

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, February 11, 1965

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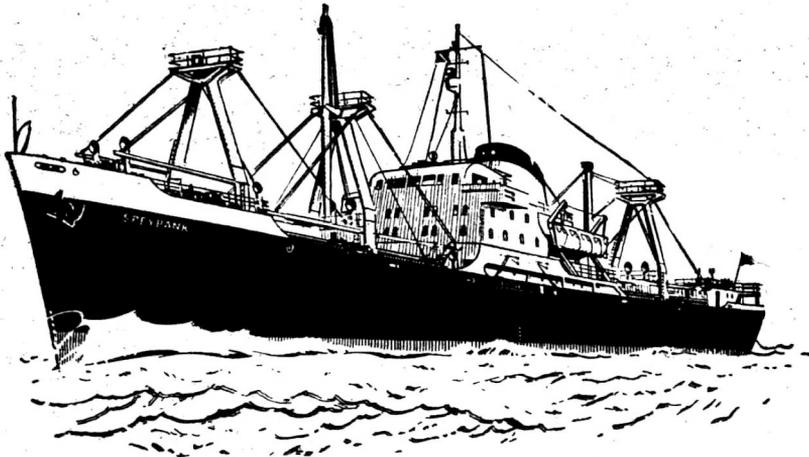
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**Communists Gaining All Over Africa**

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1965

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

TEN DAYS HENCE the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner, will fly to Rhodesia for discussions with the Government and

### Break-Through On Rhodesia.

to acquaint themselves with all shades of local opinion. Given general good will, this acceptance by the British Cabinet of a Rhodesian initiative should remove the severe strain in relations between the two Governments. Indeed, it could conceivably result in early independence. When urged by Mr. Ian Smith to visit Rhodesia after attending the independence celebrations in Zambia, Mr. Bottomley declined because he was told that his talks with African political leaders must exclude those who had been jailed on criminal charges. With such exceptions, he could go anywhere and see anybody. The proviso still applies. One of the party leaders, Mr. Sithole, remains in prison, but if they are wise his followers will not forfeit the chance to put their case. His opponent, Mr. Nkomo, is out of prison but remains under restriction at Gonakudzingwa, which the representatives of H.M. Government will assuredly visit.

\* \* \*

A few weeks ago Mr. Wilson proposed that half a dozen senior M.Ps., perhaps Privy Councillors only, should visit Rhodesia. Not surprisingly, her political leaders, having

### Exploratory Visit By Two Ministers.

unhappy recollections of the Monckton Commission, and recalling that about a hundred members of both Houses had been in Rhodesia fairly recently, found the idea unattractive. But Mr. Smith patiently persisted with expressions of his point of view, with the result now announced. It constitutes a welcome break-through. Lord Gardiner has never visited Rhodesia, and

Mr. Bottomley not since 1946. As their purpose is to assess sentiment on the vital question of independence, the wider the range of their contacts the better. They will presumably start by meeting the Cabinet and the Council of Chiefs, and then interview spokesmen for all the parties, and, it is to be hoped, many organizations and prominent individuals, including some who have had little to do with politics. But all will be directly affected by political developments, and businessmen, bankers, entrepreneurs, farmers, Church leaders, and others should be heard as readily as Africans — many of whom agree with their white associates that it is unreasonable for the United Kingdom Government to deny to so developed a country the independence which it has granted to Malawi, Zanzibar, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and other lands with revenues smaller than many a city in Britain and in some cases a smaller population.

\* \* \*

The overwhelming majority of responsible Rhodesians of all races want independence under the 1961 Constitution, and if the inquirers can be convinced of that fact the

### Incentives for Rapprochement.

worst difficulties of the recent past should disappear. We assume, of course, that Lord Gardiner's approach will not be legalistic or that of Mr. Bottomley racially discriminatory. If they had such intentions they would presumably not be prepared to fly thousands of miles to spend ten days in Africa, and their willingness to make the journey encourages the hope that they will report objectively on a political situation which Rhodesians deplore and which H.M. Government cannot view with equanimity. Their first few months in office must have taught Socialist Ministers some of the harsh facts of life. They see chaos over much of Africa, risks of col-

lapse in other newly independent States which still present a façade of peace and progress, and threatening inroads by Communism. Within four months, moreover, they must face a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at which some African and Asian representatives are guaranteed to make trouble if the Rhodesian constitutional question is still unresolved; and that might jeopardize success on other issues. British politicians have therefore strong incentives to seek a *rapprochement* with Rhodesia. If

wisely conducted by all concerned, the Bottomley - Gardiner mission would so ameliorate the situation that soon after their return Mr. Smith might be invited to London for final agreement on the independence which Rhodesia cannot fairly be denied. It is regrettable that Mr. Wilson should have gone out of his way to say on Monday that "the issues seem to me as unreconcilable as they have been at any time". That is not the spirit in which his emissaries should set about their business.

## Notes By The Way

### Unwise Recommendation

IT IS DISQUIETING that seven Ministers responsible for External Affairs, Internal Affairs and Security in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Zambia should have agreed to recommend to their Governments that any person declared a prohibited immigrant in any of those countries should be automatically treated in the same way by the other three Governments. If that intolerant idea be adopted, the Governments will unwisely surrender a right implicit in sovereignty with which it would be reckless to compromise. There is a great difference between an arrangement that the reasons for declaring someone a prohibited immigrant in one country should be immediately communicated to others with a request for similar action and unqualified agreement to prohibit the entry or continued residence of a man even if the grounds for action by one Government should be deemed unsatisfactory by another. Acceptance of the recommendation of the seven Ministers who considered the question in Kampala might easily mean that an impulsive and injudicious but powerful Minister in one country could in effect prohibit the visit of a responsible person who would be welcome in one or more of the other territories.

### Imprudent Alignment In Vacuo

ASSUME that a pro-Communist majority exists in one of the territories—and few people knowledgeable about East Africa would exclude that possibility within the measurable future. Assume further that the Minister of Internal Affairs is an ardent Communist and that he has been incited against an influential British or American writer who is friendly to Africa, warmly sympathetic to balanced nationalism, but strongly anti-Communist. Assume, also, that its neighbours regret the Communism of the one State and distrust the judgment of the Minister who commits his Government to denial of a visitor's pass to a man whose writings might greatly benefit the other States but would be likely to express unfavourable views about the one in which, say, Chinese influence was obvious and dangerous. Such an example surely indicates that it would be prudent for each Government to retain its right of judgment in every individual case. Ministers in Africa declare almost daily that their Government is non-aligned. Why should they rush unnecessarily and imprudently into alignment on this matter?

### Ministerial Whitewash

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, has made the astonishing statement in the House of Commons that the expulsion of nine British citizens from Kenya within a year is not a bad record. Almost everyone else must surely consider

it shocking, especially if he knows the circumstances of each case—and all have, of course, been described in EAST AFRICA and RHODESIA as they occurred. Instead of providing whitewash, the Minister would have done better to emphasize the desirability of fair play and tolerance in this matter, especially as there has been unfairness and intolerance in other recently independent East African territories also. Indeed, the House has just been told that 47 British subjects have been expelled since the East African territories became independent. What was even more deplorable than the extenuation by Mr. Hughes was the failure of the House to object to his suggestion that nine expulsions in 12 months was not too bad. Not one Member uttered a word of protest. If the Government of Rhodesia had found it necessary to expel one person there would be howls of denunciation, and certainly not only from the Socialists.

### Mr. Odinga

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Vice-President of Kenya, said at a Kisumu rally at the beginning of the week that President Kenyatta's enemies were those who told him that everything was all right in the country. Welcoming to the platform Mr. Bildad Kaggia, who has on several occasions expressed views at variance with those of the President, Mr. Odinga said: "I find his views are my own". Mr. Bildad was convicted in 1953 on charges of helping to manage Mau Mau, and when Mzee Kenyatta entered Parliament he made him a junior Minister; he lost the office after publicly criticizing official policy. A month ago he described the Lumumba Institution built secretly outside Nairobi in terms which contradicted those used on the same occasion by the President. Can these thoughts have been absent from Mr. Odinga's mind when he said that Mr. Kaggia and he think alike?

### Shot on the Run

AN AFRICAN HUNTER employed by the Game Department of Northern Rhodesia was sent to deal with a herd of elephant which were destroying village gardens. Having killed a young bull with one shot, he heard furious trumpeting behind him, and, looking over his shoulder, saw a large elephant bearing down on him. He took to his heels, his loaded .404 over his shoulder. Feeling that the great beast was gaining on him, he pulled the trigger of the rifle in the hope that the discharge would frighten off his pursuer. Realizing that the trumpeting and crashing had stopped, he looked back—to see the elephant staggering. A second shot finished it off. The tusks weighed 92lb. and 83lb. the heaviest reported for years from the Lundazi plateau.

# Royal Visits to Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan

## The Queen and Prince Philip Warmly Welcomed Everywhere

**THE QUEEN** received the freedom of Addis Ababa and of Asmara during her visits with Prince Philip to Ethiopia and Eritrea last week. The presentation in the Ethiopian capital was made at a civic banquet in the new City Hall, said to have cost £1m.

At a farewell banquet in Asmara on Sunday evening she gave to the Emperor the crown and seal of the Emperor Theodore, which had been taken by British troops during the 1868 campaign.

On Wednesday of last week the royal visitors, accompanied by the Emperor and the Crown Prince, flew 250 miles to view a British-Ethiopian cotton growing project at Tendaho which is managed by the Mitchell Cotts group, which holds 51% of the capital. It is in Danakil country, and 70 parachute troops and 370 police had been sent from Addis Ababa to ensure security. About 15,000 acres are already under cultivation, a similar area is available for extensions, and it is intended that a third allocation of land shall follow. The cotton crop, 950 tons in 1962, rose to 4,700 tons last year.

The Danakil sultan, who was to have met his Emperor and the Queen, had left for Mecca a few days previously without telling any of those responsible for the arrangements.

On returning to the capital that evening the Queen gave the Emperor the five-year-old chestnut stallion Robespierre, a son of Nimbus, a Derby winner. The horse had been flown out from England a few days previously. Her Majesty also gave the Emperor an eight-seater Dove aircraft.

On Thursday the visitors, the Emperor, and members of his family and entourage drove some miles out of Addis Ababa and then rode on horses from the Imperial stable to a picnic in the woods.

### Emperor's Gifts

Earlier there had been a display of horsemanship and jousting, with large numbers of mounted men engaged in combat with staves and spears (from which the business ends had been removed for the occasion). At least 1,000 Galla, all splendid riders, were on parade in traditional costumes. Afterwards a Shoa chief gave the Queen a gold and silver shield.

That evening the Emperor gave her a five-string necklace of Red Sea pearls and a large gold tray, and Prince Philip a golden sword. There was a gold watch for Prince Charles; a gold necklace, gold ear-rings, a gold brooch, and a gold chain of honour for Princess Anne; and two golden medallions for Prince Andrew. These were described by the Emperor as "little souvenirs of your visit to Ethiopia".

On Friday guests and host and their parties flew to Bahardar, whence they were driven to the neighbourhood of the Tississat Falls on the Blue Nile, second only to the Victoria Falls. At that point the river is more than 1,000 yards wide, and the drop is about 200 feet. A few miles away is Lake Tana, out of which the Blue Nile starts its 2,500-mile journey to the Mediterranean. A "picnic lunch" was taken from gold-rimmed plates in tents furnished with red leather chairs and red carpets.

The night was spent under canvas at Ambar Georgis (St. George) on a rocky precipice to the north-east of Gondor. Army engineers had piped water to the spot and erected some 50 tents in two camps, each within a thorn bush *zamba*.

On arrival by air at Asmara on Saturday the Queen and Prince Philip were given what correspondents des-

cribed as the warmest welcome of the whole tour. As her Majesty took the salute of a guard of honour at the airport a single-engine aircraft flew in low to bomb the tarmac with flower petals. As a safety precaution, no aircraft had been allowed to come within 15 minutes' flight of the Queen. When a British official protested at the swoop across the airport, it was discovered that the Emperor had given the order that the petals should be strewn for the Queen.

### Asmara and Axum

On the drive into the city — which has now about 7,000 Italian residents, as against some 70,000 at the end of the last war — she paused to name one of the main avenues after herself.

On Sunday there was a visit to Axum, legendary capital of the Biblical Queen of Sheba. There the Emperor inaugurated the new cathedral of St. Mary of Zion beside a 300-year-old monastery which no woman had ever been allowed to enter.

On the previous evening a Tabernacle of the Commandments, reputedly brought to Axum by the son of the Queen of Sheba, had been ceremonially transferred from the old shrine to the new, and then the night was spent in prayer by about 1,000 Coptic priests.

The Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the Emperor sat through a short service on canopied thrones before the altar, to which they had been led by hundreds of priests in rich apparel.

Before leaving for Khartoum the Queen conferred a knighthood of the Royal Victorian Order on Mr. John Russell, British Ambassador in Ethiopia.

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Khartoum from Asmara on Monday for a State visit which will last until tomorrow. The Queen will then fly back to London, and the Duke will visit Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Australia, Thailand, Nepal, and Bahrain. He is due back in London on March 26.

Because of two-day political disturbances in Khartoum last week by students and other anti-Government crowds, Lord Walston, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, who had accompanied the Queen during the visit to Ethiopia, flew to the Sudan for discussions. Within three hours of his arrival he advised that the visit should proceed as arranged by General Abboud before he was supplanted by the present transitional Administration.

### Enthusiastic Welcome in Khartoum

Sudanese Ministers gave assurances that there would be calm during the royal stay.

Khartoum's welcome has been variously described by the reporters on the spot as "astonishing", "tremendous", and "tumultuous". Most of the half-million inhabitants of the city appear to have turned out to greet the visitors enthusiastically.

The Queen and the Duke stood in an open Rolls-Royce car throughout the half-hour drive from the airport to the Republic Palace, which, previously the residence of Governors-General, is now used for presidential offices, receptions, and the accommodation of State guests.

First to greet the Queen and the Duke when their aircraft arrived at noon was Dr. Tigani Elmahi, president for this month of the Council of State. He is a practising psychiatrist. Ex-President Abboud, who gave the original invitation to the Queen, and whose Government was overthrown some months ago, was not at

the airport. Sir Ian Scott, the British Ambassador, was at the foot of the aircraft steps.

Sir Ali el Mirghani, head of the Islamic Khartoum sect, was received by the Queen before her party went to see camel races.

At a State banquet Her Majesty referred to the "genuine and unselfish effort to help Sudan to become a modern, progressive, and democratic State" made by large numbers of Britons over the years. After nearly 10 years of Sudan independence she was happy to be the country's guest, "as the representative of a people who are your friends and partners in the councils of the world". The past had shown that the people of Britain and Sudan could work harmoniously together. "I hope that this close friendship and confidence will sustain our relations".

The Queen recalled that 40 years ago her father and mother, then the Duke and Duchess of York, had travelled down the White Nile from Uganda and stayed in the same palace in Khartoum.

On Tuesday the royal party flew to Roseires to see the dam which, when finished, will double the acreage under cotton in the Gezira. For Wednesday a flying visit to El Obeid was arranged. Today is to be spent in the vicinity of Khartoum.

### Influence on Sudan Politics

The hope of the interim Prime Minister, Sirr el Khatim el Khalifa, is that the visit will improve relations between the populace and his Government. Since it came into office in October it has openly supported the liberation movement in Eritrea, which seeks secession from Ethiopia, and the rebels in the Eastern Congo. Four members of the present Sudanese Cabinet are described as Communist or pro-Communist.

Last week's demonstrations were not concerned with the royal visit, but arose from rumours that the Government intended to break its promise to hold elections in March or April. The intention is that they should take place not later than April 21.

Some messages from Khartoum suggest that the Coalition Government might have collapsed but for the imminent arrival of the Queen. Khartoum Radio appealed to the people to give the visitors a warm welcome and to forget political quarrels until the visit is over.

Talks between representatives of the Northern Sudan and the Southern Sudan are due to open in Juba, capital of the Equatoria Province, next Thursday. Government parties in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ghana have received invitations to send observers.

The Sudan African National Union, which has had its headquarters in Kampala since thousands of Southerners fled into Uganda, is to send a delegation of nine observers, led by Mr. William Deng, its secretary-general, and a former district commissioner. He and other Southerners had previously demanded that the conference should be held in East Africa. S.A.N.U. has said that the Sudan must have a federal form of Constitution, with wide powers of self-government for the three southern provinces.

## President Nyerere's visit to China

PRESIDENT NYERERE will leave Dar es Salaam by air on Monday to pay a State visit to China at the invitation of Mr. Liu Shao-chi, chairman of the People's Republic, and Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister. Mwalimu Nyerere will be accompanied by Mr. Oscar Kambona, Minister for External Affairs; Mr. I. M. Bhoke Munanka and Mr. M. A. Jumbe, Ministers of State respectively in the offices of the President and the First Vice-President; Mr. S. K. N. Luangisa, a regional commissioner and member of the national executive of T.A.N.U.; Mr. Saidi Washoto, a member of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council; Mrs. Halimá Ahmed, a member of the Tanzania Women's Movement; and representatives of trade unions, the co-operative movement, and other activities. Mr. A. M. Babu, M.P., Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives, left for Peking some days in advance of the President, who is due back in Tanzania on February 24.

## "Another Slight to Rhodesia"

### No Invitation to Commonwealth Conference

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has described as "another slight to Rhodesia" the decision of the British Prime Minister not to invite him to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which is to be held in London in the second half of June.

When telling the House of Commons on Thursday that such a conference would meet, Mr. Harold Wilson said that last year's conference had done valuable work, "not least perhaps in that part of the *communiqué* affecting Rhodesia".

Dr. David Kerr, Socialist, asked: "Can the Prime Minister say whether the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia is among those who have indicated their intention to support the conference? If so, can we have an assurance that an opportunity will be seized to further the excellent work which the Prime Minister has done to lead to a reconciliation of Southern Rhodesia's difficulties?"

### Conference Comments Will Be Ignored

Mr. Wilson: "We are following the practice of the last conference. So long as the constitutional position of Rhodesia remains unchanged the previous decision continues to apply—that these meetings in future should be confined to the representatives of fully independent States. Mr. Smith has been told this, and that if he wishes to be present at any discussions on Rhodesia I should be glad to put this suggestion to my Commonwealth colleagues. He has declined this, on the ground that he could not agree that such discussions would be proper".

Mr. Smith said in Salisbury that he had repeated his view that discussions on the situation in Rhodesia were outside the competence of the Commonwealth leaders and that he could therefore not accept any invitation to be present for such talks. He had asked Mr. Wilson to inform the Commonwealth leaders at the outset of any discussion on Rhodesia that Rhodesia did not recognize their right to consider its problems and would ignore their comments or resolutions.

He had also told Mr. Wilson that the decision not to invite Rhodesia to the conference was "another slight" on his country.

### Royal Portraits Removed

MR. J. MWANAKATWE, Minister of Education, has ordered all schools in Zambia to remove pictures of The Queen and other members of the Royal Family and replace them with photographs of President Kaunda, because this was the only way by which Zambians could be taught that power had moved from Westminster to Lusaka. The Minister was emphatic that the change did not imply discourtesy to the Royal Family.

### Archbishop of Uganda

MBALE DIOCESAN COUNCIL, meeting under the chairmanship of the new African Bishop, the Rt. Rev. E. Masaba, has passed a unanimous resolution deploring the action of a small group of Africans in the Diocese of Namirembe who suggested in a local newspaper that the Most Rev. Leslie Brown, Archbishop of Uganda and Rwanda, who announced some time ago that he would retire in 1965, should depart quickly. The Mbale council expressed its complete confidence in the Archbishop and its thanks to God for calling to the office a man of such spiritual depth and wisdom as leader at a time of change and development. The Archbishop was asked to reconsider his decision to resign in order that he might continue to serve the Church in Uganda.

# Communists Gaining All Over Africa, Says Mr. A. Crawley, M.P.

## Pan-Africanism No Obstacle to Russian and Chinese Activities

**THE COMMUNIST MENACE** in Africa was described by Mr. Aidan Crawley, M.P., last week at a joint meeting in London of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

Rather more than three years ago his wife and he spent many months in East, Central, West, and South Africa examining the problem, and Mr. Crawley — who had also travelled in the Federation as a member of the Monckton Commission — has since kept closely in touch with the development of Communist activities.

He rejected the superficial view that the strength of African nationalism was too great to be overcome by any Communist campaign. That, unfortunately, had been the general theme in British and African newspapers, which had encouraged the idea that Africa would produce something essentially African and not succumb to external influences.

### Moscow Plans Freely Disclosed

Pan-Africanism, from which so many people had expected so much, was not to be taken at its face value. There had been no great national history behind any of the geographical entities which in recent years had become independent African States. The political boundaries had cut across tribes, and what really existed now were groups of people who had or wanted power.

Until they were dissolved there had been a Casablanca bloc orientated towards the Communist Powers and a Monrovia bloc orientated more to the West. Those two groupings no longer existed, but the old struggles within the trade unions continued. "I am as sceptical about Pan-Africanism as I have always been about the pan-Arabian movement", said Mr. Crawley.

Until 1956 the only official representative in Africa of any Communist Power had been a doctor in a hospital built in Addis Ababa with Russian money. Now there were more than 100 official Communist missions in Africa.

The Russian policy, which had made many initial mistakes, had been expressed with great candour. It accepted as merely a transitional phase the African nationalism of States emerging from Colonial rule, considering them as due to be absorbed or liquidated when Communist control had been established through a three-point programme.

### Successes of Russian Policy

The first step had been to obtain agents among the more extreme members of the nationalist parties. In that objective the Russians had succeeded, though they had sometimes chosen the wrong people.

For instance, the speaker had met in Northern Rhodesia two young Africans who, approached through a trade union, had been sent to Moscow where they were given indoctrination rather than education, provided with money, and sent back. They thought that it would be interesting to see something of Europe, and spent their time in Paris until the money ran out, returning to Central Africa penniless.

Some Africans in positions of importance had, however, been really influenced by Russian money. One, who had often visited Britain, had repeatedly spoken openly of the funds which he had received from Communist sources. Some who had been thus financed were now Ministers in African Governments, and there was evidence that they were still being paid.

A dedicated core of young Africans sent to Iron Curtain countries had had their whole outlook changed and now shared none of the opinions of the African leaders. They had become dedicated Communists, and were no longer African nationalists, among them being a number of doctors and lawyers. Such men intended to promote world Communism as taught by Lenin.

Not many disciplined and determined men were required

to exercise great influence in African countries, and the numbers of Africans of that kind was increasing. Only now was their influence beginning to be really felt.

Until three years ago Chinese Communist influence in Africa had been infinitesimal. Rivalry between Russians and Chinese in Africa strengthened the Communist offensive by making it more active.

### Candour of Zanzibar Plotters

While in Zanzibar Mr. and Mrs. Crawley had met all the leaders of the trade union and other factions, and had found them quite open about their intentions. Yet when the revolution occurred in Zanzibar in January of last year even right-wing British newspapers had insisted that it had nothing whatever to do with Communism, thus showing how dedicated Communism could be and how it was underestimated. The fact was that two years before the revolution occurred the leaders knew what they would do.

There had been steady deterioration in the African situation from the standpoint of the Western world. Algeria had become orientated towards Communism. In the Congo chaos and open rebellion were being openly supported by the Communist Powers, which had provoked serious trouble in Burundi, the Sudan and elsewhere, especially Tanzania. Already the centre for revolutionary forces organizing against Portuguese Mozambique, Tanganyika was moving into the Communist world.

"From Mombasa to Malawi you have in every African State a group of men who have come to power in the past two years and are either Communist agents in receipt of Communist money or in sympathy with Communism. In some cases the men in Communist pay are not yet in office. Dr. Banda has banished from Malawi men whom he knew to be in contact with Communists. The struggle is spreading in every land in Africa."

Little had been heard about the revolts in various areas, but with the return of many students such explosions were likely to increase. There had been penetration in the Sudan, where the outcome had still to be awaited. In Kenya there were Africans in favour of the Communist Powers who were engaged in struggle against Kenya.

China could offer Africa little except revolution, but was ready to pay cash to those who would foment it.

### Africans' Streak of Violence

There was in most African peoples a streak of violence, and many Africans therefore welcomed the prospect of violent revolt and were ready to join in its preparation. Moreover, it appealed to the desire for power in those who had not yet attained it.

"I find it difficult to be optimistic", Mr. Crawley continued: "We see violence in Africa annihilating education and training of all kinds. We see paranoia. After two generations of education we see so few Africans willing to be trained in technical skills; and that is a depressing kind of snobbery."

"It is depressing to see nothing but one-party States, and to reflect that, if there were the possibility of opposition, that opposition to violent Governments would have to be violent."

"There is nothing that the Communists can more welcome than one-party States and nationalization of the Press. When the African nationalism which does these things is ripe for intervention by the Communists they will find all the machinery ready to hand."

"I had hoped that tolerance here and in the United States would allow Rhodesia to continue on well-tryed constitutional lines. I do not see much hope now."

"Embitterment and violence will spread over almost all Africa. Yet we have to continue giving aid, though I hope with more discrimination."

"We must cease to have a guilty conscience about the gap between the advanced and backward countries. Is it suggested that we should abandon efforts to improve Europe, making it more prosperous and incidentally better able to give help? That attitude is surely hypocrisy."

"We need to provide the example of a democracy that can give Africa true inspiration. America cannot do it, for her way of life seems too remote from Africa to provide inspiration."

# PERSONALIA

MR. J. H. MASON has joined the board of British Metal Corporation, Ltd.

MR. G. ELLMAN-BROWN, M.P., has joined the board of the Rhodesian Milling Co., Ltd.

South Africa has banned "South Africa: Crisis for the West", written by MR. and MRS. LEGUM.

COLONEL and MRS. RAMSAY-FAIRFAX left London on Monday for South Africa, Kenya and Ethiopia.

MR. C. B. TABERER and MR. and MRS. W. R. RUMBOLD are among Rhodesians at present in London.

MR. L. F. MANTON, who lived in Nairobi for some years, has retired from the board of Alex. Lawrie & Co., Ltd.

THE VERY REV. CANON J. M. WAIBALE has been installed as Archdeacon in Busoga by the Archbishop of Uganda, DR. LESLIE BROWN.

MR. HAROLD S. A. HARTOG will next year succeed MR. F. J. TEMPEL as chairman of Unilever N.V. and vice-chairman of Unilever, Ltd.

SIR BERNARD DE BUNSEN, Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, will at the beginning of next year become principal of Chester College.

PRINCESS MARGARET and the EARL OF SNOWDON will visit Uganda from March 13 to 23 at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, who is also Kabaka of Buganda.

DR. W. L. FIELDING, lately principal of Gwebi Agricultural College, is about to leave Rhodesia on appointment as Professor of Agriculture at Makerere University College, Uganda.

LORD DONOVAN, the judge who is to preside over a Royal Commission to consider relations between managements and employees in Britain, was called to the Bar of Southern Rhodesia in 1937.

DR. B. R. SEN, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N., is spending eight days in Britain at the invitation of MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development.

Zambia is represented for the first time at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister, is leading a delegation to its meeting in Nairobi this week and next.

LORD OGMORE, a former Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been appointed Deputy Leader of the Liberal peers in the House of Lords. He was at one time president of the Liberal Party.

MR. C. W. DUPONT, Deputy Prime Minister of Rhodesia, underwent a successful abdominal operation in Cape Town last week. He is expected to leave hospital in a few days, and will then need about a month for convalescence.

DR. NORMAN ROTH, who has spent 15 months in Uganda as adviser on social research to the Ministry of Planning and Community Development, has returned to the U.S.A., where he is on the staff of the United Nations.

MR. H. J. QUINTON is chairman of the Sabi-Limpopo Authority. The other members are Messrs. G. KILEFF (for three years), W. DE KOCK and A. T. MILLS (for two years), and DR. B. S. ELLIS and MR. J. H. R. SAVORY (for one year).

Months of archaeological research by DR. BRIAN FAGAN, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, and MR. D. W. PHILLIPSON, of the National Monuments Commission, suggest that the Tonga peoples of the Mazabuka area have lived in Zambia for at least 900 years. Their excavations were at Sebanzi Hill on Lochinvar Ranch. In a level dated by the radio-carbon method as about 1,200 A.D. they found a pipe stem which suggests that the Tonga smoked hemp or possibly tobacco some 750 years ago.

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, was 58 on Sunday. SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD was 60 on Monday, and SIR KENNETH MADDOCKS 58.

MR. J. M. MAGOWAN, general manager of the Electricity Supply Commission of Rhodesia, has been appointed a member of the Industrial Development Corporation.

MR. P. E. FORDHAM, from Kenya, has received a travel grant from the Carnegie Corporation so that he may visit the United States in the summer to study correspondence courses for adult education.

MR. A. R. KEMP, chairman of Rhodesia Railways Board, will this month give a number of addresses on "Rhodesia Railways in Tandem", describing the joint ownership of the railways by the Governments of Rhodesia and Zambia.

SIR ARTHUR CLARK, Director of Information Services at the Commonwealth Relations Office, held a reception a few days ago for officials of the United National Independence Party of Zambia and public relations officers from Ghana.

MR. M. R. NORMAN, chairman of Gallahers, Ltd., said last week in Salisbury that tobacco manufacturers in Britain had not been warned by H.M. Government not to buy Rhodesian tobacco in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence.

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, has opened a Winston Churchill Thanksgiving and Memorial Fund, to be applied partly for a plaque in the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury and then as a permanent trust from which to provide scholarships for Rhodesians.

SIR JOHN BOWES GRIFFIN, Q.C., chairman of the Public Service Commission in Zambia, has been released in order to become chairman of a Salaries Commission in Hong Kong, where he served for six years as Attorney-General. His successor in Zambia is MR. H. F. MAKULU.

MR. H. SHAMABANSE, Resident Minister in the Central Province of Zambia, has said at recent public meetings that no African should henceforth call a European "amabamu" (Boer) and no European should call "boy" to an African, since the words were resented by both races.

MR. MAURICE LAING, president of the newly formed Confederation of British Industries, and its first vice-president, SIR PETER RUNGE, both have business interests in Rhodesia. C.B.I. is to be formed by merging the Federation of British Industries, the National Association of British Manufacturers' and the British Employers' Confederation.

Four African teachers from Tanzania are in Britain for a month as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office. MR. A. MODESTI is a master at St. Francis College, Pugu; MR. A. NJALAMOTO, head teacher at a primary school in Morogoro; and Messrs. E. S. J. MALLAMIAH and J. M. MTOI are district education officers respectively in Iringa and Mbeya.

MR. O. B. BENNETT, Minister for Rhodesian Affairs in the United States, is reported to have said that recent events in Africa, especially in the Congo, had caused a noticeable change in American opinion, adding: "The contrast between the prosperity, stability and impartial justice in Rhodesia in comparison with many other African countries is becoming more apparent every month".

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL, chairman of the Booker group and of the company owning the Socialist weekly *New Statesman*, has endowed a literary prize of £1,000 to be awarded every three years for the next 12 years for a book written in English by writers resident in Africa or the Caribbean. The judges for the first award are to be MR. PHILIP MASON, director of the Institute of Race Relations, and the literary editors of the *New Statesman* and *Observer*.

## Sir Chester Beatty In 91st Year

### Warm Tribute by British Academy

SIR CHESTER BEATTY, who reached his 90th birthday on Sunday, contributed greatly to the pioneering of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia and has never lost his interest in Central Africa.

Born in New York, he graduated as a mining engineer, and then spent several years in various parts of the United States, Mexico, and Alaska. When only 28 years old he was appointed consulting engineer and assistant general manager of the Guggenheim Exploration Company with John Hays Hammond, who with his brothers controlled that company and the American Smelting and Refining Company, the combined capitals totalling £22m.

In the next six years Hammond and he acquired and developed many large mines in America, and he examined prospecting concessions in the Belgian Congo, negotiating on behalf of the Guggenheim group with King Leopold II of Belgium. The consequence was the formation of Forminière, the Société Internationale Forestière et Minière du Congo.

Deciding in 1913 to settle in England Mr. Beatty formed Selection Trust, Ltd., with a capital of no more than £50,000. It has since become the parent of the many mining companies within the Selection Trust or Chester Beatty group. The first important venture, an exploration for diamonds in the Gold Coast, led to the registration of Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd., which greatly expanded its interests later.

In 1925 Selection Trust became interested in the copper possibilities of Northern Rhodesia, and formed Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., (now Roan Selection Trust, Ltd.), and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd. Later Chibuluma Mines, Ltd., was registered to work a copper-cobalt orebody.

Roan Antelope, the first of the great Rhodesian mines to come into production, took more than five years to develop and equip at a cost of upwards of £4m. Then followed exploitation of the Mufulira area, now one of the largest and richest of Zambia's copper properties.

At that period Mr. Beatty became closely associated with the American Metal Company (now American Metal Climax Inc.), and there have been large cross-holdings of shares between the two groups.

In 1954 Mr. Beatty was knighted; he had adopted British nationality 21 years earlier. During the 1939-45 war he had served on a number of Government committees, notably the Non-Ferrous Metals Control and the Diamond Dies Control. He was also vice-chairman of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, set up by the Government.

For the last 15 years he has lived mainly in Eire, and has given valuable pictures to the National Gallery in Dublin. Collections of manuscripts and miniatures gathered over a long period have also been given to Eire, which made him an honorary citizen in recognition of his munificent gifts. He is also an honorary freeman of Dublin.

He also financed the construction and endowment of the Chester Beatty Research Institute for Cancer Research, which is associated with the Royal Cancer Hospital, London, of which he is a former president.

On his 90th birthday Sir Chester received from the British Academy an address of honour on vellum reading:—

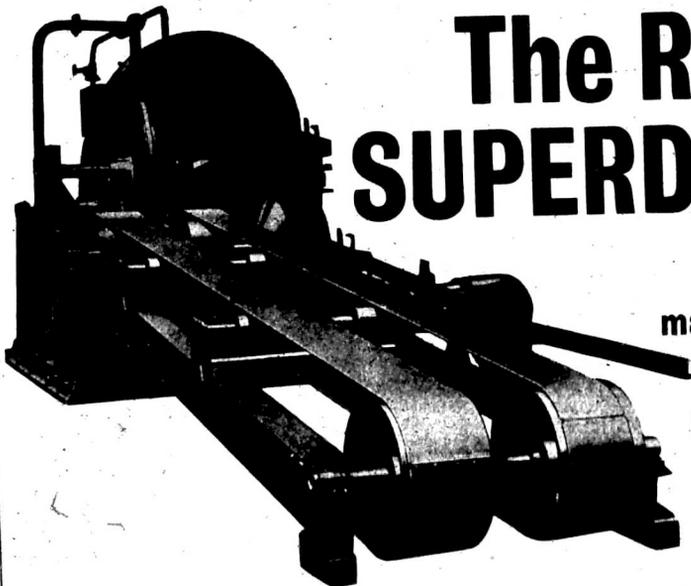
"The Council of the British Academy desires to place on record its deep appreciation of the great services which for many years you have rendered to the cause of scholarship.

"As a liberal and discriminating collector of manuscripts, bearing widely upon ancient Egyptian, Greek, Persian, Arabic, Armenian and Biblical history and literature, you have brought material of the highest value within the reach of the learned world. Furthermore, your collection of Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese paintings is of notable importance to the study of Oriental art.

"But the world of learning is indebted to you for a great deal besides the collection of manuscripts and paintings. You have enriched the national collections with important gifts. You have consistently ensured that your manuscripts shall be available to scholars of all nations for study, and have yourself repeatedly undertaken the necessary costs of publishing their works with distinction.

"For all these benefits the British Academy now expresses, in the name of British humanism, its profound gratitude, and couples with this expression its affectionate good wishes to you as an outstanding patron of learning".

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## Congo Receives Belgian State Holdings Mr. Tshombe's Persistence Richly Rewarded

MR. TSHOMBE, the Congolese Prime Minister, has succeeded in his persistent claim that the Belgian Government should transfer to the Congo its large portfolio of shares in companies operating in the Congo.

Holdings valued at about £120m, at present prices, or less than half the market value when the Congo became independent in 1960, were promised in Brussels on Saturday after talks lasting throughout the week. At the ceremonial signing of an agreement that evening, M. Spaak, the Foreign Minister, gave Mr. Tshombe an attaché case containing 150 letters signed by the Finance Minister and addressed to Belgian companies engaged in business in the Congo asking them to transfer to the Congolese State all the shares in the enterprise owned by the Belgian Government.

"Now", said Mr. Tshombe, "the Congo is really independent for the first time". He expressed pleasure at the general settlement and optimism about the future.

He had promised representatives of the Comité Spécial du Katanga and other companies that they would be fairly compensated for the loss of property, concession rights and royalties under the expropriation decree issued in November.

The Congolese Government will now have 24% of the voting rights of Union Minière du Haut-Katanga and the right to appoint two directors to the board. Union Minière gave Mr. Tshombe a cheque for rather more than 92m. francs (about £650,000) in respect of dividends due last October. Dividends had previously been paid to the Comité Spécial du Katanga, whose Union Minière holding had an estimated value of £16m.

Congo Bonds, which have been in default for nearly five years, are to be consolidated in a conversion issue carrying 3½% interest, which will be paid by the Bel-

gian Government, though part will be contributed by the Congo.

The Belgian Government is also to guarantee certain currency credits with which the Congo will purchase equipment for the restoration of railways, river transport, power, and other services.

Mr. Tshombe asked for Belgian help in recognizing the Congolese National Army.

Congolese shares rose briskly on the Brussels Bourse while the negotiations proceeded.

## O.A.U. Group Visiting the Congo More Help Received by Rebel Forces

AT THE WEEK-END MR. TSHOMBE flew back from Brussels to Leopoldville, where three representatives of the Congo Conciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity were due on Monday for talks expected to last three days.

By seven votes (those of Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia and Upper Volta) to two (Guinea and the United Arab Republic), the Conciliation Committee had agreed at a meeting in Nairobi on the last day of January to send a three-member sub-committee to Leopoldville, Brazzaville, and Bujumbura. They assembled in Lagos on Saturday, and, after the talks with the Tshombe Government, are to go to Brazzaville and Burundi, and then report to the commission in Nairobi tomorrow.

Mr. J. Murumbi, Minister for External Affairs in Kenya, has said that it is then hoped to hold in Nairobi a conference representing the two Congos, Burundi and the revolutionary leaders, one of whom Mr. Soumialot, has stated that neither he nor any of his colleagues will attend a meeting with Mr. Tshombe, who has also repeatedly declared that he will not sit at the same table as any of the rebels. Their spokesmen have also said that they will engage in no discussions until the mercenaries are withdrawn and all political prisoners set free by the Leopoldville Government.

A new party, the National Confederation of Congolese Associations (CONACO), formed to support Mr. Tshombe and to be led by him, was announced during his absence in Europe by Mr. Isaac Kalonji, former President of the Senate. The primary objective was, he said, to continue the struggle against the insurrection and against foreign interference in the Congo.

### Uganda Border Closed

The Uganda Government announced on Friday that the border with the Congo had been closed for security reasons; trade in both directions has been suspended, and no one crossing the border into Uganda would be allowed to return to the Congo, except passengers by recognized air lines on scheduled flights and in possession of all the requisite papers.

The decree expelling some 60,000 Rwanda refugees from the Congo is to be repealed, mainly in order that they may settle in Kivu. The decision was announced in August but has not been enforced.

Mr. Christopher Gbenye, self-styled "President of the Congolese Revolutionary Government" said in Cairo a few days ago that a major offensive against the Congolese National Army would be launched by the rebels this month. Stanleyville would soon be recaptured. He thanked the United Arab Republic and Algeria for giving the rebels "all the arms we want".

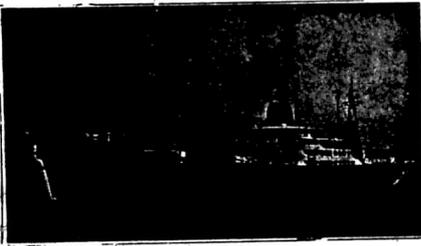
Increasing numbers of Russian-built transport aircraft have recently landed at Juba, in the Southern Sudan, with arms and supplies which are sent in lorry convoys to the rebel bases in the Eastern Congo, where the number of Algerian "volunteers" is now put at about 400. Troop movements are difficult during this month's heavy rains.

In Dar es Salaam a Captain Kissonga, speaking for the National Liberation Committee of the Eastern Congo, said that rebel leaders, including "President" Gbenye, Mr. Soumialot from the Eastern Committee, and Mr. Mulele from the Western Committee, would meet shortly in "an African country" to form a Supreme Congolese Government Council. He asserted that "imperialist agents" had penetrated the rebel ranks and that the Eastern Committee was engaged in winking them out. Mulele, who has been leading some 5,000 rebels in Kasai, was known to have quarrelled with Gbenye about appointments in the rebel "Government".

Colonel "Mike" Hoare, commander of No. 5 Commando in the Congo, hopes to raise another 180 volunteers in Southern Africa. More than 120 "mercenaries" recently arrived for training at the Kamina base. No. 6 Commando, mainly Belgian, has recently recruited 40 Germans.

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## Kenya Criticized in Parliament Growth of Communist Influence

CRITICISMS OF KENYA were expressed in the House of Commons last week on the second reading of the Kenya Republic Bill.

Sir John Fletcher-Cooke, a former Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, said *inter alia*:—

"It is not surprising that Kenya decided to adopt a republican form of Constitution, because Africans have always found it very difficult to comprehend a system in which he who wears the plumes does not wield the power. The idea of a constitutional monarch or constitutional head of tribe evokes no response in the African mind.

"This trend carries with it other implications: it has been a noticeable feature of some of the African States which have adopted a republican form of Constitution to interfere with the workings and independence of the judiciary. This is a projection in the African mind on to the national canvas of the idea of an all-embracing chief. It is sincerely to be hoped that this is not a practice which will be followed in Kenya.

"It would not do Commonwealth relations or our relations with Kenya a great deal of good if we ignored certain facts in the Kenya situation which must be of concern to all friends of Kenya. To pretend that everything is well when it is not will not help to lead the peoples of both countries to appreciate the problems of each other.

"During 1962 I was a member of the commission which went to Kenya to divide the country into some 100 parliamentary constituencies prior to the elections which were to precede independence. We spent several months in Kenya and visited nearly every district.

"We detected a number of disturbing trends which I still think are fundamental features of the Kenya scene. To acknowledge that these trends have been largely held in check during the past two years is not to concede that they have disappeared altogether.

"We must pay tribute to the statesmanlike leadership of President Kenyatta in achieving this measure of stability, which could hardly have been foreseen two or three years ago.

"Another measure which has contributed greatly to stability is the scheme, largely financed by this country, where European mixed farmers have progressively been bought out and Africans resettled on their land. I hope that the present Government of Kenya will continue with this scheme. Neither development has been without imperfections, but both have been factors making for stability.

"There has without doubt been a growth of Communist penetration and influence in Kenya in recent years, probably in recent months; and, while there is no reason to suppose that it has as yet reached the stage which, alas, it appears to have reached in Tanzania, and there is no reason to suppose that it is beyond the control of the present Government of Kenya. There are disturbing signs that this influence is increasing.

"During the last nine months of 1964 a new Lumumba Institute was built in conditions of secrecy on the outskirts of Nairobi, largely, it is reported, with Russian aid. At the opening ceremony President Kenyatta expressed the hope that the institute would become an African centre for academic studies in culture and anthropology; but the chairman of the board of management, Mr. Bildad Kaggia, who is a staunch supporter of Mr. Odinga and who himself had left the Government earlier after a difference of opinion with President Kenyatta, said that the purpose of the institute was to be a party militants' school.

"Also, there are apparently well-founded reports of the smuggling of arms through Nairobi airport by night from Communist countries and from Egypt and Algeria, most of the arms, no doubt, being destined for the rebels in the Congo.

"There is, unfortunately, plenty of evidence that at the lower levels there is still considerable animosity prevailing between the various tribes, each contending that, in terms of jobs, grants and assistance of all kinds, particular tribes are being favoured. It is not difficult to imagine circumstances in which this situation of tribal differences might well deteriorate.

"These are essentially matters within the scope of influence of the sovereign State of Kenya. There are, however, two other potential sources of trouble in which I believe H.M. Government should be willing to play a more positive rôle.

### Expulsions of British Nationals

"In Mombasa and at various other places along the East Coast of Kenya, and in Tanzania, there is a large number of persons of Asian and Arab origin, many of them refugees from Zanzibar, who formerly enjoyed British protection. These persons, who are now stateless, are living in very miserable conditions. As they have no passports, even those who might be able to move elsewhere are unable to do so. I hope that the Minister will cause inquiries to be made about the existence of this problem and see whether anything can be done to alleviate the condition of these unfortunate people who for generations have looked to this country as their protector.

"The fourth difficulty which mars the Kenya scene, and, indeed, the whole of the East African scene, is one in which the Government might take a rather more positive line than they have done hitherto.

"In the last few months there have been a number of expulsions of British nationals from Kenya and other parts of East Africa. Some of these have been of Government officers. It has recently been reported that an expulsion order from one of the three territories will now be regarded as an expulsion order from any of them.

"There have also been in that area a number of revocations of leasehold rights of occupancy held by British nationals. I have gone into a number of these cases in some detail myself, and in many cases I can find no justification for this abrupt deprivation of liberty, property, or means of livelihood.

"The Government are seriously concerned to encourage qualified people from this country to go to East Africa and make their contribution to the solution of the problems of progress and development there. If they wish this flow to continue they must be more forthcoming than they have been in safeguarding the interests of British nationals who work there, particularly those who fall within the category of designated officers or entitled officers under the various agreements which have been entered into with the East African countries. This is a matter in which H.M. Government have a direct responsibility.

"These British nationals, whether they be Government officers, farmers, journalists or businessmen, rightly look to the Government here for their protection.

"I have never believed that aid should be used to dictate to Africans what form of government they should establish, what type of institutions they should set up, or what policies they should follow in tackling the many problems besetting them. But once H.M. Government have reason to believe that British nationals have been harshly or unjustly treated—and a number of them have been—the Government should not hesi-

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tate to remind the East African Government concerned that the British taxpayer is not prepared to go on financing aid to Governments who mistreat British nationals.

"The Government of Kenya like the other East African States, look to this country for substantial aid. British nationals serving in East Africa look to this country for protection. There is an obvious equation here, and I trust that the Government will make this clear to the leaders and Governments of the East African States in their dealings with them in future, for if this is not done I fear that it will not be long before the flow of those of all ages and all classes who are ready and willing to go out and help in East Africa will dry up completely."

Mr. Duncan Sandys had said that what had happened in Kenya during the past year had been largely due to President Kenyatta.

"We have seen how he plays on the vast crowds almost like playing on a piano, drawing out their applause, making them laugh, and arousing their enthusiasm. He has won the hearts of the peoples of all tribes in Kenya and made them feel that they belong together.

#### Grave Anxieties of White Farmers

"He has not only united the African peoples, but has also given a certain measure of new hope and confidence to the British settlers. I say 'a certain measure' because there are still very grave doubts and anxieties in the minds of the British farmers and others in Kenya. With the improvement in the internal situation and the growing strength of the Kenya Government, I hope that Mr. Kenyatta and his Government will be able soon to give the European residents a much clearer indication of where they stand and what their prospects are if they decide to stay in Kenya and make their home there."

In his reply Mr. Cledwyn Hughes said:—

"Deportation is a drastic step which we consider should be resorted to only in exceptional cases and after full investigation and weighing of the facts. We are entitled to expect no less than this from any other Commonwealth Government, especially when we remember that a Commonwealth citizen cannot be deported from this country unless he has lived here less than five years and his deportation has been recommended by a court after conviction for a serious offence punishable by imprisonment.

"In addition to making representations on individual cases, wherever appropriate we have strongly urged our views at the highest level on the Commonwealth Government concerned. When I was in Nairobi I spoke to President Kenyatta on this matter and came away much reassured.

"Nine British citizens have been expelled from Kenya since independence. Although we deprecate deportations unless we are completely satisfied that they are fully justified, I think that the record in not a bad one . . .

"What African countries want from this country is not aid alone but a sympathetic understanding of their problems and a desire to work side by side with them within the Commonwealth until they achieve the goal, which is stability, peace and tranquility within their boundaries."

### Priest Expelled by Tanzania

THE REV. J. G. ROBINSON, education and literature secretary in the diocese of South-West Tanganyika, who had spent more than a decade in the country, was recently ordered to leave it.

The Anglican Church newspaper *Target* has published the following report:—

"Mr. Robinson's offence was apparently connected with the processions in his district of Njombe protesting against the alleged plot by the Western Powers against the Tanzanian Government.

"Two T.A.N.U. officials asked him to announce the demonstration among notices given out during the Sunday service in church. He pointed out that it was not Anglican custom to give out notices of this kind during church services, but that he would have it announced afterwards. During the sermon he is said to have made some critical reference to the plot.

"Shortly afterwards he and his wife were arrested as they set out by car to go from Njombe to Mbeya. He was taken to Iringa, where he was accused before the regional commissioner of not co-operating with the Government and of making fun of the demonstrations.

"The following day he was sent back to Njombe, where he was released but placed under house restriction by the area

commissioner, on whose orders his house was searched and an escort provided 'for his own protection'.  
"Later a telegram arrived from the Government advising the Church to send him out of the country by December 5."

### Arrests of Britons in Tanzania

#### "Learning under Chinese Instructors"

LORD TAYLOR, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, said in the House of Lords a few days ago in reply to an inquiry from Lord Russell of Liverpool:—

"We have received reports of the arrests of 15 British citizens in Tanzania during the past nine months. Five were brought before the courts and convicted. The other five were released without being charged. In all appropriate cases the British High Commissioner immediately approached the Tanzanian authorities to seek an explanation of the arrests and to press for the release of the persons detained.

"Of the 10 persons arrested but not charged, six were released following the High Commissioner's intervention, though two of these were subsequently deported or asked to leave the country. One other, who was also expelled, was detained for only a few hours and had already been released when the High Commissioner instituted his inquiries. In the remaining cases the persons concerned did not seek the High Commissioner's assistance and he came to hear of the arrests only much later from other sources.

Lord Russell of Liverpool: "Having regard to the fact that Tanzania is not the only African member of the British Commonwealth where such things are happening, will H.M. Government make it clear that (in words which were used on an historic occasion many years ago) they are 'not amused'?"

Lord Taylor: "I do not think this is a subject for amusement. I think Tanzania is learning the difficult job of self-government; and there is evidence that it is steadily improving."

Lord Russell of Liverpool: "Is the noble lord aware that Tanzania is learning under Chinese instructors?"

#### Sensitive to Criticisms

Lord Taylor: "No, I was not so aware."

Lord Colyton: "Are not these newly-independent East African countries naturally very sensitive to all forms of criticism from visiting journalists or from other sources; and, while we deplore any attack on the freedom of the Press, is it not most important for visiting journalists or other visitors or European residents to be most careful in all matters in regard to the feelings of these newly-independent countries?"

"Would it not be possible to consider suggesting to the Governments of these countries that they might consider adopting conditions for deportation such as are laid down in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, in this country? One might perhaps go further and consider suggesting to all Commonwealth countries that they might get together on a plan of adopting similar conditions for deportation between member States of the Commonwealth?"

Lord Taylor: "These countries are very sensitive to articles in the Press, and they do not realize that in Britain we do not take quite so much notice of the Press as they think we do. With regard to the second question, I will certainly investigate and see if that can be done."

The Earl of Gosford: "If it turns out to be true (which I understand it is, from what Lord Russell of Liverpool said) that Tanzania is under the tutelage of the Chinese, may I ask what steps the Government propose to take to counteract the effect of this tutelage?"

Lord Taylor: "I am not in a position to say whether the allegation of Lord Russell of Liverpool is correct or not; but I think the best thing we can possibly do is to demonstrate the value of British democracy to these countries. When I was in Jamaica at a meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association the Tanzanian representatives played a leading and good part."

#### Forty-Seven British Subjects Expelled

Mr. Wall asked in the House of Commons on the same day how many British journalists and other British subjects had been expelled from East Africa since the countries became independent, and in how many cases official protests had been lodged.

Mr. Bottomley replied: "Kenya, four journalists and six others; Uganda, no journalists, 19 others; Tanganyika, one journalist and eight others; Zanzibar, no journalists and four others; Tanzania, one journalist and four others. Official representations were made in 37 of these cases."

## Lord Graham on Constitutional Issue U.D.I. Not Suitable for Referendum

LORD GRAHAM, Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia, said at a public meeting in Marlborough last week that if the independence negotiations with London broke down the Government must take the decision on whether independence should be declared. It was not a suitable subject for a referendum. A Government did not hold a referendum on whether to declare war. "When a serious decision like this has to be taken, I think the people want the Government to give a lead".

Mr. Reedman, M.P. for the constituency and Minister for Roads, Immigration and Tourism, was present.

Lord Graham said that he accepted the British Board of Trade's denial of the reported threat to place an embargo on Rhodesian tobacco in the event of a declaration of independence. To embargo tobacco or any other commodity would be an act of economic war. There could be an embargo without a declaration.

The British Government was not so much interested in independence as in the advent of black rule; and it could use an embargo to try to enforce a black Government.

### All Would Share Burden

If the tobacco industry were affected by an embargo, the burden would have to be shared by all. "You could not expect the tobacco industry to bear the full burden".

If negotiations broke down, the "calculated risk" would have to be weighed against the alternatives. Rhodesians were, he believed, prepared to tighten their belts.

Asked how the burden of a tobacco embargo could be shared, Lord Graham replied that if a declaration of independence were made before the sales were over the Government might buy the outstanding crop.

Mr. Reedman said that the Cabinet had approved his plans for "mass immigration". Despite the unsettled constitutional position, immigration and emigration had been established on an even keel. Once the constitutional position had been clarified, there would be increased immigration.

Immigrants were necessary for the maintenance of the Europeans in Rhodesia, and his aim was to bring in as many

people as possible in the shortest possible time. He would tour Europe in a few months in order to attract immigrants. Every person coming into the country created work for four others. "The greater the number coming in, the greater the number of vacancies for employment".

The Rhodesia National Party commented that Lord Graham had contradicted the Prime Minister's numerous promises that the electorate would be consulted.

### Patience and Consultation

"ONE ASPECT of our external policies that caused much anxiety to us and our Commonwealth friends is the problem of Southern Africa. That of Rhodesia is uppermost in our minds. Wise and just solutions here can come only from unremitting patience and consultation. Decisions taken in this arena may well be crucial for the future of the multi-racial Commonwealth"—Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, speaking in London.

### Amazon Army

THE AMAZON ARMY of which Dr. Banda has so often boasted has not impressed a special correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* who has visited Malawi. In November the Prime Minister said that he had sent his Amazons to the northern border to deal with an invasion threatened from Tanzania. Mr. David Adamson has now reported that the force consisted of seven matrons from Blantyre wielding nothing more deadly than their cooking pots. Mrs. Margaret Mlanga, the Amazon commander, i.e., national chairwoman of the League of Malawi Women, told him that the duty of its members was to "help people hoe and sometimes do sewing and knitting and cooking". Much of their time is said to be spent dancing for Dr. Banda.

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

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## Messina Company's Higher Profits

THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT Co., Ltd. — which has a 61.6% holding in M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., Rhodesia, and also controls the Alaska and Umkondo properties and Messina Rhodesia Smelting & Refining Co., Ltd. — reports group profits after tax to September 30 at R4,396,267 (R2,483,364), the rand being worth 10s. After deduction of minority interests in a subsidiary, the net profit attributable to the holding company is just over R3.5m. (R1.9m.). R2.6m. is added to capital reserves and dividends totalling 15% take R738,750, leaving a carry-forward of R184,179. The issued capital is R4.9m.

Mining assets in South Africa and Rhodesia have a book value of R10.8m., interests in subsidiary companies total nearly R11m., and other investments appear at R1.7m. Current liabilities exceed current assets by R877,826.

One reserves at Messina were computed at the end of the year at 5.6m. long tons averaging 1.48% Cu.; at Umkondo 77,770 tons averaging 2.3%; at Alaska nearly 2.3m. at 2.07%; and at Mangula nearly 16m. tons assaying 1.38% Cu.

The directors are Commander H. F. P. Grenfell (chairman), Mr. W. J. Spence (managing director) and Messrs. D. E. Cox, R. F. Grenfell, U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart. Mr. R. E. C. Jobling is the group secretary and Mr. S. H. Verrall the London Secretary. The managers at the mines are Mr. C. H. W. Irwin (Messina), Mr. W. J. Wilson (Mangula), Mr. C. H. Chandler (Alaska), and Mr. H. T. Hutton (Umkondo).

Extracts from Commander Grenfell's annual statement appeared in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week.

## Chartered Sells Zambia Assets

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA (CHARTERED) COMPANY has arranged to sell to the Zambia Government its real estate and buildings, including offices in Lusaka and Ndola, an African township, and two show pavilions. Chartered will still have mining, milling, and other interests in Zambia through its merger with Central Mining and Investment Corporation and Consolidated Mines Selection Company to form Charter Consolidated, Ltd.

## Kettles-Roy Loss of £97,000

ALEX. LAWRIE & Co., LTD., have lost £97,067 on Kettles-Roy and Tysons, Ltd., an East African subsidiary bought some years ago. A distribution of 20s. per share has been received from the liquidators of Kettles-Roy, but the difference between that sum and the original cost is stated to be £97,067, which has been written off by the parent company.

A £1m. issue of 1969/70 Kenya Stock has been fully subscribed.

Rhodesia's visible trade balance for 1964 is expected to show a surplus of about £35m.

Building society investments in Rhodesia at the end of October totalled £44,130,000.

Rhodesia Congo Border Power Corporation, Ltd., has raised its capital from £200,000 to £5¼m.

The Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association's 21st annual dinner is to be held on Saturday in Tanga.

The Incorporated Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines is now called the Copper Industry Service Bureau.

Ports in South Africa are to be closed to the ships of countries which themselves ban South African vessels.

The Cold Storage Commission of Rhodesia reports an operating profit of £431,886 for the six months to June 30 last. Dwa Plantations, Ltd., report sisal output in January at 139 tons, compared with 146 tons in the same month last year.

Macmillan, Maxwell & Company of Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., has been registered in Salisbury with a capital of £12,000.

The Rhodesian Ministry of Agriculture is to investigate tea production potentialities in the Melsetter and Chipinga areas. Rhodesian Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., is the first company in the country to open a secondary school for the children of its employees.

Japanese steel experts are shortly to visit Rhodesia at the request of the Government to investigate iron, coal, and other mineral resources.

Zambian Eagle Insurance Co., Ltd., with registered offices in Ndola, has been registered in Zambia with a nominal capital of £250,000.

Wankle Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 309,161 tons of coal and 12,666 of coke in January. The December figures were 291,260 and 13,803 respectively.

Rhodesia's exports to Zambia in the first 10 months of 1964 were valued at £25.5m. Those in October were a record for any month at £3,157,000.

Allen Wack & Shepherd (Lusaka), Ltd., and Allen Wack & Shepherd (Northern Rhodesia), Ltd., have amalgamated as Allen, Wack & Shepherd (Zambia), Ltd.

Rhodesian Corporation, Ltd., reports net profits to September 30 at £69,162 (£78,581) after tax of £50,054 (£23,663). The 10% dividend is repeated, costing £66,203.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., had an estimated net profit after tax in the December quarter of £72,989. The gold yield at the Dalny mine was 18,162 oz. from 64,700 tons milled.

Zambia's steel rolling mill, to be situated near Lusaka, will use scrap metal as a new material, perhaps supplemented by imports of steel billets. The mill, wholly owned by the Government, will cost about £2m.

The Zambia Mineworkers' Union has declared a dispute with the mining companies. It demands higher pay for some 300 Africans in jobs formerly done by Europeans. The Government is to appoint a conciliator.

The East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., has given place to three new companies, British American Tobacco Kenya, Ltd., British American Tobacco Uganda, Ltd., and British American Tobacco Tanzania, Ltd., each incorporated locally.

Rio Tinto (Rhodesia), Ltd., has appointed Mr. J. Rosenthal, of Paris, its consultant on the marketing of cut emeralds from the Sandawana mine. Except for domestic sales in Rhodesia, all cut stones will be sold through him.

The Insurance Association of Central Africa has given notice that from the beginning of April insurance rates on most types of private cars will be increased by 20%; but after five years free of claim the no-claim bonus scale will provide for a 50% discount.

British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., which has large East and Central African interests, reports net profit after tax to September 30 at £31.7m. (£32.2m.). Dividends of 2s. 2d. tax free per 10s. unit take nearly £12.9m., leaving the carry-forward almost unchanged at £1.7m.

Cable & Wireless (Holding), Ltd., report net revenue for 1964 at £1,637,000 (£1,438,000) after tax of £1,151,000 (just over £1m.). The dividend is raised from 12½% to 13½% on capital increased by a one-for-ten scrip issue. Investments at the end of the year were valued at £57.4m.

Aluminium Wire & Cable Co., Ltd., and British Insulated Callender's Cables, Ltd., are to share an £850,000 order for steel cored aluminium conductor for the second transmission line from Kariba to Kitwe. The work is being done by Power Lines (Rhodesia), Ltd., a subsidiary of a Milan group.

Taylor Woodrow (Building Exports), Ltd., have received contracts for a factory-made 65,000 sq. ft. building for a nylon spinning plant in Ethiopia for Ethio-Japanese Synthetic Textiles and for a 42,000 sq. ft. building for a galvanizing plant for Sabeen Metal Products, Ltd., another Ethiopian-Japanese company.

Anglo American Corporation has acquired the mining assets of Felixburg Mines (Pvt.), Ltd., Rhodesia, and is to prospect and mine in the Felixburg gold belt, some 25 miles south-east of Umvuma. The belt is about two miles wide and 10 long. The vendors have the right to acquire a 50% participation with Anglo American in 1969.

Taita-Taveta Development Corporation has been registered in Kenya in connexion with a £2m. sisal development scheme under which the estates in the area formerly owned by Colonel Ewart Grogan are to be taken over jointly by the Ralli Brothers group and the Taita-Taveta people. Members of the tribe may buy shares at par, with a limit of 500 shares of £1 each. Other Africans may acquire shares only if they work on the estates. The intention is that the London partners should later sell their shares to the people.

# ZAMBIA



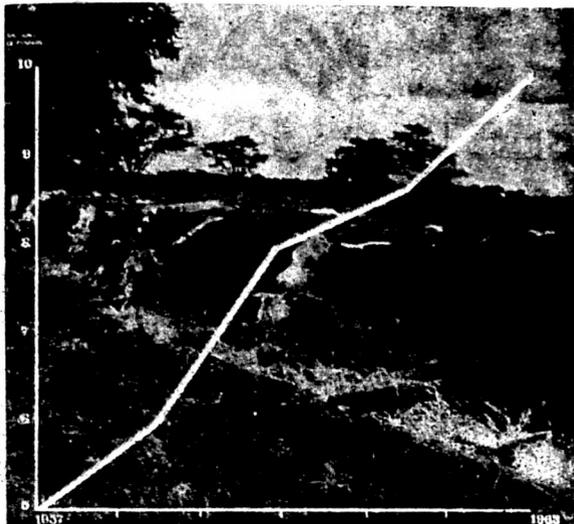
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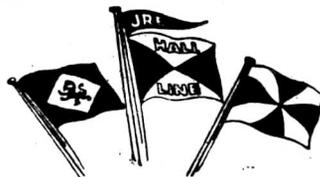
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Government Sends Two Ministers to Rhodesia

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

LAST WEEK'S LEADING ARTICLE on the impending visit to Rhodesia of the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations ended with the words: "It is regrettable that Mr. Wilson should have gone out of his way to say on Monday that 'the issues seem to me as unreconcilable as they have been at any time'. That is not the spirit in which his emissaries should set about their business". Even before that comment could appear in print two days after it was written, newspapers in the United Kingdom which have been consistently antagonistic to Rhodesia and constant in their support of black African nationalism were telling their readers not to expect any result from the mission of the two Ministers, who were alleged to be making the journey, not with any expectation of preparing the way for a mutually acceptable solution of a very difficult problem, but with the object of gaining more time while the two Governments continued their manoeuvrings for position. The words of Mr. Wilson which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had criticized lend some colour to that suggestion—the more so because no M.P. objected to the Prime Minister's injudicious remark when it was made in the House of Commons.

\* \* \*

If the Socialist Cabinet, harassed by pressures of all kinds, is concerned to gain a little more time, it can certainly not be said that that is the aim of Rhodesia's leaders. Immediately Mr. Bottomley was appointed Secretary of State after the general election in Britain in October

### Urgent Need For Decision.

he was invited to Salisbury and told that he was welcome to talk to anyone except persons in jail on criminal charges. That very

reasonable proviso was unacceptable. Though no Government in Britain would expect a Minister from any part of the Commonwealth to wish to confer with anyone imprisoned for any crime, the Socialist Government which Mr. Wilson had just formed refused the invitation on that ground alone. It was not a good beginning. In the four months which have since passed Mr. Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, has said repeatedly that prompt settlement of the dispute with Britain is necessary because its continuance deprives Rhodesia of immigrants and capital and lessens confidence. Indeed, it is the urgency of the need to reinforce confidence and encourage investment and settlement which deepens Rhodesian anger at the denial of independence by H.M. Government; and it must consequently be assumed that the Cabinet in Salisbury would not now have agreed to the Gardiner-Bottomley mission if it were thought to be merely a time-wasting charade. Nor would it be to the credit of Mr. Wilson's nominees to lend themselves to such a performance; and we do not believe that either Lord Gardiner or Mr. Bottomley is that type of cynical politician. The knowledge that journals sympathetic to their party and hostile to Rhodesia have quickly made such unflattering suggestions should, moreover, strengthen their determination not merely to do right in the circumstances but to be manifestly seen to do justice to Rhodesia in general—and that includes concern for the continuing well-being of the mass of Africans, whose domestic and economic future is immensely more important than the eager self-interest of a small but vociferous group of pan-African political propagandists.

\* \* \*

Whereas they seek to confuse the issue by exploiting false comparisons with what has

happened elsewhere in Africa, in countries with no real resemblance to Rhodesia, Mr. Smith's basic purpose in his prolonged correspondence with H.M. Government is to establish clarity and clarification. He insists on unambiguous definition of issues still in dispute precisely because in the past there has been so much procrastination, contradiction, and equivocation. Absolutely resolved to protect his Government and country from further such exercises in the Westminster and Whitehall technique, he has patiently persisted in his demand that his questions must be answered in writing before there can be constitutional discussions. Nobody who knows anything of the Macmillan-Macleod-Butler-Sandys dealings with Central Africa can do other than commend his caution. Indeed, on that score he has not once been criticized by Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, or any other Rhodesian who had personal experience of negotiations with Britain during the Macmillan era and who holds political views at variance with those of Mr. Smith.

Irreconcilability, of which Mr. Wilson has spoken, means different things to politicians in Britain and to responsible Rhodesians—who hold, as we do, that much wrought in East and Central Africa by foolish and faithless United Kingdom Ministers, since 1960 in particular, has not been reconcilable with reason, good faith, or the trusteeship which it was their duty to discharge for the good of Africans in general. Having failed through weakness and ineptitude to fulfil that trust in one African country, they proceeded to repeat their dereliction of duty *ad nauseam*, excusing themselves on each new occasion with the perfidious pretence that it was impossible to say "No" because "Yes" had been the reply given to every previous clamour for self-government and independence. It is the process of reconciling each successive constitutional inanity with those previously committed which has brought Africa to its present parlous state, with chaos over vast areas and real stability in scarcely any of the territories from which British administration has been withdrawn. Why should Rhodesians, who have governed themselves for more than forty years, be expected to allow their homeland to be destroyed merely to placate politicians in Britain and America and in the newly-created States in Africa to which those fumbling politicians have brought dangerously premature and illusory independence? The

**Disastrous Reconciliation.**

plea that Parliamentarians in Britain must "reconcile" their attitude to Rhodesia with their crimes in other parts of Africa will find no echo in the hearts or minds of responsible Rhodesians, white or black.

**Mr. Butler Displaces Sir E. Whitehead**  
**Rhodesia National Party's New Leader**

MR. ALLAN DAVID BUTLER, M.P., was on Thursday last elected by secret ballot leader of the Rhodesia National Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament. He succeeds Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Prime Minister, who said that he would retire later from active politics and not seek re-election to Parliament, but not until he felt confident that the party would win the by-election caused by his resignation of his seat; that they might not do at present.

Sir Roy Welensky had led the Rhodesia Party from outside the House until his recent resignation. Sir Edgar Whitehead had been the leader in Parliament, and also Leader of the Opposition. He will continue as the party spokesman on financial and economic matters.

Mr. Butler, born in London in 1927, was educated in Canada and at Eton and then qualified as an aeronautical engineer. His father had been an air pilot in peace and war, and was then for a long period an executive for an aircraft manufacturing company in England. His mother, also an experienced pilot, ferried many aircraft, including heavy bombers, for R.A.F. Transport Command during the war. With that family background Mr. David Butler took naturally to the air. He holds a commercial pilot's licence and manages an aircraft company in Salisbury.

He first went to Rhodesia in 1949 to grow tobacco. For six years he managed a family farm near Umvukwes.

He first attracted political notice in 1962 when he took a small private delegation to the United Nations to put the Rhodesian case. He then said that Rhodesia would have a black Prime Minister one day, perhaps fairly soon. There was considerable criticism in Rhodesia of some of his statements, but when he returned from New York Africans gave him an enthusiastic welcome at the airport.

In the general election in December of that year he was a United Federal Party candidate, and by a narrow majority won the Salisbury South seat. Since the election was won by the Rhodesian Front, then led by Mr. Winston Field, Mr. Butler sat on the Opposition benches. In the following year, when the U.F.P. became the Rhodesia National Party because of the dissolution of the Federation, Mr. Butler was elected chairman.

A keen yachtsman, he represented Rhodesia at the Olympics in Italy in 1960, winning a bronze medal, and recently in Japan. While he was only 19 he crossed the Atlantic with his father in a ketch. He would have been in the British Olympic ski team of 1948 but for an accident during training. In the winter Olympics of 1936 his mother had captained the Canadians.

Mr. Butler's first important task will be to represent the party in next week's talks with Lord Gardiner and Mr. Bottomley. He said last week after his election:—

"I stand for the present Constitution and the qualified franchise, which lays down the correct qualifications for responsible government. I believe that the Rhodesian Front Government intends to introduce the full rigours of *apartheid* and to destroy the Constitution. If the door was slammed on educated Africans they would all turn to Communism and revolution. It is vital to take the Africans with us."

It was utter nonsense to suggest, as Government spokesmen did, that the alternatives facing Rhodesia were an African nationalist Government or a unilateral declaration of independence. The real alternative to such a declaration was to stick to the bargain made in accepting the 1961 Constitution and to refuse to accept any attempt by Britain to alter it. U.D.I. could lead only to economic chaos, emigration, and early introduction of a black nationalist Government.

Of the 24 R.N.P. members in Parliament, 11 are Africans and one Coloured. The Government (Rhodesian Front) has 38 seats, and there are three Independents.

# Testing of African Opinion Bedevilled by Violent Frictions

## Why Rhodesian Government Called the Domboshawa *Indaba*

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT has published a 61-page White Paper entitled "The Demand for Independence in Rhodesia". It bears the sub-titles "Consultation with the African Tribesmen through their Chiefs and Headmen" and "The Domboshawa *Indaba*".

Seventeen pages are devoted to a verbatim record of the concluding session of the *indaba*, when seven chiefs and four headmen summarized the views of their colleagues. They were unanimous that Rhodesia should become independent.

A 16-page memorandum by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on tribal structure, psychology, and democratic machinery, is followed by translated extracts from numerous threatening letters sent to chiefs who might dare to support independence and a memorandum by a number of chiefs.

The White Paper opens with the agreed *communiqué* issued in London on September 11 last after talks between Sir Alec Douglas-Home, then Prime Minister, and Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia. That statement said, *inter alia*:—

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it is proposed that independence should be granted was explained to the people of the country as a whole. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accepted that independence must be based on general consent, and stated that he was convinced that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise. The British Prime Minister took note of the statements but said that the British Government has as yet no evidence that this was the case.

### Chiefs v. Extremists

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia recognized that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this, and said that he would consider how best it could be demonstrated so that independence could be granted.

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the population on the issues involved, but he must make it plain that the British Government reserved their position." [Italics appear in the original.]

The White Paper continues:—

"For some years the chiefs, as the traditional leaders of the African people in Rhodesia, have been requesting the Government to facilitate their travel overseas to enable them to see for themselves how other people lived, worked, and were governed, and thereby be in a better position to assist the progress of their people; and to deal with many of the extravagant statements and claims made by extreme African nationalists who were attempting to set themselves up as self-styled national leaders.

"Extreme African nationalists have in recent years been travelling widely all over the world through the financial assistance afforded to them by countries and organizations hostile to Rhodesia. On their return to this country they proceeded to indoctrinate local tribesmen, engendered hostility between the races, and carried on a relentless campaign of subversion and intimidation. They ridiculed the tribal leaders and undermined their traditional authority.

"The tribal leaders found it difficult to argue with or counter many of the extravagant claims and assertions made by these extreme nationalists because they had not had the opportunity to study these matters and see for themselves.

"At the beginning of 1964 the necessary finance was obtained and arrangements were made for a party of 29 chiefs, in the main the members of the Chiefs' Council, to undertake an overseas tour. They left on

June 1 and returned seven weeks later, after visiting Pakistan, India, Italy, Great Britain, the Republic of South Africa, and Portuguese East Africa. They were all wiser and more enlightened men when they returned.

"When the tour details were being arranged some of these chiefs expressed a desire to meet the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the British Government with view to discussing matters which concerned the future of this country.

"Just before the chiefs left on their tour an African association in Matabeleland submitted a petition to the Queen on the question of the future of this country and asked one of the Matabele chiefs to present a copy of this petition to the British Government when he was in England. Extreme difficulty was experienced in trying to meet the wishes of the chiefs for an interview with the British Prime Minister while they were in England.

"Eventually, the chiefs' deputation met only Mr. Durcan Sandys for an initial interview of 20 minutes, and two days later, on the day they were leaving London, they again met him for a short period.

### Chiefs' Talk with Mr. Sandys

"The main points put forward in their discussion with Mr. Sandys were incorporated in a memorandum (Annexure C) which was subsequently forwarded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain because Mr. Sandys would not facilitate a meeting between the chiefs and the Prime Minister.

"One of the chiefs, speaking on behalf of his colleagues, told Mr. Sandys that the chiefs were the true leaders of the African people of Southern Rhodesia, that though many people from Rhodesia came to Britain from time to time to impress upon the British Government that they were the leaders of the African people this was not the case, and that it was the chiefs who were the traditional leaders.

"Mr. Sandys in reply said: 'What is most needed in Southern Rhodesia today is that everyone should try to work together for the good of the country. If all the people of Southern Rhodesia can work together, your country can become great, happy and prosperous. I believe that you have an important and constructive part to play in the affairs of your country. I think you can play a very important part in bringing about greater understanding and friendship between the races of Southern Rhodesia.'

"However, at a formal meeting with the delegation of chiefs Mr. Sandys expressed the view that though the chiefs had an important rôle to play the British Government argued that it was not the chiefs but the African nationalist leaders who had the following of the people. The chiefs promptly refuted this, and pointed out that whatever following the African nationalists had was the result of extreme intimidation, murder, arson and destruction of property perpetrated by gangs claiming allegiance to one or other of the African nationalist parties.

### Secretary of State Retracts

"Mr. Sandys clearly indicated that he was not concerned with the methods used by African nationalists to obtain a following: the important part was that in his opinion they had demonstrated that they had a following. If the chiefs claimed that they were the true leaders of the people, then it was up to them to demonstrate this in order to obtain recognition.

"The chiefs went on to explain that they were law-abiding people and as such they could not operate on the basis of the unlawful methods followed by African nationalists, but that if this was what the British Government wanted they were quite prepared to call out their *impis* (tribal armies) to fight and deal with these hoodlums and thugs and show the world who the true leaders were. Mr. Sandys promptly retracted, and said that he did not want to convey the impression that he was inciting them to break the law; but, nevertheless, if they desired to be recognized they must demonstrate to the world that they had the people behind them, and, if they could do this, then the British Government would need to take cognizance of the fact and the question of Rhodesia's independence would be simplified because the chiefs had already indicated that they supported the granting of independence on the basis of the present Constitution.

"The chiefs then asked if the British Prime Minister would come to Southern Rhodesia himself and meet all the chiefs and headmen at a meeting at which they would show the British Government how united they were, and prove to him that they were the true leaders of the people. Mr. Sandys

replied that he liked Southern Rhodesia very much, and if invited he would be only too happy to come to Southern Rhodesia to meet them. The chiefs then gave him a formal invitation and followed it up by saying that if he and the Prime Minister were not able to come to Southern Rhodesia then the chiefs would come back to England.

"The chiefs, aware that in the past British Prime Ministers had interviewed African nationalist leaders and even entertained them at Chequers, were extremely angry over what they considered to be the discourteous treatment meted out to them by the British Government. Nevertheless, they indicated that they would demonstrate that they not only had the support of their people, but that they also supported Government in its demand for independence.

"Accordingly, when the party of chiefs returned from the overseas tour, Government decided that it would pursue the matter, and, during the period August 31 to September 10 meetings of all chiefs and headmen were called on a provincial basis to give the tour chiefs an opportunity to explain what they had seen and learnt and to examine the question of independence.

"The Matabeleland provinces were the first to meet, on September 1 and 2, and they clearly indicated to the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, who attended, that there was strong support for immediate independence on the basis of the present Constitution, and that this support was widespread.

"It was on the basis of this encouragement that the Prime Minister left for his London talks that culminated in the joint communiqué of September 11.

"In the interim, the Matabeleland Provincial Assembly was followed by similar meetings of all the chiefs and headmen in the remaining provinces of Midlands, Victoria, Manicaland and Mashonaland, and at all of these meetings the reaction to independence was similar to the initial Matabeleland expression. In view of the expression of opinion voiced at each of these provincial assemblies, the Minister of Internal Affairs, who attended each provincial meeting, instructed the chiefs and headmen to return home and discuss the matter with their people, utilizing their tribal and traditional procedures, so that in due course they could advise Government at their tribesmen's reaction.

### Discussions in Tribal Areas

"This was not the first time that independence had been discussed in the tribal areas. Early in 1963 one of the nationalist parties sought to obtain the signatures of thousands of people petitioning Britain not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia, and in May 1963 the then Minister of Internal Affairs specifically put the question of independence at each of the seven provincial assemblies of chiefs held in the country.

"During this period the African nationalists have been extremely active in the tribal areas, endeavouring to convince the people that the only answer was 'immediate majority rule on the basis of one-man-one-vote. Because they found little or no support for this amongst the African people, they proceeded to implement the intimidatory practices referred to earlier. The pattern was true to form elsewhere and was based on wholesale intimidation by small organized gangs forcing people to join the African nationalist parties.

"Failure to respond was dealt with by murder, assault, burning of schools, churches, dipping tanks and private houses; malicious damage to property and stock—all of this directed against the innocent and law-abiding African people both in the towns and in the rural areas.

"The campaign was materially supported by external Communist sources and various independent African States who supplied funds and assisted by training saboteurs and thug elements, particularly in the use of petrol bombs, explosives and other offensive material.

"The extent of the build-up of this campaign of violence is evidenced by the fact that during the seven weeks immediately preceding the banning of the two African nationalist parties towards the end of August 1964, the following 1,725 incidents were perpetrated by members of these parties:

Stoning of property and vehicles	591
Assaults on police	68
Murders	5
Assaults on public	270
Petrol bomb attacks	20
Arson	205
Malicious injury to property	90
Destruction of telephone apparatus	18
Interference with railway communications	7
Intimidation	293
Illegal processions	23
Road blocks	63
Recovery of explosives	21
Use of explosives	35
Destruction of cattle	16

"In the two months immediately following the banning of these parties and the restriction of ringleaders, these same political incidents dropped to a total of 377 for September and 188 for October.

"On his return from the London talks the Prime Minister stressed, as he had done in London, that there was no question of sounding African opinion on the basis of one-man-one-vote and that his proposal for using the traditional tribal system of ascertaining opinion had not been rejected by the British Government who, having heard his views, had urged him to consider ways and means of broadening the basis of *indaba* consultations and supplementing the *indaba* with more democratic procedures in order to satisfy Commonwealth and world opinion.

"He had also made his proposals clear to Mr. Wilson, who had seen the reasonableness of them and who, while naturally not committing his party, had said if his party became the Government they would look fairly at the question of independence.

"The Rhodesian Prime Minister considered it was only fair to concede to the British Government its reservation expressed in paragraph 5 of the communiqué. Although various suggestions had been made regarding methods of ascertaining African opinion, it had been agreed not to lay down any particular method, and it was expressly stated that neither the Rhodesia Government nor the British Government committed themselves at that stage.

### Consulting Africans

"The Rhodesian Prime Minister had been urged to go further than an *indaba* and at least to supplement it with something in the nature of a referendum if world opinion was to be satisfied as to the adequacy of consultation. Naturally, the British Government had considered a referendum amounting to one-man-one-vote as the most satisfactory method. That was the orthodox and familiar method of British thinking; the one that had been applied to other territories, but they had appreciated the Rhodesian case and had not closed their minds to other methods. They had left the Rhodesian Prime Minister free to consider other methods on the condition that they had the right to judge and be satisfied on the procedures adopted for ascertaining the freely expressed views of the population.

"Although during September meetings of chiefs and headmen had already discussed the matter of independence and been instructed by the Minister to return to their homes to pursue the subject with their people in accordance with their customary procedures, the Prime Minister felt it advisable to arrange, with the support of the Leader of the Opposition, a committee composed of four Parliamentary members of the Government party and four from the Opposition. This committee was to find out the best and most practicable means of obtaining the views of the African masses not on the voters' roll, to consider evidence, and to ensure that the consultations were fair, honest and above-board. The Prime Minister emphasized that all possibilities of testing tribal African opinion below the level of chiefs and headmen, without undermining the traditional structure, and African opinion outside the tribal areas, were to be examined, with regard to their practical application and complete safeguards against intimidation.

"This committee sat on numerous occasions, and evidence was given to it by various people, including a delegation appointed by the Council of Chiefs, as well as officials who had life-long experience with Africans in tribal areas. No better persons could be found to advise on the workings of the tribal system.

### Distortions, Evasions and Ignorance

"The testing of African opinion has for some years been a major issue in world politics. It is bedevilled and clouded by violent fictions, strongly held political theories as to the relationship between State and individual, sacrosanct assumptions that unless Western political devices are adopted there is no democracy, and, above all, by distortions, evasions or ignorance of the facts of tribal life and mentality.

"If into this are projected organized influences intent on disruption and distortion for personal or international power purposes, or ready to provoke 'liberal' sentiments by conjuring up ideas of 'race domination', 'entrenched privilege', 'white minority government' and 'colonialism', it is easy to see what an immense task confronted this committee.

"There was naturally room for great divergencies of opinion within the committee but, confronted with the facts, there emerged a remarkable consensus as far as the tribal areas were concerned.

(Continued on page 408)

# The Queen Returns from Visit to Sudan

## Political Truce Fulfilled Only with Difficulty

THE QUEEN returned to London on Friday from her visit to Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan, in all of which countries she was given enthusiastic receptions.

In Khartoum, however, the truce agreed by the political parties was broken when on Wednesday evening four lorries containing supporters of the right-wing Umma Party with loud-speakers continued shouting slogans from the river bank as their vehicles kept abreast of a Nile steamer in which the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh were dining with the Foreign Minister. "Unity behind the Umma Party" and "We support the revolution of October 21" were among the remarks chanted.

Earlier in the day the royal party had visited El Obeid, where scores of thousands of nomadic tribesmen had assembled. It was estimated that at least 40,000 camels participated in a spectacular parade, which took more than an hour to pass before the Queen. Some of the men wore the chain mail used by their ancestors in earlier wars.

There were some anxious moments when a huge crowd pressed so close upon the Queen that mounted police had to spur their horses into the serried ranks, upon whom they lashed out with whips. The pressure lasted for some minutes. All reporters agreed that it was the product of enthusiasm.

After the full parade about 20,000 camels galloped past the dais, their riders waving rifles, spears and swords. Then came thousands of horsemen.

### Children Taught by Egyptians

When Her Majesty drove through the town some 250 children chanted "Down with British imperialism" and "Down with Colonialism". They were said to have Egyptian teachers.

Among those presented in El Obeid was Dr. Husband, chief surgeon at the hospital, who is about to retire after spending 20 years in the town.

After flying back the 230 miles to Khartoum, the Queen and the Duke attended a garden party in the grounds of the Cathedral at which there were some 2,000 guests.

While the Queen was driving through Omdurman next day a Khartoum University student threw a tomato at her car, which it did not hit. A motorcyclist outrider at once arrested the offender. As the motorcade passed the university some students shouted "Down with the British".

Speaking briefly at a tea party in Omdurman Public Gardens, the Queen said: "It is often the case, and certainly so where Sudan and Britain are concerned, that where two peoples have come to respect each other's courage in time of war, first as contestants and subsequently as comrades in arms, their friendship in times of peace is so much the stronger. This visit has shown me how real is the sympathy and understanding between our two countries".

A rousing reception had been given all along the routes in Khartoum and Omdurman.

Most correspondents considered that the political truce had been kept with difficulty.

The representative of *The Times* cabled:—

"It looks as if the Queen's aircraft will scarcely be airborne before a political free-for-all sets in. Talk about a north-south conference in Juba next week and a general election in April is failing to persuade some politicians to stay their hand. Hundreds of Umma Party supporters lined the Queen's route in Omdurman with two placards greeting her, but themselves standing in silence. They seemed a disciplined political army and had been brought to Khartoum with the possible object of bringing down at least half the present Government. 'October 21' is their usual slogan.

"Khalafalla Babiker, Minister of Information, has said the Sudanese people must be ready to defend the revolution, and Umma organizers are taking him at his word, though hardly in the way he intended. He is one of the first Ministers some parties want removed.

"The northerners are arguing among themselves. So are the southerners. It will be a small miracle if the proposed conference in Juba next Thursday begins, let alone produces a result.

"Tigani el Mahi, who presides this month over the Presidential Council of five, has been occupied this week as host to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh. As soon as the members of the council have made their farewells tomorrow the heat of party ambitions will be turned on them".

### Situation Considered Grave

Mr. Richard Beeton's message to the *Daily Telegraph* said (in part):—

"Khartoum branch of Cairo University is staffed mainly by Egyptians and is a well-known hotbed of anti-British and anti-Western sentiments.

"Some 30,000 fanatical members of the Ansar, the Mahdist religious sect, stood in lines along the streets of Omdurman tonight saluting the Queen as she drove past for a municipal reception. They have been pouring into Omdurman during the past few days from country areas to provide a show of strength during the present anxious political period.

"Unlike the ordinary citizens of Omdurman, who clapped and cheered, they had been instructed to remain silent as the Queen drove by. The silence seemed to emphasize the gravity of the present situation and concern over what may erupt at the end of the visit".

A dispatch to the *Guardian* from Mr. Clyde Sanger said that it was impossible to judge whether violence would break out after the Queen's departure, continuing:—

"The caretaker Government which took over when the October revolution swept out General Abboud's military régime was bound to come under fire. The team of 15 Ministers was hastily picked from five political parties, ranging from the Communists to the right-wing Moslem Brotherhood, and from civil servants and professional men.

### Umma Leader Impatient

"The Umma Party leaders, who have good grounds for believing that they will top the polls since they are the political wing of the powerful Ansari sect, suspect some Government leaders, particularly the Communists, of plotting to postpone the elections even further. The Umma leader, Sadik el Mahdi, whose great-grandfather inspired the Dervish armies that defeated General Gordon, has become dangerously impatient.

"The tension is great, but an early showdown may be avoided because it is in the interests of nearly every group to give the Juba conference a fair chance of success in solving the Sudan's ugliest problem. Only the Communists can benefit by fomenting trouble at this stage. They have position and opportunity in the caretaker Government out of proportion to their popular support.

"On Saturday 700 guerrillas attacked police posts around Juba. Whether or not this attack was Communist planned, it hardly makes Juba seem the ideal place for a peace-making conference; but Southern exiles are more suspicious of coming to Khartoum".

A special correspondent of the *Economist* commented:—

"The Prime Minister, Sirr el Khatim el Khalifa, explained that the Sudanese were not a people who burdened visitors with their internal problems. But here the Prime Minister's politeness exceeded his objectivity, for Sudan's greatest problem—the reconciling of the four million pagan or Christian and Negroid southerners with the nine million Moslem and mainly Arab northerners—has importance throughout Africa and beyond.

"If the Sudanese can patch up their north-south quarrel they will have done more for the founding ideal of African unity than anyone. If they fail, it will be harder still to speak of brotherhood between Arab and black Africa.

"The deteriorating southern situation did more than anything to bring down General Abboud; Mr. Khalifa has given its solution top priority. He has achieved much in persuading the five northern parties, ranging from the Moslem Brothers to the Communists, as well as the southern leaders now in exile in Uganda, to attend a round-table conference in Juba

on February 18. His special feel for the southern problem derives from working there for 12 years as an education officer. He has liberalized northern attitudes. Four months ago the idea of a federal Constitution was unexceptionable; now it is commonly canvassed.

"But this is far from saying that the quarrel, which has caused thousands of deaths and the flight of 50,000 southern Sothos from the country, as well as the expulsion of most missionaries, is happily over.

"The African leaders have committed themselves to go to Joha demanding a separate State carved out of the former East Rhodesia, Blue Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal provinces. If they do talk about federal systems, this would be only a tactical

change; the idea of seceding later would not be dropped. To northerners of any hue federation means the opposite: a temporary loosening of the country's structure with hopes of tightening it again later when tempers are quieter.

"If there is no agreement at Juba, Mr. Khafisa said this week, he would call upon the parties and professional bodies that nominated his Government either to terminate or to renew its mandate. This could produce an even greater impasse and cause the Umama Party, which held 101 out of 173 seats in 1958 and has gained strength recently, to lose patience altogether. Conversely, the guerrillas in the south, who were still attacking police posts this month, are hardly men of patience either."

## Visit of Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State

### Prime Minister Would Have Preferred Commonwealth Mission

**THE IMPENDING VISIT** to Rhodesia of the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was announced in the House of Commons last week by the Prime Minister. Mr. Wilson said:—

"My correspondence with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia remains confidential. I can, however, inform the House that when I met him in London 10 days ago I suggested that the Commonwealth Secretary and the Lord Chancellor should visit Rhodesia to have discussions with the Rhodesian Government and to meet a representative cross-section of opinion. The Rhodesian Government have agreed to the visit, which is expected to last about 10 days.

"My colleagues will be seeing any persons they wish who are not in prison for criminal offences. They expect to arrive in Salisbury about February 22."

Mr. Wall: "I welcome the Prime Minister's statement, but why has it taken so long to accept Mr. Ian Smith's invitation, which was first extended in November? Will the Prime Minister give an assurance that the Secretary of State will meet African chiefs as well as African politicians?"

#### Proposals Which Were Rejected

The Prime Minister: "As the House knows, there have been continuous exchanges between Mr. Smith and myself. I have repeatedly extended to him an invitation to visit London so that these matters could be discussed. He did not accept those invitations, for reasons which seemed right and proper to him. We were certainly not prepared to accept some of the conditions placed on a visit by my rt. hon. friend, as proposed by the Rhodesian Government.

"However, Mr. Smith did visit London because of Sir Winston Churchill's funeral, which gave an opportunity for an extended discussion of an hour and a half. Out of that discussion this proposal has come.

"Part of the time mentioned by the hon. gentleman was taken up with a proposal which we put forward and which I think would have been helpful. It was for senior Members of the House of all parties, and possibly members of another place, to visit Rhodesia and report to the House on the problems which we all face. This was rejected by Mr. Smith. I am sorry that it was rejected, for it would have been a good idea. However, it then took some time to put forward and get the final result."

Mr. Digby: "Can we be told why it is necessary for two Cabinet Ministers to go instead of one, and how long they are to stay?"

The Prime Minister: "They will stay for 10 days or so. Quite frankly, I would have wished, because of the peculiarly difficult problems there, affecting the whole Commonwealth and not only ourselves, that we could have sent a Commonwealth mission of senior statesmen from different Commonwealth countries. This was not acceptable, and our proposal for a British Parliamentary mission was not acceptable.

"In these circumstances, and in view of the vital importance

to Rhodesia, ourselves and the whole Commonwealth of the issues which at present lie unresolved, and which seem almost as irreconcilable as they have been at any time, we thought it right that two of my colleagues, the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State, should go, especially in view of the desire of the whole House. I am sure that the opinions of all sections of African opinion, as well as European opinion, should be taken.

"I am sure that they will wish to make arrangements to meet representatives of the chiefs. Of course, the views of the chiefs were taken at the *inshaba*; but in addition my noble friend and my rt. hon. friend—this is something which has been insisted on by both Front Benches in the House—will want to take a more widespread sample of African opinion, because in no country, not even in Britain, is it true that the views of the chiefs represent the views of the whole of the population."

#### Consulting All Sections of Opinion

Mr. Grimond: "I welcome this greatly desired change in atmosphere, and I wholly agree that it was no good sending anyone to Rhodesia until representatives of African opinion as well as the Government could be seen.

"However, may I ask the Prime Minister about the distinction made between those in prison for criminal offences and others? Can he give an assurance that this does not rule out any of the representatives of a considerable bulk of African opinion and will not prevent the delegation from seeing the Africans who clearly ought to be seen if the delegation is to get a comprehensive view of the situation?"

The Prime Minister: "We would not have put forward the idea or agreed to it unless we felt that all sections of opinion in Rhodesia could be met and their views taken. The distinction to which I referred, and which is agreed with the Rhodesian Government, is between those who are in prison for criminal offences, for example, involved in violence—although even there we recognize that their laws are not always the same as some of our laws—and where a political leader is in detention or in a restricted area not as a result of a criminal conviction."

"In those cases my rt. hon. friends will be able to meet those concerned. I am quite satisfied that, although at any rate one important political leader will be ruled out because he is in prison on a criminal charge, representatives of his organization and of African opinion generally will be freely seen by my rt. hon. friends."

#### No Previous Restrictions Removed

Mr. Sandys: "Does what the Prime Minister has said mean that the Rhodesian Government have lifted some restrictions which they previously imposed on the freedom of discussion by the Commonwealth Secretary, who had previously wanted to go to Rhodesia when he was in Zambia? If so, what is the change?"

The Prime Minister: "It is not that it has removed restrictions. At the time my rt. hon. friend was in Zambia, when this matter was discussed, the leaders of the two main African parties were in prison on criminal charges—Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. While in conditions of restriction, Mr. Nkomo is not in prison on a criminal charge, and it will therefore be possible for my rt. hon. friends to see Mr. Nkomo. While they will not be able to see Mr. Sithole, who is still in prison, they will be able to see lieutenants of Mr. Sithole and get a fair picture of African opinion."

Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, recalled that immediately the Labour Party won the general election he invited Mr. Wilson to send Mr. Bottomley to Rhodesia. That invitation was rejected.

but when Mr. Smith was in London for the funeral of Sir Winston Churchill it had been indicated to him by Mr. Wilson that he now wished to send out Mr. Bottomley, who would come on exactly the same terms and conditions as had applied to the original invitation.

Mr. Evan Campbell, High Commissioner in London, expressed the hope of a solution before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in June. The log jam had at long been broken, he thought because the new U.K. Government now realized that there was no easy solution. Its emissaries would find Rhodesians absolutely determined to defend their existing Constitution and to demand independence on that basis as their right.

Mr. Mark Partridge, Chief Whip of the Rhodesian Front Government, has said in an interview with the Roman Catholic Church magazine *Shield* that he saw no future for his children in Rhodesia under the present Constitution and would prefer one which gave each of the two main races its own homeland in the country. If the existing Constitution were not altered there would be an African-dominated Government within 10 to 15 years, and in that short period he could not visualize an African Government better than those in States further north. Mr. Partridge emphasized that the views were his own and not necessarily representative of Government feeling or policy.

**R.T.A. Support Government**

Meeting in Rusape, 130 tobacco farmers from several areas resolved to disassociate themselves from the action of the council of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association in publishing its memorandum on the possible effects upon the tobacco industry of a unilateral declaration of independence. After Mr. E. J. Jefferys, chairman of R.T.A., had spoken, Mr. J. P. K. Freeland, who presided, said that the meeting did not doubt the sincerity of the R.T.A. council, but questioned its wisdom in publishing the statement. It was resolved to give full support to the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

The Rhodesia Tobacco Association emphasized last Thursday that its memorandum was not intended to be political. "The majority of tobacco growers and R.T.A. councillors give their full support to the Government in the fight for independence. This council will continue to counteract by all available means the effects of a possible loss of markets for tobacco".

In the *South African Observer*, Mr. William C. Hartley wrote:—

"In the struggle the main advantage which the Rhodesian Government enjoys is the possession of real power—the power to act—while its opponents possess only the power to talk, deceive, flatter, and dissuade.

"The Government's internal opponents—comprising the moveable Liberal Establishment armed with a powerful monopoly Press, anti-Government elements in key positions in the civil service, plus no doubt some hostile individuals who have infiltrated the party ranks—are now constantly trying to dissuade the Government from using its real power and exploiting its main advantage.

"The idea behind these tactics is to convert a genuine political battle, in which both sides employ whatever resources they possess, into what can best be described as a dialogue, in which the Government accepts a contest on its opponents' terms.

**Danger of Dialogue**

"If Mr. Smith exploits to the full his main advantage, he cannot lose. If, unwittingly, he falls into the trap of allowing the contest to be converted into a dialogue, he cannot win—for then all the energy of will and resolution is dissipated in words while his opponents advance step by step.

"Mr. Smith thus finds himself under the unrelenting pressure of the same kind of influences which finally immobilized and neutralized his predecessor, the unhappy and bewildered Mr. Winston Field, who is probably still trying to find out precisely how it happened that in a few months his public image changed from that of a strong, popular Prime Minister to that of a political has-been.

"Mr. Smith has already beaten the multi-millionaire newspaper magnate, Roy Thomson, on Rhodesian soil. He has rescued the control of television from the hands of the internationalist Richard Meyer and placed it where it belongs, in the hands of the people of Rhodesia. He has displayed formidable powers of leadership and manoeuvre, and there is no doubt that he will draw the vast majority of Rhodesians, white and black, behind him in whatever course he decides to take. He has won some notable battles in the short time he has been Prime Minister, always by using his strength. If he can win the war, he will write his name across the sky".

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# PERSONALIA

LORD HAILEY was 93 on Monday.

MR. J. A. R. KING will be in London from February 22 until March 9.

MR. E. M. S. KATE will shortly become town clerk of Jinja, Uganda.

MR. E. R. BAINES has retired from the board of the United Africa Company.

OLAVE LADY BADEN-POWELL, World Chief Guide, flew from Kenya to Mauritius last week.

SIR WILLIAM and LADY BUNBURY are on their way to Mombasa in the British-India liner KENYA.

DR. KADAMA, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Health in Uganda, is visiting Soviet Russia.

MR. KULATOV, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, has led a Russian delegation to Zanzibar.

DR. BOYD, a zoologist on the staff of the Nature Conservancy in Scotland, is spending some months in East Africa.

MR. J. F. PARKER, lecturer in history at Khartoum University, has been appointed to a similar post at York University.

MR. J. McNEILLIE, an alderman of Bulawayo, is president of the newly-formed Football Association of Rhodesia.

MR. E. A. MORRIS, Assistant Crown Agent, is to visit Zambia, Malawi, South Africa and Somalia in the next few weeks.

MR. T. NEALE has been seconded from the B.B.C. to take charge of programmes for the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation.

MR. E. R. A. DE ROTHSCHILD has joined the board of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., on the retirement of SIR R. W. A. LEEPER.

MR. E. H. BALL, managing director of Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., and MRS. BALL are passengers for Beira in the S.S. KENYA.

MR. L. W. MASIKU, acting manager of the Farmers' Marketing Board of Malawi for the Central Region, has been appointed a director of Air Malawi.

MR. JOHANNES ALASCO, a Canadian, has arrived in Malawi on appointment as Director of Industrial Development in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

MR. O. B. BENNETT has passed through London from the U.S.A. on his way back to Rhodesia after resigning the office of Rhodesian Minister in Washington.

LADY LANSDOWNE is in hospital in Perth after a shooting accident on the family estate. LORD LANSDOWNE was Minister of State for Colonial Affairs until the recent general election.

THE AGA KHAN has made a present of his Nairobi residence, in which he spent five years as a child, to PRESIDENT KENYATTA, who had recently lived in it for about 18 months.

DR. W. VAN DER SLEEN, a leading authority on Arab and Indian beads, has examined an important archaeological site in Zambia and identified one string of beads as made in Egypt in Roman times.

SIR WILFRED VERNON, chairman of Spillers, Ltd., and LADY VERNON are passengers for the Cape in the TRANSVAL CASTLE. His company has a large holding in flour milling companies in Rhodesia and Zambia.

VISITORS to London from Rhodesia include Mr. & MRS. A. KAPLAN, Mr. & MRS. A. M. LESTER, Mr. & MRS. G. L. PENNEY, Mr. & MRS. S. H. SALTER, Mr. & MRS. S. S. SAVAGE, and Mr. & MRS. D. H. SPEED.

DR. J. J. PAVIOT, a Frenchman, who has been Professor of Physiology in the Medical College of Pondicherry, India, has arrived in Uganda to undertake a tuberculosis control survey for the World Health Organization.

MR. A. GUY SAUZIER, London Representative of the Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture, is to address the Royal Society of Arts on February 25 on "Aspects of the Economic Structure and Development of Mauritius".

Four Uganda Africans, all principal assistant secretaries in various Government departments, have arrived in Britain for a month's visit as guests of the C.R.O. Among them is MR. S. B. RUTEGA, of the Prime Minister's Office.

MR. C. H. THORNICROFT, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education in Zambia, is chairman of a new Education Broadcasting Council. Among the other members are MR. DONALD LIGHTFOOT, the director of broadcasting, and MR. PETER HEDGES, managing director of Campbell, Booker, Carter Shops, Ltd.

MR. E. A. CORDELL, who has retired from Rhodesia Railways, of which he had acted as general manager, is a Londoner who joined the B.S.A.P. in 1926, served Salisbury Municipality from 1937 to 1946, and nine years later became chief officer of the African Affairs Department of the Railways.

DR. HELMUT BUECHNER, an American zoologist, is spending a month in Kenya as game management consultant for F.A.O., his purpose being to propose to the Kenya Government means of avoiding future conflict between game and settled agriculture in the Lower Tana River basin. He has paid four previous visits to East Africa on wild life assignments.

MRS. CAREL DE WET, wife of the South African Ambassador in London, launched on Tuesday the 12,000-ton liner GOOD HOPE CASTLE, which will enter the South African mail service of the British & Commonwealth group in August as one of seven vessels operating a 114-day schedule between Southampton and Cape Town.

MR. N. C. CHAPLING, for the past 14 years managing director of Cable & Wireless, Ltd., who has spent some 47 years with the group, is to retire at the end of February, when he will be succeeded by MR. H. H. EGGERS, a director for the past nine years and also of three telecommunications companies in Africa, one being East African External Telecommunications, Ltd. MR. E. G. L. HOWITT, who is to become deputy managing director, is also on the board of that company.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE and MISS CAROLINE CHOLMELEY HARRISON were married in Ayrshire on Saturday. After the wedding LORD INCHCAPE announced that he had been excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church, which he joined two years ago; he said that he had been warned on the previous day that to marry in a non-Roman church would mean expulsion. The marriage was in the small Church of Scotland kirk in Glenapp which he had attended since his childhood.

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The Court of Appeal has rejected Mr. KENNETH DE COURCY'S application for leave to appeal against a bankruptcy notice served on him by the Crown in respect of £4,750 costs given against him in the action on which he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for forgery, fraud and perjury, largely in connexion with land development schemes in Rhodesia.

MR. ANTHONY CLAYTON, who has been appointed senior lecturer in history at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, has therefore resigned the duties of assistant students' adviser in Britain for Kenya, where he joined the Labour Department in 1952. When he was sent to the students' office in London four years later there were about 750 Kenyans studying in the U.K. The number is now above 2,400.

## Obituary

### Mr. Ernest ("Sandy") Wright

MR. ERNEST HAY ("SANDY") WRIGHT, who died on Friday in Bulawayo in his 80th year, had for many years been one of the best known settlers in Kenya.

Arriving in 1911, he took up land near Njoro. After serving through the 1914-18 campaign in "German East" he was appointed agent to Lord Egerton of Tatton, and combined that duty with farming on his own account. A few years later he was elected president of the Njoro Settlers' Association, an office which he was to hold for 20 years.

He was elected to the Legislative Council as member for the Aberdares in 1934 and re-elected in 1938 and 1944. For a period he was chairman of the European Elected Members' Organization of the Legislature and one of Kenya's representatives on the Kenya and Uganda Railway Advisory Council. He had been president of the Stockowners' Association of Kenya and a director of several local companies, including Nakuru Press, Ltd., and Uganda Breweries, Ltd.

"Sandy" Wright, who conscientiously discharged any responsibilities which he undertook, was a good Kenyan, and one of the many bitterly disappointed by the tragic happenings of recent years.

MR. JOHN WILLIAM (GEORGE) PECK, senior assistant commissioner in Matabeleland of the British South Africa Police, has died at the age of 51.

DR. DULCIE STAPLETON ADKINS, who has died at the age of 68 at her home in Sevenoaks, spent most of her life as a U.M.C.A. medical missionary in Tanganyika.

MISS MARY PAULINA MARGESSON, who has died at the age of 62 in a London hospital, served for many years in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

MR. NORMAN EGERTON YOUNG, C.B., C.M.G., M.C., a former Controller General of the National Debt Office, who was at one time seconded to the Sudan, is presumed to have been drowned off the coast of Mozambique while sailing in his yacht.

SIR MICHAEL NETHERSOLE, K.B.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., who has died in Seychelles at the age of 73, had lived there in retirement since 1947, and was chairman of the board of governors of Seychelles College. Much of his life had been spent in India.

THE REV. DR. PETER SHEPHERD, a former Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, who has died in Blairgowrie, aged 76, was for 15 years a medical missionary in Bechuanaland, where he established and greatly developed Molepolole Hospital. For the past 17 years he had been the minister of churches in Glasgow and Perth.

## Congo Battlefield for Power Politics

### Communist Plot to Drop Arms to Rebels

THE INTEGRITY of all Africa would be threatened by the existence in the Congo of a battlefield for power politics if a political solution were not quickly found. Mzee Kenyatta, chairman of the O.A.U. Congo Conciliation Commission, said in Nairobi on Saturday.

He regretted that the Congolese Government had ignored the commission's appeals to cease recruitment of mercenaries and expel those previously engaged, but he hoped that the sub-committee sent to Leopoldville, Brazzaville, and Bujumbura would prepare the way for a more broadly-based visit.

According to the official release, no mention was made of the fact that Ghana and Guinea had declined to allow their representatives on the sub-committee to go to Leopoldville, and that the mission had therefore been abortive.

Police in Holland said on Monday that they were questioning Americans who had been engaged in a plan to parachute to Congolese rebels Communist arms provided from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The supplies were to be flown through Egypt and the Sudan in an American aircraft bearing Ghana markings and the words "Trans-African Air Coach". The plane carried arms worth about £90,000 when an emergency landing had to be made in Malta. After the cargo had been confiscated five American members of the crew flew to Amsterdam. By that time inquiries were being made in a number of countries.

Three large American aircraft bearing no markings were reported above rebel-held areas on Monday, when troops were seen to be moving in abnormally large numbers.

A few days earlier a wounded white mercenary said after he had been flown to Leopoldville that new Russian rifles were now being used against the Congolese forces. The rebels also had electrically detonated petrol bombs, mortars, and bazookas.

In a recent clash about 110 miles south-west of Paulis a Government column had 10 killed and 35 wounded, two of the dead and 10 of the wounded being white mercenaries.

Mr. Tshombe was given an enthusiastic welcome when he revisited Elisabethville on Sunday.

## Uganda's Sharp Protest to U.S.A.

LAST FRIDAY the United States Embassy in Kampala received from the Government of Uganda a protest against the bombing of two villages in Uganda by aircraft supplied to the Congolese Government by the United States and piloted by Americans, Cuban refugees, or other mercenaries.

The protest accused the U.S. Government of "following a policy of setting up puppet Governments and against citizens selecting their own Governments; this is a clear example of neo-colonialism".

The State Department announced in reply that the U.S. Government fully shared the Uganda's Government's concern at any spread of the fighting into States bordering the Congo, and that if investigation of the facts bore out the allegations of the Uganda Government the U.S. would be prepared to support a protest by Uganda to the Congolese Republic.

The Embassy in Kampala informed the Uganda Government that the U.S.A. had no combat aircraft in the Congo and that American aircraft supplied to that country were not under United States control.

Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister, said that one Ugandan had been wounded. "He has spilled blood for all of us. It will be our duty to redeem that blood."

Uganda Radio ordered ex-Servicemen to report to Army headquarters in Kampala.

About 250 university college students demonstrated outside the American Embassy in Nairobi on Monday, shouting "Go Home, Yankees", "Tshombe Die", and other slogans. The demonstration was said to have been organized by the Youth Wing of the Kenya African National Union, the party forming the Government. One placard said: "Yankoes, take your place with the devils". Another gave the warning "Kenyatta, you have too many friends".

A few hours earlier there had been signed in Nairobi an agreement by which the United States Government undertook to provide Kenya with 50,000 tons of maize in order to alleviate the severe food shortage.

Letter to the Editor

## As It Seems To Rhodesians U.D.I. Not the Answer to the Problem

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—It is significant that the Prime Minister of Rhodesia left for home immediately after Sir Winston Churchill's funeral. Presumably then Mr. Harold Wilson and the Socialist hierarchy have learned nothing from the last year's events in the Congo and East Africa, and still persist in trying to force an African majority Government on Rhodesia NOW.

The Government's attitude is well illustrated by Mr. Wilson's proposal to send a six-man Parliamentary delegation of inquiry to Rhodesia, knowing that the Rhodesian Government would reject the proposal but hoping that the rejection would lead the Press and B.B.C. to say: "Ah, you see, they have something to hide". The plot collapsed. Adverse comment would have invited the following observations:

(1) It would be too easy to noble six back-benchers to agree beforehand on the report they would submit, in return for suitable recognition in the next Honours List or for a job in one of the nationalised industries.

(2) Rhodesia has been self-governing for over 40 years and has made a better job of it than any Colonial Office territory.

(3) In spite of the political and economic butchery resulting in the break-up of the Federation, Rhodesia has managed to restore economic equilibrium and now has a favourable balance of trade.

(4) Has the hauling down of the Union flag in Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia resulted in bettering the lot of the African masses, or would it be truer to say that for every £10,000 the Chinese spend on undermining any area of prosperity and contentment

they find shows greater dividends than every £1m. loaned or donated at the expense of the British taxpayer?

(5) While Ghana is as different from Zambia as Greece is from Sweden, how is it that the Republic of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia, all under various kinds of white leadership, have avoided the political and economic chaos, and the monstrous brutalities, that have engulfed the whole of the African Continent, emphatically those areas inhabited by Bantu?

(6) What benefits have accrued to British trade as a result of *uhuru* or *ujuli*, and are materials essential to British manufacturing industry any more secure now that black Messiahs, Liberators, and synthetic Doctors wave fly-whisks and smile to the crowds from Rolls-Royces, Cadillacs, and Mercedes?

True enough, Rhodesia is a small pebble on a vast black and brown Commonwealth beach. And that pebble will never be an electoral issue for the simple reason that what concern the beneficiaries of universal adult suffrage are pensions, butter prices, plumbing, rail and bus tickets, bingo, holidays with pay, and pills—NOT the plight of human beings in other parts of the world, black or white, unless their dogs, horses, and cats have been hurt or starved in some volcanic eruption or tidal wave.

What is the answer, then, to the Rhodesian problem? It is not U.D.I. because H.M. Government is very ready to bully the weak and break them, especially if they have white skins. It is to cling to the 1961 Constitution, use the Commonwealth connexion for what it is still worth, abandon the clamour for independence which is no more than a status symbol, and strengthen the economy regardless of the origin of capital for development or of immigrants with technical and professional skill.

Rhodesians must realize that although the demand for independence was reached by democratic methods, H.M. Government's mind was already made up. The idea of sending a Parliamentary delegation was no more than a propaganda device designed to lend credence to an oligarchic decision already reached.

The only score on which U.D.I. would be justifiable would be if H.M. Government again broke its word by interfering with the Constitution or instructed the Left Foot to stir up the United Nations. Neither contingency is likely to arise so long as the Russians, French and others refuse to pay their subscriptions.

Yours faithfully,

RAYMOND BYRNE.

Ashurst.

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Thirteen deaths from smallpox were reported in Zambia in January. Cases totalled 133.

On charges of subversion, two journalists, a painter and a poet in Mozambique are to be brought to trial.

Ten boxes of gold worth £100,000 were found to be missing when the CAPETOWN CASTLE docked at Southampton.

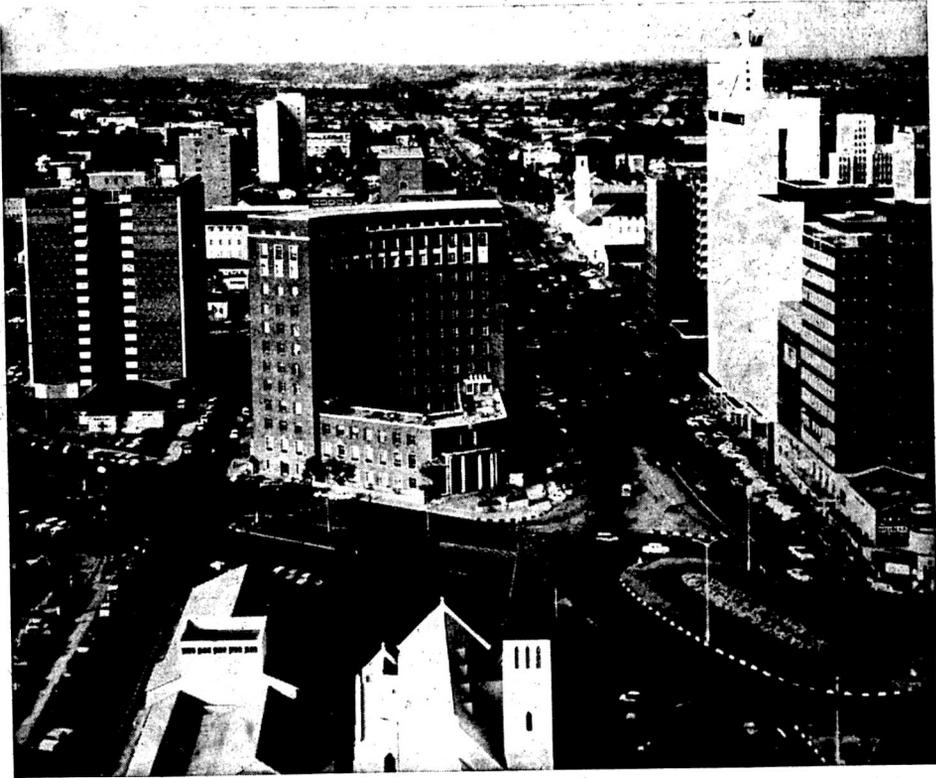
Egypt is training and equipping exiles from Eritrea for guerrilla warfare against the Ethiopian administration.

The United Kingdom will contribute \$11.2m this year to the technical assistance programme of the United Nations. \$10m. was given last year and in 1963.

Zambia's borders with the Congo and Angola are to be more closely guarded. New posts will be established near the Kansanshi mine in the Solwazi district and at Chavuma in the Balovale district. Vehicular patrolling is also to be increased on the frontiers.

The Immigration Selection Board in Rhodesia approved last year 1,462 applications for residence from people in South Africa, 876 from Zambia, 238 from Britain, 479 from other British territories, and 858 from aliens, among whom Portuguese, Dutch and Americans provided the three highest totals.

Sentence of 24 strokes of the cane and 33 months' imprisonment passed on a British subject, James Sholto Douglas, in Dar es Salaam magistrates' court in September has been upheld by the East African Court of Appeal. The accused was convicted on three charges of theft as a public servant, eight of forgery, and three of fraudulent accounting while manager of Kingolwira prison farm, near Morogoro.



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## Rhodesian White Paper

(Continued from page 400)

"The real points of disagreement revolved round two issues: (1) Should organized and supervised meetings of kraal heads be called to ascertain their opinions in isolation from the chiefs and headmen, or could the kraal heads be left to express themselves through the procedures of the tribal system of discussions and decision? (2) What consultations were desirable and practicable with those Africans living outside the tribal areas who were not on the voters' roll?"

### Chiefs' Opinion Accepted

"To those concerned to array as massive a body of opinion as possible the idea of adding some 28,000 kraal heads to the figure of about 700 chiefs and headmen was attractive, particularly if doubts were held as to the effectiveness of the tribal system, or if there was lack of knowledge about the system itself. In the end Government acceded to the views of the chiefs—that kraal heads were an integral part of the tribal structure whose views were freely and fully considered in all such matters, and that for Government to go behind the backs of the chiefs and seek an isolated expression of kraal head views would evoke suspicion, misunderstanding and confusion as well as disruption of the normal tribal practice.

"The other issue involved considerable practical difficulties as well as matters of principle. If any one category of persons, such as purchase area farmers, was singled out there was no valid answer to the claim of other equally responsible categories, such as businessmen, bus operators, home-owners in urban areas, taxi drivers, etc.

"The exercise became impracticable when considered in terms of sorting out those on the voters' roll, those eligible if they wished to be on the voters' roll and those not on the roll; identifying those who, being indigenous to Rhodesia, had a legitimate interest in being consulted, as against the massive numbers of those who came from other countries; deciding who, among the thousands who come and go between tribal home and outside employment, should be consulted by what method; and, finally, the impossibility of providing adequate safeguards against impersonation, malpractice, ignorance of procedure, and the virtually limitless potential for organized intimidation.

### Mockery of Responsibility

"Government was certainly not prepared to connive at an ill-contrived and uncontrollable, free-for-all, elective process simply to claim before British or world opinion that the mass had been consulted and the voice of the people had been heard. Such a mockery of responsibility has no place in decisions upon which the future of Rhodesia depends.

"At a meeting of the Council of Chiefs held at the beginning of October it was stressed by the chiefs that intimidation in the tribal areas had increased so much and so many of the chiefs and headmen had received letters threatening their lives (see Annexure B) if they agreed to support Government on the independence issue that, if Government wished to obtain the views of the chiefs and headmen through their traditional tribal structure, these must be obtained as soon as possible. The Chiefs' Council stressed that there should be one combined meeting of all the chiefs and headmen in the country, and not five separate meetings as was the case before.

"Security reports also warned that primary targets for planned intimidation would be the chiefs and headmen and that sabotage and terrorist attacks would be perpetrated to focus attention on the country at this crucial stage.

"Government therefore decided to call such a meeting at Domboshawa on October 21. The Minister of Internal Affairs addressed this meeting on that day, and the Prime Minister addressed the meeting on the morning of October 22. Chiefs and headmen met on their own for the whole of that afternoon, the whole of Friday 23rd, and for a little over an hour on Sunday the 25th. A final meeting on Monday was attended by representatives of four Press organizations and observers representative of eight other countries.

"There has been comment on the Army and Air Force displays during the week-end that the chiefs and headmen were at Domboshawa, and insinuations that these were evidence of intimidatory tactics by the Government. These displays were laid on only at the last moment to entertain the chiefs when it was found necessary to keep them over the week-end while they were awaiting the hoped-for visit of the Secretary of State on the Monday. The displays were no different from those usually given on public occasions.

"On October 14 the Prime Minister conveyed this message to the British Government:—

"During my discussions in September with Sir Alec Douglas-Home I recognized that the British Government were

entitled to be satisfied that the majority of the population supports my request for independence. You are aware that I intend to hold a referendum of all voters on the question of independence on November 5.

"With regard to the tribal people, most of whom are not on the voters' roll, you are also aware that I intend to obtain their views through the chiefs and headmen in the traditional method.

"You will have heard of the tragic murder in the last few days of one of the headmen. You will also have heard rumours of other increasing intimidation taking place against the chiefs and headmen. My security authorities report that they have irrefutable evidence that this murder and other arson and intimidation is the work of members of the banned nationalist parties who in their own despicable way are bringing as much pressure as possible to bear on the chiefs and headmen in the hope that they will be able to prevent the free expression of opinion by the people of the tribal areas.

"It is vital, therefore, in order to protect the chiefs and headmen and to prevent further loss of life and property, that the process of consultation should be completed as soon as possible. I have invited the chiefs and headmen to assemble in the vicinity of Salisbury over the period October 20-21. To prevent the renewal of efforts to intimidate the chiefs and headmen, which would result if these dates were publicly announced, I intend to keep them secret until the last possible moment. In order to protect the wives and families of the chiefs and headmen during their absence from their homes, I am deploying some of the regular and territorial units of the Defence Forces in aid of the civil power.

### Britain Asked to Send Observers

"I realize how difficult it will be for the British Government, particularly at this crucial moment of the general election, to nominate observers at such short notice. On the other hand, I think you will understand that for us to attempt an undertaking of this magnitude in the time available is not something that we would do unless it was extremely vital in order to protect lives and property and in order to ensure the free expression of opinion.

"I should be grateful if you would impress on your Government the extreme urgency of the situation and to say that I am of course willing to accept whatever observers from the United Kingdom your Government may nominate.

"The Prime Minister, on several previous occasions, and in the House on September 17, had stated publicly that he would welcome responsible and impartial observers from the British Government. Now he had conveyed an express invitation to send observers.

"This indeed was a prerequisite if the British Government was to understand, to see, and to assess the method of consultation, and to fulfil properly and adequately its obligation, in terms of the joint *communiqué* of the two Prime Ministers, to 'take account of any views' in order to satisfy itself that a majority of the population supported independence.

### Reply of H.M. Government

"There was no question of anything but an invitation to observe a test of African tribal opinion on this communication, so it was a matter of considerable surprise when, on the 16th, the very day of the British general election, the British Government under Sir Alec Douglas-Home replied:

"I communicated to the British Government the text of your letter of October 14. They have instructed me to inform you that they have learnt with surprise that you are proposing to proceed with consultations with the Africans in the manner suggested and at such short notice.

"As recorded in the joint statement of September 11, the British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it was proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole, and you recognized that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this. You will remember that during the course of your meetings with the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary they made it clear that in their view a procedure on the lines you now suggest would not provide conclusive evidence of the wishes of the people.

"The British Government therefore do not think it would be appropriate for them to nominate observers, since this might be interpreted as implying a commitment on the part of the British Government to accepting your consultations as representing the opinion of the people as a whole. The British Government are, of course, ready at all times to discuss with you any further proposals you may have for obtaining a full and free expression of the wishes of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

(To be concluded)

## Malawi at Odds with Zambia

### Dr. Banda Admits Strained Relations

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, who has on various occasions publicly criticized the Government of Tanzania, has now expressed resentment that the Government of Zambia has given asylum to political refugees.

His party newspaper, *Malawi News*, published a few days ago a statement from the Prime Minister and a leading article saying:

"After recent political events in Malawi some of the political rejects from here sought refuge in Zambia. Although we were not very happy with a neighbouring friendly country harbouring our political opponents, we did not quarrel with this. But in fact these people were not only given hospitality by Zambia, but certain individuals in Zambia have been allowed to side with the rebels against us."

Mr. Arthur Wina, Zambia's Finance Minister, was stated to have declared that relations between the two countries had been strained by hostile speeches against Zambia made by Malawi Ministers. The party organ continued: "We have not engaged in any hostility towards Zambia. We seek nothing but friendship with our neighbours. Statements such as the ones that have come out of Zambia in the past few weeks are not conducive to the maintenance of these good relations."

Several former members of the Malawi Congress Party fled the country after the Cabinet split in September and have since found appointments in Zambia.

## Raiders Attack Fort Johnston

FORT JOHNSTON, at the southern end of Lake Malawi, the home area of Mr. Henry Chipembere, leader of the Ministers who broke with Dr. Banda in September, was attacked about 1 a.m. on Saturday by an African mob estimated at about 200. The wife and child of an African police inspector were killed when the police station was assaulted, and a European is reported to have died of heart failure during the disturbance. The mob was in control of the township for some hours. On Sunday troops and police located and destroyed a forest camp, shot one man dead and captured seven others, and took three of four lorries used by the gang. Arms, ammunition, and other stores were found. Security forces are still in the area.

## Zambia Deports Malawi Politicians

ZAMBIA has deported from Fort Jameson three Africans described as prominent members of the Malawi Congress Party. The State-owned Broadcasting Corporation said that they were believed to have been involved in "anti-Zambian activities", and that the deportation followed attacks on Zambian policemen at the border by Malawi Youth Pioneers. Mr. Sikota Wina, a Minister who recently visited the area, had spoken of other attacks on Zambians on the border.

## Tanzania Quarrels with United States

### Mutual Expulsion of Diplomats

THE UNITED STATES notified the Government of Tanzania last week that it intended to expel Mr. Herbert Katua, counsellor in the Tanzanian Embassy in Washington, in retaliation for the expulsion from Tanzania of two American diplomats, Mr. Robert Gordon and Mr. Frank Carlucci on charges of "subversive activities" which they, the Embassy in Dar es Salaam, and the State Department all denied.

Within a few hours of the announcement that Mr. Katua was *persona non grata*, news was released in Dar es Salaam that Sheikh Othman Shariff, the Ambassador in Washington, was to be withdrawn.

It was said that Mr. Gordon and Mr. Carlucci had been expelled in their individual capacities, that neither the Ambassador nor the U.S. Government had been involved, and that that had been made clear in a letter from President Nyerere to President Johnson. Tanzania had nevertheless been informed that its counsellor in Washington would be expelled "unless we produced evidence to support our information".

Never before has an African diplomat been expelled from the United States.

## Uganda Martyrs

CARDINAL AGAGIANIAN recently flew to Uganda as the Pope's special representative at national celebrations of the canonization in Rome of 22 Uganda martyrs. Some 50,000 people were estimated to have gathered in Nakivubo Stadium, Kampala, for a special mass. Cardinal Rugambwa, the only African cardinal, four archbishops, and 12 bishops were present.

## Major Moxon Banned

MAJOR PETER MOXON, lately a member of the Malawi Parliament, in which he had spoken strongly in favour of African nationalism, has been declared a prohibited immigrant by the Malawi Government. At the time of the Cabinet split in September he angered the Prime Minister by openly declaring his support for Mr. Chipembere. Major Moxon and his African wife then left Malawi for Lusaka, where they have since lived.

## Burundi's Rift with China

MR. BAMINA, the new Prime Minister of Burundi, said on Friday in a speech broadcast from Radio Bujumbura that diplomatic relations with the Chinese People's Republic had been suspended because the Chinese Embassy had interfered in Burundi's internal politics and thereby hindered national reconciliation.

## Communist Publications Banned

NINE COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS have been proscribed in Zambia. Among them are *African Communist*, published in London; *Vigilance*, published in Dar es Salaam; and *Revolution*, published in Paris.

## ZAMBIA



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## Commercial Brevities

The Reserve Bank of Rhodesia is today making its first issue of Treasury bills.

The millionth ton of pig iron exported from Rhodesia to Japan left Beira a few days ago.

The Tanganyika Tobacco Board expects about 2m. lb. of flue-cured tobacco this season.

Chianga Cement, Ltd., Lusaka, is paying 6½d. per 5s. share for 1964. The 1963 distribution was 6d.

At a cost of £800,000 Tanzania Breweries, Ltd., Dar es Salaam, will modernize and expand its productive facilities.

Tanzania's cotton crop this year is estimated at a minimum of 300,000 bales. The outturn in 1964, a record, was 294,575 bales.

Biantyre and East Africa, Ltd., is paying 7½% for the year to 10, September 30 last (the same). Pre-tax profit was £32,284 (£45,049).

Tees Side Bridge and Engine Works, Ltd., has received an order for £150,000 worth of steelwork for road bridges in Tanzania.

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., announce a loss of about £45,000 in the half-year to December. There is to be no interim dividend.

### Zambia's Mining Record

Zambia's mineral production in 1964 reached the record of £149,382,524, about £25m. over the 1963 figures. Copper accounted for more than £139m.

Rhodesian Spinners, Ltd., are to spend £280,000 on an expansion programme which will increase the yarn output of the Gatooma mills by 20%.

Zambia has agreed to admit free of duty all raw materials and manufacturing components in order to encourage new industries and industrial investment.

The Italian oil group, Agip, which started operations in East Africa only two and a half years ago, has already invested about £4½m. in the territories.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Kenya is to establish Kenya National Trading Co., Ltd., as a wholesale exporting and importing agent for the Government.

In order to encourage German private investment in Tanzania, the Government has concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany a treaty for the reciprocal protection of investments.

Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., Zambia, produced 25,346 long tons of copper in the December quarter and sold 27,993 tons. In the last six months of 1964 production totalled 47,543 tons and sales 52,457 tons.

East African Railways and Harbours are to incorporate East African Cargo Handling Services, Ltd., which at the beginning of last year integrated all shore and ship handling in the ports of Kenya and Tanzania.

Bolt Manufacturers Africa, Ltd., Bulawayo, have received a £189,000 contract for the local manufacture of rail fastenings for Rhodesia Railways. The contract was won against competition from many parts of the world.

A foundation stone for the £5m. oil refinery at Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam, was laid last week by President Nyerere. Built by an Italian group, the refinery will process 600,000 tons of crude oil annually, equivalent to 500,000 gallons a day.

The largest tent ever exported to Africa has been bought from U.K. manufacturers by the Uganda Government for use in a trade fair. Weighing 7½ tons, it will take 10 men 10 hours to erect under supervision of an expert sent from England.

Bancroft Mines, Ltd., produced 7,855 long tons of copper in the December quarter and 14,922 in the six months ended December 31. Sales were 8,795 and 16,739 respectively. For the 12 months ended on June 30, 1964, sales had totalled 33,721 long tons.

Shareholders of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., are to receive an interim dividend of 8d. per 10s. unit, the first interim distribution since 1961. It arises from a dividend paid by Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. For the past three years "Tanks" has paid 7½%.

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., announce that 57,714 long tons of copper were produced in the December quarter and 172,849 in the nine months to December 31. Sales were 66,546 and 202,021 tons respectively. For the 12 months ended on March 31, 1964, sales had mounted to 199,882 tons.

### Ismaili Project

Industrial Promotion Building, Ltd., Kenya, is spending about £500,000 on an 11-storey office block on the site of the former Empire Theatre in Nairobi. Finance is being provided by Industrial Promotion Services, Diamond Jubilee Investment Trust, Jubilee Insurance Company, and the Aga Khan.

Proprietors of Hay's Wharf, Ltd., a group with East African interests, report profit after tax to September 30 at £756,749, against £397,169 in the previous year. The dividend is raised from 11% to 12% and there is to be a one-for-10 scrip issue, on which the directors hope to be able to repeat the 12% distribution.

A six-member Japanese delegation has visited Uganda to assess the prospects of the country becoming a large and stable maize producer. Its Ministry of Agriculture expects it to become East Africa's largest maize exporter because the grain is not a staple food of the people, as it is in Kenya and Tanzania.

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., Tanzania, now a subsidiary of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., earned in the 15 months to September 30 last £307,000 before tax of £133,000, compared with £142,000 in the previous 12 months, when tax took £57,000. A final distribution of 12½% brings the total to 17½%.

An award of £166,389 has been made in the High Court in favour of the owners of the merchant ship MEDINA PRINCESS, 7,000 tons, which was severely damaged by storms at Jibouti in 1962. The hearing lasted 76 days, witnesses being brought from French Somaliland, Australasia, Greece, Sweden and France. It has been suggested that costs payable by the insurance syndicate may reach £400,000. Eight Q.C.'s were engaged in the case.

The Soviet and Uganda Governments have signed an agreement by which Russia grants £5½m. in long-term credits for the establishment of a textile factory, a meat refrigerating installation, a dairy factory, and a training centre specializing in mechanical agriculture. The Soviet Union will also supply technical experts and instructors, tractors, and bulldozers. Repayments by Uganda will be spent on the purchase of coffee, cotton, copper, tea, and other produce. Uganda is also to buy certain manufactured articles, including machinery.

### Kenya's National Assurance Company

KENYA NATIONAL ASSURANCE COMPANY has been formed with an authorized capital of 10m. East African shillings and an issued capital of 8m. shillings, by 22 British, Continental, Kenyan, and other Commonwealth insurance companies in partnership with the Kenya Government, which hopes that the Government and Kenya citizens will ultimately hold 51% of the equity. The first chairman is Mr. Okelo Odongo, Assistant Minister for Finance. The first general manager has been seconded from the Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd.

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Company Meeting**THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED****Rights of Overseas Investors Safeguarded****EARL DE LA WARR'S STATEMENT**

THE SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on February 22 in London.

The following are extracts from the circulated statement of the chairman, THE RT. HON. EARL DE LA WARR, P.C., G.B.E.

**Mr. D. A. J. Buxton**

Before I report on your Company's activities during the past year I must refer to the sudden death of our longest serving director, Mr. Denis Buxton, on September 2, 1964. His father was a founder of The Uganda Company, and Mr. Buxton joined the Board in 1932. He paid many visits to Uganda and grew to know the country well and to have a deep and warm love for her people. Your Company, and indeed Uganda herself, owes a great deal to his loyalty and devotion during his long tenure of office, and we shall all miss him very much.

**A Year of Progress**

The year under review in the accounts set before you has been one of further progress on many fronts—trading, growing crops and also selling tea. In our trading activities, increased import duties made it more difficult to sell larger motor cars, but the deserved popularity of the smaller and medium sized cars, and above all of Ford Trucks, increased, and we held the lead in this latter section of the market throughout the year. Our electrical engineering and other industrial agencies did extremely well as a result of the very active demand for these products. We have chosen a deliberate policy of handling as wide a range of goods as our facilities will allow and have paid particular attention to the most important matter of after-sales service.

On our coffee estates, as I warned you last year, we were unable to repeat the excellent crop of 326 tons which we achieved in 1962-63. Nevertheless, we still produced a satisfactory crop of 257 tons, and, with the higher world prices obtaining for coffee during the year, the profit was nearly up to the level of 1962-63. World prices have eased since the close of our accounting period and the current year may not prove to be quite so satisfactory.

With tea I am glad to report a further increase in our production from 6,743,702 lb. to 7,149,814 lb. Our development in Western Uganda, together with extensions to our other estates, has increased our acreage of mature tea to 6,709 acres, which we would expect to yield in due course around 8,000,000 lb. The investment necessary to bring this about has been very substantial, as shareholders know, but it is encouraging to see that it is bearing fruit and producing a valuable contribution to the economy of the country. We are, in fact, responsible for about half of Uganda's total tea production. We are continuing to concentrate on quality, and I am glad to tell you once again that our efforts are being rewarded by higher prices. We are convinced there will always be a strong demand for good tea.

**New Developments**

Last year I told you of some of the new crops with

which we were making progress. Vanilla has now established itself sufficiently well and shown itself to be so amenable to the Uganda climate that, in co-operation with McCormick & Co., Inc., of Baltimore, U.S.A., we have built a factory for processing vanilla beans by a new method patented by our American partners. We have already planted 377 acres, which we plan to increase, and the factory will go into production this year for the first time. It will, of course, be a gradual process to build up a full scale commercial crop, but we felt it to be our duty to encourage diversification and by our own practical demonstration to stimulate local production.

Recently we have become increasingly conscious of the inadequate milk production in Uganda, which was largely due in the past to difficulties in raising dairy cattle under tropical conditions. Great strides have been made by the Ministry of Animal Industry, Game and Fisheries and also Makerere University which have overcome the problems of East Coast fever. We therefore now consider that dairy farming has become a practical proposition and have decided to start a pilot herd on land cleared at our Lubowa Estate, which we hope will develop into a successful enterprise. In view of the large quantity of milk which now has to be imported from Kenya, there is certainly an assured demand for fresh milk in Uganda.

**Exports**

In addition to exporting our own tea and coffee, our subsidiary company, Africa Tea Sales, Limited, has continued to earn foreign currency by also selling tea from all parts of Africa. Our sales are to virtually every corner of the globe. We have once again increased our turnover, and in this way play an important part in making the tea buyers of the world aware of the high quality of African teas which can now be obtained.

**Current Year**

I am making this report earlier than usual, and it is therefore more difficult to predict the results for the current year. In my last statement I said that we hoped to achieve results which would compare well with the accounts then presented, and I am sure that you will agree that the results have justified my optimism. We are trading in a part of the world where the economy is based on agriculture, and we are all therefore very dependent upon favourable weather for the principal crops of coffee and cotton. I am able to assure you that our current year has got off to a good start and shows great promise; but, of course, excessive rain during the cotton harvest, or lack of it during the remainder of the year when coffee and tea crops need it, can adversely influence our own crops as well as seriously affecting the purchasing power of the population.

**Consolidated Balance Sheet**

You will see in the consolidated balance-sheet that our issued share capital has increased from 4,770,466 to 4,937,066 shares of 10s. each. This is because the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., exercised its option and on September 1, 1963, sub-

scribed £100,000 to purchase 166,600 ordinary shares at a price of 12s. each; in accordance with the agreement the East African Tea Estates Limited redeemed £100,000 of their debenture stock at the same time. We are happy to have C.D.F.C. as equity holders.

#### Consolidated Profit and Loss Account

The year under review shows a useful increase in our profit from £364,620 to £402,429. After making provision for taxation the balance is £282,773, and on this basis your board feels justified in proposing a final dividend of 8½%, making a total of 12¼% for the whole year, compared with 11% last year. This dividend, if approved by shareholders, will have a slightly increased cover.

I am glad to be able to add that labour has also benefited from this prosperity by an all-round increase in wages.

#### Housing

The development of our estates has naturally necessitated an increase in the labour force, and I have from time to time explained to shareholders the continual attention we pay to staff and labour housing. We have recently completed trials of improved designs of kitchens in our existing labour houses which bring them into line with modern ideas of housing requirements in the rapidly developing Uganda of today. We think it is important to go on making these major improvements to several hundred more of our labour houses during the current year and hope to complete the programme within three or four years.

#### Training

One of the first activities of your Company in 1903 was the training of Ugandans, and we have sought to continue this policy throughout the years. Recently we have revised and streamlined our training department, and, under the supervision of an experienced training officer, "Training within Industry" has been further developed at all levels. Personnel of every grade have attended courses held locally to broaden their knowledge and to fit them for further promotion. Some, as I have told you in my last statement, have been brought to the United Kingdom, where they have attended classes in management and met people with similar responsibilities from many parts of the world. In addition, a great many of our employees are taking correspondence courses sponsored and paid for by the Company on subjects ranging from agriculture to cost accounting. Our subjects have not all been heavy and academic. For example, a most popular and practical course was held in Kampala, with the valuable assistance of the Y.W.C.A., to train wives of senior staff in the art of being good hostesses. I like to think that the course was a social as well as a culinary success.

#### Ugandanization

I am not going to report at any length on Ugandanization. The policy is taken for granted today, and is being carried out. Our staff want to be promoted on their merits, not merely because they are Ugandans but because they know their jobs. This is what The Uganda Company has been doing for some time now, and I will simply say that we are very satisfied that our policy has been a success: we intend to continue it.

#### Agricultural Education

Uganda is a country where crops grow rapidly and in most parts food is abundant. However, traditional diets are frequently restricted to a narrow selection of foodstuffs, and many Ugandans suffer from nutritional deficiencies through eating the wrong type of food. The Government of Uganda has organized annual competitions amongst farmers to establish the best-run farm in each county. A trophy in the form of a shield is awarded to the winner, which is much prized, and the standard of husbandry has been raised to a most use-

ful extent. We are helping the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives to extend this competition to all parts of Uganda, and, through the United Kingdom Freedom from Hunger Campaign, have given 87 shields to be awarded as prizes in the different counties. It is hoped that this, together with the agricultural scholarships to Makerere University which The Uganda Company awarded in 1962, will help the farmers to help themselves and in turn promote higher standards of living and nutrition.

#### Vote of Thanks to Staff

Once again on your behalf I thank our staff at all levels for a year of splendid service. I am sure that a great deal of the success of The Uganda Company is due to our being a happy family with a genuine team spirit. To that we can add tradition. We live in a rapidly changing world—indeed, the whole conduct of your Company proves that your board realizes just how vital it is to absorb new ideas and embark on new developments—but that need not decrease our pride in having a tradition of over sixty years' service to Uganda. What firmer foundation can there be on which to build new undertakings than a long record of solid accomplishment in the past?

All Africa is disturbed, and many investors, even many Africans themselves, are nervous of entrusting their savings in any company associated with Africa. I should like to tell you that whatever may be happening elsewhere in Africa, your Company has received nothing but fair play, friendliness, and active co-operation from the Government and people of Uganda.

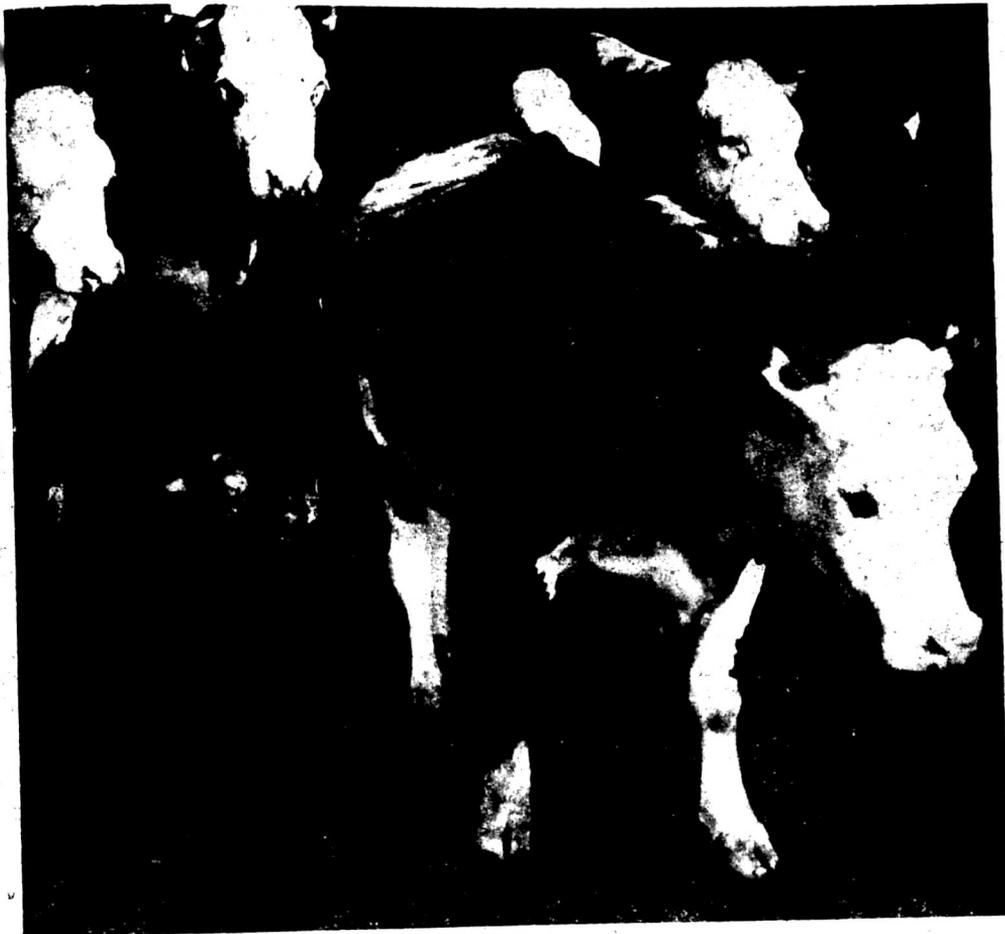
Uganda is blessed with an exceptionally fertile soil and good climate, but, far more important, she has a people who have achieved a very considerable degree of maturity and stability. She has absorbed the responsibilities of independence with a quiet strength and ease that can only serve to add to the confidence that your Company, amongst many others, increasingly has in her future. The best proof of the confidence felt by your board are the new investments that they are making and the new undertakings on which they intend to embark.

Your board, I can assure you, realizes that no company is able to stand still, but must travel either backwards or forward. We are determined to continue pushing ahead with the steady development of our own and therefore Uganda's resources.

Finally a word about Africa as a Continent. The newly independent countries there look to international agencies, national Governments, such as our own, and the voluntary organizations for financial aid, but trade rather than aid is what they really need and what must always be their greatest hope of sound growth.

Uganda has lately passed an Act of Parliament for safeguarding the rights of overseas investors. It is a wise and statesmanlike piece of legislation. How helpful it would be if all the new nations of Africa acting together could evolve in association with some body such as the World Bank a universal charter of this character! This is needed not only as a protection for investors, who are after all quite free to direct their money where they like, but as a means for the great new nations of Africa to obtain capital for development more easily and more cheaply.

Established international companies can borrow money at relatively low rates of interest, whilst Africa has to pay rates which are considerably higher. Why? Simply because too many people feel that investment in Africa is a risky affair, and those few who are prepared to accept a high risk demand a high return on their money. Only Africa herself can allay those fears, and the best thing that could happen for each individual country of Africa would be action that removed from the whole continent the stigma of insecurity against which she and her friends have to struggle.



## Beef: a safe investment in Rhodesia

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*PHILLIPS REPORT 1964.*

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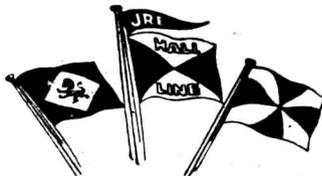
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, February 25, 1965

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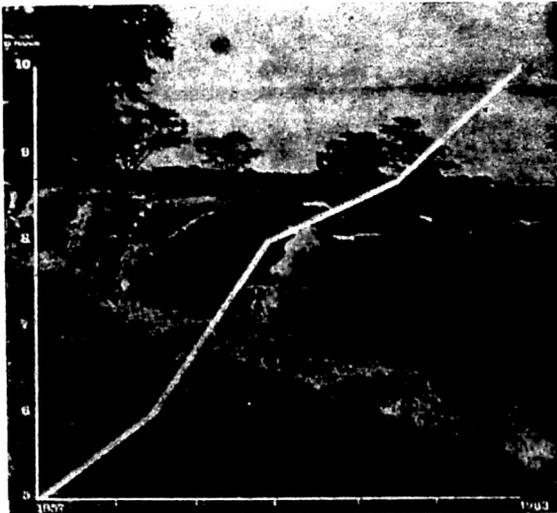
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**AFRICAN POLITICIANS** are exerting increasing pressure for the construction of a railway from the Copperbelt of Zambia to and through Tanzania, despite the fact that a survey made last year by the United Nations and two

### Proposed Railway from Copperbelt to Tanzania.

of its agencies, the Economic Commission for Africa and the Food and Agriculture Organization, forthrightly rejected the proposal and explicitly condemned the idea of expenditure on such a railway in present circumstances. Publication of the United Nations report has, however, not been allowed to diminish the professed optimism of the little group of Africans for whom the project has become a matter of personal and national prestige. It was in Zambia, of course, that the plan originated, but it has now the backing of political organizations in other countries. Its African protagonists in the United National Independence Party said, in effect: "We greatly dislike the Constitution of Rhodesia, our southerly neighbour, and its refusal to adopt the one-man-one-vote system because it would put a black African Government into power. We have a black Government north of the Zambezi, and, because we want to see a black Government in the territory south of the river, we are prepared to give all possible assistance to the Africans in Rhodesia who mean to defy and wreck the existing political system. In certain circumstances the two Governments might consequently take action against each other in matters of trade and communications. Zambia might impose an embargo on all imports from Rhodesia, and that country might retaliate by refusing to allow our copper and other exports to pass over her section of the jointly-owned railway on their way to the coast. We also quarrel with the Portuguese rejection of the one-man-one-vote system in Mozambique and Angola,

and, if Rhodesia were to deny transit to Zambia's exports, Portugal might simultaneously close the Benguela Railway to our traffic. Because Zambia's security is thus at stake, we must build a railway eastwards in order to ensure access to the Indian Ocean by way of Tanzania, with whose black African Government there will be no risk of serious friction".

\* \* \*

The hypothesis, which has been argued with persistence, has nevertheless been contradicted by other arguments advanced with equal fervour by the same men. It is likewise vitiated by other considerations which they choose to disregard, immensely important though they be. To take first the contradictions, the African nationalist propagandists who bitterly denounce the refusal of responsible Rhodesians, black as well as white, to sacrifice the qualified franchise system which permits evolution and prevents political revolution, nevertheless assert that the present Constitution — which, be it recalled, was accepted as recently as 1961 by the African leaders after it had been negotiated under the chairmanship of a member of the United Kingdom Cabinet — cannot long be maintained, and that within a short period Africans will govern Rhodesia, as they do every other former British territory in Central and East Africa. Disputation between the extreme nationalists and the more patient and reasonable realists concerns the time-table, not the ultimate result. That was made disastrously inevitable by the foolish, faithless destruction of the multi-racial experiment in political partnership by the cynical acrobatics of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod. In consequence of their puerile submission to agitation elsewhere in Africa, Rhodesia was left with no option but that

### Bitter Fruit of Macmillanism.

of a Constitution which will prematurely produce an African majority in Parliament. Some people calculate the breathing-space at fifteen years. Others deem ten to be about the maximum. Mr. Duncan Sandys, while Commonwealth Relations Secretary, let it be known that he considered five years more appropriate; and that indiscretion inevitably encouraged the African zealots and their irresponsible encouragers in Africa, Europe and America to scorn even that brief delay. However the arithmetic may work out, it is, then, common ground that within a relatively short period — much too short in the opinion of almost all true friends of Africans — it will be Africans who will call the tune in the Parliament of Rhodesia as they do now in Zambia. That would certainly remove any questions of embargo or boycott, and therefore the threat to Zambia's economic security.

\* \* \*

Meantime, however, if the railway were built, that country's security might well be threatened from other quarters. That is so obvious that it is astonishing — as

### Seen through the Eyes Of Peking and Moscow.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has pointed out on more than one occasion — that the matter is dismissed as irrelevant by President Kaunda and his colleagues. They know that in the last few years Soviet Russia and Communist China have immensely extended their exertions in Africa, and that there is now probably no country between the Mediterranean and the Cape in which their agents are not busily at work. It would therefore be prudent for those who bear the responsibility for Zambia's future to look at their bailiwick through the eyes of the plotters in Moscow and Peking. In all Africa they can see no greater prizes than the gold and diamonds of South Africa and the copper and other mineral riches of Zambia and the adjacent Katanga. That being so, a railway from the coast of the Indian Ocean *via* Tanzania to the Copperbelt is precisely what the Communist imperialists would desire. As all but the deliberately blind now recognize, the world's greatest imperialists are those operated with cunning and persistence from Moscow and Peking with the co-operation of nationals of the States marked down for subversion and subjection.

\* \* \*

Given the advantages which would be provided from the Communist standpoint by a railway from the Tanzanian seaboard to the

incalculably wealthy mineral complex of the Zambia-Congo border area, is it not obvious that endeavours have been and will be made

### Chinese Activity In Tanzania.

to persuade Africans of the urgency of embarking upon the construction of the rail link? Indeed, it is being suggested that China might find the necessary funds if they are not forthcoming from other sources. Perhaps it was that incautious indication of eager interest which has now prompted the proposal that the Economic Commission for Africa, a *protégé* of the United Nations, should appeal to the world in general, including international organizations, for financial and technical assistance for a speedy start on the building. It would be very naïve, however, to assume that a line brought into being by non-Communist money would be one whit less vulnerable to Communist machinations — which are already certainly more extensive and threatening in Tanzania than anywhere else in East Africa. Indeed, there is a possibility, to put it no higher, that before the East African and Rhodesian railway systems can be connected, pro-Communist politicians in Tanzania may obtain control in that territory, which was described in these columns at least thirty years ago at the Heart State of East and Central Africa. It still is; and the Chinese have demonstrated their especial recognition of the fact.

This very month the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peking has regrouped its recently created African Department into three sections, one being for East, Central and Southern Africa. That automatically enhances the importance of the embassy in Dar es Salaam against the activities

### Ominously Menacing.

of which the Prime Ministers of Malawi and Burundi have publicly protested, and it must also concentrate the attention of senior officials in China on the attractions of the Central African hinterland as a great prize in itself and as a springboard for endeavour to the south. China now broadcasts to Africa for more than one hundred hours a week, an increase of just over 50 per cent within a few months, sent ninety-nine delegations of various kinds to Africa in nine months last year, has concluded trade agreements with eleven African States, and seldom allows a week to pass without receiving in Peking one, two or more parties of politicians from Africa. Nobody in his right senses can imagine that such assiduity — which is often coupled with lavish bribery of individuals — is altruistic. It is, on the contrary, ominously menacing.

# Visit to Rhodesia of Two British Ministers

## African Political Leaders Order Campaign of Violence

**A** CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE to coincide with the visit to Rhodesia of Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, had been ordered by African political leaders. Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, Minister of Law and Order, told the Rhodesian Parliament three days before the Ministers were due to leave London.

Political activists now under restriction in the Gonakudzingwa area had, Mr. Lardner-Burke declared, instructed "thug elements" to cause chaos while the British Cabinet representatives were in the country. Bomb explosions were to be arranged in buildings near those in which the Ministers were having meetings, and there were to be street demonstrations. Some law-abiding Africans had been warned that they would be targets for attack during the period.

The security forces were aware of what was intended and would take the necessary actions. Plotters were warned that "those who feel that they can deliberately and falsely create an impression of chaos must expect to receive what they deserve; those who would endeavour to destroy this country must appreciate the consequences and accept any punishment that may be meted out".

### Thuggery Organized by Former Detainees

The speech was made on a motion for an extension of three months of the period of emergency for Highfield African township, near Salisbury.

Before the state of emergency was announced on August 26 last there had been serious and continued violence, of which there had recently been a slight resurgence. At the end of January there had been incidents of intimidation, assault, and damage to property, and another nine such cases in the first fortnight of February.

There were strong indications that men who had been released from detention had been concerned in the organization of acts of thuggery. Former detainees had been ordered by people still in detention to organize stonings and other violence but not to engage in such actions themselves. There were pointers to a build-up of more violence—for the benefit of the British Ministers.

It would therefore be dangerous to release all the Highfield detainees now: Of 1,165 detained in August, 334 had been released. Many Africans wanted the state of emergency in Highfield to be prolonged because it allowed them to live their lives without fear. Previously, they had been "completely brainwashed by intimidation".

All Government and Opposition M.P.s. voted for the three months' extension. It was opposed only by three Independents.

On the same day in Limbe, Malawi, Mr. Percy Ntine, representing the proscribed Zimbabwe African National Union of Rhodesia, said that "blood will flow in the streets of Rhodesia" if Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner did not see the Rev. N. Sithole, leader of Z.A.N.U., who is now serving a sentence of imprisonment. Africans in Zimbabwe—the nationalist name for Rhodesia—would not brook plots aimed at perpetuating indirect white control.

The Malawi branch of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the rival organization led by Mr. Nkomo, issued a simultaneous statement calling on Mr. Bottomley for a constitutional conference to pave the way to African majority rule.

### Airport Greeting

About five thousand Africans went to Salisbury airport on Sunday to await the arrival of Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, who were accompanied by Sir Arthur Snelling, Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the C.R.O., Mr. W. L. Dale, the legal adviser in that Office, and their private secretaries.

The Africans bore banners with such slogans as "Free Nkomo", "Support Nkomo", "One Man One Vote",

"Majority Rule Now", and "Thousands of Freedom-Fighters in Restriction Without Trial". They kept up the chant "Nkomo, Nkomo, Nkomo", and sang songs in his honour.

Nearly all had walked from the African townships of Highfields and Harare. The demonstrations were orderly, and on the return march the Africans sang and danced in good humour.

### Need for Patient Negotiations

At the airport Mr. Bottomley read from a prepared statement, which said: "The British Government, like their predecessors, believe that political problems between Britain and Rhodesia can be solved only by careful and patient negotiations, and on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. We have come to Rhodesia without pre-conceived ideas or cut-and-dried proposals. We want to explore the whole problem, hearing the opinions of all sections of the Rhodesian people, African and European alike".

He is stated to have said that they would meet the Council of Chiefs, Mr. Nkomo, the Rev. N. Sithole, and representatives of the Coloured and Asian communities. [The reported reference to Mr. Sithole is surprising, for he is serving a jail sentence and a condition of the visit is that the Ministers may see any of the African nationalist leaders except those in prison.—Ed.].

Sunday was spent at the residence of Mr. J. P. Johnston, the U.K. High Commissioner.

On Monday the visitors called on Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, and met Mr. Smith and the Cabinet, Lord Malvern, the former Rhodesian and Federal Prime Minister, and the Constitutional Council.

On Tuesday the Ministers met at Domboshawa a large gathering of chiefs from all parts of the country. They had previously seen Mr. David Butler, the new Leader of the Opposition.

### Rioting in Bulawayo

Full details of the programme had not been settled. The Ministers were, however, to remain in Salisbury until today, when they fly to Bulawayo, from which city they will visit the Lowveld. They will return to Salisbury on Saturday, spend Sunday in the Centenary area to interview farmers, return to the capital on Monday, and fly back to London on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Where they will meet Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the African nationalist leader, is still unknown. It may be at Gonakudzingwa or in the Lowveld, or even in Bulawayo—where there was widespread rioting at the week-end. Police had to open fire in Mjubi township when gangs attacked a police van. An African died later with head injuries.

African trade union leaders in Bulawayo have threatened to boycott a meeting with Mr. Bottomley tomorrow because of a Government ruling that the delegates must be Rhodesian citizens. Mr. Mwansa, of the Railway African Workers' Union, was born in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). The Government's attitude is that Rhodesian Africans should express the Rhodesian African view.

Mr. P. H. J. Chanetsa, an African M.P., has asked that a public meeting should be held in his electoral district for Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner.

An African who urged others to attack and destroy the police station and post office in Southerton, a suburb of Salisbury, before the arrival of the Ministers, has been sentenced in Harare to five years' imprisonment.

Another African, charged with plastic bomb, hand-grenade, and dynamite offences in the Salisbury area, testified in the magistrates' court a few days ago that he had been trained in sabotage in Zambia. He was said to have confessed to the crimes. The case has been adjourned.

A leading article in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* said on Monday: "If the Labour Ministers return to London with a message for Mr. Wilson that he might as well try to blast Gibraltar out of the Mediterranean as impose his will on Rhodesia, the visit will have been worth while".

# Rail Connexion from Copperbelt to Indian Ocean

## Experts Against Proposal Favoured by African Politicians

**RAIL CONNEXION** between Zambia and Tanzania was described as Africa's major development project by Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister of Zambia, when he returned from an inter-territorial conference in Nairobi which decided that representatives of eight countries should meet in Lusaka in June to discuss means of harmonizing trade and creating a common market.

"That meant," he emphasized, "a need for better communications, and therefore the projected East African-Zambian rail link takes on a much more important aspect". The States committed to discussions on economic integration are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, Zambia, Malawi, and Mauritius.

The Economic Commission for Africa was expected to call on "all friendly nations" and international organizations to contribute financial and technical assistance to the construction of the railway.

### Economic Interdependence

Dr. Nyerere, President of Tanzania, had said when receiving Zambia's first High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam:—

"We are anxious that the physical communications between our two countries should be greatly improved, so that economic interdependence can parallel our political and social links and give us both greater strength in the years ahead. The projected railway link between Zambia and Tanzania is therefore a matter of high priority for us, as we know it is for your Government.

"We say definitely that this railway must and shall be built, and we shall spare no efforts to further this plan until it is possible to board a train in Uganda and travel through Kenya and Tanzania into Zambia and beyond. We have hard work ahead in this connexion and some opposition of vested interests to overcome. But neither the people of Zambia nor those of Tanzania are strangers to work, and we shall triumph in this matter of greater unity as we have triumphed in our freedom struggle".

The Economic Survey Mission sent to Zambia last year by the United Nations and two of its agencies, the Economic Commission for Africa and the Food and Agriculture Organization, had, however, previously recommended that no expenditure should in present circumstances be incurred on the construction of the railway.

The mission — led by Mr. Dudley Seers, now on the staff of the Ministry for Overseas Development in London, and then director of the Economic Development Division of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa — reported:—

"The mission accepted the official thinking that relationships with Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique are likely to be on a firm basis within the next few years—before in fact the rail link would be completed. There might still be political difficulties in the 1970's within or between the countries of Central Africa that would make an outlet northwards desirable, but clearly the 'security' case for the link is not strong enough to weigh very heavily in the final decision.

"The second set of reasons is economic, the railway being seen as an instrument of development, the artery of a network of regional trade extending throughout East and Central Africa. Specifically, the railway could open up new markets in the north for Zambia's manufactures and other exports, and encourage trade with East Africa, setting the stage for establishing specialized large-scale industries in each of the countries in the sub-region.

"Furthermore, it is said to be a necessary condition for developing the Northern Province, with its population of half-a-million and vast undeveloped lands. The argument is that the railway would generate economic activity by affording cheap transport to the area, giving a foundation for settling its shifting cultivators apart from stimulating large-scale commercial farming.

"These reasons are speculative, and do not constitute in themselves a firm case for the railway. The economic case for the railway must lie, if anywhere, in specific bulk traffic prospects of minerals, farm products or manufactures.

### Wasteful Expenditure

"There is already spare capacity in track (though not rolling stock) on existing routes to carry the copper that will be produced in the foreseeable future—perhaps all that will ever be produced if output levels off towards 1980 (as is suggested). It would be a social waste to duplicate these facilities unless there would be substantial savings in freight costs. Such savings could not be foreseen from the proposed rail link since it would have steep gradients and transshipment would be necessary (due to the difference in gauges between the Central and East African systems). Moreover, any diversion of copper traffic would be expensive for Zambia as joint owner of the existing system. (This would be true even if compensation were not required under the 1963 Agreement for diversion of traffic.)

"There is some tendency to argue that since a railway has done a great deal to stimulate agriculture in the Central Province another railway would do the same for the Northern Province. There is, however, a great deal of difference between the agricultural potential of the two areas—the Northern Province being remote from urban markets and having rather sandy soils. The most promising crops in the North on present indications are Turkish tobacco and coffee, neither of which need rail transport. Nor is trade in farm products between East and Central Africa likely to be considerable, at least for some time.

"The traffic potentialities for manufactures will undoubtedly increase as incomes rise in the area, particularly if a Common Market is created along the cost of East Africa. In the immediate future, however, this will largely consist of light consumer goods (as at present). Heavy products would normally be provided from local sources or imports for some time to come.

"Offers of loans to build the railway would not in themselves indicate that it is in the national interest to build the link—though if any company offered to build and operate it as a commercial proposition, that would have to be studied very carefully.

### Heavy Subsidy Foreseen for Many Years

"But there is the risk of an expensive mistake, setting back the country's development, perhaps seriously—since a heavy subsidy for many years seems inevitable (see the report of the earlier International Bank Mission on this question). Questions would arise on the cost of capital, on the terms of repayment, and also on any restrictions limiting its use to purchases from one company or one country, as well as on how this link would fit into the general plan of transport development, and indeed the whole development plan.

"It may well be that the real issue is not whether the rail link should be built but when. The development of heavy industry (especially steel making) in the framework of a treaty for industrializing East and Central Africa could create the need for such a link later in the century, especially since Zambia will come to depend in the 1970's and the 1980's increasingly on heavy industries to sustain her rate of growth".

[Editorial comment is made in Matters of Moment].

### Cuba and Africa

CHE GUEVARA, Minister of Industries in Cuba, and one of that country's leading experts on revolution, who went to Peking at the end of January after visiting seven West and North African countries in six weeks, did not fly back from China to Cuba, as had been intended, but appeared in Zanzibar on February 12 and went to Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, saying that he would return home via Sudan and Algeria. A number of African politicians, including some prominent extremists, have in the last couple of years visited Cuba, which has given some young Africans training in guerrilla tactics. Cuban revolutionaries are serving with the rebels in the north-east Congo. China is believed to be pressing Cuba to open embassies in Africa.

# Uganda Accused of Sending Troops into Congo

## Dr. Obote's Reply to Mr. Tshombe's Charge of Invasion

**MR. TSHOMBE**, Prime Minister of the Congo, said on Friday that Uganda troops had invaded the Congo, had penetrated as far as Nioki, about 50 miles from the border, and had there been put to flight by a detachment of Belgian mercenaries and Congolese soldiers, who had taken several prisoners.

An invitation had been sent to the Uganda Government to withdraw its troops within 24 hours. Because he did not wish to dramatize the situation or react to provocation, an invitation to withdraw the troops had been dispatched. "But if they do not retreat we shall take the appropriate measures", he told a news conference in Leopoldville, adding: "You can consider that an ultimatum".

There had, he continued, been plotting between Uganda and the Congolese rebels, who had stolen gold to pay for arms supplied by the Uganda Government and for rest camps set up for them in Uganda territory.

As to the charge that two villages in Uganda had been bombed by planes of the Congo Air Force, the incidents had been "staged" by Ugandans.

### Statement by Captured Ugandan

Next day a private in the Uganda Army, Stephen Bosco, was seen by journalists in Leopoldville. He said that he was one of 30 men in B Company of the 2nd Battalion of the Uganda Army who had been ordered to attack the village of Ngote, 40 miles inside the Congo. He had travelled in an Uganda Army truck to a rendezvous with about 100 rebels.

Villagers at Ngote, who were hostile to the rebels, resisted their attack with bows and arrows and spears, and he panicked and took to the bush. He fell asleep, was found by villagers, beaten, and handed over to the Congolese Army at Bun'a.

On Sunday, Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, denied that Uganda troops had been ordered across the border. Six Ugandan soldiers had, however, been ambushed and kidnapped by Congolese while patrolling within Uganda territory. Other Ugandans had given chase and arrested some Congolese, but could not reach the kidnapped men. It was also not true that Adua was being used as a supply base for the rebels.

In calling upon the Congolese Government to send back the six men captured, Dr. Obote said that the authorities in Leopoldville must be aware of much of the activity in the north-eastern Congo of troops led by mercenaries who cared nothing about relations between African States.

### Anger Against United States

Uganda's official protest to the United States against the bombing of two villages near the border with the Congo (reported last week) was quickly followed by a mass demonstration in Kampala and by demonstrations elsewhere in East and Central Africa.

When Dr. Obote told Parliament of the protest he called upon all Ugandans to respond without hesitation when called upon to defend the national independence.

According to a broadcast from Kampala, thousands of Africans from all areas of Uganda took part in "a giant national demonstration against the violation of Uganda air space and the bombing of two villages". The Government was stated to have released all but essential staff so that they might join in voicing the country's indignation.

When the crowd gathered outside the American Embassy "hired trouble-makers" threw stones. Some men reached the roof of the building and tore down the American flag. Then the police arrived and dispersed the mob, using tea-gas.

A document left at the Embassy said:—

"The whole of Uganda is indignant at the wanton and unprovoked bombing of the villages of Goli and Paidia in the West Nile by planes of American manufacture piloted by mercenaries; and Cuban rebels in the service of Tshombe's regime in Leopoldville. This unprovoked attack has shocked all peace-loving peoples of the world, and we lay the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Government of the U.S.A.

"The frantic efforts of the United States Government to support the unacceptable regime of Moise Tshombe in complete disagreement with the resolutions of O.A.U. and appeals made by most African countries at the United Nations to allow Africans to find an African solution to the Congo is a violation of its obligations under the Charter which has resulted in this naked aggression against our country.

"The peoples of Uganda cannot be expected to accept a dictation by a big Power. The rulers of the U.S.A. must be made to realize that the days are long past when a big nation tries to indulge in gun-boat diplomacy. All the people of Uganda are prepared to meet this unwarranted violation of the integrity of their territory with all the means at their disposal. They are not going to tolerate the creation of another South Vietnam in the middle of Africa.

"Neither are they going to succumb to the power-hungry men in Washington who are determined to see that Africa toes their line under the unacceptable pretext of ridding Africa of Communism. There is no intention of allowing Uganda to become an extension to the Congo dispute and battlefield for U.S. ideology, or, indeed, any other ideology.

### American Imperialism

"The real motive behind these insidious moves by the policy-makers of the U.S.A. is that American imperialism knows no boundary and that the whole world must be governed by the mighty American dollar. Where the British, French and the Belgians left off is where the Americans want to start by dominating the whole of Africa and turning Africa into another Latin America, where, with the exception of Mexico, the U.S.A. for the last 50 years has been solely responsible for supporting reactionary and Fascist regimes and has denied the peoples of Latin America self-determination and complete realization of their independence. Their desire is to exploit Africa's wealth for the financial adventurers and speculators of Wall Street, who thrive on war, murder, and human sufferings as long as these do not occur on their sacred soil of the U.S.A.

"The people of Uganda do not fear war, but hate it, and there is nothing that would please them more than seeing the Congo problem being solved at a round-table conference of all parties to the dispute. This, however, is wishful thinking as long as U.S. military aid is pouring into the Congo and as long as the main contradictions in U.S. foreign policy remain unresolved, as for instance in Cuba . . .

"In the Congo it supports Tshombe, the murderer of Patrice Lumumba, under the theory that he is the constitutionally-appointed Prime Minister of the Congo and that whoever opposes him is a rebel. If these attacks on Uganda's territory continue it will be regarded by the whole of Uganda as a declaration of war on us by the U.S.A., Belgium, and the Republic of the Congo-Leopoldville, and we shall be obliged to defend our territory with the last drop of our blood.

"The people of Uganda hereby demand (1) that the U.S.A. should immediately stop all military aid to Tshombe's regime; (2) that the U.S. Government withdraw the Cuban rebels from the Congo; (3) that the U.S. Government use their influence on Tshombe to withdraw all other mercenaries from the Congo, and (4) that the U.S. Government will guarantee that the territorial integrity of Uganda shall not be violated with the aid of American arms. The U.S. Government must allow O.A.U. to find an African solution to a problem which is entirely African".

After a special Cabinet meeting the Government of Kenya announced that it had "taken the opportunity to warn the United States Government of the serious repercussions arising from her policy on the Congo; it will give every support to the Uganda Government in defence of her territorial integrity and sovereignty".

A conference in Lusaka of representatives of the Foreign and Home Affairs Ministries of Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda described the bombing as directly

(Continued on page 423)

# PERSONALIA

LORD MILVERTON was 80 on Sunday.

MR. DANIEL MUCHIMBA has been appointed a member of the Cold Storage Board of Zambia.

SIR FREDERIC M. BENNETT, M.P. for Torquay, has joined the board of South Western Broadcasting, Ltd.

PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, is revisiting East Africa.

MR. P. H. RALPH, chief accountant in the Ministry of Works in Kenya, and of the President's Office, has arrived in England.

SIR FREDERICK LEITH-ROSS, deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, and LADY LEITH-ROSS returned on Friday in the ATHLONE CASTLE.

Visitors to London from Rhodesia include MR. H. A. McLEAN, MR. G. L. SCOTT, MR. M. A. SHEPHERD-SMITH, and MR. J. F. TROUNCER.

SIR DUNCAN CUMMING is to address the Royal Commonwealth Society today on "Co-operation in Commonwealth Air Transport".

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE is to speak on "Commonwealth Agriculture" at a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society on March 18.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, sometime Secretary of State for the Colonies, now deals with Foreign Affairs in the Conservative "Shadow Cabinet".

MR. K. D. D. HENDERSON will on March 4 address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on "The Sudan Today".

MR. C. W. DUPONT, Deputy Prime Minister of Rhodesia, is progressing favourably after an abdominal operation in Groo'e Schuur Hospital, Cape Town.

DR. J. F. FOSTER, secretary-general of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society last week on its operations.

MR. D. F. FAIRBAIRN, regional controller in Central Africa for the Commonwealth Development Corporation, has been appointed chairman of Central African Airways.

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, will leave London on March 10 to spend five days each in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland.

SIR ATHOL EVANS, former Federal Secretary of Home Affairs, is chairman of the Welcome to Rhodesia Association, at the inaugural meeting of which MR. H. REEDMAN, Minister of Immigration, said that there would certainly be "a very substantial influx of new Rhodesians".

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development, gave a luncheon at Lancaster House a few days ago for MR. L. KALU-SETTALA, Finance Minister in Uganda.

M. MICHAEL BOSCHER, vice-president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly of France, has led to the East African territories a five-member delegation from that Assembly.

MR. B. W. THOMPSON, director of the East African Meteorological Department, has led a three-member delegation to a Regional Association for Africa meeting in Nigeria of the World Meteorological Organization.

SIR ROY WELENSKY has received from the Chartered Company a replica of his father's 1896 Rebellion Medal. It is inscribed: "Trooper M. Wilinsky, Africander Corps". The original was lost many years ago.

SIR PETER RUNGE, president of the Federation of British Industries, who has large interests in Rhodesia, said a few days ago: "It looks as if Britain is too tired to make her own aircraft. It certainly looks as if we may have gone soft".

MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Minister of Law in the Federal Government, said when addressing Bulawayo National Affairs Association that a breakdown in the judicial system was one of the objectives of the African political criminals in Rhodesia.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD handed to PRESIDENT KENYATTA on Friday his letter of commission as British High Commissioner in Kenya. The ceremony took place in State House, which MR. MACDONALD occupied until December as Governor-General.

Passengers bound for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include MR. & MRS. M. J. D. E. ELKINGTON, DR. & MRS. G. FRANK, DR. P. G. GRIFFITHS, BRIGADIER & MRS. A. HOLLAND, DR. & MRS. J. M. NELSON, MAJOR & MRS. E. C. REECE.

THE LITUNGA OF BAROTSELAND, SIR MWANAWINA LEWANIKA, and the MOYO have just celebrated the golden anniversary of their wedding. It took place a year after the bridegroom had graduated from Lovedale College, and when he was secretary to his father, KING LEWANIKA.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, lately Minister for Central African Affairs, has adopted the title of BARON BUTLER OF SAFFRON WALDEN, of Halstead in the County of Essex. He was introduced in the House of Lords yesterday, and at the end of June will become Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

MR. R. C. PRATT, who will in a few days resign the office of principal of Dar es Salaam University College, has been asked by PRESIDENT NYERERE to spend the next four months on attachment to him as special research assistant. DR. WILBERT CHAGULA will on March 1 become principal of the college.

Four journalists from Kenya are in Britain for a month as guests of the C.R.O. They are MR. F. KHAMISI, editor of *Baraza*; MR. S. KADHI, editor of *Sauti Ya Mwafrika*; MR. L. KABIRO, news editor of *Voice of Kenya*; and MR. W. NYAWANDA, senior editor of the Kenya News Agency.

MR. S. M. MEER, an Indian journalist on a Durban newspaper, who is spending a month in Rhodesia, has said that he and his wife have received every courtesy and consideration. They have experienced no unfriendliness or seen none of the discrimination on racial grounds which they were told to expect.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., is to become chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board when LORD COLYTON retires in June. The new vice-chairmen will be MR. H. ST. L. GRENFELL and MR. LESLIE LEATHERS. Three new members of the council are SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, MR. G. ST. L. D'ADHEMAR, and MR. T. J. GLOVER.

## ZAMBIA



For Information APPLY TO  
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Of four new ambassadors appointed to Zambia, only one will reside in that country. He is MR. JEAN BOURGEOUX, accredited by Belgium. MR. BIRGER ABRAHAMSON, appointed to represent Denmark, MR. OTTO RATHSMAN (Sweden), and MR. INGE REIDERSSON (Norway), are also the ambassadors in Kenya, where they will continue to reside.

MR. SALIM AHMED SALIM, Tanzania's Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, has been transferred to New Delhi. MR. AHMED DIRIA HASSAN, who succeeds him in Cairo, has been a prominent member of the central committee of the Afro-Shirazi Party and deputy secretary-general of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Federation of Trade Unions. He is 29 years old.

LORD GRAHAM, Minister of Agriculture in Rhodesia, and MR. J. C. GRAYLIN, chairman of the Tobacco Export Promotion Council, MR. E. J. JEFFERYS, chairman of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, and MR. R. A. GRIFFITH, Deputy Secretary for Agriculture, left Salisbury on Saturday for the United States and Canada for "routine talks on tobacco marketing".

A Rhodesian, MR. K. C. BLAND, has headed the South African batting averages in the recent Test series against M.C.C. He scored 572 runs in 10 innings, being twice not out, and averaged 71.5. The cricket correspondent of *The Times* said that his "magnificent fielding have unending joy". The other Rhodesian in the team, MR. A. J. PITHEY, scored 462 runs in nine innings, for an average of 51.33.

After two secret ballots the Conservative Association of the Kemp Town Division of Brighton decided not to accept as its candidate MR. DAVID JAMES, who lost the seat by seven votes at the last general election. By 346 votes to 253 it resolved to adopt as candidate MR. ANDREW BOWDEN, a former chairman of the Young Conservatives. MR. JAMES is a son of SIR ARCHIBALD JAMES, himself a former M.P., and the owner of property in Rhodesia, which he frequently visits.

## Obituary

### The Marchioness of Lansdowne

THE MARCHIONESS OF LANSDOWNE, wife of the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies in the last Government, died in Perth Infirmary last week, aged 46, from injuries sustained in a shooting accident a few days earlier at the family home, Meikleour House, Perthshire. The accident, believed to have been with a 12-bore shot gun, occurred in the gun-room. Her 17-year-old daughter died in the same hospital in 1956 after a mishap with a gun in the same room. The Marchioness was formerly Miss Barbara Chase, daughter of a Californian industrialist. Before her marriage in 1938 she had owned and managed a ranch of her own. In 1952 she was British clay pigeon shooting champion. There are three surviving children, the Earl of Shelbourne, the heir, Lord Robert Nairne, and Lady Georgina Petty Fitzmaurice.

CAPTAIN CHARLES KERRISON DANBY PALMER KERRISON, who has died in Norfolk at the age of 82, served in The King's African Rifles during the German East African campaign of the 1914-18 war, after which he became A.D.C. to Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Uganda and later of Kenya. After Coryndon's death P.K. (as he was widely known) was for a time a white hunter and was then engaged on protection duties for the Game Department. He was an outstanding shot in a country of fine marksmen, and was said to have killed 159 elephants with 181 shots, once dispatching 15 with 16 rounds and in another sequence 21 with 22 shots. He was one of those attached to the Duke and Duchess of York during their honeymoon visit to East Africa.

## Dr. Obote and the Kabaka Two M.P.s. Resign from K.Y. Council

DR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, and president of the Uganda People's Congress, said a few days ago that "the leaders of Kabaka Yekka must begin to understand that it is politically indefensible for the Kabaka to be Head of State while a party calling itself Kabaka Yekka constitutes the main Opposition group to a national Government of which the Kabaka as President is the head".

The comment was made by Dr. Obote as president of the governing party in reply to a statement issued by two K.Y. Members of Parliament, Mr. E. M. K. Mulira and Dr. F. G. Sembeguya, on resigning from the executive council of the party of which Mr. Mulira had been publicity secretary.

Their withdrawal was caused, they said, by the fear that those now controlling K.Y. were leading Buganda to destruction by isolating the Baganda from their friends elsewhere in Uganda. The statement said (in part): —

"Buganda has turned into stagnant waters, with no rain: the sun dries away the water without it being replenished. It looks as if Buganda has turned into a sack of groundnuts which was stored away in a room where rats went and started to eat away one groundnut after another, until the owner of the sack found the groundnuts were finished and he was left with only the husks.

### K.Y. Has Failed to Stop Drift

"The U.P.C. and D.P. continue to take away K.Y. supporters until we find that we have no more supporters. Yet we continue to say we are strengthening K.Y. What kind of strengthening of K.Y. is that when we have failed to stop our supporters drifting away?"

"The strengthening of K.Y. stops at the opening of new branches; but at the base of K.Y. is the office of K.Y., which is closed, because there is no money; and the stem of K.Y. are the Members of Parliament, who are drooping. To try and give treatment to the branches while the base has been left to die shows that the time is not very far when the whole tree will disappear. Of those who hope to strengthen K.Y. how many have given money for the work of K.Y. to be pushed forward in strength and vigour?"

By their resignation from the council the two M.P.s. wanted to make it clear that responsibility for the eventual destruction of Buganda would be seen to rest solely on the party leaders. They were not, however, quitting K.Y.; and they would always support the preservation of Buganda's hereditary rulers.

Dr. Obote said that he had the impression that Mr. Mulira and Dr. Sembeguya thought that the best thing for Buganda would be a new party based on the present K.Y. membership and loosely allied with small groups in other parts of Uganda whose existence was based on clan divisions and selfishness. Such a party would be dominated by the present members of K.Y., and, he feared, would not give the type of friendship which the two M.P.s. wanted with the rest of the country.

People in Buganda needed to be allowed to decide without intimidation which political party they wished to join. "Threats, intimidation, and accusations which are from time to time made against Baganda who are able to take decisions to join political parties of their choice constitute the real danger to Buganda".

## Corruption Denounced by Mr. Kaunda

CORRUPTION was denounced by President Kaunda of Zambia when he spoke at a great rally at Chifubu, near Ndola. There were people in key posts, employees of Government, the mines, and other agencies, who when approached by other Africans wanting employment said: "Give me £5 and I will engage you". To those people he gave the warning: "Brothers, the day I discover you doing that you will go to prison on my orders, without going to a court of law. My Government hates corruption". So long as he led the party, stupid people would not be allowed to come to Zambia to disrupt the country by their ideologies.

## Federal Germany Warns Tanzania Objection to East German Consulate

DR. ERHARD, Chancellor of the West German Government, has written to President Nyerere of Tanzania protesting against the presence in that country of an East German Consulate-General.

It became known in Bonn last week that if the warning be not heeded West Germany may cancel her military aid agreement, which is worth about £3½m. to Tanzania. Germany is providing a communication squadron and two squadrons of transport aircraft and giving air training to Tanzanian Africans in their own country and in Germany. A few days earlier the Federal Government had announced that it would not deliver arms to "areas of tension".

The Government objects strongly to the recognition of East Germany by any State with which it has friendly relations.

Immediately after the revolution in Zanzibar in January of last year an East German Embassy was opened. When union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar followed soon afterwards, Bonn asked for the removal of the ambassador, who was, however, permitted to remain in Zanzibar. When he was recently in Bonn Mr. Kambona, Foreign Minister of Tanzania, said that the ambassador would remain, but would be reduced to the rank of consul-general and be posted to Dar es Salaam, capital of the Union. West Germany has an ambassador in that city, and regards the presence of an East German diplomat as "infringing the interests of the German people".

Speaking in the Bundestag a few days ago, Dr. Erhard firmly upheld the Hallstein doctrine that there should be no diplomatic relations with countries other than Russia which have recognized East Germany. It was not a fetish, he said, but necessary to safeguard the lives and future of the 17m. Germans in East Germany.

When announcing the establishment of the consulate-general, the *Tanzania Gazette* said that that did not constitute diplomatic recognition of East Germany.

Military aid now given by West Germany to the Sudan, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Somalia may come under review.

"Any statement about Africa or Africans as a whole is almost certain to be superficial".—The Rev. J. S. Kingsnorth.

## LE TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



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## Raids into Mozambique from Tanzania

### Dr. Salazar Refers to British Weakness

DR. SALAZAR, Prime Minister of Portugal, said in Lisbon last week that he was ready to believe that England did not feel herself strong enough to address a word of moderation to Tanzania, a member of the Commonwealth, which flouted the juridical and political decencies owed to a neighbour State by permitting the use of her territory for attacks on Mozambique.

In defence of her African territories, Portugal was now spending about £43½m. annually. It was deplorable that the money could not be devoted to the development of Mozambique and Angola.

At first Portugal was condemned out of hand. Then doubts began to arise as to the claims of her opponents. Now in certain quarters it is realized that Portugal is after all fighting not merely to consolidate her own position but to defend principles and interests which are common to all the West.

Asking for restraint in spending at a time of national crisis, Dr. Salazar said: "During the last war I had occasion to receive highly-placed British representatives. I noticed that their suits were old and worn. I was touched, but they were not embarrassed by such signs, since these represented a consciously-borne sacrifice in the ultimate interests of the struggle in which their country was engaged".

## Sudan Seeking A Government

### Postponement of Juba Conference

SER EL-KHATIM KHALIFA, Prime Minister of the Coalition Government in the Sudan, resigned last Thursday under pressure of three of the political parties represented in the caretaker Administration formed in October after the revolution which ended the military dictatorship under General Abboud.

The right-wing Umma Party, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the National Unionists objected to the continuance of a Government which they declared to be dominated by Communists and fellow-travellers. There were threats of renewed street demonstrations.

For some weeks the Prime Minister had indicated that he would ask the political parties and the professional organizations represented in the Cabinet to terminate or renew his mandate, but instead of taking that course he suddenly tendered his resignation to the five-member Supreme Council, by which he was invited to form a new Cabinet.

He proposed one of 15 members — four each from the Umma and National Unionist parties, three from the southern provinces, two from the People's Democratic Party, one Communist, and one representative of the Muslim Brotherhood.

### Southerners Dissatisfied

The southerners protested at the offer of less than one-third of the portfolios, and the Democrats declared two seats to be insufficient. Mr. Khalifa insisted on unanimous agreement to the composition of the Cabinet.

After four days of consultations Mr. Khalifa announced that an all-party coalition had been formed. Then the Umma, National Unionists, and Muslim Brotherhood raised new objections.

Talks which were to have opened in Juba last Thursday with representatives of the Southern Sudan were postponed for at least a week, partly because of the constitutional crisis and partly because one important section of the Sudanese African National Union, in exile in East Africa, still declined to attend because the security situation had deteriorated. There have recently been a number of attacks on police posts and Government vehicles, presumably by guerrillas of the Anya.

Under pressure from southerners and from the Army, supplies sent through the Sudan to the Congolese rebels are believed to have been reduced in the past fortnight.

## Foreign Money "Corrupting Ministers"

### Back-Benchers Cause Adjournment of House

SHARP ATTACKS ON MINISTERS, and a pointed reference to the President, were made in the House of Representatives in Kenya last week by back-bench members of the Kenya African National Union, the one political party now left in the State.

There were allegations that money was "coming from outside to try to corrupt Ministers and weaken Government machinery", and demands for explanations of the sources of the funds which enabled Ministers to make very large cash gifts at public rallies.

Mr. G. F. Oduya, from the Elgon area, remarked that President Kenyatta had paid away in gifts more than he received as salary, and asked: "How does he eat?"

Estimating that Mr. Mboya, now Minister for Economic Planning and Development, had paid out £15,000 in South Nyanza, he said: "We want to know his income and his expenditure for the past year".

Another Elgon member spoke of a spending spree for public causes by Ministers, who had to look for sources of income additional to their salaries in order to be able to compete. Politicians, he said, were handing out large amounts of money.

Vice-President Odinga admitted that he shared some of the anxieties expressed, but emphasized that cash gifts by Ministers were not made with evil intentions or with a wish to "buy people". The purpose had been to arouse the spirit of self-help. Perhaps they had overdone it. Nobody liked to part with money, and it took courage to give generously.

Many people, including M.P.s., received money secretly, Mr. Odinga continued. When challenged to give names, he said that he would withdraw the remark. There would soon be an official announcement about making all gifts through the proper channels.

Back-bench discontent also expressed itself in the defeat of the Government on a procedural vote.

The sitting was adjourned at the request of President Kenyatta, who asked Members to come to his office. It was stated later by back-bench spokesmen that he had agreed to have monthly discussions with them on major issues, including grievances.

## Corruption Among African Politicians

A LEADING ARTICLE in *The Times*, entitled "Disenchantment", ended:

"Africans have shown scant gratitude for United States aid. Many of them have sided with America's enemies, such as Cuba. Americans have seen, close up, both the corruption and the lust for absolutism among African politicians—and the rapid decline of both Westminster and Washington-style democracy. They have seen inefficiency set in—of which the failure of the East African States to form their federation is only one example.

"The earlier over-simplifications produced in America exaggerated expectations of independent Africa. The present mood may go too far the other way. It obscures the need for patience and yet more patience. It rules out, however, any American eagerness for further crusades—against South Africa, for instance".

Uganda has now closed her border with Rwanda. That with the Congo had been closed a few days earlier.

Professors of paediatrics (child care and children's diseases) from seven African universities are meeting this week at Makerere College, Uganda.

The B.B.C. monitoring station in Karen, near Nairobi, is to be taken over by the Government of Kenya as soon as funds for the purchase become available.

## 90% of Kenya Whites Want to Quit

### Mr. Maxwell Stamp's Conclusion

MR. MAXWELL STAMP said in Nairobi on Monday after spending a month in Kenya as leader of the five-member fact-finding mission appointed by Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Overseas Development, that 90% of the white farmers wanted to leave the country.

Members of the mission, who had visited 175 European farmers and their wives, found their morale "pretty low" in consequence of the security situation, stock thefts, and their worries about getting a fair price for their properties if they wanted to sell.

"I have been very impressed by the sheer mental distress of many of the people we have talked to", he said. "Life has been made very difficult for them. Some cases of elderly people who cannot sell their farms are heart-breaking".

The mission was satisfied that the 1,300 European farmers still remaining were now most worried about stock thefts and the possible decline in such services as hospitals. Measures being introduced against stock thieving might considerably improve morale.

About 700 farms covering a million acres had already been bought out and settled by Africans, and some further transfer of European farms to Africans would be desirable. Mr. Stamp said that he would be very reluctant to agree that there was no future in Kenya for a considerable number of European farmers, for if there was a complete buy-out the effect on the country's economy would be very difficult to absorb.

Reassurance about a market for farms in the future might encourage settlers to build up their holdings now.

To buy out the remaining farmers, who own about two million acres, would cost at least £30m. It was doubtful whether so large a purchase was necessary.

## Malicious Killing by Kenya Police

### Magistrate Denounces Murder of Civilians

MR. A. R. W. HANCOX, a magistrate in Kenya, said in Nairobi last week that members of the Kenya Police, enraged by the murder of one of their number, had smashed their way into shops in Wajir in September and killed seven civilians, including one woman. One man was beaten to death with rifle butts, and more than 100 rounds of ammunition were fired indiscriminately at people fleeing from the township. The indisciplined police broke into the mosque and assaulted a number of people, including the imam.

Police testimony that fire had been opened on the people because some were thought to be Somali raiders and others were running away with stolen rifles was rejected by the magistrate, who said: "I am sure that the security forces knew the people they were killing were innocent. They killed them deliberately, recklessly, and with malice aforethought because they were angry at the murder of a police officer".

Ruling that the civilians had been "murdered by persons unknown", Mr. Hancox directed that his judgment should be sent to the Attorney-General.

## Heavy Fine on Currency Charges

A FINE OF £10,500, or three years' imprisonment, has been imposed in the High Court of Rhodesia on Mr. Barnaby John Howard, who pleaded not guilty to evading currency controls to the extent of £38,000. He was accused of transferring that sum from Rhodesia to Britain and Switzerland on account of £197,000 purporting to be the price paid for 12 paintings which were worth only about £250. He blamed a Johannesburg businessman as the master mind behind the scheme, saying that he had been "taken for a ride". The man named denied complicity. The accused, the son of a peer, was educated at Eton and Cambridge and has lived in Rhodesia since 1948. He is a company director in Salisbury.

## Training Doctors in Rhodesia

### Dr. A. P. D. Thomson's Contacts in Britain

DR. A. P. D. THOMSON, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in which he is also Professor of Pre-Clinical Studies and head of the Department of Anatomy, has just left London to fly back to Salisbury after several weeks of "contact leave" in Britain, during which he has visited a number of universities and charitable foundations and trusts, from some of which he hopes to receive grants for the medical school in Salisbury.

When its annual student intake has been raised from the present figure of about 30 to 50, as is intended two or three years hence, the annual cost of the medical school will rise to about £250,000, and that of the adjacent 350-bed multi-racial teaching hospital to almost £700,000.

Last June the British Government made a capital grant of £800,000 toward the cost of building the teaching hospital, gave £300,000 for general capital expenditure, and promised £750,000 towards the recurrent expenses of the University College up to 1967. The Government of Rhodesia assumed responsibility for the maintenance and development of the college as a multi-racial institution. It was then estimated that the recurrent expenditure on the college, including the medical school and the teaching hospital, would have risen by 1970 to about £14m. annually.

The first medical students were admitted in March 1963. They numbered 26. A year later another 27 entered. Next month's entry will probably be 32, bringing the total to 85. About a quarter are Africans and one-eighth Asians. A quarter of the total are women, including one African woman who is a B.Sc. of the University of Roma, Basutoland.

Graduates of the University College will hold medical degrees of the University of Birmingham, which sponsored the addition of the faculty of medicine, continues to give general advice, and conducts the examinations.

Four more professors and four additional lecturers in various medical subjects are shortly to be appointed.

There are plans for some of the best students to be sent to Birmingham for appropriate periods of study. Later it is hoped that some students from Birmingham will do part of their training in Rhodesia.

Dr. Thomson, a Scot, graduated at the University of Glasgow in 1939, served in the Royal Army Medical Corps throughout the war, and was then for 17 years in the Department of Anatomy at Birmingham University, being assistant dean of the medical faculty at the time of his appointment to Rhodesia two years ago. There are two other Birmingham University men on his teaching staff.

## Mr. John Gaunt's Bath

MR. GORDON THOMAS, an Opposition front-bench member of the Rhodesian Parliament, has criticized Mr. John Gaunt, Minister of Housing, for extravagant expenditure of public money on a house in Salisbury which he occupies and which was previously that of the American Consul. The Minister was charged with having removed expensive panelling and chandeliers, stripped and refitted the bathroom in another colour, and other unnecessary work. Mr. Gaunt replied that the bath had been too small for so large a man (he weighs 18 stone), and described the chandeliers as "most vulgar". That remark caused further discussion in Salisbury from the standpoint of its effect on Rhodesian-American relations.

## Gulbenkian Grants

THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION, Lisbon, has granted £12,000 over three years to Oppenheimer College of Social Service, Zambia, for the appointment of a lecturer in social work; £5,500 to the British Society for International Health Education towards the expenses of a 12-week seminar in health education to be held in East Africa; £5,000 over three years to University College, Dar es Salaam, to help establish a Swahili Research Institute; and £1,000 to Makerere College School, Uganda, for the purchase of musical instruments.

## O.A.U. Commission Criticized

### Condemned by French Africa

SHARP CRITICISM of the Organization of African Unity, and especially of its Congo Conciliation Commission under the chairmanship of Mzee Kenyatta, President of Kenya, has been made by Africans in the past few days.

The most significant action was taken at a conference in Mauritania of representatives of 13 French-speaking States, who were unanimous in condemning the activities of those African States which sought to undermine Mr. Tshombe's position as Prime Minister of the Congo. The gathering insisted that such interference in the internal affairs of the Congo was in breach of the O.A.U. Charter.

Broadcasts from Congo Leopoldville and Congo Brazzaville — which agree on practically no subject — both took the line that O.A.U. had completely failed in its task of bringing about Congo reconciliation.

Speakers, writers and broadcasters in Nigeria condemned Ghana and Guinea for agreeing to appoint delegates to the sub-committee charged to visit Leopoldville, Brazzaville, and Bujumbura but failing to send its representatives to join the Nigerians, who went first to Lagos and then to Leopoldville, where they waited four days for the colleagues who neither appeared nor sent explanations. The Governments in Accra and Conakry were considered responsible for thus sabotaging the O.A.U. endeavour.

The endeavour to isolate the Congo had failed, said Mr. Emmanuel Kindar, Commissioner-General for Information, when addressing journalists in Leopoldville. Thirteen of the wisest African countries, at a meeting of the Union of African and Malagasy States, had openly denounced the rebels in the Eastern Congo and proclaimed the obligation of Africans to support the legal Government of the Congo headed by Mr. Tshombe.

That Government had welcomed the proposal to send an O.A.U. sub-committee to Leopoldville, and was prepared to co-operate in normalizing relations with Congo Brazzaville and Burundi; but there could be no question of Congolese Government representatives sitting at the same table as rebels.

Addressing a congress in Luluabourg of the recently formed National Confederation of Congolese Associations (Conaco), an association of 37 Congolese political parties, formed to end chaos and anarchy in the country, Mr. Tshombe, who had been asked to lead the new party, said that the rebels had wiped out the traditional and intellectual élites in some three-quarters of the country, pillaged and destroyed everything in their path, spreading desolation and misery and disrupting all economic life.

## Portuguese Mission to Rhodesia

PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVES from Lisbon, Mozambique, and Angola have just spent 10 days in Rhodesia discussing matters of common interest to the Governments. Described as a trade and technical mission, the delegation had 39 members. It was led by Dr. Jose de Magalhaes.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, said in an address of welcome that Portuguese steadfastness in the 1960s would be remembered in the history of Africa. At a time of the collapse of integrity and courage, Rhodesia was proud to join the fight for what she believed to be right and to face adversity with resolution. She would resist until the justice of her cause was acknowledged by the world. Rhodesia would always be a staunch ally of Portugal.

The former Colonial Powers had bequeathed to Africa a valuable tradition of scientific and technical co-operation. "It is tragic that this has now largely collapsed and that such co-operation, where it is effective, depends mainly on agencies whose principal resources are provided by overseas Powers."

"It is also tragic that a line is being drawn across Africa through which the former flow of scientific and technical knowledge from the southern reservoirs can no longer pass northwards to countries where it is sorely needed. The sufferers are, of course, not the political leaders but the ordinary people."

"Just as Portugal pioneered the bringing of civilization to Africa, so today she stands in the forefront of the battle to prevent a return to conditions which can be described only as the very negation of freedom and democracy."

## Congo: Attacks on United States

(Continued from page 417)

consequential on the intervention in Stanleyville. Declaring that America had imperilled the security of countries bordering the Congo, it pledged support for Dr. Obote in any measures he might decide to take "to safeguard Uganda's territorial integrity against aggression incited by imperialist Powers."

Some 200 students from University College, Nairobi, who demonstrated outside the American Embassy in that city carried, among others, placards reading, "Johnson is the leader of darkness and murder", "Hang Johnson, Tshombe and Spaak from one tree", and "Hands off Congo and Vietnam."

A Kenya M.P., Mr. Anyieni, tabled a motion calling on the East African Governments to take immediate measures to co-ordinate their defence and security arrangements in order to meet the American threat to States bordering the Congo.

Mr. Tshombe has also said that troops from Uganda have been helping rebels to hold Hasindi.

Next day in Elisabethville he said that the imperialist Presidents of Algeria and the United African Republic wanted to make the world believe that the Congo had no support in Africa, though that allegation had just been denied by the conference in Mauritania of 13 French-speaking African nations.

In order that he might become aware of the realities, the secretary-general of O.A.U. had been invited to the Congo. Its Congo Commission had also been invited, but only the Nigerian delegation had appeared. The absence of the representatives of Guinea and Ghana provided further proof of their Governments' "duplicitous support of the rebels".

Mr. Christopher Gbenye, head of the Congolese "Revolutionary Government", told a Press conference in Nairobi last week that the Foreign Minister of Belgium had recently suggested to him that he should assume the offices of President and Prime Minister of the Congo and put into force the plan enunciated by Mr. Adoula. Mr. Spaak promptly denied the allegation, saying that it was a complete invention.

## Protests at Mr. Mboya's Chairmanship

THE CONGO AND UNITED STATES representatives at an Economic Commission for Africa conference in Nairobi last week walked out after Mr. Tom Mboya, the chairman, had allowed a delegate from Uganda, Mr. John Kakonge, to attack both countries in bitter terms.

He described the alleged bombing of two Uganda villages by American-made aircraft of the Congolese Air Force as a threat to every independent African State, and said that "the American who supplies arms to the Congo against us is engaged in genocide to wipe out Africans". He wanted American actions to be condemned as "an act of aggression" and added that he believed a statement which he had read in a magazine that Major Hoare, "the British leader of the mercenaries", had said that they planned to attack Uganda and Tanzania.

Mr. Arthur Pinzi, leader of the Congo delegation, objected to the intrusion of politics into E.C.A. deliberations, protested against the way in which Mr. Mboya was conducting the conference, and said that though his Prime Minister was attacked for using mercenaries that was done by every country in Africa. He then withdrew from the session in protest.

Dr. S. Z. Westerfield, leader of an observer delegation from the U.S.A., also left the hall after unsuccessfully attempting to catch the chairman's eye.

## Rethinking in U.S.A.

MR. O. B. BENNETT, lately Rhodesian Minister in Washington, said on his recent arrival in Salisbury that the United States was having a general "rethink" about its African policies, particularly about Rhodesia. When he arrived two and a half years ago there had been talk in Washington of a handover in Rhodesia within three years. Americans, who had been very free with their advice about Africa in the past, now offered much less of it, being doubtful about their own policies. "They realize that we need a lot more time; today no one tries to set a time limit". While they wanted a Government in Rhodesia with greater African representation, they realized that their past policies had not kept the Communists out of Africa. They were astonished at the extent of Chinese penetration.

## Armed Threats to Banda Government

### P.M. Refers to "Chipembere's Rebellion"

DR. KAMUZU BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, admitted on Friday in a broadcast to the nation that the raid on Fort Johnston at the previous week-end had been planned as the prelude to a march on Zomba, and that he and his senior Ministers had been saved from assassination and the Government from collapse only by the speed and efficiency of the security forces in taking control of the ferry at Liwonde on the Shire River.

The country had been saved by the British officers of the security forces, and owed gratitude to Colonel T. J. P. Lewis, commanding the Malawi Rifles, and Mr. Peter Long, the Commissioner of Police. Everyone in Malawi, including the Young Pioneers, should rally behind them.

The armed raid on Fort Johnston had, the Prime Minister said, been instigated by Mr. Chipembere, his former Minister for Education, who had been training an army to take over the country. "But I will crush Chipembere's rebellion, ruthlessly and without mercy".

### More Stringent Security Regulations

To combat armed rebellion, there would be more stringent security regulations, including detention of suspects without trial, and power to the security forces to challenge, search, arrest, or even shoot anyone without a warrant on suspicion of subversion. For the illegal possession of firearms imprisonment up to 10 years would be incurred, and for consorting with rebels or supplying them a sentence of seven years. The security forces had also been authorized to control the movement of all vehicles, including craft on Lake Malawi.

A flying column of police was reported to have killed three raiders and arrested 57 after the attack on Fort Johnston. Subsequently another 14 were arrested near the town.

Orders to get Mr. Chipembere dead or alive have been repeated, and rewards have been offered for his capture and that of his senior lieutenants.

In a raid at Maliro, four miles north east of Fort Johnston, a village headman was killed.

It became known later that in their raid on the police armoury at Fort Johnston the rebels had obtained 65 rifles and several thousand rounds of ammunition. Their camp was variously reported to be in the forests not far from Fort Johnston and just across the Mozambique frontier. Most of the Tonga tribesmen in the area strongly support Mr. Chipembere, who also has the backing of many members of the Malawi Congress Party, of which Dr. Banda is "life president".

The Malawi Army has only one battalion. The police were already under strain in maintaining order throughout the country. On Saturday Malawi Young Pioneers who had undergone training were ordered to report to M.C.P. headquarters in Blantyre.

## Rhodesian Goodwill Mission to Britain

MORE THAN 50 MEETINGS have been arranged for members of the goodwill mission of the Local Government Association of Rhodesia who arrived in London at the week-end for a three-week tour. The Commonwealth Industries Association in Britain is helping to promote the visit.

The mission is led by Councillor J. G. Pain, a former mayor of Bulawayo. The other members are Councillor O. C. George (Fort Victoria), Mr. W. M. Irvine (Waterfalls, Salisbury), Councillor W. E. Ogley (Que Que), and Councillor Dr. Olive Robertson (Salisbury).

Among the provincial cities and towns to be visited are Coventry, Stafford, Sheffield, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, York, Newcastle, Exeter, Bodmin, Plymouth, Cardiff, Swansea, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Bedford, Middlesbrough, Preston, Blackburn, Rochdale, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Salisbury, Cambridge, Oxford, Northampton and Bournemouth.

Mr. Pain and his colleagues will meet M.P.s., and business and professional men and women, and will address meetings of the Royal Commonwealth Society, the English Speaking Union, the Royal Overseas League, Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, the university women's associations, and other organizations.

**Company Meeting****Falcon Mines Limited**  
**Mr. F. L. Wigley's Statement**

THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF FALCON MINES, LIMITED, will be held on March 18 in Bulawayo, Rhodesia.

The following is an extract from the statement of the Chairman, Mr. F. L. WIGLEY, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1964:—

The year's operations have been characterized by steady progress in all spheres and the continuance of encouraging results from development.

The tonnage milled at 269,800 tons was almost the same as for the previous year. Gold recovery increased by 0.30 dwts. per ton, working costs rose by 2s. 11d. per ton, and the working profit at the Mine was £347,851, compared with £334,606 for 1963.

The profits of the Company became taxable for the first time since the Dalny Mine was acquired and an amount of £35,234 has been provided in this respect. The net profit for the year, after taxation, was £293,273, as compared with last year's profit of £315,005 when no tax was payable. After providing for dividends (37½ per cent) which absorbed £187,235, there remained a balance unappropriated of £161,353, compared with £81,711 brought forward from 1963.

**Company's Strong Financial Position**

The marked progress achieved in recent years has served to place the Company in a strong financial position. Sufficient funds have been available from profits to meet substantial expenditure on fixed assets, and there has been a steady increase in dividend distributions from 20 per cent. in 1961 to 37½ per cent. in 1964.

The total development footage accomplished at 18,040 feet was 1,084 feet more than that of the previous year. Payable footage increased from 5,765 feet (67 per cent.) to 7,510 feet (68 per cent.), and the average value was 13.49 dwts. over 47 inches, compared with 9.25 dwts. over 43 inches for 1963.

The ore reserve at September 30, 1964, was estimated at 833,300 tons valued at 7.27 dwt. over a width of 84 inches. Compared with the previous year, the tonnage rose by 12,900 tons, the value by 0.45 dwt. and the width by 2 inches.

Regarding general policy, the process of achieving the required balance between the tonnage calls from all sections of the mine has been slower than hoped for, but since the year-end progress has been more rapid.

**Development at Arlandzer**

In accordance with estimated potentials, development at Dalny has been curtailed whilst the rate at Arlandzer has been increased. In addition, it has been decided to provide a new main shaft at Arlandzer to facilitate the exploitation of the greater prospective tonnage indicated by the development results. This shaft, to be known as the E.4 vertical shaft, will be sunk to a depth of 1,100 feet from surface, and it is hoped to accomplish 750 feet of sinking during the current year. An amount of £43,000 has been included in the 1965 capital expenditure budget for this purpose. Full-scale sinking will commence by mid-year after the installation of the collar and erection of the permanent headgear, now in progress, have been completed.

**Rhodesian Corporation**

RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LTD.—which owns the Falcon and other mines in Rhodesia, where it has farming, land and building interests—reports profit after tax to September at £69,162, against £78,581. Tax, however, had taken £50,054, against only £23,663. After other adjustments the amount available is £23,663 (£111,533). The dividend of 4d. per 3s. 4d. stock unit £108,597 (the same), leaving £33,894. Fixed assets stand at £559,855 and mining claims and properties at £113,350. Investments with a book value of £565,192 had a market value of £785,514. The issued capitals is just over £1m.

**Consolidated Mines Selection**

THE CONSOLIDATED MINES SELECTION CO., LTD.—which has large copper interests in Zambia, and is about to be merged with the Chartered Company and Central Mining as Charter Consolidated, Ltd.—reports group profit to December 31 after tax at £1,247,000 (£1,192,000). Dividends of 2s. 9d. per 10s. share take £762,000, leaving 309,000 to be carried forward. Quoted investments held by subsidiaries of a book value of nearly £11.6m. had a market value of almost £16.7m. Holdings of the parent company standing in the books at £4.9m. had a market value of £9.9m. The issued capital is £4.5m.

Union & Rhodesian Mining & Finance Co., Ltd., has declared a second interim dividend of 2½d. per share (10.512½ths%), less tax.

Hogg Robinson and Capel-Cure, insurance brokers with East and Central African interests, are to merge with Bain, Son and Gilmick, international reinsurance brokers.

The General Electric Co., Ltd., Coventry, has received a £308,000 contract from the Zambian Government for a microwave relay link between Lusaka and the Copperbelt.

Thirty Africans from Tanzania have arrived in Italy for a year's training at oil refineries. They are then to be given responsible posts in the refinery under construction near Dar es Salaam.

Bandanga Holdings, Ltd., are to pay 12½% for the year to September 30, against 15% in the previous year. The trading profit was £9,068 (£7,283) and tax liability £2,100 (£2,062). The dividend requires £4,700.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd., announces that group net profits for 1964 exceeded £8m., compared with £6.3m. in the previous year. A one-for-five scrip issue is proposed. Dividends total 2s. 3.4d. per 10s. share, against 1s. 9d.

Rhodesia's tobacco crop this year is estimated at between 240m. and 260m. lb., including 16m. to 17m. lb. from Zambia. Planting fell from 283,000 to 230,000 acres. There will be no restriction on the amount of leaf which growers may offer for sale.

Inchcape & Co., Ltd., a group with large East African interests, reports pre-tax profits for the six months to September 30 at £554,500, a reduction of some £34,000 on the results for the same period of 1963. The interim dividend of 3½% is repeated. The 1963 final was 1s. 6d. 7½%.

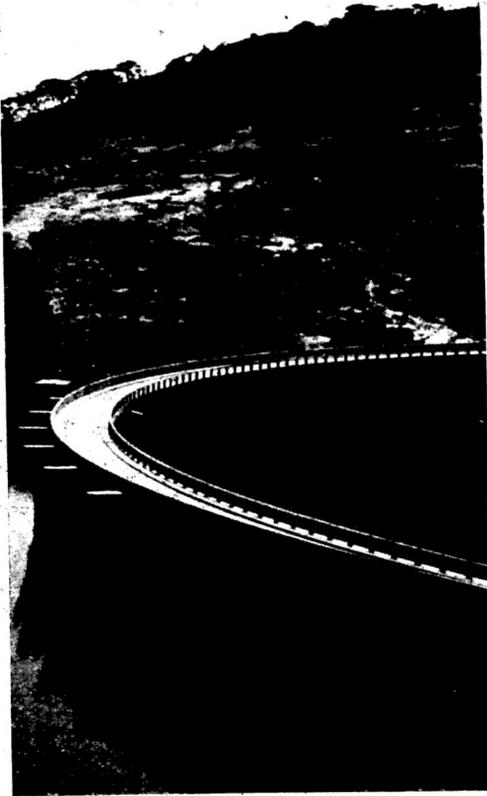
The merger as Charter Consolidated, Ltd., between the British South Africa (Chartered) Company, Central Mining and Investment, and Consolidated Mines Selection has been carried by large majorities of the shareholders of all three companies. The assets of the new company total about £124m.

British Central Africa Co., Ltd., now a subsidiary of Lonrho, Ltd., reports profit after tax to September 30 at £153,705, against £44,224. The taxation charge totalled £166,858 (£14,105). An interim dividend of 5% was paid in December, taking £22,892, and a final dividend of 7½% will cost £34,338.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers with large East African interests, report group profit after tax for 1964 at £105,374, against £92,007. Another £25,000 is added to the reserve and the carry-forward is £101,667 (£82,604) after dividends totalling 11% (10%) are paid at a cost of £47,162 (£42,875).

Lonrho, Ltd., reports group net profits at £514,000 (against £252,698) after tax of £444,000 (£249,501), but outside interests take most of the increase and the final and total dividends of 11½% and 18½% are the same as for the year ended in September, 1963. A surplus of capital assets of £322,000 is added to reserves.

The Uganda International Trade Fair was opened in Lugogo Stadium, Kampala, on Saturday by Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa, President of Uganda. A huge marquee, said to be the largest ever erected in Africa, accommodates exhibits from 20 Ministries and Government Departments. Twenty-two countries are showing. A special issue of Trade Fair stamps, of 30 cents and 1s. 30 cents, has been made by the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration. Both depict the Uganda emblem, the golden crested crane. First-day covers reached London on Tuesday.



*The Kyle Dam. Tribute to Rhodesian skill, both black and white, and centre of a vast irrigation scheme to cultivate the lowveld.*



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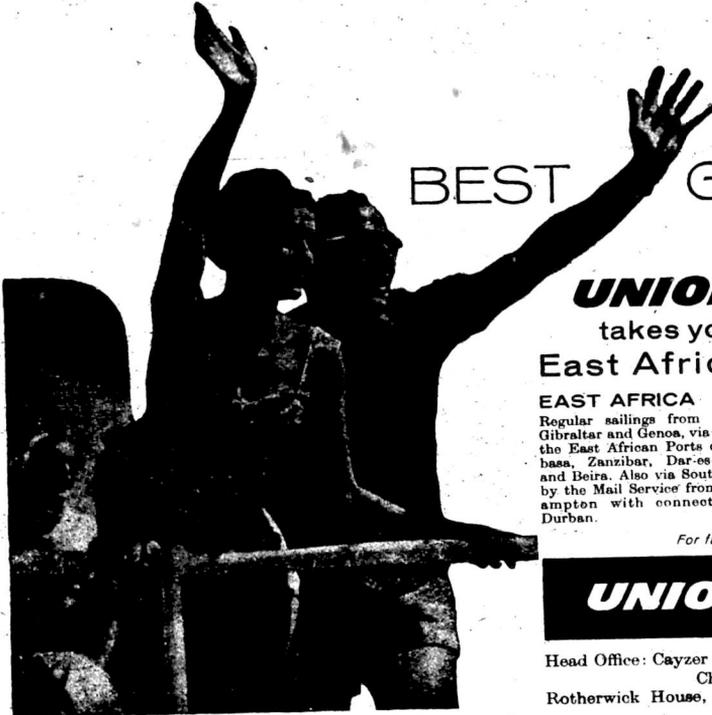
*PHILLIPS REPORT 1962.*

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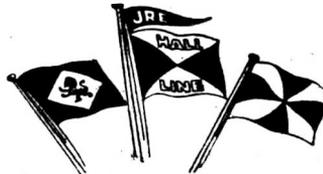
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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What Rhodesian Chiefs Told Mr. Bottomley

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT** in Britain, which would certainly not have sent the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Lord Chancellor to Rhodesia unless the Cabinet had expected to gain from the visit, must now realize that it miscalculated, though the genially extrovert Mr. Bottomley was as likely as anyone in the party to get quickly on friendly terms with Rhodesians. Recognition of that fact probably caused the Prime Minister to ask his highest legal adviser to make the journey, if necessary to restrain his ebullient colleague, and of course to seize opportunities of emphasizing the legal difficulties in the way of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia. The official explanation that the two Ministers were to undertake a fact-finding mission was obviously mere pretence, for all the facts about the constitutional problem facing the Rhodesian and British Governments are on record in Whitehall; and in the extremely unlikely event of some aspect of the matter having been overlooked or indifferently analysed, amplification could have been obtained within an hour or two from the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Salisbury, an able diplomat who is on excellent terms with everyone. What the Wilson Administration needed was not an addition to the facts, but some means of escape from the pit into which the three political parties in Britain had fallen in their fatuous attempts to appease a vociferous, unrepresentative, and tiny minority of immature African politicians impatiently seeking personal power.

four months, by chiefs who manifestly spoke for their fellows, those traditional leaders can have left the visiting Ministers in no doubt about the strength of their feelings and their conviction that Rhodesian Africans will fare better under their present Government than at the hands either of a Government in Britain or of an Assembly and Ministry in Rhodesia produced by the dangerously premature introduction of the one-man-one-vote system. The silly proposition that the opinions of the chiefs are worthless because they draw salaries from the Government was demolished more politely than it deserved considering how much emphasis has been given to it by Members of the British Parliament and the Press. The argument applies in much greater degree to the paid Members of the House of Commons — in greater degree because many of them are inevitably influenced not only by their now extremely high emoluments but by undisguisable concern to keep in the good books of their party because that is the proven way to promotion, to so-called "honours", and sometimes to well-remunerated posts in the gift of senior Ministers. It is the depth of cynicism for men who regard these considerations as normal in politics to impugn the advice of African leaders who always follow well-defined processes of consultation with their questions.

In this issue EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA quotes the substance of each of the sixteen speeches made by the spokesmen for some six hundred chiefs and headmen, and nobody who reads the report can deny their amazement that their Queen's Government should take seriously the pretensions of African national-

As will be seen from our very full report of the speeches made at last week's *indaba* at Dombashawa, the second held there within

ist extremists who have built their parties on intimidation and violence, and still rely on all kinds of thuggery because they have no other means of simulating a semblance of support for their factions. The repeated references to the nationalist agitators as "children" must be read in the African context—that the chiefs stand, as they have always stood, *in loco parentis* to their people. Only the relatively small number of permanent residents in the towns have lost their tribal attachments, and it is they, who are bereft of the support of the traditional ties, who seek to undermine the prestige and authority of the elders who are the tribal trustees. The basic blunder of political meddlers in the Western world has been to assume that the detribalized townees are the Africans with whom they should negotiate, largely because they have learnt a few Socialist slogans and chant them in the right (or rather left, far left) circles until their purposes are served. Then, as is now shown over vast areas of Africa, what purported to be a zeal for democracy is quickly dropped for dictatorship.

Rhodesia's chiefs, well aware of this sequence of events elsewhere in their continent, are emphatic that their country must not be condemned to the same fate and that

#### Recognition of African Talent.

political evolution ought to be arranged locally, not by ukase of some authority thousands of miles away. Do not local governments in Britain similarly object to direction from Whitehall on the ground that circumstances can often be properly judged only by those on the spot? Indeed, that is the justification for the greater devolution now in train in Britain. Even if her politicians were wise—and the last few years have demonstrated the catastrophic consequences of the abysmal folly in African affairs of all three political parties—they would still be less likely to make a success of the changes which must come in Rhodesia than the chosen leaders of the various communities in that State. All know that the races must live together in harmony for the sake of each of them. Justice and fair play apart, a white community of a couple of hundred thousand persons could not possibly survive in acceptable conditions, let alone in prosperity and perpetuity, if it did not give Africans generous conditions for advancement socially, economically, and politically. Self-preservation must therefore induce the white race to recognize and reward the development of African talent (and in the Congo thousands of the African *élite*, the teachers, priests, administrators, technicians and

traders, have been killed in cold blood by African revolutionaries jealous of their advancement).

#### Saving the Faces Of British Parties.

Mr. Nkomo appears to have been as intransigent as usual, repeating his incessant insistence on immediate independence under a Constitution which gives every African a vote, thereby destroying Rhodesia. His demand for the demolition of a highly developed State must have been too much even for the emissaries of a Socialist Party which initiated the nonsensical theory that everyone, however backward, must have a vote, for they cannot close their eyes to what has happened in the past twelve months in the Congo, Zanzibar, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Malawi, Sudan, and other parts of Africa. Almost every white man with whom Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner have talked will presumably have testified that support for Mr. Ian Smith has been greatly widened and strengthened by the determination of responsible Rhodesians of all colours that their country shall be spared similar tragedies. Evolution by merit is the only safe prescription. Politicians in the United Kingdom—and under Macmillanism the Conservatives were as blameworthy as the Socialists have ever been—have unhappily encouraged the black and white advocates of rapid revolution, and they now expect Rhodesia to save their faces.

It is iniquitous that the only British territory left in Africa, self-governing for forty years, a State with a magnificent record of loyalty to the Crown in peace and war,

#### Wreckers Rebuffed By Rhodesians.

should now be told that it must quickly accept the political nostrum which has brought disaster in varying degrees in every other African territory upon which it has been inflicted, or face expulsion from a Commonwealth which has lost its old meaning but would impose economic sanctions which might cripple Rhodesia's economy. There has been no hint that the visit of Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner promises the slightest contribution to the solution of this problem, one made in Britain. Before the Ministers left London we wrote: "The plea that Parliamentarians in Britain must 'reconcile' their attitude to Rhodesia with their crimes in other parts of Africa will find no echo in the hearts or minds of responsible Rhodesians,

white or black". If they return with the emphatic warning to their colleagues that Rhodesia will not be sacrificed to make a Westminster holiday, or to prevent a Westminster hullabaloo, their journey will not have been altogether wasted—though that fact should have been understood in Down-

ing Street for years, years in which Rhodesians have watched the calamities wrought in Africa by theoreticians who really know nothing about Africa and Africans. With all the rest of British Africa wrecked by these guilty men, Rhodesians say firmly "Enough is enough".

## Notes By The Way

### Lessons for Tory Ministers

A NEWSPAPER which takes politics and political arithmetic very seriously has stated that at the last general election the swing against Conservative Ministers was in almost every case greater than the national average swing against the Tory Party. If that was indeed the case, it was no more than justice, for Ministers had obviously been much more to blame than back-bench M.P.s. for the follies of Macmillanism—which were coupled in Africa with a contemptible faithlessness which merited condemnation by the electorate. It would be naive, however, to think that the Macmillan Cabinet's despicable behaviour towards British Africa caused defeat of the party at the polls. Politicians and the Press had so misrepresented the facts that the public did not know, and still does not know, the whole truth, which, if disclosed about Rhodesia and Kenya, would have produced angry remonstrances. Two of the chief culprits, Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Butler, having done incalculable damage, are all too belatedly removed from the scene, the one to the chairmanship of a publishing house and the other to the headship of a Cambridge college. If the one had remained a publisher and the other a don, East and Central Africa might not have had to pay so heavily, and permanently, for their ineptitude at Westminster.

### Boycotting Mr. Butler

NOT ONE of Mr. R. A. Butler's front-bench colleagues in the House of Commons was present when he took his seat in the Lords for the first time. There can have been few, if any, occasions in modern history on which none of the former Cabinet colleagues of a Minister elevated to the peerage paid the customary courtesy of attending his introduction to the "other place". Commoners who are fellow members of the Privy Council are generally regarded as under an implied obligation to be present. Moreover, Mr. Butler was "Father" of the Commons—and it had no pressing business at the time. Indeed, only 60 members were at that moment in attendance. The former Minister for Central African Affairs, the first and last holder of that portfolio, was thus made the victim of a boycott so unusual as perhaps to be unique. It would have been poetic justice if he had recalled his own assurance that Britons should invest in the Central African Federation in the confidence that "we [the then Tory Government and the British public] shall be behind you". Within a few months he had completed the betrayal of the Federation.

### Mythical Enemies

KENYA'S VICE-PRESIDENT, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, has warned a passing-out parade in Nairobi of the National Youth Service that they now face "the fight against the vestiges of colonialism and against the imperialist conspiracy to buy out the minds of some people". At this stage of Kenya's development, he declared, "the imperialist has sunk underground, aim-

ing to operate to the detriment of our national planning. He is out to defend his type of economy, but this individualistic structure of economy is antagonistic and very alien to our type of society. The imperialist pattern benefits a few at the expense of the masses, and his dream now is to see his battle through, not only in succeeding to maintain the state under which only a few are rich, but also by actually furthering the cause of his system for a few rich Africans".

### Fancy and Fact

"MORE TWADDLE" might well be the comment of reasonable readers; but that is not likely to have been the impression of the young men whom Mr. Odinga was addressing. That he took the occasion seriously is evident from the fact that the full text of his speech was issued by the Kenya News Agency, controlled by the Government in which Mr. Odinga ranks second only to Mzee Kenyatta. In the Kenya context his reference to an "imperialist conspiracy" will have been generally understood to mean a British conspiracy detrimental to Kenya's national planning. Yet since the end of the war Kenya has received from British taxpayers rather more than £100m., and at this very moment she is hoping for another £30m. for land settlement schemes—for which British taxpayers have already provided about £30m. Does this look like a conspiracy to harm Kenya? As to Jaramogi's reference to a pattern which "benefits a few at the expense of the masses", could there be a better description of the African politicians?

### Z.A.N.U. Nonsense

THE SILLIEST STATEMENT by a Rhodesian African which I have read this week came from Mr. Peter Mtandwa, co-ordinating secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union, who alleged that "the British Government is helping the White Rhodesia plan to launch a campaign aimed at attracting at least a million more white Europeans to settle in Rhodesia". "Proof" of that statement, made in Nairobi, was said to be implicit in arrangements made for Mr. Harry Reedman, the Minister of Immigration, to visit 26 cities in Europe in April and May. Lest anyone should think that the Rhodesian Treasury would meet the travelling expenses of a Rhodesian Minister, the Z.A.N.U. spokesman asserted: "We have known that the British Government will pay for all this, for the reasons given by Mr. Reedman—that Britain is overcrowded with its population of 54 million and the only dumping-place which is good and healthy left in the hands of British Colonial rule is Rhodesia". Anyone capable of the conviction that the British Government would help to reinforce the British community of Rhodesia will assuredly suffer from other hallucinations. Another of Mr. Mtandwa's is that Britain should intervene in Rhodesia "with military force". Perhaps he regards that idea as "noble", for Africans who have been sentenced to death in Rhodesia for bomb outrages are to him martyrs "in the noble cause of our people's freedom".

# What Rhodesian Chiefs Told Mr. Bottomley

## Unanimous for Immediate Independence: "The String Should Be Cut"

THE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH of the speeches made by Rhodesian chiefs at the *indaba* at Dombashawa at which they gave their views to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Lord Chancellor occupies 40 pages of foolscap typescript.

From the following abbreviated version EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has omitted only the opening and closing courtesies and some unimportant circumlocutions and unnecessary repetitions.

CHIEF A (speaking in Sindebele): "Mr. Minister, Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardner, we are very, very happy to have you present with us today, but I very much regret that the deputy president and I have to stand in the place of the president, who is ill.

"In October we waited a long time for you, because we were very sore at heart that you were unable to come here at that time and meet us. The thing that really made us heart-sore was that we understood that your reason for not coming was that you were unable to meet Nkomo and Sithole. Those two persons are only children of ours. They are not the leaders of the people. All these people you see in this room are the true and hereditary leaders of the people of this country. When you have spoken to this gathering you will know that you have spoken to the true leaders of the country.

### British Tolerance of Violent Africans

"We as leaders wish to work with and through our Government. There is only one thing that we have to say here today — that the string should be cut; in other words, independence should be granted. When we have independence it is at that stage that we shall sort out our problems amongst ourselves, because we have great faith in our Government, with whom we have worked for many years.

"What puzzles us is that you should have any truck or dealings with people whose function it is to burn our huts, kill our people, murder them, and do other injuries and wrongs. If that was a British decision that these youngsters should be given power, then all of us here in this hall today could anticipate that he would be killed. That is already being discussed by these people.

"Our great desire is that we should go forward together, the European and the African, working together without all this noise and trouble. You Europeans have an instrument which has black and white notes, and if you knock on one you will get a tune, knock on another you will get a tune, but the combination of the two will really give you something that synchronizes. That is what we are looking for — that the European and the African should live here together in peace.

"The only thing of importance at the moment is that the string should be cut, that we should be granted our independence immediately. Then we would proceed to sort out our own difficulties. Other than that there is no future for this country. You invited me to bring forth all that was in my heart and that is what I am doing. The African and the European can live in peace here together, and we want independence now. Let us go forward without any further trouble.

"Repeatedly the manipulations and operations that have been on the go indicate that it is like playing football: the ball has been kicked from one side to the other side, backwards and forwards. Our proposition today is 'Let's kick this into the goal'. We are quite competent of building a country in a good and proper manner. I am talking on behalf of the chiefs, of the headmen, of the people of the country."

CHIEF B (speaking in Sindebele): "A wound hurts the owner of that wound. Nobody can feel the pain of the person who has a wound, and that wound is in me today. My request is that this wound should be cured.

### British Excuses Are Nothing New

"We are very pleased that you have come. We are very indignant indeed and heart-sore at the doings of the British Government. When you spoke you said that you were sorry you were unable to come here previously, and you had various excuses for it. But this is nothing new: this has happened previously to us. It is something that is quite common. We wanted to report to you what was happening in this country and how it was being spoilt. We are very, very angry indeed, very, very angry.

"You know that many people have died. Many have been burnt in their huts. You know that many residences of Africans are thatched with grass. How do you expect them to live in these conditions? It seems clear to me that the British Government really hasn't any concern for us.

"We have looked with great concern at what is happening in other countries to which Britain has granted independence, and even to this day they are killing one another. This is our country and our request is: Please allow our country to do what it desires.

"I am quite surprised that you quoted a Shona proverb and a Matabele saying. Where did you get that information? To my way of thinking it would have been far more appropriate for you to come here humbly to learn from the chiefs of this country about the position.

"I stand here in fear, fear because it may be that while I am standing here my home is being burnt down. Where was there a country that was held without an army? What sort of country is this that is supposed to go ahead without its own army? You don't appreciate that we don't sleep at night. Because of this fear we don't know whether in the morning we shall be alive, whether our children will be dead.

"All this tremendous trouble is due entirely to you — because it is you who have taken our children and separated them from their fathers.

### Britain Responsible for Division

"We have lived here with Europeans for 70 years, and never before has such a state of affairs occurred. You don't know us as chiefs and leaders. It is quite clear from our visit to Britain that you don't recognize the chiefs. It is you who are responsible for separating us from our children.

"It is 6,000 miles from here to Britain. Do you think it is possible for the overseer to be sitting over there and know what is happening on the job that is being done? I think it impossible.

"We left here as chiefs to go to Britain to report and discuss this matter with the British Government, and when we got there the answer was: 'No, we can't discuss it with you'.

"We are people who live within the law. Therefore we have not the advantage of being able to fight and quarrel over these matters because we wish to live within the law.

"We had got to the position where we were getting desperate. We went over to see the British Government. We got no change there. We asked the British Government to come here and see us. We got no change. We have reached the stage where it seemed as if the only answer was to call out the *impis* and declare war.

"To me it is astounding to have a statement that chiefs and headmen are not the leaders of the people. What have you been doing for 70 years that you have not discovered the true position?"

THIRD CHIEF (speaking in Shona): "We cannot talk about how heart-sore we were in October. The Minister from England, living in England, cannot really understand the conditions here. He could understand them only if he lived in this country.

"If you were to stay only one month you would see all the unrest. We never heard of a law that allowed

people to kill children and people to kill women. In the early days when we used to fight amongst ourselves we did not kill the women and children. This seems to be similar to an English proverb which says that a little bit of learning is dangerous.

### Peace Destroyed by Political Parties

"Before there were these political parties we lived in peace. Now that we have got these political parties our houses and stores and cattle are being destroyed. We want to go forward in peace. We who rule the tribal areas according to the laws that we are given by our forefathers have not seen things like this before.

"Now this great powerful Government in England does not know us chiefs. Cecil John Rhodes found the people ruling the country here. Surely he wrote this down for his descendants to know about. He was the one who said 'Let us live in peace' and we agreed. We lived in peace. Even today we wish to live in peace and work with our Government. We do not wish to fight and kill people. We wish to live within the law which is the same way as responsible people who rule others live. Some of these chiefs here have five, six, or even ten thousand followers behind them, and we cannot fight with them.

"There is only one thing that you must do, sir, and that is to cut these strings that tie us with Britain. As you can see, we are the leaders of the people. We wish you to give us independence. That is the thing that is worrying our hearts. "It is very important that the British Government should understand that it is the chiefs who are the leaders of the people. The people cannot live happily if there is nobody leading them. We have always lived this way. We do not want to join political parties which consist of people who are thieves and burners. The Government should understand that we are the leaders of the people and we must cut those strings. "If the Minister cannot see that in the short while that he will be here, we ask that he will stay longer, even a year, so that he can understand the position. If it was possible for you to be taken round the villages and shown the homes that have been burnt you will fully understand the position."

### Left in the Desert

FOURTH CHIEF (Shona): "I am in agreement with the previous speakers. At our October meeting we were very sad indeed that you, Mr. Bottomley, returned to your home after you had been only a short distance from us. We at first heard that you would be coming to see us. We stayed here for a whole week waiting for you, only to hear that you had gone back to England. We understood that you were unwilling to give an explanation as to why you would not come.

"It is as if you left us out in the desert where there is no water. Now that you have come you should therefore give us water to drink and food to eat.

"We have been told by our Government of Southern Rhodesia that we are ruled by the Government overseas. We are told that there is nothing they can do for us because the Government overseas is holding back.

"When you leave this meeting and go to other parts of the country it is possible that you might not be told the truth. We chiefs can tell you the truth.

"The day you landed from the aeroplane you were greeted by a very large crowd of Africans. Do not believe that those Africans come of their free will. They were intimidated by the Nkomo and Sithole. The reason why they listened to the instructions of these people was because many people had died because they had not followed what they had been told to do.

"Amongst the chiefs here today many have had their followers killed. These people come at night. They thatched fasten our door from the outside and set light to the thatched roof. You, sir, who come from England, if you have a thatched roof and were to find your wife and children were burnt to death in it, you would not be happy. Many of the people here present, chiefs and headmen, have had their wives and children killed.

"Nkomo and Sithole collect these other people and make them go out and set up road-blocks, destroy dip tanks, and do other such like things. We are very pleased indeed to see our cattle dipped because it keeps disease from them. So it is obvious that it is not possible for us to follow the ways of these youngsters. We are following the custom of our fathers. Nkomo and Sithole went overseas to see the British

Government. The only way they could talk English was that they were given the education we, their fathers, had given them. The chieftainship which we hold today was handed on to us from the forefathers. We are of the blood of chiefs. The leaders of the people whom you saw when the Europeans first came to this country were the chiefs; and they were of the blood of chiefs. So when you came to see the African people here in the very early days you did not speak English to them. There was no school. How was it you understood them so that they could tell you they were the chiefs?"

FIFTH CHIEF (Shona): "There is only one thing of importance that is spoken today — that we want the strings to be cut. The thing that we wonder about is how the Ministers who have come from overseas should speak with the children?"

"Do you not wish to see all the oxen in a plough pulling together? We used to be quite happy with our Government. There was no trouble. There was no killing. Now that we see you speaking with our children we say to you 'You do not know us'. Why is that that you do not know us? When King George and the Queen visited this country they spoke with the chiefs and headmen. Now that we see you having discussions with these children, is it that you wish to build or to destroy things here?"

### Great Troubles Brought by Nkomo and Sithole

"In many of the villages in our areas many people have had their homes burnt. They secure the doors of our homes and burn them and maim our cattle and prevent our children from going to school. If our people could see you in their homes they would tell you the great troubles that have been brought to them by Nkomo and Sithole.

"Our people are intimidated by them. They are told if you do not do what we tell you to do we will burn your homes or maim your cattle. We ask you please to understand fully this and to think about it in your hearts because we are telling you the truth.

"In other countries that have been given independence we see great troubles, and we do not want similar troubles here. We are living very happily with our Government, and we have not seen troubles like this before. Now that you are going to have discussions with our children, you are having discussions with us. Do you want us to fight each other? It seems that that is what you wish us to do — because you first speak with the father and then you go to the son.

"Our children, when they go over to England, you receive them and talk with them. Your chiefs, when we go to England, you do not want to talk to us. It made us very bitter indeed that the British Government did not wish to speak with us. Our hearts are very sore because we see the British Government has cast us aside. It used to recognize us previously. We ask you please, sir, to listen to our cry and be merciful to us.

"If you hear somebody telling you that he wishes to be led by Joshua Nkomo you must realize that he says that only because he is frightened that his home will be burnt. We find it impossible to use those tactics. We cannot kill other people. All of us chiefs and headmen have a large following behind us. We are the leaders of the people. God created our forefathers and us, and we are the leaders of the people. How is it that you do not recognize us as such? You must really fully understand that we are the leaders of the people. There are no others.

"These people who call themselves leaders all have registration certificates, on which is recorded the name of the chief whom each follows. Some of those people whom you saw at the aerodrome the other day came from Northern Rhodesia and some from Nyasaland. You thought they were all from here. They were forced by others to go to the aerodrome."

### Importance of Independence

SIXTH CHIEF (speaking in Sindebele): "One thing that worries me is that we have only this one day to talk to you here. It would probably have been far better to have had a longer period — two days or more in which to discuss our problems.

"We are here for the second occasion to request independence from the British Government. We have no desire to take independence by force and fight with the British, but it is quite clear that if this question of

(Continued on page 437)

# U.K. Ministers Hear African Nationalist Statements

## Leaders of Rival Parties Want Majority Rule Now

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONALIST CASE was put to Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, by Mr. Joshua Nkomo last week at a meeting on Hippo Valley sugar estate, to which the United Kingdom party had flown from Salisbury.

Mr. Nkomo and six of his lieutenants had arrived in police cars from Gonakudzwinga restriction camp, rather more than 100 miles away. The Africans and the visiting Ministers would have preferred a visit to the camp, but the Government chose a rendezvous in the Lowveld in order to avoid demonstrations. Mr. Nkomo handed Mr. Bottomley a prepared statement, and is said to have talked almost non-stop for nearly two hours.

A four-page statement which he gave to reporters made it plain that he and his party are interested in nothing less than immediate majority rule. It accused the white minority of "a scorched earth policy", and alleged that they would ruin the economy before departing southwards. Under majority rule white men would be treated as individuals in exactly the same way as any other citizen.

### Crisis Will Continue

Africans, Mr. Nkomo insisted, rejected the 1961 Constitution—which he first accepted and later rejected under pressure from other Africans. So long as Rhodesian Africans, being the majority race, were not allowed to rule, the crisis would continue.

Chiefs, who had acted like sheep at both *indabas*, were being exploited by their paymasters. If the two Ministers would visit Gonakudzwinga they would see how "the leader of the African people" was treated. The refusal to allow Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner to go to that area meant that they were treating them as "the private property of the Rhodesia Front".

The prepared statement said that no price was too high to pay for the end of colonialism and bring about majority rule, "which ought to come immediately".

Correspondents accompanying the Ministers reported that Mr. Bottomley had made "a suggestion" to Mr. Nkomo—at least one asserting that he had been given "proposals"—to which he preferred to make no reply until he had consulted his followers.

A placard exhibited near the air-strip read "Nkomo is our Messiah". One shown in Bulawayo when the Ministers arrived there by air said "Bottomley Our Saviour".

There was blunt talk at a meeting in Bulawayo with representatives of 40 trade unions. Mr. Douglas Miller, secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, asked why the Ministers had come "to consult with leaders of intimidators and murderers". After the meeting Mr. Patrick Lennon, secretary of the Rhodesia Railways' Union, said: "Mr. Bottomley was not here to listen to facts. His approach was completely biased".

### Will Not Interfere in Internal Affairs

When addressing chiefs and headmen near Bulawayo Mr. Bottomley emphasized that he and his colleague were determined not to interfere in Rhodesia's internal affairs, adding: "Political differences take up far too much time, and we want the people to work together for peaceful purposes".

After talking for an hour with Mr. Garfield Todd the Secretary of State said that the former Prime Minister had not been able to make new proposals but had said that Rhodesia's problem could not be solved by violence or by strict standards applied by the Government.

At Ntabazinduna Mr. Bottomley told an *indaba* that when the British economy was sounder more money could be found for schools, boreholes, homes, and better standards for the people of Rhodesia. "We can do this much better if we can provide for a happy, united Rhodesian nation. So unity of the nation must be the first consideration".

In the Centenary district the visitors met some 50 farmers

and their wives at the home of Mr. B. A. Palmer Young, a Rhodesian-born tobacco grower. Again there was candour. Mr. Bottomley said that it had been particularly useful to be able to assess how such a community regarded matters. He was very fond of human beings even if they sometimes spoke forcefully and even violently.

One farmer said: "We gave him the stick, but he came up smiling. Some of the things we told him I don't think Duncan Sandys would have taken with such good grace. But we didn't seem any nearer agreement at the end". Another said that it had been "like talking to a brick wall", but that he had no complaint about Mr. Bottomley personally.

### Violence Brought by African Politicians

On Saturday the Commonwealth Secretary and the Lord Chancellor visited the Tonga, near Kariba, the most primitive of Rhodesia's tribes. Chief Binga told his guests that "a brown cow can never become a white one", and complained of the violence and fear brought by the followers of Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. He insisted that Africans wanted to work with their Government.

The Ministers presented the tribe with three bullocks for a feast after the *indaba*, and received in return pipes—which are smoked only by the women of the Tonga.

Dar es Salaam Radio has reported that the Zimbabwe African People's Union, a nationalist organization proscribed in Rhodesia, has urged the Liberation Committee of O.A.U. to "give material and other forms of assistance to the struggle in Rhodesia to help a revolutionary uprising which is the only solution to a settler dictatorship".

Opening a meeting of the Ministerial Council of O.A.U. in Nairobi on Friday, President Kenyatta said: "We shall not accept any compromise that will jeopardize the freedom of Africans in Rhodesia. We ask for universal franchise on one-man-one-vote and unconditional release of nationalist leaders".

Mr. L. Takawira, former vice-president of the Zimbabwe African National Union, now an illegal organization, and four other lieutenants of its imprisoned leader, the Rev. N. Sithole, were flown to Salisbury on Monday in a R.R.A.F. aircraft from Wha Wha restriction camp to see Mr. Bottomley and the Lord Chancellor at the Air Force Base near the city. The talks lasted two hours.

Afterwards Mr. Takawira said that the only way to stop violence was to change the Constitution. He had emphasized that it was the responsibility of H.M. Government to work towards majority rule in Rhodesia. Z.A.N.U. wanted an immediate constitutional conference, rejected the British contention that it had no initiative in Rhodesian issues, and "deeply regretted that the British Government has capitulated to the Smith Government in the Commonwealth Secretary being prevented from seeing our leader, Mr. Sithole".

Mr. Bottomley said that Mr. Takawira and his companions had said that they would not encourage their people to engage in violence, and that he had told them that Rhodesia was responsible for its own internal affairs, with which Britain would not interfere.

"I told them that the reason that Lord Gardiner and I had come was to try to find a way in which it was possible for the Rhodesian Government, the African nationalists, and the British Government to arrive at a solution whereby there can be a peaceful transition to majority rule. We don't say when or how".

The South African Government announced on Monday that it would grant Rhodesia a £24m. long-term loan at a low rate of interest.

## Murder Ordered by P.C.C. Group

TWO YOUNG AFRICANS in Rhodesia who have been sentenced to death for murdering a sub-chief while he was asleep in bed confessed to the crime and testified that they had been ordered to commit it by the "Chiduku Pressure Group" in Salisbury of the now proscribed People's Caretaker Council. They declared that they obeyed because they were afraid of the consequences of refusing.

Another African, M. W. G. Mpfou, described as a former leader of the P.C.C. Youth Movement, has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for inciting followers to destroy the police station and post office in Southerton, Salisbury, and to assault Africans smoking certain brands of cigarettes or drinking a certain beer.

# Dr. Obote Accuses Congo and United States

## Why Uganda Keeps Contact with the Rebel Leaders

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, told Parliament last week that Congolese aircraft had made two attacks on the West Nile District in the previous fortnight and that there had been Congolese incursions into Uganda probably every day. One had been extremely serious; it was an incursion not on the border but "into the interior of the country".

The Congolese Government had admitted that an aircraft had on one occasion failed to locate the frontier and had perhaps dropped bombs just inside Uganda in error.

The charge of a second violation of Uganda air-space was denied on the evidence of mercenary officers on patrol close to the border near the spot at which a school just inside Uganda was bombed on Monday of last week. They were emphatic that the aircraft was not a Congolese Air Force machine. The disclaimer from Leopoldville, made last Friday, asserted that Ugandan troops continued to give active assistance to rebels who were in action against Congolese Army patrols.

In his statement to Parliament Dr. Obote declared that his Government had had personal contact with rebel representatives because it was convinced that the Congo problem could only be solved politically, and that it was therefore necessary to be in touch with political personalities from both sides. He said:—

### Recognition of Gbenye

"If Uganda is to pursue the policy which I believe the House wants, we cannot reject out of hand any of the political leaders in the Congo. Once we begin to be selective we defeat the purpose of our policy. That is why we have maintained contact with various political leaders, including Mr. Gbenye—and this Gbenye has been in most Governments in the Congo. He was Minister for the Interior in the first Congo Government; he was Deputy Prime Minister to Mr. Adoula; and until recently he was still a Minister.

"We are being attacked because we have refused to acknowledge Gbenye, Bomboko, and the other politicians opposed to Tshombe as rebels; and I believe that immediately we recognize these people as rebels we shall not be attacked.

"But if we recognize these people as rebels we shall have to support the policy of a military suppression of what is called rebellion; and military suppression of what is called rebellion will not bring stability inside the Congo. It can bring only temporary peace, and other rebellions will start.

"I cannot at this stage disclose some of the steps taken to defend our territorial integrity. I can say only that the freedom we have here in this country is being misused by our enemies to feed information to the outside world regarding our strength."

Dr. Obote had told a Press conference that the United States Embassy had admitted in writing that there were American aircraft of several types in the Congo, and continued: "I believe the 'planes of the military service of the Congolese Government are of an American make and that these 'planes were supplied to the Congo Government by the U.S.A. under an agreement concluded in 1963. There are also a number of military personnel in the Congo supplied by the U.S. Government.

"The Government closest to the Congo Government is now that of the U.S.A., followed by that of Belgium. The American influence is the greater."

Goli could not have been bombed by mistake, for the Uganda flag was flying over the building and the attack went on for 35 minutes; nor could the attack on the primary school have been a mistake, because the plane circled four times before strafing the area.

In both cases the aircraft just missed the greatest concentration of American citizens in the West Nile. In Goli there were many American schools and missions and, near Païda there was a secondary school staffed almost entirely by Americans.

"People might feel that we are blaming the U.S.A. for

political or ideological reasons. Uganda cannot be an ideological battleground. We are not interested in what ideologies people have. We are interested in our independence. We shall resist any attempt to impose upon us persons who have found favour with a foreign Government, irrespective of the ideology of that Government.

"The American Government and American businessmen have not a correct reading of what is happening in Africa. Sometimes they tend to work against their true friends by insisting that their friends must do things in the American way.

### Insulting Argument

"We are not interested in arguments that Africa must be saved from becoming Communist. That is an insult to our intelligence. Together with the fact that the U.S.A. continues to supply arms to Mr. Tshombe and allows him to recruit persons known to be anti-African to use those arms, it must surely show that the American policy is wrong.

"South African mercenaries have been openly recruited for the Congo, where they are given American arms. Is it not clear to Washington that, apart from ensuring Mr. Tshombe's position, the South Africans would also wish to ensure South African interests?"

"The vast amount of aid supplied to the Congo by the U.S.A. is not under control, while the civil aid given to us is under strict control. There were complaints that we misused four trucks given by the U.S. If the U.S. could make representations to us on that score, surely public conscience should demand that the Americans take much greater care to see that dangerous weapons are not freely given and used in the Congo. The U.S. policy seems to be: Have strict control of civil aid, but no control whatsoever of dangerous missile weapons."

Nine foreign journalists visited the Goli-Païda area on Friday at the invitation of the Uganda Government to see the effects of the air attacks.

Next day a broadcast from Leopoldville referred to "well-staged" manoeuvres by the Uganda Government to camouflage its responsibility for sending troops into the Congo and for providing asylum and aid to the rebels.

Mr. Tshombe then informed the president of the Afro-Malagasy Organization that the Congo Government would willingly accept O.C.A.M. mediation in the dispute with Uganda.

Mr. Christophe Gbenye, head of the Congolese "revolutionary government", and Mr. Gaston Soumialot, "War Minister" in that "government", were in Nairobi last week for the meeting of the O.A.U. *ad hoc* Congo Commission.

Mr. Soumialot told the Press: "Even if Mr. Tshombe had come we would have had nothing to do with him". He added that Mr. Kasavubu, President of the Congolese Republic, was "the father of the crisis", and said that "we can never make peace with him". He claimed that the rebels had some 30,000 "simbas" under arms, most of them with spears, and that General Olenga's hard core of rebels was 10,000 strong.

### Ex-Mau Mau Serving with Rebels

According to a special correspondent of the *Financial Times*, only about 4,000 of the hard core are Congolese, the rest being Tutsi from Rwanda, ex-Mau Mau, and other volunteers, mostly from Tanzania. "These at least are armed with modern equipment."

When Mr. Soumialot was asked why he and his associates had all grown beards, he replied: "They are a sign of mourning, mourning for Lumumba, because the Congo died with him."

Mr. Thomas Kanza, "Foreign Minister" of the "revolutionary government", was also in Nairobi for the *ad hoc* commission's meeting.

A resolution condemning aggression by Congolese 'planes was passed by the Committee of Nine meeting in Moshi, Tanzania. The agenda had been interrupted to allow Uganda's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Odaka, to speak. He stated that, despite many protests to the Leopoldville and United States Governments, aggression against Uganda was continuing.

The Tanzanian delegate warned countries which thought they were safe because they were now friends of the imperialists to think again: Uganda was now attacked, but they might be the next victims. Aggression against a Government which rejected United States control had been clearly seen in Cuba, and there was every danger of its repetition in Africa. Aggression against one African country should be seen as aggression against all.

# PERSONALIA

LORD MONCKTON left £62,730, on which duty of £23,761 has been paid.

MR. J. J. WRATHALL, Minister of Finance in Rhodesia, is suffering from cellulitis.

LORD ALPORT has joined the board of Industrial Finance and Investment Corporation, Ltd.

MRS. KAUNDA, wife of the PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA, has been operated on in Lusaka hospital for removal of a thyroid cyst.

DR. LINDSAY MENZIES YOUNG, registrar of the University of East Africa, has been appointed registrar of the University of Zambia.

SIR PENDEREL MOON, an economic adviser to the World Bank, has joined the Central Planning Office of the Zambian Government.

LORD GARDINER, the Lord Chancellor, who has just visited Rhodesia, is to receive the honorary LL.D. of the University of Southampton.

DR. A. J. V. UNDERWOOD is the first recipient of the George E. Davis gold medal awarded for service to the Institute of Chemical Engineers.

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, is to visit Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand from April 23 to May 8.

THE RT. REV. C. E. STUART, Bishop of Uganda from 1934 to 1953, is to resign his residential canonry of Worcester Cathedral at the end of July.

That Rhodesia is poised for "tremendous economic development" is the view of MR. S. HABIB, chairman of Mashoraland Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

MR. Z. A. BANDA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Zambia, is leading a Government delegation to the Leipzig Trade Fair.

SIR CORNELIUS GREENFIELD, Secretary to the Treasury of Rhodesia, and MR. D. W. YOUNG have been having talks in London with British Government representatives.

MR. SAMWIRI KATO SEBAGEREKA, a Ugandan, and the first African qualified cost accountant in East Africa, has been appointed under-study to the Commissioner for Income Tax in East Africa.

MR. T. L. CROSTHWAITE, U.K. High Commissioner in Zanzibar until the revolution early last year, who has since been in the Commonwealth Relations Office as an Assistant Secretary, is to become Deputy High Commissioner in Malta. After leaving Cambridge he joined the Indian Civil Service in 1937, the Air Ministry in 1948, and the C.R.O. in 1955.

## ZAMBIA



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

Telephone: LANgham 0691

MRS. MARGARET KENYATTA has been re-elected president of the National Council of Women of Kenya, of which MRS. PAMELA MBOYA is hon. treasurer, and MRS. ROSE LUKALO hon. secretary.

SIR CHARLES JOHNSTON, Governor of Aden from 1960 to 1963, and now Deputy Under-Secretary in charge of Economic Affairs in the Foreign Office, will go to Australia as High Commissioner.

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY, who is in Australia, has been refused a permit to enter Kalgoolie Native Reserve. The responsible Minister said: "The natives are not on exhibition and are entitled to some privacy".

MR. CHARLES INKAMANYIRE, secretary in Toro of the Democratic Party, and a member of the Rukurato (Assembly), has joined the Uganda People's Congress. He described the D.P. as "dying a natural death".

Visitors to the U.K. from Rhodesia include MR. F. D. ARIAN, the REV. & MRS. E. H. BOWEN, MR. R. D. H. BURSSELL, MR. R. A. J. HOOPER, MR. & MRS. D. R. IVES, MR. N. A. WATSON, and MR. & MRS. J. H. WILLIAMSON.

MR. PER HAKKARUP, Foreign Minister of Denmark, and three colleagues are spending four days in Zambia this week. They are accompanied by MR. BURGER ABRAHAMSON, Danish Ambassador to Zambia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

DR. DAVID WASAWO, who has been appointed Deputy Principal of University College, Nairobi, is an M.A. and Ph.D. of Oxford University. He has been Professor of Zoology at Makerere University College, Uganda, and its Vice-Principal.

MR. BRIAN USHER has arrived in London on appointment as Counsellor for Immigration at Rhodesia House and chairman of the Immigrants Selection Board. Until a year ago he was public Service Attaché in London for the Federal Government.

MR. BULASIO KAVUMA, a former Minister of Finance in Buganda, and still a member of the Lukiko, has resigned from Kabaka Yekka and joined the Uganda People's Congress, saying that he had full trust in the party which had made THE KABAKA Uganda's Head of State.

MR. K. JACKSON, well-known in Bulawayo for his television and radio work, has been awarded the Francis gold medal of the Institute of Incorporated Work Study Technologists for the best paper in last year's intermediate examinations. He has been on the staff of Rhodesia Railways since 1955.

The Rhodesia Party, which recently elected MR. A. D. BUTLER, M.P., its leader in place of SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, has elected three deputy presidents. MRS. M. ROSIN, MR. J. M. GONDO, M.P., and MR. S. S. SAWYER, a chairman, MR. N. A. F. WILLIAMS; and two deputy chairmen, MR. P. M'KUDU, M.P., and MR. G. F. THOMAS, M.P.

SIR DAVID HUNT, British High Commissioner in Uganda, is to become High Commissioner in Cyprus, and Mr. Roland C. C. Hunt, now Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan, is to fill the vacancy in Kampala. After leaving Oxford Mr. Hunt entered the Indian Civil Service in 1938 and the Colonial Office nine years later. Shortly afterwards he was transferred to the C.R.O. He was for a time in Malaya.

MR. ALI MWINYIKONDO MWINYIGOGO has been appointed Trade Counsellor in the Tanzania High Commission in New Delhi. He is a former secretary-general of the Zanzibar and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League and member of the Afro-Shirazi Central Committee, who after last year's revolution was made Regional Commissioner for Zanzibar and soon afterwards Junior Minister in the First Vice-President's Office and a member of the Zanzibar Cabinet. Last August he was appointed Acting Minister for Education in Zanzibar and Pemba.

## Asian M.P. Shot Dead in Nairobi

### Long Associations with Political Extremists

MR. PIA DA GAMA PINTO, a 38-year old Kenyan of Goan descent, the only Kenya Asian to be detained during the Mau Mau Rebellion, was shot dead in his car outside his Nairobi home last week. Three Africans who were seen to leap from a vehicle and fire at their victim jumped into a waiting car and got away. One of Mr. Pinto's three young daughters was in the back seat of the car. She was not hurt.

For many years Mr. Pinto had had close contacts with African political extremists, and in 1954, when he edited an Indian-owned Nairobi newspaper, he was arrested and detained on security grounds, for much of the time on Manda Island, near Lamu. After being released he renewed his associations with extremist elements, and he was put under restriction orders in 1958 and 1959.

Not long ago he became editor of *Pan-Africa*, a fortnightly magazine founded with the encouragement of President Kenyatta and Vice-President Odinga; he was also chairman of the board of the company owning the journal, and active in the Lumumba Institute, built outside Nairobi in great secrecy and recently opened as an ideological training school.

He had strongly advocated disaffiliation of the Kenya Federation of Labour from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels, and its association with the All-African Trade Union Federation, a Communist front organization.

Mr. Pinto had been elected a member of the East African Central Legislative Assembly, and last year became a specially elected member of the Kenya Parliament. In recent K.A.N.U. party dissensions he had sided with Mr. Odinga, the Vice-President, and Mr. Onoko, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

The National Assembly and the Senate adjourned for the day. Vice-President Odinga and other Cabinet Ministers attended the funeral on Friday, on which day an African was arrested in connexion with the murder and remanded in custody.

## Mr. Bruce McKenzie Resents Criticism

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, told journalists in Nairobi last week that neither the British nor the Kenya Government held the same views as Mr. Maxwell Stamp, who, after spending a month in Kenya as leader of a five-member fact-finding mission sent by the British Minister of Overseas Development, said that Kenya's economy would suffer very seriously if there were a complete buy-out of the European farmers, nine-tenths of whom wanted to leave.

He had also referred to the morale of European farmers and their wives being "pretty low" in consequence of the security situation, stock thefts, and worries about a fair price for their properties. Mr. Stamp said also that he had been very impressed by the mental distress of many people, and that the cases of elderly people who had not been able to sell their farms were heart-breaking.

## Two More Britons Ejected

TANZANIA expelled two Britons in two days last week. Mr. Jack Goodricke, manager of a national park tourist camp, was ordered to leave, being described by the Minister for Home Affairs as "undesirable". Mr. Stuart Murray, chief sub-editor of the Dar es Salaam daily *Standard*, who had been in the country for more than four years, was given no reason for the withdrawal of his work permit.

## O.A.U. Council of Ministers

### Subversion Through Blackmail and Corruption

MZEE KENYATTA, President of Kenya, opening in Nairobi on Friday a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, called on Africans to resolve that neither their acts nor their omissions should allow the continent to become an unguarded victim of another scramble for power.

Referring to forces at work in Africa which are directed against African unity, he said that subversion had a remarkable capacity for stooping to blackmail, corruption, economic pressures, and military intervention, from all of which evils African interests must be safeguarded.

Foreign intervention had aggravated the Congo problem, continuance of which was detrimental to African unity, particularly when the conflict threatened to spread into neighbouring countries.

Continuance of colonialism on African soil caused great concern. Africans were committed to liberating the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese and Spanish territories.

There must be increased trade and co-operation at all levels between African States and development of adequate means of communications as a basic requirement for economic growth.

As the United Nations was the best hope for mankind, so O.A.U. was the best hope for continental unity, peace and progress.

## German Quarrel with Tanzania

### All Military and Economic Aid Withdrawn

FEDERAL GERMANY announced on Friday that its air and naval advisory teams in Tanzania were to be ordered home and that military aid of an estimated value of £3.6m. would cease immediately.

Announcement of the decision, taken at a Cabinet meeting two days earlier, had been withheld until the return from China of President Nyerere, in order that the West German Ambassador in Dar es Salaam, Dr. Herbert Schroeder, might make sure that the Tanzania Government would not revoke the permit given to East Germany to establish a Consulate-General. The Bonn Government refuses to have diplomatic relations with countries recognizing East Germany, and that policy had been re-emphasized to Mr. Kahama, Tanzania's new Ambassador, who at once flew to Dar es Salaam.

President Nyerere announced on Sunday that Tanzania no longer wanted aid of any kind from West Germany.

It was officially announced that he had informed Dr. Schroeder that, in view of the decision to withdraw from Tanzania all military personnel provided under the West German aid programme, he wished all other forms of Federal German assistance to be terminated forthwith. The statement continued—

"The President told the Ambassador that on principle he was not prepared to compromise on the conditions under which Tanzania received overseas aid and accordingly, in view of Bonn's decision to withdraw military training personnel, it must also terminate all other forms of its assistance to Tanzania".

A diplomatic break between the two countries is considered possible. There were prospects of a considerable increase in German economic aid.

President Nyerere said on Monday that he had no intention of giving diplomatic recognition to East Germany, which had received that information soon after Tanganyika and Zanzibar united as Tanzania.

Tanzania's new National Lottery, for which the first draw will be made in June, will have a top prize of £600, followed by second and third prizes of £300 and £150. Altogether there will be 665 prizes, of which 200 will be for 50s. each.

## Dr. Nyerere's Visit to China The Fight Against Colonialism

MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and Mrs. Nyerere have returned to Dar es Salaam from their State visit to the People's Republic of China, the first paid by an East African Head of State.

Their entourage included Mr. Oscar Kambona, Minister for External Affairs; Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives; Mr. Bhoke Munanka, Minister of State in the President's Office; and Mr. Aboud Jumbe, Minister of State in the First Vice-President's Office.

Among those with whom President Nyerere had discussions were Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party; Mr. Liu Shao-Chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Mr. Chou En-Lai, Prime Minister; Marshal Chen-Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister; and Fang Yi, Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Chinese Ambassador to Tanzania, Ho Yang, was present on a number of occasions, as was the Tanzanian Ambassador in China, Alhaj Tewa Saidi Tewa.

The President told journalists on his arrival in Tanzania that it had been very refreshing to meet Chinese revolutionaries "who have had a sober experience", and that a lesson should be learnt from their frugality; otherwise it would be unfair to accept aid from China. Dar es Salaam had perhaps more private motor-cars than Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai, where buses and bicycles were the chief means of transport.

Under a new trade agreement China would buy from Tanzania about 80,000 bales of cotton annually, or about a quarter of the production.

### Attitude to Other Nations

At a rally in Peking to mark the signature of a treaty of friendship between the two republics President Nyerere emphasized that both countries were opposed to colonialism and imperialism. In a long speech he said:—

"For centuries Africa has been exploited by traders, settlers, and imperialists from East and West. Now that we are asserting our right to be free and winning the struggle against foreign domination, new methods of controlling Africa are being attempted. They will not succeed. The independent States of Africa have defeated colonialism. They will not succumb to neo-colonialism.

"We hold out the hand of friendship to everyone. But we value the freedom which we have won. We shall not sell it for economic assistance or exchange it for protection against enemies whom we believe to be non-existent. Own policies will be decided upon in the light of our own needs and our own beliefs.

"We do not wish to live in isolation from our fellow men in other continents. The world is too small for such policies to be effective now. Tanzania's ten million people are affected in their daily lives by things which happen in countries they have never heard of, and the whole future of our country could be jeopardized by nuclear conflict taking place thousands of miles from our shores. We cannot be unconcerned about these things.

"We must adopt a scientific approach to all the problems of our independent country. We must develop our economy in order to bring health and education to all our people. Our national security and national development are the bases on which all our policies will rest. From that base we shall scientifically and rationally determine our position. Once we have done so, nothing will stop us. We shall not succumb to threats from anyone. We shall not be dismayed by campaigns against us. Neither the approval nor disapproval of other countries will cause us to diverge from the path we have chosen.

"We have a saying in East Africa that when elephants fight it is the grass which gets crushed. We have therefore

determined to adopt a policy of non-alignment in relation to international conflicts which do not concern us. Where hostile blocs face each other on the world stage Tanzania will ignore the threats or blandishments from both sides and pursue her own interests.

"We shall build our trade regardless of the hostilities of others. We shall seek economic and technical co-operation from wherever we can find them without strings which limit our freedom. We inherited an economy linked and geared to the capitalist world. We are shaking off the restriction which that implied.

### New Friendship with China

"In the 13th and 14th centuries the East Coast of Africa had trade with China. Now our independent countries are once again having trade relations with you. We are anxious to build up this trade as our economy expands. We want to buy from you and sell to you as we buy and sell with our traditional trading partners.

"Tanzania is happy in its new friendships with China. We were told that China was 'dangerous', so clever that a few of her technicians could undermine our whole country; we should therefore have nothing to do with her. We said 'Non-sense'. We offer the hand of friendship to China as to America, Russia, Britain, and all others. We shall see for ourselves what are China's intentions towards us; and China has extended her own hand to meet ours. We believe that we have a new friend, a friend from whom we were barred in the days of colonialism.

"To the south of my country there is a large country—Mozambique—which we are told is Portugal. Portugal is in Europe. Why are we told this? Because that tiny Fascist dictatorship denies that she has any colonies which should become free; she has only 'overseas provinces'. Those 'overseas provinces' include large areas of Africa—many times the size of Portugal itself—which are exploited for the benefit of Salazar and his friends. This situation will not last. The whole of Africa has declared that Portuguese colonialism must go. We are determined to make good our declaration.

"The independence struggle in Africa is not a fight against Britain or France. It is a fight against colonialism; and it will not be finished until colonialism has gone from Africa.

"Neither can Africa be expected to sit back complacently while the *apartheid* policy of South Africa continues to exist. Its whole basis is that dark-skinned Africans, the indigenous people of the continent, are second-class citizens, second-class human beings. The doctrine of human inequality, of daily humiliation for the man who was not born with a white skin of white parents, is a cancer in human society, and in South Africa now it has its core.

### "Insult to Africa"

"Racial discrimination exists in many countries. Everywhere it is being fought. In one country only it is propagated and practised as the basis of official Government policy. That country is South Africa. On this issue there can be no neutrality. It is an insult to Africa, and to mankind.

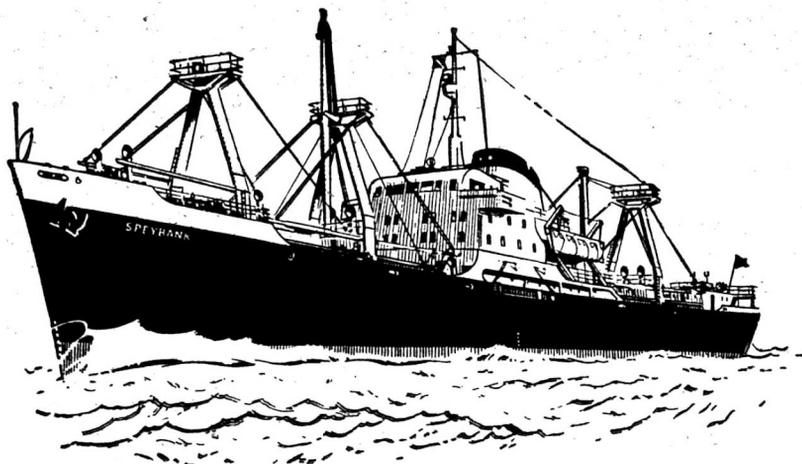
"We call upon the whole world to cast this nation out of our community, to boycott all trade with it, and to refuse to sit down with its representatives for any purpose whatsoever except one—the establishment in South Africa of a Government and society based on human equality and human dignity.

"In the General Assembly of the United Nations there is now a majority of African and Asian States. We do not control the United Nations, but whenever we put up a common front we can prevent others from controlling it for their own purpose. Therefore through its machinery the search for international accommodation can go on. This great People's Republic must be able to join these world councils, for the United Nations is as strong and as weak as the members make it.

"In Africa the Organization of African Unity has declared its goal—the economic and political unification of the continent by the free agreement of Africa's people. To this aim Tanzania is fully committed, and nothing will shake our determination or lessen our efforts to achieve it. Through unity all the intrigues of neo-colonialism will be brought to nothing and Africa's people will be able to enjoy the fruits of their own great natural resources. To this end Africa must strive. Friendship between China and Tanzania can take us one step further forward to this international objective."

British Standard Portland Cement Co., Ltd., is to spend about £1m. on extensions to its plant at Bamburi, Kenya. The present output capacity, 400,000 tons annually, is to be raised to 700,000 tons by a new mill ordered from West German manufacturers.

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## 13 African States Denounce Subversion

THIRTEEN FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICAN STATES (including Madagascar), representing all the former French African territories except Guinea and Mali, resolved at a four-day gathering in Nouakchott, Mauritania, to support the legal Government of the Congo, oppose interference in its internal affairs by other States, and reaffirm the necessity for all States to respect the sovereignty of others.

Provision of training camps for agents of subversion in other countries was condemned.

Ghana was the only State specifically mentioned in that connexion, but Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Egypt, and Algeria have all provided or offered such training facilities and have given help to the Congolese rebels or allowed arms and equipment to reach them through their territories.

The resolution adopted by the conference reads:—

### Text of Resolution

"Considering that the difficulties from which the O.A.U. is suffering derive essentially from non-respect for its charter; considering that respect for the sovereignty of States and non-interference in their internal affairs constitute the *sine qua non* conditions of peace and development in Africa; considering that the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) and the intensification of the cold war in Africa constitute a permanent danger for the O.A.U. and for the independence of African countries; and considering that foreign designs on Africa are being accentuated, the Heads of State recommend prudence and vigilance to all.

"They solemnly affirm the need to bring peace to the Congo (Leopoldville) by assisting the legal Government to bring about national reconciliation in order and liberty in accordance with the resolutions of the conference of Addis Ababa and the Security Council. At the same time they look forward to a reconciliation between the Congo and its neighbours.

"They condemn strongly the action of certain States, notably Ghana, which welcome subversive agents and provide them with training camps on its territory. They decide in consequence to refer the matter to O.A.U. and to appeal to the African sense of all Heads of State so that a climate of co-operation on a basis of equality may be substituted as soon as possible for the present climate of mutual mistrust and individual domination by interference in the internal affairs of other States".

### 18 African States Now Support Mr. Tshombe

Despite the fact that it is openly hostile to Congo Leopoldville and provides training camps for Congolese rebels, Congo Brazzaville signed the statement.

President Grunitzky, of Togo, told journalists on his return to Abidjan that it had been unanimously decided by the 13 delegations at the conference of O.C.A.M. (*Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache*) to boycott the impending Accra meeting of O.A.U. unless Ghana meantime ceases its support for subversive activities.

Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi have openly expressed their support for the legally established Government of the Congo headed by Mr. Tshombe.

He has now on his side 18 African States. Nine are ranged against him (Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania). Six are neutral (Ethiopia, Libya, Malawi, Morocco, Tunisia, and Zambia). Gambia is still uncommitted, and Kenya has been in an exceptional position because President Kenyatta has been chairman of the O.A.U. *ad hoc* Congo Committee since its formation.

A £12m. bid by the Standard Bank was made on Monday for the Bank of West Africa, whose shareholders are offered 58s. in cash or a Standard Bank share for each held in B.W.A. (the shares of which were no higher than 27s. 6d. at the beginning of this year). The two banks, which operate in 11 African countries, have combined assets of £600m.

## Malawi Rebellion

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said in a broadcast on Monday that of the 240 Africans who had attacked Fort Johnston in support of Mr. Chipembere, the former Education Minister, 130 had been captured. The rebellion had been "crushed to all intents and purposes". Three men were previously reported to have been killed. Mopping-up operations are to be continued "until all the rebels are accounted for, and until Chipembere himself is accounted for, dead or alive". Those in custody are to be tried for treason. Dr. Banda again praised Colonel Paul Lewis, commanding the Malawi Rifles, and Police Commissioner Peter Long. If Chipembere showed his face, "the people will tear him to pieces for trying to assassinate me and take over the Government".

A West German swimming team is visiting Kenya. Limutunga is to be developed as the Barotse Government's administrative capital.

M.P.s. in Uganda now pay no tax on the first £1,800 of their Parliamentary salaries and allowances.

About 150 Lumpa Church adherents, outlawed in Zambia, have fled to the Congo, according to a Zambian Government statement.

The Minister of Labour in Zambia has warned 250 youths in the Youth Service training school at Broken Hill that they are not to strike.

East African postage stamps which have been insured for £500,000 were exhibited by the postal authorities at Uganda's International Trade Fair.

A month's seminar at Maseno conducted by Israeli experts was attended by only 21 African members of local councils, though 50 had enrolled.

Soviet Army Day was celebrated in Zanzibar by a march through the town of troops of the "Liberation Army" and a congratulatory message to the Soviet Army from the "Zanzibar Army Chief of Staff".

Chinese arms presented to Tanzania and not previously seen in public were included in a recent public parade near Arusha. Vice-President Kawawa said that some were of quite recent invention and much more modern than the equipment left behind by the British.

Telling the Parliament of Rhodesia that the Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions had been proscribed because it had practised intimidation and organized boycotts of schools and businesses, the Minister of Law and Order described Z.A.C.U. as a front for the People's Caretaker Council.

That former overseas civil servants should be more freely used in Britain's export drive is suggested by the Overseas Services Resettlement Bureau on the grounds that they have learnt "the first, most important of all lessons — that foreigners do not automatically like the things which are popular in Burnley and Surbiton, but have their own ideas about design, colour and style. From the hard school of experience they have also learnt that, because of these differences of outlook, you need more than an ordinary share of vigilance, tenacity, perseverance, and above all insight if you want to bring your schemes to fruition".

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SEVENTH CHIEF (in Sindebele): "I would like to call upon all those chiefs and headmen in the hall who have suffered at the hands of the people who have been destroying property to stand up. These are the people who have suffered damage at their hands.

"For whom are these people working? Where are they getting their money from? China? They are getting money from all parts of the world — and the Communist countries. The offensive weapons like bombs that they throw into people's houses are coming from overseas.

"Then they have the nerve to say that we chiefs are speaking because we are paid Government money — when they are speaking by being paid Communist money. They go off in aeroplanes, costing a lot of money; and that indicates that all the trouble that is at present existent in Africa is due to this money coming from external sources. I want to bring this to notice very forcibly, so that the British Government can appreciate why we are so sore at heart.

"I would go so far as to say that this evening at 5 o'clock these strings should be cut and independence granted. I was very taken by the speech made by the Queen recently overseas. The Queen said it is our desire that we should show the people what we think to be a good way, but it is up to the people themselves to choose the path they are to travel. I am certain that all the chiefs and headmen here present are quite agreed on this point."

EIGHTH CHIEF (in Sindebele): "I was one of those in London who were told by the Secretary of State that two chiefs are not recognized and that there are only two people recognized in Rhodesia. We were completely disappointed because we were looking forward to this meeting in London with the senior Government representatives. We came to the conclusion that it was obvious that a tsetse-fly that bites an animal had bitten this animal.

"To us this suggestion is completely alien that children should be brought forward to fight with their elders. There is no such African custom. This must be an English custom, because we do not know it. These children are the people responsible for bringing bombs here. These bombs are coming from Russia and other places, and we suffer from these very children burning our homes.

### Children Killing Their Fathers

"These children who are killing their fathers have never worked for the Government. In the past all the service rendered to Government has come from most of those who are gathered in the hall. We took up arms with the European and fought side by side for him to save the very children who are killing us today. The Government has forgotten us, and there is nothing that we have to look forward to. We did not have fighting in this country of ours; before we lived in peace, and the fighting was external fighting overseas.

"Rhodes set us our outstanding example here, and said that everybody had to come together, put down their weapons, and work as one community. We followed this advice and lived very happily together. Had we known that this was going to be changed and that the European would move to a position which would change the whole concept of this dictum of Rhodes we certainly would not have put our weapons on one side. The reason why we followed this advice Rhodes gave us was because Lobengula sent Lotsi over to London to talk to the Queen. We settled down and lived together in peace and harmony, because Rhodes advised us to do that, and it was apparent that this was what the British desired of us.

"What is surprising us today is that the very place where this embassy of Lobengula's went is the very place giving the suggestion that the chiefs are unknown to them. It is extremely difficult to understand that the English have changed.

"It is absolutely unheard of that anyone would leave a mother cow and place faith in the calves. This is our point of view. We are not prepared to accept the proposal that the calves become the leaders.

"Don't be misled by the fact that you see a gathering coming forward to pretend that they are supporting these nationalists. This is done under fear of intimidation. It was extraordinary at first when you spoke by using one of our proverbs and came forward with the expression that your chest is your granary. Everyone of us here in this hall certainly has a granary in our chest.

"Most of this behaviour trouble is caused by those who go overseas and come back with various ideas. So I would plead with you; please do not cast on one side what you have heard here today. Do not do what is the normal custom with Europeans — to throw on one side what you consider to be worthwhile.

"Everything you have heard today is something which

everybody in this hall is in agreement.

"There are no children here. These are the leaders, coming from every reserve in the country. Sir, you said your reason for being here was to visit all parts of the country where you could consult and hear all shades of opinion. You will find as you travel around that on many occasions these youngsters have been the cause of deaths in our tribal areas. I have emptied my granary to you. I hope that you will take it overseas with you and really make use of it."

NINTH CHIEF (in Shona): "I support all what has been spoken by all the previous speakers. I am one of those who has had his houses burnt. If it had not been for the prompt action by the Government in protecting me I would have been completely wiped out with all my family.

### Government That "Lives Near Us"

"If a man has a farm on which he has many cattle and he stays a long way away from that farm, all his cattle will be wiped out. The man who has his cattle on the farm must live near to them. The Government that we have here in this country is looking after us. It lives near us. The honoured guests who have come here today can ask themselves who is looking after us. It is the people who are here nearby, not the ones who are far away.

"If you were to ask Nkomo was your father a chief, he would not be able to say 'Yes'. He would only be able to say that his father was a slave. How can he be in charge of people? We are not particularly interested in the fact that he may have had education.

"The same thing applies to Sithole. He is a Shanga from Beira. He cannot be a leader of the people because the Shangaans come from Beira and they cannot lead the rest of the people. We and the Matabele are working very closely together. We do not work with the people in Portuguese territory where Sithole comes from. He cannot lead the people who are Matisulu and Mandebele.

"We are very anxious to work closely together with our Government. I ask you Ministers who have been sent by the Queen to let us continue to work like that. You are the hands of the Queen. Let us be given our Government so that we can work together with the Government. We do not wish to change our present way of rule in this country."

TENTH CHIEF (in Sindebele): "What grieved us very much indeed in October was that you, sir, were in Northern Rhodesia and did not come down to see us. This great gathering comes from all parts of Rhodesia. Last time we were here on this same subject we came to a firm and decided decision. All I need repeat is that decision — that these strings must be cut and these decisions granted. When we have got independence will be the time when we can sit down round the table with our own Government and discuss our future. We wish that the Government that we now have and which understands us and our difficulties should remain here and give us increased power to deal with those who transgress the law, so that we can banish them from our areas."

ELEVENTH CHIEF: "At last the people who come from England are here to hear very clearly what we feel. From the time when I was a child the old people made me understand that the British word and British sense of justice was something that one had to look forward to and really appreciate.

"With the advent of the European all the fighting stopped and the people continued to live in peace and harmony. Recently it was upset by those politicians who have come on the scene. It surprised me that anybody can say the true and traditional leaders are not the people that you have here before you. It would appear that as far as the English are concerned, there are now some others who are termed and recognized as leaders.

### Chiefs Acknowledged in Crises

"During the period 1914-17 Government approached the chiefs as the leaders of the people to bring forward men to fight the war, and again in 1939-45 a similar position arose in which the chiefs were called upon for men for the army. It is these very men that you see here today — the chiefs and headmen who came forward with men to fight for the British, with cattle, with grain to help with the war efforts. Therefore it is with complete surprise that we hear this assertion that the chief is no longer the leader of the people. On these two historic occasions no political leaders were thrust in front of us.

"These are the people who today are burning people's houses, killing their cattle, maiming their stocks, and killing children and wives. England is taking no action to prevent this; in fact, encouraging it. It raises doubts in our minds as to whether England is still England, and whether or not she is standing on one side with some ulterior motive. It leaves us with the impression that those who are holding the reins in England are no longer British, probably of some other nation-

ality. I say this because I am certain that the British in the past would never have allowed this state of affairs to continue.

"One thing that we just cannot understand is this position in which a youngster can come, boot out his father, and take over his position. We can't understand that people who go over to England and say that they are the leaders are accepted without any question. That certainly is not the traditional African position. Our request is that the British should not interfere with our traditional way of life, and try and force upon us something that is alien to us.

"When the British Government came to occupy Southern Rhodesia it was to give peace and harmony. Today that doesn't appear to be the position. They apparently now wish to force upon the Africans customs and traditions which are alien to the Africans.

"We just can't understand that at this stage of our progress in civilization we should be thrown right back to where we had started.

"Our request is: 'Please go back to England. Don't try and turn us into frightened people. Don't try and turn us into people who force customs that are not our own. Leave us to our own customs and our own traditions. If you accept that argument, then the rightful thing for you to do is that when these youngsters tell you that they are the leaders of African people you should come forward and ascertain through the chiefs whether these people are in fact the leaders'.

"It seems to us that you are accepting and taking into your authority thieves and other wrong-doers because these people have come in through the back door like somebody undertaking a stealthy operation. That is why we have the conditions that are prevalent in the countries of the north. As soon as they are given power and authority their first object is to start murdering people. The reason is that power has been invested in hands that have no right to it; and they overlook the position that the chiefs were people that should be given that power.

"Therefore, my hope and desire is that England will now give us our independence, release us from this bondage and enable us to go forward".

### Independence Discussed with the People

**TWELFTH CHIEF:** "The trouble caused by young people takes us back to the old days when you had the whole country in upheaval through raiding and warring. All this is going to lead us back to the position that we were in long before the European came to this country. We have had many people killed, fighting in a war. Sir, without strength, we are going back".

**THIRTEENTH CHIEF:** "Before we came to the last meeting we discussed with our followers this question of independence. Headmen and the kraal heads have the authority to speak for the people. I told my people before that meeting that if we get our independence our troubles will be over.

"After that I was one of the party of chiefs who went on tour overseas. In England, after we had visited other countries, we had tea one day with the gentleman who is here today. I was standing next to the interpreter, and the gentleman told me that they of the Labour Party were very anxious to settle matters over here. I was very pleased when I heard that that same gentleman would be coming to visit us because I thought that we would be given our independence.

"Most of the work in connexion with independence has been done already by us chiefs. We have discussed the matter with our people and we have come with their answer that we want these strings to be cut".

**FOURTEENTH CHIEF:** "It is our bounden duty to place our problems before 'his big eye from overseas. We have our houses burnt with our wives and children in them. We have our cattle damaged. We have our corn ripped up in the land.

"We have hundreds and hundreds of kraal heads who are our followers in our area, and our request is that this string should be cut right now so that we are released from this bondage. If those strings are cut we are certain that we can go forward in peace and harmony.

"We want a Government that recognizes and works with all the people, Europeans, Africans, Bushmen, Coloureds, Indians, the whole lot".

**FIFTEENTH CHIEF (in Sindebele):** "Our problems stem from the children born of these old men whom you see. They run across to England and put forward propositions there that they should be given power to rule this country; and here they are spilling blood. We are very pleased that you should hear and understand what has taken place here, with murder and other tragedies. We would be overjoyed if this could cease and we could live in peace and harmony without the spilling of blood.

### Chiefs are the Government's Eyes

"Chiefs are the Government's people who look after their communities in the reserves—as the Government has its own policemen and others to look after the community, and also it has its armies to look after the people. We have been working hand-in-hand with the Government. I cannot understand any chief or traditional leader not working with Government. Chiefs and headmen are just like the soldiers of Government; they see everything that happens in the rural areas.

"We hope that this ill-wind caused by these youngsters will now be obliterated. We agree with all that the previous speakers have spoken".

**SIXTEENTH CHIEF (speaking in Shona):** "The Government has all these chiefs and headmen, who are its eyes in the rural areas. Can they also have other people as eyes, so that I can say to the Government which comes from overseas that we are at one with our Government and would like to be at one with them. They did not first go to the outsiders.

"Now that these youngsters are being looked to, is Government pleased that we who are the leaders of the people should be conquered by these young ones? When we left home, where we had discussed this matter with our people, we thought we would come here and find that the strings would be cut.

"I agree that it is a good thing for the people who have come from overseas to go about the reserves and see with their own eyes. They will see that we are the ones who carry the wishes of our people in our hearts. The young politicians are just trying to be clever. All the chiefs and headmen that you see gathered today are of one mind—that these strings should be cut".

### Mr. Bottomley's Opening Remarks

Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, had told the chiefs and headmen that the Lord Chancellor and he had come from Britain for discussions with the Government and to hear the views of a cross-section of the people. They would meet Africans, Europeans, Asians, and Coloured people.

"In your Parliament there are some Europeans on the Government side and some on the Opposition side. We shall meet representatives from both sides. Similarly there are differences of opinion among African peoples. We welcome this opportunity to listen to the views held by you, the chiefs and headmen of Rhodesia.

"Why I was not at your *indaba* last October was explained to your Government at the time. I do not wish to go into that now. My absence was not in any way intended as a reflection on you personally.

"Now the Lord Chancellor, one of the Queen's most senior Ministers, and I have come to Rhodesia. We shall travel through the country, visit towns and rural areas, and meet many people drawn from all the four races. As the Shona proverb says, 'A river is filled by its tributaries'. We shall return to Britain with a fuller understanding of the views and wishes of the peoples of Rhodesia, and we shall be able to tell the Prime Minister and the British Parliament about them.

"In this way we hope and believe that our visit will be of real value, for it is with the British Parliament that the ultimate decisions on the independence issue rest; and it is right that such decisions should take fully into account the wishes, aspirations and interests of all people in Rhodesia—to meet the wishes of not just one race or of one section of any race, but of all.

"There is, I am told, a proverb in the Sindebele language which wisely says 'The breast of a man is a granary'. We ask that you will share your granary with us and tell us all that

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you have within your hearts. We hope that no one among you will hesitate to speak freely simply because his views may differ from somebody who has spoken before him".

After the chiefs had spoken Mr. Bottomley expressed thanks and promised that "your views, as well as those of others, will be considered in full in the British Government in London.

"Many of you have spoken of the intimidation and violence from which you have suffered. To those who have suffered we extend our deep sympathy. The British Government condemns violence from whatever quarter it might come. It is wrong and evil, whoever uses it. We in Britain are totally opposed to such methods. We stand for constitutional, law-abiding methods. We will not recognize unconstitutional action by anyone. We believe we can make progress only by discussion and agreement.

"With some things which have been said I cannot agree. I am going to meet later the Council of Chiefs. There we can have a proper discussion of these matters. I will ask those chiefs who are members of the Council of Chiefs to explain these matters to the rest of you after we have discussed them.

"We thank you all for coming to this meeting. We wish you all a safe return to your villages and to your kinsmen, to whom through you we send our best wishes.

"We want Rhodesia to have independence. That is why we are here. What we have to do is to find agreement on the arrangements and conditions for independence which will be acceptable to everybody in the country.

"Mr. Minister, I thank you and your colleagues for your hospitality. We can end on a note of complete unanimity—of thanks to these wonderful interpreters".

*Names of the chiefs were not recorded because it was feared that they might be victimized by party political thugs if their identity were revealed.*

Resumption of relations with China would be favourably considered as soon as the internal political situation had been clarified, the Foreign Minister of Burundi said last week.

Thousands of demonstrators in Addis Ababa, many of them students, demonstrated outside Parliament on Friday, shouting such slogans as "Down With Bad Administration" and "Down With Legislation which Strangles the People"—meaning proposals that farmers should forfeit unused land.

## 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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## Board of Trade and Rhodesian Tobacco

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, Tory M.P. for Chigwell, asked the President of the Board of Trade a few days ago what conversations and communications his Department had had with tobacco buyers regarding the implications of a unilateral declaration of Rhodesia's independence.

Mr. Jay: "Board of Trade officials have had confidential discussions on tobacco supply problems with representatives of some of the major manufacturing companies. It was agreed that the substance of these discussions would not be disclosed".

Mr. Biggs-Davison: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that great concern was felt in Rhodesia because of certain discussions, which I fully understand he cannot disclose? In view of the visit of the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to Rhodesia, which we welcome, and which we hope will lead to a good understanding with the people of Rhodesia—[Hon. Members: 'All the people of Rhodesia?'] Of course, all the people of Rhodesia.

"May we understand that there will be no kind of economic menaces towards Rhodesia? Will he bear in mind the grave consequences to the balance of payments if we were forced to purchase perhaps 100m. dollars' worth of leaf tobacco across the exchange?"

Mr. Jay: "So long as the Rhodesian Government refrain from any extreme step, I do not think that any of these difficulties need arise".

## Willoughby's Consolidated

WILLOUGHBY'S CONSOLIDATED CO., LTD., now a member of the Lonrho group, reports net profit after tax of the parent company to September 30 at £82,111 (£51,604) and of a subsidiary £35,637 (£9,939). A 10% dividend (the same) takes £56,534, and the carry-forward is £169,426 in the case of the parent company and £78,291 in that of the subsidiary.

The company owns 709,889 acres, mainly of ranching land, in Rhodesia, more than 31,000 head of cattle, Willoughby's (Investments) Ewell, Ltd., with investments of £347,508, and Chicago-Gaika Development Co., Ltd., which has investments totalling £382,909. Willoughby's issued capital is £929,004 in 10s. stock units. Investments stand in the books at £732,286, fixed assets at £433,365 and net current assets at £156,845.

Mr. A. H. Ball is the chairman, and the other directors are the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy and Messrs. J. N. Kiek, C. D. Mackenzie, R. W. Rowland (resident in Rhodesia), and J. A. Caldecott. There are two alternates, Messrs. A. G. Ellins and J. A. G. Mills. Colonel C. T. Rodgers is the resident manager in Rhodesia.

## Falcon's Strong Financial Position

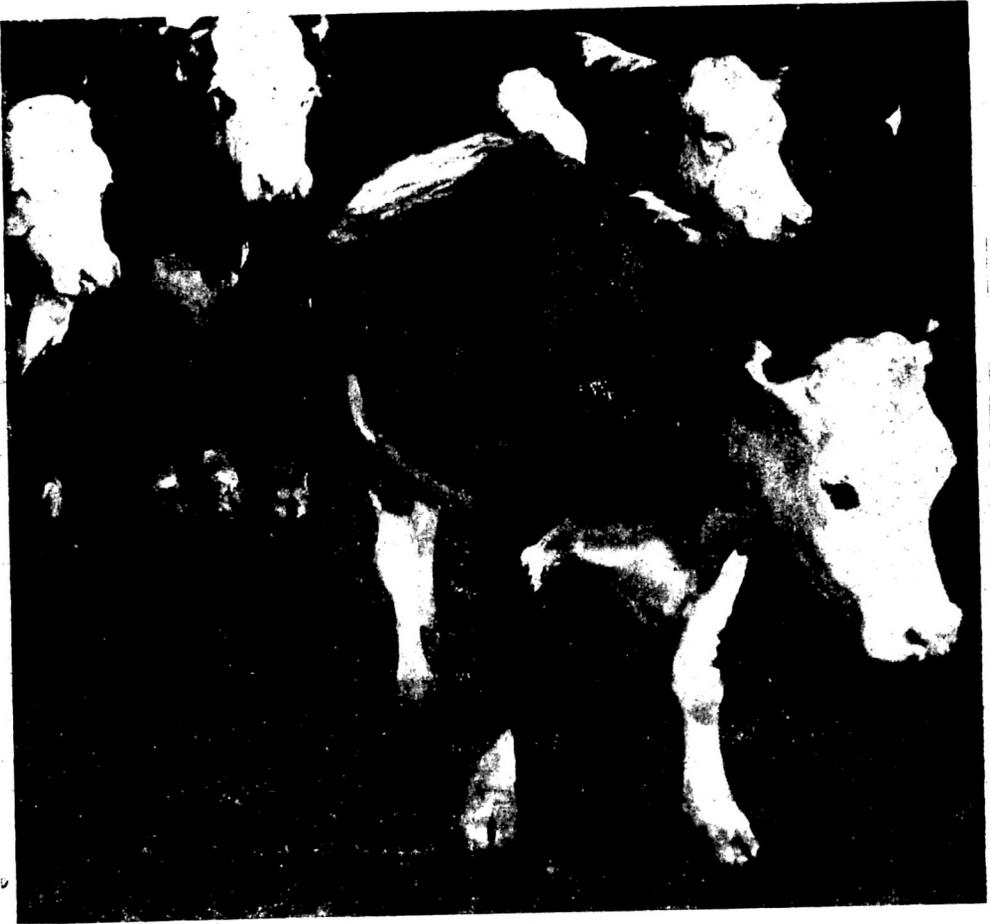
FALCON MINES, LTD., made a profit in the year to September 30 of £328,507 (£315,005) subject to taxation of £35,234. Dividends totalling 37½% take £208,235, leaving £161,353 to be carried forward. The issued capital is £499,293. Fixed assets stand in the books at just over £1.6m., and current assets less current liabilities at £164,348. The working profit at the mine, where 269,800 tons of ore were milled, was £347,851, compared with £334,606 in the previous year. Profits became taxable for the first time since the Dalny mine was acquired. The review of the chairman, Mr. F. L. Wigley (extracts from which appeared last week), refers to the company's strong financial position. His colleagues on the board are Messrs. G. Abdnor, S. F. Dench, J. F. Ince, L. A. Jones, P. A. Jousse, and T. C. O'Brien.

National & Grindlays Bank reports group net profit for 1964 after tax at £771,810 against £679,519. The dividend is increased to 15% (14%).

Turnover above £2,000m. In 1964 is announced by the Unilever group, of which the largest subsidiary is the United Africa Company. Group pre-tax profits rose 4.1% to £123.6m. The dividend is increased to 25% (22.4%).

South African Railways have given notice of their intention to terminate the agreement for the operation and maintenance of the 200-mile section of the railway from the Bechuanaland-South African border to Mahalapye.

A five-year trade agreement between Rhodesia and Portugal was signed in Salisbury last week. A joint trade and economic liaison committee is to examine means of increasing trade between Rhodesia and Mozambique and Portugal.



## 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.

Inserted by a group of friends of Rhodesia

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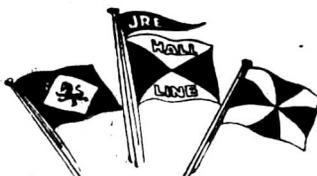
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†† CLAN MACLEOD		March 10	March 15	March 23
† JOURNALIST		March 24	March 29	April 6

\* if inducement. † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR).  
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