

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

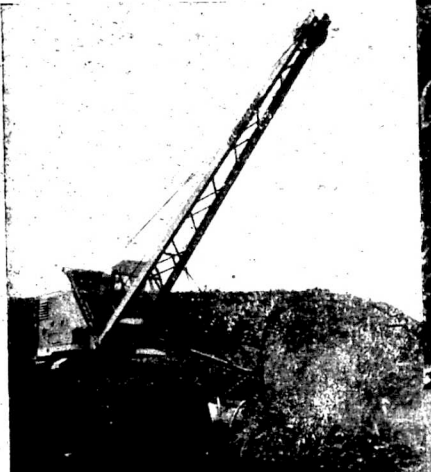
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Rhodesian Businessmen Oppose U.D.I.

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Jolson

THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1965

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**TOMORROW RHODESIANS** face a fateful choice, for they know that the result of their general election, called by Mr. Ian Smith to strengthen his Government's demand for independence, may in certain circumstances be used as a warrant for a unilateral declaration of independence which few of them want. The Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister have themselves said on innumerable occasions that they and their party want a negotiated independence, and that is assuredly the desire of the overwhelming majority of the European population and of all the recognized African leaders except the political extremists who have sought power by intimidation and violence, including murder. It would be folly, however, not to recognize that the Rhodesian Government could be driven by British action, or interminable inaction, to seize independence, though all responsible men in the country know that such a development would have calamitous consequences. But so, of course, would domination by Africans long before they are ready for the responsibility.

Because the Rhodesian White Paper is considered by business leaders in that country to underestimate dangerously the damage which sanctions would be likely to inflict, leading commercial organizations have now published the memoranda in which they submitted to their Government some months ago their assessments of the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence. The Government had not merely asked them to refrain from publication, but had taken the unusual course of declaring the documents to be confidential and emphasizing that to communicate the contents to unauthorized

### Candour Better Than Secrecy.

persons would entail liability to prosecution under the Official Secrets Act. The various organizations and the local Press have disregarded the Government's wishes and warnings only because of their conviction that the country ought to have before it all the facts available. On reflection, the Rhodesian Front will surely agree that candour on this central issue is preferable to secrecy, which, breeding suspicion and exaggeration, would inevitably exacerbate bitterness between the political parties when the great need is for understanding and mutual trust. However independence may come, or even if it be deferred, Rhodesia can gain nothing but lose much from mistrust between its most influential citizens when the country's fate is at stake.

.. .. .

**MR. IAIN MACLEOD'S** references to Rhodesia in his address to Amherst College, Massachusetts, were even sillier than was indicated by the telegraphic summary on which our first comments were based. The full text necessitates amplification but not correction of our criticism. The former Colonial Secretary argued that independence could be honourably granted to Rhodesia by Britain only if there were a clearer promise of an African majority than was afforded by the 1961 Constitution; but he had not the candour to admit his own responsibility as a member of the then Cabinet for the settlement which he now condemns. His audience did not know, as our readers do, that while at the Colonial Office he caused Britain to tear up Colonial Constitutions with unseemly and dangerous haste. In Northern Rhodesia, for instance, he wrecked within two years a Constitution which his predecessor had promised should remain unaltered for a decade. He now



## Notes By The Way

### Russia First

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar as the United Republic of Tanzania was celebrated last week. A noteworthy aspect of the description broadcast from the State-owned Dar es Salaam radio station was that the first nation cited as having sent congratulations was Soviet Russia. The Chinese People's Republic was one of the only two other countries named in that connexion. The third was the United States of America. Can that have been another little manoeuvre in the endeavour to heal the breach with America so stupidly made a few months ago by Foreign Minister Kambona? Some of his Cabinet colleagues have made no secret of their resentment at his recklessness, whether deliberate or caused by gullibility, and their anxiety that the several follies which resulted should be forgotten. If the intention was to reflect that attitude by selecting the U.S.A. for honourable mention on Union Day, it was not clever to sandwich her between the two great Communist Powers.

### Preparing for War

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT KARUME of Tanzania—who is still called by his followers President of Zanzibar, though that office supposedly disappeared a year ago—and Second Vice-President Kawawa flew to Zanzibar for the celebrations, which were graced in Pemba by the presence of Mr. Kambona. A statement issued by the Afro-Shirazi Youth League declared Tanzania to be "daily increasing its co-operation with those people who are in the battlefield against imperialism" and to be making every effort "to eliminate blood-sucking". Mr. Kambona's contribution was an assurance that "Tanzania is willing to fight to topple the Portuguese régime in Mozambique". As chairman of the so-called Liberation Committee of O.A.U., he is very active in preparing for hostilities. Russian tanks and artillery recently delivered in Dar es Salaam are doubtless intended for use against Mozambique—and later perhaps against Rhodesia. There are known to be in Tanzania today Russian, Chinese, East German, and Czech military "technicians", and battle-hardened Algerians, not to mention "freedom fighters" from numerous African States. If the tanks are no better than those which Kenya has just rejected, the militant Ministers have evidently been tricked.

### Not Expulsion

LEADING NEWSPAPERS in Britain, from *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph* downwards, have referred to the intended "expulsion" of some 500,000 Africans from Rhodesia to their home countries of Malawi and Zambia if the United Kingdom Government should impose economic sanctions damaging to Rhodesia. The references should, of course, have been to "repatriation", not "expulsion"—a word more emotive and inaccurate. For decades large numbers of Africans from the neighbouring northern territories have elected to work in Rhodesia, but the vast majority have returned home fairly frequently. Indeed, in agreement after agreement over the years the Governments of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now Malawi) have held firmly to two principles—that the migrants should return to their native land, and that during their period of employment as expatriates they should regularly remit an adequate

share of their earnings to their families, whose spending power has consequently represented a considerable contribution to Nyasaland's economy. During the slump of the 'thirties thousands of workers from that country had to be sent back from Rhodesia because farmers and others could not continue to employ them. That repatriation—regretted by nearly all the employers as much as by the men themselves—was well understood by all concerned as wholly economic in origin. If a similar course had unfortunately been adopted this year, it would be political in origin—and basically the consequence of political follies in Britain over a period of years. It would, however, be a case of repatriation, not of expulsion.

### On Whose Side?

PETER SIMPLE, who in his "Way of the World" feature in the *Daily Telegraph* often comments more shrewdly on African affairs than any other staff writer on a London daily newspaper, has said under the heading "Whose Side?": "Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister for Overseas Development, while visiting Tanzania, a country believed to be under strong Communist influence, said that Great Britain had given it £27.5m.-worth of aid since it became independent. She hopes we shall maintain and even increase this level of aid. Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, announces that if Rhodesia, a firmly pro-Western country, declares its independence, Great Britain will retaliate by economic sanctions against it. Here are two items of news in Monday's newspapers. Taken in conjunction, they should cause anyone whose brains have not been addled by years of unremitting left-wing propaganda to ask the question: Whose side is the Labour Government on? Some progressivists, echoing the leading article which with slight modifications appears in the *Observer* every Sunday, will reply that there are no sides any longer; there is only a common interest in progress towards a World Government in which all nations can share. Splendid. But do the Russian and Chinese Communists and their instruments agree?"

### Rhodesia Government

MR. HAROLD WILSON, the British Prime Minister, decided for some strange reason that throughout his statement in Parliament last week in reply to the White Paper issued in Salisbury he would refer to "the Rhodesia Government"—not to the Rhodesian Government or the Government of Rhodesia (except that in reply to a supplementary question by Mr. Sandys he mentioned, presumably by accident, that he hoped for renewed discussions with the Rhodesian Government after the election). Deviation from the convention was evidently deliberate, but it was certainly not attractive. Rhodesia is the name of the country, and in that sense comparable with France or Belgium. Mr. Wilson would not speak of the Belgium Government or the France Government. Why, then, the Rhodesia Government?

### Lucifer

EVEN IN PARLIAMENT Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, now refers to his former Minister as "Lucifer Chiumo".

# U.D.I. Would Be Disastrous, Says British Prime Minister

## Delusion for Rhodesians to Expect External Support

**DISASTER FOR RHODESIA** if its Government were to make a unilateral declaration of independence was forecast in the House of Commons last Thursday by the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson.

For Rhodesians to think that they would receive widespread international support was a delusion, he said. They could not hope to defy Britain, the whole Commonwealth, nearly all Africa, and the United Nations.

One little ray of light still enabled him to hope for a peaceful settlement.

The Prime Minister said:—

"The Rhodesia Government have issued a White Paper setting out their views of the economic effects of a unilateral declaration of independence.

"H.M. Government have no desire to try to influence the voters of Rhodesia in the general election due to take place on May 7, and for this reason have not hitherto commented on what is being said by spokesmen of either the Rhodesia Government or Opposition parties during their respective campaigns. They obviously cannot, however, remain silent in the face of official utterances in Salisbury about the probable content of decisions which would be taken in London.

"The Rhodesia Government did not consult H.M. Government about their decision to issue such a White Paper, still less about its contents, which completely misrepresent the likely economic effort on Rhodesia of a unilateral declaration.

### Judgment of October 27 Not Modified

"The Rhodesia Government White Paper, after referring to the statement issued from No. 10 Downing Street on October 27, says: 'It has been assumed in some quarters that the proposals referred to in the statement would be applied by the British Government with a degree of severity designed to collapse the economy of Rhodesia within a relatively short period'. It then purports to 'evaluate' whether in fact Britain could or would implement in full what it calls the 'sanctions' suggested after a unilateral declaration.

"By this means the Rhodesia Government are seeking to convey the impression that they and not H.M. Government are the best judges of what action H.M. Government would take in the event of a unilateral declaration.

"H.M. Government adhere to the statement issued on October 27, 1964. It expressed the view that the economic effects of a unilateral declaration would be disastrous to the prosperity and prospects of the people of Rhodesia and that Rhodesia's external trade would be disrupted. Nothing that has happened in the last six months has afforded reasons for modifying this judgment in any way.

"The White Paper states that a great proportion of Rhodesia's exports could be marketed in countries other than Britain with whom Rhodesia has trading relations, and it discusses in particular tobacco, which is Rhodesia's chief export. Britain is by far the biggest buyer of Rhodesian tobacco, and if Britain were to stop buying Rhodesian tobacco the effect upon the tobacco growers and upon the whole economy of Rhodesia would be particularly severe.

"The Rhodesian Tobacco Association is itself reported to have reached the conclusion that the imposition of embargoes would be disastrous to the industry. There would be no difficulty in procuring British tobacco requirements from other countries.

"The White Paper seeks to reassure Rhodesians that after a unilateral declaration money will be forthcoming for investment in Rhodesia from what it terms 'countries not unfriendly' towards her.

"Britain has hitherto been the chief external source of capital for Rhodesia's economic development. A unilateral

declaration would put a stop to this flow. The statement of October 27 made it clear that all financial as well as trade relations between Britain and Rhodesia would be jeopardized, that aid would cease, and that, with one or two exceptions, other Governments would be likely to refuse to recognize Rhodesia's independence or to enter into relations with her.

"The establishment of an illegal régime in Rhodesia is at least calculated to produce stable Government there which the Rhodesia Government themselves recognize to be a prerequisite for attracting investment from abroad.

"Other Governments inside and outside the Commonwealth will no doubt make known their own views on the White Paper. Commonwealth Prime Ministers, in their communiqué of July 15, 1964, noted with approval the statement of the British Government that they would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence, and the other Prime Ministers made it clear that they would be unable to recognize any such declaration. Moreover, the entire Commonwealth expressed their approval of the declaration of October 27.

### Delusion of International Support

"There can be no justification for the Rhodesia Government or people to nurse the delusion that they would receive widespread international support.

"The Rhodesian view of events elsewhere in Africa and their effect on thinking in the West is profoundly mistaken, and it would be an error to assume that this view could affect H.M. Government's policy towards an act of rebellion in Rhodesia.

"The White Paper argues that the adverse consequences of a unilateral declaration would be the responsibility of Britain alone. It is not Britain, however, which is contemplating unconstitutional action. If such action were to be taken responsibility for the consequence would lie squarely on the shoulders of those who took it.

"The White Paper appears to assume that it would be improper for Britain to react in any way if Rhodesia chose to put herself in the position of a colony in rebellion, whereas Rhodesia would be entitled to take whatever measures she chose against Malawi, Zambia, or any other country in retaliation against the inevitable consequences of her own action. No Government outside Rhodesia is likely to share this view.

"H.M. Government remain firmly convinced that the only route by which Rhodesia can achieve independence without grave consequences to herself is by the process of constitutional negotiation. She cannot hope to defy Britain, the whole of the Commonwealth, nearly the whole of Africa, and the United Nations.

"H.M. Government therefore profoundly hope that Rhodesia will not be misled into thinking that she could escape disaster if she were to fly in the face of world opinion. The answer lies in an agreed solution, and H.M. Government stand ready to carry forward their not entirely unhelpful negotiations with the Government of Rhodesia after the election in order to achieve this objective."

### Unhappy Exchanges

SIR A. DOUGLAS-HOME: "I do not intend to comment on the substance of this rather unhappy exchange of Government declarations, but to express the hope that the Government of Rhodesia will respond to the last sentence in the Prime Minister's statement, and that negotiations will be resumed after the general election has taken place in Rhodesia."

MR. WILSON: "I very much thank the rt. hon. gentleman for what he has said. The position we have taken has been entirely consistent, and a continuation of the very firm and statesmanlike line taken by the previous Government in the negotiations last September. We have kept that on."

"I believe one hope—and it is not entirely unhelpful—lies in the negotiations which we hope to resume more actively after the elections. A dialogue of a kind is continuing now, but obviously in an election situation it is difficult to carry those negotiations to any fruitful conclusion."

MR. GRIMOND: "Everyone will hope for a peaceful and friendly result of these negotiations. Most people will certainly support this declaration, which makes it crystal clear that no one in this country could simply ignore a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia, and that the Rhodesian people should be doubly well aware of the position of this country."

MR. WILSON: "I thank the rt. hon. gentleman also for that statement. Frankly, we did not want to have to make any statement on this issue, particularly while an election was on in a Commonwealth country, but in view of the terms of the White Paper, which seemed to be putting an interpretation on

our own words and on the intentions of this Government quite contrary to what was meant by the Government, and clearly understood to be meant by the Government, we had no alternative but to make a statement this afternoon. I felt that a statement of this degree of constitutional importance had to be made in the House; and had to be made today."

MR. TURTON: "The Prime Minister's correspondence with the Rhodesian Prime Minister is forming the background to an issue in the Rhodesia election. Will he tell the Rhodesian electors and the British people where in his correspondence he made an offer of negotiation, as otherwise he is aiding extremists in Rhodesia and handicapping those who wish to find a negotiated solution to this very unhappy problem?"

MR. WILSON: "The correspondence has been confidential. The Secretary of State and the Lord Chancellor had discussions which for the most part, I am afraid, were not very encouraging about the possibility of an agreed solution. But one ray of light did emerge. There was one possibility. I have described it, fairly I think, as not entirely unhelpful. I would not put it any higher than that."

### Ray of Hope

"We, and I hope everyone in Rhodesia, would feel it right to concentrate on that ray of hope rather than take any extreme positions even in the heat of an election, because no one, I hope, would impair the chances of a peaceful settlement. I hope my statement quite clearly said what would be the results of unconstitutional action."

DR. KERR said that the forthright and courageous terms of the Prime Minister's statement would be welcomed on both sides of the House. Could he tell the House of any help which might be forthcoming to Zambia and Malawi if the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia were implemented in the terms of the White Paper.

MR. WILSON: "So far as possible effects on Malawi and Zambia are concerned, I hope we can regard this as entirely hypothetical, because these are perhaps veiled suggestions of what might happen if a certain thing occurred as a result of a unilateral declaration of independence which we know to be unconstitutional. While the Government are watching closely any possible consequence of any unconstitutional action, I hope we shall not be asked to say what would be done if any unconstitutional action took place, which we all hope will not be the situation."

MR. SANDYS: "As the situation is somewhat explosive, will the Prime Minister perhaps, as soon as possible after the election in Rhodesia, take the initiative in proposing negotiations?"

MR. WILSON: "A kind of dialogue is continuing which can inevitably in the circumstances be confined to no more than basic principles. But I have made clear, and Mr. Smith would very much agree with this, as soon as the election is over we would propose to enter into negotiations with the Rhodesian Government as to the basis of constitutional advance which would make possible an agreed move towards independence."

### Collective Expression of Commonwealth Opinion

SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON: "I understood the Prime Minister to say he expected each Commonwealth country to express its own opinion separately. Is there no hope of some collective expression of opinion?"

MR. WILSON: "The collective expression of opinion by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the conference last July was in the clearest and most unequivocal terms. We have kept in close touch with all the Commonwealth Governments, and after our statement on October 27 it was publicly supported by every Commonwealth Government. That being so, I think we can take it that the interpretation of that statement I have given today would have the support of the entire Commonwealth."

MR. MACLEOD: "On Friday of this week, long before the election, the Security Council are proposing to embark on a resolution in relation to Rhodesia which can do nothing but exacerbate the position there. Would the Prime Minister indicate the view of the Government towards that resolution?"

MR. WILSON: "It is important that discussions on this subject at the United Nations should not reach a situation that would exacerbate feeling on any side in Rhodesia or any part of Africa. Lord Caradon has been in the closest touch with the Commonwealth missions to the United Nations, and a great deal has been done, with the general good will of everyone concerned, to keep the atmosphere as cool as possible during the very difficult months when provocative action of any kind might have led to an explosion."

"Until we know exactly what are the terms of the resolutions finally to be moved we cannot define our attitude. We understand the apprehensions and anxieties of all the Afro-Asian nations there, but it would be unfortunate if we got a Security Council position which in any way prejudiced these difficult negotiations."

### British Council of Churches. "Resolution"

Two days earlier the British Council of Churches had resolved:—

"At this time of electoral choice in Rhodesia the Council calls upon Christians in Britain to pray for that land and people, understanding the hopes and fears both of white and black Rhodesians. White Rhodesians have hopes and fears for the future of their children in the country to which they have contributed so much. Black Rhodesians cannot but be affected by the rise of African peoples to political responsibility in neighbouring States."

"The present deadlock can be resolved only by Rhodesian action; but the positions taken up at the moment by both the European and African leaders make progress towards political co-operation between the races within an independent Rhodesia almost impossible. The Council welcomes the endeavours of H.M. Government to bring the two sides into negotiation."

"The Council supports the statement of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of October 1964 which sets out the grave consequences of an illegal declaration of independence; it continues to regard as inequitable any grant of independence which does not involve much greater representation of Africans in Parliament."

"The Council requests the general secretary to communicate the resolution to the chairman of the Christian Council of Rhodesia, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia."

The Prime Minister, said *The Times*, had done well to reply so quickly and firmly to the dangerously misleading Rhodesian White Paper.

Mr. Smith's White Paper belittled the public warnings given by the British Government. In sentence after sentence he played down the harm which economic sanctions would do to Rhodesia, and thereby contradicted the gloomy estimates given by the Rhodesian trade associations. The White Paper asserted that Rhodesia would have the power to hit back in many ways, including the expulsion back to Malawi and Zambia of about half a million of their nationals in Rhodesia.

### "Times" Distrusts Rhodesians

"The British Government, with every reason to distrust the way in which the white minority in an independent Rhodesia would treat the black majority, was bound to puncture the bubble spirit of euphoria which the Smith White Paper inflated."

"In reply to the dream that Rhodesia could cut loose and sail happily away, the Prime Minister was devastatingly plain. A unilateral declaration would bring complete disruption of Rhodesia's external trade, aid would cease, and most Governments, among them all the Commonwealth countries, would hold back recognition."

"Few in Britain would wish to part in anger from their kith and kin. Mr. Wilson had the support of speakers of all parties when offering more talks, though at this late stage there can be no illusions about the likelihood of agreement. Rhodesians were not told anything new about the cost of a break, but repetition of the warning could not have been better timed."

"Collision Course on Rhodesia" was the heading given by the *Financial Times*, to a leader which said, *inter alia*:—

"Mr. Smith argues that sanctions by Britain would hurt her more than Rhodesia. The implication is that Britain therefore would take no effective action. In any case, the Paper maintains, other countries would buy Rhodesian goods and supply the investment capital she needed. And specific reference is made to the vulnerability of Malawi and Zambia."

"The vast majority of white Rhodesians share Mr. Smith's desire for speedy independence. But quite a number of them do not believe that this should be achieved by an unconstitutional step. The Rhodesian Tobacco Association and the Rhodesian Branch of the Institute of Directors are but two of the organizations which have taken Mr. Wilson's warning very much more seriously than Mr. Smith appears to do."

"For the British Government not to have reacted to an official Government pronouncement would have been read as a sign of vacillation at home, in Salisbury, throughout the Commonwealth, and in the world at large. The result of Mr. Smith's electoral gimmick is that the two Governments appear to be set on a collision course. If Mr. Smith draws back from the brink after the voting extremists in his own party will accuse him of weakness. If he does grab independence the British Government is bound to take forceful action."

The *Scotsman's* comment bore the caption "Not Bluffing". It said:—

"The Rhodesian White Paper implied that Britain would

never dare to impose effective economic sanction. Mr. Wilson has been quite blunt about Britain's intention not to allow U.D.I. to go unchallenged. There should be no doubt that he means what he says, or that his resolution is in general shared by the Conservative and Liberal parties.

"There are moral grounds for retaliating against an act of rebellion" which would be undertaken in order to consolidate the oppression of the majority race. Even if there were no moral grounds, for reasons of expediency Britain would be forced to act.

"Communism may be a minor threat in Africa at the moment, but it might become the major threat that Mr. Smith imagines it to be if the West in general and Britain in particular behaved after U.D.I. as if nothing had happened."

#### Nought for Comfort

The *Daily Telegraph* found in the Rhodesian White Paper "nought for the comfort of either country". A short leader said (in part):—

"Rhodesia would be starved of international finance. The commercial goodwill towards Britain in Rhodesia would be lost after a period of boycott. Rhodesia would look to other industrial nations for reciprocal trade. If Zambia and Malawi show zeal in the British boycott, their migrant labour force is

an obvious target for expulsion. Rhodesia could deny to the Copperbelt coal from the Wankie and electric power from Kariba and dislocate the vast copper production upon which British industry depends.

"Would the reaction of foreign Governments to a unilateral declaration be quite so sharp and immediate as Mr. Wilson predicts?—for primarily this quarrel would concern Britain and Rhodesia only, secondly the Commonwealth, and foreign Powers to a much lesser degree.

"With the general election in Rhodesia so close, it is deplorable that heat should be added to this controversy. Threats will only increase the majority of Mr. Smith and hearten those extremists in his Cabinet who are already impatient of his hesitations. Britain is in duty bound to champion the 1961 Constitution, and could block recognition abroad of Rhodesian sovereignty almost indefinitely. What she could not do without inflicting misery on millions of people would be to marshal an international crusade against a defiant Rhodesia."

The Rhodesian Branch of the Institute of Directors had, the *Economist* suggested, called its own Government a liar.

The White Paper had hardly tried seriously to analyze the consequences of U.D.I. Salisbury was always uttering dark threats, perpetually saying "You wouldn't do that to me", acting like a stage mother-in-law. "Even the most durable of mothers-in-law might get pushed over a cliff."

## Denials that Independence Terms Have Been Proposed

### No Suggestions Received from Britain, Says Mr. Smith

DENIALS were issued in London and Salisbury last week that terms for independence had been suggested to Mr. Ian Smith by Mr. Harold Wilson.

Suggestions repeatedly canvassed during the past couple of years were said by the *Daily Telegraph* to have been put to the Rhodesian Government, and to represent "as handsome an offer of independence as any British Labour Government could be answerable for".

The main terms of the offer, supposedly put in a letter from Mr. Wilson on March 30, were alleged to be: (1) that Africans should be given universal suffrage on the B roll; (2) that B roll seats in Parliament should be increased from 15 to 22, so giving Africans a "blocking third" in the Assembly; and (3) that over a period of years the Land Apportionment Act should be phased out, until no areas remained reserved to whites.

It was further stated that these proposals, discussed with Mr. Smith during his visit by Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, were favourably viewed by him but were overruled by the Rhodesian Front, whose right-wing Cabinet members insisted that the Prime Minister should refuse them or resign.

#### Report Denied

Mr. Smith promptly declared in Salisbury that there was "no truth whatsoever in the suggestions"; that no offer of any kind had been made in Mr. Wilson's letter; and that no offer had since been received from the British Government by letter or in any other form.

A similar denial was issued by the Commonwealth Relations Office, which added: "Although exchanges remain confidential, it can be said that their object has been to explore possible lines on which a settlement might be based, and the stage has not yet been reached at which detailed proposals can be put forward on either side."

On the same evening the Rhodesian Prime Minister said in a broadcast talk that he intended to continue negotiations for independence "until all hope is gone". He believed the climate for negotiation to be more

favourable than for a long time past.

While there was no emergency, the Government had been taking precautions.

"If in the future we find ourselves heading for a takeover by the extreme racialists in our midst, aided and abetted by the Communist forces operating in Africa, that will be an emergency". The Government would then have to act to preserve the country and its civilization. Meantime negotiations for independence would continue.

#### Communist Money

On the previous day Mr. Smith had said in Bulawayo that he accepted the allegation that the general election was the U.D.I. election—with the proviso that that meant a united demand for independence. Rhodesia was at war, and Communist countries were pouring in money to delay independence.

After the denials by the two Prime Ministers, the Salisbury correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* cabled that the Opposition leader, Mr. David Butler, had told him: "While I am prepared to accept that no specific proposals have been put, it seems quite clear that certain proposals have been made by Mr. Wilson."

The correspondent added that tentative proposals had been put through the High Commissioner in London after Mr. Bottomley's return; that Mr. Campbell had telephoned the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Dupont, immediately the report had been published by the *Telegraph*; that Mr. Dupont spoke to Mr. Smith who was in Bulawayo; and that a strong denial was then issued by Mr. Smith, coupled with a reference to the "despicable conduct of the journalist concerned".

#### Sick of British Threats

Mr. Butler told a Bulawayo meeting that he was heartily sick of being continually threatened by Britain. "We would appreciate an offer on the positive side as well as threats. The two should go together." He described the White Paper as "hardly worthy of the Flat Earth Society".

Mr. Dupont criticized Mr. Butler for having disclosed on another occasion a confidential conversation with the Prime Minister, himself, and Mr. Hackwill, thereby prejudicing negotiations with H.M. Government. He (Mr. Dupont) had previously said that "the Government would not make a unilateral declaration of independence except as a last resort, unless the very existence of Rhodesia is at stake". On four occasions during the past year actual dates for a unilateral declaration had been made by men who wanted to stampede Rhodesia. Now a fifth date was being suggested.

Mr. Harper, another Minister, told a meeting in Umtali: "I hope we can come to terms with Britain. Let no one mis-



lead you on the issue; it is important for the British Government to know that they cannot egg us on and on."

### U.D.I. Would Start "Black-White War"

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the African nationalist leader, who is restricted to the Gonakudzingwa area, said last week that seizure of independence would start a "real black-white war". His statement continued: "Some of us are going to lose our lives. That will be part of the price we have to pay and which many people have paid in similar circumstances, but the battle will rage on until right and justice triumph."

Mr. Nalumbo Mundia, Minister of Labour and Social Development in Zambia, who would be responsible for the welfare of any Zambians repatriated from Rhodesia, said: "The Rhodesian Government has told the world that it would initiate economic sanctions against Zambia, even if we had done nothing, in retaliation against economic moves by Britain against Rhodesia. Zambia, of course, is no longer a British colony. I appeal to all Zambians in Rhodesia to remain calm. I am sure that in the event of Mr. Smith deporting them a number of other countries and charitable organizations will lend assistance to the Zambian Government to meet any difficulties that might arise."

After publication of the memoranda by A.R.N.I. and the Associated Chambers of Commerce—as paid advertisements in the *Sunday Mail*, Salisbury—there was a general feeling that the Rhodesian Front would win at least 46 of the 50 A roll seats. One correspondent telegraphed that the Opposition might not have even one spokesman in the new House.

### Discussions at United Nations

The Security Council of the United Nations, at the demand of 35 African member States, debated the Rhodesian question on Friday, when the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Senegal, speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, called for British action to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence on the basis of universal suffrage. Both dismissed as unimpressive British threats of economic sanctions, emphasizing British reluctance to impose sanctions against South Africa and her argument that they would prove ineffective. The Africans wanted the forthcoming general election to be cancelled, all political prisoners to be set free, and a constitutional conference.

Mr. Thian (Senegal) argued that Britain could use force against Rhodesia, just as she had used it against the Mau Mau in Kenya.

Lord Caradon, the British representative, asked for understanding of British policy and that nothing should be done to make more difficult the negotiations with Rhodesia which would take place after the general election. If negotiations then failed the results would be disastrous for all the people of Rhodesia, and there would be grave repercussions beyond that country.

On Monday spokesmen for the Soviet Union, Jordan, and the Ivory Coast argued that British threats of what would happen after U.D.I. were less important than Britain's failure to forestall a unilateral declaration.

Dr. Fedorenko, the Russian delegate, accused Britain of deliberately encouraging Mr. Smith's Government and policies, of deceiving world opinion about Britain's real relations with the Rhodesian racists, and generally of misrepresentation and distortion. He described Rhodesia as "one large concentration camp", called on Britain to transfer political power immediately to the African majority in Rhodesia, and taunted Lord Caradon with a "metamorphosis in thinking and convictions" since he had ceased to be Sir Hugh Foot.

Lord Caradon, having rejected the charges of conspiracy, malice and colonialism, retaliated that Russia pursued policies of ruthless domination and neo-slavery, and that in the past 20 years Britain had enfranchised and brought to independence populations numbering nearly three times as many as the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Saying that Dr. Fedorenko had misquoted from his biography, Lord Caradon handed him a copy of the book; that would save money to the Soviet Union, "which is known for its reluctance to make voluntary contributions".

### Liberation Committee Considering Military Measures

Yesterday the African Liberation Committee held an emergency session in Dar es Salaam to consider how independent African States could best retaliate if Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence. "Freedom fighters" from Rhodesia were stated to be present to make their proposals. Military measures and the creation of a Rhodesian government-in-exile were to be discussed.

Mr. Sebastian Chale, executive officer of the committee, said that Britain should be prepared to go to war with Rhodesia if the imposition of economic sanctions did not succeed in their purpose.

## Mr. Macleod's "Solution" for Rhodesia

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in the course of a recent address to Amherst College, Massachusetts:—

"The pressure of the world on South Africa will surely mount. Can the Commonwealth contribute to peace in this part of the continent? I believe that it can—by helping us to solve the intractable problem of Southern Rhodesia.

"Here, among an African population 15 times as large, a European community of nearly a quarter of a million has made its home and contributed its capital and skill. It desires independence within the Commonwealth. But clearly no British Parliament could honourably grant independence to Rhodesia in the absence of institutions sufficiently representative of the African majority. There need not actually be an African majority—although it is dangerous to transfer power to minorities—but there must be a clearer promise of one than the 1961 Constitution affords.

"A unilateral declaration of independence (U.D.I.) would be an open act of rebellion. It would not be recognized by Britain, nor by any member of the Commonwealth, nor by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations.

"What would happen if U.D.I. were turned from a threat into a reality? For Britain to restore the position by force of arms may be possible in theory, but is unthinkable in practice. Economic sanctions could certainly be applied, but it would be a mistake to underestimate Rhodesia's power of retaliation. Zambia, for example—the newly independent country which was formerly Northern Rhodesia—has to look to Rhodesia for the transport of her copper and for the supply of much of her power.

### Key Lies in Zambia

"Perhaps the key lies in Zambia. I remember a conversation I had three years ago with Adlai Stevenson, at a time when the first African-dominated Government in Northern Rhodesia was being formed. 'On what do you base your hopes?' Mr. Stevenson asked me. 'I am not optimistic', I replied, 'but if there is anything to rely on, it is the infection of peace spreading southwards'. Because of the settlement in Kenya, the settlement in Northern Rhodesia became possible. If Zambia succeeds, and I believe she will, so in time will Rhodesia.

"In almost all respects Rhodesia is independent now, and has been so for 40 years. There is no immediate answer beyond the hope that for a time both sides should agree to go on as they are. The way would then be open to a constructive Commonwealth solution.

"My suggestion is that we should jointly invite the services of statesmen from the old and the new Commonwealth in a goodwill mission. Then, with the help of this Commonwealth mission, we should begin to work towards a constitutional conference. In the end men must come to the conference table.

"The new Commonwealth which has evolved out of the Empire has not ended our responsibilities. On the contrary, in the fields of aid and trade they are at a new beginning. The problem of problems for all of us in the free world in the years ahead is the disparity of wealth between the rich nations and the poor, between north and south as much as between east and west, between black and white, between the educated and the illiterate; and in helping to meet this challenge Britain's preponderant effort is naturally devoted to the developing nations of the Commonwealth.

"In recent years no comparable sector of our public expenditure has increased so fast. Taking both public and private expenditures into account, Britain's contribution to the developing world is now greater than that of the entire Communist bloc. Just as vital as money is the sharing of knowledge and experience.

"Britain's place at the centre of a developing Commonwealth has meant our maintaining a higher proportion of experts overseas and welcoming a higher proportion of overseas students than any other country. Something like 20,000 British men and women are today serving in the developing countries as teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, agriculturalists and technicians of every kind. At home one student in every 10 at our various colleges comes from overseas."

[This statement is the subject of a leading article.]



# PERSONALIA

MR. and MRS. E. BELART have arrived in London from Nairobi.

MR. C. G. PAGE has been appointed assistant manager of the Standard Bank.

DR. T. MILES and DR. G. W. TODES are in London from Salisbury, Rhodesia.

THE RT. REV. S. C. PICKARD, Bishop of Lebombo, Mozambique, has arrived in Britain.

BEATRICE LADY PLUMMER, widow of SIR LESLIE PLUMMER, has been made a life peer.

SIR ROY WELENSKY left London on Thursday on his way back to Rhodesia from Canada and the United States.

DR. S. B. ASSEA, Uganda's Ambassador in the United States, has been back in Uganda for a week for consultations.

MR. A. A. OJERA, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism in Uganda, has spent a week in Scandinavia.

MRS. FATIMA ABEID KARUME, wife of the First Vice-President of Tanzania, flew to Moscow to attend the May Day celebrations.

MR. DITTON MWIINGA, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs in Zambia, has visited Indonesia and Malaysia.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, High Commissioner for Kenya in Britain, addressed the English Speaking Union in Edinburgh at luncheon last week.

MR. SAIDI MTAKI, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanzania, is leading a three-member trade delegation to China.

Rhodesian company directors who have recently arrived in London include MR. A. H. W. CHAMBERS, MR. P. D. HART, MR. A. H. SHEPHERD, and MR. C. D. TALBERT.

LADY CHESHAM, M.P. for Iringa, and founder and executive secretary of the Community Development Trust Fund of Tanzania, has left for visits to Italy, Sweden, and Britain.

SIR RONALD GERMAN, director-general of the British Post Office, and formerly Postmaster-General of East Africa, is presiding over a Commonwealth Telecommunications Conference in London.

MR. ANGÚS OGILVY, a director of numerous Central and East African companies, and president of the British Rheumatism and Arthritis Association, has said that it will launch a campaign to keep doctors and the general public informed of new treatments for the diseases in order to correct the belief that little or nothing can be done to mitigate their crippling effects.

MR. A. B. C. DANIELI, of the Tanzanian Mission to the United Nations, has been appointed rapporteur to the 28-nation committee of the United Nations Trade and Development Board.

MR. H. LIONEL ELVIN, since 1958 director of the Institute of Education of London University, has been appointed chairman for the next two years of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee.

MR. G. N. S. RIDLEY, a freshman from Milton School, Rhodesia, took seven wickets for 110 runs in his first match for Oxford University (against Gloucestershire, which won by an innings and 106 runs).

MR. S. WARUHIU, Vice-Principal of University College, Nairobi, has been appointed chairman of a Broadcasting Advisory Council established in Kenya. The Kenya National Farmers' Union representative is MR. J. B. POLLARD.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA, RWANDA and BURUNDI announces the appointment of CANON ADONIYA SEBUN-UNGURI as Assistant Bishop in Rwanda and the VEN. YOHANA NKUNZUMWAMI as Assistant Bishop in Burundi. They will be consecrated in June.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has captained a table tennis team in matches against a youth club in Zambia. His colleagues were the Ministers of Justice and Education, the Attorney-General, the Permanent Secretary to the Cabinet Office, and two other members of its staff.

DR. DENIS REBBECK, hitherto deputy chairman and managing director of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., has become chairman on the resignation of MR. J. S. BAILEY, who had been with the company for more than half a century. DR. REBBECK will continue as a managing director.

MR. PETER MATOKA, Minister of Health in Zambia, DR. M. M. NALUMANGO, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry, MR. J. CHIVUNGA, Minister of State for Health, and DR. RITTEY, have been in London for a week on their way to Geneva for the annual conference of the World Health Organization.

SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS, Speaker of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia from 1956 until the creation of the National Assembly and its Speaker until last September, has received from the Government of Zambia in token of its appreciation of his services a cheque for £5,000 and a copper cigarette-box.

FOUR Kenya M.P.s.—Messrs. G. G. KARIUKI, JAPHET Z. KASE, P. L. RURUMBAN, and A. K. ARAP SOI—are in Britain for a month as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office. After visiting Glasgow, Inverness, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, they will be in London from May 11 until they fly back on May 24.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, was accompanied on his State visit to Zambia last week by MR. Q. K. J. MASIRE, Deputy Prime Minister, MR. A. J. BEEBY, Finance Minister, and MR. FINLEY, his personal secretary. They had talks with MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, M.P., Minister for Overseas Development, and with Zambian Ministers.

## ZAMBIA



For Information APPLY TO  
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REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

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## Obituary

MR. REGINALD EVELYN WELBY-PELHAM, who has died in Bedfordshire, was at one time a magistrate in Uganda.

THE REV. FATHER DAMEN, whose death in Holland is announced, spent 42 years in the Mill Hill Mission in Uganda.

LADY WESTLAKE, who has died in Frinton-on-Sea, was the wife of SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE, with whom she spent a month in Uganda in 1954 when the QUEEN opened the Owen Falls hydro-electric dam and knighted her husband. During the rest of his time in East Africa she remained in England to care for their two daughters.

# Prohibitive Cost of Unilateral Declaration of Independence

Only 19 of 294 Members of Rhodesian Institute of Directors Favour U.D.I.

*The Rhodesian Branch of the Institute of Directors has issued for publication the text of the memorandum on the economic and financial consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence which it submitted in November to the Government of Rhodesia.*

*The Government had asked that memoranda sent to it on that subject should not be published, at least not until after the general election on May 7.*

*The memorandum states:—*

On November 2 the committee of the Rhodesian Branch of the Institute of Directors expressed its fears of the disastrous economic and financial consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence. The purpose of this memorandum is to explain why.

We have made it clear from time to time that any Government can rely upon complete support from us in furthering economic development of this country, and we are available at all times to Ministers. We have no desire to embarrass the Government by this memorandum. It is, however, in all our interests to bring to light economic realities, however harsh or inconvenient they may be.

We are sending copies of this document to our members here, but not publishing it.

We should identify the Institute of Directors in Rhodesia, and its aims and objects. For this purpose we quote from the opening paragraph of the evidence we submitted in April, 1960, to the Monckton Commission, and which is as true today as then:—

## Representative of Rhodesian Business

"This, the first overseas branch of the Institute of Directors, was formed in March 1958. Its present membership in Rhodesia is 479, and we can say with due modesty that our ranks include practically all the leading figures in local business life. Like our parent body in England, we are not concerned with any sectional trade or business, but only in protecting and advancing the interests of our individual members.

"We have absolutely no concern with party politics. This is even more true here than in England. There the Institute has been forced to action from time to time in defence of its most cherished principle, that of sound private enterprise. Here, however, none of the existing parties seriously dispute that principle.

"We are, however, profoundly concerned with the development of the economy. Our members are collectively responsible for a high proportion of the total capital and labour employed here. Moreover, our daily round is constantly providing evidence of the need for the economy to continue expansion on sound lines."

In pursuance of the object of promoting the local economy, we try to take whatever steps are open to us from time to time. Examples in the last 12 months include

(a) The financing a year ago of the Links pamphlet stressing the economic interdependence of Northern and Southern Rhodesia; (b) The special feature article on the Lowveld development in *The Director* of April, '64; (c) The substantial donation early this year to help to get the Rhodesian Promotion Council started; (d) The invitations extended last year to both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley to visit Rhodesia at our expense.

We have considerable confidence in the economy of this country. We believe it can gradually achieve a better living standard for all who live here. Our views were well reflected in an article by the Central African correspondent of *The Director* published on November 1 in which various encouraging signs of progress were listed. Since then there have been the excellent trade figures for September.

However, our confidence must be conditioned by three factors: (a) maintenance of stability; (b) the avoidance of serious political shocks; and (c) the retention

of some of the economic advantages of the previous Federal relationship.

Moreover, one must not confuse a reasoned optimism with overconfidence. Rhodesian industry has for some years suffered from lack of capital. By and large, profits during that period have been hard to earn. These limitations have prevented in many cases the creation of really deep reserves, which would cushion a sudden shock. Thus, generally speaking, the economic structure is vulnerable.

## Not Influenced by Party Politics

When the committee made its statement on November 2 it claimed to speak only for itself. At the same time we referred to every individual member asking each to say whether he was in favour or not of U.D.I., having regard to the effect on his own business interests, private finances, and investments; the sum total of which information to be available to the Government to assist them in their discussions.

It must be repeated that the membership of the Institute in Rhodesia covers the whole business life of the country. Its views are conditioned by strict economic factors and not by party politics.

*The result of our exercise with individual members produced an unusually high proportion of replies—in excess of 60% of total members; and the overwhelming majority declared themselves as unreservedly opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence. In fact, out of 294 members who replied, only 19 supported it.*

We cannot stress too much the value of this information, as representing the comprehensive business view regardless of political leanings.

Moreover, we have unsolicited but most forthright support for our view from our London headquarters. This is important because of the great influence of its 40,000 members. Not only do those include almost all the financial and industrial leaders of Britain, but also a large and rapidly-increasing division (of over 2,000) in Australia.

## Examination of the Economy

An examination of the economy of this country suggests the following main deductions:

(a) Although well endowed with natural resources, the economy is still a very long way short of complete independence. Particular limitations are: (1) Local saving, though high per head of European population, cannot be expected to provide anything like the full scale of capital needed; (2) the domestic market is not large enough to make a decisive contribution to primary and secondary production; (3) a high proportion of essential goods still has to be imported.

(b) There is a serious and growing shortage of capital, which will be examined below. (This is of course in common with most other territories in Africa.) Its worst results are (1) delay in developing latent natural resources; (2) difficulty in improving living standards through increased consumption; and (3) lack of attraction of skilled immigrants.

(c) There is at present a satisfactory balance of trade. It is apparent that while our primary products go mainly to developed countries, the great bulk of our manufactured exports are for surrounding neighbours.

(d) The Rhodesian pound is linked to sterling, and (till mid-'65) with the other former Federal territories, Rhodesia itself is not a member of the International Monetary Fund.

The continuous need for capital is too obvious to need emphasis. There are no recent statistics for Rhodesia on its own, but those for the 10 years of the Federation are illuminating.

For the first six years (1954-59) the total of independent borrowing by the Federal Government totalled £45m. This was comparatively satisfactory, and came very largely from the private sector. During the last four years (1960-63), the total dropped to £12m., almost entirely from other Government sources. The main reason for this decline, we believe, was the ever-growing demand from an increased number of undeveloped countries for development capital.

It is the Institute's belief that, given a stable future, Rhodesia's borrowing prospects would be encouraging. Admittedly, this is a matter of opinion, but it is based on a number of observations made in Europe in 1964.

Emphatically, we do not consider that unconstitutional action would achieve this prospect of stability. Three-quarters of the borrowings of the Federal Government were from Britain, either directly or by World Bank guarantees. Rhodesia is not at present able to borrow from the World Bank on its own, i.e., without a guarantee from Britain or other acceptable source.

It is desirable to examine the latest statistics for the balance of trade. Those for the first months of 1964 show the following:—

| Market                    | Exports<br>(including re-exports) |                  | Imports           | Balance |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------|
|                           | £                                 | £                |                   |         |
| United Kingdom            | 22,272m.                          | 22,655m.         | — 0,383m.         |         |
| South Africa              | 7,556m.                           | 17,505m.         | — 9,949m.         |         |
| Zambia                    | 24,780m.                          | 4,185m.          | +20,595m.         |         |
| Malawi                    | 4,399m.                           | 1,126m.          | + 3,273m.         |         |
| Rest of Africa            | 3,952m.                           | 1,830m.          | + 2,122m.         |         |
| <b>Total Main Markets</b> | <b>£62,959m.</b>                  | <b>£47,301m.</b> | <b>+£15,658m.</b> |         |

The dominating influence of the mainly manufactured exports to Zambia needs no emphasis.

We should also look more closely at Rhodesia's imports. Published figures suggest that only an insignificant proportion can properly be described as luxuries. The first eight months of 1964 show the following breakdown:—

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Producers' goods     | 69.9%        |
| Consumer durables    | 8.4%         |
| Electric power       | 0.4%         |
| Fuels and lubricants | 4.4%         |
|                      | <b>83.1%</b> |

It would be difficult to reduce any of those without serious damage to the economy. Thus one is thrown back for savings on the balance of under 17% consumer goods, of which a high proportion is probably irreducible.

Indeed, the short-term situation after U.D.I. would be even less susceptible to reduction. It would be necessary to increase the immediate importation of producers' goods in order to replace eventually other imports by local manufacture.

Thus, the room for saving by reduced imports is extremely restricted.

Before leaving this attempt to define the main problem, we should mention one frequently advanced diagnosis, with which we profoundly disagree. This is that any financial and economic consequences of unconstitutional action could be met by belt-tightening—unpleasant perhaps, but certainly not basic.

We believe this entirely misjudges the problem. There is our dependence on exports (and also imports) already mentioned. There is the already low living standard of most of the population, which makes further privations unpractical. This not only implies the need to maintain employment, to avoid playing into the hands of agitators but also that the proportion of our four million people who could make a real contribution to economies is very small. But above all there is the complex structure already established in this country. This causes economic hardships to have a chain reaction throughout the whole society.

This rules out, in our view, any practical possibility of sitting out a period of pressure by mere cutting of standards.

### Reactions by Zambia

We should make it plain that in this section we are dealing with a clear hypothesis:—the economic and financial results of action taken in Rhodesia which is widely regarded elsewhere as unconstitutional. We are not here arguing the merits or probability of such a course, but only trying to assess the effects.

It is widely assumed that Britain would not carry out her positive threats, notably the imposition of a trade embargo. While this may be true, the assumption probably underrates the violent and widespread emotion which unilateral action here would provoke, with consequent extreme pressure on the British Labour Government. Nevertheless, we proceed on the basis that British action would be mainly negative.

If Britain did no more than stop capital contributions and withdraw Commonwealth preferences, the effects would be serious enough. The extent of our present financial dependence on the sterling area is already sufficiently apparent.

It would, we feel, be a great mistake to assume that the reaction of our neighbours would also be negative only. It is often said that long-standing trade relations are easier to make than break. We doubt if this applies in Africa.

One must be careful here to avoid false analogies. The failure of the boycott of South African products after she left the Commonwealth in 1961 is often cited. But to compare that

case and this leaves out the most fundamental difference: the scrupulous regard shown there for strict constitutional proprieties (which resulted, *inter alia*, in the retention of Commonwealth preferences).

Even so, one Zambian Minister recently made a most significant statement. Moreover, this was on a purely commercial occasion, and not spoken with one eye on the Press. It was to the effect that Zambia had given a pledge to O.A.U. to eliminate imports from South Africa, and firmly intended to carry this out, even at the price of much higher charges for imports from elsewhere. It may well be that it is chiefly on this account that Zambia has not applied for membership of G.A.T.T. (which prohibits such discrimination between member States).

It is, therefore, inconceivable to us that Zambia (for that matter, other African States) would continue to trade as previously with Rhodesia after U.D.I. Even the removal of Commonwealth preferences would be a handicap, but we believe the process would go much further. Some commercial links would have to stay, of course, but we believe they would be brought to the irreducible minimum as fast as circumstances allowed. We feel the Rhodesian advantages here are often over-stated.

Next there is the vital question of the external and internal value of the currency. As we understand this problem, the value of a currency is the confidence which is put in it. It is difficult for foreign countries to fix the value of the currency of any country not a member either of the I.M.F. or of a large group such as the sterling area.

If Rhodesia forfeits membership of the sterling area by unconstitutional action, can she expect to be admitted to the I.M.F.? If not, what? To be thrown back to a series of barter deals cannot possibly provide a satisfactory alternative.

This can also vitally affect our imports. Traders will always sell, even on credit, as long as there is a reasonable prospect of being paid. When in doubt, they seem to fall back on the Export Credits Guarantee Department (in England) or the equivalent elsewhere. E.C.G.D. cover for Rhodesia in the event of U.D.I. would be (to quote a recent suggestion) "highly problematical". Some exporters to Rhodesia have already begun to ask for security against subsequent devaluation.

### Fears for the Currency

Finally, there would be the internal purchasing power of the Rhodesian pound. Would the Government be confident of maintaining this (with all the effects on salaries, pensions, etc.) if the external value was in doubt?

There is also the matter of capital starvation. We have suggested a danger of capital inflow from Britain drying up. The paramount need for capital is apparent. Where do we look for an alternative?

We suggest that the frequent statements that capital would flow in here if we seized independence are open to much doubt. It seems to us that their weakness is that they convince nobody outside this country. There may, of course, be a number of positive and definite prospects of which we are unaware. If not, it would, we submit, be better to face this problem on the basis of something being replaced (at least foreseeably) by nothing. It is in everyone's interest to avoid wishful thinking.

We wish to examine in more detail the effects on our export trade. We feel sure that the implications for primary production will be dealt with more effectively by other organizations. We only express here extreme uneasiness about the general effects on some of our main products, notably tobacco and sugar. We would rather look closely at our secondary industry.

Most of this is currently doing fairly well. This is largely due to most of the benefits of the Federal scheme still being in force. Even so, the employment situation is not satisfactory. Moreover, it is becoming harder to retain those skills which are in short supply throughout the world. For this purpose, it is misleading to assess emigration just by counting heads.

The effects of a serious slump in secondary industry are felt immediately in the urban areas. The social implications are severe.

As already stated, we believe it to be realistic to expect a serious, even a critical, reduction of orders from Zambia and other neighbours in the event of U.D.I.

We believe the following may be a typical case of a small or medium sized Rhodesian industry: (a) rather short of capital, due to difficulty of increasing in recent years; (b) assets charged fairly fully; (c) a significant proportion of output being sold to northern territories; (d) trading profitably, but without sufficient surplus to build really ample reserves.

A reduction of sales to the north would soon be followed, we believe, by a lesser reduction in local sales. This sequence would, we fear, soon put such companies under severe pressure. The results could only be aggravated unemployment and further dilution of key men—apart, of course, from contributing to a deteriorated balance of payments.

We don't believe that this loss of markets could be made

good to any decisive extent by increased sale of manufactured goods to South Africa. Doubtless there would be sympathy and a great wish to help. But the range, quality and price of the products of South African secondary industry are now such that any large-scale switching would be most difficult.

#### Economic Price Prohibitive.

We believe that unconstitutional action would (apart from any political emergency) precipitate heavy financial pressure. There would be a rapid concentration of adverse factors; and we have already expressed reservations about the shock-resisting capacity of our economy.

Indeed, we consider that the economic and financial price is prohibitive, unless advance solutions are found to certain main problems. Moreover, such solutions would have to be demonstrable and concrete. On such a vitally important issue, high hopes, however sincerely felt, are not enough.

These problems are: (a) guaranteed membership of the I.M.F., or other large bloc; (b) very substantial liquid resources (whether by loan or otherwise) available without strings to tide over the initial shock; (c) a definite source of future capital for development; (d) some effective means of mitigating the damage to secondary industry, caused by inevitable loss of markets.

On the other hand, we are confident that the economy, if left in reasonable tranquillity, should move forward satisfactorily and quite rapidly. Apart from the obvious social benefits, this might soon become a political advantage of no light weight.

Thus we see a choice of two courses. One is to build up the economy to a position of strength, confidently expecting that the contrast between conditions here and those further north will become too manifest to be ignored. The other would be to take a step strongly opposed by most business and financial interests inside and outside the country and of which the results are at best unpredictable.

### Rhodesian African Terrorist Reprieved

ON THE ADVICE of the Cabinet, Sir Humphrey Gibb, Governor of Rhodesia, has reprieved Richard Mapolisa, the first man to be sentenced to death under the clause in the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which made hanging the mandatory punishment for petrol bomb offences. The capital sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment.

Mapolisa was sentenced to death in September 1963 as a party to a petrol bomb attack on a house in Salisbury, into which a lighted petrol bomb was thrown. It did not, however, ignite. The accused admitted being with another African who threw the bomb and that he understood that danger might result. He said: "The danger was that this bomb would be thrown in a house where there is a family and the family would die".

The Federal Supreme Court and the Privy Council in London dismissed appeals against conviction and sentence.

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### Jail Order Against Rhodesian Journalist Firm Refusal to Answer Questions

MR. JOHN PARKER, president of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, and chief sub-editor of the Salisbury *Sunday Mail*, was last week committed to prison for two days for declining to answer questions put for the Crown in connexion with a case under the Official Secrets Act. Pending Mr. Parker's appeal to the High Court, the magistrate suspended the warrant of committal.

Mr. Parker had been summoned to the magistrates' court under a provision in the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act for the attendance of "any person likely to give material evidence as to any supposed offence, whether or not it be known of suspected who is the person by whom the offence was committed". Because official secrets were involved, the proceedings were *in camera*.

The journalist was required to state where and from whom he had in January received eight reports by the Association of Rhodesian Industries and the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia on the effect of British sanctions in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia.

At the second day's hearing counsel for Mr. Parker said that the proceedings *in camera* might have given an impression that his client had been involved in spying or something equally serious, and he asked that, to dispel any false impression, a fair description of the documents might be made known. Though the magistrate considered that that would be improper at that stage, he stated that there was no suggestion of spying.

The adjournment for a day had been made in order to give Mr. Parker time to reconsider his position. On the second day Press and public were admitted. The witness said that he had not changed his mind; he could not answer the questions because by journalistic ethics he should not disclose the identity of an informant.

The magistrate having suggested that the matter might not be merely a question of journalistic ethics, but that some underlying political aspect might have exercised his mind, Mr. Parker replied that he had no political motive whatsoever.

The Act provides for committal to prison for a maximum of eight days at a time for refusal to reply to questions, but the magistrate announced that he would commit for two days only in order to allow an early opportunity for reappearance.

Counsel having given notice of appeal, the prosecutor asked that Mr. Parker might be released if he surrendered his travel documents and reported to the police twice weekly. Defence counsel replied that such conditions could not be imposed as they did not apply to a person called as a witness. Without further comment the magistrate suspended the warrant.

Mr. Parker, aged 38, has been in Rhodesia for almost 10 years. He has five sons and a daughter.

### M.P. "Frisked" by Rhodesian Customs

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Mr. Humphry Berkeley has had a sharp reminder that Rhodesia has been independent since 1924 and that its Government will not tolerate the machinations of those who may seek to upset law and order, whether they are British M.P.s. or Russian Commissars. I am therefore delighted that this individual has been thoroughly "frisked" by Rhodesian customs officers.

Why should a British M.P. expect treatment any different from that meted out to a Chinese or Armenian suspect arriving at Southampton, Montreal, or Sydney? There is no reason.

Maybe it takes all kinds to make a party. In that case I presume the Rhodesian Government can declare whom it chooses prohibited immigrants; and if self-protection is equated with a "police State" Mr. Berkeley does not have to travel further than London Airport or Tilbury Docks to experience this dastardly attack on "liberty."

Yours faithfully,

Southampton.

RAYMOND BYRNE.



## Kenya Rejects Russian Arms Gift Government Takes Over Lumumba Institute

A GIFT OF RUSSIAN ARMS discharged at Mombasa last week from a Soviet ship was rejected and returned by President Kenyatta within a few hours because the weapons were secondhand and too old to be of use to Kenya's modern army. Tanks and artillery used in the last war are understood to have been sent, whereas the Defence Minister, Dr. Mungai, said recently that the gift would "modernize" Kenya's Army.

A Red Army general and 17 Russian "technicians" in mufti left Nairobi by air late on Friday for Moscow. Though ostensibly sent to give instruction in the use of Russian arms, they were, it was widely believed in Kenya, the nucleus of a military mission.

That day there was a heated debate in the Kenya Parliament on the Lumumba Institute, built near Nairobi with funds supplied by Russia, and opened during the Kenya Republic celebrations in December. The purpose was declared to be the training of Kenya African National Union officials and organizers. Lately there had been anxiety at the Communist character of the instruction. One M.P. who had studied at the institute said in the debate that if the drastic step of placing control with the Ministry of Information, were not taken it would not be long before "red and blood" were seen in Kenya.

Mr. Mboya, Minister of Economic and Planning and Development, suggested that the institute was not doing the job for which it had been designed and that the teaching departed from the declared policy of K.A.N.U. and its leaders. Party officials were being taught to think that from the time of their enrolment they were a class above others. The Institute had been made an object of the cold war and of ideological ramblings. Only the previous day some of the students had challenged President Kenyatta's definition of African Socialism.

A Kenya United Students' Organization statement wel-

comed the Government intention to take over the institute. Mr. John Washington Otieno, the president, saying: "There is too much Russian pedagogy at the institute".

On Sunday the Government suddenly banned, without giving a reason, a large May Day parade of workers arranged for Nairobi. Elsewhere in Kenya there were large May Day rallies.

At a meeting in Nairobi that day Mr. James Gachago, Assistant Minister for Natural Resources, said that the Government knew that some African trade union leaders in Kenya were receiving foreign money "to stir things up".

### "Communism Is Food to Me"

Vice-President Oginga Odinga, speaking at a political rally in Kimilili, denied any wish to overthrow the Government, but declared that "Communism is as food to me".

"Imperialists", he said, had sucked Kenya's blood for a long time, "and even now the sucking tube is still connected to Kenya. The imperialists still have influence in the country through their stooges".

Pleading with his listeners not to listen to propagandists who talked of Communist danger in Kenya, he said: "What is Communism? Communism is as food to me".

Accusing Mr. Odinga of having followed the Communist line, five Kenya African M.P.s. on Monday demanded his resignation from the Government. In a joint statement they said that doubt as to whether he was pro-Communist had been removed by his speech at the week-end which referred to Communism as "food". Mr. J. K. Gatuguta added that Kenya would never tolerate Communism, against which "we shall if necessary shed blood".

In Nairobi a crowd estimated at 2,000, all said to be constituents of Mr. Bildad Kaggia, M.P., called on President Kenyatta to unseat him because he advocated "the wrong kind of Socialism"—a reference to his activities at the Lumumba Institute.

Mr. Argwings-Kodek, Assistant Defence Minister, warned the foreign Press not to take advantage of what had just happened, "for the Russians will continue to be great friends of Kenya".

The Government-controlled Kenya News Agency emphasized that the Press conference at State House at which the President had rejected the Soviet arms gift had been attended by all members of the Cabinet who were in Kenya.

## Death Sentence on Tanzanian Envoy

SHEIKH OTHMAN SHARIFF, Tanzanian Ambassador in the United States until his recall to Dar es Salaam in February after a member of his staff had been expelled by the U.S. Government in retaliation for the expulsion of two American diplomats from Zanzibar and Tanganyika, was arrested in Zanzibar a few days ago and condemned to death by the Revolutionary Council on charges of disloyalty to the State while in America.

Sheikh Karume, Vice-President of Tanzania, and previously President of Zanzibar, commuted the death sentence to 10 years' imprisonment.

Only a few days before the arrest and sentence President Nyerere had said in London that he expected Sheikh Shariff to resume his duties in Washington quite soon. His family are still in that city.

## Rebel Raids in Malawi

TWICE LAST WEEK rebels in the Fort Johnston area of Malawi, supporters of ex-Minister Chipembere, raided villages. On one occasion a gang robbed an Indian store and shot an African. On the other raiders attacked a police post, from which they were repulsed, and set fire to nine African houses. In a raid on Mtimbuka, 15 miles from Fort Johnston, another African was killed at the week-end, the fourth since Easter.

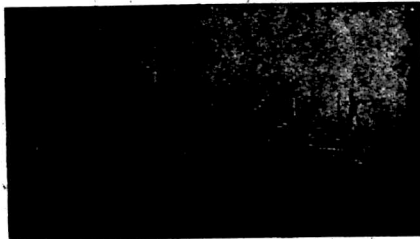
Tanzania is represented at an oil palm conference being held in London this week under the auspices of the Tropical Products Institute.

The average tobacco price at last week's Salisbury auctions was 35.5d. per lb. The average over the eight weeks of the season has been 33.8d.

The motor vessel "Clan Robertson", launched on Monday at Greenock, is the third of four new refrigerated cargo ships ordered by the British & Commonwealth shipping group.

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## Company Report

## GALLAHER LIMITED

(Incorporated in Northern Ireland)

## STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN MR. MARK NORMAN

The SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of Gallaher Limited will be held on May 26th at Granite House, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4.

The following is the statement of the Chairman, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1964.

Smoking has been a pleasure for more than 400 years to an increasing number of people all over the world. It has also become one of the main supports of this country's national finances. The tobacco industry is expected by the Chancellor to collect for the Exchequer in 1965-66, from the pockets of smokers, tax of £1,054,000,000 out of a total national tax revenue of £8,199,000,000. Successive Governments seem to have acquired the habit of levying from the smokers of Britain increasingly exorbitant taxes to meet the inflating national expenditures. Concurrently, the Government is also conducting an active campaign to discourage cigarette smoking. This seems to me both fiscally foolish and paradoxical. And the Budget increase of about 10 per cent. in the cost of smoking is harshly penal to more than 20 million smokers in this country.

## Trading Results

In 1964, although sales in volume were slightly less than in 1963, Group sales in value of £429.6 million were 3½ per cent. up due to higher selling prices resulting from the increase in tobacco duty imposed in April 1964, and from a small increase in our own prices in August made necessary by continually rising costs. Helped by this small price increase and by better productivity in our factories and greater efficiency in distribution, Group profits before interest at £20.8 million were up 6 per cent. after charging depreciation of £2.1 million which is £463,000 higher than 1963.

Interest charges on borrowings at £2.1 million were up by £162,000 due to higher interest rates on bank and bill finance both at home and overseas.

Taxation at £10 million absorbs a larger proportion of Group profits because of the increase in the rate of income tax from 7s. 9d. to 8s. 3d. in the £. The effect of this increase is partly offset by reliefs granted on the higher expenditure on new machinery and equipment generally and in development districts in particular.

After these charges and preference dividends, the net profit earned for Ordinary stockholders at £8,550,000 is £294,000 higher than in 1963.

An interim dividend of 5 per cent. was paid in November 1964 on the £33,480,000 Ordinary capital, and the directors now recommend a final dividend of 14 per cent. on the Ordinary capital increased to £36,828,000 by the one-for-ten scrip issue made in October last year. These dividends for 1964 are the equivalent of 20.4 per cent. on the old capital, as compared with 17½ per cent. paid for 1963.

We have transferred £2,000,000 to general reserve, which increases the total to £20,000,000; and

£2,500,000 to contingencies reserve, which after the movements mentioned below, increases the total to £10,011,000.

The exceptional profit arising from the 1964 increase in tobacco duty, less taxation, and the Northern Ireland Government grants, together amounting to £940,000, have been credited to contingencies reserve. We have charged to contingencies reserve trading losses incurred in certain overseas operations, losses on plant and machinery sold or scrapped, and a further contribution to Gallaher, Pensions Limited, all less taxation relief, together amounting to £575,000.

## Consolidated Balance-Sheet

In October 1964 the issued Ordinary capital of the company was increased to £36,828,000 by capitalizing the balance of share premium account, £3,309,181, and £38,819 from profit and loss account.

The figure of capital reserve, £879,000, which appears for the first time in 1964, arises from the capitalization by Mono Pumps Limited and J. & E. Arnfield Limited of part of the balance accumulated in their profit and loss accounts, together with £125,000 by which sum the land and buildings of Arnfield have been written up following an independent valuation.

The Ordinary stockholders' interest has increased during the year to £70,302,000, mainly as a result of the retention of £4,496,000 out of 1964 profits.

The increase of about £1 million in trade investments is due to the purchase in February 1964 of a 25 per cent. interest in the equity of Theodoros Niemeier N.V., tobacco and cigarette manufacturers of Groningen, Holland. No dividend from this investment is included in our 1964 accounts, but we will be receiving one later this year in respect of their 1964 profits.

The rise of about £4 million in stocks and debtors is mainly due to the increase in tobacco duty imposed in the 1964 Budget.

## Sales

The report on Smoking and Health by the U.S. Surgeon-General was published in January 1964, and attracted considerable attention. It was followed in April by the Budget increase of tobacco duty by 6s. 6d. to 77s. 4½d. per pound, as a result of which retail prices of cigarettes had to be increased by 3d. or 4d. for 20. These factors combined to restrict the volume of sales in 1964, and total consumption of cigarettes in the United Kingdom was slightly less than in 1963.

Following the national pattern, the sales of the Group were down in volume and our share of the total trade of the country fell marginally. There was a substantial increase in the swing from plain to filter cigarettes all over the country, and, in these circumstances of a reduced demand for plain cigarettes, it is particularly encouraging that the only plain cigarette which showed a steady increase was PARK DRIVE. In the filter-tipped market for smaller cigarettes we have,

in CADETS tipped and PARK DRIVE tipped, the two largest selling brands, and in spite of a considerable increase in competition have maintained our share of well over half of this important and growing market. KENSITAS filter-tipped are now the second biggest-seller in the standard tipped market, whilst the popularity of Benson & Hedges SPECIAL FILTER has steadily increased and it is now the largest selling King size brand.

In the latter half of 1964 we introduced two new cigarette brands to the filter-tipped market: SILK CUT by Benson & Hedges at the medium price as already making its mark, and ARIEL, with all the tradition of SENIOR SERVICE quality, was the Group's first brand in the expanding market for which it is priced.

### Pipe Tobacco and Cigars

Sales of our pipe tobacco have been steady. In September we added a new brand, CONCORD by John Cotton, to our medium-price range, and made a limited distribution; sales are well up to expectation, and plans for widening the distribution of this brand are going ahead.

The sales of our cigars have again benefited from the general increase in the popularity of cigar smoking, and we are strongly represented in the various price ranges. In particular the sales of HARLEQUIN miniature cigars have increased most satisfactorily, whilst MANIKIN continues to be the largest-selling British cigar. The sales of CAVALIER, our panatella cigar, have continued to expand, and our latest introduction to this market—HAMLET, by Benson & Hedges, a short panatella—has made a most encouraging start.

The modernization in our methods of distribution to which I referred last year is proceeding satisfactorily, and our first two computers will be in operation within a year.

In spite of economies arising from technical and administrative improvements, costs in general continue to rise, and in August we had to make small increases in our prices of all our tobacco goods. Cigarette prices were raised by the minimum possible, namely 1d. for 20.

### Television Advertising

The Government's decision to ban cigarette advertising on television will take effect from 1st August, 1965. We consider this decision to be wrong, because in a competitive economy manufacturers should be free to advertise their goods through all available media. We cannot foresee the precise effect on our competitive position of the banning of this form of advertising, but I am confident that our lively and efficient marketing and sales organization is well able to meet the challenge.

### Resale Price Maintenance

Your company has submitted its claim for exemption from the provisions of the Resale Prices Act, and we are convinced that the retention of resale price maintenance for our products is in the best interests of the smoking public. In this opinion we were supported by the findings recorded in the report by the Monopolies Commission on the tobacco industry in 1961.

### Production

The re-equipment of our factories with the newest making and packing machinery and the installation of modern processing systems has proceeded apace both at home and abroad.

In the few months of the off-season in Rhodesia we

have installed the largest tipping and thrashing plant (the mechanical technique of removing stem from tobacco leaf) in the Southern Hemisphere, which came into successful operation in time for the new crop in March this year. I congratulate our general manager in Africa, Mr. Pritchard, and all his staff, together with our technical department, on this achievement.

These major expenditures, amounting to more than £3,750,000, on new facilities and on modernizing existing facilities have resulted in notable improvements in productivity. This, of course, is the acid test of survival in competitive industry, and we intend to continue the process and to pass the test.

Our new factory in Henry Street, Belfast, started production in November. This has been a major effort of reconstruction and organization, and all concerned deserve great credit for their good work. As a result we have since the end of the year sold a factory building in London surplus to our requirements, which realized a profit over its book value of approximately £450,000.

### Tobacco Leaf

The 1964 Rhodesian crop was unexpectedly large, and we, together with other United Kingdom manufacturers and after consultation with the Rhodesian Tobacco Association with whom we have always worked in close co-operation, agreed to help the growers by making additional purchases. Consequently we bought more than a year's supply—at reasonable prices and of good quality—thereby reducing the surplus that might have overhung the market when the 1965 auctions opened in March.

This year's crop is estimated at 260 million lbs., which should be closely in line with world demand, so that prices should be satisfactory to both buyers and growers.

The 1964 American and Canadian crops were excellent, and we purchased our requirements at reasonable prices.

Our average leaf costs for manufacture in 1965 will, therefore, be slightly lower than in recent years.

### Smoking and Health

We believe that only by vigorous research can the many and difficult problems in this field be solved. We are playing our full part through the Tobacco Research Council; and by carrying out research in our own laboratories. The results of the extensive research being undertaken, not only by the industry, but by other research organizations which the Tobacco Research Council support, will have to be assessed, and this will take time. The many millions of people who derive pleasure from smoking may rest assured that the problems are being tackled energetically, and with a sense of great responsibility.

### Diversification

Your company's only interest outside the tobacco trade is in the Mono Pumps/Arnfield group, which was acquired in 1944 primarily for its capacity to manufacture cigarette-making machines. Since then its pump business has grown very substantially both at home and overseas, where its lively and well-managed subsidiaries in South Africa and Australia show great promise. Its 1964 profits before tax were a record at £442,000, and we expect this group to continue to develop swiftly and satisfactorily.

In the last year or two we have considered many proposals for diversifying into other trades. We are willing and eager to apply our skills and resources to other enterprises where it seems prudent and profitable to do so; but we shall not pursue diversification simply for its own sake.

Since the end of the year we have acquired for £225,000 a minority interest in Murtile Limited a private company, based in London and Northern Ireland, engaged in the manufacture of tile and mosaic panelling. We have confidence in the development of this company.

### Stockholders

Your company has over 26,000 Ordinary stockholders. One of these, the Imperial Tobacco Company, Limited has been a very substantial holder since 1932 and now owns 36.8 per cent. of your company's equity. Subject to examination of the provisions of the new Finance Bill, Imperial Tobacco now proposes to transfer its holdings in Gallaher, along with a number of other investments, to its wholly-owned subsidiary, Imperial Investments, Limited. I understand that the board of Imperial Investments Limited will be empowered to administer its portfolio to the best advantage, and to dispose of such Gallaher shares as it may wish to sell. Transactions in a large proportion of your company's equity are obviously matters of great importance to all who work in the company and all who own it. I am, however, assured by the Chairman of Imperial Investments Limited, that if and when his board contemplates the disposal of any substantial part of its holding in Gallaher it will naturally be very conscious of the need to avoid any serious dislocation of the market in Gallaher shares.

### International

I mentioned last year that two developments of long-term importance in our expansion into international markets had taken place early in 1964. The first was the purchase of a 25 per cent. interest in the Dutch tobacco firm of Theodorus Niemeyer N.V., and the second was our entry into Australia with the launch of EDINBURGH King size Filter cigarettes, manufactured in Australia.

Our association with Niemeyer is developing very satisfactorily, and close co-operation has been established in the commercial and technical fields which is proving valuable to us both. Niemeyer tobacco products are being handled by Gallaher in the United Kingdom and in Australia, and the Niemeyer organization is handling the distribution of our tobacco products in Canada and in the Netherlands. Plans are now being made for the introduction of some of our cigarette brands into the Netherlands, to be manufactured by Niemeyer.

In Australia we have completed the marketing of EDINBURGH throughout the continent and we are planning the introduction of additional brands. The Australian cigarette market is extremely competitive, and the trading losses incurred there were greater than expected and are likely to continue until we have firmly established our position. In order to give greater flexibility to our operations in Australia, a factory on a 10-acre site in Sydney has been bought. This acquisition represents an additional initial investment in fixed assets of about £1 million, and it is hoped that production from this factory will commence before the end of the year.

We have charged to contingencies reserve a net sum

of £273,000 in respect of trading losses incurred in overseas operations.

The export of tobacco products from the United Kingdom has diminished over the years as markets, which in the past have traditionally imported all or the major part of their requirements from here, have established their own local manufacture. Although the business of our export division plays an important role in our international business, it cannot become a significant factor in profitability in relation to our operations as a whole. The major field for our international tobacco operations will be by way of local manufacture of our products either through new business established by ourselves, as in Australia, or through investment in or association with existing manufacturers, as with Niemeyer.

### Employees

Your company employs over 15,000 people in the United Kingdom and overseas. Many come from families who have worked for Gallaher for generations. We are proud of them and grateful to them for their contribution to 1964's success and to the continuation of the good relations built up over more than 100 years.

In 1964 we have introduced in our Manchester factories, with the help of the trades unions, a system of payments which consolidates bonus with the basic wage and has increased the stability of earnings at the same time as allowing flexibility in the use of labour. This system of payment will benefit all concerned and we hope to negotiate its acceptance in our other factories.

We have appropriated a net amount of £167,000 from contingencies reserve to increase the pensions payable to workers when they retire. I think that our pension arrangements are now adequately provided for—so long as the purchasing power of money is maintained around its present level.

### Outlook

The recent increase in tobacco duty can only have the effect of depressing sales generally. It will also lead to changes in the pattern of our trade by stimulating the demand for products in the cheaper price ranges including tipped cigarettes at the expense of other brands.

However, our range of brands is such that we are in a strong position to meet the changing needs of smokers, and we shall continue to strengthen our position by the introduction of new brands to meet these circumstances.

Sales for the first three months of the year are up compared with last year, but this is partly due to Budget buying which took place during March. For the remainder of the year our sales volume will depend, to a large extent, on the effects on total demand resulting from the Budget increase.

During this year further progress is being made towards improved productivity which will offset some of the increases in cost likely to arise, and we expect our profit margins to be maintained.

The penal Budget increase in tobacco duty makes it a particularly difficult time to forecast the company's trading prospects for 1965. But our trade is broad-based and strong and we shall use every endeavour to increase our share of the home market and to promote our overseas operations.

The effect of a corporation tax for 1965-66 at 40

per cent., as suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech, on profits this year of the same order as last year, would be to permit the distribution of the same rate of dividend and the retention of approximately the same amount of money in the business as for 1964.

#### SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR 1964

|                                 |              |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Total Sales .....               | £429,600,000 |
| Profit before Tax .....         | £18,696,000  |
| Tax .....                       | £9,948,000   |
| Ord. Dividends (less Tax) ..... | £4,054,000   |
| Profit retained .....           | £4,496,000   |
| Net Assets .....                | £119,495,000 |

#### MAIN SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES

GALLAHER INTERNATIONAL LIMITED  
 BENSON & HEDGES LIMITED  
 COPE BROTHERS & COMPANY LIMITED  
*(Incorporating Richard Lloyd & Sons)*  
 JOHN COTTON LIMITED  
 J. R. FREEMAN & SON LIMITED  
 PETER JACKSON LIMITED  
 J. A. PATTRIOUEUX  
 W. & M. TAYLOR LIMITED  
 J. WIX & SONS LIMITED  
 J. & E. ARNFIELD LIMITED  
 MONO PUMPS LIMITED

### Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation

THE RIO TINTO-ZINC CORPORATION, LTD.—a group with a subsidiary company in Rhodesia, where it owns the Cam & Motor, Pickstone and Patchway gold mines and the Sandawana emerald mine—reports group profit after tax for 1964 at £8.7m. (£6.3m.). Ordinary dividends take just over £4m., at the rate being 2.34d. per 10s. share, against 1s. 9d. in the previous year. The total capital employed in the business is now £152.7m., an increase in the year of more than £16m. Fixed assets total £52.8m. Interests in subsidiary companies appear at £9m., and other investments £35.9m., among them being holdings of 4.4m. stock units of £1 each in Rhokana Corporation, nearly a million similar stock units in Nchanga Consolidated, and £3.6m. in B.P. The Cam and Motor mine, the largest gold producer in Rhodesia, is stated to be nearing the end of its life.

The directors consider that the present tax proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer will "strike a serious blow at the development of the natural resources of the free world by the use of the expertise built up over the years in British-based mining houses".

### Gallaher, Ltd.

AN EXCEPTIONALLY ATTRACTIVE annual report, profusely illustrated in colour, has been issued by Gallaher, Ltd., the statement of whose chairman appears in other columns. One of the full-page photographs is of a playground attached to the company's creche for the children of African employees in Rhodesia. Group profit for 1964 after tax amounted to £8,742,000 (£8,448,000 in 1963). Just over £4m. was required for dividends of 19% on the ordinary shares, and additions to reserves took £4.5m. Tax charges were little short of £10m. Issued ordinary capital exceeds £70m., preference stock £5.7m., and loan stocks £22m. Fixed assets appear at £17.2m. and net current assets at £102.3m. Ten-year tables recall the remarkable progress of the group since 1955.

### Nationalization in Kenya

MR. ONEKO, Minister for Information in Kenya, asked trade unionists at a May Day rally in Nakuru to press the Government for the rapid nationalization of the East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., and the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd. (a subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.). Dr. Kioko, Minister for Commerce and Industry, said at the week-end that the Government intended to place more emphasis on State enterprise in order to balance the progress made by private enterprise in the Colonial period. There have been demands recently for nationalization of the bus and coach services of East African Roadways.

The copper mining companies in Zambia announced on Sunday an immediate increase in their selling price from £260 to £288 per long ton. On the previous day Chile had announced an increase to £288. The Anglo American and Roan Selection Trust groups had last changed the price on August 17, when it was advanced from £244 to £260.

### Mrs. Castle's Visit to Tanzania

#### Zanzibar Now Wants British Aid

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, Minister of Overseas Development, told journalists in London on Monday that during her short visit to Zanzibar she found that the reluctance to accept British aid since last year's revolution had been overcome; the authorities now wanted British experts and money. She had agreed that a development grant of £143,000 promised before the revolution should be used for a secondary school and an automatic telephone exchange in Pemba. How a development loan of £157,000 was to be used would now be discussed.

The Government of Tanzania admitted mistakes over the revocation of rights of occupancy to land farmed by British and other nationals, and had agreed that regional commissioners should henceforth be advised by local land committees.

#### Arusha Farms Restored to Owners

In the Arusha area 120 land grants had been revoked in November, eight of the farmers affected being British. After strong protests had been made President Nyerere had instituted inquiries and had dealt personally with the report. The consequence was that the orders against four of the British farmers had been withdrawn, that one had decided to sell to the Government, and that the remaining three, dispossessed for alleged bad farming, would be compensated.

The President's review and action had restored confidence to the Arusha farmers, particularly as Mr. A. Kuenzler and Mr. W. H. Humwick, chairman and managing director respectively of the Tanganyika Farmers' Co-operative Association, were to be members of the local land committee. It was satisfactory that arbitrary and unjust revocations of title had ceased.

The Minister had been impressed by the Government's desire to collaborate with Britain. Indeed, there was pressure for more and more British economists, agriculturists, engineers, teachers, and other experts, and the President had asked that a non-official team from Britain should visit Tanzania some months hence to examine the first year's operations under the five-year development plan, with the specific function of reporting what had gone wrong and recommending means of removing faults.

Both Zambia and Tanzania had asked for contributions towards the proposed railway from Zambia to link up with the East African system, but Mrs. Castle had had to say that money for that purpose could not be supplied by Britain, which, despite her own great financial difficulties, had already dealt as generously as possible with both countries.





Picture by Gallaher Ltd.

## Tobacco in Rhodesia: Have you £100,000,000 to invest?

Rhodesia is the second biggest exporter of flue-cured Virginia tobacco in the world.

Rhodesians, black and white, toil successfully with this valuable crop which is one of the main bastions of the economy. Demand for tobacco is increasing. The experts give £100,000,000 as the figure of profitable investment that could be made in the expansion of Rhodesian tobacco.

Inserted by a group of friends of Rhodesia.

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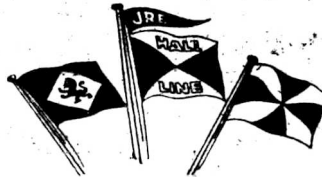
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE RHODESIAN FRONT**, led most astutely and resolutely by Mr. Ian Smith throughout his first year as Prime Minister, swept the board at last Friday's general election, taking all fifty of the A roll seats in a House of sixty-five. Considering that the agricultural, commercial, and industrial organizations had in the later stages of the campaign issued strongly worded warnings against a unilateral declaration of independence (from which Mr. Smith has said that he would not shrink if driven thereto by African extremism, British obduracy, and the Communist menace), and that the British Prime Minister had simultaneously repeated the threats which he had made six months earlier, this result is a remarkable demonstration of the depth of the electorate's conviction that Rhodesia must at all costs stand against the reckless appeasement of African political extremists which has been for years the hall-mark of British behaviour: the word "policy" cannot be used, for it implies, or should imply, principle — and the essence of Macmillan-Macleodism was short-term expediency without regard to the inevitable calamities which must quickly follow.

Whatever the economic and other consequences of rejecting appeasement as a temporary relief from deliberately organized violence and enmity, Rhodesians have shown that they prefer them to the illusion of stability and security which has been made the substitute for reality in the East and Central African territories so prematurely abandoned by foolishly faithless British politicians of all the parties. After the warnings of the financial and social effects of a unilateral declaration of independence had been given by Rhodesians who are widely res-

pected, optimists in the Rhodesia Party, who had previously thought that five of their candidates would be elected as a nucleus Opposition, raised their expectations to seven, though the pessimists prepared themselves for defeat in all but two or three constituencies. That party, dominant in the days of Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, has in fact been left without a single white spokesman in Parliament. Cynics within and without the country, who propagated the view that the white electors would take fright at the prospect of lost markets and the possibility of other harsh sanctions, now know that Rhodesians have put above prosperity the duty to protect the civilization which they and their forerunners have created. By their votes they have told the world of their determination not to have foisted upon their country the one-man-one-vote franchise which has wrought incalculable and irremediable damage over such vast areas of Africa — noxious nonsense demanded only by a small minority of town-dwelling African extremists, but anathema to the African traditional leaders and mere mumbo jumbo to Africans in the mass.

One of the ironies of an election which has given the Rhodesian Front total victory in the constituencies which it contested is that Mr. Nkomo, the most popular of the African nationalist faction leaders, has, by ordering his followers to boycott the poll (as they were enjoined to do in 1962), not merely again deprived himself of a seat in Parliament, but left the path to power among politically-minded Africans open to two more moderate and more experienced men of his race, Mr. Chipunza and Mr. Gondo. Which of them will become Leader of the Opposition remains to be determined. He on whom the choice falls will be the first African in

### More Important Than Prosperity.

### African As Leader of the Opposition.

Rhodesia to have that honour and responsibility. If he proves able to discharge the duties competently and with good humour, the psychological and practical advantage of this break with the past will soon make itself recognized. Rhodesians will grow accustomed to the expression of African views by a Parliamentarian who is not stamped with the violence which so disgraced the two African nationalist parties that they had to be proscribed. If the new African leader acquits himself well, he will, moreover, have excellent prospects of supplanting in the minds of Africans generally Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, the two antagonists who have thrown away so many opportunities. Nor will fanatics in the outside world, white as well as black and brown, find it so easy to denounce everything Rhodesian if a black Rhodesian speaks sensibly for the Parliamentary Opposition. The task will be challenging. If it be approached with moderation, modesty, and the resolve to judge and act in the interests of Rhodesia, and not to be the cat's-paw or dupe of external extremists, the holder of the office could soon exercise a healing influence within both races. Because the opportunity offered is as great as the evident risks, all well-wishers must hope that the African members of the new House will select as their leader the most trustworthy of their number — for only on trust, first among Africans, and then in the country generally, can anything enduring be built.

\* \* \*

With an overwhelming testimony of public confidence behind him, Mr. Smith can make ministerial changes without fear of party displeasure. Everybody expects some

### Send the Best Man Obtainable.

members of the Cabinet to leave, and the statement that no announcement will be made for some days indicates that changes are contemplated. Outside the Ministry, none of the posts to be filled is so important as the High Commissionership in London. During the past eighteen difficult months Mr. Evan Campbell has been outstandingly successful in that office, but he asked last year to be released not later than the end of next month. The need for the best successor obtainable ought to need no emphasis, but it certainly does if we are expected to treat seriously some of the names which are being widely discussed in Rhodesia. It would be calamitous for a vacancy demanding special qualifications to be filled by a politician of little or no achievement merely as a convenient way of removing him from the local scene. In the now distant past there were such cases,

and all of them quickly revealed their unsuitability. At a crucial phase in Rhodesia's history it is to be hoped that party loyalty will count for nothing in the choice. Mr. Campbell has proved that earlier political attachments need have no bearing upon the High Commissioner's discharge of his duties. He was not a member of the Rhodesian Front, but that party's two Prime Ministers, Mr. Field and Mr. Smith, would undoubtedly bear tribute to the ability, tact, and forcefulness with which he has acted for Rhodesia during a term of great difficulty. Indeed, it was their confidence that that would be so which caused both of them to ask him to remain in London. More than once we have written that Rhodesia is in its Dunkirk period. As in 1940 Mr. Churchill completely disregarded the politics of men whom he wanted for special work, so Rhodesia would do well to bear that precedent in mind today.

### Statements Worth Noting

"By 1975 the East African territories will require an extra 300 qualified doctors each year"—Mr. J. D. Otiende, Minister for Health and Housing in Kenya.

"In our society Ministers come from illiterate homes and have illiterate parents, brothers and sisters"—Mr. T. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya.

"The Anglican Church and the Kingdom of God are not necessarily co-terminous"—Bishop Dean, Executive Officer of the Anglican Community, during a visit to Central Africa.

"Rhodesia is thought to be the only country in the world which can put grapes on the European market in commercial quantities in December and early January"—Mr. Vernon Brelsford, M.P.

"In places like Zambia the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation is regarded as the B.B.C. of Africa because its programmes have an African slant"—Mr. Oscar Kambona, Foreign Minister of Tanzania.

"We must Africanize in order to pave the way for African Socialism. Only the African can understand and assimilate our modified Socialism"—Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Vice-President of Kenya.

"If anyone in Africa is wanted in his original country for any crime, you will find him in Ghana, which offers asylum to every undesirable person"—Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria.

"Administration in Buganda has sunk to a despicable level. Primary schools have deteriorated, and dispensaries and even hospitals have no medicines"—Mr. Binaisa, Attorney-General of Uganda, addressing the National Assembly.

"There is something very shameful in a situation that can provide Mr. Chiume of Malawi with the excuse to say: 'We can belong to the various denominations, but first and foremost we are Malawians. I was baptized in a Presbyterian church, grew up on a Berlin Mission, married in a Moravian church, preached in an Anglican church, and have prayed in Catholic churches. We should watch certain people who want to bring us disunity through religion'".—The Rev. J. S. Kingsnorth.



## Notes By The Way

### What's the Good of Writing?

THE TIMES has so frequently condoned the African follies of United Kingdom politicians, usually by silence when criticism would have been salutary, and has so often failed to condemn outrageous behaviour by black politicians and declined to publish letters of protest against its comments or absence of comment, even from persons of real prominence (who have sometimes sent or shown me copies of their communications), that many people keenly interested in Central and East African affairs have ceased to be surprised at its attitude. In recent years I have often heard men whose opinions have behind them wide experience, long exercise of authority, and proven judgment say: "What's the good of writing about it to *The Times*? They would not publish the letter". A journal with a unique place in the Press of the world, and with special pride in its correspondence columns, has thus denied itself and its readers valuable contributions to the discussion of African policy and happenings.

### Shocking Allegation

LETTERS, telephone calls, and other communications have given me proof of disapproval of the assertion of *The Times* in a recent leading article that the British Government has "every reason to distrust the way in which the white minority in an independent Rhodesia would treat the black majority". That shocking allegation will, of course, have been read with glee by Rhodesia's enemies; some of whom will keep the cutting and quote it repeatedly—not, it is certain, as a hastily written remark by an individual journalist, but as the considered opinion of a great newspaper. The truth is that the black majority in Rhodesia has such reliance on continued fair treatment from the white minority that the traditional leaders told the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Lord Chancellor not long ago that they wanted the constitutional links with Britain to be cut and control left wholly with the present Rhodesian Government. The chiefs and headmen (who unquestionably speak for their people) could not have demonstrated more clearly that they would reject the insinuation of *The Times*. Race relations remain good in agriculture, industry, and other normal contacts.

### Fruits of Faithless Folly

ONLY IN POLITICS has there been increasing strain—and then not between the black majority and the white minority, but between a tiny minority of black political agitators on the one hand and the mass of Africans and almost all non-Africans on the other. As the great *indabas* of the recent past made plain, the spokesmen for the African masses are as critical of the town-dwelling African political careerists as any Rhodesian Front zealot. They have the same reason, namely, resentment of intimidation and violence of all kinds as means of compelling compliance with the dictatorial demands of African nationalist extremists, relatively few in number, incited and financed from outside the country, egged on by revolutionaries beyond Rhodesia's borders, and avid for the power, prestige, and perquisites which Africans elsewhere have had thrust upon them by the faithless folly of Macmillanism, Macleodism, and Macblundellism.

### Puppeteers

INTERLOCKING COMPANIES have long been a stock target for Socialist and other adversaries of the established order, who have, however, been astonishingly indifferent to the numerous interlocking left-wing organizations in Britain which have among their officers Communists, ex-Communists, Communist sympathizers, and similar eccentrics—all of whom are, of course, "anti-colonial". Because of the multiplicity of bodies on which such persons are active, bodies which for cover purposes have an inordinate proclivity to breed associated and subsidiary groups, it has become impossible for any but specialists to keep track of the ramifications of such councils, congresses, committees, leagues, unions, movements, fronts, and cells, which busily burrow beneath the foundations of any State or any work of which they disapprove.

### Organs of the Lunatic Left

RHODESIA, which had a record unparalleled in all Africa until Macmillanism began its dire destructive processes, inevitably incurred the especial enmity of these organs of the lunatic left, for it is in and by such circles that task forces for the elimination of the white man in Africa have been recruited. Though many of the activists are self-proclaimed pacifists, they are so lacking in humour that their ceaseless denunciations are customarily made in military metaphor. Unfortunately but understandably, Africans, among whom the instinct of violence is still very near the surface, naturally incline to take their words at face value, not as discountable figures of speech. Pacifist pronouncements may therefore lead to killings in Africa. A small, well-indexed, and most welcome paperback by Mr. Harold Soreff and Mr. Ian Gregg entitled "The Puppeteers", published at 5s. by Tandem, now describes these bodies and the dangers of Communist infiltration into organizations founded by well-meaning and unsuspecting persons. It also says something about Communist penetration into Africa. The compilation, which deserves a wide circulation, provides useful ammunition against many people in public life in England and in Africa.

### "Political" Offences

IN ZAMBIA it has been officially stated that 1,253 persons "whose offences were regarded as political" were released from prison in the last nine months of 1964. The average person with a sense of responsibility, whether black or white, is scarcely likely to consider, as the politicians do, that attempted murder and arson of churches, hospitals, schools, and dormitories are "political offences". These were among the charges on which the 1,253 Africans, most of them U.N.I.P. officials and members, were sentenced by the courts.

### Eat, Drink . . .

A CARTOON showing a feast which was issued by the Rhodesia Party, the Opposition, aroused interest if not much influence during the general election, for it bore the caption: "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow UDI".



# White Opposition Annihilated in Rhodesian Parliament

## Mr. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front Wins All 50 A-Roll Seats

MR. IAN SMITH'S Rhodesian Front party won every A roll (European) seat, all 50 of them, at last Friday's general election.

The party did not put up candidates for the 15 B roll constituencies. One of those seats was won by Dr. Ahmi Palley, a European, standing as an Independent.

Considering that at least one in five of the registered voters were estimated to have left the country since the register was last compiled, the polling was heavy. So was the universal swing to the Rhodesian Front. Nowhere was it below 26%. Against Mr. David Butler, the Opposition leader, it was no less than 38% in the constituency of his choice.

Twenty-two of the 50 Rhodesian Front M.P.s. were returned unopposed.

Of the 14 Africans elected on the B roll, 10 are members of the Rhodesia Party.

### African As Leader of the Opposition

One of them will become Leader of the Opposition. The choice appears to lie between Mr. Chad Chipunza and Mr. J. M. Gondo.

Only a small proportion of the Africans qualified to vote did so, for the extremist nationalist leaders had demanded a complete boycott of the election, and many Africans feared violent retribution if they disregarded that call.

In townships near Bulawayo Africans who wished to vote asked for police protection, and it was provided on buses on polling-station routes. Later in the day the police were withdrawn.

Parliament is to meet for the budget session on June 9.

The results by constituencies were as follows. R.F. stands for Rhodesian Front, and R.P. for Rhodesia Party.

For the convenience of readers distinction is not drawn between the old United Federal Party and its successor, the Rhodesia Party, in comparing the results of the 1965 and 1962 elections.

### Mr. Dupont's Majority More than Doubled

**Arundel.**—Mr. Clifford W. Dupont, Rhodesian Front candidate and Deputy Prime Minister, won by 1,354 votes to 389 cast for Mr. J. C. W. Kirby, an Independent. At a by-election late last year Mr. Dupont's majority was less than half the present 965. He had 1,079 votes against 633 for Sir Roy Welensky (Rhodesia Party). In the 1962 general election the United Federal Party, now the R.P., won the seat by 930 votes to 613. Mr. Dupont is a solicitor and farmer.

**Avondale.**—Mr. J. W. Pithey (R.F.), a retired civil servant, increased his majority to 971 from 626 at last year's by-election. His vote rose to 1,251 from 1,042. His opponent, Mr. A. J. A. Peck, an Independent, had 280.

**Belvedere** was retained for the R.F. by Mr. Robert Patterson, who was not opposed. In 1962 his majority had been 191. He has retired from Rhodesia Railways.

**Belvedere** was won for the R.F. by Mr. Dennis Divaris, a company director, with 1,119 votes, against Mr. J. B. Pittman (R.P.), an advocate, with 239. In the 1962 election the U.F.P. (now the R.P.) had a majority of 85. Mr. Divaris is a former mayor of Salisbury.

**Borrowdale**, previously an R.P. seat with a majority of 453, was won for the R.F. by Mr. D. A. Hamilton-Ritchie, a dental surgeon, with a majority of 629, the voting being 1,031 to 402 for Mr. P. H. Erey, a farmer.

**Braeside** was retained for the R.F. by Lieut-Colonel H. D. Tanner, a consulting engineer, who was unopposed. His previous majority had been 399.

**Bulawayo Central**, hitherto held by the R.P. with a majority of 20, was won by Mr. S. H. Millar for the R.F. with 829 votes against 211 cast for Mr. R. L. Moffat (R.P.). Mr. Millar, a managing director, was mayor of Bulawayo in 1959-60 and 1962-63.

**Bulawayo District.**—Mr. A. Gale-Langford (R.F.), a company director, increased his majority from 127 to 535, having 836 votes compared with 301 for Mr. R. E. Saker (R.P.). Mr. Gale-Langford, a founder member of the R.F., was the first treasurer and secretary of the Dominion Party in 1955.

**Bulawayo East.**—Mr. Joel Pincus, R.F., an attorney, had 860 votes, against 493 for the R.P. candidate, Mr. J. H. Allen, a former general manager of Rhodesia Railways. Hitherto the seat had been held for the R.P. with a majority of 616 by Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, a former Cabinet Minister.

### Finance Minister Unopposed

**Bulawayo North.**—Mr. J. J. Wrathall, a chartered accountant, and lately Minister of the Treasury, was unopposed as Rhodesian Front candidate. His majority in 1962 was only 67.

**Bulawayo South.**—Mr. J. W. Phillips, a consulting engineer, who won the seat in the 1962 election with 709 votes to 564, much increased his majority, having 917 votes against 164 for Mr. W. H. Elliot, a farmer and former miner, who once represented Gwelo for the United Party under Sir Godfrey Huggins.

**Central.**—Mr. J. W. J. Cary, (R.F.), a rancher, was unopposed. He won the seat in 1962 with a majority of 470.

**Charter.**—Mr. R. T. R. Hawkins, a smallworker gold miner, had 1,002 votes against 250 cast for Mr. W. S. Beckett (R.P.), a farmer. In 1962 the R.F. majority was 373. At a by-election last year Mr. Hawkins was unopposed.

**Eastern.**—Colonel A. J. W. MacLeod, a farmer, had 983 votes and a majority of 685 for the R.F. over Mr. H. G. Seward (R.P.), a retired police officer, Colonel MacLeod's previous majority had been 125.

**Gatooma.**—Mr. W. J. Harper, lately Minister for Internal Affairs and Minister of the Public Service, was unopposed for the Rhodesian Front. His previous majority had been 394.

**Greendale.**—Mr. M. H. H. Partridge, a chartered accountant, retained the R.F. seat with a majority increased from 155 to 912. He had 1,131 votes against 219 for Mr. P. Kilbey, (R.P.), a quantity surveyor.

**Greenwood** was won for the R.F. by Mr. T. Ellison, a chartered engineer and company director, with 904 votes against 283 for the R.P. candidate, Mr. G. R. J. Hackwill. In 1962 the R.P. majority was 185.

### More Ministers Not Opposed

**Gwebi.**—Lord Graham (Duke of Montrose), lately Minister of Agriculture, and himself a farmer, was unopposed. In 1962 his R.F. majority had been 451.

**Gwelo.**—Mr. D. W. Lardner-Burke (R.F.), an attorney, lately Minister of Justice and Minister of Law and Order, was unopposed. His R.F. majority in 1962 was 335.

**Gwelo Rural.** which had been won for the R.F. in 1962 by Mr. C. P. S. Clark, an engineer, with a majority of 525, was retained, the candidate being returned unopposed.

**Hartley.**—Mr. P. K. F. V. Van Der Byl (R.P.), a farmer and company director, lately Parliamentary Secretary for Information, whose majority was 345 at the last election, raised it to 905, with 1,043 votes against 138 for Mr. E. T. Nelson (R.P.), a farmer who had sat in the Federal Parliament.

**Hatfield.**—Mr. John Gaunt, lately Minister of Local Government and Housing, was unopposed as R.F. candidate. His previous majority was 514. He was for many years in the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia.

**Highlands North.**—The previous R.P. majority of 279 has changed to an R.F. majority of 545, Mr. F. A. Alexander, chairman of the Rhodesian Front, and a farmer and businessman, beating Mr. A. D. Butler, leader of the Rhodesia Party, by 585 to 440 votes.

**Highlands South.**—Mr. R. B. Hope-Hall (R.F.), a businessman, had a majority of 800 over Mrs. D. Kirkman, their votes numbering 1,032 and 232. At the last election the R.P. had a majority of 29.

**Hillcrest.**—Mr. J. A. Newington, of the accounts department of Rhodesia Railways, retained the seat with a majority of 990, having 1,171 votes, compared with 880 in 1962. Mr. N. E. S. Simon, an insurance agent standing for the R.P., had 181 votes. At the last election his party's candidate had 648.

**Hillside.**—Mr. D. Fawcett-Phillips, (R.F.), a mining consultant and company director, standing for the first time, won by 569 votes, having 973 against 404 cast for the R.P. candidate, Mr. A. R. Sibson, former chief city electrical engineer in Bulawayo.

**Jameson.**—Mr. J. H. Howman (R.F.), was unopposed. At the last election his majority in a three-cornered contest had been 372. He was Minister of Internal Affairs in Mr. Winston Field's Cabinet. He is an attorney.

**Lomagundi.**—For the R.F. Mr. L. B. Smith retained the seat, with 1,434 votes against 234 cast for Mr. T. H. B. Bashford (R.P.). Both candidates are farmers.

**Mabelreign.**—Mr. P. Palmer-Owen, a company director, whose majority in 1962 was 291, was returned unopposed for the R.F. He is a company director.

**Marandellas.**—Mr. I. Colville-Smith, a farmer and company director, was returned unopposed for the Rhodesian Front. The 1962 majority had been 147.

**Marlborough.**—Mr. Harry Reedman, a structural engineer and company director, and lately Minister of Roads and Minister of Immigration and Tourism, had 1,085 votes against 299 for Mrs. P. A. Taylor, the majority rising to 786 from 402 at the last election.

**Matobo.**—Mr. S. A. Wilmot, an attorney, retained the seat for the R.F., not being opposed. At the last election his majority was 271.

**Mazoe.**—Mr. C. I. H. Stuart, the R.F. candidate, a farmer, was unopposed. The previous R.F. majority was 201.

**Milton Park.**—Mr. A. L. Lazell, (R.F.), a businessman and farmer, beat Mrs. M. Rosin, (R.P.), by 975 to 305 votes. The R.P. majority had previously been 281. Mrs. Rosin had sat in the Parliaments of Southern Rhodesia and the Federation; she is a vice-president of the Rhodesia Party.

**Mtoko.**—Mr. C. B. A. Hayes, a farmer, had 896 votes for the R.F. against 281 for the R.P. candidate, Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, a farmer and former member of the Federal Parliament. He was at one period Federal Minister of Education.

**Queen's Park.**—Mr. I. F. McLean, who won the seat for the R.F. in 1962 with a majority of 790, was returned unopposed. He is a former Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare.

**Que Que.**—Brigadier A. Dunlop, a rancher, was unopposed for the R.F. His majority in 1962 was 117.

**Raylton.**—Mr. T. A. Pinchen held the seat for the R.F., increasing his majority from 266 to 895. He had 1,121 votes, and his R.P. opponent, Mr. S. C. Howard, an engine driver and former vice-president of the R.R.W.U., 226.

**Rusape.**—Mr. Philip Van Heerden, a farmer, whose R.F. majority in 1962 had been 544, was returned unopposed.

### Salisbury Seats

**Salisbury Central.**—Mr. J. R. Ryan, an ear, nose and throat specialist, raised his R.F. majority from 39 to 708, with 877 votes against 69 cast for Mr. Danckwerts, (R.P.), a farmer who stood against Mr. Winston Field in Marandellas at the last election.

**Salisbury City.**—Mr. R. H. James, a farmer and businessman, had 718 votes for the R.F. and a majority of 476. In 1962 the seat was won by the Rhodesia Party with a 130 majority. Its candidate on this occasion, Mr. J. R. Nicholson, a company director, had 242 votes.

**Salisbury North.**—Mr. B. Oken-Smith, a plastic surgeon, had 1,001 votes and a majority of 673 for the R.F., whereas in 1962 Sir Edgar Whitehead had had a majority of 288 for the R.P. Its candidate on this occasion, Mr. S. S. Sawyer, a former Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Parliament, had 328 votes.

**Shaban.**—Mr. I. B. Dillon, a mine owner, held the seat for the R.F., being returned unopposed. In 1962 his majority was 411 in a three-cornered contest.

**Umtali East.**—Mr. B. H. Mussett, a company director, retained the seat for the R.F., increasing his majority from 281 to 880. He had 1,047 votes against 167 for Mr. A. H. Hodson, a medical practitioner, (R.P.).

**Umtali West.**—The R.F. candidate, Mr. J. Christie, an hotelier, raised his vote from 752 to 1073 and his majority from 213 to 809. Mr. J. M. Morgan, his R.P. opponent, a farmer, had 264 votes.

**Umzingwane.**—Mr. I. D. Smith, the sitting Member, a farmer, was unopposed. His previous majority had been 257.

**Victoria.**—Colonel G. H. Hartley, a farmer, retained the seat for the R.F., being unopposed. His previous majority had been 142.

**Wankle.**—Mr. G. W. Rudland, lately Minister of Trade, Industry and Development, and Minister of Transport and Power, a rancher and director of companies, was unopposed for the R.F. His previous majority had been 159.

**Waterfalls.**—Mr. A. P. Smith, the R.F. candidate, a company director, was unopposed. In 1962 he had a majority of 605 in a three-cornered seat.

**Willowvale.**—Mr. B. Ponter, mayor of Salisbury and chairman of a finance house, won the seat for the Rhodesian Front with 733 votes, against 415 for Mr. G. J. Raftopoulos, the R.P. Member in the last House, of which he was the only Eurfrican (Coloured) Member.

### ELECTED FOR B ROLL CONSTITUENCIES

**Belingwe.**—Mr. J. S. Hove (R.P.), who beat Mr. S. J. Mazibisa (Indep.) a teacher, by 44 votes to six, sat in the last Parliament as M.P. for the constituency. He is a cousin of the former Federal High Commissioner in Nigeria.

**Bindura.**—Mr. Chad M. Chipunza (R.P.), who was a Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Government, beat Mr. P. H. J. Chanetsa (Ind.), who sat in the last Parliament, by 93 votes to 64.

**Gokwe.**—Mr. P. E. Chigogo (Ind.), who was Independent Member for the constituency in the last Parliament, retained his seat with 75 votes. Another Independent, Mr. D. S. Nkiwane, had 63 votes, and Mr. L. L. Ndumande (R.P.) 31.

**Highfield.**—Dr. Ahn Palley, the only European contesting a B roll constituency, and the only European Independent in the last Parliament, won against three opponents with 195 votes. He is a medical practitioner and advocate. The R.P. candidate, Dr. J. L. Tadi, D.D., had 15 votes; Mr. G. A. Chaza (Ind.) 21; and Mr. I. V. Molife (Ind.) three.

**Hunyani.**—Mr. L. M. Kandengwa, who represented the constituency in the last Parliament, won again for the R.P. with 71 votes, against four for Mr. J. M. Kamunyenye (Ind.), a free-lance journalist and teacher, who was at one time deputy secretary of the Highfields branch of the former United Federal Party.

**Inyazura.**—Mr. A. C. Majongwe, who sat in the last Parliament, retained the seat with 85 votes for the R.P. His two Independent opponents, Messrs. D. M. Mazinisa and N. C. Wagonika, had 28 and 11 votes respectively.

**Magondi.** was won by a majority of one by Mr. B. Govan; he had 42 votes against 41 for another Independent candidate, Mr. S. A. D. Chirenda. Mr. E. C. Savanhu, elder brother of Mr. J. Savanhu, a former Federal Parliamentary Secretary, stood for the Rhodesia Party and had 36 votes. Another Independent, Mr. W. Kawara, had 17.

**Makabusi.**—Mr. P. J. D. Rubatika, a teacher and former M.P. for the Rhodesia Party, won the seat as an Independent with 69 votes. The R.P. candidate, Mr. M. J. Makohliso, had 59, and Mr. R. K. Horrell, an Independent, 60.

**Mangwendi.**—Mr. I. H. Samuriwo, who resigned from the Rhodesian Front in February, and was formerly a Dominion Party member in the Federal Parliament, won with 63 votes, standing as an Independent. Mr. A. Jacha, a former Federal M.P., and founder of the African Farmers' Union, had 39 votes for the R.P., and Mr. K. Mano, a headmaster, 33 as an Independent.

**Manicaland.**—Mr. P. H. Mkhulu, (R.P.), a social welfare officer, who was Rhodesia Party member for the constituency in the last Parliament, held the seat with 81 votes against 46 cast for Mr. P. M. Clyde-Wiggins, standing as an Independent.

**Matabeleland North.**—Mr. J. M. Behane, who sat in the last Parliament, was returned unopposed for the R.P.

**Matabeleland South.**—Mr. E. J. Mhlanga, who represented the constituency in the last Parliament, was returned for the R.P. with 70 votes, against 49 for Mr. K. M. Kumalo, a teacher standing as an Independent.

**Mpopoma.**—Mr. C. Hlabangana, R.P. member in the last Parliament, was returned unopposed.

**Narira.**—Mr. R. C. Makaya, a trader who sat in the last Parliament, retained the seat for the R.P. with 100 votes, his Independent opponent, Mr. M. Kweenda, having 41. At different times he had been a member of the United Federal Party, the Dominion Party, and the Rhodesian Front.

**Ndanga.**—Mr. J. M. Gumbo, who was elected to the last Parliament for the R.P., was returned again with 129 votes. An independent opponent, Mr. L. Dembetsambe, a building contractor, had 42 votes.

### U.N. Resolution on Rhodesia

BRITAIN, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union abstained from voting on an Afro-Asian resolution on Rhodesia which was carried in the Security Council of the United Nations last week by seven votes to none.

Sponsored by the Ivory Coast, Jordan, and Malaysia, the resolution gained the support of China and the six temporary members of the Security Council, while, as above stated, the four permanent members refrained from voting.

Britain did so because she could not accept the injunction to convene a constitutional conference; and the United States because the demands on Britain were considered extensive (though Mr. Adlai Stevenson described the resolution as constructive).

# Rhodesia Upholding Civilization Against Menace of Communism

Given Time, Rhodesia Will Solve the Problem, Says Mr. Smith

RHODESIA'S CONFLICT is not that of black v. white or of the "haves" against the "have-nots", but simply that of Western civilization against Communism, Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, wrote in the *Scotsman* on the day before his country's general election.

He emphasized that Britain, and America had handled the African problem very badly, showing weakness where they should have been strong and giving way where they should have stood firm. Southern Africa would not perpetuate their mistakes.

"Up to the advent of the Rhodesian Front Government, Rhodesia was slipping the way of the countries to the north of us. Fortunately—just in time—Rhodesians saw the truth of what the events in Africa were leading to, and they decided to stand by their principles and join South Africa and Portugal in a determined bid to save this part of Africa from extremism and ultimately Communism.

"Attempts have been made to intimidate and blackmail us, ironically enough by the very people whose cause we champion—the cause of democracy and freedom, the cause of Christian civilization.

"Our general election has no other aim but to demonstrate to the world in general and the British Government in particular that Rhodesians are a united people, courageous and determined to stand firm against the evils which surround us on this continent.

"Though the conflict is one of Western civilization versus Communism, in practice it operates as a conflict of the white minority against the black extremist minority—because Communism uses the extremist element among the African peoples to further its own plans for domination of the African continent.

"Independence for Rhodesia is necessary because Rhodesians cannot rely on our Western allies to support us in our bid for what is right . . .

## Everything to Lose by Waiting

"External investors are unsure of the future. They look at events in Africa to the north, and their reaction is to wait and see; they have nothing to lose by waiting. But we have everything to lose. We cannot afford to wait and we will not wait. We are determined to maintain a place in the sun for ourselves, and in so doing we shall help to retain the last foothold of the West in Africa.

"Our stand is to maintain a Christian civilization for the benefit of all, irrespective of race or colour. We pray that the already evident change in the thinking of the West regarding its policies in Africa will not be put into practice too late to assist in the preservation of the 'Southern foothold' in Africa, from which it is hoped that the standards we are so determined to maintain will once more spread throughout Africa."

On the same day the *Daily Mail* featured an interview given to its correspondent in Salisbury by Mr. Smith, who laid stress on the desirability of a defence pact between Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola in order to provide a front against Communist infiltration—not against African nationalism, but certainly against extreme African racialists. Their irresponsibility had tremendously impressed the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and Lord Chancellor during their recent visit.

Asked about the future of Rhodesia and its African population, the Prime Minister replied: "Time is the great thing. Given enough time, we shall find a solution. I believe the day will arrive when the standards of civilization and moral behaviour of the African will be brought up to that of the European. Then I think there will be no reluctance by either to associate with each other. If you try to force it too quickly, you get the exact opposite of what you are looking for and you create even more bitterness."

The *status quo* could, however, not continue indefinitely, and something might have to be done if people and capital did not enter the country because it had not become independent and the forces of Communism gathered on the country's northern border.

The *Guardian* ended a hostile leader with the assertion that "the rest of the world, where Rhodesia earns its living, is not interested in the mock heroics of a lost and never righteous cause".

Mr. Smith's appeal to the group solidarity of 220,000 whites on what they considered a hostile continent resembled the Churchillian appeal to the British nation in 1940, but "what robs it of heroism is that the cause in which it is made is not for the rights, dignity, or freedom of man, but their opposites."

Mr. Clyde Sangar, cabling from Salisbury, quoted Mr. P. K. van der Byl as having said that the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence "must mean the total economic destruction of Northern Rhodesia", and that the criticisms of leading men in commerce, industry and agriculture were not necessarily reliable. Mr. Oppenheimer had been wrong in backing the progressives in South Africa; Krupp had blundered in backing Hitler; and everyone knew that the Bolshevik revolution had been largely backed by big business in America.

## Negotiations Will Be Intensified Unilateral Declaration Only If . . .

THE FIRST STATEMENT by Mr. Ian Smith after his party had won all the 50 A roll seats in the new Parliament emphasized that although the election had shown the people's unity for independence, his Government was not looking for an opportunity to provoke a situation with Britain which Rhodesia would consider interference and therefore a reason for declaring independence unilaterally. Negotiations with H.M. Government would be intensified.

His Government would consider seizing independence "only if we are going to lose the civilization we have built here or if the Communists look like making a move to take over the country by backing the black extremists. If we got to that state we would try to get Britain to agree to give us our independence, and if they said 'No,' then we should have to take matters into our own hands".

Asked by journalists to refer to Rhodesia's neighbours, the Prime Minister said that he wanted to be friendly with Zambia, and that there had not yet been discussions about a defence pact with South Africa and Portugal.

The African nationalists in Rhodesia were welcome to come and see him.

On the eve of the poll he had said in Umtali that the election might be said to be specifically designed to avoid a U.D.I., for the larger the Government's majority the stronger would be the mandate to negotiate independence with H.M. Government, the greater the hope for success in the negotiations, and the less likely the possibility of U.D.I.

Though the national business organizations wanted to avoid U.D.I., as he did, they had agreed to support it if the choice should be between survival of Rhodesia and its way of life and loss of the country to black extremism.

Mr. Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, attributed the overwhelming victory to Mr. Smith's leadership, saying, "This is his finest hour".

India broke off diplomatic relations with Rhodesia on the eve of the poll, when her Commissioner and his family left Salisbury for Zambia. The communication from the Indian Government stated:—

"The series of measures taken by the minority settler's Government indicate its determination to declare independence on the basis of the existing Constitution and without the consent of the people of the country through recognized democratic processes. The Government of India have repeatedly made their view known that the only basis on which Southern Rhodesia should gain its independence is after the establishment of a duly constituted democratic Government elected on the basis of the principle of one man one vote".

Mr. Smith commented that, the purpose was obviously to make political capital with the Afro-Asian group.



# Portugal in Africa Resists the Communists

## Dr. Nogueira on "Desperate Danger" for the West

DR. FRANCO NOGUEIRA, Foreign Minister of Portugal for the past four years, told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on Monday that the claims made in Tanzania by spokesmen for African "liberation movements" to have killed scores of Portuguese troops during incursions into northern Mozambique during the past month or so and to have shot down two aircraft were complete inventions.

No aircraft had been lost, and if there were any casualties at all, they must have occurred only very recently. He knew of none, and would have been informed if they had exceeded two or three.

In an address to a gathering that day at the Portuguese Embassy Dr. Nogueira said:—

"Portugal, a Western nation, shares with the West certain common ideological principles which we cherish and wish to spread, and a common concern for the security of the Western world.

"Certain policies developed in respect of Africa go under the name or slogan of anti-colonialism. What wonderful accomplishments they have achieved!

### Unsuccessful Western Policies

"One is anti-colonialist because one is against oppression and repression; because one is in favour of human rights, individual freedom, human dignity, educational, sociological and economic development; and finally, because it is the fashion. These are the principles which the West says guide Western policies in Africa; and these are the principles on behalf of which Portugal is attacked.

"When we come to assess the results of Western policies in this field we have to accept the sad conclusion that they have not been a success. Never before has there been in Africa such unmitigated oppression and repression as in the newly-independent African nations; never before have human rights, individual freedom, human dignity, been so completely denied. African societies, instead of making educational and economic progress, are going backwards. This is the real picture of Africa.

"As for the security of the West and of Africa itself, the situation does not seem to be any brighter. Surely the least of Western aims must be to prevent Africa from becoming a Communist-dominated continent.

### Communism in Africa

"Africa was linked to the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal. All these countries are strongly against Communism, and all except Spain are gathered together in the Atlantic Alliance against Communism. How and why was and is it still considered essential that the links between Africa and the European anti-Communist countries should be broken in order to ensure that Africa should not become Communist?

"The suggestion seems to be that Portugal by staying in Africa is undermining the position of the West, inviting the Communists to present themselves as the only champions of the 'freedom' and 'independence' of Africa. Does anyone seriously believe that if Portugal were to cut her links with her African provinces and hand over those territories and their populations to foreign interests—because our troubles do not stem from the populations but interests and policies which are alien to Africa—then the Communists, either Russian or others, would immediately leave Africa considering that their 'mission of liberation' had been accomplished and that their job in the continent was over?

"The Russians and other Communists are in Algeria, the U.A.R., Tanzania, the Congo (Brazzaville), Uganda, Ghana, Mali, etc.—and of course they will stay there.

"If Portugal were to pursue the policies urged on her by some in the West, then the Communists would also be in

Mozambique, Angola, and the rest of Equatorial and Southern Africa. One does not check the expansion of Communism by enlarging the area of its infiltration.

### Tanzania A Dangerous Base

"The Soviet Union operates freely in North Africa. The Straits of Suez and Gibraltar are no longer safe. Tanzania is a large and dangerous Communist base for the whole of Eastern and Central Africa. Russian submarines and warships operate at will in the Southern Atlantic and in the southern Indian Ocean. The coastline of Angola and Mozambique is surveyed all the time by Russian ships. Thousands and thousands of foreign Communist 'experts' hold key positions in many African countries. There is already talk of 'volunteers' being sent to fight in Central Africa. In so far as Western security is concerned, therefore, the policy which is being pursued cannot be considered very helpful.

"The guiding principle of Portuguese policy in Africa is race equality—a little notion we brought to Africa some 500 years ago. We do not believe any race to be superior or inferior to any other race. This is the basis of our policy of multi-racialism, meaning not only that the various races should live together but that they should form a fully integrated multi-racial society; a real racial democracy, where everyone works harmoniously for the same goals. Mozambique and Angola are already two such multi-racial societies: they may not be perfect, but I challenge anyone to show me better multi-racial societies anywhere.

"The sociological evolution of the territories and the populations is based on equality before the law, irrespective of race, creed, or religion; on equality of opportunity for advancement in every field, be it in the economic, administrative, educational or political fields. The purpose is continuously to increase the participation of all in the economic, administrative and political life of the whole nation. Only thus can we provide for the real self-expression of the views and wishes of the people in accordance with their capacities and the stake they have in the life of their communities; and only thus can one ensure administration and government by the consent of those who are governed. No matter what our critics say in the United Nations, in Afro-Asian countries, and even in some Western nations, this is the reality in the Portuguese overseas territories.

### Allies Who Aid the Enemy

"As a logical consequence, we seek to foster the economic and industrial development of the Portuguese provinces in Africa. Angola and Mozambique have the best railways in Africa; the best harbours on the West and East coasts of the continent; the largest percentage of building in proportion to the area of the territories; the highest percentage of students in proportion to the population with the exception of Nigeria; and Angola has the largest dam and hydro-electric power station of the whole continent except the Egyptian Aswan dam.

"We are pursuing our policies, which seem to us as legitimate and honourable as any, and I should not like anyone to doubt our determination and ability to do so. In spite of our defence commitments, the escudo is as strong as any currency in the world, and our economy is making steady and fast progress.

"Whether we set our policies from the point of view of ideological principles, of security, or of Western interests, we do not believe that the constant carping and negative criticism addressed to us is fair or justified. Portuguese interests and feelings have been treated with casual unconcern. It seems that most of our allies feel entirely free to criticize us, advise us, and even actively aid our enemies—with utter disregard for the solidarity which should exist among allies. They do so and still seem to expect our co-operation; and they take Portuguese friendship for granted.

"It is a very peculiar and mistaken view. However old and good a friend you have, you cannot expect to go on hitting such a friend in the face and expect him always to come up smiling.

"Look at the situation in Africa, and think of what would have been the position today in the southern part of that continent if we had followed in 1961 and afterwards the policy which was then and still is strongly advocated as being the right policy for the Portuguese, for Africa, and for the West! It is a frightening thought. We are always being lectured that a certain line is the best, as if all the others have a monopoly of knowledge, information, wisdom, experience and idealism, and we a monopoly of error. I hope you will approach these difficult, and for the West desperately dangerous, problems at least with an open mind."



# PERSONALIA

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA is to pay a State visit to Italy at a date still to be decided.

MR. CHRISTOPHER NGAIZA, Tanzanian Ambassador in Britain, has been made Ambassador to the Netherlands also.

MR. J. KABEMBA, Congolese Chargé d'Affaires in London, visited Uganda at the week-end for talks with DR. OBOBE.

SIR ROBERT TREGOLD, former Federal Chief Justice, addressed the Africa Bureau in London last night on the political situation in Rhodesia.

SENATOR W. A. HASSAN has led a Kenya Parliamentary delegation to Berlin to attend celebrations of the 20th anniversary of liberation from Nazism.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER, who recently visited Ethiopia, was the guest of honour at the first dinner in London of the Anglo-Ethiopian Society.

THE RT. REV. DUNSTAN NSUBUGA, Assistant Bishop of Namirembe, was present last week at the annual meeting in London of the Uganda Church Association.

SIR HUGH BEADLE, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, has arrived in London to be sworn a member of the Privy Council tomorrow. LADY BEADLE flew with him from Salisbury.

MR. SIKOTA WINA, Minister of Local Government and Housing in Zambia, MR. H. MWALE, M.P., and MR. PHIRI KAPIKA, M.P., are in East Germany for a fortnight.

MR. HUMPHREY MULEMBA, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia, is in London for six weeks to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Course.

MR. S. JOHN PEARS has succeeded the late LORD PENDER as governor of Cable & Wireless (Holding), Ltd., Globe Telegraph and Trust Co., Ltd., and Cables Investment Trust, Ltd.

Four officials of U.N.I.P., the Government party in Zambia, are in Britain for a month as guests of the C.R.O. They are MR. J. M. CHAPOLOKO, M.P., regional secretary of the party at Mporokoso, MR. M. A. CHINYAMA, a headmaster and local councillor, MR. A. M. KIYIMBA, constituency secretary at Kasama, and F. MUSOLE, who does similar work at Kalomo.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA told a crowd at a tree-planting ceremony at Kahuru, north of Naivasha, that "men with poisonous mouths are sabotaging Government efforts by telling the people not to repay their loans from the Government". Others who had left their own plots to seek land in settlement areas were thieves anxious to deprive the landless of a chance to earn a living.

MR. ROLAND HUNT was received in audience by THE QUEEN last week and kissed hands upon his appointment as British High Commissioner in Uganda. HER MAJESTY also received MRS. HUNT.

MR. EVAN R. CAMPBELL, High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, is to be the guest of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain at luncheon at the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane, W.1, on Tuesday next.

MR. P. W. MATOKA, Minister of Health in Zambia, and DR. M. M. NALUMANGO have recently paid a short visit to Ireland, in which more Zambian Africans are to be trained as doctors, nurses, midwives, and technicians.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister in Zambia, MR. S. KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister, MR. ZULU, Minister of Mines, and MR. NALILUNGWE, Minister of Commerce and Industry, have left Lusaka for Japan for trade talks.

MAJOR BRUCE KINLOCH, who was appointed secretary of the British Field Sports Society four months ago, is to spend three months in Bechuanaland to advise the game department. He has been chief game warden in both Uganda and Tanganyika.

MR. MUTUMWENO YETA, younger son of the late PARAMOUNT CHIEF YETA III of Barotseland, has been appointed director of Cultural Services in Zambia. After leaving Makerere College, Uganda, he joined the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, with which he has since served.

SAYED SALIM MAHMOUD ISMAIL, Minister of Information and Labour in the Sudan, was dismissed from the National Unionist Party on Monday because he had told a workers' club in Khartoum that the banks must be nationalized and the economy freed from foreign domination.

MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, secretary general of the East African Common Services Organization, who is also president of the East Africa Tourist Travel Association, has suggested that East Africa may expect 100,000 visitors this year and that they will spend at least £12m. The 1970 target is 215,000 visitors.

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, is to pay official visits to France and Western Germany before attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London next month. On his way back to Zomba he will attend an Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers. Leaving Malawi on May 28, he will return early in July.

THE RT. REV. J. K. RUSSELL, lately Bishop of Northern Uganda, now Assistant Bishop of Rochester, invited Roman Catholic representatives to an Uganda martyrs' commemorative service held last Friday in the City of London church of St. Katharine Cree. Three Verona Fathers, two White Fathers, and two of the Mill Hill Mission were present.

## ZAMBIA



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## Kenya's Sharp Reminder to Japan Reply to Statement Which "Ignores the Facts"

A REMINDER TO JAPAN that she must redress the imbalance in her trade with Kenya has been given by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, who has issued an unusually sharp reply to the remark of a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office that "Kenya's economy is oriented to British needs, and it is very difficult to find products which meet Japan's requirements".

That statement was declared to "ignore the facts and disregard the diversified nature of Kenya's exports".

The Minister's rejoinder continued:

"In 1963 exports from Kenya to the United Kingdom amounted to only 25% of total exports. Seventy-five per cent of our goods went to other markets. Sixteen per cent went to other Commonwealth countries. Fifteen and a half per cent went to West Germany; almost 70% to the U.S.A., 3% to Italy, and 3½% to the Netherlands. Our exports to Japan in 1963 were only 3.8% of our total exports, whereas our imports from Japan were equal to 13% of our total imports.

"Japan's principal imports from Kenya in 1963 were maize, £547,188 (of which we are short this year); oil seeds, oil nuts and oil kernels, £89,558; sisal, £20,694; non-ferrous metal scrap, £145,725; pyrethrum, £133,920; pyrethrum extract, £46,241; and glycerine, £21,075. We would like to increase our exports to Japan of these products.

### Deeply Distressed

"We would like to sell soda ash to Japan. I am deeply distressed that, after agreeing to import soda ash, the Japanese Government imposed a new tariff which has the effect of discriminating against Kenya soda ash and making it non-competitive in the Japanese market. This extraordinary step was taken after we asked the Japanese Government to purchase soda ash and after they had assured us of their intention to do so. We only ask that the tariff revert to its original form which was a 25% *ad valorem* duty.

"We would like to sell our coffee to Japan. We can supply tinned vegetables, tinned meats, tinned fruits, pineapple, cotton, and dairy products. Very few Japanese tourists come to Kenya, and we would like to see this type of trade expanded.

"Examination of the facts clearly refutes the assertion that our export trade is oriented to the British market to the extent that increased trade with Japan is not possible. On the contrary, Kenya's efforts to expand trade have been countered by a new tariff which effectively prohibits the entry of our soda ash in the Japanese market.

"In lieu of exports to Japan we have asked for support to our development plan. So far, however, the Japanese aid to Kenya is valued at only £200,000, and consists of a training school which is being started in Nakuru. We are grateful for this small help, but if Kenya is to allow Japan to retain its position as a major supplier of our economy, then we should receive some benefit in return for this privilege.

"The benefits we would expect to receive can be a combination of increased exports, increased Japanese investment in our industry, and increased support for our development programme."

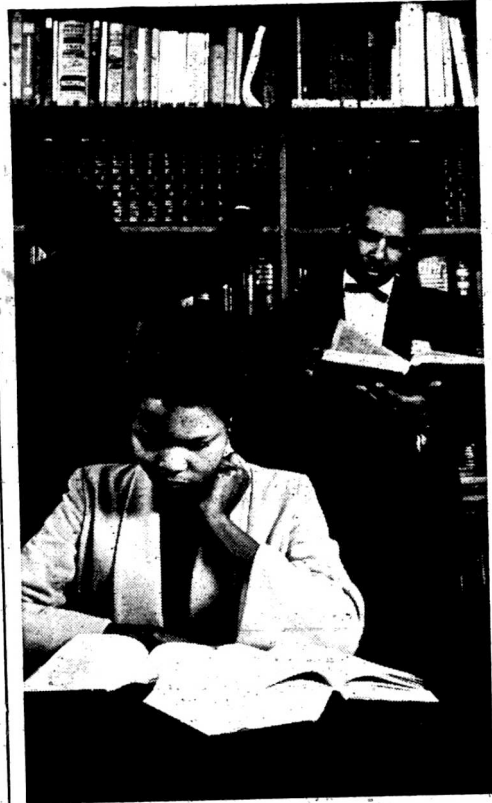
A few days later Kenya imposed import controls on a wide range of textiles and clothing. Although discriminatory intentions against any one country were denied, the changes involved inevitable reductions in imports from Japan.

### Control of the Banks

MR. ODINGA, Vice-President of Kenya, said in Nairobi on Sunday that the Government was planning to stop the outflow of capital, and that one way would be to control the banks. Next day Mr. Gichuru, the Finance Minister, denied that there were plans to interfere with the free movement of capital. A few days earlier five African M.P.s. had called for Mr. Odinga's resignation because he had said that "Communism is food to me".

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## Press Comment on Rhodesia

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE, the Minister for Agriculture, made, in the opinion of a special correspondent of the *Economist*, one of the few realistic remarks of the election campaign when he said on television that he would rather eat mealie porridge for a year than submit to subjugation to black nationalism.

The dispatch said (in part):—

"Mr. Smith has vastly encouraged nonchalance by telling his packed audiences that the warnings uttered by Rhodesia's industrial, commercial and farming leaders about the possible effects of U.D.I. all concentrate on the worst that could happen; he ignores the fact that these warning memoranda repeatedly use the phrase 'at a conservative estimate'. He further suggests that Mr. Harold Wilson has had second thoughts since his threat of sanctions in October. Yet Mr. Wilson repeated his warning only last week.

### Make-Believe

"Make-believe goes further when Mr. Smith and his colleagues claim that the climate for negotiations with Britain over independence is now better than ever. Then come the silver linings: plenty of investment is waiting in Western Europe, a thousand white farmers are poised to leave Kenya, and both will reach Rhodesia on the morrow of its independence. The African nationalist leaders (always called 'the extreme racists') will see sense only after independence; then it should be simple to get everyone round a table and work out a future for all communities.

"Some make-believe has also been generated by Rhodesian correspondents in London who have interpreted Mr. Wilson's 'ray of hope' remark as indicating belief that, when Mr. Smith has won his overwhelming electoral victory, he will be strong enough to shed some extremists among his colleagues and reach a compromise with Britain that most of the Commonwealth leaders could endorse. Possibly Mr. J. Gausart will be persuaded to become Speaker and a few other Rhodesian ministerial faces may change.

"But an evening spent in Salisbury would destroy these London optimists' hopes that Mr. Smith means to compromise. He has talked himself over the brink into inevitable

action. He has an almost hypnotic effect on his white audiences.

"One recent 'conservative estimate' suggests that 25,000 whites (out of the present 217,000) would be obliged to leave Rhodesia within a year of U.D.I., following a 10% drop in national income and the disappearance of 8,000 white jobs".

Britain cannot afford to bluff, said the *Spectator*. The leading article emphasized that interference with Zambia's copper outlets would immediately arouse the Americans.

"Any stoppage of Zambia's power supply or any disorder in the country would at once encourage Mr. Kaunda to appeal for British troops, a request which Britain would find difficult to refuse.

"Yet it is being assumed even by the most sceptical that Mr. Smith is now in earnest. He has huffed and puffed for so long, it is said, that he no longer has any alternative but to go ahead. This is a dangerous and mistaken view: dangerous because if it gains ground it will encourage the Rhodesians to press on, mistaken because it is based on a misreading of the White Paper.

"Industry and business in Rhodesia are very much afraid of the consequences of a U.D.I. Mr. Smith has been really rather clever. It will not be a humiliation if, after winning a two-thirds majority in Saturday's election, he still goes slowly: He will not be empty-handed, for he will hold out the promise of an amended Constitution; and he will have shown Rhodesians that there will be no African majority in the foreseeable future.

"Avoidance of U.D.I. a regrettably small gain, is still vastly preferable to the widespread anarchy and bloodshed that could result; if the white Rhodesians pressed ahead. For Britain the margin of action was always narrow, as Lord Caradon is learning as he now argues Britain's case in the Security Council almost in the phrases which led him as Sir Hugh Foot to resign.

"We return to the politics of patience: to the hope that among the whites there will be some time a change of heart; that perhaps through the good offices of the Commonwealth they will accept the constitutional conference that is always open to them; that the Africans will produce an effective leadership; that the peaceful progress of Zambia will set an example. It is not much. It is better for everyone than a U.D.I."

### British Government's Excruciating Difficulties

In the view of the *Daily Telegraph* Mr. Smith's tactics have been to manoeuvre Rhodesian whites into a position from which there seemed to be no escape between defying Britain, the Commonwealth and most of the world, and surrendering totally to black anarchy.

"The longer the existence of a third course—the phased admission of Africans to greater responsibility—is rejected, the less chance of escape will settlers have from their dilemma.

"The British Government seems to appreciate that aggressive action on its part would play into the hands of those in Rhodesia who want to take the final plunge. But the coming weeks will call for a rare combination of tact, firmness and understanding of Rhodesia's genuine problems. It will be excruciatingly difficult for the British Government to decide what changes in the Constitution are legal and what are not, what to let pass and where to draw the line, even at the risk of providing an excuse for seizure of independence. Pressures from the Commonwealth and the U.N. will add to Britain's difficulties."

## 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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OSLO, NORWAY

A letter written from Salisbury by Mrs. O. H. Robertson asked:—

"What justification could Britain produce for deliberately attempting to smash the financial stability of the only country which has a healthy and viable economy and which still flies the Union Jack in Africa?"

"Is there any justification for taking action which would enormously aid and bet the forces of Communism already so rampant in Africa, particularly since similar action elsewhere has had exactly this result?"

"Can Britain in the name of democracy defend political solutions which she knows from experience elsewhere in Africa will inevitably lead to the suppression and/or distortion of democratic governments?"

#### British Delusions

"It is because the British Government apparently so deludes itself as to answer 'Yes' to all these questions that Rhodesians will vote overwhelmingly for a Government which refuses to kowtow to such morally unjustifiable use of economic weapons. We consider Britain's threats of economic sanctions as being as morally reprehensible as the Victorian father's forcing a marriage of convenience repugnant to her upon a daughter over whom he had a financial stranglehold.

"It is we in Rhodesia who pay the Rhodesian piper, and we intend to see that he continues to play a Rhodesian tune.

Mr. Raymond Byrne wrote:

"All the signs point to Mr. Jan Smith's Rhodesian Front party being returned by an overwhelming majority at the general election on May 7. But will such a result advance Rhodesia towards full independence? The answer is almost certainly 'No', because the British Government does not choose to admit the validity of the two *indabas* of chiefs and headmen, but still clings to the fallacy that because Messrs. Nkomo and Sithole call themselves 'nationalists' they speak for the bulk of the African population.

"The danger of unilateral action is now very real. Unless Rhodesian affairs are kept out of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in June an explosion is well-nigh certain. Such a development would be, in Mr. Bottomley's words, 'calamitous'.

"The truth is that the constant procrastination since Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner handed in their report to the Prime Minister has done great harm to Rhodesia's economy

and has exacerbated the political tension between the two Governments. There comes a time when even the most reasonable men are driven to desperation."

Brigadier C. E. Lucas Phillips wrote:

"Having been privileged to have had the Rhodesian Battery incorporated in the regiment that I commanded in the Western Desert, I am shocked at the British Government's threat to impose economic sanctions on Rhodesia. So will all decent-thinking people be. The Rhodesians of British stock are our brothers. In two wars they have liberally given their blood and treasure for the defence of these islands.

"These Rhodesians are not expatriate civil servants. Rhodesia is their homeland, which within the lifetime of many people still living they have created with their own hands out of a territory of primitive savagery. They are a brave and patriotic people, and will surely defend the interests of their country to the utmost.

"The bullying tactics of successive British Governments—who haven't had the guts to impose sanctions on even Spain, Egypt or Indonesia—have served merely to stiffen the backs of all Rhodesians of spirit. Well might they say, as Winston Churchill said on a famous occasion: 'What sort of people do they think we are?'"

Mr. L. J. N. Hampton wrote:

"I take exception to the remark in your leading article that Britain has been given notice that if she interferes with Rhodesian trade the Rhodesian Government will take its revenge on its two northern neighbours. What is the Rhodesian Government expected to do if Britain strikes at her trade and the economy winds down? Do you expect that she shall continue to feed, clothe, and house 500,000 Africans from the north? Surely to return them to their own countries, far from being revenge, is common-sense if she has to keep her economy viable.

"The Rhodesians are fully entitled to take measures to strengthen their economy. The questions at issue between the two Governments are far deeper from the political point of view, and for you to liken the Rhodesians in their predicament to the American South with its racial violence is wholly false. Rhodesia has responsible government; it keeps law and order; the white Rhodesians have their own views as to the growth of representation of Africans. They are entitled to these views and to continue to govern the country effectively in the face of the disorder, incompetence, and nepotism of so many of the countries in Africa to which Britain has granted independence."

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## British-Owned Farms in Tanzania

PARLIAMENT has been told by Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations—

"There are some 150 British-owned farms in Tanzania. Over the past few months the British High Commissioner has been in touch with the Tanzanian authorities about the problems of a small number of British farmers, but he has not sought any assurances as regards security of tenure, since the Tanzanian Government have publicly stated that all farmers, irrespective of nationality, who develop their land and comply with the normal regulations are welcome to stay in Tanzania and need have no fear of discrimination. They have also indicated that it is their policy to encourage newcomers with the necessary finance and knowledge to invest in farming in Tanzania.

"The Minister of Overseas Development discussed these matters during her visit to Tanzania. Tanzanian Ministers assured her of their anxiety to allay any apprehensions felt by British farmers.

"It has since been announced that land committees are to be set up in the various regions in Tanzania to advise the Government on land usage. Such a committee has already been formed for the Arusha area. It will include representatives of the expatriate farming community. The Tanzanian Government have also reaffirmed their intention to pay compensation for unexhausted improvements to those farmers whose rights of occupancy have been revoked."

## Lost Sparkle

MR. KAMBONA, Tanzania's Foreign Minister, is considered by Mr. Robert Macdonald, Commonwealth correspondent of the *Scotsman*, who has recently visited East and Central Africa, to have lost ground, while President Nyerere has regained the prestige which he forfeited at the time of the army mutiny last year. In Mr. Macdonald's view: "Mr. Kambona's star has lost some of its sparkle. The fiasco of the ineffective guerrilla campaign in Mozambique has to some extent rebounded on him" (because he is chairman of the Liberation Committee).



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## Ministers' Meetings Banned

MEETINGS which were to have been addressed on Sunday at Dundori and Elbergan by Mr. Onoko, Minister for Information, and J. Omamu, his Assistant Minister, were suddenly banned. So was a meeting 40 miles from Nairobi due to be addressed on the same day by Mr. Kagga, M.P., who was recently publicly reprimanded by President Kenyatta. A motion of no confidence in Mr. Onoko is due to be debated in Parliament. In an interview in the *Sunday Nation*, Nairobi, Mr. Onoko denied that he was a Communist and declared his loyalty to the President and Government.

## African Socialism

AFTER FOUR DAYS of debate, the House of Representatives in Kenya unanimously approved on Monday the Cabinet's White Paper on African Socialism. For the Government Mr. Mboya resisted demands for wholesale nationalization, emphasizing that changes in taxation would distribute wealth more evenly. President Kenyatta has described the White Paper as "our Bible". It declares African Socialism to differ from Communism by ensuring equal political rights to all mature citizens and from capitalism by denying disproportionate political influence to economic power groups.

China has promised Uganda an interest-free loan of £4.3m.

Preparations have started in Tanzania for a general election later this year.

Yugoslavia is to lend Uganda £4m. for economic development purposes.

Eight medical students from Cambridge University have left for East Africa to study bilharzia.

Chinese engineers have arrived in Mogadishu to build a national theatre under China's aid to Somalia.

Chinese agricultural experts and technicians are investigating soil and other matters at Ruvu State Farm, Tanzania.

A Church Mission Society film, "New Day", dealing with its work in Uganda, has had its first showing in London.

A West German loan of £1m. has been made to Kenya to support the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation.

An office in Amsterdam is to be opened by the Government of Tanzania. It will be concerned, *inter alia*, with sisal shipments to the Netherlands.

Four Africa boys and four girls were killed by lightning while in school in Bukedi, Uganda, and 16 others had to be sent to hospital for treatment.

The U.N. Committee on Colonialism has been invited to visit Zambia later this month. Similar invitations have been given by Ethiopia and Tanzania.

A South African Government loan to Rhodesia of £2.5m. for 15 years is to carry the same interest rate as the provincial administrations pay in South Africa.

All residents of Zanzibar have had their travel documents withdrawn. Replacement by Tanzanian passports will be made only to those who can show good reason to travel.

The Kenya United Students' Association will shortly send a delegation to Russia, the expenses being paid by the World Union of Students, which has Moscow headquarters.

Joint submarine bases in the Indian Ocean are not to be set up by the United Kingdom and the United States, the Prime Minister has said. Circumstantial reports about such bases had appeared in some newspapers.

An enactment by the Presidents of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda will provide that no senior employee of the East African Common Services Organisation may be a member of a trade union or take part in a strike until a process of conciliation has been concluded.

Russia has offered Somalia 80 scholarships. There are now 17 Somali students in the Soviet Union. Training is to be given to 15 more in factory management, 10 in agriculture, 12 in maritime work, seven each in medicine and engineering, and two each in veterinary medicine, building, and accountancy.

Five lion cubs from Kenya which have appeared in "Born Free", a film version of Mrs. Joy Adamson's *Nooks about the same lioness Elsa*, have been bought by the Marquis of Bath for an animal park on his estate in England. Four other cubs have been flown to America. Mrs. M. and Mrs. Adamson had wanted all of them to be set free.

*Company Report*

# UNILEVER WORLD SALES WERE A RECORD

## Improvement spread over all groups in 1964

The annual general meetings of Unilever were held in London and Rotterdam on April 28, 1965. Lord Cole, chairman, Unilever Limited, presided at the London meeting, and Mr. F. J. Tempel, chairman, Unilever N.V., presided in Rotterdam. The following are points taken from the annual report and accounts for 1964:

Throughout the world Unilever companies last year achieved a record total of £1,688 million in sales to their customers outside the business. This was 10 per cent better than 1963, and the improvement was spread over all product groups.

Unilever's total turnover includes, as well as sales to customers outside the business, the sale of services by one company to another inside the business and the sales of products between Unilever companies for use as raw materials. This total turnover, with an increase of £204 million, rose to £2,146 million, thus passing the £2,000 million mark for the first time.

Profit before tax rose by £5.3 million, and with a drop in taxation the consolidated net profit increased by £6.8 million to £62.7 million compared with 1963.

In spite of higher sales of margarines and edible fats we made less profit on this side of the business because we had to pay more for raw materials. The prices of raw materials rose steadily during the year and at the end were 19 per cent higher than at the beginning.

We kept up our profits on detergents, and all other groups also contributed to the increased profits, especially ice cream, meat, toilet preparations, chemicals and The United Africa Group.

Unilever companies did better last year partly because people were spending more. It is estimated that consumers in the world as a whole spent nearly 8 per cent more than they did in 1963. Unilever's turnover rose by 10 per cent.

The main weight of our business is concentrated in Europe — a third of it is transacted in the six countries of the Common Market — where most countries prospered, and in the United States, which continued to thrive.

Our sales of detergents were considerably up both in tonnage and in value. In many countries the position of some of our main washing powders has strengthened, particularly Omo in the United Kingdom, Netherlands, France and Australia; Persil in the United Kingdom and France; Skip, a low-sudsing product for use in washing machines, in Western Europe; and Breeze in tropical markets, for whose requirements it was

developed. There has also been a considerable increase in sales of a cold water washing liquid sold under the "all" name in the United States. In the Netherlands we acquired the Fenix company, which manufactures liquid detergents and bleaches among other products.

The ability to follow up success speedily in every relevant market is no less important than the ability to improve one's products. We have quickened our pace considerably. As one example, our deodorant toilet soap, Rexona, which has been established for some time in a small number of Continental markets, has, in the last eighteen months, been successfully introduced into a further fifteen countries and a number of export markets.

Our established toilet soap brands have made good progress, particularly Lux, Lifebuoy Toilet and, in the United States, Dove. The traditional hard soaps are slowly declining in sophisticated countries, but we continue to improve our position in those countries where the use of hard soap is still increasing. Lifebuoy for instance has done very well in India, Pakistan and South Africa.

Our scourer, Vim, made useful gains in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain and elsewhere.

In 1964, the turnover of the United Africa Group was about 6 per cent higher than in the previous year. From a geographical point of view this came mainly from the French-speaking African countries, Nigeria and East Africa.

### SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR 1964

|                                 | Millions |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Sales to Third Parties          | £1,688   |
| Profit before Taxation          | 123.6    |
| Taxation for the Year           | 58.0     |
| Exceptional items               | —0.7     |
| Consolidated Net Profit         | 62.7     |
| Profit paid to Shareholders     | 24.0     |
| Profit retained in the business | 38.7     |

This year's address to shareholders by the chairmen was about Unilever Packaging interests: copies of the speech can be obtained from Information Division, Unilever House, London, E.C.4.

Company Report**Power Securities Corporation, Limited****SIR ANDREW MacTAGGART'S STATEMENT**

THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF POWER SECURITIES CORPORATION, LTD., will be held on May 27 in London.

The following are extracts from the circulated statement by SIR ANDREW M. MAC TAGGART, Chairman and Managing Director:—

The profit before taxation of £1,808,189 compares with the previous year's figure of £1,350,350, an increase of £457,839.

After taxation and the net dividend on the preference shares, there is a balance of £845,485 compared with £658,959 in 1963. Out of this balance the directors recommend the payment on the ordinary shares, as increased by the issue last year, of a dividend of 17½ per cent., compared with 15 per cent. paid in 1963.

**BALFOUR, BEATTY; & CO., LIMITED**

In the United Kingdom, design and engineering work continues satisfactorily on modifications at North Willford Power Station at Nottingham and on the civil engineering and building works for the 2,000 MW thermal station at Cottam.

In Nigeria, the Kainji dam and power house with ancillary works is progressing close to programme.

A new company called Tana River Development Company Limited, has been formed in Kenya for the purpose of developing the hydro-electric power on the Tana River. The shareholders are the Kenya Government, the Commonwealth Development Corporation, Power Securities Corporation Limited, and the East African Power & Lighting Company Limited. Balfour Beatty are the consulting engineers to the company and the estimated cost of the Kindaruma scheme is £6.1 million.

Various other works, both at home and abroad, are proceeding to programme.

In the United Kingdom in 1964 we erected 225 miles of transmission lines, mostly of high voltage. Similar contracts are in hand, sufficient to keep this side of the business fully occupied for the next eighteen months.

Transmission line work has been carried out overseas for the Nigerian Electricity Supply Corporation Limited, and for the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, whilst in Tanzania the 132 kV line between Hale and Dar es Salaam and the associated 33 kV lines are now in service. Further 33 kV lines are in hand for the Tanganyika Electric Supply Company Limited, and The East African Power & Lighting Company Limited.

As regards civil construction, the contract for the new Blackwall Tunnel has been completed.

Good progress has been made at Tilbury "B" Power Station and, although this contract will be completed later than anticipated, the results should be satisfactory.

The Company has been awarded several contracts by the Central Electricity Generating Board for substations, and at present eight such contracts are in hand in varying stages of construction.

**TERSONS LIMITED**

A large programme of works throughout the United Kingdom was undertaken by the company during 1964.

Projects included hospitals, houses, flats, universities, colleges and schools. Also undertaken were important civic buildings, hotels, town centres, office and shop developments, together with extensive civil engineering work for British Railways.

The future volume of work of the company is most satisfactory, ensuring a full programme for the next two years, with several of the recently negotiated contracts extending as far as 1972.

**JAMES KILPATRICK & SON, LIMITED**

1964 was another successful year of trading for the company, turnover increased, and profits attained a satisfactory level.

Contracts in the United Kingdom constitute the larger portion of the Company's activities and installations are currently being undertaken on a number of substantial industrial, engineering, housing and public building projects, in addition to important power station contracts at Sizewell, Tilbury, and Ferrybridge in England, Coolkeeragh in Northern Ireland and Carolina Port, Cockenzie and Methil in Scotland.

Overseas, important works were completed in Australia, West Africa and the Middle East.

Although prices remain highly competitive within the industry, there are welcome signs that many clients, including public authorities and nationalized industries, are looking upon high standards of workmanship and service as primary factors to be taken into account in selecting contractors and sub-contractors.

Both of the Company's small subsidiaries, Lonsdale Electric Limited, and Dow & Nicholson Limited (which was purchased during the year under review) had a successful year and look forward, with Kilpatrick, to a period of further profitable expansion.

**FUTURE PROSPECTS**

In the United Kingdom, the group companies have a very substantial amount of work on hand and turnover to date this year is satisfactory. Skilled labour in some trades is still in short supply, and additional experienced executive staff are required as turnover increases. These, and other problems, some of which are beyond our control, make it difficult to prophesy very far ahead, but the results for the current year to date are encouraging.

Overseas, the position in some countries is complicated by such factors as local taxation and financial restrictions. The proposed alteration in the status of Overseas Trade Corporations will affect the policy of Balfour Beatty (Overseas) Limited, on future action in connexion with new works but to what extent is not yet clear. We have various contracts overseas which are proceeding satisfactorily, but so far as can be ascertained the proposed restrictions on investment overseas will not materially affect these.

Company Meeting

# THE EAST AFRICAN POWER & LIGHTING COMPANY LIMITED

|                         | 1962        | 1963        | 1964        |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Capital Employed        | £13,322,332 | £13,439,445 | £13,403,827 |
| Depreciation            | 532,365     | 569,801     | 601,317     |
| Group Profit after Tax  | 960,980     | 1,006,228   | 920,112     |
| Reserve Appropriation   | 25,000      | 122,700     | 50,000      |
| Ordinary Stock Dividend | 10%         | 10%         | 8%*         |
| Capital Expenditure     | 715,245     | 530,594     | 647,712     |
| Units Sold (millions)   | 373.5       | 393.4       | 425.7       |

\*Equal to 10% on the Ordinary Stock before the Scrip Issue in June 1964.

THE FORTY-THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE EAST AFRICAN POWER & LIGHTING COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on May 28 at the head office, Nairobi.

The following are extracts from the review by the chairman, MR. J. C. MUNDY, C.M.G.:—

Once again I am happy to report that the year ended December 31, 1964, marked further progress in the development of Kenya. Constitutionally, following the attainment of Independence on December 12, 1963, it became a Republic within the Commonwealth on the same date in 1964 with His Excellency The Honourable Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, M.P., as its first President.

### KENYA'S SELF-HELP SCHEMES

Politically the Opposition Party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, was dissolved, leaving a one-party Government in power. This union resulted from the clear recognition by the peoples of Kenya that under the inspired leadership of our President and his Ministers the prosperity and rapid development of the country can surely be achieved in the spirit of *Harambee*: the united efforts of all the people.

To those who are unacquainted with our country, it may be difficult to appreciate the marked effects these changes can produce. As a result, self-help schemes for the improvement of the land, the provision of hospitals, schools and other urgently needed amenities are growing rapidly in number, exemplifying the new outlook of the people. Kenya is a new Nation with a stable Government, determined to build a sound future. Many things are needed, such as improved educational facilities, technical and administrative know-how and much capital to create new industries and expand existing ones which alone can solve the serious problems of unemployment and promote higher standards of living.

### SIX-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

During the year the Government published its provisional Six-year Development Plan for the period from July 1, 1964, to June 30, 1970, requiring capital formation of some £317 million. Of that sum approximately £129 million is to be provided from the public sector and £188 million is anticipated from the private sector. The amount for the development of power and electricity is put at £20.5 million, representing the pro-

spective growth of investment of our Company and its associates. Agriculture, which is the backbone of the economy of the country, has been allocated a large share of Government's resources with the object of improving productivity and bringing new land into production. It is estimated, for example, that by 1970 the output of tea will be doubled and cotton increased ten-fold, all of which will create substantially increased demand for power and other services.

It is inherent in the Plan that the safety of foreign capital must be fully protected, and to quote from the Development Plan: "Recognizing that a vigorous and healthy private sector will play a major rôle in promoting Kenya's economic growth, the Government offers private industry safeguards and co-operation to stimulate its rapid expansion". This has been exemplified by the passing into law of the Foreign Investors Protection Act, 1964.

### TANA RIVER DEVELOPMENT

Substantial finance from foreign Governments and the private sector for new industries has already become available during the year, and, closer to ourselves, the Tana River Development Company, Limited, which is to develop further hydro-electric resources of the Tana River, was established. We are partners with Government, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and Power Securities Corporation, Limited, and at the inauguration ceremony on the Tana River His Excellency the President of Kenya described it as "an example of the close co-operation between Government and private enterprise".

This is a brief background to your investment in this Company, which is strengthened by the policy the Government is pursuing. It is usually unwise to attempt to predict the future, but in power development it is necessary to look far ahead. I look forward to the time, which may not be so far distant, when private investors will fully recognize the merits of investment in this country and be prepared to increase their participation in the development of Kenya in co-operation with its Government.

This review is not intended to ignore the many problems ahead, but from what I have said there are good reasons for confidence that they will be overcome. What has already been achieved supports that view.



## THE KENYA POWER COMPANY, LIMITED

As in previous years this Company maintained a satisfactory bulk supply from Tororo and from its hydro-stations in Kenya. River flows in Kenya were satisfactory, resulting in an output of 161 million kWh from hydro-stations, compared with 133 million kWh in 1963. The 132 kV transmission line from Tororo to Nairobi continued to give reliable service and transmitted a total of 161 million kWh, of which 2 million kWh. were "spill units", the latter being in addition to the 30-MW to which the Company is committed under the terms of the original agreement with the Uganda Electricity Board and serves to meet peak requirements thereby avoiding running the more expensive thermal plant in Nairobi.

### SEVEN FORKS HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

I reported last year on the need to provide new sources of supply by 1967 to meet the estimated increase in the demand. During the year full agreement was reached with Government on the formation of a new company—Tana River Development Company, Limited, —in which I am very pleased to record the Commonwealth Development Corporation has agreed to participate as a partner with our company, the Government and Power Securities Corporation, Limited, each of which will hold 25 shares in the nominal capital of £100. It is intended that the finance required for this project will be by means of long-term loans.

The main object of the company will be the fullest development of the Tana River hydro-electric resources at an estimated cost of some £37 million in three stages which can be completed as required to meet the growth in demand. Substantial progress has been made in the preparation of plans, specifications and various formalities for the first stage of development at Kindaruma, and the provision of finance to meet the estimated cost of just over £6 million.

We propose to enter into an agreement with the Tana River Development Company, Limited, similar to that already made with The Kenya Power Company, Limited, under which the supply of power will be purchased at the ascertained cost, which includes interest on and redemption of capital. The initial capacity will be 40 MW, of which the first half is due for commissioning in October, 1967, and the remaining 20 MW in January, 1968.

The construction work on the Kindaruma Scheme was inaugurated at a ceremony on the Tana River on March 5, 1965, which has already received wide publicity.

The participation and wholehearted co-operation of the Government in this vast project should ensure adequate supplies of power for many years ahead and I record our sincere appreciation.

### DEVELOPMENT

The new demand for supplies of electricity in areas other than the principal towns has increased during the year, in addition to the necessity to reinforce existing transmission and distribution networks.

Of the potential new industries to be set up in the country construction has commenced on two textile factories, one at Kisumu and the other at Thika, which will provide new demand of about 1,200 kVA initially, rising to 4,000 kVA later. Two new sugar factories are also in the course of construction. Many other similar projects are still under consideration upon which decisions are likely to be reached in the next year or two.

At the Coast work has proceeded on the installation of the second 12.5 MW generator, which is due to be commissioned at the end of this year to bring the installed capacity up to about 46 MW, which should be sufficient to meet the estimated demand until 1968.

### CURRENT YEAR'S PROSPECTS

The estimated increase in sales for 1964 was of the order of 9 per cent., against which the actual was 8.2 per cent. For the current year the estimate is 3 per cent., the decrease in trend being partly due to the departure of the British Forces and to no exceptional load being anticipated such as that to the oil refinery at Mombasa in the previous year. It is likely that costs of production, particularly salaries and wages, will increase, but it is anticipated the balance on operating account will be higher than last year.

### TRAINING

We have expanded the facilities for training throughout a wide range of our employment levels.

Living accommodation for an additional forty-one students and an assembly hall were added to the training school during the year to provide for a total of 122 places all of which were filled quickly. No less than 54,000 applications were received and the task of selecting candidates was onerous.

The difficulty in obtaining students willing to take up engineering as a career persists, and once again I draw attention to the importance of engineering in a developing country and appeal for more young men to take up this most interesting career.

There are at present eight graduate engineers who are doing graduate apprenticeship with the company to qualify themselves as assistant engineers.

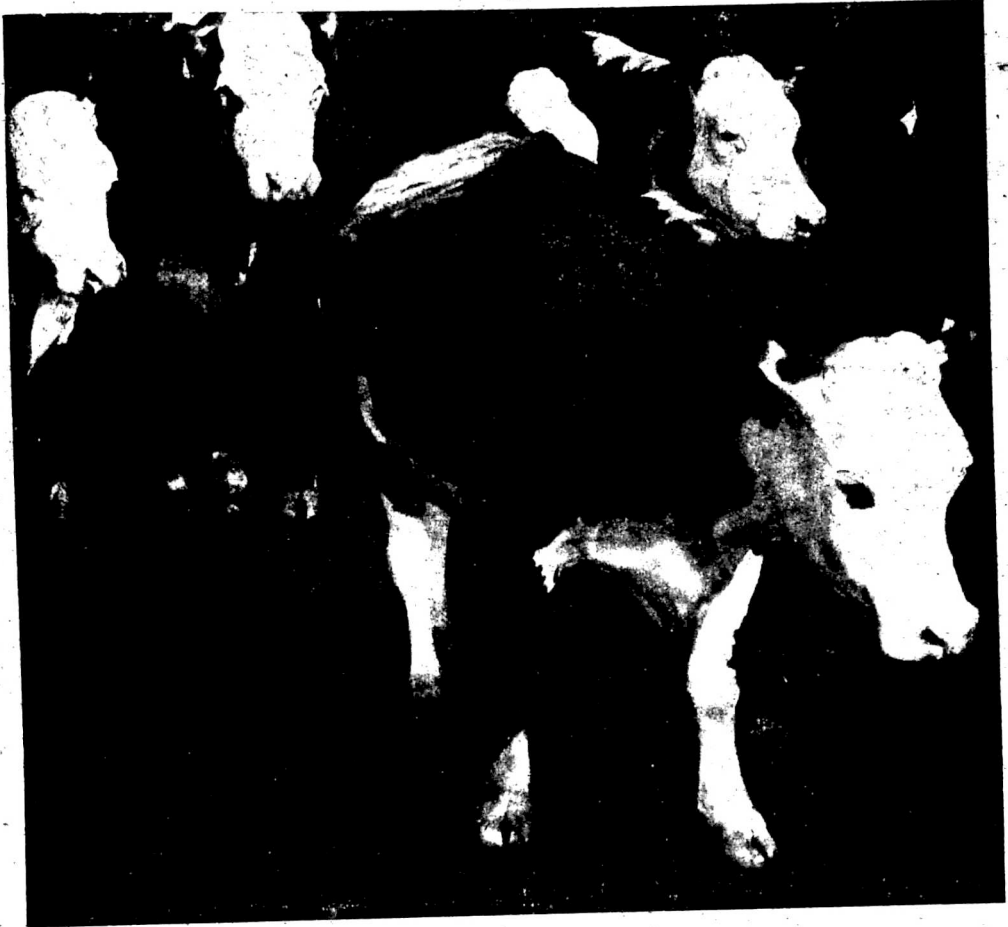
On the clerical and administrative side training within the company continues, and the practical result of this wide training programme is illustrated by the fact that there were eighty-three more Africans on staff terms at the end of 1964 than at the beginning.

I am very glad to be able to repeat my sincere testimonial to all the staff for their loyalty and devotion to duty during the year. Industrial relations, sometimes difficult, compare well with those of other industries, and there has been much goodwill in discussions with management. I have much pleasure in conveying again to the staff in Kenya and in London the sincere thanks of the board, with which I am sure you will all wish to be associated.

*Copies of the report and accounts and the Chairman's review can be obtained from the London Secretary, Bow Bells House, Bread Street, London, E.C.A., and from the Secretary, P.O. Box. 30099, Nairobi, Kenya.*

### Copper Royalties in Zambia

THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT has decided to continue the copper royalty basis previously used by the British South Africa Company, namely by assessing the royalty, not on the sale price paid to the producing companies, but on the current price of copper on the London Metal Exchange. In August the Finance Minister, Mr. Arthur Wina, said that royalty payments based on the L.M.E. price were inappropriate when the metal mined in Zambia was sold at fixed contract prices. It had therefore been assumed that the system would be changed. Concessions may be made for mines operating at a loss and for new mines.



## 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.*

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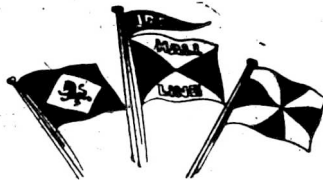
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, May 20, 1965

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No. 2119

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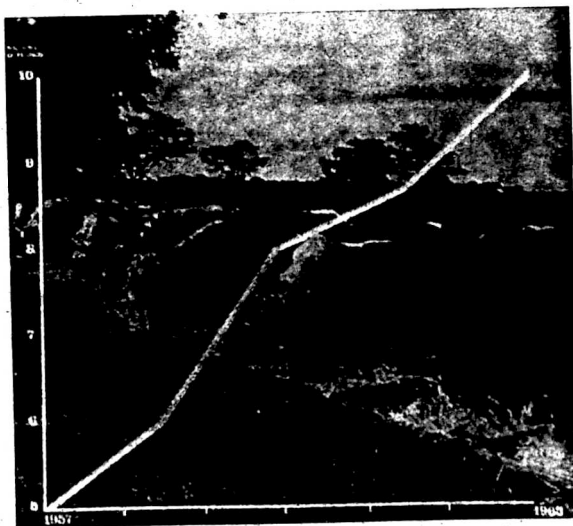
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1965

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SIR ROBERT TREGOLD'S** address to a London meeting of the Africa Bureau must have led many of his hearers to the reluctant conclusion that he has no realistic plan to offer his fellow Rhodesians as an alternative to a unilateral declaration of independence if British politicians stubbornly insist on withholding from that highly developed State, which has governed and financed itself in peace and war for more than forty years, a right which they have recklessly granted to former Colonial territories without real claims to the status, which they conceded to intimidation, violence, and clamour, not to competence and experience. Merit in Rhodesia is denied what has been given elsewhere solely by way of appeasement. Because of that submission to violence wherever it was ruthlessly organized, the noxious one-man-one-vote nonsense has been inflicted upon Africa's emergent millions even where scarcely any of the people understood the meaning of the new system, let alone their rights and responsibilities. Consequently — and quite understandably, though nonetheless tragically — Africans in Sir Robert Tredgold's audience dismissed his arguments as hallucinatory simply because he rejects the idea of enfranchising everybody overnight.

### Noxious Nonsense Of One-Man-One-Vote.

If his first postulate is that Rhodesia cannot accept the one-man-one-vote formula because it would destroy the country — as it certainly would — his equally valid second point is that enough time must be granted for Rhodesians elected to Parliament to gain the knowledge and experience which would enable them to control the administration without damage

### Rhodesia Jeopardized By British Politicians.

to the general interest. There is, unhappily, not the slightest prospect that that prudential course would be accepted by the African politicians—not because they do not privately recognize the validity of the argument, but because it has been jettisoned in so many other parts of Africa by foolish politicians in Britain, who have thereby put Rhodesian Africans in the position of asking: "If one-man-one-vote was justifiable in Malawi and Zambia, why not in this country also?" From the standpoint of African political careerists eager for power and pelf, there is, of course, no convincing reply.

Responsible Rhodesians, however, see no reason to sacrifice their country to the impatience of a tiny minority of bellicose trouble-makers in Africa or as a face-saving exercise for fatuous theoreticians in the West anxious to extricate themselves from a dilemma which is the product of their own debility, defeatism, and faithlessness. That, basically, is the issue: the Rhodesians, under relentless pressure to make constitutional concessions which every intelligent person knows to be dangerously premature, will not undermine their own security in order to accommodate irresponsible elements in their own country or elsewhere. Africans in the mass have made it very clear that they want a continuance of white rule, not its abandonment long before Africans could be expected to discharge the duties effectively. White Rhodesians are thus acting on behalf of all but a trifling minority of the whole population when they resist the brutal pressures exerted by the British Government. The Rhodesian case could scarcely have been better put than it was on Tuesday by the High Commissioner in London. We commend his address to the careful attention of all readers.

### Brutal Pressures From Britain.

## Notes By The Way

### Commonwealth Order of Merit

THE SUGGESTION has been made in Parliament that a Commonwealth Order of Merit should be created and awarded on the advice of Presidents and Governors-General to nationals of their countries who had shown outstanding service to the Commonwealth. The proposer, Mr. John Tilney, might have been expected to be less naive, for he was an Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Government, and should therefore know something about the antics of politicians in newly independent States (who often act even more cynically and irresponsibly than similar thrusters in the Western world). For that reason it is evident that acceptance of Mr. Tilney's fantasy would not ensure recognition of men and women who had given signal service to the Commonwealth and of them alone. It would, on the contrary, reduce in public esteem an award which has hitherto been restricted to persons of exceptional merit.

### Doomed to Disappoint

IF A COMMONWEALTH ORDER of similar title were established, Heads of State in great areas of Africa which have scarcely any nationals with the slightest claim to consideration for such high recognition, would come under immediate pressure to make recommendations, on the ground that their State (probably a one-party State) would be slighted if one or more of its citizens were not inscribed on the roll of the new order. Among early claims to be satisfied would doubtless be some from such larger countries as Nigeria. Ghana politicians, or at least Dr. Nkrumah, would be enraged if a recommendation from Dr. Nkrumah (perhaps in his own favour) were not approved simultaneously. Pushful politicians in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and other territories would be irate if their lands were not shown to be equally entitled to inclusion. If a Tanganyika name were proposed and agreed, Zanzibar would regard the omission of one of their number as unfair discrimination. Imagine the choler of Dr. Banda if Malawi were overlooked! Mr. Tilney's proposition could not achieve what he had in mind. It could and would give disgruntled careerists of no real merit the opportunity to denounce the honour as a neo-colonialist stratagem.

### Azania

WHEN A NAME was being sought for the republic which was created last year by the merger of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba with the great mainland territory of Tanganyika, I suggested Azania—which still seems to me far better than Tanzania, the title which was adopted as the result of a competition. Azania is shorter; it is more attractive to the eye and the ear; it has the historical advantage of having been used for a long period as a loose term covering coastal areas of East Africa; and, as I emphasized, it would have conveyed marked advantages at international gatherings, at which delegations are often ranked alphabetically. Delegates from Anzania would be near the top of the list, whereas those from Tanzania come near the bottom.

### Southern Sudan

IT WOULD BE IRONIC if these advantages, which Tanganyika rejected, should come to be enjoyed by the Southern Provinces of the Sudan. Everyone knows that

some Sudanese Nilotic politicians want independence. A few days ago Radio Omdurman considered it necessary to deny that two European Powers, two African States and Israel were prepared to recognize an independent State to be known as Azania if the Southern Sudan did break away from the North and conduct its own affairs. In a sane world that idea would, of course, be dismissed as ridiculous, for the provinces have virtually no revenue, no industry, and no men capable of bearing high administrative, business or other responsibilities. Africa, however, is littered with States which had no convincing title to independence but were given it prematurely and are kept afloat by all kinds of foreign aid, without which they would promptly collapse.

### Haven of Peace

DAR ES SALAAM, once truly a Haven of Peace (which is the English rendering of its name), has become the main centre in all East and Central Africa for the conspiratorial activities of groups of nationalist extremists from many African countries. Some of them are in close contact with the Tanzanian Government's broadcasting staff, and from time to time outrageous statements are consequently made from the Dar es Salaam station. For instance, in a recent talk in English Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, was described as "a crazy man, who might be taken to a mental hospital very soon". A few sentences later came the words: "We offer the Kariba Dam as Ian Smith's grave if he at all declares independence unilaterally". It is monstrous that President Nyerere and his Ministry should permit the dissemination of such insults to the Prime Minister of another Commonwealth State. What would their attitude be if a Rhodesian broadcast suggested that the man at the head of Tanzania's affairs was a mental case?

### Heaven in Washington

MR. CHIDZANIA, Minister of Home Affairs in Malawi, who accompanied his Prime Minister on his recent visit to the United States, has given an ecstatic account of their reception. In Washington, he told Parliament, they were grandly accommodated. "Even in Heaven I don't think I would be given the same room. If I had to go to Heaven I don't think that Jesus would provide me with the same sleeping space and everything that I had in Washington, because I think that only the priests, the reverends, will have it, not me. It was like being in Heaven. I could not believe that it was on earth. I had my big bedroom to myself. Whatever you wanted, you just pressed a button. When I went into the bathroom I couldn't find where was this and that. We went to meet President Johnson. I am blessed because I shook hands with him".

### Impertinence

BECAUSE MRS. Barbara Castle, Minister for Overseas Development, wanted to vote at 10 p.m. in a House of Commons division and then travel to Paris, the night train from London was held back eight minutes. That I regard as gross impertinence to the hundreds of other travellers. Why should they be delayed merely for party convenience—not affairs of State? Could Mrs. Castle not have been flown to France early next-day?

# Mr. Evan Campbell Puts the Rhodesian Case

## Why the Onrush of African Nationalism Must Be Resisted

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London since January last year, was the guest at luncheon on Tuesday of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain.

He gave an exceptionally forthright exposition of Rhodesia's case for gradualism in constitutional change.

The High Commissioner said:—

"Since I have been in London the main burden of criticism levelled at white Rhodesians has shifted from the Constitution itself to the intentions of those holding public office in Rhodesia who are responsible for its operation.

"I shall speak to you not as a High Commissioner, but as a fairly typical Rhodesian and try to explain the fears, misgivings, reservations, and doubts that motivate the great majority of Rhodesians, black as well as white, who have a stake in the country and a vested interest in the rule of law and the sanctity of private property rights.

### African Crucible

"It is a great pity, incidentally, that so many of the people who have discovered the virtues of our Constitution at this eleventh hour either did not recognize these four years ago or lacked the courage of their convictions to say so. Had they been as forthcoming then as many are now, the African nationalists might have been less intransigent, and it might not be considered necessary today to come to uncharitable conclusions regarding the long-term objectives of the Government I serve.

"I must not point specifically at other countries, some of them in the Commonwealth, when I speak of events elsewhere in Africa. So in order to give you the background against which trends in Rhodesia should be judged, I propose to take an imaginary African country. You will forgive the emphasis on Africa, but we are Africans: the political mood of Rhodesia does not depend on whether steel is nationalized in Britain or the United States withdraws from the Dominican Republic.

"Perhaps we are parochial, maybe we are insular. I believe the great majority of voters are in any country. But whether we are myopic or not, our future is bound up with Africa's, and our part of that vast continent is the crucible in which Rhodesian policy is compounded.

### Resisting Onrush of African Nationalism

"In resisting the onrush of African nationalism we are not flying in the face of history but imposing certain restraints on this force—enforcing a discipline which has not previously been encountered by this whirlwind which has huffed and puffed so successfully in other countries but now finds itself matched against a house built of more durable material and on a more solid foundation.

"What happens in our imaginary African country? I will give you a recital of events seen not only through Rhodesian eyes but through the eyes of any who scan the newspapers and periodicals for which they write.

"On the side of the abdicating Western authority there will be optimism and affection mingled with anxiety about whether the recipients of authority will be strong enough and brave enough to bear the burden and not break under the stresses of which all experienced colonial administrators are perfectly aware.

"On the side of the incoming, there will be that especial brand of African optimism which consists of a cheerful belief that if you say that a specific action

is to be taken, it has in fact been taken. There will also be a desire to pay off old scores, tribal and racial, as well as personal; and there is a lively appetite for the sweets of power after the years of struggle against imperialist brutality, including (as is obligatory) a period in prison.

"A compromise Constitution has been hammered out; and if there is a resident minority of non-Africans it is likely to enshrine all kinds of important paper safeguards. That minority, under varying degrees of compulsion from the United Kingdom, makes the only terms it can for continuing its existence, however insecure.

### Compromises

"Its political leaders find it prudent to withdraw into private life, making sure their passports are in order and their tax returns as tidy as they can make them. Industrial and trading firms do their best to radiate goodwill and optimism, take on a gaggle of local directors, and lay in a large stock of the new national flag.

"The incoming Government is persuaded—or appears to let itself be persuaded—to retain, on contract, a handful of senior expatriate officials, particularly in the finance department and police. In former British dependencies a few expatriate judges and magistrates also remain, but they are gradually replaced by native-born or perhaps West Indian or Singhalese lawyers with an Inns of Court training.

"By Independence Day the higher ranks of the police will have been vigorously Africanized. It is anybody's bet as to how long the few key white officers will remain; the odds that are laid in the club are reported back to the Minister of Home Security by the barman, dear old Solomon, who has been loved and teased by members for more years than anyone can count, and whose eldest son — after a course at Lumumba University in Moscow — hopes to take up a very high post under the Minister of Home Security.

### Mythological Hero

"The defence forces have been through an urgent process of Africanization. Able young men, very carefully screened, have been sent to Sandhurst. Experienced, courageous and deeply trusted African N.C.O.s have been promoted. The highest standards of training have been maintained. Expatriate battalion commanders have great faith in and a great understanding of all ranks in their units. In the phase before the final transfer of power, equipment is mainly if not entirely British; and administration and organization are on British lines. However, if there be a British headquarters in the country, it is quickly transformed into a 'mission'.

"The intermediate period of self-government passes quickly, but seldom smoothly. The principal politician, mythologized into a hero of the resistance, makes increasingly frequent trips abroad; he becomes a familiar figure on British television, wearing the particular brand of national dress he has devised for himself, and riding higher and higher in large official motors. He lunches at the House of Commons and is accorded a full-length profile in a leading progressive Sunday newspaper. The last Governor and he call one another by their first names, and are photographed together on the lawn of Government House.

"The Assembly building in the capital is refurbished up and extended. Barbed-wire barricades are put round the Prime Minister's office. Street names are changed, and statues of former colonialist tyrants are removed. Two very swagger new hotels, backed by a big Ameri-



can banking house, go up at a great pace; and faces, pink, brown and yellow, are seen everywhere in the downtown areas of the capital.

"The Opposition, which had been very vocal in the earlier constitutional phases some years back, is less and less in evidence. One or two more sagacious and better educated of its leaders find that it is convenient to take up posts in international organizations.

"Independence Day is celebrated with tremendous panache, honoured with the presence of royalty, and — if it is a very big and important country — Mr. Richard Dimbleby. The ceremonies of lowering one flag and running up another are carried out with impeccable formality, preferably at midnight, and amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

"Half the big houses in the best residential area in the capital are occupied by diplomatic missions from Eastern Europe. The People's Republic of China takes over the biggest of the lot, and its representatives lead a life of mysterious, monastic, but very busy seclusion. The representative of the New China News Agency has a private aircraft at his disposal and V.I.P. treatment, grade one, when he passes through the airport, which he does with some frequency.

"An eminent British politician, adorned with one or two grand crosses of knighthood, is appointed British High Commissioner. The Prime Minister becomes the President, and when the British officer seconded to command the country's defence forces sees him the 'old man' or the 'little man' or the 'dear fellow' is more and more evasive. Sometimes he is peremptory and sometimes he expostulates.

#### High Salary for Ministers

"Ministerial salaries are quadrupled. Fleets of Rolls-Royces and Cadillacs are ordered. The former Government House is transformed into a palace at an expense about which there is a good deal of libellous speculation. Many young men depart, plane-load after plane-load of them to Peking, Russia and the U.A.R. When they come home their knowledge of sanitation or sociology may be sketchy but they are well instructed in the use of small arms and the tactics of guerrilla warfare.

"Foreign loans and gifts pour into the country for all kinds of development projects: a dam here, roads there, an institute of technology, a crash programme for training doctors, a national airline, and — the latest craze — a geological survey to find out the size of the mineral wealth in the country which the colonialist exploiters were too idle to exploit.

"The Foreign Minister goes to the United Nations Assembly and makes a series of passionate speeches, which are loudly applauded by his colleagues from other African countries and by the representatives of the Communist bloc.

"Meanwhile the salaries of civil servants and teachers, and the pay of the defence forces, begin to fall into arrears. The civil servants make private arrangements with engineering and building contractors; the teachers go on strike; and one dark, steamy morning the soldiers mutiny. There is a crisis, which the President may or may not survive. If he does survive, the public relations halo which he wore a year or two earlier is more than a little tarnished, and his authoritarian tendencies are far less inhibited. It is a grave penal offence not to salute his car whenever it passes. The national youth league — the lower age-level for entry into it appears to coincide with the performance of the rite of circumcision — gets tougher and tougher, and its members wear nail-studded boots.

"The Russian and Czech diplomats become grumpily disillusioned. The Israelis bear it all quietly. The Chinese increase in numbers.

#### Press Praise for President

"The local Press prints columns of praise for the President, and its social pages report the high society weddings of influential members of the Ministries of Home Security and Information and Propaganda. Three British newspaper correspondents and one senior C.I.D. officer are declared to be prohibited immigrants and expelled at 24 hours' notice. The High Commissioner in London writes a letter to *The Times*, declaring that freedom of opinion and freedom of expression are absolutely safeguarded in his country.

"A large British military cantonment, with all its appropriate installations, is handed over as an act of grace; and a British company which has operated in the country for the past 50 years, and until lately was responsible for such industrial and commercial development as it had, is nationalized overnight.

"The Opposition, amid much cheering and clapping, dissolves itself and goes over *en masse* to support the Government. The President declares that one-party rule is the rational order of things in Africa, and the following Sunday a British newspaper has a long leader page article explaining how reactionary it would be to argue with the President. Two days later the former leader and deputy leader of the Opposition

are arrested on charges of conspiracy to assassinate the President.

"The Minister for Land Development flees the country and the President, in a nation-wide broadcast, describes him as a poisonous traitor. The Finance Minister goes to Peking, Moscow and New York to ask for renewed financial aid for urgently necessary development projects, but declares that it must be entirely without political strings.

#### Not a Caricature

"All these happenings have occurred in independent Central and Southern Africa. It is not a caricature, although many of you may feel my account was unkind and slanted. That was not my intention, although it is your privilege to draw whatever conclusions you wish. I am putting the Rhodesian point of view, which may be subjective but is the side of the coin seldom seen in Fleet Street, where I have a feeling distance all too often lends enchantment to the view.

"What has occurred in other parts of Africa does not constitute a reliable precedent for what should happen or what is going to happen in a country like mine, whose historical background and beginnings were so different from those of Colonial dependences where, in the main, the non-African population comprised expatriates who always had it in mind to retire to Britain and who went home every three years, not every evening as we do.

"Rhodesia has never been a Protectorate. It has never been a Colonial dependency within the true meaning of that word, since we have always financed our own development by taxing ourselves and raising and repaying loans without resort to the British taxpayer. From a strictly constitutional point of view we are a Colony, but we are in the curious position of being a Colony for which the Colonial Office never exercised physically any responsibility.

"You will know that throughout our history our franchise has been colour-blind; no distinction is made on grounds of race, colour or creed, but we do require those exercising this privilege — and it should be a privilege — to conform to certain standards. We have a qualitative franchise, and the essential ingredients for its successful working will be found in the steady expansion of our educational opportunities and in our virile economy.

"I am in no doubt that if Africans seized the opportunities that already exist for political self-expression it would be found that even today the weight of African voting influence is far greater than our critics would have you believe.

"Gradualism is implicit in our Constitution, which is non-racial in character and takes account of the multi-racial nature of our society. Gradualism is a commodity in short supply in Africa today, but it is one that is vital in any exercise that contemplates a smooth transition to a Government responsible to the will of the majority.

#### Responsibility of the Press

"I am very conscious of the fact that my Government's image in this country is not a particularly favourable one, and I accept that we in some measure have ourselves to blame for this. I learned long ago as far as the Press is concerned that since you cannot beat them and you cannot join them, you must co-exist with them. It is possible that that lesson is still to be learned in certain Government offices in Salisbury.

"But there is a responsibility on your side too; and I do not believe that this has always been discharged by some publications as honourably as the majority of you would wish. In whatever judgements you form concerning Rhodesia and Rhodesians, I ask you to bear in mind always these considerations. We are of British stock; we are your kin. There are no closed chapters in our country's brief record, which spans only the normal life of man. The things that are dear to you are dear to us, and we react to certain situations as you would yourselves.

"The problems we face are the problems of Africa. Is it asking too much that our affairs should be regarded with the same sympathy, tolerance and understanding that is accorded to the newly-emergent African States?

"The highly selective treatment given by many writers to news items concerning Rhodesia is, to put it at its highest, irritating, and, at its lowest, downright mischievous.

"We are sometimes accused of flag waging when we recall our record in two world wars; but I could scarcely help noticing during the recent Royal visit to Ethiopia that the Press here was not slow to weigh credit for the Abyssinian campaign to the British forces — and by British they mean English. Nobody to my knowledge mentioned that the first troops to reach Addis Ababa were Rhodesian and South African and nobody saw fit to mention that the first air action against the Italians in that campaign was fought by 237 Rhodesian Squadron.

"On the other hand, when the latest rumour in the more fly-blown bars of Dar es Salaam concerns unidentified air-

(Continued on page 599)

# Firm Date for Independence Offers Rhodesia's Only Hope

## Sir Robert Tredgold's Advice to the African Nationalist Leaders

RHODESIA'S only hope of constitutional stability requires the fixing of a date—which would be neither anticipated nor deferred—for an African majority in Parliament, progress towards the attainment of that majority being by stages.

Sir Robert Tredgold Chief Justice from 1955 to 1960, expressed that conviction in London last week at a meeting organized by the Africa Bureau, which invited him to revisit Britain for consultations and to address meetings in England and Scotland.

He emphasized Rhodesia's tremendous potentialities in human and material resources if the present grave political difficulties could be overcome by mutual toleration, understanding, and co-operation.

Sir Robert said, *inter alia*:

"The Government of Rhodesia has pledged itself to certain objectives to which it is every unlikely that a British Government could agree. It is pledged, in particular, to stop indefinitely the advancement of Africans by the franchise; and there are hints of modification of the Constitution, including the Declaration of Rights, which the Government finds extremely hampering. Since it is inconceivable that any British Government would agree to such changes, we are headed for collision.

"White opinion is hardening against African political advancement. Mr. Smith has said that there can be no African majority in his lifetime, and some of his supporters now talk of white supremacy in perpetuity.

### U.D.I. A Very Real Possibility

"Though the Government has created a very dangerous situation, unexpected possibilities may open up. With his sweeping victory at the general election behind him, Mr. Smith may be prepared to adopt a less extreme attitude. If so, there might be a split in his party, a strong and determined section of which regards this question as involving the survival of the white man in Rhodesia. By modifying his attitude the Prime Minister might fall victim to these elements.

"If a unilateral declaration of independence is made—and it is a very real possibility—the effects on the economy would be very serious. How serious has been indicated by the authoritative bodies which have published their assessments. But some in the Government regard the risks of an early African majority as so great as to justify acceptance of these other risks.

"H.M. Government could aggravate or mitigate the economic consequences of U.D.I. The automatic results of unconstitutional action, such as loss of Imperial preference on tobacco, would be serious. A complete embargo on imports of Rhodesian tobacco would be a punitive measure which could properly be called a sanction. Sanctions would hit Rhodesia hard.

"The country might struggle along under the economic difficulties, which would be enhanced by the increasing cost of defence. I would not expect a widespread African outbreak. Rhodesia might seek aid from some countries and might survive, but would gravitate more and more to the orbit of South Africa.

"There would be possibility of complete economic collapse. It would happen unless outside support were given on a very considerable scale. Rehabilitation of the country after a collapse would involve outside intervention. Because many of the African nationalists regard that as the inevitable consequence of U.D.I., they hope for it to occur. I do not consider that a responsible attitude, for great suffering would be caused.

"I hope for a new and imaginative approach. I do not stand for the immediate introduction of majority rule. In 1957 I presided over a commission on the franchise which suggested the evolutionary approach. Unhappily, the recommendation was adopted in a form which made it hardly recognizable.

"For democracy to function satisfactorily there must be certain experience among the voters and the leaders, and unless they have that experience and discipline the new Parliament might easily fail to succeed.

"Politicians oversimplify and some seem to thrive on confusion.

"There are said to be three choices: (1) white supremacy indefinitely; (2) immediate majority rule; (3) continuance with the present Constitution. I regard all three as fatal.

"The Constitution is very defective, primarily because it produced doubts about African political advancement. High authorities stated that it would bring an African majority in eight or 10 years; and that frightened the life out of the white population.

"I regard the estimate as nonsensical. It could prove right only if there were unparalleled economic advancement and an expansion of African education, so enormous that the country could not afford it.

"People like myself believe that under the present Constitution an African majority would be delayed for a long period, perhaps even for 30 or 40 years; and that frightens the life out of the Africans.

### Need to Change Franchise

"The first need is a franchise which would permit a reasonable forecast of the rate of African advancement. The settling effect would be enormous. Uncertainty is always harrowing. If the date for an African majority could be fixed, and assurances given that it would not come before that time, it would be much better for everybody.

"There is little chance of the acceptance of such proposals now, but, if they were clearly thought out, there is some prospect of moving from our present position of two laagers. A constitutional conference containing highly qualified constitutional lawyers, given an unspecified time for full study of the problem, might succeed in enabling the people of the country to live together in peace.

"Rhodesia, a wonderful country, has tremendous economic potentialities, and even greater potentialities in its people of all races. We can, I believe, have a non-racial State in which all will think of themselves as Rhodesians if we have a Constitution which provides both for advancement and for protection, first of the black majority and then of the white minority. I am realistic about these matters, not just an idealist."

Most of the questions came from Africans, several of whom insisted that Rhodesian Africans would accept nothing less than the one-man-one-vote system, and that it was unreasonable to expect them to be satisfied with less politically than had been granted in the neighbouring African-governed States of Zambia and Malawi.

### Progress by Stages

Sir Robert Tredgold replied that he believed in majority rule, but that it was attainable only by stages. Unfortunately, the African political leaders had persistently boycotted the 1961 Constitution, when they should have accepted the considerable opportunities which it offered them. They had refused to co-operate because they mistakenly expected that stand to produce outside intervention. The first thing that Africans could and should do now was to agree to participate.

Immediate introduction of the Westminster system with a universal franchise would eliminate the white man, as wise African nationalists recognized. If Africans used the constitutional privileges granted in 1961 they would have a jumping-off point from which to demand greater representation.

They should remember that it was more difficult for any Government to lock up M.P.s. than ordinary members of the public. If the 15 African seats in Parliament had been occupied by leading African nationalists, there would have been a great change in the situation.

Another questioner was told that an attempt to force majority rule on the country now would provoke civil war. The change must come by stages. An unconstitutional declaration of independence would give H.M. Government the legal right to send troops, but it was greatly to be hoped that they would not do so.

If Africans had exercised their rights under the Constitution at least 50,000 of them would be on the electoral rolls. Because of the order of African leaders to boycott the Constitution, only about 10,000 had registered, and at this month's general election only 1,000 had voted.

### Nail in the Head

AN AFRICAN in Zambia who believed that fellow villagers wanted to kill him, pulled a six-inch nail from the wall of his hut, hammered it into his head with a plank, pulled it out, and hammered it back. Neighbours then rushed in and took him to hospital.

# President Kaunda Speaks of Rhodesia's "Grave"

## Zambia Will Fight If Rhodesia Takes Independence

**PRESIDENT KAUNDA** made a broadcast to the nation recently, saying that he spoke "when Zambia is faced with a critical situation and subjected to an unwarranted attack by the Government of Rhodesia.

He said: —

"For many months the Government of Zambia has remained silent on the question of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia.

"We kept our peace because we hold as a basic principle non-interference in the affairs of other States. We do not look with favour on other countries meddling in our affairs and we try to live up to our beliefs.

"But when the Government of a neighbouring country threatens economic strangulation, threatens to hold us to ransom for its own illegal acts, when it attacks the democratic foundations of the nation we are attempting to build and makes insinuations about the integrity of our cherished democratic institutions, when we are subjected to threats and abuse, then I must speak for my nation and my Government.

### Criticism of Rhodesia's Constitution

"Rhodesia has demanded independence under a Constitution which no right-thinking person could accept. The present Government is elected by a minority. The vast bulk of the people of Rhodesia have no say in the election of those who govern them. The people who govern Rhodesia govern not with the will of the people but with the will of a small part of the population, which judges a man's worth not by his character or ability but by the colour of his skin.

"Independence will come only when its terms are acceptable for the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The British Government has made that clear and that an illegal grab of independence will be dealt with firmly. This has been known since last October, but Smith and his crowd have not heeded the warning, a warning which must carry weight because it was applauded all over the world, in Africa, Europe, America, Asia. U.D.I. will be universally condemned.

"Many of you will have heard or read reports on the White Paper published by the Rhodesian Government setting out counter-measures to be taken by Rhodesia if U.D.I. leads to punitive action by Britain and the Commonwealth. Rhodesia will deport all Zambians presently employed in Rhodesia if Britain applies economic sanctions.

"Other steps are contemplated which the White Paper states it would not be in the interests of Rhodesia to specify. A clue to these other steps is given in recent speeches in the election campaign. On thing which stands out is that Smith intends to make Zambia pay for any actions by the British Government and the rest of the world.

"What is threatened is wanton aggression against Zambia. I want all Zambians to note that we will not sit idle in the face of such provocation. My duty is to defend the Constitution of the Republic of Zambia against all aggression, economic or otherwise. It is my duty and the duty of every man and woman who calls himself a Zambian to stand up against such forces and fight; and we will not be going into this fight unprepared.

"The Government of Zambia has been making a detailed study of the consequences for Zambia of economic aggression. We have not been alone in making our plans and preparations. Many other countries in Africa and elsewhere have been involved in planning and making preparations.

"Much of the travelling to all parts of the world by Ministers and officials, trips which drew much public comment but resulted in no official statements, was in connexion with setting up defences against the possibility of economic aggression in the event of U.D.I. These preparations began with my visits in the month following independence.

"In the event of Rhodesia committing economic aggression, the support Zambia will receive from all over the world will be tremendous to us and to the world. It is an added strength to know that we are in the right.

"This is most important in the areas where Rhodesia could cause us difficulties in the cases of Kariba power, the railway, and Central Africa Airways. These are international undertakings, and all nations of the world accept that no one country has the right to interfere with them to the detriment

of the joint owners. Interference with these would mean that Rhodesia would become an international outlaw. It would certainly spell ruin for Smith's Government and its supporters. No country would dare to deal with Rhodesia if they interfered with these international undertakings; but our contingency planning has not completely discounted the possibility of such a suicidal programme developing in Rhodesia.

"I ask the people of Rhodesia to consider carefully the public utterances during the election campaign, to ask themselves where is the evidence of Communist infiltration, to ponder the charge that a rapid and tragic march of events in newly-independent countries has led to scanty trappings of democracy and to a rethinking in the minds of the countries which have granted independence.

"Does this accord with recent developments in Gambia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, in the few remaining British colonies? Do such statements contain any truth at all? Do the people of Rhodesia believe that their institutions can long survive in the vast torrent of democratization which is sweeping Africa and the rest of the world today? I ask the people of Rhodesia what purposes these tactics of mischievous misrepresentation of the genuine struggle of my people to create a real democracy can possibly serve.

"Our shopping list for anyone in the world does not contain ideologies. The time to try the determination, courage and patriotism of all Zambians may be at hand. Should we be subjected to economic aggression we will face a time of sacrifice, of struggle, but our sufferings and sacrifices in the interests of independence are still fresh in our minds, and whatever the future may hold I have no doubt that with God's help we shall triumph. Right will triumph, aggression will be punished, and Zambia will soon be back on the road to prosperity.

### If Zambians Are Repatriated

"I now deal with the specific threat of repatriating Zambian citizens. Your Government had anticipated this action, and while we had hoped that reason would prevail in Rhodesia, and still hold to that hope, we had to make preparations as a first step.

"I had directed all resident ministers to form reception committees for repatriated Zambians at the district level. These committees will consist of leading citizens, chiefs, headmen, elected councillors, mayors, and others. The committees will be charged with the responsibility of receiving, accommodating and providing for all those Zambians who might find themselves repatriated at a moment's notice.

"Those Zambian citizens who find themselves repatriated are to return to their own districts and report to the resident minister. Resident ministers have already begun contacting suitable candidates for these committees, and my officials have drawn up plans to meet the influx of people.

"These plans are being passed to resident ministers because we cannot be sure how much time we have to prepare. Countrymen, I wish at this critical hour to warn you once again to be very careful in everything you do in the critical period ahead. I do not want any Zambian to take a racial approach to the troubles ahead.

"We in Zambia have noble principles, principles which guided our struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and racialism. We have shown the outside world that we are determined to form 'One Zambia, One Nation'. We must not allow outside actions by racialists to divert us from our noble goals.

"I emphasize that we are attacking no-one; but we will not be attacked without retaliating. We hesitate to talk or think in terms of retaliation, but there is always the danger that the people who rule Rhodesia today may begin to believe their own propaganda. Perhaps they already do to some extent.

"Certainly they are labouring under the false impression that should Britain impose economic sanctions in the case of U.D.I. there would be two graves, one in Zambia and one in Rhodesia. Perhaps they are betting that the world would suffer a reasonable regime in Rhodesia rather than see the destruction of Zambia.

"Let it be crystal clear to them that they are deceiving themselves, for we in Zambia are prepared to hold out to the bitter end against unwarranted aggression. This we will do even though it means doing without some of the necessities of life and having our rate of development jeopardized. If retaliation is justified, we will not hesitate because it would mean difficulties, and we will ensure that there will be not two graves but one and that in Rhodesia."

# Rhodesia's Economy Could Be Crippled by U.D.I.

## Statement by Association of Rhodesian Industries

A.R.n.I.—the Association of Rhodesian Industries—recently issued its memorandum on the "Economic Implications on Manufacturing Industry of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence".

There was a preamble stating:—

"As the Government has now published its White Paper on the economic aspects of a declaration of independence, A.R.n.I. has now decided to publish its memorandum in full. The Association's memorandum was prepared after obtaining the views of members by questionnaire and was submitted to the Government on January 13. A.R.n.I.'s decision to publish has not been influenced by political considerations".

The full text of the memorandum reads:—

### Claim to Independence Well Founded

"In submitting this memorandum A.R.n.I. wishes to state that it has based its studies and conclusions on the indications in the British Prime Minister's statement on October 27 of the consequences which could be expected to flow from unconstitutional action on the part of Southern Rhodesia in achieving independence.

"It must be emphasized that A.R.n.I. is firmly of the opinion that Southern Rhodesia's claim to independence is well founded, and that so long as all parties legitimately concerned behave in a constitutional manner, A.R.n.I. will lend any assistance and support it can to the Government in pursuing this objective.

"The Government has already clearly demonstrated its determination to foster the economic development of Rhodesia, and A.R.n.I. is conscious of the fact that the Government's industrial policy is responsible in no small measure for the continued progress of manufacturing industry.

"Indeed, A.R.n.I. has had occasion publicly to record its wholehearted support for the Government's industrial policy. In the circumstances A.R.n.I. would be loath to see the present favourable economic prospects prejudiced by precipitate action.

### Possible Economic Implications

"The economic consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence may be categorized under two main headings, namely long-term and short-term problems. A.R.n.I. does not consider the position calls for a definite assessment to be made at this stage between action which could be considered as permanently damaging the economy and other actions whose effects might be of a temporary or short-term nature.

"A.R.n.I. believes that a realistic appraisal of the consequences of unilateral action cannot fail to take account of the following possibilities:—

(a) The loss of Commonwealth preferences on Rhodesia's exports.

(b) Economic sanctions of one kind or another against Rhodesia through action on the part of (1) the United Kingdom and many, if not all, Commonwealth countries; (2) probably all other member countries of the Afro-Asian bloc; (3) the U.S.A. and other United Nations member countries which, particularly if a unilateral declaration of independence became a United Nations' issue, would be reluctant to recognize the newly independent Government.

"While the attitude of the Republic of South Africa and of Portugal, together with its metropolitan territories, would no doubt be sympathetic, A.R.n.I. cannot make an assessment of the extent to which this sympathy would or could be translated into practical terms.

(c) The severance of traditional sources of both public and private investment from overseas, notably from the United Kingdom.

(d) Serious disruption of the financial and credit mechanisms which have been established in Rhodesia and between Rhodesia and the rest of the world, particularly the United Kingdom.

(e) Exclusion from the sterling bloc.

"Economic sanctions and other trade impediments could take any of the following forms:—

### Forms of Economic Sanctions

(a) Embargoes on Rhodesia's exports, notably primary products such as tobacco, maize, sugar, mineral ores, etc. The risks of such embargoes should not be underestimated since they could be turned to the economic advantage of other competitive exporting countries: for example, the United States' stock-pile of tobacco could, with fewer qualms, be released to world markets.

(b) The adoption of a policy by the Afro-Asian bloc in particular to curtail the importation of goods of Rhodesian origin.

(c) Embargoes or restrictions on traditional overseas sources of capital and credit facilities which would hinder Rhodesia's ability to (1) implement necessary public and private development programmes; (2) maintain the present pattern and volume of imports; (3) finance productive and commercial operations.

"It is also possible that attempts would be made to prohibit or restrict exports to Rhodesia. In considering strategic and other important materials necessary to the economic life of Rhodesia, it is evident that the cutting-off of Rhodesia's supplies of oil, which might be decided at the instance of the Governments concerned, would be especially serious, if not disastrous.

"The efficacy or otherwise of sanctions would have to be considered in the light of the following factors: (a) the practicability in the case of Zambia or Malawi of imposing embargoes or restrictions against Rhodesian manufactured goods; (b) the prospects for making arrangements with countries not prepared to apply sanctions against Rhodesia in an attempt to circumvent the kind of sanctions mentioned.

"A.R.n.I. can find no evidence, however, that Rhodesia could either (1) exercise sufficient influence to prevent trade boycotts being applied by Zambia or Malawi or (2) avoid or effectively minimize the consequences of economic sanctions by special arrangements with other countries which are not likely to be antagonistic towards the Government if it took unilateral action to secure independence.

### Basin of Rhodesia's Economy

"In spite of the relatively rapid growth of manufacturing industry, which is now responsible for export trade to the value of about £45m. per annum, Rhodesia's prosperity will depend for many years to come upon the maintenance of an open economy based predominantly on the export of primary products.

"At the present time Rhodesia, unlike some other more economically advanced countries, has neither the economic strength nor the resources to withstand any sustained reduction or inhibition of export opportunities. Such a state of affairs would lead to a slowing down of the economy and increased unemployment, and would thereby create a very serious risk of undermining the security of tenure of Europeans upon whom the economic stability and growth of Rhodesia must depend for the foreseeable future.

"In 1963 manufacturing industry accounted for approximately one-sixth, i.e. £50m., of the gross domestic product. This compares with about £48m. by agriculture (after excluding approximately £18m. subsistence output), £41m. by distribution, £27m. by transport and communications, £15m. by mining, and £15m. by other services.

"It is estimated that the gross output of manufacturing industry in the form of both goods and services during 1964 will reach a record value of £160m. to £170m. This is due in the main to the fact that Rhodesian industry has operated under conditions virtually the same as those under the Federation.

"Manufacturing industry employs between 65,000 and 70,000 Africans and approximately 16,000 Europeans, Asians and Coloured persons. The total salary and wage bill in industry for 1963 amounted to approximately £34m. Average European earnings in industry compare favourably with those in other productive sectors of the economy; average African earnings in 1963 were £184m., which indicates the important contribution made by manufacturing industry to the total purchasing power of the African community.

"Rhodesia's industrial complex over the last 10 years has been capitalized and developed on its domestic market comprising Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but the extent and pattern of industrial expansion has also been influenced by exports to South Africa, and, to a small extent, to East Africa, the United Kingdom and other markets.

(Continued on page 594)



# PERSONALIA

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL is visiting Mozambique.

SIR DUNCAN ANDERSON has joined the board of Thomas Tilling and Co., Ltd.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P., has been appointed a director of Winkfield Estates, Ltd.

The assets in the Republic of Ireland of the late ALY KHAN have now been agreed at £700,000.

MR. BASIL BATARINGAYA, M.P., has been appointed vice-chairman of Makerere University College Council, Uganda.

H.M. Government gave a luncheon in London a few days ago for DR. LUYIMBAZI ZAKE, Minister of Education in Uganda.

MR. CLYDE SANGER, roving correspondent in Africa for the *Guardian*, is about to be withdrawn. He is to go to the United Nations.

LADY PLUMMER, widow of SIR LESLIE PLUMMER, has chosen the title of BARONESS PLUMMER, of Toppefield, in the county of Essex.

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL, High Commissioner in London for Rhodesia, and MRS. CAMPBELL will sail on June 17 on their way back to Salisbury.

MR. A. P. SMITH, Minister of Education in Rhodesia, is spending a week in South Africa, mainly to study the work of agricultural high schools.

MR. WILLIAM WILSON, lately H.M. Consul in Elisabethville, has been appointed British Ambassador in the Republic of Togo and Dahomey.

MR. FRANK MCEWEN, director of Rhodesia's National Gallery, has been made a Chevalier of the French Ordre des Arts et des Lettres.

MR. RICHARD SAMPSON, senior member of Lusaka City Council, has been elected an alderman. He has been twice mayor and twice deputy mayor.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and LADY GARDINER gave a dinner party in the House of Lords last week for SIR HUGH BEADLE, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, and LADY BEADLE.

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister for Commerce and Industry, has assumed responsibility for the Ministry of Education in Kenya during the absence of MR. KOINANGE.

MR. WILLIAM B. HUSSEY, who has succeeded MR. E. W. HOLMES as Counsellor in the United States Embassy in Malawi, has been transferred from the Republic of Togo.

MR. PIETER DE JONGE, of the secretariat in Brussels of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is making a short tour of Rhodesia, Malawi, Zambia, and Somalia.

MR. R. D. SATHE having been recalled, MR. NOOTAKI VENKATESH RAO has been appointed High Commissioner for India in Tanzania. He is both a barrister and a B.Sc.(Econ) of London University.

The salary and allowances of PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia have been raised from £3,000 and £4,000 respectively to £4,500 and £5,500, backdated to October 24, when he was elected to the office.

MR. J. KASAMBALA, Minister for Industries, Mineral Resources, and Power in Tanzania, has become chairman of Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd., which came under Government control last year.

SENIOR ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER STANLEY EDWARDS, now on overseas leave, is to take command of the B.S.A.P. in Matabele on his return in early October. He is one of the best shots in Rhodesia's police force.

MISS MARGARET KENYATTA, in Britain for three weeks as a guest of the C.R.O., is president of the Kenya National Council of Women, a member of Nairobi City Council, and a director of the Pan-African Press.

RABBI DR. JACOB HERZOG, Assistant Director-General of the Foreign Ministry in Israel, has been selected to succeed DR. ISRAEL BRODIE as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth.

A Malawian, the RT. REV. JAMES CIONA, has been consecrated Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Blantyre. Ordained 11 years ago, he went to Rome in 1961 to study pastoral sociology, and since his return has been a curate in Limbe.

DR. M. H. WEBSTER, Secretary for Health in Rhodesia, who is attending the W.H.O. assembly in Geneva, will then spend a few days in London before flying to Canada for a short period of attachment to the Ottawa State Ministry of Health.

AIR MARSHAL SIR GEOFFREY TUTTLE, vice-chairman of the British Aircraft Corporation, flew to Nairobi to sign with CHIEF A. S. FUNDIKIRA, chairman of East African Airways, an agreement for the airline to buy three super V.C.10 jet aircraft.

MR. MBIYU KOINANGE, Kenya's Education Minister, has left for the United States to recruit personnel for teacher training institutions. Ohio Wesleyan University is to confer an honorary degree upon him. On his way back he will seek recruits in the United Kingdom.

DR. LAMECK K. H. GOMA, a Zambian, who read zoology and entomology at Cambridge, of which he is an M.A., and was made Ph.D. by London University after three years of zoological research at Makerere University College, Uganda, has been appointed Professor of Zoology in the new University of Zambia. Now lecturer in zoology at the University of Ghana, he has also worked in Denmark, Tanzania, and Kenya, and studied in Ethiopia and Italy.

## ZAMBIA



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MR. VINCENT RWAMWARO, M.P. for Toro East, and chairman of the Uganda Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, is in London for a six-weeks course on Parliamentary practice and procedure. He will then visit Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man.

Visitors to London from Rhodesia include MR. & MRS. S. P. BYRNE, PROFESSOR L. DAVIDSON, MR. & MRS. E. G. DEANE-WILLIAMS, MR. G. ELLMAN-BROWN, MR. & MRS. S. L. KEEN, MRS. A. L. ILFORD, MR. A. J. STEVENS, MR. & MRS. A. DE L. THOMPSON, and MR. T. N. WALTERS.

FOUR M.P.s. from Malawi are in Britain for a month as guests of the C.R.O. They are MR. HUDSON T. KAUNDA, Deputy Speaker, MR. JEREMY T. KYMKWEZA, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Works, the REV. TOBIAS BANDA, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health, and MR. KUEURA J. MALAMBA, M.P.

Passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include MR. & MRS. J. V. HAYES, MR. & MRS. D. R. L. MURRAY, MR. & MRS. J. L. ORTON, MR. L. J. SHERRIFF, MR. & MRS. H. WHYATT, and DR. & MRS. G. B. WRIGHT. Passengers for Beira include MR. & MRS. C. V. ARMITAGE and MR. J. B. WILSON.

On their silver wedding anniversary MR. and MRS. EDWARD PENSTONE, of Chingola, heard that they had won the first prize of £20,000 in a Rhodesia State Lottery draw. MR. PENSTONE said that he had bought tickets regularly since arriving in Zambia 26 years ago but he had previously won nothing except a Christmas hamper.

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, held a reception at Marlborough House on Monday evening for four M.P.s. from Kenya, civil servants from Malaysia, and principals of secondary schools in Nigeria. The four Kenya M.P.s. were Messrs. GODFREY GITAHU KARIUKI, JAPHET ZAKARIA KASE, P. L. RURUMBAN, and ALFRED KIMUNAI ARAP SOI.

## Obituary

MR. MICHAEL HARPER, the 23-year-old son of Rhodesia's Minister of Internal Affairs, has been killed in a car crash in Johannesburg.

MR. DAVID PATRICK JOHNSON, who had farmed in the Chipinga district of Rhodesia for about eight years, was found dead last week with an arrow wound in the chest. He had been seen chasing two Africans suspected of poaching.

MR. ALBERT VICTOR MAUNDER, who died recently in Esher, Surrey, at the age of 68, was for many years engaged in the tobacco trade in Nyasaland and Rhodesia, and then, in 1931, joined Gallaher, Ltd., in Belfast as manager of their tobacco leaf department. Eight years later he was elected to the board. He retired in 1957. "A.V.", as he was widely known, was a most friendly, hospitable, and able man, with many friends in Central Africa.

PROFESSOR EDGAR MANNHEIMER, of Upsalla University, and latterly of the new medical school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has been killed in a motor-car crash in Uganda, and five other doctors are in Mulago Hospital, Kampala, suffering from injuries received on the same occasion. All were attending an Ethio-Swedish post-graduate course in maternity and child health run jointly by the universities of Upsalla and Addis Ababa, part of the course being held in the medical school of Makerere University College. Dr. Latimer Mosoke, paediatrics specialist to the Uganda Government, was taking the visitors to Murchison National Park when the accident occurred. One of the injured is a lady doctor from the U.A.R., Dr. El Arabi. Another, Dr. Shuja Ud Din, came from Kenya. The injured were visited in hospital by Dr. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister.

## East African Dinner

LORD BOYD OF MERTON will be the chief guest of the East African Dinner Club at its annual gathering in London on Thursday, July 1. Sir Arthur Kirby, this year's president of the club, will take the chair. Tickets may be obtained from Miss V. C. Young, c/o East African Office, Grand Buildings, London, W.C.2. The cost is 40s. for members of the club, their families and guests, and 45s. for non-members.

## Trade Union Hyenas

PRÉSIDENT KAUNDA has told journalists in Lusaka that he knows of three or four men in the labour movement in Zambia who have received money from foreign Governments; they were the "trade union hyenas" of whom he recently spoke—hyenas receiving bones from foreign Governments. He would give their leaders their names and have them prosecuted. If aid continued from any foreign Government, those who gave it would be ejected from Zambia.

## Multi-Racial School

THREE WHITE BOYS, the sons of Lord Acton and Major Peter Rous, youngest brother of the Earl of Stradbroke, are attending St. Ignatius College, near Salisbury, where all the other 170 pupils are Africans. When he emigrated to Rhodesia in 1958 Major Rous and his wife, who have nine children, said that they were leaving Britain because of the high cost of private education. They now grow tobacco in the Umvukwes district. Lord Acton farms near Mazoe.

## Diplomats from Africa

HEADS OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS in East and Central Africa are meeting in London this week for what are officially described as routine discussions. The High Commissioners present are Messrs. Malcolm MacDonald (Kenya), R. C. C. Hunt (Uganda), R. W. D. Fowler (Tanzania), W. B. L. Monson (Zambia), B. L. Cole (Malawi), and J. B. Johnson (Rhodesia). The Ambassadors in Addis Ababa, Bujumbura and Leopoldville have also flown to London for the talks.

## The Royal African Society

SIR CHARLES PONSONBY, the president, was in the chair at the recent annual general meeting of the Royal African Society, of which Mr. Brian F. Macdonna was elected chairman on Lord Milverton's retirement. Sir James Robertson, Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell, and Professor Roland Oliver were elected vice-presidents, and Miss Marjorie Juta, Lord Alport, and Messrs. J. Amamoo, D. A. W. Lovell, D. N. Cornock-Taylor, S. E. Watrous, and Mr. Justice G. F. Dove-Edwin were elected to the council.

## Wiggles of a Dying Snake

DR. BANDA said in a broadcast a few days ago that recent attacks by followers of ex-Minister Chipembere were "the last wiggles of a dying snake, the kicks of a dying horse". His followers should therefore refrain from beating or otherwise victimizing people thought to have been involved in the revolt; only kindness would convince them that they had been misled. Referring to the deportation of one European and at least three Asians, Dr. Banda asked their communities not to be alarmed; action had been taken only against non-Africans who had bought crops illegally and sent money out of the country. A few days earlier the Prime Minister's office had announced that in two raids in Balaka area a retired African policeman had been shot dead and two other men wounded.

## A.R.n.I. Memorandum

(Continued from page 591)

"The factors which influence the viability and growth of manufacturing industry naturally vary very considerably between one class of industry and another, and in mitigation of some of the possible effects of a unilateral declaration of independence, A.R.n.I. is inclined to believe that—

"(a) Rhodesian manufacturers might retain their markets in Zambia and Malawi for a limited time. These countries, however, would sooner or later be forced on political grounds to announce restrictions or embargoes. On the other hand, as a result of deliberate economic policy on the part of the Governments concerned, these export markets for Rhodesian manufacturers are bound in any case to diminish in respect of many items in the present range of manufactured goods, regardless of political issues.

"(b) Exports of manufactures to South Africa may well increase during the next five years, but probably in respect of a relatively limited range of goods.

The views which are expressed in this memorandum are not solely the views of a committee of A.R.n.I. They are based upon a careful analysis of a detailed questionnaire which A.R.n.I. issued to all its members and which elicited a 60% response covering all sections of manufacturing industry and firms both large and small.

### Anxieties of Manufacturers

"The principal anxieties expressed by manufacturers are as follows:—

"(a) *The Availability of Raw Materials.*—Raw materials account for something in the region of 30% of Rhodesia's total imports, and some factories are heavily dependent on Commonwealth sources of supply.

"(b) *The Maintenance of the Domestic Market.*—The vast majority of manufacturing industries depend upon the purchasing power of the domestic market, and if the production and export of primary products were prejudiced the effect on the domestic market for manufacturing industry would be extremely serious. The domestic market would also be affected by the extent to which public and private investment capital for development schemes ceased to be available from overseas.

"(c) *Export Markets.*—Some industries are very perturbed at the risk of embargoes or even the loss of preferences on their exports, notably to territories in Africa and to the United Kingdom.

"(d) *Costs of Production.*—Curtailed production by any industrial firm, for whatever cause, would automatically raise unit costs and adversely affect its competitive position in both the domestic and export markets. While some industrial firms would cease to be viable if production were seriously cut, others would remain viable, but only at the expense of severe rationalization, including reducing the numbers of people employed. This problem could probably be overcome to some degree through the grant of additional customs tariff protection, but only, presumably, at the risk of having to raise prices and an adverse impact on the cost of living.

"(e) *New Capital Investment and Credit Facilities.*—According to the governor of the Reserve Bank, one of the consequences of the dissolution of the Federation will be tighter credit facilities for Rhodesia in 1965. Many manufacturing firms believe that a unilateral declaration of independence would seriously aggravate this problem as a result of the withdrawal of existing regular or seasonal credit facilities from British bankers and shippers. In view of the British Government's announcement, it is likely, as indicated above, that Rhodesian industry would be hindered in obtaining new capital from United Kingdom sources.

"As far as can be ascertained at this stage, the distribution of products and services of manufacturing industry in 1964 is approximately as follows:—

(a) The domestic market—£125m.

(b) Zambia—£30m.

(c) Malawi—£5m.

(d) South Africa—£6m. (likely to be substantially increased in future)

(e) United Kingdom and other markets—£4m.

It should be emphasized that secondary industry is very heavily dependent for its domestic market upon the prosperity of the primary industries, and that, in addition, there is a large measure of interdependence within manufacturing industry itself. It is also obvious that commerce, distribution, financial and other services are dependent on the main productive sectors of the economy, and any setback within one productive sector would therefore have repercussions throughout the economy as a whole.

"It is clear that:—

"(a) the existing level of industrial activity is wholly dependent upon the buoyancy and the purchasing power of the domestic market as well as the retention of existing export markets;

"(b) any contraction in industrial activity would have serious

repercussions on the balance of trade; the viability and profitability of industry; industry's contribution, direct and indirect, towards taxation; and European and African employment.

### Summary of Foreseeable Risks

"In endeavouring to assess the economic impact upon manufacturing industry of a unilateral declaration of independence, A.R.n.I. is mindful of the fact that the ultimate issue at stake is the well-being and future economic prospects of the majority of Rhodesians; and in this connexion it should be appreciated that there are more white Rhodesians employed in manufacturing industry than in any other directly productive sector of the economy.

"A.R.n.I. is convinced that the risks inherent in steps which would automatically lead to the loss of current trading opportunities cannot on the known facts be in the best interests of the people as a whole.

"A.R.n.I.'s views may be summarized as follows:—

"(a) Sanctions could be imposed against Rhodesia to an extent which (1) in the short term could cripple the economy to a considerable extent, creating unemployment and imperiling the security of Europeans in particular; (2) could cause long-term loss of markets for certain products; (3) could render some industries non-viable, and pose serious operating problems for others.

"(b) The export trade to Rhodesia of the more important countries which would be likely to support the imposition of embargoes or restrictions is a relatively insignificant item in the external trade of such countries, and such limited retaliatory economic weapons as Rhodesia possesses could therefore be used only at the risk of intensifying Rhodesia's own economic problems. It is unlikely that economic sanctions could be effectively circumvented by Rhodesia's making special arrangements with countries likely to remain on friendly terms in the event of independence being declared unilaterally.

"(c) The action taken by the Government to foster economic and industrial development has so far been notably successful, and A.R.n.I. would be reluctant to see present favourable economic prospects prejudiced.

"(d) Southern Rhodesia's claim to independence is well-founded, and, so long as all parties legitimately concerned behave in a constitutional manner, A.R.n.I. will lend any assistance and support it can to the Government in pursuing this objective."

### Views of Associated Chambers

THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF RHODESIA emphasized that it had concerned itself with what would happen if the threats made by the British Prime Minister were fully implemented.

Expulsion from the sterling bloc might lead to devaluation of the Rhodesian pound in international monetary dealings. Freezing of assets would cause hardship to many Rhodesians and a shortage of foreign currency for payments for vital supplies, including petrol and oil.

Damage would result from the loss of Commonwealth preferences, exclusion from Commonwealth commodity agreements, and embargoes on export and imports. There might have to be internal devaluation of the Rhodesian pound, and a credit squeeze would be inevitable.

Rhodesia's ability to import depended on ability to export. An embargo on British exports to Rhodesia would, apart from financial difficulties, probably be ineffective, since goods could be routed through South Africa or Mozambique; but overseas exporters would be unwilling to accept Rhodesian currency, and trade would depend on the Reserve Bank's ability to buy foreign currency.

Not enough capital would be generated internally to finance the public sector—at a time when the Government might require more money for additional security measures. There would be difficulty in floating internal loans; capital works would have to be curtailed, creating more unemployment and possibly further emigration, and thus reduce demand for goods and services, which would hit commerce and industry. These factors would tend to reduce the national income and do serious damage to the long-term economy. Many commercial and industrial businesses were already trading beyond the limits of prudence by making maximum use of overdrafts and extended credit by overseas suppliers.

The Rhodesian National Farmers' Union decided not to publish its memorandum, which has been circulated to farmer members. It estimates that a unilateral declaration of independence might cost the tobacco and sugar industries up to £14m; next year, and suggests that tobacco crops might have to be cut for the next three years to little more than 170m. lb. compared with this year's crop of about 250m. lb.

## Press Comment on Rhodesia Nationalists Hope for U.D.I.

THE RHODESIAN FRONT GOVERNMENT will clip the wings of the African nationalists and can delay majority rule by increasing the number of constituencies, a special correspondent of the *Economist* has written, saying (in part):

"Separation of the Z.A.P.U. leaders between restriction at Gonakudzingwa and exile in Zambia, with Z.A.N.U. leaders restricted near Gwelo, effectively hinders African reconciliation or realistic planning.

"The nationalists, more than anyone, hope that Mr. Smith will blunder into a unilateral declaration of independence, which they believe would bring in British troops and, in their train, democracy. Until that golden day dawns they have lost all political initiative to Mr. Smith. He is able to say 'the door is always open' for nationalists to see him and discuss the future, knowing that they cannot cause him any such embarrassment.

"By deciding to fight outside the Constitution the Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. leaders have for years pushed aside their strongest weapons. They could have taken the 15 African electoral districts and perhaps one or two of the 50 mainly white constituencies. That would have given them a foothold from which they could have snarled up Parliament.

"Instead, Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole preferred to hope for a magic sword in the form of British or United Nations intervention which could bring democracy in one sweep. They have been disappointed."

In a dispatch from Bulawayo to the *Spectator*, Mr. Leo Baron wrote:

"The prospects of a breakthrough have become even more remote. Mr. Smith's news conference on the morning after polling day struck a note very different from that of his election speeches; he no longer talked of seizing independence if negotiations finally broke down, but only if 'it looks as though we are going to lose the civilization we have built up, and the forces of Communism are going to take over'.

### Not Reported At Home

"He was reported in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* as saying: 'The door is open to the African nationalists to discuss affairs of state with me. This unexpected departure from his previous refusal to talk with thugs, hooligans and criminals' would have been an encouraging sign had it been disseminated by any one of the Rhodesian news media; but Mr. Van Der Byl apparently regarded it as unfit for home consumption even as early as 12 hours after a sweeping victory.

"The strength of Mr. Smith's position in relation both to his Cabinet and his rank-and-file support should not be over-estimated; for all the appearance to the contrary, the tail is wagging the dog.

"The next landmark is the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. We have a short respite, after which emotions will once again run high. Unless Mr. Wilson has something spectacular up his sleeve, it is difficult to see what positive progress Britain can make unless and until she has convinced the Rhodesian public that illegal action will fail. This she has not succeeded in doing."

Mr. Smith's impressive performance must have filled him with optimism for the next round of constitutional talks with the British Government, Mr. Anthony Hawkins wrote from Salisbury to the *Statist*:

"In the last days of the campaign scarcely a speech was made without the assurance that this was not the 'UDI election'—that the larger the Rhodesian Front majority the election the likelihood of a unilateral declaration. This same attitude was apparent at the Press conference. Should Britain refuse to accept alterations to Rhodesia's entrenched clauses, this would not necessarily be regarded by his Government as interference in Rhodesia's internal affairs, Mr. Smith explained. Another indication of a softer line was the Prime Minister's refusal to put any time limit on the negotiations. Last year he was prepared to hope for independence by Christmas. Now all he would say is that he will not 'stick his neck out again'.

"UDI is in fact less likely now than the results would suggest, because the condemnation of its economic effects has been so effective. It is still a pillar of Rhodesian Front policy, but it seems to be regarded primarily as a weapon with which to threaten Britain during negotiations. It can be used as a deterrent—as a final card to play—but so far-reaching would be its economic consequences that it is difficult to imagine any Government's going through with it."

## U.D.I. Not Now Expected Rhodesia's Strong Position Admitted

LORD TAYLOR, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, said in Southampton last week that he did not now expect Rhodesia to make an illegal declaration of independence. After the recent general election Rhodesia was in a strong position to negotiate sensibly, and talks were in progress between the two Prime Ministers.

If, however, Rhodesia did declare independence unilaterally, it would be a "terrible tragedy", and would spoil her relations with the rest of the world. "I don't think it would spoil relations between the rest of the Commonwealth and Great Britain, because Commonwealth countries have been kept informed of the problem at each stage."

On Sunday President Kenyatta accused H.M. Government of indecision, inaction, and procrastination over Rhodesia, thereby "giving Smith false hopes of eventual victory, winning him more racist support while frustrating the African people."

Kenya could not accept the results of the Rhodesian general election; for "the fancy franchise upon which it was based cuts across all accepted democratic principles". Kenya would not recognize any Rhodesian Government which gained independence either by a unilateral declaration or by negotiation with Britain unless it was based on democratic majority rule. "We are forced to make this point now so that it may not later be said that our position was only against U.D.I."

### Kenya Government Criticizes Britain

Britain had made a grave error in merely explaining what would happen in the event of U.D.I. So far the British Government had done nothing to initiate action. H.M. Government should start talking and keep talking until Rhodesia was persuaded to change its racist policies. Kenya offered an example of how different communities could live harmoniously together. Why could her example not be followed in Rhodesia on British Government initiative?

The official news agencies of Soviet Russia, Communist China, and Yugoslavia all stated that Kenya's Foreign Minister had warned the Commonwealth Relations Secretary that Kenya would support Rhodesian Africans if they decided to resort to arms to regain their rights or form a nationalist government-in-exile.

*Voice of U.N.I.P.*, the journal of the Government party in Zambia, has remarked in a leading article that the general election passed off quietly in Rhodesia at a time when positive action should have been at its height. Z.A.N.U. and Z.A.P.U. should unite and wage a united and relentless struggle against minority rule. Some of their leaders talked too much, travelled too much, and did too little.

U.N.I.P.'s under-secretary for pan-African affairs is stated to have sent a circular letter to representatives in Lusaka of nationalist organizations from other African countries calling attention to the fact that some of them live in luxury and drink at the expense of their brothers and sisters in countries still under the white man's "misrule".

### Australia and Rhodesia

SIR ROBERT MENZIES, Prime Minister of Australia, told the House of Representatives in Canberra last week that Australia would oppose the formal discussion of Rhodesian independence at the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference because the issue concerned only the British and Rhodesian Governments. He had not associated himself with last year's conference *communiqué*, which, while recognizing that the matter was one for the two Governments, nevertheless offered advice. Though other Commonwealth countries might give friendly advice, only the two parties directly involved could determine the matter.

The U.S. Government has promised Kenya another £360,000 for its National Youth Services programme, including the recruitment of seven trade training specialists from an international organization based in Switzerland.



## Kenya Minister Denies Press Reports Threat to Expel Two More Correspondents

DR. NJOROGE MUNGAI, Minister for Internal Security and Defence in Kenya, has denied reports of British help to the Kenya Government in forestalling a pro-Communist coup at Easter. Circumstantial stories had been given great prominence by the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*.

The Minister told journalists in Nairobi on Friday that the reports were irresponsible, mischievous, and completely false. The aircraft carrier ALBION had not been diverted to Mombasa at Kenya's request and British commando troops in mufti had not been flown from the ship to Malindi, as stated. At that point he challenged two reporters in the room to corroborate his statement.

Mr. Youngusband, of the *Daily Mail*, said: "I made an investigation and sent my report. It appeared under my name. You have replied to my report and I have nothing further to say, except that your reply will be fully reported in my newspaper."

"If there has been any distortion, as you allege, it is my personal responsibility, and there should be no reflection on the *Daily Mail*. I would remind you that the *Daily Mail* has championed many African causes. I have evidence of this which I will put on your desk on Monday."

### No Arms Seized

Dr. Mungai continued that no arms had been seized anywhere in Kenya, which was sensitive about security and would not permit the continued residence of rumour-mongers like the two reporters in question. Their papers had published malicious propaganda and a discreditable pack of lies.

Under the heading "Communist Rising Foiled in Kenya", the *Telegraph* had stated that President Kenyatta had dealt quietly but firmly with what appeared to have been "a Communist armed organization", and had been given unpublicized help by the British Government. H.M.S. ALBION had taken Royal Marine commandos aboard in Aden at short notice and sailed for Kenya waters, where troops in civilian clothing had been landed by helicopter. Illegal arms had been seized by Kenya security forces near Lake Victoria and in a Government office in Nairobi housing several ministries. Meantime the R.A.F. in Aden were on four hours' notice for operations, presumably in connexion with events in Kenya.

The *Daily Mail* report had said that President Kenyatta struck at the 11th hour at Communist elements in his own party who were trying to "white ant" him out of office. Reports that arms and ammunition stacked in the basement of Vice-President's Odinga's office had been removed by police had been officially denied, but at about the same time a large contingent of troops were sent into that Minister's Kisumu constituency for "routine exercise", while H.M.S. ALBION unexpectedly called at Mombasa "on a routine visit".

The correspondent added that "pro-Communist Mr. Odinga, tipped at one time as Mr. Kenyatta's most likely successor, is now definitely out in the cold".

Eurogans welcomed President Kenyatta's action against Communist interference, but Africans were not happy, for the unemployment situation was worse than ever, largely on account of the exodus of white farmers.

### Dr. Karanja Says Mr. Odinga Is Non-Aligned

Dr. J. N. Karanja, Kenya's High Commissioner in London, called a Press conference on Monday in order to deny that there had been an attempted coup. He repeated the official refutation made in Kenya, emphasized that British Service personnel in Kenya were there only to train Kenya's own forces, and declared that his country was tied to no Power bloc.

"We are friendly with all countries. We are neither pro-Russian, nor pro-British. We are only pro-Kenya."

Asked if Vice-President Odinga was non-aligned, the High Commissioner replied: "He is a nationalist like all of us and non-aligned. He is a Kenyan committed to the cause of Kenyan independence and African Socialism."

He dismissed as "a rhetorical remark" Mr. Odinga's comment that "Communism is like food to me".

The return of a number of dissatisfied students from Baku University had not led to a review of Kenya's policy of sending students to Russia, said Dr. Karanja. Kenya's embassy in Moscow was investigating the Baku incident. Only a small fraction of the students in Russia had returned dissatisfied.

### Arms Were Not Obsolete

The *Church Times* has commented on the Kenya Government's refusal of a gift of Russian arms:

"President Kenyatta is said to have rejected the arms as obsolete and of no use to Kenya's army. The arms were, in fact, post-war types and would certainly have been useful."

"The reason for the refusal of the arms is that they were offered and accepted earlier this year when the Russians found out that the President feared that Britain was not going to supply Kenya with the arms she wanted. But Britain has since supplied them."

"Moreover, the Russians insisted that Kenya should accept 40 Red Army men for several months to train the Kenya army to use the arms. This the President flatly refused. He was already worried at the number of Communist agitators being turned out by the Lumumba Institute (another Soviet gift), and he did not want the army subverted as well."

"The Soviet Government then decided to withdraw its gift of the arms, even though the ship carrying them had already arrived at Mombasa, thus returning Mr. Kenyatta's snub in kind."

"Nairobi diplomatic observers believe that the decision to remove the arms is a sign that Moscow fears, in the light of the Kenya Government's recent moves against extremists, that the arms might be used against the very people into whose hands they were intended to come, namely, the graduates of the Lumumba Institute."

## Non-Payment of Taxes in Kenya

MANY AFRICANS in Kenya "still think that Uhuru means the non-payment of taxes", Mr. L. G. Sagini, Minister for Local Government, said in a recent broadcast talk from Nairobi, in which he declared that since independence some people had by their speeches directly discouraged the payment of graduated personal tax, an irresponsible attitude which the Government would not tolerate.

Since most local authorities had failed to collect the money due to them in 1964, it had been decided that that tax should henceforth be collected for the local authorities by officials of the Central Government. Responsibility for collection of the tax was to be transferred to district commissioners, chiefs, sub-chiefs, and tribal police.

"We shall waste no sympathy on any citizen who fails to pay G.P.T.," said Mr. Sagini. "We shall not allow our local authorities to fail because of non-payment of tax without which we cannot build the nation."

## Relics Returned to Ethiopia

AN ALTAR PIECE and a silver paten taken from a church in Magdala, 150 miles north of Addis Ababa, by an English colonel during the Napier expedition 97 years ago have been returned by the family through the Ethiopian Embassy in London. In gratitude for the gift Emperor Haile Selassie has sent a gold souvenir bearing his portrait to the donor, Mr. A. Capel, of Sherborne, and a gold bracelet to Mrs. Capel. When recently in Ethiopia the Queen returned to the Emperor a crown of a predecessor which had likewise been brought to England after the Napier expedition.

The reconstituted Kenya Press Club has premises in the New Era Hotel, Nairobi.

A blue marlin weighing 785 lb., thought to be a record for East African waters, has been caught off Malindi. The same ship recently caught three black marlins of a total weight of 1,500 lb.

The African Liberation Committee of O.A.U. agreed on a "master plan on Rhodesia" at a two-day emergency session in Dar es Salaam. It was decided to increase financial and "material support" to freedom movements in Rhodesia, "in order that they may organize effective resistance in case the imperialist settler leader Ian Smith decides to carry out his evil intention".

Kenya's Minister for Tourism has described the Mount Kenya Safari Club as a major asset to Kenya's tourist industry, for the development of which the Government has far-reaching plans. For that reason the club owners, Messrs. Ray Ryan, W. Holden, and Carl Hirschman, have agreed not only to re-open the club but to provide an additional \$100,000 as working and development capital.

## Warning to Kenya Newspapers

MR. P. J. GACHATHI, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism in Kenya, said in a speech at the International Press Institute in Nairobi:—

"The main newspaper groups in Kenya are expatriate owned and controlled, a legacy to us from the Colonial period. During the days of imperialism they did not support the African people; they usually supported the Colonial régimes and the local settlers.

"They have made an effort to change their ways, and I think they have succeeded to some extent. But they need to make even further efforts to fit in completely with the new Kenya. I do not think that they are entirely with the Government and the people in our determination to build democratic African Socialism. Are they entirely with us in our determination to remain non-aligned in the cold war? I look forward to seeing the papers make greater efforts to attune themselves to the policies and attitudes which are those of the people of Kenya.

"The guarantee for the preservation of the rights of the Press will lie in their ability to use their ability to use their freedom with responsibility, and in particular to see that they are not working against the aims of the people of Kenya to build a nation following a policy of African Socialism at home and one of positive non-alignment overseas."

## Two Million Acres

PRESIDENT KENYATTA has said that, with help from Britain, the Kenya Government was to buy two million acres of land for settlement schemes. While that was being arranged "men with poisoned mouths are going round the villages telling people who get Government loans to refuse to repay them". His Government knew no colour, and he hoped that Europeans and Asians would join the Kenya African National Union and participate fully in its affairs. When there were two political parties many Asians had joined both, perhaps because of intimidation, or perhaps because of indecision.

## Corruption and Subversion

MR. ANGAINE, Minister for Lands and Settlement in Kenya, told rallies in the Meru district recently that money from foreign sources was pouring into Kenya to corrupt and subvert the country's stable Government, and that there were leaders in Kenya who "were being enticed into vicious circles which planned to topple the Government". Everyone should beware of rumour-mongers and foreign agents. Mr. Achieng Onoko, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, complained on the same day that those who strove for African Socialism were being called Communists.

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## Warning Against Cosmetics

MR. NJIRI, Assistant Minister for Local Government in Kenya, said a few days ago that he was disappointed at Kenya's beautiful African girls altering their appearance artificially by the use of lipstick and cosmetics and burning the hair "so that it looks like that of a rat". He did not want Africans to use Western artificial hair and creams.

## Kenya Short of Investments

MR. MBOYA, Minister of Economic Planning and Development in Kenya, has said that investment in Kenya last year amounted only to £33m., whereas the country needed an average of £53m. a year to fulfil its development plans. He asserted that there was nothing to disturb confidence in Kenya and that by the fourth year of the plan investment would exceed the annual target.

## Somali Casualties

THE FOREIGN MINISTRY of the Somali Republic has announced that between January 1, 1964, and March 17 of this year 541 Somali men, 22 women, and 11 children were killed by Kenya Government forces and 193 men, 16 women, and one child wounded. Forty Somali women were known to have been raped by men in the Kenya forces, who had burned down many houses, in some cases with women and children inside.

## Kenya's Musicians

MR. FRED KUBAI, Assistant Minister for Labour and Social Services in Kenya, who described himself as "in my youth a musician of a certain accomplishment", said when opening a school of music established in Nairobi by the Kenya African Musicians and Artists Organization that since music was the outward expression of a nation's soul and character, the teaching ought to be truly Kenyan in character, not a carbon copy of other cultures. Africa's rich heritage in music, song, dance, and design must be passed on.

## Sinister Movements

JARAMOGI OGINGA ODINGA, Vice-President of Kenya, has told journalists in Nairobi: "Cowardly experts of sinister movements in the country must understand that Kenya is being run under mature leadership with the avowed purpose of evolving African Socialism. For many years our country has suffered from imperialist propaganda. We still have among us those who have been induced to play the rôle of gramophone records and who go about singing the tunes of their imperialist masters. They talk of the threat of Communism. Kenya people are not children".

## Kenya Intercepts Arms Convoy

ELEVEN lorries loaded with weapons, including Russian small arms, were intercepted by Kenya security forces near Kisii at the week end and put under custody. The lorries, bearing Uganda registration plates, and under the command of a colonel in the Uganda Army, were believed to be on their way from Tanzania to Uganda. Kenya's Minister of Defence and Internal Security said in Nairobi that there was no question of the arms being smuggled to any individual or group in Kenya; they were in transit, "and we decided that the best thing was to take care of them while they were passing through". Mr. Onama, Minister of Internal Affairs in Uganda, said that the convoy should have travelled direct from Tanzania; but because he thought the Kenya route easier the officer in charge had come that way without informing his Government, which had consequently not been able to tell the Kenya authorities. The Minister denied that the arms were Russian, saying: "We have never ordered one bullet from Russia".

## Party Above Revolutionary Council A.S.P. Now Supreme Authority in Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL approved last week a new Constitution which makes the Afro-Shirazi Party the supreme authority.

Mr. Abboud Jumbe, Minister of State in the office of First Vice-President Karume of Tanzania and the leader in Zanzibar, said that the A.S.P., the guardian of the working people of Zanzibar, would henceforth be the supreme authority, even above the Government, which would take orders from the party. Ministers would have offices both at A.S.P. headquarters and in Government buildings.

A central committee would have at its head Mr. Karume in his capacity as president of A.S.P. It would consist of party officials and representatives of the youth league, women's organizations, police and army, plus four persons nominated by Mr. Karume. It would meet not less than once a month, and would have power to co-opt new members.

A national committee would contain all the members of the central committee, plus any members of the Revolutionary Council not on that central body.

Other committees would control the economy, finance, security, international policy, education, publicity, information, and other matters.

All parties other than A.S.P. were now illegal, and anyone attempting to introduce another party would become liable to imprisonment of from seven to 10 years.

The Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions would be dissolved within a month, making way for a special labour committee.

### Mr. Bryceson's Comment

Mr. Derek Bryceson, Health Minister in Tanzania, who is visiting London, said that President Nyerere's authority over Zanzibar was not diminished.

As on the mainland the Tanganyika African National Union had overall political authority, including annual and quarterly debates on Government policy, so in Zanzibar and Pemba the same rôle was to be filled by the Afro-Shirazi Party. A proposal for amalgamation of the two organizations had been welcomed by the recent T.A.N.U. annual conference,

which was attended by a large A.S.P. delegation.

"For the Revolutionary Council to surrender its powers to the party in effect brings the latter much closer to the position of T.A.N.U. on the mainland. It is a necessary step towards amalgamation of the two parties."

## Reign of Terror in Zanzibar

MR. MUHAMED BIN ABDULLA, now living in Southsea, Hampshire, has said in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* that Mr. Karume, who became President of Zanzibar after last year's revolution and is now First Vice-President of Tanzania, is an alien from the Congo who has "no love or respect either for Zanzibar or its people".

The writer declares that there is still a reign of terror in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and that the banks could provide significant evidence of the entry of funds from Communist countries, which have provided aid in the form of military equipment.

Ordinary thieving has ceased, he says, merely because misappropriation is now confined to "prominent members of the régime or the army or the police; they have the authority to enter any building and remove anything they fancy—even including people's wives and daughters".

The statement by a special correspondent of the newspaper that arbitrary and lawless conduct by members of the Revolutionary Council has been directed only against Arabs and Indians is contradicted with the assertion that many African peasants have been humiliated and otherwise treated with inhumanity.

"For example, a respectable Shirazi woman was ordered by an armed member of the Revolutionary Council in the district of Makunduchi to strip naked in front of a large gathering in the presence of her helpless husband. All that she had done was that she did not wish to take part in the so-called 'voluntary rendering of one's service' known in Zanzibar as *Kujitala*."

"Recently the Tanzanian Ambassador to Washington, Othman Shariff, was sentenced by the Revolutionary Council without trial to 10 years' imprisonment."

## Sheikh Othman Shariff

SHEIKH OTHMAN SHARIFF, former Ambassador of Tanzania in the United States, who was sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Council in Zanzibar a month ago for his "political sins" while in Washington, and then had his sentence commuted by President Nyerere to 10 years' imprisonment, called on the President in Dar es Salaam last week and was officially stated to be on holiday and in good health. There had been no previous Government statement about his arrest and sentence. According to different rumours current in Dar es Salaam, he had gone on hunger strike in jail, had been badly beaten up, had died, and had been shot. He is now thought to have been set free.

China is to build two radio transmitters in Tanzania. Tanzania and Poland have signed a scientific and technical co-operation agreement.

A Kenya security patrol was said last week to have killed 10 Somali raiders and wounded seven.

In the first four months of this year Rhodesia had a net gain of 555 non-African immigrants over the total of emigrants.

The Tanzanian Military Academy, presented by Canada and staffed by Canadians, has been opened at Colito Barracks, Dar es Salaam.

Foreign diplomats in Nairobi may now not travel more than 10 miles from the city centre without special permits. The previous limit was 30 miles.

Three Africans in Kenya are on trial for the murder in January of a Swedish tourist who was found strangled behind Nairobi's main post office.

The Royal African Society offers 50 guineas for the best essay on "The Role of Government and Private Enterprise in the Development of Newly Independent Countries in Africa". Details are obtainable from 18 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

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## Company Report

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Chairman: Mr. S. John Pears, F.C.A.

### CAPITAL:

|                            |     |             |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------|
| Authorized                 | ... | £16,000,000 |
| Issued                     | ... | £13,104,000 |
| 4% Debenture Stock 1975/80 | ... | £3,542,704  |

In his statement circulated with the Report and Accounts for the **nine months** ended the 31st March, 1965, Mr. S. John Pears, who had been elected Chairman on the 4th May, 1965, following the untimely death of his predecessor, the late Lord Pender, comments on the nine months' results and the Report and Accounts, which show:—

|   | 31st March<br>1965 | 30th June<br>1964 |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| CAPITAL (Issued) ...  | £13,104,000        | £10,920,000       |
| EARNINGS (Net) ...  | £990,127           | see note          |
| DIVIDEND ...  | 9½%                | see note          |
| RESERVES (£2,184,000<br>capitalized<br>since last Report) ... | £4,096,000         | £5,824,166        |
| DEBENTURE<br>STOCK ...  | £3,542,704         | £3,542,704        |
| ASSETS ...  | £51,570,413        | £51,644,725       |
| INVESTMENTS<br>(Book Value) ...                               | £20,602,111        | £20,314,689       |

Note.—The comparable Earnings (Net) for nine months of the year ended 30th June, 1964, on a proportionate basis, were £897,565 and the rate of dividend paid for that year (12½%), on the smaller capital, is equivalent to 9½% for nine months.

The Directors announce that it is proposed to pay a dividend in August or September of 6½%: a further dividend will be paid in February or March 1966.

## No Tax on Chartered's Paper Profit

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE of the House of Lords decided last week by a majority of four to one that the British South Africa Company was not liable to tax on a book profit of £117,500 arising from the exercise in 1954 of an option granted two years earlier to subscribe for 100,000 shares at par in a South African gold mining company in return for a loan of £200,000.

At the time of the option the shares stood at 19s. 6d. When it was exercised they were quoted at 43s.6d. The loan was halved by exercising the option.

The Crown contended that the profit resulted from dealing in the course of the company's trade and was consequently liable to income tax. The Special Commissioners held that there had been no realization and that there could be neither trading profit nor loss until the shares were sold. They therefore allowed the company's appeal.

It was later dismissed by the Court of Appeal, which, however, on hearing further arguments, reversed its own findings a month later. Now the highest court has found for the company.

## Anglo American Corporation Results

RHOKANA CORPORATION sold 27,993 long tons of copper in the quarter to December 31 and 22,861 in the next three months, making 75,318 tons for nine months. In the previous 12 months the output had been 122,455 tons. Profit after tax is estimated at £3.1m. for the December quarter, £765,000 for the March quarter, and just over £4.5m. for the nine months. In the 12 months to June 30 last the profit after tax was £8,348,000.

NCHANGA CONSOLIDATED COPPER MINES sold 66,546 tons in the last quarter of last year and 202,021 tons in the nine months to December 31, net profits after tax being £2,588,000 and £8,748,000 respectively. In the 12 months to March 31 of last year the net profit was £9,940,000.

BANCROFT MINES sold 8,795 tons in the last quarter of 1964 and 16,739 in the second half of the year, there being net losses of £615,000 and £1,460,000 for the two periods. In the year ended June 30 last sales totalled 33,721 tons and the loss amounted to £1,648,000.

ZAMBIA BROKEN HILL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY reports a net profit for the quarter to March 31 of £270,000. In the year to December 31 it had been £1,608,000.

## R.S.T. Group Results

ROAN SELECTION TRUST report group sales of copper in the January-March quarter at 68,096 long tons, making 204,080 tons for nine months. The estimated profit before tax attributable to R.S.T. is £3,847,000 for the quarter and £10,566,000 for the nine months. The January-March output of the Luan-shya division was 23,146 tons, Mufulira 39,514 and Chibuluma 5,848 tons.

R.S.T. has declared an interim dividend of 3s. 3d. gross per share, equivalent to 1s. 8.475d. after tax, for the year to June 30. The main subsidiaries have also declared interim distributions: Mufulira, 5s. gross (2s. 7.5d. net), and Chibuluma, 9d. gross (4.725d. net).

Seven Japanese textile experts are now visiting Rhodesia. They will then go to Zambia and Malawi.

The last weekly average price for tobacco leaf sales at the auctions in Salisbury was 38.62d. per lb.

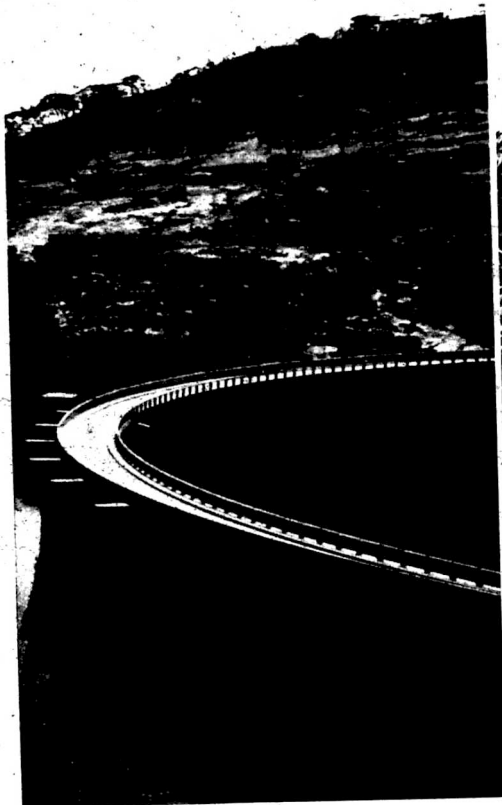
Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., report sial production for April at 1,318 tons, making 15,850 since July last.

Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., offers improved conversion rights to holders of the 6% loan stock due for redemption on July 1.

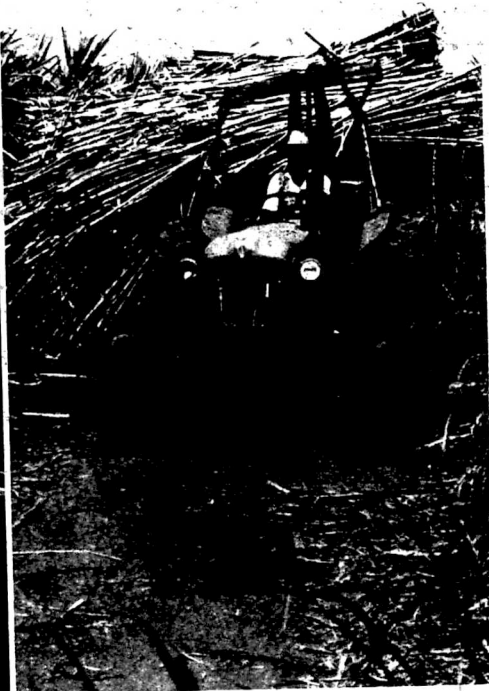
De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., which though mainly interested in diamonds have large mining interests in Rhodesia and Zambia, report group profit after tax for 1964 at R69.7m., compared with R49.9m. and R33.5m. in the two previous years. The issued capital is £21m. Investments standing in the books at R157.5m. have a market value of about R222m., and net current assets exceed R130m.

Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., has made its first investment in Kenya—a £150,000 loan towards the cost of building a 14-storey coffee warehouse in Nairobi. Commitments at the end of March total £3,168,522 in loans and debentures and £55,000 in equity holdings in Central Africa and £966,750 in loans and £425,500 in equities in East Africa. Profit after tax was £241,033. A 3% dividend is repeated. The directors include Lord Godber (chairman), Sir George Bolton (deputy chairman), Mr. A. S. G. Hoar (managing director), Lord Cole, Lord Sinclair, and Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer.





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*PHILLIPS REPORT 1962*

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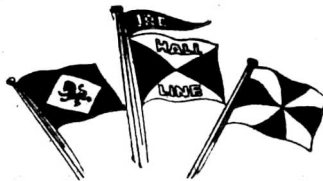
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, May 27, 1965

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No. 2120

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Rhodesia's New Cabinet: Names and Careers



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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1965

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**MR. EVAN CAMPBELL**, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, who will retire three weeks hence from an office which he has filled with distinction throughout a

**High Commissioner's Very Plain Warning.** period of exceptional difficulty, and whose forthright address to the Common-

wealth Writers of Britain was reported in full in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, added to his prepared text an emphatic warning that Rhodesia must be expected to take its independence this year if its well justified claim for that change of status on the basis of its present Constitution should continue to be rejected by Britain. "I pray that we shall never take unilateral action which would put us in the position of being rebels against Her Majesty", Mr. Campbell said. "We are as loyal a Colony as any which Britain has ever had. But in the not too distant future it could happen that you may not be able to speak to me because I should be a rebel. I pray that Britain will grant independence to Rhodesia this year. If she does not, I believe independence will be taken". It was unreasonable, he insisted, to deny to Rhodesia the independence which had been given in the last few years to so many much less advanced African countries with black Governments. If the Tories had not dillied and dallied, Rhodesia would have become independent when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved.

It is all to the good that the British public should be bluntly and authoritatively told that responsible Rhodesians, black and white, will not capitulate to their tiny minority of African nationalist extremists, however vociferous the agitation on their behalf in other parts of the world. Any extravagant

utterance by a pan-African propagandist (whether the dictatorial and deified President of some new and unstable republic, or a party minion of no standing and no competence except for the customary African gift of speech) has been reported, often with main newspaper prominence, by United Kingdom newspapers which pay little or no attention to moderate, dependable, and experienced Africans. British broadcasting and television authorities, showing a similarly sinister bias, have given persistent preference of left-wing publicists. Consequently, the public has for years been the victim of damaging one-sided misguidance. What proportion of the people considers that Rhodesia has been and is being shabbily treated by Parliament, Press, and the broadcasting channels can naturally not be known, but we believe it to be substantial, and that there would be a great volume of support for the United Kingdom Government if it could screw up its courage to resist the Afro-Asian *claque* and grant Rhodesia very belatedly the complete autonomy which has been unjustly withheld merely to suit the convenience of faint-hearted wobblers in all three political parties. They have demonstrated not only their own "craven fear of being great", but even of permitting Rhodesia to demonstrate that she has no such fear.

By sacrificing principle to short-range expediency, by faithless abandonment of its trusteeship for African territories, and by its encouragement of party dictatorships in Africa which masqueraded as organs of democracy, the calamitous Macmillan regime created over vast areas of Africa the havoc which

**Outrageous Discrimination.**

Rhodesians, black no less than white, are determined not to see repeated in their country. Is that not understandable, commendable, and worthy of moral and practical support? Yet Mr. Macmillan, having promised that the question of Rhodesian independence should not be discussed at a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference over which he was about to preside, because the issue concerned only Britain and Rhodesia, went back on his word (as he had previously done over South Africa), and allowed Rhodesia to be made the most important topic of the gathering—despite the fact that its Prime Minister had been denied the right to attend and put his country's case. That outrageous discrimination against a white Prime Minister was acceptable to Commonwealth Parliamentarians who would assuredly have taken the contrary decision if the leader had been black.

\* \* \*

Twenty-one Commonwealth Prime Ministers, only four of them white, will next month again pillory Rhodesia in the absence of its elected spokesman. Then, and immediately afterwards at an Afro-Asian meeting in Algiers, bitter anti-Rhodesian distortions will be uttered and sedulously circulated. That will anger Rhodesians anew, and add to the number who say to themselves and their friends: "I am still loyal to the Crown. That does not mean that I must passively watch my country being destroyed by the follies of Ministers in Britain. If they refuse to allow us to run our own affairs and protect ourselves against the onrush of extremist nationalism and Communism, we must act in self-protection. The Rhodesian Front Government has dealt with the organized political violence which was so serious in the towns when it was elected. If it is driven to U.D.I., it will have my support. But I still hope that Britain will give us the independence which is our right".

\* \* \*

### Rhodesians Must Protect Themselves.

\* \* \*

If Britain's Socialist Government is really concerned to avoid the disaster of driving Rhodesians to take their independence in self-defence, Mr. Wilson should waste no more time before arranging terms with Mr. Smith. The best course would be to reach agreement now, promptly tell the Commonwealth, and face the anger of the extremists at the Commonwealth Conference when it opens on June 17. If the present opportunity be not taken, there will be less

### Danger of Further Delay.

likelihood of agreement later, and a very grave risk indeed of a unilateral declaration of independence within weeks, for if acceptable proposals are not made in the current exchanges between the two Prime Ministers the Rhodesian Government may be driven to the final conviction that there can be no escape from a unilateral declaration. If that conclusion were definitely reached, the breach could come when the British Parliament is in recess in August or September, the earlier month being perhaps the more likely. If he had not felt that the sands were running out Mr. Campbell would not have spoken so pointedly to an audience which contained many of London's leading journalists. They certainly recognized the gravity of his words. It would be tragic if Ministers failed to do so.

\*\* \* \*

IT IS AMAZING that the British Government should have entertained to luncheon in London last week a United Nations committee which was on its way to Zambia to stir up further enmity against

### Outrageous Hospitality.

Rhodesia. It knew that many of the members have repeatedly spoken in the most violent terms against that country. Yet, at the very moment at which Mr. Wilson professed to be eager for a settlement with Rhodesia, his Government prostrated itself abjectly before Afro-Asians who flaunt their anxiety to wreck what remains of the Commonwealth. That British taxpayers should feed such folk was outrageous; but there has of course, been no word of criticism in any paper. All that can be said for the hospitality is that it was appropriately dispensed in Lancaster House, scene of the MacBlundell and subsequent capitulations.

### Statements Worth Noting

"We must not allow outside actions by racialists to divert us from our noble goals".—President Kaunda, in a broadcast to the nation.

"The Government should change the Constitution so that it may take over industries without compensation".—Mr. Bildad Kaggia, M.P., Kenya.

"One method by which the Government will break the present economic monopoly of the immigrant races will be by increasing State participation in economic activity. Many of the big businesses in Kenya already belong to the Government or have been partly financed from Government sources. I refer to such industries as the Kenya Meat Commission, East African Railways & Harbours, the Panafprod factory at Naivasha, and the Panafric Hotel in Nairobi".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya.

## Notes By The Way

### Not Probed by the Press

THE PRESS has dealt kindly, which is to say uncritically, with the heated denials of Kenya Government spokesmen in Nairobi and London that anyone in that republic had taken or even contemplated actions inconvenient to a Government which, we are all to believe, is a happy band of like-thinking, non-aligned brothers, friendly to all the world, united in opposition to Communism and capitalism, and selflessly devoted to "African Socialism". The protests have been much too sweeping, and so superficial as to renew the questioning which they were intended to silence. That journalists in Kenya would be singularly ill-advised to probe deeply is obvious. It is therefore the more regrettable that a Press conference called by the High Commissioner in London—to which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA received no invitation—failed to produce awkward questions. When I asked one friend who was present why the opportunity had been neglected he replied that he, and he supposed others, had not been in the mood to give a rough passage to so pleasant a person as Dr. Karanja. Geniality on either side should in my opinion have had no place in the issue.

### At Dead of Night

IT IS SURPRISING that anyone should have been satisfied with the official statement that the troops and police who visited the cellars of a Government building in Nairobi at three o'clock one morning had not been sent to look for arms but merely to remove files and other documents. Who has known files to be moved at dead of night in peace time? Who expects Kenya's troops to act as removal men while other citizens slumber? Is it unreasonable to assume that they were detailed to ransack the place for arms? The basement of a Government office block would admittedly not be a clever hiding-place for weapons, but in some very senior circles it was evidently thought prudent to order a sudden search. Since the operation entailed the risk of disclosure, and since some personal issues were very much at stake, President Kenyatta was presumably told of the proposed raid, quite unofficially of course, and preferred it to mere questioning of certain suspects. An interesting point is that the *Guardian's* Nairobi correspondent telegraphed that "No Minister has refuted the report that a company of Kenya soldiers removed a large number of arms from the archives room of the Central Government Building, which is now called the office of the Vice-President"—sending that message after a Minister, Dr. Mungai, had tried to kill the story by denouncing the inaccuracy of reports of the alleged diversion to East African waters of a British aircraft-carrier, from which troops in multi were supposed to have been landed by helicopter.

### Religion and Politics

ON THE SAME DAY I received Government statements from Malawi and Kenya which almost bracketed religion with politics. The Ministry of Information in Malawi notified newspapers that a Mr. Y. A. Mlembe, district secretary of the Malawi Congress Party in the Fort Johnston area, had told a crowd of more than 3,000 people that they must believe in one God, one party, and one leader, Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda. He continued: "The Ngwazi is a true Christian and a true leader. That is why most of you are still alive. Chipembere and his gangs wanted to kill all of you;

but he ran away when he heard the Lion of Malawi roaring in Zomba". The Government-controlled Kenya News Agency quoted Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, Minister for Education, as having told a conference of teachers of religious instruction in secondary schools: "The Government of Kenya is composed of men who recognize mankind's need for belief, faith and trust in a Supreme Being, men who understand the God-given purpose of humanity, men who themselves possess strong personal convictions from which they derive the moral strength given to all who believe and trust in Him". In the Malawi Parliament, as regular readers of this journal know, Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, is frequently compared with Christ and God. One of the translations of Ngwazi, the title by which he delights to be known, is Saviour.

### Nice Little List

AFRICANS, says Mr. Mamadou E. Jallow, secretary-general of the African Regional Organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, must struggle against "the dark forces of exploitation, poverty, imperialism, totalitarianism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, suppression, and social injustice"—a nice little list for political tub-thumpers, whom he enjoins to be vigilant, formidable and fearless. Lest they expect too much from the Organization of African Unity, however, Mr. Jallow, warns those who read or hear his message that that body has been "turned into the footstool of some inordinate and ambitious political masters". O.A.U. must be rescued from them (and they are presumably all Africans), and its "democratic charter" must be upheld. The very next *communiqué* of I.C.F.T.U., issued on the same day, expressed strong support for "the matured and genuine suggestion" by Nigeria's Prime Minister that an emergency meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers should be convened to discuss "the threatening situation facing the forthcoming September session of Heads of State in Accra". There was also a reference to "sinister tendencies" which might wreck O.A.U. Who with knowledge of events in Africa today would deny that some African Ministers and trade union and other leaders are contributing to "exploitation, poverty, imperialism, totalitarianism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, suppression and social injustice"?

### Pressee

THE KENYA NEWS AGENCY, a Government organ, has announced that the Publications Section of the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism has produced a 2,000-word "pressee" on African Socialism. "Pressee" appeared twice in three lines in the message. If Africanization demands a word other than "précis" and with approximately the same pronunciation, why not "pray-see"?

### Cashcade

NEW WORDS are needed for new processes. I propose "cashcade" for the ceaseless flow of grants and loans (many of which will obviously never be repaid) from the pockets of British taxpayers to erstwhile Colonial territories upon which foolish politicians in the United Kingdom have prematurely thrust so-called independence.

# Rhodesia's New Cabinet: Two Ministers Dropped

## Mr. Howman Returns: Mr. Mussett's First Portfolio

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has dropped two members of the former Cabinet, Mr. John Gaunt, Minister of Local Government and Housing, and Mr. Harry Reedman, Minister of Roads and Road Traffic and Minister of Irrigation and Tourism.

The newcomers are Mr. J. H. Howman, who was a member of Mr. Winston Field's Government, and Mr. B. M. Mussett, who holds office for the first time.

### Members of Cabinet

The new Ministry is constituted as follows:

Prime Minister—Mr. Ian Douglas Smith,  
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs,  
and Minister of Defence—Mr. Clifford Walter Dupont.  
Minister of Finance and Posts—Mr. John James Wrathall.  
Minister of Justice, and Minister of Law and Order—Mr. Desmond William Lardner-Burke.  
Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of the Public Service—Mr. William John Harper.  
Minister of Local Government and Housing—Mr. Bernard Horace Mussett.  
Minister of Agriculture—Lord Graham (Duke of Montrose).  
Minister of Mines and Lands, and Minister of Water Development—Mr. Philip van Heerden.  
Minister of Trade, Industry, and Transport, and Minister of Power and Roads—Mr. George Wilbur Rudland.  
Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, and Minister of Health—Mr. Ian Finlay McLean.  
Minister of Education—Mr. Arthur Philip Smith.  
Minister of Immigration and Tourism, and Minister of Information—Mr. John Hartley Howman.

Mr. Smith has passed the Defence portfolio to Mr. Dupont, who has surrendered responsibility for Information to Mr. Howman, the new Minister for Immigration and Tourism.

Mr. Rudland adds to his responsibilities that for Roads, which had previously been bracketted with Immigration and Tourism.

Otherwise there have been no changes except for the omission of Mr. Gaunt and Mr. Reedman. They and all other Ministers placed their resignations in the hands of the Prime Minister on the day after the general election. He has said that he intends to use their experience and ability in other capacities.

Mr. Gaunt is thought likely to be sent to Lisbon as head of a diplomatic mission.

The omission of Mr. P. van der Byl, lately Parliamentary Secretary for Information, is assumed to indicate that he will become High Commissioner in London.

No announcement has yet been made about Parliamentary Secretaries.

### The Prime Minister

MR. I. D. SMITH, the country's first Rhodesian-born Prime Minister, was born in 1919 in Selukwe. His father, Mr. John Douglas ("Jock") Smith, had gone to Rhodesia in 1898 as a young man from Hamilton, Scotland, settled in Selukwe, and acquired widespread interests in farming, gold mining, a motor garage, and the meat and bakery trades. He was a member of the first village management board and was awarded the M.B.E. for services to local government. The Prime Minister's mother, who still lives in Selukwe, received the same award for public service.

Their son's first school was in Selukwe. Later he attended Chaplin School, Gwelo, where he had a fine record, being in 1937 head prefect, captain of rugby, cricket, and tennis, and

winning the Victor Ludorum at the school sports. At Rhodes University, Grahamstown, he graduated as a Bachelor of Commerce. He was chairman of the Students' Representative Council and represented the university at rowing, rugby, and athletics.

### Fine War Record

Mr. Smith joined the R.A.F. in 1941, and served as a pilot until 1946, reaching the rank of flight lieutenant. He was brought down twice. On the first occasion he was flying a Hurricane over the Western Desert, and received severe injuries to his face and leg. Six months later he was flying again, with 237 (Rhodesia) Squadron. On the second occasion he was shot down when flying a Spitfire on a strafing raid over the Po Valley in Italy, but was able to bale out and fought for five months behind the lines with Italian partisans. He helped to plan raids against the Germans, and with his group ambushed and captured German supply lorries. He later crossed the Alps alone into France, rejoined the Allied Forces, and served with a Spitfire squadron on the Western Front.

After demobilization he returned to the Selukwe district, where he now owns a 4,500-acre farm and a 6,000-acre ranch, cattle being the most important of his farming activities.

He first entered the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia in 1948 as a member of the Rhodesia Party, and was elected to the Federal Parliament in 1953, becoming Chief Government Whip in 1958; but in 1961 he resigned from the United Federal Party after voting against the Southern Rhodesian constitutional proposals, which he believed were contrary to the principles and policy which the U.F.P. had put to the electorate.

He was a foundation member of the Rhodesian Front, and was again elected to the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly in 1962 and appointed Minister of the Treasury. He became Prime Minister on April 13, 1964.

Mr. Smith is married. A daughter is at Rhodes University, and two sons are at his old school, Chaplin, in Gwelo.

### Deputy Prime Minister

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, the Deputy Prime Minister, who also holds the External Affairs and Defence portfolios, was born in London in 1905 and educated at Bishop's Stortford College and Clare College, Cambridge, where he graduated in law with honours and played Rugby for his college. After serving articles in London he was admitted as a solicitor and practised in London.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 he joined the Royal Artillery and served on a brigade staff in Devonshire, as adjutant of a light anti-aircraft unit on the South Coast, and on General Eisenhower's joint staff in North Africa before being posted to the War Office in 1944. He was demobilized as a major.

On his way to Kenya in 1947 from a business trip to South Africa he spent a fortnight with a friend in Southern Rhodesia, and was so attracted by the country that he decided to make it his home. The intention to practise law was abandoned for farming, and he bought virgin land at Featherstone, 70 miles from Salisbury and soon established himself as a tobacco grower and rancher. He no longer grows tobacco, but has built up a herd of some 800 cattle.

He had taken an interest in local affairs and been elected chairman of the district intensive cultivation committee, and that led to a dramatic entry in Rhodesian politics. While waiting in a Salisbury hotel for the bus to take him to the airport on his way to London in 1958, he had two telephone calls from branches of the Dominion Party in the Fort Victoria area asking him to be their candidate for a forthcoming Federal election. He agreed, was elected, and for the next four years sat in opposition to Sir Roy Welensky's Government.

On the dissolution of the Federation in 1962 he became chairman of the Rhodesian Front party. Later that year he was elected R.F. Member for Charter, part of which district he had represented in the Federal Parliament.

In August 1964 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, having previously been Minister of Justice and Minister of Law and Order. Latterly he has had oversight of Information also.

Last October he resigned his safe seat at Charter to contest a by-election at Arundel, Salisbury, against Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the Rhodesia Party, whom he defeated.

In 1958 his two children were killed in an air crash in North Africa while on their way to England. Mrs. Dupont had died in the previous year. Two years ago he married Miss Armanell Bennet.



MR. JOHN JAMES WRATHALL, who continues as Minister of Finance and Posts, was previously Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees. Born in England in 1913, he qualified as a chartered accountant, went to Bulawayo in 1936, and after 10 years in the Income Tax Department became secretary to a public company. In 1950 he began to practise on his own account. He served on the City Council. In 1937 he had played hockey for Rhodesia.

MR. DESMOND WILLIAM LARDNER-BURKE, Minister of Justice and of Law and Order, was born in Kimberley in 1909 and went to Rhodesia in 1933. An attorney by profession, he was until 1941 in the Bulawayo office of one of the leading law firms in Central Africa. He is a director of several companies, has been president of the Rhodesian Rugby Union, and has been a keen golfer.

#### Fighter Pilot

MR. WILLIAM JOHN HARPER, who remains responsible for Internal Affairs and the Public Service, was born in India in 1916 and after being educated there and in England joined the Royal Air Force. In the Battle of Britain in 1940 he was a flight lieutenant in No. 17 Fighter Squadron, and later commanded several fighter squadrons. He served on all the major war fronts and was twice wounded.

On retiring from the R.A.F. in 1949 he went to Rhodesia to farm. He was elected M.P. for Gatooma in 1958, and was later appointed Deputy Speaker, resigning to become Leader of the Opposition. He also resigned the presidency of the Dominion Party to facilitate the amalgamation of opposition parties as the Rhodesian Front. Re-elected for Gatooma in 1962, he was appointed to office.

MR. BERNARD HORACE MUSSETT, who was born in Cape Town in 1915 and has been in Rhodesia only 10 years, takes office for the first time as Minister of Local Government and Housing. He has served as a councillor in Umtali for five years, for two years as mayor. He joined the Rhodesian Front on its inception. He was elected to Parliament for

Umtali East in 1962 and at the recent election greatly increased his majority. Throughout the 1939-45 war he served in the South African and U.K. forces. He is a company director.

#### Commanded Destroyers

LORD GRAHAM (who is the seventh Duke of Montrose but prefers the lower title) retains the Ministry of Agriculture. Born in London in 1907, he was brought up in the Scottish Highlands and educated at Eton and Oxford, of which he is a B.A. (Agric.). He then joined Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., which sent him to Rhodesia as an agronomist in 1931. Three years later he began farming. Throughout the last war he served in destroyers, for the last two years in command. From 1959 to 1962 he represented Hartley/Gatooma in the Federal Assembly. He was then elected to the Rhodesian Parliament and appointed Minister for Agriculture by Mr. Winston Field.

MR. PHILIP VAN HEERDEN, who has the Mines, Lands and Water Development portfolios, was born in South Africa in 1914 and arrived in Rhodesia at the age of 11. He was educated at Umtali High School. From 1940 to 1943 he served in the Middle East with the 1st Bn. The 60th Rifles and was mentioned in despatches. In 1958 he was elected M.P. for Rusape.

MR. GEORGE WILBURN RUDLAND, Minister of Trade, Industry, Transport, Power, and Roads, is a civil engineering contractor in private life, and owns a ranch near Bulawayo. He was born in Natal in 1909. He was elected to Parliament as Rhodesian Front M.P. for Wankie.

MR. IAN FINLAY MCLEAN, Minister of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, was born in Bulawayo in 1919 and educated there. During the last war he served in the R.A.F. in all theatres of war, including the Pacific, and attended the Staff College. In the Southern Rhodesian general election of December 1962 he became M.P. for Queen's Park.

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## Kenya Government Broadcast Sharply Criticizes Rhodesia

### Promise of Military Aid for "Freedom Fighters" in Case of U.D.I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA (which is a republic within the Commonwealth) has incited Africans in Rhodesia (another Commonwealth country) to rebel against their own Government and has promised them military assistance if Rhodesia should seize its independence.

In the course of a highly tendentious broadcast from Nairobi, which was specifically stated to have been prepared in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. Ngethe Njoroge, an official of that Ministry, said:—

"The Rhodesian Europeans, who are outnumbered by the Africans by 20 to one, seem convinced that their survival lies in a policy of segregation and racial discrimination and in ruthless suppression of African political activity. They see the doctrine of white supremacy, condemned in the new Africa, as their only salvation. The determination of the ruling white minority has pushed the country to the brink of a national catastrophe.

#### Puzzled by British Inaction

"Another step in this tragic direction was taken when it was announced that Prime Minister Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front had 'won' national elections. These were not elections in the democratic sense. They were a mockery of free and fair elections, designed to mislead international opinion. . . . The voting system was so rigged that Mr. Smith had to win.

"The Minister for External Affairs has told the British Commonwealth Secretary that the Government of Kenya cannot consider Mr. Smith's elections valid.

"It is reliably learnt that Mr. Smith intends to use his 'victory' to alter the constitutional legislation, introducing more racial laws on the apartheid lines, and to seize independence illegally. His plans are well known to the British Government.

"What is most puzzling is the equivocation and inaction

of the British Government in this serious matter. Last October Prime Minister Harold Wilson said that a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia's minority Government would be an open rebellion against the Queen. He warned that such an act would end Rhodesia's relations with Britain, and cut Rhodesia off from the Commonwealth and from most foreign Governments and international organizations. Such open rebellion, Mr. Wilson concluded, would inflict disastrous economic damage upon Rhodesia.

"These economic and diplomatic threats did not seem to deter Mr. Smith. In fact, they gave him an opportunity to study economic consequences. It is understood that he has threatened his own economic counter-measures should Britain forsake him.

#### Economic Sanctions

"Surprisingly, one main target, according to the Rhodesian Government White Paper, would not be Britain but Zambia, which receives hydro-electric power and coal from Rhodesia. Mr. Smith has threatened to cut off these supplies and to expel about half a million workers from Zambia and Malawi working in Rhodesia industries, mines and farms.

"One is led to believe that the proposed economic sanctions against the Rhodesian Government may not achieve the desired effect and may even hurt innocent parties more than the intended target. The Rhodesian African nationalists tend to share this view. They argue that economic sanctions are a poor weapon to subdue Mr. Smith.

"He is not without allies. Within Rhodesia part of big business is behind him. So is probably the whole Rhodesian Army and Air Force and, of course, the majority of the white electorate. Externally, he counts on sympathetic assistance from South Africa and Portuguese authorities in Angola and Mozambique.

"The triangular axis which appears to be in process of formation between Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal is, as we see it, for evil purposes. It does not augur well with prospects for tranquility in Southern Africa or Africa as a whole. It must be condemned. Pressure must be applied to disrupt it before it is firmly established.

"Our own Colonial experience is very similar to that of Rhodesia, and perhaps we are in a better position than most to offer some suggestions. We hold the view that there is not

a single Colonial problem in Africa which cannot be solved provided there is the will to do so.

One argument advanced by Britain is that Rhodesia is a self-governing Colony and that she cannot interfere in Rhodesia's internal affairs. Technically, Rhodesia has been self-governing since 1923. No one can deny 5% of the total population is self-governing. When Mr. Smith talks of independence it is meant for the 200,000 Europeans.

When Rhodesia was proclaimed self-governing 42 years ago African interests did not count. Sadly enough they do not seem to count even today, despite the radical and irreversible changes which have taken place over the continent. This calculated manner of ignoring African interests is one of the tragedies of Rhodesia. Up to now Mr. Smith has not suggested how he intends to meet the aspirations of 95% of the population. Any self-government which caters for only a few at the expense of the majority cannot be morally acceptable.

When one talks of Rhodesia as a self-governing country one must not miss the fundamental fact that Rhodesia is a British Colony. We do not expect Britain to abdicate her authority over her own Colonies. She could do this if she so wishes by commencing, but that is too un-British to be expected. We do expect the British Government to carry out its responsibilities in Rhodesia honourably and eventually hand over political power to a properly constituted Government.

### Racialism

Rhodesia under the ruling Rhodesian Front is inspired by the evil philosophy of apartheid and is facing a gloomy future. The policies of the white minority Government have introduced dangerous elements in to the political atmosphere. Race relations have been so poisoned that racial bitterness has been heightened to an explosive degree.

During Colonial rule the people of Kenya lived through a long period of nightmares of racial oppression and racial discrimination. We know that racialism is a corrosive phenomenon which destroys, which seeks revenge, which draws on hatred of a vilest nature. Racialism is an evil that deserves condemnation. Prime Minister Smith is preaching racialism and segregation when the world as a whole is moving away from these despicable practices. He is courting disaster.

His Government is guilty of violating human rights. At least 5,000 Africans are locked up for political reasons. Those who escaped arrest are living in forced exile. Detention camps have been set up capable of taking in even larger numbers of Africans. African political parties have been banned, and newspapers that tended to be sympathetic to their cause have met the same fate.

If the Africans today decided to take up arms to regain their rights, or to set up a nationalist government-in-exile, they are completely shut out. The Organization of African Unity has warned that if Mr. Smith declared independence unilaterally it would support a government-in-exile.

The possibility cannot be ruled out either that O.A.U. will also respond with military assistance if Rhodesian freedom fighters requested it. Kenya supports legitimate liberation movements in Africa, and if there is no other way to save Rhodesian Africans from perpetual servitude except through armed struggle, then the situation has to be accepted.

However, we prefer a peacefully and constitutionally negotiated settlement. All parties concerned must adopt a reasonable attitude, and the British Government must act with a sense of responsibility and determination.

It is not too late for the British Government to summon a round-table conference comprising all political shades of opinion in Rhodesia. The purpose of this conference would be to work out a fair Constitution which should form the basis for the establishment of a democratic Government on the principle of one-man-one-vote.

### Recommendations to Britain

There are pre-requisites to such a conference, such as the release of African political leaders who are unjustly imprisoned or detained, and the reactivation of their political parties. In other words, a favourable political atmosphere must be created before there can be serious political negotiations.

If Prime Minister Smith rejected such proposals—and in all probability he would—then Britain could exercise her powers in Rhodesia. We propose to the British Government that in view of Mr. Smith's continued intransigence the British Government should (1) suspend the 1961 Constitution, which in any case is out of date; (2) refuse to recognize the results of the recent fraudulent elections; (3) impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia; (4) as a last resort make military intervention; and (5) recognize a government-in-exile of African nationalists should Mr. Smith declare independence unilaterally.

Twelve years ago the Constitution of British Guiana was suspended. In the past British forces have fought many a

battle in British Colonies in Asia and Africa, including Kenya. Precedents are there. It would be imprudent to spare Mr. Smith the treatment he so clearly deserves.

It is said that it is highly unlikely that British soldiers would be dispatched to Rhodesia to fight other white soldiers for the purpose of guaranteeing a political future for the Africans. This thinking is misleading. The fight is not for a certain race or a particular group of people. It is a legitimate defence for a set of principles. Britain has constitutional rights in Rhodesia which cannot be abused or violated. To do so would amount to an unpardonable offence against the Queen, the lives of four million Africans are held in

Secondly, the lives of four million Africans are held in danger and in uncertainty. Will these people live as free men or will they be condemned to permanent servitude? The problem in Rhodesia is not racial but human. That is why when we make these proposals our paramount aim is that justice must be done and seen to be done. Rhodesia is a test case for the British sense of justice and good will.

### Africans Should Frighten "Your Enemy"

To our African brothers in Rhodesia who are experiencing terrible difficulties we have a word or two to say. No matter how much assistance you receive from outside, the fact remains that the burden of liberating your country lies mainly on your own shoulders. You appreciate more than anyone else the strength and ruthlessness of your enemy. That is why it is so essential that you must act as one united force.

Only a determined, united action of four million Zimbabweans can frighten and eventually defeat your enemy.

It is heart-breaking that at this very moment when your survival as free men is at stake a division has occurred in your nationalist movement. It is a common thing for oppo-

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## Africans Will Use Violence

### Mr. Nkomo's Answer on the Subject

THE DAILY MAIL chose the heading, "Nkomo Demands Justice" for a prominently displayed report that Rhodesian police had raided the Gomakudzingwa restriction camp and seized confidential and other documents, including letters written to Mr. Nkomo, the African nationalist leader, by Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, and by the newspaper. Its intention had been to publish before the recent general election in Rhodesia Mr. Nkomo's replies to a series of questions. The answers were, however, not received when expected.

To a request for comment on the visit of Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and the Lord Chancellor, the nationalist leader wrote:

"They allowed themselves to be pushed around by Smith; they were under his control and showed clearly that they were here on sufferance. The statement they gave at the end of the visit was a retreat by Labour and a betrayal of the African people of this country."

"Do you believe violence can advance your cause?"

Mr. Nkomo replied:

"Our case is clear, our cause just. We believe it does not need the emphasis of violence. This we do not think in terms of violence. But the African people in this country do not differ from people in other lands. They can tolerate injustice up to a point.

"If their just demands are continually ignored, I can assure you that they will use or resort to such methods as people in other lands who have found themselves in the same or similar circumstances have had to use—violence included."

In other replies Mr. Nkomo demanded immediate majority rule and a new Constitution.

Asked for proof that there were enough Africans of experience to run the country, he answered:

"We do not know of any former British Colony where this proof has been demanded by Britain before granting majority rule. The expressed will and demand of the people to run their own country is enough proof."

Responsibility for advancing Rhodesia to majority rule was, he insisted, the sole responsibility of Britain, which should be pressed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to grant majority rule and then independence.

"They should allow no equivocation or procrastination on the part of Britain."



# PERSONALIA

MR. KETEMA YIFRU, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, is visiting West African States.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P., has joined the board of Purle Brothers Holdings, Ltd.

An American edition of SIR ROY WELENSKY'S "4,000 Days" has now been published.

THE MWAMI (KING) OF BURUNDI was received last week by the KING OF THE BELGIANS.

MR. J. A. D. HOBBS has been appointed director of Tanzania Breweries, Ltd., Dar es Salaam.

MR. VICTOR G. MATTHEWS has arrived from Kenya. He will be in Britain for about two months.

SIR AHMADO BELLO, Premier of Northern Nigeria, is visiting Ethiopia at the invitation of the EMPEROR.

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER last week received an honorary doctorate of laws from Leeds University.

MR. K. K. PARKER, Secretary for Mines and Lands in Rhodesia, and MRS. PARKER are at present in England.

MR. ABRAHAM NKONDE has been re-elected mayor of Broken Hill. The deputy mayor is MR. C. A. KANGWA.

MR. N. TEMBO, a Parliamentary Secretary in the Government of Zambia, has just paid a short visit to Israel.

MRS. KARUME, wife of the First Vice-President of Tanzania, has returned to Zanzibar from a visit to Russia.

MR. C. M. BOURNE has been elected president and MR. J. D. S. MACKAY vice-president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce.

MR. GRACE IBINGIRA, Minister of State in Uganda, has been sworn in as a new member of the East African Central Legislative Assembly.

VISCOUNT RUNCIMAN and the EARL OF PERTH have been elected to the board of Tate and Lyle, Ltd., a group with large Central African interests.

MR. JUSTICE C. D. NEWBOLD, Q.C., who has been appointed vice-president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, went to Nairobi in 1948 as Legal Secretary to the East Africa High Commission and held the post until he was appointed a justice of appeal four years ago.

THE REV. DR. J. W. C. DOUGALL, chairman of the Overseas Council of the Church of Scotland, told its General Assembly last week that the Church faces a critical shortage of doctors and missionaries. Nine men and four women doctors, 15 ordained ministers, and 22 other missionaries were urgently needed for Africa. When a doctor was recently sent to Kenya equally urgent requests from Malawi and two other territories had to be denied. DR. DOUGALL was himself for many years a missionary in Kenya.

MR. BATARINGAYA, former Leader of the Opposition in Uganda, has been appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in place of MR. ONAMA, who has taken over the Defence portfolio from DR. OBOTE, the Prime Minister.

MR. ALEKE BANDA, secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, and director-general of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, has returned from visits to Western Germany, France, Britain, Austria, and Switzerland.

MR. W. BLAIR TENNANT, a New Zealand M.P. who is chairman of the general council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and MR. R. V. VANDERFELT, its secretary-general, have been visiting branches in East Africa.

MR. G. RIDLEY, the freshman from Rhodesia in the Oxford University cricket XI, is one of the first four members of the team to be invited to play in the match against Cambridge. He is a left-arm spin bowler and right-hand bat.

MR. DAVID RUBADIRI, lately Malawi Ambassador to the United Nations, and previously principal of a teacher training college in Malawi, has arrived in Uganda to take up a teaching post. He is a graduate of Cambridge University.

THE REV. NDABANINGI SITHOLE, former leader of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African National Union, was released from prison in Rhodesia last week, but was at once served with a five-year restriction order and sent to the Wha Wha camp.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE has relinquished his appointments as a director and chairman of Assam and African Investments, Ltd., owing to the increasing pressure of his other business commitments. SIR HUGH MACKAY TALLACK has been elected chairman.

MR. Y. K. MULONDO, who has retired from the office of Nabyama of Busoga, was previously a Secretary-General, a member of the Uganda Legislative Council from 1954 to 1959, and Busoga's representative at the Constitutional Conference in London. He is a director of the National Insurance Corporation of Uganda.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya, told Rotarians in Nairobi recently that he had once been adopted as a son by a paramount chief in Borneo, adding: "Both my fathers were very successful. One was three times Prime Minister of England and the other was the world's most successful head-hunter".

MR. ANDREW MACDONALD, who was born in South Africa, educated in Rhodesia, and has since farmed in Zambia, has been told by MR. MUNDIA, Minister of Labour and Social Development, that if he accepts an invitation to tour New Zealand and Australia with the Springbok Rugby team, "must be prepared for the certain consequences that must follow".

Recent arrivals in London from Rhodesia include MR. C. B. ALEXANDER, MR. T. BARRY, MR. J. T. H. BISHOP, MAJOR & MRS. C. H. CHADWICK, MR. & MRS. J. DAWSON, MR. W. A. DUFF, MR. & MRS. R. F. GRIFFIN, MR. & MRS. K. G. PARKER, MR. N. E. S. PRITCHETT, MR. & MRS. G. F. SOUCHON, MR. R. SUMMERFIELD, MR. R. W. WARD, and MR. J. R. WHITTALL.

MR. ROBERT GARDINER, who is to give the Reith Lectures for the B.B.C. in the autumn, will talk about race relations under the title "A World of Peoples". A Ghanaian, he was at one period head of the United Nations operations in the Congo, and is now executive secretary in Addis Ababa of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. He holds Cambridge and London degrees, and did post-graduate work at Nuffield College, Oxford. Admitting that his subject was explosive, he said in London a few days ago that he must find language which would invite attention and calm reflection.

## ZAMBIA



For Information APPLY TO  
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER for the  
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

7-11 Cavendish Place, London, W.1.

Telephone: LANgham 0691



LORD BAILLIEU has retired from the board and the deputy chairmanship of Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation, Ltd. MR. E. L. BAILLIEU has been elected a director.

Paintings by MISS BEATRICE DREWE of some 600 native Rhodesian flowering plants are to be exhibited in the Royal Horticultural Society's new hall in Grey-coat Street, London, S.W.1, on July 6, 7, and 8.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA will be absent from Zambia from June 12 to 25 in order to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and the Afro-Asian summit meeting in Algiers. MRS. KAUNDA will leave Lusaka for London on May 29.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister of Tanzania, has signed in Switzerland with MR. HANS BEUHLER, deputy director of the Division of Commerce in the Swiss Federal Department of Economy, a convention concerning the encouragement and reciprocal protection of investments.

## Obituary

MRS. LOIS STEYN (née Nettelfold), of Ol Donyo Mara, Nakuru, Kenya, has died in Glasgow.

MR. JAMES TOWERS NEWSOME, who died recently in Nairobi, aged 55, had been on the staff of the Government Printer for about 30 years.

CAPTAIN EDWARD F. BOULTBEE, O.B.E., who has died in Rhodesia, aged 81, was an early member of the B.S.A.P., and had long been honorary keeper of arms and antiquities at Umtali Museum.

MR. HANS ABEGG, who has died in Malawi, was born in Tanganyika and taken as a child to Nyasaland by his father, a German, who began business in Limbe. When he died in 1944 the son took over the management. He was honorary Consul for Germany from 1958 until recently.

MR. A. M. GUNDLE, director of a London confirming and shipping house with business connexions in East, Central and South Africa, has died suddenly at the age of 68. The company, which had been founded by his father, the late ISAAC GUNDLE, will be managed by MRS. GUNDLE and her son.

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE DOUGLAS GORDON HEYMAN, C.B., C.B.E., who has died after a long illness at the age of 60, was Chief of Staff to East African Command during the worst period of the Mau Mau rebellion, and bore from 1953 to 1955 the main responsibility for co-ordinating army, police, and civil administration activities. He then returned to England to become Chief of Staff to Southern Command.

SIR GEOFFREY DE HAVILLAND, O.M., C.B.E., A.F.C., who has died at the age of 82, was one of the most distinguished aircraft engineers and designers of his day, being responsible for the Moth, Mosquito, Rapide, Comet and other remarkable aeroplanes. He had frequently visited East and Central Africa in recent years, being keenly interested in big game cinematography. Two of his three sons were killed in the air.

SIR EDGEWORTH BERESFORD DAVID, K.B.E., C.M.G., who has died suddenly in Malaya, aged 56, was head of the East African Department of the Colonial Office in 1953-55, and from 1959 to 1962 Administrator of the East Africa High Commission. He then retired from the Overseas Service, and soon afterwards went to Kuala Lumpur as resident representative of the Rubber Growers' Association. He had joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1931, and was serving in the volunteer forces when made prisoner by the Japanese, who sent him to a camp in Korea for three years. After his release he was Secretary for Defence and Internal Security in the Federation of Malaya while Communist terrorism was at its height. He was unmarried.

## Queen's Commonwealth Day Message

### Need for Greater Mutual Understanding

THE QUEEN, Head of the Commonwealth, issued her first Commonwealth Day message on Monday. Her Majesty said:—

"When I talked to the Commonwealth on Christmas Day I spoke about the problems of the world which sometimes loom so large that it is hard to see what each one of us can do about them. In this first Commonwealth Day message I suggest that there is something practical which we can all, whatever our age and occupation, be doing to help.

"The world's great need is for understanding and good will to guide and stimulate people to help one another to real effect. In the Commonwealth we start with the advantage of sharing many ways of looking at things and doing things. This makes co-operation between our countries easier; but our Governments will, in the long run, only be as close together as their people feel.

"Let it therefore be our resolve to seek out every chance to get to know more about the people of the other Commonwealth countries, and to meet them when we can, so that we may have the warmth of fellow-feeling and the vision to work together for the good of the world in the years to come. My heartfelt good wishes go to you all in this great common endeavour."

The message was read by Prince William of Gloucester at a Commonwealth Day service in Westminster Abbey.

## African Students in Moscow

### U.S. Attache Expelled for Contacts

MR. NORRIS GARNETT, a 32-year-old cultural attaché in the American Embassy in Moscow, in which he was the only Negro, has been expelled on charges of having conducted an anti-Soviet campaign among African students, many of whom have used the embassy library, which he managed.

The Government newspaper *Izvestia* reported that an African student from Kenya had told the Foreign Minister that Mr. Garnett had tried to "buy my soul and recruit me as an agent of American imperialism". Other allegations were that Mr. Garnett had invited African students to his flat and given them anti-Soviet literature and American cigarettes and drinks, and that he had incited Africans to organize demonstrations and to refuse to remain in Russia.

The embassy denied all the charges, and attributed the expulsion order to a wish to blame non-existent foreign interference for the increasing discontent among Africans studying in Russia.

Until he went to Moscow in October Mr. Garnett worked in Tanganyika for the United States Information Agency.

## Foreign Money

FOREIGN MONEY poured into Kenya has been used by trade unions to divide the workers in the interests of a few selfish union leaders, Mr. Mwendwa, Minister for Labour and Social Services, told the Senate when a Trade Disputes Bill was discussed. He said that the gravity of the situation had led the Government to decide that the check-off system should be made compulsory in order to ensure the unions adequate funds to meet their expenses.

## Coffee Quotas Reduced

ALL COFFEE EXPORT QUOTAS have been reduced by the executive board of the International Coffee Organization because the average price index over 15 consecutive market days fell below 38 U.S. cents per lb. For the 15 days from April 28 it averaged only 36.84 cents. The cut in quotas in 41% reducing the 1964-65 total by just over 2m. bags to 43.7m. bags of 60 kilos. The reduction must all be made in July, August and September. The committee's decision was unanimous. Its power was limited to a 4% reduction.

## Anti-Colonial Committee in Africa Significant Demonstration Against Rhodesia

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEMONSTRATION against British and Portuguese African interests by the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism—the so-called Committee of Twenty-Four—was made at the week-end, when all 24 national delegations and the secretariat flew from New York *via* London to Lusaka.

Its purpose, as one spokesman said, was to "manifest the most active solidarity with millions of Africans in Rhodesia and elsewhere who are still living under Colonial rule—which is but a disguised form of slavery".

Yet during a 12-hour break in the journey in London on Saturday the members of the committee were entertained by the Government to luncheon at Lancaster House. Mr. Greenwood, the Colonial Secretary presided.

President Kaunda had invited the committee to Zambia, and the Emperor of Ethiopia and President Nyerere quickly offered similar hospitality.

The programme covers visits to Zambia from May 23 to 29, Tanzania from May 30 to June 11, and Ethiopia until June 18. The intention is to meet and hear evidence from "freedom petitioners" and other nationalists, including exiles from Rhodesia and Mozambique.

### Incitement to Violence

The chairman, Mr. Coulbaly, said on reaching Lusaka: "If some people do not realize that the Colonial era has ended, there will be no course but direct, revolutionary action. If people do not understand that they have to yield sovereignty there is no other course but violence".

A Tanzanian member of the party, Mr. D. Machera, said in London: "We are on our way to contact the African freedom-fighters and to move close to the crisis centres. We are acting with the full backing of the General Assembly of the United Nations".

In fact, the British delegation at the U.N. had continued to oppose the dispatch of special missions to Africa, as was done during the 13 years of Conservative rule. One argument

has been that British decolonization has been as rapid as possible.

Despite its opposition to the plan to meet in Africa, H.M. Government decided to offer the committee its co-operation and hospitality.

Mr. Jacob Malik, the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, had flown from New York to Moscow for consultations with his Government, thus missing the visit to London. He had said that he would take to Lusaka at least four "observers".

## Zambia's Attitude to U.D.I.

"U.D.I. IS NOT COMING, but desperate men have been known to take desperate measures. That is why we have to prepare".

President Kaunda of Zambia thus summarized for journalists in Lusaka a few days ago his attitude to the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Rhodesia. He had said earlier:—

"Should the Smith Government take all the steps they are planning, it would mean virtually war. We are taking measures to meet this challenge. When Mrs. Castle, Minister for Overseas Development, was in Lusaka the other day we discussed a number of subjects relating to U.D.I. I have warned Smith and his colleagues.

"I cannot see any person who is not mad discharging Zambians in Rhodesia. Thousands of them work at the Wankie mines, for instance. To dismiss them and expect the colliery to run is stupid. To think that all the farm hands from Zambia who help to run Rhodesian farms could be dismissed without affecting the tobacco industry is madness. A good number work in industries and on the railways. To dismiss them would ruin Rhodesia's economy. A man has to be over-mad to do that.

"Zambia would not retaliate against the several thousand Rhodesians living in this country. Two wrongs never make a right. I could never do the stupid thing Smith is contemplating. I should be sinking to his level of thinking.

"We have not advised business people to stock up with essential supplies. That is not part of our planning strategy.

"I have not even thought of a physical war occurring as a result of U.D.I. That will be for Britain to decide, not me. The aggression is economic, and I shall reply in economic terms.

"We have to rule out the question of Britain not taking sanctions against Rhodesia. All our planning must be based on the point that Britain is bound to honour her word; but why that should mean Rhodesia cutting off supplies to Zambia I cannot understand. If there is U.D.I., Britain is bound to retaliate, and very heavily.

"Interfering with Kariba power would draw into the struggle the United Nations. Kariba was built with international money. On this point we speak from strength both for Kariba and the railways. As a sovereign State we reserve the right to call upon anyone to come to our aid. We cannot discount this as one of the steps taken already.

"When I go next month to the Commonwealth Conference and then Algeria, I shall be back here the following morning if Smith declares U.D.I."

Mr. Humphry Berkeley, Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, said on Saturday that for Rhodesia to deny electric power from Kariba to Zambia would be an act of war, and that Britain would be bound to go to Zambia's help.

## Chipembere Arrives in U.S.A.

MR. HENRY CHIPEMBERE, the Malawi rebel leader and former Education Minister, arrived in the United States last week. The State Department announced the news, adding that he had undertaken to "stay clear of politics".

Dr. Banda commented in a broadcast that this desertion of his followers proved that the revolt was over and that Mr. Chipembere was a coward and a hyena. Malawians would regret not seeing him "swung from a pole with a rope around his neck and his legs dangling". About 400 of his followers are in prison awaiting trial for rebellion, in camps, or under restriction orders.

Mr. Chipembere suffers from diabetes, and the Malawi Parliament has more than once been told that he would die in the bush because he could not obtain insulin or the proper diet. Perhaps his state of health caused him to decide to seek asylum in America.

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## America's "Incredible" African Policy Door Open to Communism, Says Mr. Smith

THE AFRICAN POLICY of the Western Powers had been incredible, Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told the annual meeting of Gwelo Chamber of Commerce.

America, thinking that that was the way to fight Communism, had unwisely urged Britain to quit her Colonies. The result was that Communist China spent nearly £16m. in propagating her case in Africa in 1963 and last year raised the expenditure to about £100m. Whereas two years ago there was not one Chinese diplomatic representative in all Africa, they now outnumbered those of any other nation. Americans having poured money into Africa, the Chinese had walked in and taken over.

Yet Rhodesia was asked to follow the road taken in territories to the north, and for no better reason than the suggestion that that would please the Afro-Asian bloc. There might have been some logic in the idea if what had been done elsewhere had been successful. In fact the reverse had happened.

The Prime Minister said that Rhodesia's favourable trade balance in the first two months of this year had been £2½m.

### Tobacco Industry Would Be Destroyed

The Tobacco Trade Association has now made its views known on the effects on the industry of a unilateral declaration of independence.

Its memorandum describes the references to tobacco in the White Paper as "completely inadequate", charges the Government with "glossing over facts which should be made known to the people of Rhodesia", and declares that an embargo on the purchase of Rhodesian leaf for the United Kingdom "would destroy the entire structure of the country's tobacco industry".

It is estimated that 62% of Rhodesia's tobacco markets would be lost. Emphasis is placed on the fact that Britain, which bought 37% by weight of last year's crop, provided 51% of the return to growers.

The association is not persuaded that counter-measures taken or intended by the Government would offset a crippling blow to the industry, and it rejects the suggestion that prices would harden, pointing out that there is a world surplus of well over 1,000m. lb. of leaf and the likelihood of lower prices and more severe competition from the U.S.A.

This year's sales in Salisbury are realizing prices about 40% above those a year ago.

### Threats From Tanzania

Mr. Kambona, Minister for External Affairs in Tanzania, who is also chairman of the Liberation Committee of O.A.U., alleged in Dar es Salaam on returning from a visit to Zambia that Rhodesia had become a police State in which brutality against Africans was the order of the day. Britain should

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intervene urgently. If independence were unilaterally declared, Rhodesia would be opposed by 36 independent African States.

"I hope Smith will remember that France, with all her military might and resources, failed to hold back the Algerian revolution."

African States had as much right to defend their brothers in Rhodesia as Australia had to send troops to Malaysia.

## Commonwealth Interest in Rhodesia

### H.M. Government Informs and Consults

MR. BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told the House of Commons a few days ago that the Government's communications with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia remained confidential and that he could say nothing more on the subject.

MR. HAMILTON: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that many, if not all, of us on this side of the House are singularly unimpressed by the results of the election which recently took place in Rhodesia, which can only deepen the gulf between the white and the coloured population there? Can he give an assurance that H.M. Government have no objection to this problem being discussed at the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, or do the Government regard it as a matter which must be solved exclusively between the respective two Governments?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The Commonwealth Prime Ministers themselves recognized that this is a matter for settlement between H.M. Government and the Rhodesian Government. On the other hand, I have no doubt at all that Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their forthcoming meeting will want to know something about Rhodesia."

MR. ENNALS: "After the election the Rhodesian Prime Minister said that he intended to intensify efforts for the Colony's independence. Have there been new proposals, and does my rt. hon. friend think it would be fruitful if he were to pay a further visit to Salisbury?"

### Mr. Bottomley Would Revisit Rhodesia

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The talks remain confidential. They are continuing. If I thought it was useful for me to go there to bring about a satisfactory solution I should not hesitate to do so."

MR. SANDYS: "I welcome the statement by the Secretary of State that talks are going on, but does he realize the importance of having direct negotiations of some kind? One can do only a very limited amount of progress through the diplomatic channels."

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "If I thought it useful to go out I would do so. Equally, if the Prime Minister of Rhodesia thought it wise to come to this country he probably would consider doing that."

MR. MURRAY asked what representations had been made by Commonwealth countries on H.M. Government's responsibilities with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The British Government naturally keep in close touch with all other Commonwealth Governments on the question of the future of Rhodesia. A number of communications has passed, but these are of course confidential."

MR. MURRAY: "Would my rt. hon. friend care to say, although the papers and communications are confidential, whether the Commonwealth Governments concerned have views which coincide with those of H.M. Government?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The Commonwealth Government concerned agreed at last year's Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to recognize that this is a matter between H.M. Government and the Rhodesian Government. Nevertheless they are kept informed of what is happening and will continue to be so consulted."

MR. FISHER: "In view of the great emotional impact of the Rhodesian problem, especially on the African countries of the Commonwealth, would the Minister agree that we still have a considerable public relations job to do in explaining to those African countries what little power we have to influence events in Southern Rhodesia?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Yes; and I am grateful to the hon. Member because I know that he recently paid a visit to Commonwealth countries in Africa and took the opportunity of doing just that. I meet as often as I can the High Commissioners and Ministers of African countries and discuss this problem with them."

## Kenya Cabinet's Anger Over Arms Uganda Troops Remanded in Custody

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has rejected with optimum publicity the endeavour of a Minister in Uganda to play down a case of the transport of arms from Tanzania to Uganda through Kenya without the knowledge or consent of the authorities in that republic.

After Mr. Onama, Minister of Internal Affairs in Uganda, had said that a convoy intercepted and detained by Kenya should have travelled only through Tanzania to Uganda by the route to the west of Lake Victoria, but that the officer in charge had thought it easier to return via Kenya and had chosen that way without informing his Government, which could consequently not tell the Kenya Government, a special meeting of the Kenya Cabinet was called, and the following statement was issued:—

### Act of Criminal Folly

"On Saturday, May 15, the Kenya police intercepted a quantity of arms being carried by 11 civilian lorries, 10 of which bore Uganda registration numbers, and one a Tanzanian registration number. Necessary investigation regarding the origin and destination of these arms is continuing. The Government takes a very serious view of the unauthorized movement of these arms in Kenya, and considers this to be an act of criminal folly and a serious violation of Kenya's territorial integrity.

"The arms and lorries have been seized by the police. The drivers and other persons found in the lorries have been arrested and will be prosecuted.

"The report in the local Press this morning that the Kenya Government accepted an explanation regarding these arms is entirely without foundation".

By that time the convoy had been taken from the Kisii area to Nakuru.

### Seventy-five Tons of Modern Arms

Next day two officers and 20 men of the Uganda Army and 25 African civilian lorry drivers from Uganda and Tanzania appeared in court in Nakuru on charges of illegally importing 75 tons of arms and ammunition.

The arms were stated to include four 80mm, recoilless anti-tank guns, one mortar, one heavy machine-gun, two medium machine-guns, three light machine-guns, six rocket launchers, five land mines, 35 anti-personnel mines, 20 hand-grenades, 10 assault rifles, and more than 3,000 rounds of ammunition.

The Uganda officers and men, who pleaded not guilty, were remanded in custody for six days. When charged the two officers and the first five soldiers replied "That is true". The eighth man said that he was merely following orders. Captain Barnabus Kili, the senior officer, agreed that all had acted under orders and wished to plead not guilty.

The para-military General Service Unit of the police posted

a guard of some 30 men in the corridors of the court and outside the building. Machine-gun posts were set up.

Correspondents reported from Nairobi that President Kenyatta had pounded his desk with a stick when reading the Government's *communiqué* to journalists, and had declared: "This is an act of criminal folly and a serious violation of Kenya's territorial integrity."

A Tanzanian Government spokesman said in Dar es Salaam: "This is a matter between Uganda and Kenya. We received arms on behalf of the Uganda Government and permitted the Uganda authorities to take delivery of them."

Mr. Felix Onama, Uganda's Minister of Internal Affairs, and Mr. S. Odaka, the Foreign Minister, flew to Nairobi to ask for release of the weapons and to protest against the arrest and trial of Uganda troops.

The Kenya Government having announced last Thursday that the arms—which had meantime been moved to Kahawa Barracks, near Nairobi—were of Chinese origin, Dr. Obote said that they had been requested from China in December when there was fighting on the Uganda-Congo border between troops of the Congolese National Army and rebel forces.

There was speculation in Kenya as to whether the arms had been meant for the Uganda Army or for the rebels.

It was also suggested that President Kenyatta's anger was due at least in part to a suspicion that some of the consignment might have been intended to be delivered to opposition groups in Kenya which are widely believed to have received arms from Communist sources.

### Protests by Uganda and Tanzania

On Friday Uganda's Finance Minister, Mr. Kahle Settala, told journalists in Nairobi that the delegates from his country and Tanzania had decided—without instructions from their Governments—to absent themselves from the East African Central Legislative Assembly, then in session, until the Kenya Government released the arms and the troops.

He deplored the rash and unfair actions of the Kenya Government, which had been much too drastic. Uganda had accepted responsibility and was willing to apologize, but that was apparently not enough for Kenya.

Mr. Kamaliza, Labour Minister in Tanzania, said before leaving Nairobi for Dar es Salaam: "In our view the Kenya Government has most unfairly ill-treated Uganda. The Government and people of Tanzania are strongly sympathetic towards Uganda.

"Kenya has also been inconsistent. We helped Uganda clear the arms in Tanzania and escorted them to the Kenya border. Kenya military officials then undertook to accompany the convoy to the Uganda border."

On the previous day Mr. Ngobi, Minister for Agriculture, and Mr. Binaisa, the Attorney-General, had arrived from Kampala to join the two other Uganda Ministers in their representations to the Kenya Government.

The Central Legislative Assembly, which had been in session for 10 days, has suspended its sittings *sine die*.

The chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation, Mr. Nyanzi, said on arrival in London at the week-end that Uganda "does not wish to carry on with Kenya". All ideas of an African Federation must be forgotten.

All meetings in South Nyanza have been prohibited by the Kenya Government until further notice.



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## Mr. Tshombe Wins General Election Rebel Leaders Quarrel with Military Commander

**VICTORY** for Mr. Tshombe's Conaco Party is assured in the Congolese general election.

In the National Assembly there are 166 seats elected by direct universal suffrage. Of the results so far declared, 70 have been won by Mr. Tshombe's supporters and 32 by his opponents. He has thus already 27 more seats than Lumumba could claim when he formed the first Congolese Government five years ago. Conaco and its allies won 23 of 26 seats in Kasai. In areas formerly under rebel control most of the Conaco candidates were returned unopposed.

The National Assembly is to meet on June 30.

The Foreign Ministry has notified all diplomatic missions in Leopoldville that the passport of Mr. Adoula, the former Prime Minister, has expired, and that its continued recognition would be an unfriendly act against the Congo Republic. In Paris Mr. Adoula denied that he intended to apply for Tunisian nationality.

Reunification of Katanga has been approved by a congress in Elisabethville of delegates from the three provincettes into which the former province had been divided. The plan was approved by 137 votes to 17, with seven abstentions. Katanga is to be reconstituted with the borders existing when the Congo became independent in June 1960.

President Kasavubu is touring the eastern Congo this week. His itinerary takes in areas plundered by the rebels, including Stanleyville, Paulis, Bunia, Bukavu, and Albertville.

Kasongo, in Manyema Province, which had been occupied by rebels for 10 months, has been relieved after heavy fighting. Three Belgians were found unharmed in the town, in which many Africans had been murdered and many women raped.

### Congolese Approach to Uganda

When Mr. Joseph Kabemba, Congolese Chargé d'Affaires in London, recently visited Uganda as a special envoy of his Government, he told Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister, that his mission was to try to normalize relations, express regret for the bombing of Uganda territory, and offer compensation for the damage done.

In reply Dr. Obote said that troops of the Congolese National Army had on several occasions entered Uganda in search of food, and that they had been given all possible hospitality; they had been disarmed but not arrested, and had all been repatriated.

Referring to foreign volunteers, the Prime Minister said that he could not understand how whites from Rhodesia and South Africa could suddenly be considered to regard Congolese Africans as sharing their views and objectives, considering that they and their Governments thought Africans in Southern Africa to be just one step beyond monkeys.

If the Congolese Government established effective administration on its side of the border, trade relations could be started again. The offer of compensation for damage done in Uganda by Congolese aircraft would be considered and the decision conveyed in writing to Mr. Tshombe.

According to a Leopoldville broadcast, Dr. Obote also said that Uganda had rounded up and disarmed more than 300 Congolese rebels who had planned to re-enter the Congo for further attacks.

### Rebel Leaders Meet Again and Disagree

Rebel leaders from the Congo met last week in a heavily-guarded Sudan Government building in Khartoum. Among those present were Messrs. Christophe Gbenye, Gaston Soumialot, Thomas Kanza, and General Nicholas Olenga. The Prime Minister of the Sudan, Sirr al-Khatim al-Khalifa, also attended some of the meetings.

A 20-member Supreme Council of the Revolution had been established in Cairo some weeks earlier for the purpose of broadening the base of the rebel "government", with Mr. Gbenye as "president". Serious differences between the rebel leaders have, however, not been solved, some still openly blaming others for the rebel defeat.

There is believed to have been considerable pressure for the

removal of Olenga as commander of the rebel forces, and when his colleagues flew south to Juba he remained in Khartoum.

Later it was said that he had telegraphed to the Presidents of Algeria, U.A.R., and Kenya alleging that his return had been prevented by the Sudanese Prime Minister, who must therefore bear responsibility for possible failure of the Congolese revolution. His allegation has been denied.

## Congo Rebel Dump Destroyed in Sudan

A CONGOLESE REBEL DUMP of ammunition and petrol several miles inside the Sudan was destroyed last week by troops who pursued a retreating rebel force across the frontier.

The dump was known to contain supplies flown in Czechoslovak and Egyptian aircraft to Juba, whence they had been forwarded by Sudan Government lorries, allegedly under Sudan Army guard. Rebel bands had made raids into the Congo from this and other bases in the Sudan.

One such contingent, which attempted to take Niangara a few days ago, was driven off leaving 40 dead, among them the young son, aged about 12, of the Congolese commander. Sergeant-Major David Chaloner, formerly of the Rhodesian Light Infantry, was killed in the action.

Mr. Dominique Diur, president of the Lualaba Province, and other Ministers and senior officials were arrested last week. Mr. Munongo, lately Minister of the Interior and now Minister of Justice in the Central Congolese Government, flew to Kolwezi, the provincial capital, saying that his purpose was "to take measures against a corrupt government". There were about 50 arrests.

## Minister Rebukes "Communist-Minded"

NATIONALIZATION of Kenya's major industries having been demanded by the Kenya African Workers' Congress, meeting in Kisumu, the organizing secretary of the Nairobi branch of the Kenya African National Union criticized the resolution as most harmful to the country's industrial development, and next day Mr. Arap Moi, Minister for Home Affairs, told a crowd near Kapsabet that the Communist-minded people in Kenya who wanted factories and farms to be nationalized were ignorant and short-sighted.

According to a broadcast from Addis Ababa, he continued: "The Government and people of Kenya do not want Communist ideas to spread into our country, because we are guided by a policy of non-alignment and do not lean to East or West. Communists should leave Kenya alone and not confuse the country."

Rumours that the Government would take over the large farms, break them up, and distribute them to landless persons were vicious lies, and must disturb the agricultural industry and undermine the spirit of co-operation. He gave warnings against idleness, excessive drinking, and stock theft.

## Mr. Okello Expelled

MR. JOHN OKELLO, who called himself a "field-marshal" when he led the Communist revolution in Zanzibar last year, has been expelled from Kenya. Police took him from a hotel in Nairobi last week and drove him to the border with Uganda, of which he is a national. He was ordered not to return to Kenya. On arrival in Kampala he told reporters that he had been taken to the frontier by eight policemen in two cars, adding: "I do not see anything wrong in being given policemen to escort me. A big man should be escorted wherever he goes."

The Government of Zambia is anxious to buy the *Central African Mail*, Lusaka, and is negotiating with the main proprietor, Mr. David Astor, editor of the *Observer*. The *Mail*, started in 1960 by Mr. Richard Hall, has given prominence to the African nationalist viewpoint.

Students of Addis Ababa University who clashed with the police have been reprimanded by the Emperor. He told their representatives that some of them were poisoning the minds of fellow students and conspiring to the country's detriment.

## Fastest Ship for Southern African Trade Cargo Vessel With Pace of Liners

THE SOUTHAMPTON CASTLE, which sails today on her maiden voyage to Durban, has cost the British and Commonwealth Shipping group about £3m. and sets new standards in function, automation, speed, and accommodation.

As to function, she and a sister ship, now nearing completion, are to join the Union Castle Line's five most modern passenger liners in maintaining the weekly mail service to the Cape but to a new timetable, the voyage being cut from 13½ to 11½ days.

Departure from Southampton will be at 1 p.m. each Friday from July, but in two cases in seven no passengers will be carried. The reduction in berths available by the line will be from 38,000 to 33,500 annually, mainly in the first class; Sir Nicholas Cayzer, the chairman, told a party of guests aboard the ship on Monday that that was thought prudent when the era of supersonic flight was near. The two new ships would give the company a breathing space of about five years in which to observe developments and make further plans.

### Most Powerful Diesel Cargo Liner

SOUTHAMPTON CASTLE, 13,152 tons, the most powerful diesel cargo liner afloat, has been built to maintain a cruise speed of 22½ knots in any sea conditions, and has so great a reserve of power that in her trials, when heavily loaded, she topped 25 knots though using only 28,000 of her 34,720 h.p. It is assumed that in case of need she could reach about 30 knots.

To such lengths have automation been carried that the engine room watch consists only of one officer in the control room and another outside. In a normal vessel of the size there would be five officers and five ratings on duty.

On her maiden voyage the ship carries about 8,000 tons of mixed cargo.

She has a crew of 60 officers and men under Captain Alan Freer. Everyone aboard has his own air-conditioned cabin.

## Rhodesia's New Cabinet

(Continued from page 605)

MR. ARTHUR PHILIP SMITH, who continues as Minister of Education, was born in Doncaster, England, in 1913, educated at Loughborough College and Uppingham, and was in business in Britain until 1951, being a director of various companies in the Midlands, vice-chairman of the Federation of Wire Rope Manufacturers of Great Britain, and for three years a member of Tickhill Urban District Council. When he left to live in Rhodesia he was chairman of Edge & Sons, Ltd., Shifnal. He was elected to the Rhodesian Parliament in 1962.

### Mr. J. H. Howman

MR. JOHN HARTLEY HOWMAN, one of the two new members of the Cabinet, had previously held office as Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of Local Government, under Mr. Winston Field, with whom he resigned last year. Now, with the strong support of his former leader, he becomes Minister of Immigration, Tourism, and Information. He was born in Selukwe in 1918, educated at Plumtree School, qualified as an attorney, and became a partner in a leading law firm. He served throughout the last war in the Rhodesia Regiment and then in the King's African Rifles. As a young man he played hockey for Rhodesia. Elected to Parliament in 1962, he was returned unopposed at last month's general election.

After announcing his new Cabinet Mr. Smith said: "We have never tried to pretend to anyone that we were not intending independence. If things got to a stage when we are going to lose our civilization we are going to resort to this in the end".

In a television interview on Saturday he hinted that he expected proposals from H.M. Government when the British High Commissioner returned next day from London.

The correspondent in Salisbury of the *Sunday Times* telegraphed that the composition of the new Cabinet indicated a relaxation of attitude, the strongest pointers being the dropping of Mr. Gaunt, "whose often belligerent public statements were an embarrassment both to Mr. Smith and Mr. Winston Field", and the restoration to office of the "moderate" Mr. John Howman, who resigned a year ago with the latter "because he rejected unconstitutional action".

The dispatch added that Mr. Howman's acceptance of the Information portfolio had been received by the Press with "satisfaction and relief", his predecessor, Mr. Pieter van der Byl, "having been unable to halt the deterioration in the relationship between the Press and the Information Service".

Mr. Joseph Gondo has been elected Leader of the Opposition by the Parliamentary Caucus of the Rhodesia Party, which won 10 of the 15 African (B roll) seats. He is the first African to lead the Opposition in Rhodesia.

## Kenya Government Broadcast

(Continued from page 606)

tunism, self-seeking, and clash of personalities to creep in and interfere with the realization of legitimate goals of a liberation movement.

"It is also known that often enough Colonial administrators assisted by other foes of African freedom work out schemes designed to frustrate nationalist advance. Conditions now obtaining in Rhodesia have this aim. Government-paid chiefs are being posed as the representatives of the people while the people's recognized leaders are rotting in jail.

"What is disconcerting, however, even to your ardent supporters—among whom the Kenya people rank high—is that so much of your energy is being dissipated fighting one another. Your own party propagandists are not helping the nationalist cause when they trot the globe stressing 'irreconcilable division' between Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. The O.A.U. has taken the correct attitude when it urges the formation of a united front to accelerate the liberation of Rhodesia.

"This is the time to sink your differences, which after all are not fundamental, and rally together for the final elimination of colonialism from Rhodesia".

The Zambia-East Africa rail link has now been approved by the East African Common Services Authority.

Average maize yields of 25 to 30 bags to the acre, and in one case of 46 bags, have been reported by 65 African farmers on a pilot irrigation scheme on the Shashi River, Matabeleland.

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# DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES LIMITED

*Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa*

*From the statement by the Chairman, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer*

## RECORD SALES

Sales by the Central Selling Organisation were a record for the fourth successive year and, at £133,186,000, exceeded the previous year's figures by £17,207,500—this increase is due in part to the higher level of gem diamond prices which were brought into effect in February 1964. Diamond stocks held by the Group at the end of the year amounted to £13,019,500 as compared with £9,264,000 at the end of 1963; these stocks were of normal size for the needs of efficient operation.

## PRODUCTION

Production of Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa and of the Premier Mine increased substantially, as did the production in Namaqualand from Annex Kleinzee. At Jagersfontein production will continue up to about 1970, when, in all probability, the mine will have reached the end of its life. To replace the operations at Jagersfontein, consulting engineers are studying the economics of reopening the Koffiefontein mine. Prospecting is also being carried on at the Voorpoed mine in the Orange Free State.

## INCREASED PROFITS

The Group profit for the year, before tax, amounted to £54,166,500, compared with £39,627,500 in 1963. The Group profit attributable to De Beers, after providing for taxation and deduction of minority interests, increased to £34,834,500 from £24,964,000 in the previous year. Taxation absorbed £14,320,500, an increase of £2,886,500 over 1963.

## TAXATION INCREASE

In this year's budget, the Minister of Finance announced a five per cent. surcharge on income tax for the current year and the year ending 31st December, 1966. In addition, a loan levy is to be imposed on taxable profit for the latter year. The rate of income tax now applicable to diamond mines is, therefore, 47½ per cent. to which a loan levy equal to 2½ per cent. of taxable income must be added. Furthermore, the price received by the companies for their product (excepting Jagersfontein which enjoys a special exemption) is reduced by 10 per cent by the Diamond Export duty. Overall, therefore, the taxation applicable to diamond mining is very high indeed and, in spite of the very satisfactory current rate of net profits achieved, causes considerable concern for the future.

## MARINE DIAMOND CORPORATION

The agreement made with Marine Diamond Corporation envisaged a public flotation of the shares in that company. All parties to the agreement have, however, come to the conclusion that this would be undesirable at this stage and a new agreement has therefore been recently entered into. This provides for the transfer to Marine Diamond Corporation of the foreshore concession contiguous to the Marine Diamond Corporation concession in consideration of the issue to Consolidated Diamond Mines of sufficient shares to acquire a 29 per cent. interest in Marine Diamond Corporation.

## MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS

Last year reference was made to the problems facing a South African company carrying on business in many of the newly independent African states. A similar situation arose in Tanzania over our investment, jointly with the Government, in Williamson Diamonds Limited, and we have handled this difficulty in a similar way. That investment is now held by a

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| GROUP PROFIT BEFORE TAX . . . . .   | £54,166,500  |
| PROFIT ATTRIBUTABLE TO<br>DE BEERS AFTER TAX . . . . .                      | £34,834,500  |
| MARKET VALUE OF<br>NON-DIAMOND INVESTMENTS<br>AND NET CASH ASSETS . . . . . | £144,212,000 |

company which is registered and managed outside the Republic of South Africa, and is not a subsidiary of De Beers. The Government of Tanzania continues to recognise that the national interest is best served by the policy of maintaining price stability in the world diamond market, and there is no reason to fear that this change, any more than the similar changes reported last year, will disrupt the centralised marketing organisation in London.

## NON-DIAMOND INTERESTS

On 31st December last the market value of the non-diamond investments of the Group, taking market value for quoted and balance sheet values for non-quoted investments was £106,155,000 compared with £94,440,000 a year ago. The net current assets of the Group at the end of last year amounted to £65,060,000 compared with £62,306,000 at the end of 1963. After deduction of minority interests, the total value of the non-diamond investments and net cash assets attributable to De Beers was £144,212,000 compared with £131,651,500 the previous year.

## CENTRAL SELLING ORGANISATION

The value of diamonds available for sale through the Central Selling Organisation increased by nearly 40 per cent between 1962 and the end of last year and it is anticipated that there will be a further increase this year and during 1966. Even allowing for the fact that gem prices were raised on average by five per cent in 1963 and by ten per cent in 1964, these figures show a very substantial increase in the diamonds becoming available. The principal contributory factor was the increased production of the De Beers Group mines in South and South-West Africa, and the additional production of those mines coming into operation, to which I referred earlier, should ensure that this trend continues. In recent years we have, more often than not, had to deal with a shortage rather than with an over-supply of gem diamonds, and at present no reserve stocks are held. While therefore, in times of recession, we have experienced no great difficulty in maintaining the basic price structure of the industry, in times of strong demand we have had considerable difficulty in meeting our customers' requirements: Hence prices in the open market from time to time have substantially exceeded those which we seek to maintain and which we consider wise in the interests of long term stability. For all these reasons, therefore, I believe that the steps we are taking to raise production in our Group, and so increase the volume of goods available to the Central Selling Organisation, is fully justified and will not only make possible a larger volume of trade, but will increase the stability of the industry.

*Copies of the Annual Report and Accounts are obtainable from 40 Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.1.*

## Charter Consolidated's First Report

CHARTER CONSOLIDATED, LTD., has issued a preliminary report and approximate consolidated balance-sheet as at April 1. It shows the results of the merger of the Chartered, Central Mining, and Consolidated Mines groups.

Issued capital is £24.4m. in 5s. shares. Quoted investments with a market value of nearly £118m. stand in the books at £68.9m., and unquoted holdings of a book value of £22.8m. are valued by the directors at £26.2m. Fixed assets stand at £2.6m., and current assets less current liabilities total nearly £11.9m. Revenue reserves exceed £52m. and capital reserves £27m. There are outstanding debenture stocks for just over £1m.

The net asset valuation is thus more than £156m., of which 57.4% is represented by quoted investments. Of the investments 42.9% are in South Africa, nearly 16% elsewhere in Africa, more than 23% in North America, and rather more than 11% in the U.K.

Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans is the chairman, and Messrs. S. D. H. Pollen, H. V. Smith, and W. D. Silson (managing director) are deputy chairmen.

The other members of the board are Sir Keith Acutt, Comte T. de Feuilhade de Chauvin, Sir Frederick Crawford, and Messrs. A. Chester Beatty, J. E. H. Collins, C. W. Engelhard, H. St. L. Grenfell, J. O. Hambro, H. F. Oppenheimer, P. J. Oppenheimer, Evelyn R. A. de Rothschild, T. P. Stratton, and T. Muir Warden.

A local committee in Rhodesia consists of Sir Henry McDowell and Messrs. T. C. A. Birley, I. M. Cowap, and H. H. Taylor.

## Anglo American Corporation

ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., which has large Central African interests, especially in mining in Zambia, reports profits after tax for 1964 at R27,460,000, compared with R23,644,000 and R19,565,000 in the two previous years. Dividends take almost R15.5m. (R12.9m. and R11.3m.), ordinary shareholders receiving 120%. After adding R12m. to the general reserve, bringing it to R103.4m., the carry-forward is R29.9m. Quoted investments with a book value of R140m. have a market value of R374m. The issued capital is R17.4m.

The copper mines of the group produced 350,588 long tons of finished copper, equal to 55% of the total Zambian output.

The corporation and its associated companies now hold 30% of the issued capital of Charter Consolidated, Ltd., which recently acquired the entire issued share capital of the British South Africa Company, Central Mining and Investment Corporation, and Consolidated Mines Selection Co.

Anglo American's interests in Rhodesia, merged last month with those of the Chartered Company, are to be acquired by Anglo American Corporation (Rhodesia), Ltd., hitherto Rhosouth, Ltd. Zambian Anglo American, Ltd., will hold 47.7% of the shares and the Charter Consolidated group 36.9%.

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer is the chairman and Sir Keith Acutt and Mr. R. B. Hagart are the deputy chairmen. The directors in Zambia and London are Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg and Mr. W. D. Wilson.

## Tanzania and Williamson Diamonds

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER refers in his annual statement to shareholders of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., to Williamson Diamonds, Ltd., a company in Tanzania equally owned by the Government and De Beers, who have transferred their investment to a company registered and managed outside South Africa and not a De Beers subsidiary.

"The Government of Tanzania continues to recognize that the national interest is best served by the policy of maintaining price stability in the world diamond market", says Mr. Oppenheimer, "and there is no reason to fear that this change will disrupt the centralized marketing organization in London. By the same token, the Government of Tanzania did not wish to cut itself off from the benefit of our technical knowledge and experience of diamond mining, and this had been preserved by the appointment of Anglo American Corporation (Central Africa), Ltd., registered and managed in Zambia, as consulting engineers to Williamson Diamonds".

June 10 is to be budget day in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania.

Zambia has arranged to buy 250,000 lb. of butter from Kenya.

A trade delegation of four members from the United Arab Republic is visiting Zambia.

Italy is to buy from Rhodesia during the next six months beef to the value of £500,000.

A £192,700 contract for petrol tankers for Rhodesia Railways has been won by a company in Salisbury against competition from Britain, South Africa, Japan and Spain.

Just over 10m. lb. of tobacco leaf were sold in the 10th week of the Salisbury auctions for an average of 38.26d. per lb. Sales for the season so far total 77.7m. and average 34.80d.

David Whitehead & Son (Holdings), Ltd., Lancashire, are sponsoring at £1.2m. cotton mill in Malawi. C.D.C. will take one-third of the equity and make a capital loan of £150,000.

Rhodesia's Tobacco Marketing Board has announced that in 1964 growers had a record average outturn of 1,174 lb. per acre, an increase of 108 lb. on the previous highest yield (in 1961).

The 1965 Overseas Survey of Barclays Bank D.C.O. runs to 205 pages. Excellently illustrated, it succinctly summarizes economic conditions in all the territories in which the bank operates.

Seltrust Investments, Ltd., a Selection Trust subsidiary, reports profits after tax to March 31 at £1,753,359 (£1,425,019), of which dividends take rather more than £1.5m., leaving a carry-forward of £262,496.

Selection Trust, Ltd., reports profits after tax to March 31 at £2,490,739, against just under £2m. in the previous year. Shareholders receive 3s. per share, taking almost £1.5m. The carry-forward is rather more than £1m.

John Laing & Son, Ltd., civil engineering contractors with Central African interests, report net profits for 1964 at £1.8m. after tax of £1.3m. The 1963 figures were £1.1m. and £687,858. Shareholders are to receive 12½% (84%).

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd., which has large interests in Central Africa, estimates that if the U.K. budget passes into law without amendment the company would need to earn £3.3m. more next year and about £2.3m. thereafter to maintain its existing dividend rates.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers with large East African interests, announce that Philadelphia National Bank is to subscribe for 100,000 of their ordinary £1 shares at 42s. through an investment subsidiary, which will then hold 12½% of the issued ordinary capital.

De Beers Industrial Corporation, Ltd., which has large Central and East African interests, chiefly through its 50% holding in African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., reports profits after tax for 1964 at R4.8m., compared with R3.9m. and R3.8m. in the two previous years. Investments stand in the books at R31.6m. The issued capital is R24m.

## During 42 years...

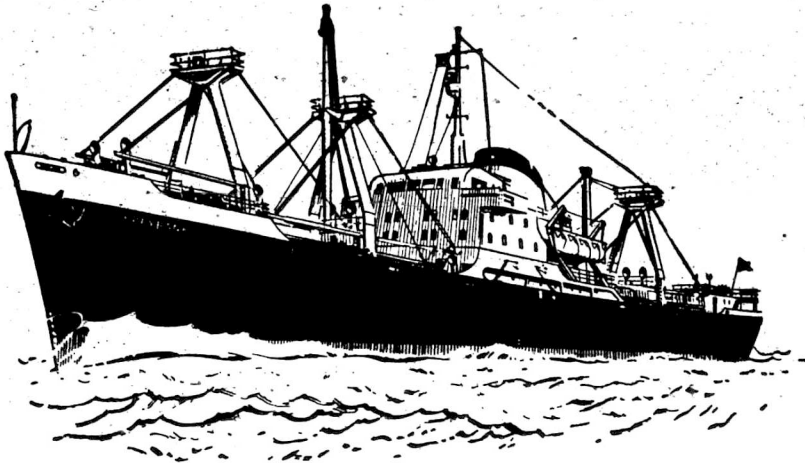
the Rhodesian Milling Company has developed into the largest organization of its kind in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Its two principal products — Gloria Flour and Rhomil Stock-feeds are household names throughout Central Africa. Representatives are stationed at most centres to give advice and assistance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

THE RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY (PVT) LIMITED

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|---------------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|
| † CITY OF LIVERPOOL |         | —       | —           | June 1  |
| § ADVENTURER        |         | June 2  | June 7      | June 15 |
| † HEREFORDSHIRE     |         | June 16 | June 21     | June 29 |

\* If inducement. † also calls PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN (omits ZANZIBAR).  
§ also calls PORT SUDAN and ADEN.

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