WELENSKY, a brother of SIR ROY, has died in Salisbury.

MR. JACK GLEDHILL, who practised as an advocate in Kenya for many years, was killed recently in a car crash near Nakuru.

CAPTAIN ROBERT FRANCIS VEASEY, R.N., has died in Nakuru Hospital, Kenya, at the age of 81. He had farmed at Mau Summit.

CAPTAIN EDMUND MATURIN PERSSE, M.C., who has died in Folkestone at the age of 74, was for many years in the Colonial Service in Uganda.

THE REV. STANLEY ALBAN HOSE, who has died at the age of 77, was a U.M.C.A. missionary in East Africa for nine years until 1935.

SIR STRATI RALLI, M.C., who has died in London at the age of 88, was for many years president of Ralli Brothers, Ltd., and in that capacity concerned with sisal growing and other enterprises in East Africa.

MISS ALLISON CAMPBELL, aged 30, a niece of Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London died a few days ago in Sioia Hospital from head injuries received when her car plunged off the road near Banket.

MR. REGINALD SHARPE, of Nasonia Estate, Cholo, who has died in Malawi, was the son of Sir Alfred Sharpe, first Governor of Nyasaland, and husband of Mrs. Molly Sharpe, the first woman to be appointed to the Legislative Council. Reginald Sharpe began growing tobacco in 1919 and later extended his operations to tung and citrus. His hobby was boat-building.

SIR HENRY LOW, C.B.E., who has died at his home in Bulawayo, aged 83, was born in South Africa but had lived most of his life in Rhodesia, where he held many senior offices in public affairs, in business, and in benevolent and other organizations. At various times he had been vice-chairman of the Rhodesia Railways Board and of the Rhodesian board of the Standard Bank and chairman or a director of a number of Rhodesian companies. He was a past president of Rotary International and of Bulawayo Rotary Club.

THE RT. REV. R. P. CRABBE, Bishop of Mombasa from 1936 to 1953, has died suddenly at his home in Bexhill, Sussex, at the age of 81. He was a cross-country Blue while at Cambridge and took part in the Olympic Games in Athens in 1906. After serving a curacy in Staffordshire, he was for three years chaplain to the Bishop of Sierra Leone. Then he held other livings in England and was for six years chaplain of Alleyn's College, Dulwich, until he went to East Africa as a C.M.S. missionary bishop. He ordained the first Africans in Kenya to be admitted to the Anglican ministry. Upon returning to England he was Vicar of Ventnor until 1958.

## Prime Minister on New Countries No Compromise in Facing Challenge

MR. HAROLD WILSON, the Prime Minister, said at the Lord Mayor's banquet on Monday evening that self-government and nationhood had brought new countries a sense of pride and a release of energies.

"They are less interested in the East-West division than the division between rich and poor nations, less concerned with protocol than with poverty. Our influence in the world will depend a good deal on our ability to express and represent their aspirations, and guide them into constructive channels: to work with them: to speak for mankind, not to side with its oppressors.

"They are concerned about race. No nation, it was proclaimed a century ago, can live half slave, half free. In 1964 the world cannot live with a division between first-class and second-class citizens, differentiated by the colour of their skin.

"Our approach to this challenge, whether in world affairs or in our domestic life, cannot be conditioned by cowardice or compromise.

"If we are going to speak with authority abroad, we have a duty at home to condemn by our words and outlaw by our deeds racial intolerance, colour prejudice, anti-semitism: whether they be found in the activities of squalid relics of pre-war Fascism, in the behaviour of politicians of any party, or in the attitudes of a so-called Labour club.

"We stand or fall as a nation on the sharpness of the cutting edge we can develop in production and exports — the right goods, the right price, the right delivery dates. This means a much greater willingness on both sides of industry to accept change and innovation, to surrender outmoded practices which have no relevance to the needs of the sixties. If this can be done, we need have no doubts about Britain's future.

"Let Britain's reserves of skill, craftsmanship, administrative ability, and unrealized talents in production and salesmanship be mobilized, and there are no heights of achievement which Britain cannot scale — for our own good and for the good of the world."

The Prime Minister's mention of a "so-called Labour club" referred to the fact made known that day that Smethwick Labour Club — the constituency in which Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker was defeated — imposes a colour bar.

## Death Sentences in Zanzibar Condemned by Liberation Army Courts

ON SUNDAY Mr. Karume, first Vice-President of Tanzania, announced that five men had been sentenced to death in Zanzibar for an alleged *coup* against the Revolutionary Government. They were described as members of the Peace Fighters' Union, an underground movement, allegedly endeavouring to overthrow the Government by an armed rising. The leaders were said to have been members of the Arab-dominated Zanzibar Nationalist Party which was overthrown in the January revolution.

Zanzibar Radio has stated that a People's Liberation Army court has found 16 persons guilty, passing capital sentences on five, jailing others for five or ten years, and releasing some because they were considered to have been "misguided". Details have not been given.

A few days earlier President Karume had told journalists that British newspaper reports of arrests of hundreds of people were untrue. In fact, only 62 people had been placed in detention for attempting to bring about "dissension in our Government".

### Incitement from Foreign Governments

In the course of a statement in Swahili the Vice-President said:—

"Jamshid bin Abdullah [the former Sultan] is in London with his clique. We know very well that he has established an anti-Zanzibar-Government political party. But all this is useless. Zanzibar is an African country and is being ruled by Africans. Jamshid bin Abdullah is not an African. He came from his country, Asia, to repress Africans and deprive them of their rights.

"The envoy of the United Republic in London, Mr. Ngaiza, has been sent a letter from the alien clique of Jamshid. Those who sent the letter have nothing to do with Zanzibar. They are aliens here.

"A London newspaper says that the Arabs are being persecuted. This is not the case.

"This incitement comes from foreign Governments. The United Republic's envoy in London will be able to show Prime Minister Wilson of Britain the letter. There is no doubt the British Government will do what it can to trace the writer.

"The British Government took no less than £100,000 of the wealth of the people of Zanzibar and gave it to this corrupt person so as to enable him to bring evil things to Zanzibar. We assure the world that we will defend our Government and protect everything that belongs to us without listening to anyone".

## Kenya's Unsuccessful Attempt

LED BY KENYA, the Afro-Asian bloc of members attending the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in Jamaica have failed to secure exclusion from the conference of Rhodesia's two representatives, Messrs. W. J. J. Carey, M.P., and P. H. Mkudu, M.P. The plea was that Rhodesia's "racist attitudes and reluctance to see reason" jeopardized the Commonwealth, and that a Rhodesia ruled by "a white minority with black stooges" should have no place at a conference of Commonwealth M.Ps. The issue will be raised again next year as a conference in New Zealand.

## Councillors in Debt

THE PRIME MINISTER of Kenya has said that aldermen and councillors who were given notices of disqualification because they were in debt to Nairobi City Council are to have the disqualification rescinded and time to pay what they owe. Blame must be placed on laxity and carelessness in the council's administration, and for that the Government was responsible. There would be greater co-operation henceforth.

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## Slave Votes in One-Party State

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS TUKER has written in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"We hear a lot of the slogan 'One-Man-One-Vote' these days. In a one-party State that vote is worthless, for it is not a free vote. It is the 'vote' of a slave, not of a free man.

"To call such a system democracy mocks the term as it is mocked in Communist (Socialist), Nazi, and Fascist States. It may be acceptable for a backward people for a while, as a stage upwards towards better ways, but to coerce civilized people to endure it is shameful and a betrayal. It puts back the clock of progress for all, instead of advancing it.

"It is indeed a form of *apartheid*, with a self-chosen unelected ruling party segregated from the people in a police State without hope of responsible government in any region or form.

"British men whose forebears have died through the ages for individual freedom will not live as citizens of such a degrading system, and no one has any right whatsoever to expect them to do so. It is not for this that they have striven to raise Colonial peoples to independence and freedom."

## N. Rhodesia's Census

PRELIMINARY RESULTS of last year's May-June census of Africans in Northern Rhodesia show a population of 3,408,500, compared with an official estimate of 2,520,000. Of the 1,690,000 males 55.7% were aged 22 years or less (942,400); of the 1,718,300 females 55.2% (948,600) were in that group. Of those born between 1918 and 1941, 32% were men (540,000) and 34.3% women (589,000). Those born earlier than 1918 comprised 12.3% males (207,400) and 10.5% females (180,700).

## What does Sir M. Blundell Think Now?

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR,—I have read with much interest your reference under Matters of Moment to the proposals put to the then Secretary of State (Mr. Iain Macleod) at the first Kenya Lancaster House Conference, by the Kenya United Party in regard to the promotion of a British Government revolving fund of £30m. for the purpose of purchasing European farms in Kenya for African re-settlement.

At the time those proposals received much sympathy from a number of M.P.s and from big business institutions with a stake in East Africa. We were assisted in arriving at our figure by an agriculturist and an economist made available to us by the Colonial Office, and the scheme was sabotaged only by the intervention of Mr. Michael Blundell and Mr. Bruce McKenzie, who advised the Secretary of State that such a scheme was unnecessary and that all that was needed was a sum of not more than £5m.

I well recollect Mr. Blundell entering our office at Lancaster House and accusing the late Group Captain Briggs and myself of being defeatists and condemning the scheme, stating that he had advised Mr. Macleod that it was completely unnecessary.

It would be interesting to know if he still holds that view, as it appears that not only has it cost the British Government far more than £5m., but very considerably more than the £30m. that would have met our proposals. Had they been adopted there would have been avoidance of the chaos that now exists in Kenya in connexion with the purchase of European-owned farms and the wrecking of the economy of that unfortunate land.

Yours faithfully,

Cape Town, South Africa.

B. P. ROBERTS.



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Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. And—thanks to the miracle of modern travel—you can reach Rhodesia in just 14 hours. A two-week package tour (including jet travel between London and Salisbury) costs as little as £260.

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## Detention of Nkomo Declared Illegal Government may Appeal to Privy Council

DETENTION of Mr. Nkomo and 16 other African nationalists in Gwelo gaol has been declared by the Appellate Division of the High Court of Rhodesia to be unconstitutional.

Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, Sir Vincent Quenet, and Mr. Justice MacDonald have ruled that the recent detention orders should be set aside, but they agreed to suspend judgment for a week in order to give the Government time to apply for leave to appeal to the Privy Council.

Counsel said that the Government might thereafter ask for a stay of the court order pending the finding of the Privy Council (which might not give judgment for about 18 months).

Mr. J. R. Crawford, for the Rhodesian Government, submitted that release of the appellants might gravely jeopardize the security of the State; such prejudice to the State would enormously outweigh possible prejudice to the liberty of the men concerned.

### Technical Considerations

The High Court judgment was based on technical considerations. Some months ago the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Act extended from May 15, 1964, to May 15, 1969, an original act of 1959. The amending Act was held by the three judges to be in effect a new Act, not merely the extension of the earlier enactment, and it therefore became subject to a provision in Section 58 of the 1961 Constitution that "no person shall be deprived of his personal liberty save as may be authorized by law", further providing that that might be "only to such an extent as may be necessary for the execution of a lawful order requiring that person to remain within a specified area within Southern Rhodesia or prohibiting him from being within such areas". Another section (69) provided exemptions during periods of public emergency, but it had not been pleaded.

Some time ago all the appellants were restricted to an area

near the Mozambique border. In August the Appeal Court ruled that the restriction was illegal on technical grounds, and in October Mr. Nkomo and the others were sent to Gwelo prison.

At the end of that month Mr. Nkomo won an appeal against conviction and sentence a year ago on charges of making a subversive statement, in which he described the Southern Rhodesian Government as a "Nazi and Fascist régime whose police torture suspects to extract confessions". Mr. Nkomo had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, of which three were suspended, but on appeal the sentence was reduced to a fine of £50 or three months' imprisonment. On October 30 conviction and sentence were quashed.

If the latest orders of the Appeal Court were not stayed pending appeal to the Privy Council, the Government would not keep Mr. Nkomo and the others in gaol, but might hold them in restriction. In that case, however, they would be free to receive visitors, and so express their views for publication.

On Monday, Mr. Nkomo and 16 of his chief associates were removed from Gwelo Prison to the restriction area at Gonakudzwingwa, where they may receive visitors.

If the Commonwealth Relations Secretary were to decide to visit Rhodesia he could therefore meet Mr. Nkomo — but not Mr. Sithole, the rival nationalist leader, who is serving six months' imprisonment on a charge of incitement.

## Britons Leaving East Africa

### U.K. Help For Kenya Navy

BRITISH CIVIL SERVANTS in Kenya have decreased in numbers since independence from 3,114 to 2,195, and in Tanganyika from 2,170 to 1,100.

These figures were given to Parliament last week by Mrs. Castle, Minister for Overseas Development, who said that H.M. Government had made grants to Kenya in 1963 totalling £8,756,000 and loans of £7,636,000, while Tanganyika received £3,965,000 in grants and £1,928,000 in loans — excluding military aid, British private investment, and aid through international institutions to which Britain contributed.

Asked about British assistance for the Kenya Navy, Mr. BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, replied:

"The British Government have agreed to make a gift of up to £1.3m, for the purchase of three new patrol craft for the navy which the Kenya Government propose to inaugurate on December 12, the first anniversary of Kenya's independence. H.M.S. ABERFORD, a seaward defence boat of the Royal Navy now in Mombasa, will be lent to the Kenya Government until their new vessels are ready for service.

"The gift will also cover the initial provision of equipment, small arms, ammunition, and uniforms, and the conversion of the former Royal Navy Armaments Depot at Mombasa as a base for the Kenya Navy.

"Training assistance in Mombasa will be given by a Royal Navy team headed by Commander E. M. C. Walker, R.N., and training courses will be provided in Britain for Kenya Navy personnel."

## Sudan's Council of Sovereignty

### Resignation of President Abboud

PRESIDENT ABOUDD has resigned the offices of Chief of State of Sudan and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. His powers are now exercised by a five-member Council of Sovereignty, as provided in the provisional Constitution of 1956. President Abboud seized power in a bloodless army coup two years later.

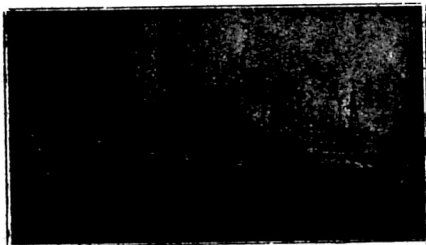
When his military Government was recently overthrown the civilian coalition agreed that he should remain Head of State and Commander-in-Chief. A few days ago, however, the United National Front, representing all the political parties and other groups, demanded his replacement. The General expressed a wish to leave the Sudan.

The forces are now controlled by a Defence Council under the chairmanship of the new Prime Minister, Mr. el-Khatem Khalifa. The new Commander-in-Chief is Major-General Alkhwad Mohamed.

Nine politicians from the Southern Sudan, three from each of the three provinces, have been summoned to Khartoum for discussions with the Prime Minister and two of his colleagues whose homes are in the south. Thirty-two Southern politicians have been released from imprisonment.

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## President Nyerere on the Plot

(Concluded from page 205)

the United Republic will succeed. The people and Government of the United Republic remain firmly united and committed to the total liberation of the African Continent. The people and Government of the United Republic will continue to give full support to the nationalist movements. The United Republic believes, as do all true brother African States, that Africa must and will be free.

Three days later Vice-President Kawawa said in a Dar es Salaam broadcast that there would be a mass rally in the city on Sunday to protest against the plot of the Western Powers, and that people should turn out to demonstrate their "readiness to combat any enemies". All branches of the Tanganyika African National Union were being directed to stage similar demonstrations from the beginning of this week onwards "in order to show the world their determination to fight colonialism and imperialism".

President Nyerere, in an address to the demonstration which was broadcast throughout the country, said that he would be "the first to thank God" if it could be proved that the alleged plot did not exist. The authenticity of Mr. Kambona's announcement had been questioned, and the American Ambassador had denied any involvement by his country. "We shall give them the evidence and they can tell us whether it is not genuine". Dar es Salaam City Council resolved at an extraordinary meeting to support any Government measures "to fight the imperialists and their henchmen", and suggested that civilians should be trained in fire-fighting and first aid and "other emergency operations".

Mr. Karume, First Vice-President of Tanzania, and previously President of Zanzibar, is reported to have said at the week-end that Zanzibar was not concerned with Mr. Kambona's charges, and to have added: "It is part of the power struggle over there on the mainland".

In Dar es Salaam the documents are said to have been written by Algerians, connected with the Liberation Committee's headquarters in the city.

According to other rumours, the Soviet Embassy doubts the authenticity of the documents.

### Returned to Base

MR. TOM STACEY, who is revisiting East Africa for the *Sunday Times*, reported at the week-end from Mtwara, the port near the frontier with Mozambique, that more than 1,000 Mozambique Africans who have had military training, some in Egypt and Algeria, are now ready to undertake guerrilla operations in Portuguese East Africa under the banner of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), whose vice-president, Uria Simango, told him in Dar es Salaam that he had hundreds of fully equipped men already in P.E.A.

Of the party of about 100 from the Zanzibar Peoples' Liberation Army who were sent to Mtwara recently with six Russian "advisers", Mr. Stacey says that "after a fortnight's riotous binge they were returned to base with ignominy in the ex-Sultan's yacht".

An English trader in southern Tanzania told him that an American news television team which arrived towards the end of last month to film Africans fleeing from Mozambique found such complete absence of activity of the kind that they asked him to collect his employees, get them to paddle out to mid-stream, and return in "sorrowful disarray for cinematographic effect".

The fourth World Congress of the World Association of Travel Agents is being held in Nairobi.

Stoning of buses and bechalls in Bulawayo's African township forced the police to fire in order to check the mob: One African was slightly wounded and 15 were arrested.

The Lusaka newspaper *Central African Mail* has been declared a prohibited publication in Rhodesia. The principal shareholder is Mr. David Astor, editor of the *London Observer*.

The Privy Council has dismissed the appeal against the death sentence passed in Rhodesia last year on Richard Mapolisa as an accessory to an attempt to set fire to a building in Salisbury.

The Special Committee of Twenty-Four of the United Nations has invited the United Kingdom Government "to take immediate steps to transfer power to the freely elected representatives of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland".

East African Staff College is the name now adopted by the East African Administrative Staff College formed at the suggestion of Mr. Adu, then Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organization. Its first course is now being held. Mr. Guy Hunter is director of the college.

## Britons Expelled from Tanzania Protests by U.K. Government

MR. GEOFFREY DUNMORE, a British civil servant in the Lands and Surveys Department of Tanzania, who was stationed at Arusha, Mr. L. H. Gallagher, lately Commissioner for Lands in Tanganyika, and Mr. H. Klopper, a farm manager of South African origin, have been summarily expelled from Tanzania.

Mr. Dunmore, who had been in the country for 15 years, flew to Dar es Salaam for consultations with Government officials as soon as he received notice that he had been declared a prohibited immigrant on security grounds. He was put into Dar es Salaam prison and later flown back to Arusha under police guard with orders to leave the country with his wife and their two sons within 48 hours. During his absence his house had been searched.

The local police commissioner said that "action against Mr. Dunmore follows the receipt of certain information". His expulsion is believed by Europeans in the country to be connected with the decision of the Government a few days earlier to revoke the rights of occupancy of 21 farmers in the Arusha district, 11 of them Britons.

The British High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam expressed his concern at Mr. Dunmore's arrest and deportation. The High Commissioner asked for an urgent interview to establish the true facts.

No further details are available of the expulsion of Mr. Gallagher, who had only recently returned from retirement leave with the intention of settling, and Mr. Klopper.

Another white farmer, Mr. D. van Rensburg, who was also ordered to leave the country, was found to be a citizen of Tanzania; his passport has been confiscated.

It is thought that other deportation orders are being served on white farmers in northern districts.

### Clubs "Subversive"

Social and other British clubs and associations in the Arusha region have been ordered to disband. A letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs has described such bodies as quasi-racial and undesirable because they "could indulge in possible subversive activities prejudicial to peace and good order".

Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told the House of Commons on Monday that the Tanzanian Government had been asked to suspend the expulsion order against Mr. Gallagher and refrain from further expulsions until there had been consultation with H.M. Government.

MR. SANDYS: "Would the Secretary of State make clear to the Government of Tanzania that the rough and arbitrary expulsion of British officials who have rendered long service to Tanganyika has been badly received in this country? Would he deny categorically the groundless allegation that the British Government have been involved in a Western plot to overthrow the Government of Tanzania? Are special steps being taken to provide for the security and safety of British citizens resident in Zanzibar, where the situation is extremely disturbing?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "With regard to the allegation that the United Kingdom Government is involved, the High Commissioner for Tanzania has told me already that that is not so."

"With regard to the rough treatment to which Mr. Sandys has referred, while not accepting that, last Friday the Minister of State did see the Tanzania High Commissioner and told him that we took the matter very seriously. We have also asked our High Commissioner in Tanzania to make representations on behalf of the Government. Responsibility for the safety of British subjects in Zanzibar is with the Tanzania Government. The advice I have is that there is no need to fear the safety of British citizens."

Police patrols on the Zambezi and Lake Kariba are being increased as part of the Rhodesian Government's policy of tightening control of the border, across which terrorist gangs are known to have infiltrated from Zambia. One gang killed a Rhodesian farmer recently. A Government announcement has referred to "a progressive pattern of planned penetration".

The inflow of Europeans into Rhodesia in October was greater than the exodus, immigrants numbering 844 and emigrants 686. This was the first month since March 1962 in which there had been a favourable balance. Of the entrants 587 were new arrivals, 95 residents returning after an absence of more than a year, and 149 residents who had been away for less than that period but had indicated that they were leaving the country permanently.

## Troops Searching for Mr. Chipembere

### Dr. Banda Cancels Visit to London

TROOPS AND POLICE REINFORCEMENTS were moved last Thursday to the Fort Johnston district of Malawi, the home area of Mr. Henry Chipembere, who recently resigned as Minister of Education and whom Dr. Banda now calls Henry Hyena.

Supporters of the ex-Minister now wear a special arm-band, and a Government spokesman has said that the "reinforcements were sent because lack of respect for law and order, which can be attributed to the supporters of Chipembere, has become apparent in the district". He admitted that there had been numerous cases of arson and other damage to property, and of intimidation and general hooliganism, and a marked decrease in the payment of taxes.

Only a few days earlier—as will be seen by the record in other columns—Ministers had said in Parliament that conditions were normally quiet.

It was announced in Zomba last Thursday that Dr. Banda would not come to London for financial discussions, as had long been planned, but that the recently appointed Finance Minister, Mr. John Tembo, would leave in a few days to ask for an increase in aid from H.M. Government, which recently made a grant of £8m., partly to meet a budget and partly for development purposes.

### "Secure for a Year or Two"

A special correspondent of *The Times* who is revisiting Malawi has telegraphed the opinion that "barring accidents, Dr. Banda looks secure for a year or two; but it is vital that his personal rule should soon, with foreign aid, rally the Malawians to him more fully".

Zomba and Blantyre are described as "largely anti-Banda", a feature of the situation being that many of the educated and professional African cadres are on the side of Messrs. Chipembere and Chiume as pan-Africanists and against Dr. Banda, "who is Westernized and at times goadingly pro-European".

"The civil service is sullen after the attacks on it by party thugs and the dismissals which have followed and which continue. How many is not known, but certainly 40 to 45; unofficial estimates put the number higher.

"Though in hiding and disgrace, Mr. Chipembere remains the obvious successor as Prime Minister, and would almost certainly be accepted as such unless and until he drops out of view".

The *Central African Mail*, Lusaka, has published a letter written on October 23 by Mr. Chipembere from Fort Johnston and addressed to Dr. Banda. It says that he had left his home for a short time, not to escape to Tanzania, but to retire to a quiet place for meditation. He wrote: "I will return to my house and you will be free to come and take me away and do the Lumumba that you have always wanted to do on me. I may go, but you will not survive me long".

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Dr. Banda has deposed Chief Kabunduli, of Nkata Bay, the home area of Mr. Chirwa, ex-Minister of Justice, and Chief Kalembo, of Kasupe, near Fort Johnston, the district in which Mr. Chipembere lives. Four other chiefs who were accused of supporting the former Ministers had previously been deposed, and four district councils have been dissolved on the same grounds.

One of Dr. Banda's bodyguards, Eric Manjombe, who was dismissed earlier in the year, has been found dead on the roadside some miles from Blantyre.

### Amazon Army

On Sunday the Prime Minister told a Blantyre crowd that the self-styled "Field Marshal" John Okello, who led the revolution in Zanzibar in January, had been approached by Mr. Chiume to lead an invasion of Malawi from Tanzania. Mr. Chiume to whom he scorned Mr. Chiume's activities, Dr. Banda saying that his Women's League would defeat the Okello declared that his Women's League would defeat the Okello forces at the Songwe River, the border with Tanzania. The leader of the "Amazon Army" had already gone to the border area.

Next day Dr. Banda left for that part of the country, saying that he intended to visit the strongholds of Mr. Chisiza, the former Minister for Home Affairs.

In further demonstrations at the week-end against Jehovah's Witnesses, one was killed and many were assaulted. A number had their homes burnt down.

An office on a Manje tea estate was burnt down last week by gangs which have invaded a number of plantations, interfered with the labour, and threatened some Europeans. Road-blocks were set up and all cars stopped. Intrusion on the estates has grown greatly in recent months. There has been much intimidation and a good deal of arson.

The Prime Minister has rescinded the decision to impose a health charge of 3d. in hospitals. The proposal had been sharply criticized by the ex-Ministers.

## Rebel Threat to 1,000 Europeans

### U.S. Missionary Sentenced to be Shot

CONGOLESE REBEL FORCES have declared about 1,000 Europeans in Stanleyville to be "hostages and prisoners of war". They have threatened to shoot them if bombs or shells are used by the advancing Congolese Government forces.

Some 700 of the whites are Belgian. There are known to be 63 Americans and 25 holders of British passports, including seven children, in the city, where there are also South Africans, Italians, and Greeks.

A 36-year-old American Protestant medical missionary, Dr. Paul Carlson, was said on Monday by Radio Stanleyville to have been sentenced to death for spying.

The U.S. Government has appealed to the chairman of the Congo Conciliation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, Mzee Kenyatta, to intervene in order "to prevent this act of atrocity against an innocent human being". Mr. Dean Rusk denied that Dr. Carlson was a spy and a major in the U.S. Army.

He had been arrested on September 20 while treating wounded Africans. After the rebels obtained control of the district he gave similar medical attention to their wounded.

A British "mercenary" lieutenant, aged 26, was killed a few days ago while his platoon was guarding a bridge near Kindu. Two Belgians had been killed in action a few days earlier, bringing the total "mercenary" deaths in recent operations to 10.

Several Britons and South Africans, including the second-in-command of one Commando unit, have left the Congo. According to some reports, Major Hoare, the Commando leader, has dismissed about one-third of his force.

A Russian-built Ilyushin aircraft, thought to have been flown from Algeria, is said to have delivered arms and other equipment to the rebel forces last week.

The British Government's Independence gift to Zambia is a heavy silver ink stand.

Armed Somali raiders ambushed a lorry in northern Kenya a few days ago and killed nine adults and a baby.

The Congo Reconciliation Commission set up by the Organization of African Unity under the chairmanship of Mzee Kenyatta has suspended its work, having achieved nothing.

A South African family which had lived in the Arusha district of Tanganyika since 1905 has sold its 4,000-acre farm to an African for £1,000.

## Why Ministers Disliked Dr. Banda

(Concluded from page 204)

you have Chidzanja there, Chibambo there, Kumtumanji there, John Tembo there, John Msonthi there, Alec Nyasulu there, Gwanda Chakuamba, Chiwanda, Muwalo. Are they not governing this country now? Look at the way Chidzanja has led the House.

"You don't have to be a university graduate to be a leader. You don't have to have even matric, to be a Minister. All you need to be a Minister is good commonsense—that is all. It is not necessary for men to be graduates to be Ministers. That is why I deliberately filled these benches with the men you see. These men may not be experienced Ministers, but they have done very well; they get experience by doing things, and I am going to see to it that they get this experience.

"Those ex-Ministers, what were they? I had to teach them. I am going to teach these others. [The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: 'I am doing very well in my office, sir'.] Of course you are. Every one of you is doing excellently—excellently. Those people who were beside Chipembere—Moxon, Jacobson, and others like them—will learn a lesson. This country is better off without Chiume, without Chipembere, without Chisiza; without the rest of them.

"One of the reasons why they did not like me—and this was Chisiza who told me—was that I was too strict; I did not like people who drink; I did not like people who do other things which he Chisiza and others like, and you know what these things are. He told me that I was too strict in my standard for Ministers and Members. If that is a crime I am very, very happy to be a criminal.

### Certain Standards of Decency

"You are supposed to be referred to as the Honourable Mr. So-and-so; if you are an 'Honourable' you must be honourable in the true sense of the word. You cannot be a drunkard and expect to be called an honourable man. You cannot be running after every woman, after another man's wife, and expect to be called honourable. If because I insisted on higher standards of personal conduct, personal character, personal morals, for my Ministers and Members of Parliament I was a criminal, I am very, very happy to be a criminal. I was too harsh, too demanding in my standard of character of my Ministers and Members of Parliament. You know why Chisiza was saying that.

"I do not say Members of Parliament must be angels. I do not say Ministers must be angels. But they must meet a certain standard of decency, a certain standard of personal behaviour. How are they going to be respected by those whom they lead? How are they going to be looked up to? Remember, the people in the villages look up to you Members, to you Ministers, and in turn you all look up to your Prime Minister. [Prolonged applause.] Would you respect me if I spent a whole night drinking with you in the pubs? Leaders must have certain decency, a certain standard of personal behaviour, and realize that the rest of the people expect them to be a little different. Any Minister, any Parliamentary Secretary, who does not know that and behave and conduct himself accordingly is sealing the seat of his own tomb.

"Kanyama, or William Murray Chiume, is not here. Chirwa is not here. Chipembere is not here. Chisiza is not here. Bwanansi and Chokani they are not here. But this House is going on just the same, even better without them, much better. This country is going on just the same—not a ripple on the surface of this country. Does anyone miss them? Chipembere will learn a lesson.

### Chiume Plotting

"As for Chiume, I know what he is plotting in Dar es Salaam; but he is wasting his time. Let him organize whatever he wants. We will crush him. General Musopole is guarding the Songwe River. He won't even go as far as Rumpi. If he tries to come by the other side, by the side of Likoma, we will meet him there. If they try to come by the side of Mlanje, we will meet them there. They are wasting their time, and anyone who is giving them money, buying them ammunition and things like that, is wasting his money. Even with the help of the Americans the Cuban rebels have not been able to conquer Cuba. Do you think Kanyama Chiume with his allies can conquer this country?

"Some people mistake so-called freedom fighting. Freedom fighting, yes, when you are fighting a Colonial Government; but this is not a Colonial Government; it is a nationalist Government—government of the people by the people and for the people; and the ordinary people themselves will defend this Government. Therefore, I have no worry; and people like Moxon and others who depend on Chiume and Chipembere to come back here and set up a Government in Zomba or Lilongwe are living in a fool's paradise. There will be no Government here of rebels from Tanganyika.

"A few businessmen in Blantyre—one or two—are toying

with the idea that Chipembere will be the Prime Minister. They are wasting their time. Those of your people who fear that Chipembere will come back here and take revenge—he hasn't a chance, not even in Fort Johnston. You watch; he won't come. By the time he wants to go back up there the very people who were shouting and singing for him will be the very ones to tear him to pieces! But wait. Chipembere will learn a lesson. I am very, very sorry for his father, too, because his father has been deceived by his son.

"Anyone who deceives for Chiume and Chipembere will be taught a lesson by me—and the people. See those boys over there? If the Government does not do anything those others will do something. But the Government will do something about it, and therefore there is no need for them to do anything. They must obey orders, do things only on instruction. But I want everybody to know that if the need arose those boys—and there are thousands, thousands, all over the country—can come and crush anyone".

## Kenya A One-Party State

### K.A.D.U. Now Merged with K.A.N.U.

DEFLECTIONS from the Kenya African Democratic Union under Mr. Ronald Ngala to the Kenya African National Union, the party in power, having reached the stage at which K.A.N.U. could command majorities in the Assembly and the Senate, Mr. Ngala and his remaining colleagues decided last week to merge their party with K.A.N.U.

Mr. Ngala told the National Assembly:—

"On behalf of the official Opposition in the National Assembly and all its members and supporters throughout Kenya, I would like to make the brief statement that in the interest of Kenya I have full mandate to declare today that the official Opposition is dissolved and K.A.D.U. joins the Government under the leadership of Mzee Kenyatta.

"The Opposition will today vote with the Government for the new Constitution in the Senate and hope that the regional powers that are whittled away will be delegated to the regions.

"I have taken K.A.D.U. into the Government fully aware of the challenges that are facing us in Kenya and East Africa today and in future; but we intend to face the national issues with one voice and one purpose. This must include strong resistance to neo-colonialism in any form and strong adherence to the non-alignment policy.

### Forget Past Differences

"I urge Members of the National Assembly to forget past hostilities between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. members in the true spirit of building the nation, and that whatever differences exist among ourselves in matters of social and economic development, defence or foreign policy, are discussed and settled among ourselves to project the African personality and unity of Kenya within and outside the borders of our country.

"I urge members and supporters of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. to regard themselves as brothers and sisters and citizens of Kenya, who must now work together to build one nation, socially, economically, and politically.

"We shall endeavour to unify our country in its social and economic programmes. Our efforts will also be towards achieving freedom of expression and true African socialism and democracy for our people.

"As I take K.A.D.U. into the Government we have no grudge against Mzee Kenyatta or any of the K.A.N.U. leaders. In fact, the re-union of old, 1952 to 1957, is a great joy to us.

"This is a historical moment, when we have to overlook our personal political dignity, gains or losses, in favour of the Kenya cause and national front in the world. Tribal or racial interests must stop and have no meaning to us in order to build a united nation. Finally, I wish every luck and success to my friend the President-designate, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta".

Mzee Kenyatta replied:—

"I do welcome the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ngala, and his colleagues into the Government. I regard today as a great day for Kenya as a whole, because we have today broken the last chains of colonialism and imperialism. We were kept apart by the imperialists who wanted to divide our leadership in order to continue ruling this country. I now hope we will work as one team in the true spirit, of Harambee.

"Opposing for the mere sake of opposing, I am glad to say, is now dead for ever and ever and will be forgotten. We shall go ahead planning for the future of Kenya, and I am sure with one party leading the country the fruits will soon be seen".



## Further Expansion of Lonrho Group

LONGRHO, LTD., which in October of last year bought 200,000 shares in Henderson's Transvaal Estates, Ltd., at 15s. announces that it recently exercised an option to buy another 600,000 shares at 17s. 6d., bringing the group's holding to 48%. Further purchases of the shares were then made, and the Henderson company is now a Lonrho subsidiary. The operation is considered by the directors to have made Lonrho "a much more closely-knit and powerful organization".

A year ago all the Rhodesian mines administered by the group were merged into Coronation Syndicate, Ltd. (Corсын), with Lonrho holding 62% of the issued capital. This interest has since been sold to Tweefontein United Collieries, Ltd., South Africa, a subsidiary of Henderson and therefore of Lonrho.

Agreement has been reached in principle to acquire the controlling interest in Heinrich's Syndicate, Ltd., and H.S. Investments (Pvt.), Ltd. brewers in Zambia and Rhodesia.

As recently reported by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 51% of the capital of Riddoch's Motors, Ltd., Tanzania, has also been acquired.

## Chartered Company's Record Royalties

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA (CHARTERED) COMPANY'S estimated revenue from mineral royalties in the quarter to September 30, after providing for the payment to the Zambia Government of 20% of the net receipts, amounted to £4,689,000, bringing the royalty revenue for the financial year to £15,495,000, an increase of no less than 46% on the 1962-63 total of £10,619,000. When Zambia became independent on October 24 the Chartered Company surrendered its royalty rights for a tax-free payment of £2m. from the Zambia Government and a similar sum from the United Kingdom Government (without specification as to whether that payment would or would not be subject to tax).

## Commercial Brevities

United Dominions Trust, Ltd., to make a one-for-two scrip issue to shareholders.

The British Central Africa Co., Ltd., has declared a 5% interim dividend for the year to September 30.

Union & Rhodesian Mining & Finance Co., Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 1d. per share, just over 4%.

The Rhodesian Government £3m. local loan for 25 years at 6½% was fully subscribed when the lists opened in Salisbury last week.

New bank notes have been issued this week by Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi. The old Federal notes will remain legal tender until June.

Leyland Motors (Zambia), Ltd., will assemble Leyland, Albion, A.E.C., and Scammell chassis in Lusaka for various types of heavy vehicles.

Headquarters of the African Development Bank are to be in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast, not in Addis Ababa, as had been widely expected.

Standard Telephone and Cables, Ltd., have acquired Super-sonic Radio Manufacturing Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., Bulawayo. A drive for exports is intended.

Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd., reports profits after tax to June 30 at £2,054,000 (£2,017,000). Shareholders receive 3s. (3s. 6d.), requiring £1.7m.

A Polish textile and clothing exhibition has been opened in Nairobi. Kenya's exports to Poland in the first six months of this year amounted to £120,000.

Kilembe Mines, Ltd., Uganda, produced 13,157 long tons of blister copper in the first nine months of this year (11,880 tons), valued at £4,084,539 (£2,613,793).

Oil has begun to flow into the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia on a test basis. The flow into the refinery near Umtali should start about Christmas.

Government grants to smallworkers have caused the re-opening of five gold mines in the Gwanda area of Southern Rhodesia. One had been closed for 50 years.

A new shirt factory at Machakos, Kenya, has a locally raised capital of £10,000. There are two Africans on the board of the company, Macos East Africa, Ltd.

Rhodesia's favourable visible trade balance for the first nine months of the year has totalled almost £24m., exports amounting to £106.4m. and imports to only £82.5m.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia have appointed a committee to investigate the possible economic effects on commerce of a unilateral declaration of independence. The report is expected to be sent to the Prime Minister early in December.

In the tobacco season just ended the U.K. bought from Rhodesia 120m. lb. of leaf, South Africa about 8m. lb., and Australia 74m. lb., while the local market took 124m. lb.

All employees in the sisal industry must join the National Union of Tanganyika Workers by the end of this month. Any who fail to join will be deemed to have given notice to leave their jobs.

Three coastal patrol craft for the Kenya Navy are to be built by Vosper, Ltd., Portsmouth, at a cost of £750,000. They will have a speed of more than 20 knots and a cruising range in excess of 1,500 miles.

West Germany has promised Malawi a credit of about £900,000 for a Blantyre-Limbe drainage scheme and other purposes. The Germans are to send Malawi agricultural advisers and 600 tons of fertilizers.

## Tobacco Quota

The Rhodesia Tobacco Association has decided to increase from 40,000 lb. to 45,000 lb. the minimum quota of leaf which may be sold by individual growers next season without application of the proposed quota.

Zambian Eagle Insurance Co., Ltd., has begun business in Ndola. Its policies will be guaranteed by the Eagle Star group in London, whose chairman, Sir Brian Mountain, is chairman of this first Zambian insurance enterprise, which has British, Dutch, and Japanese financial backing.

Combined Austin Samuel Holdings, Ltd., is the name which Kamna, Ltd., proposes to adopt. Before the company was acquired by Mr. John Austin Wells and Mr. Samuel Charles Weiner its holdings were largely in East African sisal companies. The main interest is now in self-service stores and supermarkets.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga is to pay a dividend of 350 Belgian francs on account of the 800 franc dividend declared in 1962 but still unpaid because the authorities in the Congo have not permitted transfer of the necessary funds. The company is now to use investment income and its own liquid resources to make a distribution. It will increase this year's revenue of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., by about £500,000.

The Government of Uganda, the sole proprietor of Uganda Development Corporation, Ltd., has decided that shares in some of the subsidiaries shall be made available to the public, which is to have the opportunity to purchase 20,000 shares each in Uganda Cement Industry, Ltd., and Nyanza Textiles, Ltd., and 10,000 shares each in Uganda Consolidated Properties, Ltd., and Uganda Crane Industries, Ltd. Purchasers must be citizens of Uganda.

Dalgely & New Zealand Loan, Ltd., a group with large East African interests, reports profits after tax to June 30 at £2,269,916 (£1,660,575). Ordinary shareholders receive 10% (9%), taking just over £1m., and the carry-forward is £2.5m. The issued capital is just over £10m. in ordinary and £3.3m. in preference shares. Outstanding debentures total £19.4m. Net current assets exceed £27.2m. and fixed assets £20.7m.; of trade investments standing at £1.1m., quoted holdings with a book value of £726,290 had a market value of £2.4m.

## Bancroft Loan Repaid

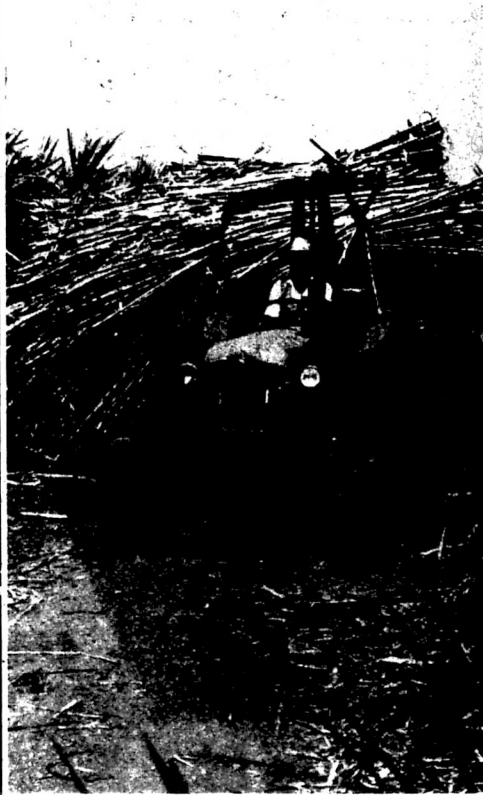
Bancroft Mines, Ltd., and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., have arranged to repay at a 20% discount the £5m. 6% loan made to Bancroft by Anglo American Corporation and Chartered Company subsidiaries. The loan was due for repayment at the end of this year. Bancroft was entitled to call on the lenders to underwrite £5m. of 11- to 16-year notes or debentures bearing interest up to 6%. Bancroft has paid £4m. in full settlement from an interest-free loan of that sum from Nchanga.

East Africa's national shipping line is to become a full member of the East African Conference. An agreement in that sense has just been initialled in Dar es Salaam by Mr. George Kabamba on behalf of the East African Governments, Mr. J. S. Bevan, chairman of the East African Conference Lines, and Mr. A. W. Bentley-Buckle, chairman of Southern Line, Ltd., Mombasa, which will hold the managing agency. The new line hopes within a few months to start a fast monthly service between East Africa and Europe with modern ships.

Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., in declaring a 5% interim dividend, states that income is satisfactory and that the profits for the year to March 31 do not seem likely to be less than those for last year. The company's largest holding in Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., had a market value on September 30 of about £470,000. Interests in London-based mining finance houses are valued at £315,225, in an engineering business in Scotland at £214,031, and in other quoted investments at £109,745. Net current assets total £163,932. The written-down value of the Kansanshi Copper Mining Co. holding is £400,000, in Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., £147,500, and in Geita Gold Mining £67,187.



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## Water: Key to Rhodesia's swiftest-growing industry

The presence of a capable European farming community and a large African rural population—who could benefit inestimably from the application of water to land—provides the human resource essential to the demanding task of efficient farming by the skilful use of water.

*PHILLIPS REPORT 1962.*

The opening of the lowveld for sugar and other crops has resulted in the rapid development of a profitable sugar industry. By 1966 Rhodesia will be able to export 250,000 tons of sugar a year.

There are however, a million more acres still thirsty for the water that can bring further prosperity and employment to Rhodesia and a fair return on invested money.

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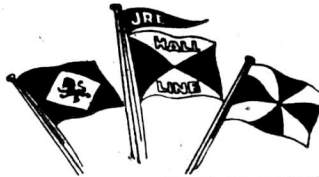
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