

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1965

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

IN AN IDEAL WORLD countries enjoying high standards of living might automatically accept an obligation to give generous assistance to others in manifest need, who, in such a world, could be confidently expected to apply such help responsibly. Ignoring the Basic Facts.

In our present world, unhappily, idealism prevails neither in the "have" nor in the "have-not" nations, and the course of prudence for political leaders would therefore be to recognize that harsh fact of national and international life and act accordingly. As everyone knows, however, that is precisely what the overwhelming majority of politicians steadfastly refuse to do. The tragedies of Africa and Asia in recent years are, indeed, the direct product of their deliberate refusal to found policy on basic truth. They have allowed pedants and professional propagandists, often of the wildest theories, to exercise ever-increasing and ever more dangerous influence, thereby gravely prejudicing the general good and seriously misleading public opinion, for appeasement-minded operators of newspapers and radio and television channels have not been concerned to challenge the follies and faithlessness of men temporarily exercising political power. Strong vested interests have consequently been created, especially, among bureaucratic, academic, and political careerists. Though these considerations have obvious bearing upon the problem of aid to underdeveloped countries, there is no hint of them in the White Paper presented to Parliament last week on the work and plans of the Ministry of Overseas Development. Readers of that document who know little or nothing about countries which invoke and receive British aid will find the booklet persuasive, but those with some knowledge of the distribution of largesse will be likely to entertain reservations.

They may for instance recall the irony of the situation that while the United Kingdom Government aims to devote at least one per cent of the gross national product to overseas aid, member States

**British Funds for "Freedom-Fighters"** of the Organization of (non-existent) African Unity (all

the former British members of which repeatedly solicit financial assistance from Britain) have agreed to devote one per cent of their public revenues to a so-called Liberation Committee for the training of "freedom-fighters" for sabotage and other crimes-against Rhodesia (a member of the Commonwealth), Mozambique, and South Africa. Some of these thugs have been arrested in Rhodesia and have testified in court that they were instructed, sometimes by Chinese Communists, to murder Rhodesian farmers and their families and destroy their properties. United Kingdom Ministers should obviously have declined as a matter of elementary principle to pay any money of British taxpayers to any country implicated in such dastardly conspiracies, particularly against a member of the Commonwealth (or, in the case of Portugal, an ancient ally). African Ministers, having a marked dictatorial streak themselves, would have understood a firm stand.

Noting and despising the British Government's weakness in this connexion — as in practically every other major matter since the disastrous Macmillan-Macleod régime began to wreck

**Impudent Expectations.**

British East and Central Africa early in 1960—they have privately held British negotiators in contempt, and have produced more and more grandiose projects which depend upon vast expenditures by the Western world. Only a

few days ago, for example, Kenya Ministers announced in London that their development plan had been expanded to cost £327m. in the next six years, and that fifty-one per cent of that total was expected to be provided from outside Kenya—whose Mau Mau rebellion, the foulest revolutionary movement in British African history, cost Britain some £50m. But to mention Mau Mau or “freedom fighters” is considered highly indecent in the left-wing circles which

so greatly influence British policy nowadays; and in that regard most Tory M.P.s. are as conformist as the most sentimental Socialists. Not even one of them has campaigned against British subventions to Governments which openly finance military and para-military training of Africans who are incited against Britons in Rhodesia. These thoughts should be kept in mind when reading the extracts from the White Paper which appear in this issue.

## Notes By The Way

### *Hypocritical Propaganda*

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE of the Governments of Uganda and Soviet Russia, from which extracts appear on another page, condemns Rhodesia for “the policy of terror and mass reprisals conducted against the indigenous population by the racist Government”, and declares complete solidarity “with the people of Rhodesia who are fighting for their liberation and against the transformation of their country into a racist State against the will of the Africans who are in the majority”. Hypocrisy could scarcely have misrepresented the facts more completely. Both the signatories are perfectly well aware that the only “policy of terror” in Rhodesia has been that operated by the two African nationalist parties. They are equally well aware that there have been no “mass reprisals”, and that action by the Government has been confined to the organizers, inciters, and executants of thuggery and other deeds subversive of law and order.

### *Rooted in Falsehood*

THE MEN IMPRISONED and restricted for these crimes number perhaps one in every two thousand of the African population. To describe that precautionary sanction as “mass reprisals” is nonsense. It is similarly absurd to depict as a “racist Government” one which accepts the 1961 Constitution, which makes it absolutely certain that at some future date political control of the country will pass to the African majority. Any Administration which was really “racist” would have had no truck with such a Constitution. Of course, it does not suit either the Communists or the newly-independent African States to admit these facts, for their ceaseless propaganda against Rhodesia is rooted in falsehood and fed by further deliberate misrepresentation.

### *Parliamentary Nonsense*

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, has again declared his pride in his Parliament—assuredly the most sycophantic of Commonwealth legislatures. Since that body lacks all distinction, or even normality, his pleasure must spring from the unvarying obsequiousness of the Members (all of them personal nominees), who have reduced the proceedings in the House to a level which a secondary school debating society would find intolerable. The only topic in the Malawi Parliament day after day is Dr. Banda—the short form of reference to whom is “The Honourable the Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda, life president of the Malawi Congress Party”; as often as not his abject

adulators add “father of the nation, father of the Malawi Congress Party, our great leader”, and not infrequently his name is coupled with that of Christ and he is addressed as “Saviour” and “Redeemer”. The official Hansard of a day's transactions may contain page after page, sometimes a dozen or more, of this type of vacuous, fulsome, stale and tiresome fawning.

### *Malawi Make-Believe*

IT IS STRANGE that Dr. Banda should still crave these childish panegyrics; but he continues to demonstrate delight in the humbug, and, after hours of such nonsense, expresses his pleasure and proceeds to compliment the House on its high standards! That they could be lower is inconceivable. As part of their routine flattery of the excitable and irascible dictator, Ministers corroborate the ritual assertions of backbench Members that every idea, every initiative, is that of the Ngwazi—which can mean only that what purports to be a Cabinet is in fact merely a one-man band. Oblivious to the incongruity of the situation, Dr. Banda reciprocates with autocratic assurances that his present set of Ministers are wonderful, eclipsing the “boys” whom he dismissed 11 months ago—after regularly praising them with similar extravagance, ostentation, and unreality.

### *Singular Independent*

INDEPENDENTS are no more welcome in African Parliaments than in European, for nowhere do large political parties appreciate M.P.s. who decline to accept their dictatorship. President Nyerere of Tanzania, founder of the Tanganyika African National Union, has recently spoken in the National Assembly of a most unusual Independent in that country. He said: “Only one Independent has ever been elected to this House in opposition to T.A.N.U.—and he was one of those rare exceptions which truly prove the rule: he was a member of T.A.N.U. who continued to recruit members for T.A.N.U. even during that very campaign in which he was opposing T.A.N.U.'s official candidate”.

### *Publish and Be Damned*

KENYA, which sends its Ministers on begging missions round the world, has nevertheless incurred the expense of publishing a 43-page booklet epitomizing the reports of its Public Accounts Committee from 1952 to 1962! To send such a document to London well into 1965 is scarcely a demonstration of financial prudence or even elementary common sense.

# Rhodesia Expects Independence Outside the Commonwealth

## Britain's Terms Committed to Paper, Says Mr. Ian Smith

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told a Congress of the Rhodesian Party in Salisbury on Saturday that the country's independence, however achieved, would probably be outside the Commonwealth. If it became necessary to take independence by unilateral action, that could be done without danger.

As a result of his recent talks with the Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, the Rhodesian Government now knew the width of the gap to be bridged in the negotiations for independence. The British Government had put the facts on paper, and that was an advance. While no miracle had occurred, the Cabinet was pleased with the discussions, though there was quite a long way to go. Patience was therefore necessary. It was a matter of timing.

"We are continually moving towards our goal", the Prime Minister continued. "When we find that we are not moving and believe that we have run up against a brick wall, then we go on to the next thing. But I must issue the warning that even if we manage to negotiate our independence with the British Government I believe that it will be out of the Commonwealth — for two reasons.

### Afro-Asian Obstructionists

"I have the feeling that it would be very difficult for the British Government to negotiate anything with us which would be acceptable to the Afro-Asian bloc. Secondly, if the Commonwealth is going to continue embracing countries which are openly Communist and prepared to train saboteurs to come back here and sabotage a fellow Commonwealth country, then if Britain or anyone else thinks we want to stay in such an organization they must be mad".

The Rhodesian Government had not been prepared to take unilateral action over independence without knowing the full consequences and how to overcome the problem.

"If we had decided to take matters into our own hands 12 months ago it would have proved disastrous. It would have failed miserably, and it would have been the end of this Government and dreams of a glorious future for Rhodesia. Even six months ago, while we had strengthened our case, it would have been doubtful.

"I am very pleased to tell you that today, if we were forced to resort to such action, not only can we carry this out in complete safety inside Rhodesia, but as far as the external position is concerned we have far more sympathy, and even guarantees of official recognition as far as certain countries are concerned.

"A major factor in the negotiations has been that the British Government wants a solution as quickly as possible. The problem stands out like a sore thumb at the United Nations and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, with British politicians tripping over it all the time. They have now come to the conclusion that it should be cleared out of the way".

The statement that independence would probably have to be outside the Commonwealth was greeted by loud and continued applause by some 700 delegates and observers. Mr. Smith then said: "I notice you are not shedding any tears". It was at that point that he referred to the difficulty which Britain would have in negotiating any plan for independence which the Afro-Asian bloc would accept.

Delegates assumed that official recognition after a declaration of independence, if taken, might be expected

from South Africa and Portugal, and possibly also from France and Japan.

It was generally understood that the aim of the Government was to retain a link with the Crown even though independence were outside the Commonwealth. The hope is that the Commonwealth preference on tobacco would continue.

### Standing Ovarions

Several times during the two-day conference Mr. Smith received standing ovations. A resolution pledging party loyalty to him in person, which was passed unanimously and enthusiastically, read: "Congress reaffirms its loyalty to the Prime Minister in person and his deliberations in regard to the vital question of independence without strings".

In one speech Mr. Smith referred to Chinese Communists having taken over the organization of African nationalist parties outside Rhodesia and to newspaper and other statements of such parties being Communist propaganda.

This was the first congress of the party held since Mr. Smith was elected president in succession to Mr. Winston Field in March of last year, when Mr. Clifford Dupont and Mr. William Harper were elected deputy presidents. Mr. Dupont is now Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs, and Minister of Defence, and Mr. Harper is Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of the Public Service.

There was unanimous support for a motion urging the Government to consider legislation to compel publication of the name of the writer of any article on a political issue for a Rhodesian journal.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Lardner-Burke, undertook to investigate the enforcement of restrictive clauses in title deeds in order to prevent Asians moving into European urban areas.

### External Pressure

Mr. Mahgoub, the Sudanese Prime Minister, and President Nyerere said in a joint *communiqué* issued in Dar es Salaam last week that they supported the stand of all other African States that Britain should grant independence to Rhodesia only on the basis of majority rule and on the principle of one-man-one-vote. They urged that immediate steps in that sense should be taken.

President Kenyatta had said a few days previously at a luncheon of the Diplomatic Corps in Nairobi: "Time in Rhodesia is running out. No solution which is not based on majority rule can succeed. As in Kenya, an accepted Constitution can enshrine all safeguards for minorities and stability for economic growth. But the will of the majority must prevail.

"There have been extremist attitudes, threatening to force Rhodesia towards minority seizure of power. There has been protracted negotiation in the apparent hope of finding some compromise solution.

"But the issue is basically simple. It is said that peace is indivisible. Justice is indivisible. This is a question bearing directly on human rights and human dignity, which no political calculation can set aside."

Mr. Kambona, Minister for External Affairs in Tanzania, and chairman of the Liberation Committee of O.A.U., said in Dar es Salaam that Africans "should work and settle for nothing but majority rule in Rhodesia". He alleged that the split between Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., the two African nationalist parties in Rhodesia, "is being used by some Powers to hold back majority rule in Rhodesia".

# "The Times" on British Military Action in Rhodesia

## Adequate Force Could Not Be Found, Says Defence Correspondent

SPECIAL PROMINENCE was given by *The Times* a few days ago to an article by its defence correspondent which was headed "Police Action Plan for Rhodesia Considered: Britain Faces Possibility of Military Intervention".

Journalists in London attributed the contribution to a deliberate "leak", timed for publication just before Parliament rose for the summer recess — as it happened, on August 4, the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1914-18 war.

The Ministry of Defence denied, however, that plans for action by British forces against Rhodesia were being considered.

A Commonwealth Relations Office spokesman said that he had no knowledge of any such plans, and emphasized that Mr. Bottomley, the Secretary of State, had stated several times that any idea of military action against Rhodesia was unthinkable.

These denials were not reported next day by *The Times*.

### Three Possible Causes

Opening with the assertion that planning for possible military intervention in Rhodesia had been under study, though British Ministers were little disposed to such a course, its defence correspondent had suggested that armed intervention might follow (1) internal political dispute involving Rhodesia's own armed forces, (2) a unilateral declaration of independence; or (3) a request from Zambia for military aid from Britain in order to meet a direct or economic threat from Rhodesia — this being considered the most likely contingency.

Military action would, it was stated, induce diplomatic chaos and have a schismatic effect on British politics.

The Defence Ministry had to consider whether Britain could find the men and material necessary to overpower what might be very sizeable resistance in Rhodesia, and whether the morale of British Servicemen would weather the strain of such an operation.

Rhodesia's Army strength was given as 3,400, nearly 1,000 being European officers and men, and her Territorial force at 6,000 whites. Nearly one-third of the 6,500 police are white, and about 20,000 Europeans are enrolled in the police reserve.

The Royal Rhodesian Air Force has 12 Hunter aircraft, 12 Vampires, 12 Canberra bombers, eight helicopters, and a number of transport and reconnaissance aircraft.

The article also said:

### Two Divisions or A Brigade Group?

British defence planners admit that resistance by the whole of Rhodesia's armed forces could be met only with heavy casualties and a massive reallocation of men and resources which present defence commitments would not allow.

Rhodesian officers have claimed that Britain would require at least two divisions to overcome resistance from white Rhodesian forces, even allowing for the defection of their African soldiers and a Native population which would in the circumstances be expected to be unfriendly to the settlers. A more realistic estimate is that a British brigade group, properly equipped and ready on the Zambian border, would be adequate.

It would be hard to find troops in those numbers. The problems of supplying a brigade group with food, petrol and ammunition almost entirely by air would be immense. If the operation lasted long, there would be an additional complication presented by the need to feed the Rhodesian population as well.

The morale of British troops would in the first instance probably depend more on the speedy success, and bloodlessness, of any intervention than on the more delicate political considerations which motivated the officers during the Curragh rebellion in 1914.

It is considered to be a major problem, nevertheless, as the very uncertainty about Rhodesian opposition makes it harder to bank on any policing action being successfully completed in the shortest possible time. The longer the engagement, with the attendant political scenes at home, the

less certain anyone could be that some British Servicemen would not find the strain intolerable.

### Rhodesia's Links with R.A.F. and British Army

There are close ties between Rhodesian units and the British Army. Rhodesian air squadrons have served alongside British squadrons. Officers attend the Staff College. The Queen is Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment.

While the difficulties of the planning problem have been considered in every detail, there appears to have been no move so far within the Services to make certain that the Rhodesian issues are known and understood fully by those members of the forces who are most likely to be called upon if intervention became necessary.

Lord Shackleton, Minister of Defence for the Royal Air Force, said in the House of Lords last Thursday that there was no truth in the statement of *The Times* that serious thought was being given to the problems of planning for possible military intervention in Rhodesia.

"The Government", he said, "is not responsible for what appears in the Press. However, it would be proper on this occasion to say that the Government is surprised and sorry that this wholly speculative article, with its rather sensational headlines, should be published at a time when the whole question of Rhodesia is known to be in a delicate state and negotiations are in train. (Cheers.) I should make it clear that the article is inaccurate and in no way based on official sources".

### Denial "Tucked Away"

Viscount Dilhorne said that the Opposition agreed entirely with the sentiments expressed by the Minister, and added: "I hope that his answer will get at least equal publicity to the original statement and not be tucked away in the middle of a column".

[It was so "tucked away", being placed under the heading "Rhodesia Report Denied" about the middle of a column on the Parliamentary page, one which many readers would be likely to skip. No reference to the denial of the report appeared in the main news page, on which the original article had been published under a double-column heading.—Ed.]

*The Times* did, however, publish a brief letter from Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., saying: "Dr. Banda rightly described as impracticable suggestions such as your defence correspondent's that British armed force might be used against Rhodesian fellow-subjects and comrades-in-arms. These repugnant speculations tend further to diminish British and enhance South African influence in Rhodesia".

Later it published a letter from Mr. Q. H. M. Gage, saying:—

"The article concerning possible military intervention in Rhodesia has already been denied by H.M. Government. There is, however, no smoke without a fire, and doubtless your defence correspondent must have had good reasons for reporting what he did.

The possibility of dispatching British troops to Rhodesia is nothing new: according to Sir Roy Welensky, it was contemplated under Mr. Macmillan's Government when the Federation was in being. I feel therefore that your readers should be reminded that any action of this nature would be directed against a minority, 60% of whom are British, and it would be tantamount to fratricide.

These people are 100% loyal to the Crown and all the British way of life stands for. Many of them fought in the British armed forces during the last war, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, himself had a distinguished career with the Rhodesian Air Force. Is it conceivable, therefore, that we should place our Servicemen in a position whereby they are asked to take up arms against their own people?"

*The Times of Zambia* said in a leading article:—  
"If any more evidence were needed of how touchy the situation is, the incredible outburst of Denis Healey, British Defence Minister, surely provides it. Healey called *The Times* of London irresponsible for publishing a report by its defence correspondent. This report said that the British Government had been planning for military action in Rhodesia should there be serious trouble there. What is irresponsible

about that? Britain would be guilty of a scandalous neglect of duty if it had not considered what to do in the case of serious disorder in one of its colonies".

Britain had already promised to intervene in Rhodesia should there be "chaos". President Kaunda would doubtless call for British aid and get it should Rhodesia impose an economic blockade.

"A bit more guts and less fancy talk would get Britain further in doing its duty south of the Zambezi. By attacking *The Times* Mr. Healey had reinforced the confidence of Mr. Smith.

The incident recalled 1961 when Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government planned to "go it alone". The Conservative Government at the time had plans for military action. "Are we to take it the Labour Government has less capacity for action in 1965?"

In Accra, Nigeria, on Sunday Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Secretary, is reported to have said that

Britain "does not want to go to war with Rhodesia". Any unilateral independence move would be "illegal and unconstitutional".

The *Sunday Telegraph* dismissed British armed intervention in Rhodesia as "unthinkable on the plainest political and psychological grounds" continuing:

"Mr. Healey was therefore right to deny newspaper reports that contingency plans for such an eventuality exist. Yet the denial was embarrassing, as the hostile reaction to it in Zambia has shown. In any consideration of the dangerous Rhodesian situation two things should always be taken for granted: that no British Government will grant independence to a permanent minority of whites, and that no British Government will declare war on people of British stock. If there is a solution to the Rhodesian question it can be found only somewhere between these two unarguable principles".

## Rhodesian Prime Minister's Letter to President Kaunda

### Friendly Explanation of Policy Dismissed Discourteously

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Minister of External Affairs in Rhodesia, has expressed regret and concern in Parliament that the many endeavours to make relations with Zambia close and amicable had been unsuccessful.

Because of the importance of the matter he thought it desirable to depart from the customary practice of treating as confidential a communication with another Government, and he therefore read to the House the text of a personal message sent by the Prime Minister to President Kaunda in mid-May, just after the Rhodesian general election. The message had, he said, received scant acknowledgment. It read:—

"Now that the heat and dust of our elections are subsiding it is one of my first concerns to communicate with you to clarify my Government's position on certain matters which appear, understandably, to be exercising the minds of yourself and your Government, and to state unequivocally my Government's position on these matters which are of common concern to our two countries. Many people, even here in Rhodesia, have put many interpretations on the supposed intentions of the Rhodesian Government, but, whatever may be said to the contrary, the following represents my Government's policy so long as I am in charge of it.

#### Will Do Everything Possible to Avoid U.D.I.

"I have noted your own publicly expressed view that a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia would not occur; but nevertheless the impression appears to persist that the Rhodesian Government is about to declare independence unilaterally, and that dire consequences, affecting not only Rhodesia but also neighbouring countries, will follow almost immediately. So far as this much discussed declaration is concerned, I must emphasize that the Rhodesian Government is determined to do all possible to avoid such a step.

"I have said that the purpose of the recent election was precisely to reduce the possibility of such a step becoming necessary, and that we would consider resorting to a unilateral declaration only if the Rhodesian Government was convinced beyond all doubt that all possibilities of achieving independence by negotiation had failed.

"The issue of independence is, of course, a matter for settlement between the British and Rhodesian Governments. Whatever action by other parties may or may not follow, such a declaration would be entirely the responsibility of these parties. Not only therefore is a unilateral declaration an unlikely possibility which it is hoped to avoid, but also it constitutes a hypothetical situation which would affect other countries only to the extent to which they might choose to intervene.

"What I think may more particularly have caused concern to your Government is the possibility of economic retaliation by Rhodesia against neighbouring countries, especially your own. I would like to assure you that Rhodesia has no desire for anything but friendly relations and non-interference by one in the internal affairs of the other. Rhodesia has no wish to indulge in hostile threats, and certainly no intention of wanton aggression against a neighbouring or indeed any country.

"Any action taken by Rhodesia adversely affecting Zambia's economic interests could conceivably result only from hostile prior action taken by the Zambian Government, and would not be taken wilfully or without just and weighty cause or pro-

vocation, particularly in view of the economic interdependence of our two countries and of the close economic ties joining them.

"Secondly, Rhodesia is conscious of her international obligations in regard to such issues as Kariba power, the Railway, and Central African Airways, and will honour the agreements as long as Zambia does likewise.

"It has been suggested that, if Britain imposed harmful sanctions against Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence, Rhodesia would retaliate in such a way as to harm Zambia's economic interests, industry, trade, and so forth. I should like in conclusion, therefore, to emphasize that Rhodesia will take no initiative to involve Zambia to the latter's detriment in any conflict which she may have with Britain.

"The Government remains hopeful that the independence issue can be satisfactorily settled through negotiation with the other party concerned, viz. the British Government, and sees no reason why the well-being of any other country need be affected economically or otherwise—least of all that of Zambia, whose interests, and indeed those of any neighbouring and friendly countries, Rhodesia will always hold in the highest respect and avoid deliberately harming by any unilateral and unprovoked action.

"I trust that some of the points I have made above will clarify my Government's attitude towards Zambia and lead to a friendlier understanding between our two countries in the interests of both. I personally regret that our relations have become unnecessarily exacerbated over the independence issue: our close ties and economic interdependence arising from long association and geographical proximity should leave room for a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect in the future transcending our acknowledged difference of political viewpoint".

Mr. Dupont said that the only reply had said: "I thank you for your message of May 14, 1965". It was disappointing that a message of friendship had been treated so cavalierly.

#### President's Attack on Commonwealth Neighbour

Rhodesia would nevertheless continue to work for an amicable and mutually beneficial relationship with Zambia—and this despite the fact that President Kaunda had used the platform of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on June 24 to attack a neighbour and fellow member of the Commonwealth. That showed complete disregard for the Commonwealth concept as understood by Rhodesia.

"He referred to Rhodesia as 'the greatest potential threat to world peace at present' and to himself as 'the foe of imperialism, colonialism, fascism, and inhuman treatment of God's creatures' all of which he said were to be found in Rhodesia. He attacked us for our pass laws—which were abolished long before the Colonial Government removed them from Zambia.

"This Government has no intention of mounting an attack on Zambia—I mean a verbal attack—or on President Kaunda; nor do we propose to reply to his statement to the Commonwealth Society. We are sorry if President Kaunda appears unable to resist the internal and external pressures exerted on him by forces which seek to disturb the quiet serenity and security of Rhodesia. We shall continue to behave correctly as neighbours, and I hope that moderation will prevail in that country".

# PERSONALIA

LORD BROCKWAY is paying his first visit to Russia.

MR. J. R. COTTON has been appointed British Ambassador in the Congo.

THE RT. REV. M. A. HODSON, Bishop of Hereford, has recently visited Zambia.

LORD MALVERN has left London on his return to Rhodesia after a short visit.

SIR ROBERT TREGGOLD has been in hospital in Salisbury for treatment for a heart complaint.

MR. J. ROBERTSON has succeeded MR. J. CAMERON as president of the Rotary Club of Salisbury.

MR. S. E. ISAGI has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Uganda.

Two Kenya Ministers, Messrs. MBOYA and MCKENZIE, visited Leopoldville last week to discuss trade questions.

LORD DE L'ISLE, v.c., has been re-elected to the board of Schweppes, Ltd., a group with Rhodesian and East African subsidiaries.

SIR ROY WELENSKY has accepted the presidency of Salisbury's Parliamentary Debating Society, of which MR. HUGH HODGES is chairman.

MR. S. B. SOMANJE, appointed chairman of the board of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, is treasurer general of the Malawi Congress Party.

A film of Barotseland, televised by the B.B.C. on Monday, was made last year by MR. DAVID ATTENBOROUGH, who is now head of B.B.C. 2.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBURY, who commanded the forces in Kenya when the Mau Mau Rebellion was at its height, has assumed duty as Governor of Gibraltar.

MR. GUY HUNTER, the first director of the East African Staff College, has returned to take charge of a fortnight's seminar on employment and agricultural development.

MAJOR-GENERAL R. E. B. LONG, until 1963 G.O.C. of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army, has been appointed honorary colonel of the 1st Bn. The Rhodesian Light Infantry.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA and two of his Ministers, MR. ARTHUR WINA and MR. HYDEN BANDA, flew to Dar es Salaam last week to discuss the proposed Zambia-Tanzania Railway with PRESIDENT NYERERE.

MR. RUPERT FOTHERGILL, the Rhodesian game warden who organized "Operation Noah" for the rescue of thousands of animals threatened by the rising waters of Lake Kariba, was on Sunday gored in the stomach by a rhinoceros. An R.R.A.F. helicopter flew him to hospital in Salisbury.

By 14 votes to nine Hampstead Labour Party has decided not to nominate its president, MR. ANTHONY GREENWOOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for a seat on the national executive of the party.

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL, lately High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, has expressed astonishment at the Rhodesian Government's decision to buy German cars for Ministers, instead of vehicles assembled in Rhodesia.

MR. JIM REDMAN, the Rhodesian motor-cyclist, crashed in the Ulster Grand Prix on Saturday and fractured a collarbone. He had won the race in the previous three years. Another Rhodesian, MR. B. BEALE, finished second.

MR. GODFREY MUKASA, news editor of Uganda Radio, and MR. ARTHUR BALIKA, of the staff of the Ministry of Information, have arrived in Moscow, where MR. KINTU MUSOKE, president of the Uganda Journalists' Association, is expected shortly.

PRESIDENT NYERERE told a national conference of the Tanganyika African National Union on Friday that in the forthcoming Parliamentary elections none might stand as candidates unless they showed strict respect for the people and the only party in the State.

Arrivals in the United Kingdom from Rhodesia include LADY GRATTAN BELLEW, the REV. A. V. KINGSTON, MR. H. COOMBE, MR. & MRS. J. J. P. DUDLEY, MR. L. B. FEREDAY, MR. R. M. HENSMAN, MR. D. J. LEWIS, MR. & MRS. E. MOIR, MR. & MRS. H. R. SAMUELS, MR. & MRS. E. S. WALLMAN, and MR. & MRS. R. WHIDBORNE.

While BRIGADIER C. M. GRIGG, Commander of the Zambia Army, is absent from the country on leave and then as its representative at a Commonwealth Military Conference in London from September 3 to 19, COLONEL T. N. S. REID will hold the command. BRIGADIER GRIGG and GROUP CAPTAIN W. A. GRIFFITHS have been appointed Ades-de-Camp General.

MR. H. T. MOTE, Mayor of Harrow, and MRS. MOTE flew to Zambia at the week-end in connexion with "twinning" between Harrow and Broken Hill. Seven years ago the brother of the then Mayor of Broken Hill was killed in an accident, his wife was seriously injured, and their daughter, gravely paralyzed, was sent to a hospital near Harrow for treatment. That began the link.

LORD COLE, chairman of the Unilever group, has been invited to serve on an 18-member international advisory committee of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which will be representative of top business leadership in the United States and nine other countries. One of the American members is MR. EUGENE BLACK, a director of the bank, and formerly chairman of the World Bank.

The Sudanese goodwill mission to Tanzania consisted of MR. MOHAMED MAHGOUT, Prime Minister; MR. MOHAMED IBRAHIM KHALIL, Foreign Minister; MR. MOHAMED AHMED ELMERDI, Minister for Commerce; MR. AHMED ELMAHDI, Minister for the Interior; MR. BUTH DIU, Minister of Animal Resources; MR. EMIR ESSAWI, Under-Secretary of the Interior; and MR. S. O. HASHIM, Sudanese Ambassador in Tanzania.

In the "Shadow Cabinet", as reconstructed by MR. HEATH, the new Leader of the Opposition, MR. REGINALD MAUDLING becomes Deputy Leader; SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME takes responsibility for External Affairs in general; MR. SELWYN LLOYD for Commonwealth Affairs; and MR. IAN MACLEOD for Treasury and Economic Affairs. MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Commonwealth Relations Secretary until last year's general election, who had been responsible for Commonwealth and Colonies in SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME'S "Shadow Cabinet", has not been dropped, but is now without departmental responsibilities.

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# Britain's Aid to Emergent States Totalled £189m. Last Year

## Equal to 1% of United Kingdom's Gross National Product

**BRITISH GOVERNMENT AID** to developing countries rose from £81m. in 1957-58 to £109m. in the following year, and then progressively to £189m. last year. For the current year there is not likely to be any reduction.

Kenya received £14.8m. last year in bilateral aid, Tanzania £4.4m., Uganda £2.2m., and the East African Common Services Organization £3m.

In Central Africa the main beneficiary was Malawi with almost £9m. Zambia received just under £4.5m., and Rhodesia £2.2m.

These figures are taken from Cmd. 2736 (H.M. Stationery Office, 5s. 6d.), which describes the work of the Ministry of Overseas Development.

It states, *inter alia*—

"The objective of the British aid programme is to help developing countries raise living standards. Development means more than reducing poverty and unemployment. It means fulfilling aspirations towards steady and continued social and economic progress and the transformation of traditional societies into modern ones. Our aim is to help the developing countries to provide their people with the material opportunities of using their talents, living a full and happy life, and steadily improving their lot. The basis of the aid programme is therefore moral.

### Not A Means of Winning Friendship

"It can at the same time be defined in political terms. International discussion of aid and the programmes to which it gives rise are an important part of international politics. Aid needs to be given over a period. It is not a means of winning the friendship of individual countries, though we are glad to offer aid to our friends. The process of development may sometimes increase strains, for a time at least, and we should not expect aid to be an insurance against political tensions.

"Poverty in a world of growing wealth causes discontent and unrest to which economic and social development is the only possible answer. We must therefore be ready to share our wealth and knowledge. Our balance of payments imposes severe limitations on our capacity to help. This makes it all the more necessary to use our aid to the best effect.

"We recognize the advantages of giving aid through international organizations and intend to increase our contributions in company with other donors as the needs of these organizations grow and as our own resources permit. We intend to give the highest priority to technical assistance; this provides skilled men and women to help in development, and above all in the education and training of local people. It is often a prerequisite for enabling a country to make good use of financial aid.

"Financial aid will remain the largest part of our programme. We believe that preference should be given to those countries and regions where it will have the greatest effect on development in the long run. This will depend above all on their readiness and ability to make the effort to develop.

"Countries which are members of the Commonwealth have a special claim on us. We have provided relatively little to foreign countries. More foreign countries could claim our aid, but there are obvious limits in our present economic circumstances to what we can do in this broader field. We must also avoid dispersing our assistance too widely in amounts which may not make an effective contribution to development. We shall hope, nevertheless, to be in a position to increase our aid to foreign countries as our resources permit.

"We have a special interest in encouraging the expansion of international trade; this will be promoted by increasing prosperity which aid can help to further. By helping to raise incomes in the developing countries we can provide expanding markets for exports and safeguard the supply of our imports and the return on our investment. These are real advantages, and we should seek to secure them as far as we can. But they must be secondary to the primary purpose of aid.

"We give aid because in the widest sense we believe it to be in our interest to do so as a member of the world community. It is in the nature of aid that we should accept an economic sacrifice when giving it. To describe as aid transactions which do not entail such sacrifices would incur risk of frustration and ill-will. This does not mean that the present economic sacrifices cannot yield benefits to us, in the

future. It means that these benefits should not be the main motivation for giving aid and that they must not conflict with development.

"Our total expenditure on all forms of official aid before interest and capital repayments are deducted now represents about two-thirds of 1% of the gross national product; if British private investments in developing countries were included this would bring the total up to almost 1%.

"About a seventh of the total expenditure on bilateral official aid consists of technical assistance; thus at the end of 1964 there were 13,000 British people serving overseas the cost of whose services was being met wholly or partly from British funds.

### Sacrifices

"Aid involves a sacrifice of resources on which there are a number of urgent rival claims. It may mean less productive or social investment at home or a slower rise in personal consumption.

"Some kinds of aid involve a cost to the domestic economy significantly greater than their cost in money. For example, many of the types of goods required by the recipients of our aid are produced by the engineering industries, whose products are of special importance to domestic investment and as commercial exports, both of which are vital to our whole growth programme. Similarly many of the personal skills most needed for the technical assistance programme are of kinds of which Britain herself is in great need, such as those of agriculturalists, engineers, doctors, teachers, statisticians, and economists.

"The more we play our part, the more other countries may be encouraged to do the same. We shall benefit in the long run from the whole process of economic development and the extension of international trade which will be possible if there is an adequate increase in the total flow of aid.

"These benefits, however, can be assured only if we can compete adequately in international trade. The developing countries naturally wish to use aid to buy from the cheapest source, and may therefore wish to use aid from one donor to purchase from another. This need cause concern to a donor country only if its exports are unable to hold their own in the third countries to which this aid might be diverted.

"Britain, like other countries, ties a significant part of her aid to purchases from her own exporters. The tying of aid often reduces its effective value to the recipient, and the ideal solution would be a general untying by all donors. We are exploring in consultation with other donors ways in which the drawbacks of tied aid, from the point of view of developing countries, can be mitigated.

### Regional Co-operation

"International agencies can play a particularly valuable part in encouraging regional co-operation. The Inter-American Development Bank and the African Development Bank are examples of promising instruments of co-operation between the developing countries and with donor countries inside and outside the region.

"If we ask receiving countries to co-operate with each other, donor countries must be prepared to do the same. Competitive national aid programmes which pay little regard to the overall development needs of the receiving country can do more harm than good. Aid policy is discussed between the 14 members of the Development Assistance Committee (D.A.C.) of the O.E.C.D. in Paris. D.A.C. holds at least one meeting a year at which Ministers responsible for aid and development are able to discuss the more important problems. The International Bank has established consortia and consultative groups through which donor countries discuss and plan aid with representatives of receiving Governments.

"We shall give the highest priority to technical assistance. Aid on a bilateral basis will remain the largest part of our programme.

"Until recently grants amounted to nearly half our total programme. The proportion is beginning to fall, since there are fewer dependent territories.

"All donor countries provide a significant part of their aid in loans. It has gradually come to be recognized that many developing countries cannot pay interest at market rates, repay capital, and maintain an adequate rate of development. An increasing burden of debt pre-empt a larger and larger amount of their earnings of foreign exchange. At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva it was agreed without dissent to recommend that, in establishing repayment terms and interest rates, the overall repayment capacity of the borrowing country should be taken into account.

### Criteria for Special Terms

"Terms of the development loans provided by Britain have been progressively softened. The maturity period has lengthened from an average of 15 years to between 20 and 25 years, and in 1963 the Government announced its readiness in suitable cases to extend the period for as long as 30 years. Grace periods on the repayment of capital have been granted to an increasing number of countries for periods extending up to the first seven years of the life of the loan. In 1963 the Government introduced the grant to countries whose position justified it of waivers of interest for periods up to seven years. This has had the effect of reducing the effective rate of interest payable over the life of a loan by about one third of the normal rate, which is based on the rate at which the Government itself can borrow plus a small management charge.

"Useful though the waivers have proved, they do not fully meet the difficulties of the most needy countries, and there is little point in lending more to make debt service on old loans. We have therefore decided to make development loans free of interest in appropriate cases. We have decided to abolish the management charge of one-eighth per cent.

"The economic position of the country concerned rather than the nature of the project should be the decisive economic criterion for the terms of aid. We shall have regard particularly to the relative poverty of the country, together with its present and prospective balance of payments. We shall take into account its efforts to mobilize resources for development and use them effectively and its policy in relation to commercial credit.

"The new policy will involve little, if any, cost to our balance of payments in the immediate future, since countries which receive interest-free loans would probably have received waivers of interest under our previous policy. In the longer term, however, it represents a considerable concession.

### Less Private Investment

"British private investment to the developing countries, excluding portfolio investment and direct investment in oil, has fallen from £90m. in 1960 and 1961 to £60m. in 1962, and appears to have fallen further since.

"The Government has been obliged, as part of the measures to bring our balance of payment into better order, to modify the fiscal treatment of investment overseas in order to reduce the total flow. The flow of private investment overseas which we can support must depend on our ability to pay our way. The Government does not expect the effect on the developing countries to be very great but will watch the situation closely.

"Some of the newest independent countries, particularly in Africa, need professional and technical staff in large numbers to help man their services and in teaching and training of all kinds. But increasingly their requirement is for highly specialized staff to advise and help Governments on particular problems and projects.

"Britain provides these experts. The annual rate of appointments more than doubled between 1961 and 1964 from 900 to nearly 2,000, but the demands by overseas Governments for new British staff increased still faster as newly independent Governments expanded their services and the number of career British officers decreased. The rate of demand has continued to rise. The largest requirement is in teaching, but there are big demands in other professions, including medicine, agriculture, and engineering.

"We should like to see it widely accepted in this country that a professional career should normally include a period of work overseas in a developing country. Those who go abroad must feel sure that they can resume their former employment without prejudicing their home careers and without loss of pension rights. For the British employer in present conditions of full employment the release of an employee to serve for a time overseas represents a real sacrifice. The Government has decided, therefore, that in fields of recruitment where it is important to ensure that British help is available, the home establishments of Government departments and public bodies should be strengthened so as to make it possible to release people more readily.

### Hundreds of New Jobs

"A total of at least 400 posts will be added for this purpose to home establishments in Government departments, universities, technical colleges, etc. The aim will be to build up the numbers to at least 400 in two to three years, and the fullest use will be made of those who have already had experience overseas, as well as of young men and women with suitable qualifications. The professions which we aim to cover in this way include agriculture, forestry, animal health, economics, statistics, educational administration, law, public administration, engineering, architecture, town planning, land survey, and geology.

"Some specialists ought preferably to be in the direct employment of the Ministry. For this a corps of specialists

will be established. Its members will be offered continuing service with the Ministry on the understanding that they will normally be lent to Governments or other authorities overseas, either as their temporary employees under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme, or as employees of the Ministry in technical assistance, or as employees of international agencies. We aim to include in the corps economists, statisticians, financial specialists, and various experts in natural resources. The aim is to build up the corps to about 100 in two to three years.

"In 1962-63 the Government's expenditure on service overseas by volunteers, including cadets, was about £28,000; in the current financial year it will be about £620,000, which covers 75% of the costs incurred by the voluntary societies and includes payment for the work of the British Council overseas on behalf of the voluntary bodies and their volunteers. There are about 900 volunteers overseas. In the autumn the number will rise to about 1,400, and next year to about 1,800.

"The number of students and trainees brought to Britain under the Ministry's programme continues to rise, from just over 2,000 in 1962-63 to nearly 2,800 in 1964-65. Special courses are organized where necessary, notably a course in international law and legal drafting for Government legal officers, the only one of its kind in the world.

"A new Institute of Development Studies is to be established. Its main function will be to organize courses of advanced study on the problems of overseas development in all aspects of economics, social, and administration. Three types of people will be catered for: senior administrators from overseas countries, especially those working in or destined for senior places in planning offices and economic departments; British graduates who want to specialize in problems of overseas development; and British Government officials who will work on the problems of developing countries, whether at home or overseas.

"The Institute will be sited on the campus of the University of Sussex. It will be an autonomous body with its own governing council which will include members drawn from the Government and from other universities and institutions at home and overseas in addition to the University of Sussex.

"It will act as a clearing house for research and training on development problems already being undertaken in Britain and as a centre of documentation. The Institute will be unique in this country in that it will gather together in one organization experts in economics and the other main fields of development studies. The aim is to make it a focal point for work in this field."

## Minister's Statement in Parliament

### "Costly Piece of Window Dressing"

MRS. CASTLE said in the House of Commons on the day on which the White Paper was published that in Britain's present financial circumstances there must be limits to the amount of aid provided, which made it the more necessary that it should be well managed. The problem of helping poorer countries in their problems of development and indebtedness had become increasingly acute, and commitments to aid them must therefore be long-term.

Mr. Sandys: "I sympathize" with the hon. lady having to make a statement when there is really nothing to tell the House. Can she tell us how the rate of disbursements this year compares with the rate last year?

"Does she realize that, even if she is able to maintain the volume of Government aid at approximately the same figure as last year, the total of British economic assistance to underdeveloped countries is bound to fall far below the 1% agreed generally at the U.N.G.T.A.D. conference as a result of the Government's deliberate decision to discourage private investment overseas?"

"Is it not a fact that the new Ministry has merely increased overhead costs without increasing aid? Is it not clear that the hon. lady and her Department have proved to be nothing but a costly piece of political window-dressing?"

Mrs. Castle: "The rt. hon. gentleman can keep his sympathy for himself. I have certainly no need of it. When he has read the White Paper he will find details of important policy changes and advances in this field which are quite remarkable, and outstanding for a period of nine months' economic difficulty in this country. Particularly in the field of technical assistance, we have achieved in nine months what the Secretary for the Department of Technical Co-operation in the previous Government was unable to achieve ever since its formation in 1961.

"Disbursements for this year are not in the White Paper for the simple reason that they are not complete for the year,

but I anticipate that they will be higher than in last year's output. As the rt. hon. Member knows, we are running above the 1% calculated by U.N.C.T.A.D., which includes private investment, and there is no reason to expect that we shall fall below that target at any time."

Mr. Grimond: "The White Paper stresses the shortage of professional and technical personnel in the poorer countries. How does the rt. hon. lady reconcile this with the Government's latest policy announcement, which is to allow such personnel to come into this country without impediment while gravely decreasing the number of unskilled personnel who could come here from the poorer countries of the Commonwealth? Has this policy been agreed with the poorer Commonwealth countries? Have they accepted this decision to encourage these professional people while putting a severe limitation on the number of unskilled persons who may come here?"

Mrs. Castle: "Neither my department nor the Government have done anything to encourage the inflow of this personnel; they have been coming here for years. Many have come for a form of post-graduate training and advanced experience and have then returned to their own countries. No representations have been made to my Department on that point."

"Some unskilled persons will be coming in. In the White Paper we have set out the action we are taking to improve training facilities in this country. In particular, we are really tackling for the first time the problem of industrial training for many people who have come here sometimes for technical training and then have not been able to get the practical experience in industry necessary to complete their course."

Sir Ralph Dudley Williams: "The rt. hon. lady said that expenditure this year would be higher than last year. Has this extraordinary state of affairs been agreed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in view of the difficult balance-of-payments position?"

Mrs. Castle: "Anybody who knows anything about overseas development knows that aid programmes are continuing programmes which cannot be turned on and off like a tap. They are commitments which we make over varying periods to countries who have to make development plans. We would produce world chaos if we were tempted to go back on the series of solemn commitments made as part of Britain's long-term programme of aid."

Mr. Fisher: "I suppose that we should be grateful that in overseas aid, unlike everything else, there is not to be an actual cut. May I ask the rt. hon. lady whether her goal still remains 2% of the national income, as she pressed on us in February 1964?"

Mrs. Castle: "I am absolutely confident that if the previous Administration had got back into power and inherited the economic difficulties we had to face, aid would have been savagely cut".

## Sudan-Ethiopia Agreement on Subversion

THE PRIME MINISTERS of Ethiopia and the Sudan signed in Addis Ababa a few days ago a memorandum binding both countries not to allow their nationals or residents of any other nationality to engage in any activity designed to harm the interests of the other State. The agreement expressly forbids hostile propaganda by publications, radio, or any other media, and prohibits traffic in arms and ammunition of any type which might be used by outlaws, rebels, or secessionists.

Each State is to close immediately all offices established by dissident elements for the conduct of activities harmful to the other party. Neither territory is to be used to train secessionist movements, and neither is to allow anyone granted asylum to engage in activities subversive or hostile to the other State. Existing boundaries are to be respected and incursions across the frontiers are to be prevented.

A joint consultative committee of senior Ministers is to be created.

## Mr. Nkumbula

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, leader of the African National Congress in the Zambia Parliament, has resigned the joint Opposition leadership because eight M.P.s. of his party have declined to obey instructions to boycott the rest of the Parliamentary session because their deputy leader, Mr. Liso, has been suspended for making "unsubstantiated charges" against President Kaunda. Mr. Nkumbula has said that he will not attend Parliament again until Mr. Liso, a cousin, is restored to membership.

## Emperor's Visits to Central Africa

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA was made a freeman of Lusaka within an hour of his arrival in Zambia. During his State visit he flew to the Copperbelt; went underground at the Rhokana mine; opened the Zambia Agricultural Show in Lusaka; attended a morning service in the cathedral in the capital; and flew to Livingstone to see the Victoria Falls and take a trip up the Zambezi.

A joint *communiqué* stated:—

"His Imperial Majesty and President Kaunda agreed that they would hold the United Kingdom Government responsible for any consequences should she grant independence to a minority Government in Rhodesia. The two Heads of State felt in duty bound to remind the U.K. Government that any scheme to grant independence to the minority in that country under conditions similar to the tragic mistake by the U.K. in 1910 when she granted independence to the new Republic of South Africa will not be acceptable to African States."

"They felt surprised that Britain had taken so long to pursue the well-known route to independence in respect of Rhodesia, one of the preliminaries of which is to release the leaders of the majority to take part in constitutional discussions. They therefore agreed to call upon the U.K. Government to take steps to release Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole."

"His Imperial Majesty and the President expressed their utter disappointment at the disunity prevailing in the ranks of nationalists of Rhodesia, who have so far failed to respond to the call of the Organization for African Unity to unite. They have called upon the nationalists to make a united front."

"His Imperial Majesty and the President reaffirmed their determination to strengthen further the Organization for African Unity, and their absolute support of its resolution on border disputes 'that all member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on the achievement of national independence'."

At the end of a short State visit to Malawi, the Emperor and Dr. Banda called for a constitutional conference on Rhodesia, the release of all African nationalist leaders in that country, and the union of the Rhodesian African political parties in order to accelerate the achievement of national independence. They promised to exert all their efforts to help the "liberation" of Rhodesia.

Both President Kaunda and Dr. Banda accepted invitations to Ethiopia.

## "Zambia Mail"

MR. TITUS MUKUPO, director of the Zambia Information Services, has been appointed chairman of Zambia Publishing Co., Ltd., the wholly-owned Zambia Government company registered to conduct the *Zambia Mail*, the new name given to the weekly *Central African Mail*. The other directors are Messrs. U. G. Mwila, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance; N. Tembo, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Mines and Co-operatives; D. J. Lewis, a senior officer in the Ministry of Information and Postal Services; and Mr. Beta, director of Zambia Cultural Services.

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## ISLE OF MAN

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## Rhodesian Railways Board Split

MR. LEO DOMINION, deputy chairman of the board of Rhodesian Railways, said in Salisbury on Monday:—

"It is with regret that I have to report that a major split has occurred in the board of Rhodesian Railways on the subject of the enforced transfer of Rhodesian railwaymen to Zambia. This disagreement cuts deep to the foundations of the unitary system and the inter-territorial agreement, which forms the basis of the present co-operation between Rhodesia and Zambia in the running of the railway system. The underlying principle of the inter-territorial agreement is that the railway undertaking must be run on business lines in accordance with contractual obligations."

The trade union representing white railwaymen had protested against compulsory transfers of some of its members from Rhodesia to Zambia, asked that transfers north of the Zambezi should be restricted to those who volunteered, and claimed that they should receive extra pay. One reason given is that wives of many railwaymen are reluctant to go to Zambia, where some unpleasant incidents involving white women have occurred.

The chairman of the Railways board, Mr. A. R. Kemp, is understood to side with the Zambian member.

## Rebellion in Southern Sudan

THE SUDANESE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Mahgoub, said in Nairobi last week that foreign intervention had caused the split between North and South in his country and that at the right moment his Government would publish documentary evidence of outside interference. He told journalists that more people in the southern provinces had been killed by outlaws than by Sudanese troops, who had, he admitted, killed about 100 at Juba and 72 at Wau last month.

Spokesmen in Kenya for rival Southern Sudanese national

movements told reporters on the same day that Government troops had massacred thousands. They announced that the two parties had agreed to join forces as the Azania Liberation Front, which had asked the Organization of African Unity to intervene urgently with the Sudan Government. Reports from Khartoum that day stated that Southern rebels had almost entirely ignored the call to surrender and that attacks against all rebel camps were therefore to be undertaken. Sixteen rebels had been killed in an attack on one of their training camps.

White mercenaries were alleged to have been seen in action, and the Information Minister announced that unidentified aircraft had crossed the frontier.

Radio Cairo charged "puppet Governments" and mercenaries with aiding Southern secessionists in order to produce "another Congo" alleging that Mr. Tshombe had sent mercenaries into the Southern Sudan. That was promptly denied in Nairobi by representatives of the Sudan African National Union. In Leopoldville it was announced that Congolese troops, including mercenaries, had been strictly ordered not to cross the border.

On Sunday Mr. Mahgoub appealed to the Pope to advise dissidents in the southern provinces to lay down their arms and negotiate peacefully. The Prime Minister has emphasized that the Government is not waging a "religious war" against the non-Muslim south.

## M.P. Suspended by Zambia Parliament

MR. SIKOTA WINA, Minister of Local Government and Housing in Zambia, and Chief Whip of the United National Independence Party, said when he moved the suspension of Mr. Edward Liso, M.P. for Namwala, that he recommended that course to the House because the offender had made false and unsubstantiated allegations against the President of the Republic.

Mr. Liso had developed a very dangerous tendency to be deliberately provocative, to twist facts, and to suggest non-existent facts. Since independence he had conducted in the House a sustained campaign of vilification against the structure, purposes, and policies of the Government, showing a peculiar degree of levity and using the privilege of Parliament to make personal attacks against the Head of State.

"Far too often and far too unnecessarily leaders of small oppositions in African countries tend to call the furies on themselves by behaving in a manner which they would never adopt under a colonial régime. Far too often and far too unnecessarily have we heard interjections from the Opposition, particularly the African National Congress side, that they expect more action than words from us. If the House passes the motion it will be positive proof that we on this side are not going to brook any nonsense in the running of this country... but that the idea must be drummed home that the name of the President must never be taken in vain."

## Women Molested in Malawi

MR. ALEKE BANDA, secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, said recently that when Mrs. Mlango, national chairman of the League of Malawi Women, condemned the wearing of very short dresses, the use of lipstick, and the straightening of hair by Malawi women, she was giving advice, not orders. The Young Pioneers who were molesting such women must now understand that severe action would be taken against them if they continued to interfere with those who disregarded the advice given. It was desirable that the women should not act in such ways, but the choice must be theirs.

## Africanizing the Economy

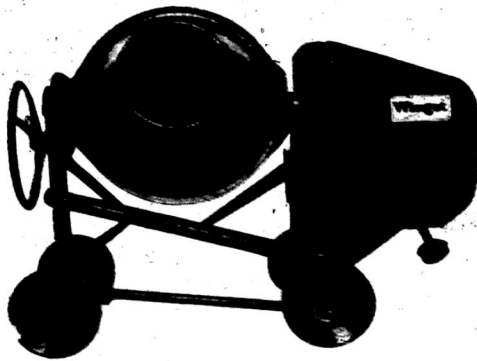
MR. D. MWANYUMBA, Minister for Works, Communications and Power in Kenya, said recently: "The economy of this country will gradually be in the hands of Africans. Just as we are Africanizing the civil service, so our economy will eventually be Africanized."

## Zambia's New Coins

PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S effigy will appear on Zambia's future coins and notes. In commemoration of independence five-shilling pieces bearing his head are shortly to be issued.

## Winget 3½ TL and 5Ts CONCRETE MIXERS

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## Dr. Obote's Visit to Soviet Russia Rhodesia Criticized in Joint Communiqué

DR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, and the Soviet Government issued a long joint communiqué at the end of his eight-day visit to Russia.

It mentioned the desire of both States to strengthen the ties of friendship, to develop economic, commercial, technical, and cultural co-operation, and to support the principle of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social-political systems. Both States, the statement declared, would continue to fight against colonialism in all its forms and to support and assist peoples still under the colonial and imperialist yoke.

"Both sides are concerned over the situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia. They condemn the policy of terror and mass reprisals against the indigenous population by the racist Government of that country. The Soviet Union and Uganda declare their complete solidarity with the people of Rhodesia who are fighting for their liberation and against the transformation of their country into a racist State against the will of the Africans who are in the majority."

"They declare their determination to give assistance in particular to the people of Mozambique, Angola, and so-called Portuguese Guinea who are waging a just and heroic fight for freedom and independence."

"They demand the cessation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Congo and declare their confidence in the Organization of African Unity to help the Congolese people find the political solution to their problems in accordance with their national aspirations and the principle of self-determination."

"The Government of the Soviet Union regards with understanding and sympathy the eagerness of African States to strengthen O.A.U. in the interests of their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism."

"The Government of Uganda notes with satisfaction the positive approach of the Soviet Union to the problem of strengthening African unity."

### Real Friends in U.S.S.R.

Dr. Obote said that the visit had been so satisfactory that he hoped to return to Soviet Russia. He had learned so much and would return home fully convinced that all the countries of Africa had real friends in the U.S.S.R.

Among those who represented Russia in the discussions were Messrs. A. N. Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers; G. S. Dzotsenidze, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; B. N. Pnomarev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; S. A. Skachkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers' State Committee for External Economic Relations; V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; D. F. Safonov, Soviet Ambassador in Uganda; and G. I. Fomin, head of the Third African Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Obote was accompanied by Messrs. S. N. Odaka, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; L. Lubowa, Minister of Commerce and Industry; F. K. Onama, Minister of Defence; J. S. Ochola, Deputy Minister of Tourism; Z. K. Bigirwenkyia, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Y. Engur, Uganda Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; and L. Katagiyira, Acting Secretary for Planning.

During the visit to Japan which preceded that to Russia, Japanese spokesmen gave assurances of a determination to increase substantially the purchase of Uganda products and to send to Uganda within a few days a team which would include buyers of coffee. Because of those assurances Dr. Obote promised to remove the ban on imports from Japan. It was mutually agreed that "positive and more progressive steps should be taken to normalize trade relations between the two countries."

Japan offered various kinds of technical assistance, including the dispatch of Japanese experts to Uganda and the training of Uganda personnel in Japan. In order to help economic development a yen loan equivalent to £1m. was promised.

Poland has offered to send 99 teachers to the Congo. Twenty-three tutors and students from Michigan University, U.S.A., are touring East Africa.

An exhibition of Russian books is being held in the Revolution Bookshop in Zanzibar's People's Club.

Sunday marked the 75th anniversary of the first hoisting of the British flag in what is now the capital city of Rhodesia.

## Working to End White Rule in Africa Organizations Which Attract Communists

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS has emphasized in a letter to the *Spectator* that organizations in Britain which work for the premature destruction of white rule in Southern Africa are inevitably infiltrated by Communist agents.

A week earlier Mr. Colin Legum had protested that a book entitled "The Puppeteers"—which was favourably reviewed in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on its recent publication—had unfairly smeared people like himself who were, he said, not anti-white but against white domination in Africa.

The letter from Major Hastings read:—

"Mr. Colin Legum protests too much. Nobody who knows anything about him would suggest he was a Communist, nor would such a horrid imputation be valid in the case of those high ecclesiastics, members of the House of Lords, or other respectable dignitaries whose names appear in 'The Puppeteers'."

"But let's keep a sense of proportion. In this book there are a couple of dozen organizations listed, varied in origin and composition, but all dedicated to the proposition that European rule in Southern Africa should be ended as soon as possible, and that the Africans should take over. Surely it must be blindingly obvious that any organization with such an aim would attract Communist agents for miles around, and infiltration by the comrades and left-wing allies would follow in no time at all. But facts and figures are desirable, and Messrs. Sorel and Greig have performed a public service in exhuming a mass of them."

"What baffles me is this. Seven, six, or even five years ago optimism about the results of immediate African self-rule might have been pardonable. But now that the picture is plainly visible—the quirk of one-man rule, the Kafka-like nightmare of Ghana, the Congo and Zanzibar, the stamping-out of minorities, the waste and the quarrels and the slaughter—it is surely amazing that the enthusiasm shown by the more respectable patrons of these organizations for African domination everywhere shows no sign of abating."

## U.N.I.P. Banned in Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT has confirmed the proscription in that country of the United National Independence Party, which provides the Government in neighbouring Zambia.

Mr. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Law and Order, told the House that U.N.I.P. had given active support to the two African nationalist parties which were banned in Rhodesia and had harboured African nationalists who had been trained in Ghana, partly by Chinese Communists, for participation in plots to overthrow the Government of Rhodesia.

During further hearings in Gwelo, of charges against 27 Africans, one witness said last week that Rhodesian Africans taken to a training camp in Ghana had been offered the alternative of accepting terrorist training by Chinese and other instructors or of death. Some of them had been tricked into enrolling for training by promises that they were to be given education. When they discovered the deception and tried to leave the camp they were prevented by armed Ghanaian police.

## Portugal Resents Strictures

DR. NOGUEIRA, Portuguese Foreign Minister, protested last week against those passages in the communiqué of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which criticized Portugal. Strong objections had, he said, been made through the British Embassy in Lisbon and the Portuguese Embassy in London.

It seemed that the British Commonwealth was assuming a scope larger, wider, and deeper than the United Nations, which did at least allow countries which were to be criticized to have their case put by their representatives.

## Rhodesia-Katanga Company

RHODESIA-KATANGA CO., LTD.—which owns Kentan Gold Areas, the Zambia Exploring Company, the Zambia Investment Company, and Elgin Central Engineers—reports group profits after tax for the year to March 31 at £217,614, compared with £100,634 in the previous year. Dividends and bonus totalling 20% take £98,189 and the carry-forward is £259,263 in the books of the parent company and £606,517 in those subsidiaries.

Issued capital totals £826,843, and there are unsecured loans of £459,668. Fixed assets have a book value of £1.1m. Current assets less current liabilities are just over £1m.

Zambia Exploring holds half of the share capital of Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., of which Tanganyika Concessions holds the balance. Rhokat owns 35% of the issued capital of Kansanshi Copper Mining, to which it has advanced £196,652 on loan with the right of conversion into ordinary shares at par up to 1968.

Holdings in Tanganyika Concessions of a book value of £882,135 had a market value at the end of March of £449,437, but £312,986 has been allocated from capital reserve towards this depreciation.

Mr. E. F. O. Gascoigne is chairman and Mr. M. T. W. Easby, managing director. The other members of the board are Captain Charles Waterhouse and Messrs. Charles de Bar, J. Genis, R. F. Medlicott, N. C. Selway, and W. D. Wilson.

## News Brevities

China is to buy from Tanzania 80,000 bales of cotton, 5,000 tons of copra, and 2m. lb. of tobacco leaf.

A Pakistani delegation of 12 representatives of manufacturers and commercial houses is visiting East Africa.

Machinery for a sugar mill costing nearly £2m. has been ordered by the Kenya Government from West Germany.

The Government of Zambia, having bought the Central African Mail, has caused it to be renamed Zambia Mail.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., Kenya, produced 151 tons of sisal in July, making 1,028 for the past seven months (1,129).

The Central Africa Co., Ltd., is the new name of the company previously called The British Central Africa Co., Ltd.

A four-member trade mission from Angola has visited Rhodesia to study the possibility of increasing reciprocal trade.

National & Grindlays Bank is negotiating for control of Wm. Brandt's Sons & Co., a merchant bank established in London in 1805.

Owing to port congestion at Mombasa some vessels have left without unloading and others after discharging only part of their cargo.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 294,621 tons of coal and 18,624 tons of coke in July. The June figures were 277,049 and 18,364 respectively.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., produced 11,688 long tons of copper in the year to June 30 (11,673 in 1964), recovery in the last quarter being 3,908 tons.

E. S. & R. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., a Bristol group with a Rhodesian subsidiary, has paid £175,000 for a plastics manufacturing company in Madley, near Hereford.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, had an estimated net profit after tax for the quarter to June 30 of £72,918. Production was 18,129oz. gold from milling 64,500 tons of ore.

John Brown & Co., Ltd., a group with subsidiaries in Rhodesia, report profits after tax to March 31 at £1,281,378 (£971,726). The dividend is held at 11%, taking £927,392.

An office in Amsterdam is to be opened this month by the Rhodesian Tobacco Export Promotion Council. It will be managed by Mr. R. Macfarlane, now chief executive of the council.

For the nine months to the end of March Rhodesia Railways' revenue totalled £27.3m., compared with £25.7m. in the comparable period of the previous year. Costs rose from £20.4m. to £22.2m.

A British Government loan of £3.15m. for 20 years will enable East African Railways and Harbours to buy diesel electric locomotives from Britain. There is to be an interest-free period of five years.

Kisumu Cotton Mills, Ltd., Kenya, built by Indian interests at an initial cost of rather more than £1m., plans to have 200 looms in operation within a few months and eventually to employ more than 1,000 workers.

Tanzania's ban on certain Japanese motor vehicles has been rescinded because the manufacturers have bought adequate quantities of sisal and cotton in Tanzania and are considering the purchase of other products.

Harland & Wolff, Ltd., Belfast, who have built many of the Union-Castle vessels, have secured a contract from Norway for more than £13m. for the construction of five ships of 67,750 deadweight tons each.

Imports through the port of Lobito for Zambia in the first three months of this year totalled 1,875 tons, an increase of just over 50% on the 1964 figure.

Rio Tinto (Rhodesia), Ltd., which has already spent more than £1m. on the Express nickel mine near Gatooma, is to raise £2m. in Rhodesia and South Africa and another £1m. overseas for further development of the property.

Kilimanjaro Textile Corporation, Ltd., is to build in Arusha a £1.5m. textile mill for which machinery has been ordered in West Germany and Britain. The annual capacity will be about 10m. square yards. Production should start about a year hence.

In celebration of the 50th anniversary of Scouting in Uganda, an international jamboree is being held at Kazi Camp this week and next. Among the visitors are Scouts from Britain, Canada, Scandinavia, the United Arab Republic, India, Kenya, and Tanzania.

Rhodesia's visible trade surplus for the first four months of this year totalled £3,374,000. In the same period last year it was only £240,000. In the first quarter of 1965 domestic exports to Zambia reached £7.9m., against £5.8m., and to South Africa £2.6m., against £900,000.

### Dwa Plantations

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., report net profits for 1964 at £38,807 (£38,562) after Kenya tax of £1,013 and U.K. tax of £3,725. A final dividend of 17½% makes 22½% for the year (the same). The general reserve is increased by £12,500 and the balance carried forward is £16,946.

The Merchant Bank of Central Africa, Ltd., reports net profits to March 30 after tax and contingency reserve provision at £66,572 (£49,380). Cash balances totalled £2.6m. (£1.1m.), deposits £4.4m. (£3.2m.), and advances £807,230 (£584,948). Dividends take £23,906 (£18,000).

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., report that unsatisfactory results on their tea estates, low prices for sisal, drought, and other adverse factors indicate a loss to June 30 of about £68,000. Last year there was an after-tax profit of £469,000. The July sisal output was 1,665 tons.

G. R. Properties, Ltd., of Bromley, Kent, have received a £3½m. contract to build a 300-bedroom hotel on Salama Hill, Kampala, on land owned by Prince George Mwanda, eldest son of the President of Uganda and Kabaka of Buganda. The London architects for the project described it as "spectacular".

Tobacco growers in Rhodesia have been directed by the R.T.A. to plan an output for next season of 280m. lb. of leaf by increasing the present acreage of 209,500 by 5% and raising the number of plants per acre from 6,300 to 6,900. The latest estimate of the current crop which is of excellent quality, is 252m. lb. Last year's 324m. lb. output seriously damaged the industry, bringing the average price below 26d. per lb., the worst on record.

### Japan and Rhodesia

The director of the Japan External Trade Organization, Mr. E. Fujise, said a few days ago in Umrali that his country would buy vast quantities of Rhodesian iron ore and asbestos if quality and price were right, and that if the right quality of soya beans were offered Japan would rather buy from Rhodesia than from her present supplier. Rhodesia had now a favourable trade surplus of about £1m. a year, and Japan wanted to right the balance.

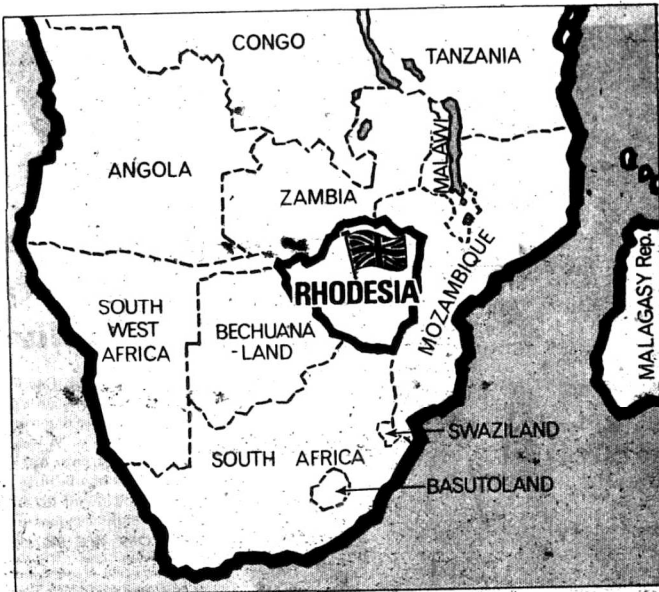
South African Breweries, Ltd.—owners of Rhodesian Breweries, Ltd., and of a £600,000 investment in Hippo Valley Estates, Ltd., sugar growers in Rhodesia—report a net profit after tax to March 31 of £5.2m., compared with £3m. in the previous year. Operating results from the South African company show profits of £4.7m. and of the Rhodesian subsidiary of £1.4m. Issued capital is just under £12.3m. Net current and fixed assets exceed £31.4m.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd., which owns the Allen, Wack and Shepherd companies in Rhodesia, Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa and two other companies in Rhodesia, report net profit after tax for the year to October 31 at £93,744, compared with £56,840 in the previous seven months. A 10% dividend takes £33,509, and the balances remaining in the subsidiary companies total £208,558 and in the parent company £36,194. Issued capital is £770,375. Group fixed assets stand at £440,081 and current assets less current liabilities at £813,872. Mr. L. E. Robinson is the chairman.

Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd.—a group trading in many countries, including Kenya and Uganda through their associates, A. Baumann & Co., Ltd.—report group profit after tax for 1964 at £172,108, compared with £353,393 in the previous year. Tax-free dividends totalling 2s. per 10s. share were maintained by the parent company, taking £36,750. Issued capital totals £2.8m. Group fixed assets appear at £3.25m. and net current assets at £2.77m. The report states that A. Baumann & Company "continued to trade on a satisfactory basis". Mr. W. F. G. Salkeld is the chairman and one of four managing directors, the others being Messrs. C. H. Elliott, J. H. Gaunt and H. W. H. Valentine.

"Our mission is to create civilised conditions here on a non-racial basis so the time may come when we will not have to think of our Government as a European or African one, but as a Rhodesian one — provided it is based on merit."

Mr. Ian Smith,  
Prime Minister,  
4th June, 1964.



# RHODESIA

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## GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

1954	£161,500,000	1964	£320,400,000
1964 DOMESTIC EXPORTS			£119,465,000 (30.5m. to U.K.)
RE-EXPORTS			£17,993,000
GOLD			£7,086,000
TOTAL EXPORTS			£144,544,000
1964 IMPORTS			£109,695,000 (33.4m. from U.K.)
FAVOURABLE BALANCE OF VISIBLE TRADE			£34,849,000

### *The Progress continues*

Rhodesia lies at the heart of a vast potential market. Industrialists and investors who wish to know more of the opportunities available in Rhodesia should consult —



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## Zambia Declines Talks with Rhodesia

### Divergent Views About the Railway

THE ZAMBIA GOVERNMENT decided at the week-end that its representatives should not attend the meeting of Ministers from Rhodesia and Zambia requested by the Rhodesian Minister of Transport to discuss present difficulties, including in particular the dispute over compulsory transfers of skilled railway staff from Rhodesia to Zambia.

The Railways Board has stated that transfers of white staff to Zambia shall meantime be temporarily suspended.

Rhodesia Railways' Workers' Union has asked Mr. Rudland, the Minister of Transport, for an appointment to discuss aspects of the dispute.

### Zambia's Policies Raise Cost to Rhodesians

Mr. G. W. Rudland, Minister of Transport, said last week in the course of a statement in the Rhodesian Parliament:—

"Following the statement yesterday by the deputy chairman of the board of Rhodesia Railways, who is one of the Rhodesian nominees on the board, I feel that I should make known the views of the Government. There can be no doubt that the system of compulsory transfer of Rhodesian railwaymen to Zambia has caused a good deal of hardship and is making recruitment of the right type of employee increasingly difficult. This problem has troubled me for a long time, and I have had several talks about it with the chairman of the board without achieving the desired results.

"The difficulties are by no means confined to staff problems; equally disturbing, if not more so, have been some of the financial implications of operating a unitary system in two countries in which different sets of conditions and requirements prevail. For example, what has been called 'inducement pay' costs some £500,000 a year, a major portion being borne by railway users in Rhodesia.

"The cost of running the Railways in the north has increased considerably and is likely to increase still further as a result of the internal policies of Zambia. While not wishing to criticize in any way the internal policies of Zambia, the Government, conscious of its responsibilities to Rhodesian railway employees, to the Rhodesian user of the railway service, and to holders of loan stock in Rhodesia Railways, is bound to take notice of the policies pursued in Zambia which have the effect of increasing costs and lowering standards of efficiency.

### Railway Agreement Breached

"Another matter calls urgently for attention. The Railway Agreement provides for the free and unimpeded movement of personnel between the two countries. It has now been reported to me, however, that in certain circumstances Zambia has refused entry permits to railway personnel. Incidents of this kind place a serious obstacle in the way of the successful operation of the railway service as a single unit in both countries. Indeed, I am inclined to believe that action of this kind is in itself a breach of the agreement.

"I have been one of those who have maintained that every effort should be made to maintain the three unitary systems which continued after the dissolution of the Federation—Kariba, Central African Airways, and Rhodesia Railways—but I am now reluctantly forced to the conclusion that so far as Rhodesia Railways is concerned difficulties have arisen which are beyond the power and scope of the board of management. I have therefore called for an immediate meeting of the Higher Authority at Bulawayo, where the headquarters of Rhodesia Railways is situated, at which all aspects of the unitary system can be studied and discussed.

"Meantime I trust that the Railways management will defer any further compulsory transfers to the north and suspend any action which might have the effect of intensifying present difficulties. At the same time I give Rhodesian railwaymen at present in Zambia an assurance that, whatever the outcome of these discussions at Higher Authority level, their interests will be fully protected. The Government is fully aware of the important part which the railway service plays in the economy of any country, and is anxious to secure for the

benefit of the present partners a basic service of transport which is efficient and economic".

### Deputy Chairman's Statement

Mr. Leon Dominin, deputy chairman of the Railways board, had said:—

"It is with regret that I have to report that a major split has occurred in the board of Rhodesia Railways on the subject of the enforced transfer of railwaymen to Zambia. This disagreement cuts deep to the foundations of the unitary system and the inter-territorial agreement which forms the basis of the present co-operation between Rhodesia and Zambia in the running of railway services.

"The underlying principle of the inter-territorial agreement is that the railway undertaking must be run on business lines in accordance with contractual obligations; and the agreement was never designed to take into account the actual difficulties, and especially the human problems, which have arisen out of the different political orientations of the two contracting countries.

"For too long we have sat around the board table and politely turned a blind eye to the realities of the deep gulf that now separates Zambia and Rhodesia. We have permitted the imposition of regulations and labour agreements designed and concluded when Rhodesia Railways was operated by one country in two territories which subscribed to the same ideals and way of life. My colleagues and I have tried to cope with a succession of embarrassments and the growing tension which the unitary system has produced since its inception in January 1964.

"However sharp the differences which now divide the board, we remain fully agreed on the importance of maintaining the highest level of efficiency in the running of the railway services in the two countries and of the need for close and friendly co-operation to that end. The question at issue is whether or not this result cannot be better achieved by the ending of the unitary system that has ceased to work and its replacement with other arrangements more in keeping with the realities of today.

### Conditions Increasingly Uncongenial

"There can be no doubt that the main burden of the present difficulties is being borne by Rhodesian railway workers, many of whom have been sent, much against their will, to work in Zambia in conditions which they find increasingly uncongenial, in many cases separated for long periods from their families. Other railway workers in Rhodesia live under constant fear of being transferred against their will to a foreign country where they can no longer rely on that protection from their Government which every Rhodesian citizen is entitled to expect.

"Our proposals, which were rejected by the board, included not only the immediate cancellation of compulsory transfers north and the favourable consideration of all existing applications for return south, but also the implemation of a scheme whereby the phased return to Rhodesia of all Rhodesians north of the Zambezi would be guaranteed by the introduction of a system of employment in Zambia on a contractual basis. Naturally, such a scheme would have to be related to suitable financial inducements which would make it possible for railwaymen in the country to shoulder voluntarily a fair share of the responsibility of maintaining the efficiency of the system in Zambia.

"The problem of compulsory transfer has now become an issue of urgent national importance which must be shouldered by the board and, if necessary, by the Higher Authority. Although a nominee of the Rhodesian Government on the board, I have always considered it my duty to strive for the efficient running of the railway services for the benefit of both countries.

"The enforced transfer of workers, which has always been borne by Rhodesians alone, produces consequences which must be felt throughout the entire railway system. I do not believe that any undertaking of this magnitude can be conducted efficiently if there is festering discontent among the men who operate it; and such discontent is all the more harmful in a transport industry that has become so vital to the economies of both Rhodesia and Zambia. This same fear of transfer to the north is also interfering with recruitment in Rhodesia and is known to have been the cause of many resignations since the end of Federation.

"As our problems and difficulties have increased, so has the tendency become increasingly apparent for the board to subordinate all its thinking to the preservation at all costs of a unity that exists only in name. Thus my Rhodesian colleagues and I are moving towards an impasse with our chairman and the Zambian nominees.

"The issue is perfectly clear: is the joint ownership of the Railway under the inter-territorial agreement more important than Rhodesia Railways itself, and indeed, the real interests of the countries it serves? We believe not."



## Force Not To Be Used Against Rhodesia Commonwealth Secretary's Repeated Assurances

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, is reported to have told journalists in Accra last week after a four-day visit to Ghana that Britain could not impose a new Constitution on Rhodesia by armed force because that country had a strong army which might resist. To attempt to use force against Rhodesia would really mean war, with serious economic consequences for Africa, Britain, and the Commonwealth. Not only in neighbouring Zambia, but the stability of commerce in all East Africa might be affected.

"The use of force would have economic and war developments which might escalate far beyond Rhodesia. We want to see progress to majority rule as speedily as possible, but if Britain were to try to impose upon Rhodesia that state of society which you and perhaps we think advisable it would be the first time that Britain had used force to impose a Constitution. I am not prepared to do it because of the repercussions. If force were used it would not stop in Rhodesia.

"We want a constitutional conference. It would not be effective now. Mr. Smith would not agree and would not allow the Africans to come. We are still responsible for transferring power. We shall not do so until our requirements have been satisfied."

On his arrival in Lagos Mr. Bottomley was told by Nigerian Ministers that they disagreed with Britain's handling of the Rhodesian question. Later one Minister told reporters that it would be wrong for the Organization of African Unity to attempt to precipitate action against Rhodesia. Responsibility rested with Britain, "but we are going to press for majority rule in Rhodesia."

In an address to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Mr. Bottomley said that the economic consequences of using force would be as disastrous in Rhodesia as in the Congo.

He had said on arrival in Lagos that if Rhodesia declared unilateral independence Britain would not take up arms, but she would "take such action as was deemed necessary", which might include sanctions which would have serious effects in Rhodesia.

Chief Samuel Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria, said at a luncheon in Ibadan given for Mr. Bottomley that Britain showed colour prejudice in dealing with Rhodesia. Mr. Bottomley said in reply that the British Government was resolved to eschew violence.

## Africa's "Nobel Foundation" Five Haile Selassie Awards

THE HAILE SELASSIE AWARDS for 1965 were announced on Monday. They will be presented to the recipients in Addis Ababa in October by the Emperor of Ethiopia, who last year provided funds for the establishment of the Haile Selassie I Prize Trust by Dr. G. E. W. Wolstenholme, director of the Ciba Foundation, London.

An American has won the 1965 award for Ethiopian Studies (£2,850). He is Mr. Wolf Leslau, Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages and chairman of the Department of Near Eastern and African Languages in the University of California, Los Angeles. The award is made "for his outstanding contribution to the study of many of the languages of Ethiopia, for his many publications in this field, for his interest in Ethiopian culture and folklore, and for his encouragement of young Ethiopian scholars".

In addition to the cash prize, he will receive a diploma and a medal of pure gold.

The Haile Selassie Award for Amharic Literature (£1,000) goes to Balambaras Mahteme Selassie Wolde Meskele "for contributions to the task of preserving the Ethiopian heritage for transmission to future generations through his own original writings and through his recordings of church and court proceedings, which were previously transmitted orally".

The Haile Selassie Award for Fine Arts (£1,000) is won by Ato Gabre Christos Desta "for his outstanding creative and interpretative ability as a pictorial artist". The citation says that his contribution lies largely in his introduction of non-figurative art to Ethiopia and in his magnificent use of colour.

Born in the province of Harar, he was trained as an artist in Germany.

The Haile Selassie Award for Industry (£1,000), is received by Manufattura Sacchi, Asmara, and Domco Company, Asmara, "for the development of a practical and economic industrial process for extracting a textile fibre from the leaves of the doum palm". It is described as an outstanding technical achievement which will strengthen the country's industrial sector and its prospects in the export field. The fibre can be used as a substitute for jute in some industries.

The Haile Selassie Award for Humanitarian Activities (£1,000) goes to the Eritrean Children's Welfare Society "for its work in aiding indigent mothers and orphaned children in economic distress". The society, established 24 years ago, has 14 clinics in Eritrea and cares for some 150,000 children and 3,000 expectant mothers. Its orphanage has 210 children and 18 infants.

The gold medal accompanies each award.

A corrugated iron sheet factory costing about £500,000 has been opened in Kampala. It is a Japanese enterprise.

A Japanese motor manufacturing company plans a subsidiary plant in Kenya, in which it has rapidly built up considerable business.

Profits after tax of the Unilever group for the first half of this year amounted to £34m., compared with £30.3m. for the first six months of 1964.

An Italian engineering group has been given a £24m. contract by the National Housing Corporation of Uganda to erect an office block and 650 flats in Kampala.

Trans-Zambia Railway reports net profit for 1964 at £43,946 (against a loss of £1,374) after tax of £77,423. Fixed assets are just above £5m. and net current assets £383,561.

In the first half of this year Rhodesia's mineral output was valued at £15,447,225, a 20.37% increase. Iron ore production of 829,280 tons, worth £591,453, was up 66% in weight and 86% in value.

A coal mine in the Gwembe Valley is to be developed by the Zambia Government. Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, which does large business in Zambia, does not expect its sales in that republic to decrease.

Blackwood Hodge, Ltd., a group with East and Central African subsidiaries, estimate group profit before tax for the six months to April 30 at £694,000. For the 12 months to October 31 last they were £1.4m.

E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., have received Treasury permission to transfer residence from Britain to South Africa. The company does no business in Britain. It has many branches in South Africa, Rhodesia and Zambia.

Johannesburgh Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., which has large Central African interests, reports profits after tax to June 30 at just over £5m. (£5.7m.). Dividends take £2.1m., and almost £3m. are added to the reserves.

Zambia's Minister of Mines has told Parliament that royalties on minerals constitute payment for depreciation of a natural resource and should therefore make first claim upon a mine, whether its profit were large, small, or non-existent.

Kenya's tea output for January-March was reduced to 10.7m. lb. by severe hail storms followed by drought, a drop of 2.5m. lb. on the comparable figures for last year. Uganda production for the first five months of the year reached 7.3m. lb., against 6.9m. lb. in the same period of 1964.

Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., reports net profits after tax of £257,000 for the quarter ended on June 30 and £27,000 for the first six months of the year, compared with £1.6m. for the whole of 1964. Lead production in the six months totalled 8,692 long tons and zinc production 21,344 tons.

The Uganda Company, Ltd., which has repeated the 4% interim dividend, expects pre-tax profits for the year to August 31 to be approximately equal to last year's, but withdrawal of the reliefs hitherto enjoyed as an overseas trading corporation and the introduction of corporation tax are likely to increase the tax burden seriously.

The International Coffee Council agreed on Saturday that the annual quota for the coffee year from October 1 next to September 30, 1966, should be 43.7m. bags, but that that figure should be increased to 45.2m. bags if the daily index price during the first quarter of next year exceeds 42.50 United States cents per lb. for 15 consecutive market days. The indicator price range remains 38 to 44 cents.

Assam and African Investments, Ltd., report profit after tax for 1964 at £244,907 (£207,410). Estates in India stand in the balance-sheet at £6.2m. and two in Tanzania at £490,983; there was a loss on the East African estates of £30,955 (£13,972 in the previous year). Issued capital totals £4.6m. Interests in subsidiaries stand in the books at nearly £4.8m. Sir Hugh Tallack is the chairman. Another of the directors is Sir Walter Couets, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya and Uganda.

## Rebellion "Planted by Imperialists"

### China Offers Aid to Sudan

MR. MAHGOUR, the Sudanese Prime Minister, has said in a broadcast from Omdurman that he and his colleagues visited East Africa for the special purpose of refuting the allegation that the Government intended to "punish" the southern provinces by force, and of making it clear that the problem was internal, that it had been "planted and fostered by the imperialists to hinder our progress", and that every inch of the country would be preserved at any cost.

The Prime Minister has complained to the United States Ambassador that the Government of the Congo was using American aid to assist the rebels in the Southern Sudan.

The Minister of Information has said that the security forces were "going from victory to victory in their drive to end the rebellion". Reinforcements of troops and police had been sent.

The Chinese Ambassador in Khartoum has offered his Government's aid to the Sudan "in the face of foreign interference in its domestic affairs". The Russian and Syrian representatives have also expressed the sympathy of their Governments.

In one attack by Government troops 17 "rebels" were killed. Of six in military uniform, one wore the insignia of a general. In another attack 42 "outlaws" were stated to have been killed.

Referring to a message from the Pope to the Prime Minister expressing his desire for peace in the Southern Sudan, a Radio Omdurman commentator said that it would have been better addressed to the rebel leaders, "or to some of the priests admitted for many years by the Sudan to preach Christianity, the religion of love and peace, who forgot their mission and plunged into political activities far removed from Christ's teachings".

Mr. William Deng, chairman and secretary-general of the Sudan African National Union, said in Nairobi that the southern provinces wanted "federal relationships" with the north, not secession.

## Mr. Tshombe Wants "Massive Aid"

### Development to Prevent More Revolts

MR. TSHOMBE, Prime Minister of the Congo, who is paying a short visit to Europe, accompanied by his Finance Minister, said in Munich on Friday that the Congo needed "massive financial assistance from the Western world". Three-quarters of his country had been in the hands of the rebels when he became Prime Minister a year ago, and if internationally backed development were not now pushed forward in those areas there was a grave risk of popular revolts which might be worse even than those of the past five years.

As he passed through Rome Mr. Tshombe said that he had proofs of Chinese infiltration and activity in the rebellion, which had now ended apart from isolated resistance in a few areas.

Before leaving Leopoldville he had appointed Mr. Ebosiri, Minister of Justice and National Economy, to be Acting Prime Minister.

Colonel Delferdange, head of the Belgian military aid mission in the Congo, has been appointed military adviser to the command of the Congolese National Army.

Radio Bukavu has reported that a new rift between the rebel leaders Soumailot and Gbenye has resulted in the expulsion of the latter, and that one of Gbenye's closest associates, Salumu, had asked for political asylum in the Congolese Embassy in Ethiopia.

On Monday the West German Government promised Mr. Tshombe a credit of D.M. 10m. (nearly £1m.), mainly for telephone and telecommunication development and a factory to produce starch from manioc. West German exports to the Congo reached approximately £9m. last year, a 52% increase on the 1963 total.

Two white Rhodesian Police recruits have been sentenced to a year's imprisonment with hard labour and six cuts with the cane for robbing two Africans. They automatically become prohibited immigrants.

Members of the Zambian Cabinet, including President Kaunda, worked for five hours on Sunday on a new road of 160 miles through national territory which will avoid use of the 43-mile Congo "pedicle" link.

The Governments of Zambia and Tanzania have appealed to H.M. Government, which had offered £75,000 as half the cost of a survey of the proposed rail link between the two countries, to meet the full expense. Because the Chinese have offered a free survey, Tanzania has declined to make any contribution towards a survey by British experts.

Post and telephone services in Kenya and Uganda were disrupted on Monday, when about 4,000 of the 5,000 staff went on strike because pay increases awarded in June by a staff tribunal had been withheld pending approval by the East African Common Services Authority. Kenya's Minister of Labour warned about 5,000 E.A.C.S.O. employees that their proposed strike in sympathy would be illegal.

The National Union of Journalists in Britain has protested to the Prime Minister of Rhodesia against repeated sentences of imprisonment on Mr. John Parker, of the *Salisbury Sunday Mail*, for refusing to disclose a source of information. The N.U.J. asserts that the memoranda in question were not official secret documents, and that their publication since the prosecution started proves that the security of the State was not involved.

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## President Nyerere's Survey

(Concluded from page 793)

the differences and difficulties between us and exaggerate them until they become suspicious and hostile. Genuine difficulties like those I have quoted are a godsend to such people; and they are being used in the campaign to divide us. In the same way every difference of emphasis and expression in our international policies is used to sow misunderstanding between us.

"Who has not heard the suggestion that Tanzania is under Chinese influence or that Kenya is under American? Uganda so far appears to have escaped these allegations, doubtless on the principle of dealing with one thing at a time! There are suggestions made to Kenya that Tanzania is preparing to replace imports from her by imports from China; there are suggestions being made to Tanzania that Kenya is deliberately worsening Tanzania's non-aligned image overseas so as to gain an economic advantage.

### The Greatest Danger

"In isolation these suggestions would be dismissed out of hand; but when our real problems give rise to friction and misunderstanding, would it not be natural that eventually we should each begin to wonder whether they have some basis?"

"The pressures of our separate domestic problems can bring us, more easily than we would have thought possible a few years ago, to a position where we are prepared to believe slanders about each other. This is the greatest danger of all; for if we take that road it is not only East African Federation which is gone for all time. So too has economic co-operation, and so has our ambition for continent-wide unity.

"It is vital that we analyse our position properly, without being bemused by propaganda. We have to face the fact that our present difficulties have nothing to do with one or other country being a stooge of East or West. They arise out of our peculiar combination of unity in economic affairs and disunity in the machinery of responsibility and decision-making. We have to deal with one or other side of this equation and bring it into balance.

"Tanzania believes very strongly that every effort must be made to maintain our economic unity and our common services. The real security and the real development of our separate territories, as well as the area as a whole, needs unity in East Africa as a preliminary to the unity of the African continent. It is for this reason that we remain so anxious for the establishment of a sovereign federal East African State.

"Only by such transfer of sovereignty can one authority be established with overall powers in matters of East African concern. We should then have a single voice in the international world; it would be infinitely more difficult for anyone to play us up against each other. In a federation short-term clashes of economic interest could be settled by a body which was responsible to the peoples of the whole area; and this same sovereign body could ensure that each of our particular poverty problems was tackled in co-operation, while at the same time our joint resources were used to tackle the basic underlying problems which are common to us all.

### No Early Federation

"It is, however, by now clear that federation will not be achieved this year or next. We very much regret this, but we must face it. We have to decide what we do instead, for we cannot stay where we are. One thing which all of us agree about is that our poverty can only be overcome by economic planning. We must therefore be in a position where there is either one federal development plan or where each of the separate States has the power, as well as the responsibility, to make and implement a national development plan.

"It was this need which caused Tanzania to take the lead in calling for the establishment of separate national currencies. We found that it is impossible to control our economy and achieve the maximum development while our currency and credit were outside our control. This was not a sudden realization that financial control is necessary for economic planning. It was a recognition that our decision in 1961 to remain within the common currency area was based on a false premise—the expectation that control would be able to be exercised on a federal basis when the other two territories became in their turn independent.

"In fact, the whole existing machinery of East African co-operation was established in the expectation of rapid federation. It was regarded as an interim arrangement by the then Tanganyika Government, and I think also by the nationalist movements of Kenya and Uganda. It depends entirely on the goodwill and brotherly spirit between our peoples and our leaders, and it makes no provision for the conflicting respon-

sibilities which at times face us. Nonetheless, it has served us well and we have made many advances under it.

"But if we continue to rely only on the existing arrangement we shall continue to deal with each problem separately, and there is a grave danger that we shall continue to quarrel about things which are urgent for one or other of us. This will mean that our existing co-operation will be jeopardized, and federation itself will go further and further away as our relations deteriorate.

"Instead we must recognize the current difficulties for what they are—symptoms of a deficiency in our present arrangements. We must then work out realistic arrangements for co-operation and joint activity short of federation which acknowledge our separation for the time being and the consequent needs of our separate sovereignties and development plans.

"It is true, of course, that any treaty of co-operation and joint activity reduces the individual national power of decision and involves a voluntary surrender by the sovereign authority of some of its day-to-day power. This we have to accept. I have pointed out before that if three men co-operate to build a boat they can each obtain a larger catch to travel in safety on the sea and can each obtain a larger catch of fish, but their joint ownership of the boat restricts their individual freedom to dispose of the boat unilaterally. This is surely accepted by everyone. If it were not there would be no point in talking about East African co-operation at all.

"I am convinced that this fact is not challenged in East Africa and that each of our countries is willing to accept its implications. What we need is simply a better system for regulating the use of the boat so that each owner gets the maximum and fair return. I believe this can be done, and am confident that if we can get the institutions right our area of inter-East African co-operation may be expanded. It may even be that, in looking again at the practical questions of co-operation, we shall be able to make a fresh approach to the objective of federation.

### Must Tackle the Basic Problems

"However that may be, we must act now to oil the wheels of our relationship so as to cut out any possibility of friction in the testing years ahead. If, after examination, we feel that national planning demands a little loosening of some of our ties, and if we are not prepared for the alternative surrender of national sovereignty, then it would be better to accept that. What we must not do is allow ourselves to drift into a position where our spirit of unity is replaced by mutual suspicions.

"I appeal to this Assembly to help East Africa. We have only ourselves upon whom we can depend to promote the unity and development of our continent of Africa, and our part of it. At your meeting here, and when the members return to their homes, this Assembly can play a very important part in furthering the cause of unity. For this is not simply a question of Governments; we are all involved. It is not appropriate that we should indulge in mutual recrimination or abuse. It is necessary that we go forward together and tackle the basic problems.

"If I may use a Tanzanian slogan, I would say: 'It can be done: play your part!'

## Kenya's Retort to President Nyerere

A KENYA SPOKESMAN said in Nairobi that the Government agreed with President Nyerere that every effort should be made to maintain East Africa's economic unity and common services and that it was urgently necessary to work out realistic agreements for economic co-operation and joint activity.

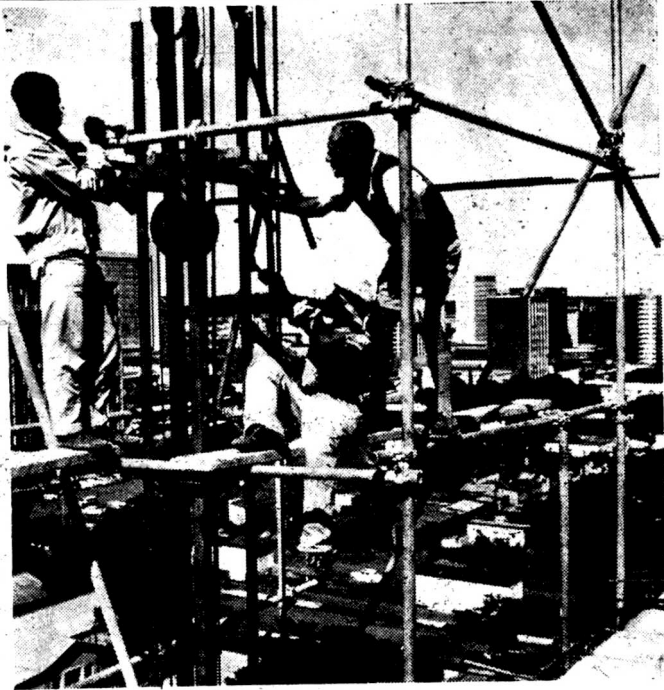
The Kampala agreement had aimed at solving only part of the problems of co-operating economically; and the procedures stipulated in the agreement had begun to be ignored and flouted before it was ratified. In April Kenya had proposed consultative machinery which aimed at securing maximum harmonization in the plans of the three countries.

The statement by the President of Tanzania that Kenya's grant of temporary landing rights to Pan-American Airways breached unanimous decisions of the East African Authority and injured the interests of East African Airways was erroneous, for E.A.A. had concluded an air-line agreement with Pan-American Airways last year.

Disbalance of trade could not be discussed in isolation from the formula proposed by Sir Jeremy Raisman, which provided for financial adjustments between the three territories.

However, the Kenya Government welcomed President Nyerere's frank statement and his plea for early and realistic reappraisal of measures for economic co-operation. Kenya also wanted economic co-operation with African territories outside East Africa.

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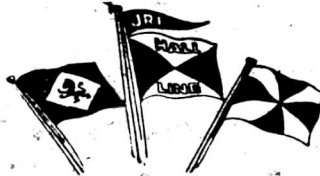
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