

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

AT THIS CHRISTMAS SEASON reconciliation with Rhodesia must be the ardent wish of nearly all our readers. Nobody with knowledge of that country can doubt that the overwhelming majority of

Through Good Will To Reconciliation.

Rhodesians, black no less than white, are men of good will, eager to deal fairly with one another, anxious for practical co-operation in the widest range of activities, distressed at the severance of the normal cordiality with official Britain, and still hopeful that today's estrangement will not permanently damage three-quarters of a century of friendship with the British people. Because white Rhodesians, contrary to a tragically widespread misconception outside the country, have in general an affection and concern for the Africans with whom they are in personal contact, many of them will be thinking especially of Africans from Malawi and Zambia, who, to the mutual satisfaction of master and man, have been in their employment for a considerable period, and now, through no fault of either party, but as a direct consequence of the measures of economic warfare inflicted on Rhodesia by the British Government, may have to return to their country of origin in order that Rhodesian Africans who become unemployed as a result of the economic warfare waged by Britain, and by other countries at the British Government's instance, shall have the priority of opportunity which is rightfully theirs in their native land.

* * *

For almost half a century large numbers of Africans from Nyasaland (now renamed Malawi) have sought work in Rhodesia, especially on the farms, and they have earned recognition for their qualities.

Rhodesians Do Not Regard Themselves As Rebels.

Their remittances to the families which were usually left behind have done much to sustain life and trade

in Malawi, and the sudden shock of enforced expulsion is made worse by the knowledge that many of them cannot expect to find new employment. In lesser degree, because the numbers are smaller, that applies also to those who must return to Zambia (but lately Northern Rhodesia) and Mozambique. For many in the white community the mass migration of non-Rhodesian Africans will mean the departure of well-liked individuals. For some, especially those resident in the towns, it may presage their own departure, probably to South Africa, as more and more businesses reduce staffs or close. That Rhodesians will show themselves to be of good courage in these circumstances is not to be doubted. Indeed, the severity of the financial and economic sanctions inflicted upon them by the decisions of a few men in London—who may well not represent majority opinion among the British electorate—has unquestionably solidified support for the Smith Government. All the evidence is that almost all white Rhodesians—many of whom strongly opposed the idea of a unilateral declaration of independence—refuse either to regard themselves as rebels or their leaders as traitors to the British connexion. They are convinced that if the standards of Christian and Western civilization were to be upheld in Rhodesia a firm stand had to be taken against appeasement by politicians in the United Kingdom of some of the worst of the African nationalist extremists and against the British habit of weak and almost automatic surrender of administrative power to Africans years before they had acquired the knowledge and experience without which they could not hope to govern responsibly and capably in the interests of the country as a whole.

* * *

What better season could there be than Christmas and the turn of the year for Britain's political spokesmen to admit unequivocally

their own grave share of the guilt for what has happened in Rhodesia? What better gesture could there be

U.K. Politicians Destroyed Rhodesian Faith. towards conciliation, and then reconciliation, than for the Prime Minister himself to take the initiative in this matter? He might fairly say that, his party inherited from the Conservatives fourteen months ago a situation in Rhodesia which could have been avoided if Tory Ministers had behaved differently during the previous five years. In that period, unhappily, the attitude and actions of prominent Conservatives were such as to convince Rhodesians that not even solemn pledges given by Britain were to be trusted. The Macmillan Government's cynical destruction of the Federation taught lessons which Rhodesians could not be expected to disregard. The unscrupulous measures employed need no recapitulation in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, whose readers will recall the detailed revelations so justifiably made by the then Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, in dispatches, Parliamentary papers, speeches, and in his book. The last three Prime Ministers of Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Mr. Winston Field, and Mr. Smith, have all said publicly and repeatedly that they were misled (to use the mildest of terms) by British Ministers with whom they had to negotiate. How, in such circumstances, could Rhodesians have faith in either of the main political parties in this country?

Britain's share of the guilt is undeniable. Indeed, had it not been so heavy, so cynically continued, and so stubbornly unacknowledged and unrepented, there would not have arisen in Rhodesia so alien an idea as that of the seizure of independence. For forty years the country had been self-governing in all internal matters, and it had created for itself a splendid record in peace and war. No Government in Britain with a modicum of sensitivity and common sense would have denied independence to Rhodesia, as did the Macmillan Administration, while planning to grant that status to neighbouring Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, which had scarcely any Africans really qualified for such responsibilities. The decision was outrageous. So were the manoeuvres which led Rhodesian leaders to believe that their country would be granted independence if it helped in the difficult and delicate task of dismantling the Federation of which it formed part. They were deceived in that regard and again and again later; and there can be not the slightest

doubt that the accumulation of mistrust was the basic cause of the decision to make a unilateral declaration of independence.

The calamitous misjudgments and deceptions by British politicians which prompted that tragic step and justifies it in the eyes of an overwhelming majority of Rhodesians unfortunately continue, and express themselves in part in personal abuse of Rhodesia's leaders, particularly by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and in diplomatic, financial and economic measures of unprecedented severity. Within a month of declaring that there would be no punitive or coercive sanctions, Mr. Wilson had ordered measures and was using words which almost implied that he would be satisfied with nothing less than unconditional surrender by the Smith Government. He had until then had a surprising degree of support from the Conservative Party, which has become openly, and in some quarters angrily, critical only in the last few days. It has been driven to that new attitude by the recognition that personal bitterness has influenced the Prime Minister in his vilification of Mr. Smith and his colleagues; by resentment at the contemptible decree of the Wilson Cabinet that the pensions of British subjects now resident in Rhodesia should be withheld (a mean-spirited decision which has had to be rescinded in deference to public protest); by revulsion at the seizure of Rhodesia's currency reserves outside the country, an action never previously taken against any country except in war; and by the deliberate and rapid embroilment of as much of the world as can be persuaded to co-operate in sanctions, despite the reiterated admission that the issue concerns only Rhodesia and Britain and must be settled by the two countries. The last straw for many Conservatives was the knowledge that Mr. Wilson intended to use a United Nations platform for his one-sided propaganda—and that despite the fact that thirty-five of the thirty-six member States of the Organization of African Unity (there being no such thing as African unity) had voted only a fortnight previously for severance of diplomatic relations with Britain if the Wilson Government had not "crushed" Rhodesian resistance by December 15—the day before Mr. Wilson was to address the General Assembly.

It is incredible, but nonetheless true, that there is among senior Socialist Ministers an expectation that the Smith Government is

about to collapse. When some Members of the House of Commons protested last week at the proposal to adjourn until January 25, their objection being that there might be very serious developments in connexion with Rhodesia about which the House should be consulted, the Lord President of the Council said on behalf of the Cabinet that "it may be that as a result of the action already taken the illegal régime in Rhodesia will have come to an end by the time we return". A few days earlier the Prime Minister had himself encouraged a number of journalists to publicize the suggestion that that was probable early in the New Year. There is, we are convinced, not the slightest likelihood of such expectations being fulfilled. All our evidence is that the brutality of the sanctions has strengthened, not weakened, the Rhodesian will to resist. The best way, the only way, to weaken that resistance is to substitute threats and punishment by indications of a sincere desire for rapprochement. We repeat that Rhodesians will not take any such approaches at face value unless British Ministers say publicly and explicitly that successive British Governments have failed to deal fairly with Rhodesia, that the British share of the blame will be given due weight in negotiations for a settlement, and that Rhodesian arguments which were accepted as reasonable before November 11 will not now be rejected in ignoble spite.

If there were proof of a new spirit of humility and good faith on the part of the British Government, there would be a real prospect of reconciliation. Mediation would not, we believe, be difficult if the right man were allowed to act in this sense. We can think of no person in public life more likely to succeed in this delicate and urgent task than Sir Alec Douglas-Home, one of the very few Ministers concerned with Central African affairs in recent years in whom Rhodesians, irrespective of party, have retained their faith. They found him tough when he felt that he had to be, but he was scrupulously fair at all times, and friendly in his firmness. Rhodesians felt that he understood them, their problems, their requirements, and their ambitions, and that he wanted a reasonable settlement, not the abject surrender of justice to the organized clamour and pressures of Afro-Asian and other self-interested parties. If Mr. Wilson would now make candid confession of Britain's share of the guilt and then persuade Sir Alec to go to Rhodesia, there would be hope and scope for reconciliation

and reconstruction. There is none while present policies are pursued.

Since the above words were written Mr. Wilson has again revealed his unreliability and instability by deciding on an embargo on oil shipments to Rhodesia without awaiting those assurances of world-wide co-operation which he had emphatically declared to be the prerequisite for such action by H.M. Government. A nod, or perhaps a prod, from the President of the United States was apparently enough to cause the Socialist leader to abandon another of his loudly proclaimed resolutions. Irresolution is, indeed, becoming his political trademark. Having refused to divert from Beira a British tanker carrying a cargo of oil for a company controlled by the Government of which he is Prime Minister, on the ground that it would be pointless to prevent delivery because other interests, possibly including privateers, would seize the chance to sell to Rhodesia, he announced within the week that H.M. Government had decided to act unilaterally—though that measure of candour naturally found no place in his proclamation, for he had hitherto insisted on multilateral action. A couple of days earlier he had had to bow to public anger (and the prospect of lost votes) and reverse the despicable decision to withhold pensions from Britons now resident in Rhodesia. While he seemed to have a plan, and perhaps even a policy, the Prime Minister received Conservative support. It was given with more promptitude than prudence. Mr. Wilson's contortions, self-contradictions, and abuse of Mr. Smith have, however, now strained Parliamentary bipartisanship almost to breaking-point, as is shown by the fact that half the Tories in the House of Commons have just signed a motion which is tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in the Government's Rhodesian policy. The Liberal leader has also become sharply critical.

Some Ministers are naïve enough to tell friends that the oil embargo will bring Rhodesians to their knees within a month. It will, of course, do nothing of the sort. It is more likely to harden determination into defiance. The extent of Rhodesia's oil reserves is a closely guarded secret, but it would be indeed surprising if, with the introduction of rationing, they do not suffice for at least six months. It would be still more surprising if South Africa, and also Portuguese Africa, were to decline to supply the essential needs of their neighbour, for,

Embargo on Oil Will Not Succeed.

other considerations apart, they recognize that Rhodesia is fighting their battle as well as her own against the hatred, sedition, and subversion of the most extreme pan-Africanists, and that next on the list of those wreckers, and of their Communist inciters and pay-masters, are Mozambique, Angola and South Africa. Fortunately for those States, their destinies are in the hands of men far tougher than Mr. Wilson, whose tally of fateful blunders rises alarmingly. Last week he dropped the hint that there will be no blockade of the port of Beira "at present." Is war with Portugal, an ancient ally of Britain, to become a by-product of his recklessness in a few weeks?—for blockade has always been considered an act of war. It is characteristic of the Socialist theorists that they should couple hints of hostile action against Mozambique with comfortable calculations of the advantage of using the port of Lobito in Portuguese Angola for shipments of coal from Britain to the Copperbelt. Let someone float an idea and they imagine that their acceptance of it has turned it into reality. That is one of the penalties of knowing nothing about Africa. If South Africa should displease him by helping Rhodesia, does the Prime Minister propose to embark on the fantastic adventure of patrolling her thousands of miles of coast? Britain has neither the ships nor the funds for such crazy aberrations (which would certainly not find favour with the foreign bankers from whom the Wilson Government borrowed one thousand million pounds a few months ago); and the United States, with Vietnam on her hands, can be in no mood for participation in silly naval escapades in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

* * *

Rhodesians, being well aware of these facts, will have assessed the latest sanction with a realism which is evidently lacking in Mr. Wilson's own inner circle. To assume that

it will engender a spirit of defeatism among Rhodesians is absurd. **Does Prime Minister Want Reconciliation?**

Rhodesians is absurd. It is more likely to anger Britain's creditors—and the British taxpayers who will have to pay the extremely heavy bills now being run up for activities in and for Zambia which could all have been avoided if a rational attitude to Rhodesia had been adopted. The swingeing penalization of the Zambian mining industry by increases in the price of the Rhodesian coal and coke on which it depends is a retaliatory measure of which only the severity could not be foretold. From Mr. Smith's standpoint it is the more justifiable because the mines have a wide profit margin; if they are prepared, he may argue, to pay an additional five or six pounds a ton on

the carriage of copper to Dar es Salaam by air, instead of continuing to consign it to Beira by Rhodesia Railways, they must pay a similar sum per ton for Wankie coal and coke. The mines have greater cause for complaint than Mr. Wilson, whose escalating extravagance at the national expense is the product of his own incompetence as a negotiator when a settlement with Rhodesia was attainable. It cannot be too often repeated that foolish politicians in Britain, Conservative and Socialist, are primarily to blame for recent and present events in Rhodesia. If reconciliation be the aim, as even Mr. Wilson has said almost day by day, he is using the worst possible means to that end.

Statements Worth Noting

"This year's drought in Kenya has been the most serious in living memory"—Mr. Frederic Harris, M.P.

"The African would suffer economically if the Land Apportionment Act were repealed"—Mr. B. H. Mussett, Minister of Housing and Local Government in Rhodesia.

"Most people who shout loudly about non-alignment side with the East. They put on their uniforms, their Chinese uniforms, and call themselves non-aligners"—Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi.

"Hardly a week goes by without a case of theft by a public servant being in my lists. Conduct of this nature undermines public confidence in the civil service"—Mr. W. H. Cowham, senior resident magistrate in Fort Rosebery, Zambia.

"Rhodesia is the most peaceful of all countries in which more than one race lives. There must be some reason why Rhodesia differs from Los Angeles, Notting Hill, or Singapore"—Mr. A. P. Smith, Acting Minister of Mines and Lands in Rhodesia.

"I was very recently in a country with a President and a Vice-President. Whenever the President was taking the salute this Vice-President moved forward to be seen by the public and also take the salute. In Malawi we do not want this kind of petty rivalry"—Mr. J. D. Msonthi, Minister of Transport and Communications in Malawi.

"There is a growing feeling in some of the older Commonwealth countries that certain of the promises, attitudes, and systems of government in some Commonwealth countries are not consistent with the concept of the Commonwealth hitherto held in these older countries"—Major-General A. E. Walford, president of the Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce.

"The President of Congo Brazzaville and his Cabinet were amazed at the way our Prime Minister knew Congo history and the history of the whole of Africa. As the result the Ngwazi was conferred Professorship of African World History in the University of Africa at any time it is to be established"—Mr. G. Chakuamba, M.P., Minister of Community and Social Development in Malawi.

"Kamuzu Dr. Banda was sent by the chosen will of Almighty God to serve the people of Malawi, who were dead before he came out of hiding where God hid him. If Kamuzu would ever dare to resign from the office of President of the Malawi Government for any reason at all the people of this country would swallow him alive"—Mr. E. Z. K. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Malawi Ministry of Community and Social Development.

Britain Imposes Unilateral Embargo on Oil

R.A.F. Airlift to Zambia, Which Must Now Pay Heavily for Rhodesian Coal

AN EMBARGO on the supply of oil and oil products to Rhodesia was imposed by H.M. Government by Order in Council on Friday night. A second order provided penalties for British nationals supplying or carrying oil or oil products of up to six months' imprisonment or a fine not exceeding £500, or both, on summary conviction.

Though the Prime Minister had repeatedly said that Britain would participate in an oil embargo only if the action were universal, the decision was in fact unilateral. Mr. Wilson, however, discussed the matter in Washington that day with President Johnson, who promised full backing by his Government and then asked all American companies and individuals to comply with the embargo. It was also announced that the U.S.A. would send aircraft to help in supplying Zambia with oil.

A Norwegian tanker of more than 13,000 tons, on charter to the Shell group, which would have reached Beira within a few hours with a cargo of oil for Rhodesia, was ordered by wireless to proceed to Mombasa. Payment for the cargo had been made by the Rhodesian Government.

Arrangements were made for aircraft of R.A.F. Transport Command to proceed at once to Dar es Salaam in order to carry oil to Zambia.

Mr. Wilson said in Washington that he would appeal to all countries to support the embargo, and that immediate consultations would take place with Holland, France, Italy, and Germany, nations with large interests in the matter.

In Case of Leakage or Seepage

Asked by reporters how it was proposed to prevent supplies reaching Rhodesia from South Africa and Portuguese Africa, the Prime Minister replied: "If there is any leakage or seepage we shall have to consider what should be done".

An announcement from 10 Downing Street stated:—"H.M. Government are determined to bring to an end the illegal régime in Rhodesia and have already taken a series of economic and financial measures to this end. After careful examination they have now decided to take two further measures, which relate to petroleum products.

"First, H.M. Government, exercising the power conferred upon them by Parliament which is the sovereign legislature for Rhodesia, are prohibiting the import of oil and oil products into that territory.

"Secondly, British nationals are being prohibited from supplying or carrying oil and oil products for Rhodesian use. An Order in Council has been made to give immediate effect to these prohibitions.

"To safeguard essential supplies to Zambia, H.M. Government have decided after consultation with the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania to institute an airlift of oil products to Zambia without delay".

The Treasury announced simultaneously that residents in Rhodesia would have to pay in advance in currencies other than sterling for goods and services from Britain which could still be supplied.

The Rhodesian Government promptly cut off supplies to Zambia; asked the distributing companies to restrict their supplies to garages to the weekly average of the past three months; and urged motorists to avoid unnecessary journeys.

There was no immediate intention to introduce petrol rationing, said Mr. Rudland, Minister for Commerce, who deplored Mr. Wilson's decision to act in this way at Christmas time, "when people throughout the world expect kindness and good will from others". Rhodesians who had intended to travel by road at Christmas need not change their arrangements.

Since the refinery at Feruka, near Umtali, was com-

pleted, about one-third of its output has been sent to Zambia.

Semi-official reports from Lisbon suggest that the Portuguese authorities consider the embargo a domestic matter between Britain and Rhodesia, and that if tankers carrying oil reach Beira there should be no impediment to the use of the pipeline to Umtali.

The Government of Zambia announced that registration in respect of petrol rationing would start on Monday. Meantime motorists could not buy more than 10s. worth of petrol at a time.

The Rhodesian Government retaliated by imposing an export tax of £5 a ton on coal and £8 a ton on coke railed from Rhodesia to Zambia, which had previously bought coal from Wankie at a pit-head price of 22s. per ton. Rather more than a ton of coal is required in the production of each ton of copper, and Mr. Smith estimated that this measure would yield about £9.9m. in a full year.

He especially regretted the need for the impost, especially as the greatest hardship would not be borne by the real culprits, the British Government, but by Zambia, which had unfortunately allowed herself to be talked into supporting Britain in an economic war against Rhodesia.

On the previous evening, Saturday, Mr. Smith had said in a broadcast that "the great Caine robbery"—referring to Sir Sydney Caine, whom H.M. Government had appointed governor of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia—had absolved Rhodesia from the obligation to pay its external debts, thus significantly relieving the strain on the balance of payments and on present and future budgets. There would be no immediate need to borrow abroad to finance public development programmes.

£2.6m. would be spent on plans for the maintenance and provision of employment. The capital of the Land Bank would be raised by £1m., so that the commercial banks need no longer provide credit; £500,000 would be allocated to special schemes in the tribal areas; £250,000 for the mining industry; and £150,000 for additional expenditure on African education during the current financial year, while the Government completed a new African educational programme which would enable Africans to play a greater part in Rhodesia's development in the future.

The penal and vindictive measures taken by H.M. Government in its unscrupulous war against Rhodesia were those of a Prime Minister "who had had the effrontery to describe members of my Government and myself as men who cannot be trusted", Mr. Smith said.

Was Mr. Wilson taking a line which would, he thought, suit his personal ambitions and enhance his party's political image at home?—at the expense of the British taxpayer, who would now have to salvage Zambia. The more Rhodesia was attacked—the more determined, indeed, the more defiant, her people would become.

British Minister Snubbed by President Kaunda

Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, who had flown to Lusaka in the middle of last week as head of a mission for discussions with the Government of Zambia, was kept waiting day after day for the expected meeting with President Kaunda, whom he met only fortuitously at the airport four and a half days later as he left for London.

His mission of 20 members had meantime worked out measures with Ministers and officials for by-passing Rhodesia. It was agreed that Britain should bear most of the cost of the operations, which were at first calculated by Zambian spokesmen to represent about £10m., a figure which was substantially increased later. A minimum of about £15m. was being mentioned on Saturday, when Mr. Hughes flew to Malawi to see Dr. Banda, who was also promised special British aid.

After two appointments for Mr. Hughes to see President Kaunda had been cancelled in one day, a spokesman for Dr. Kaunda told the Press: "I would not say that the President is snubbing the British delegation, but what do

you do about a man who says when he arrives here that he will not discuss the only thing in which we are interested?"—meaning the dispatch of British troops into Rhodesian territory. Mr. Hughes had said that H.M. Government would still not occupy the Rhodesian side of the Kariba dam.

On Friday evening Mr. Mainza Chona, Minister for Home Affairs, admitted that Mr. Hughes had been prevented from making a speech in Lusaka about the Rhodesia situation. That would have been embarrassing for Britain and Zambia. Moreover, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations had not delivered to the Zambian Government a copy of his intended speech. An hour before Mr. Hughes should have spoken the British High Commissioner was told that the engagement must therefore be cancelled.

By that time officials were explaining that Dr. Kaunda would not receive Mr. Hughes unless he was prepared to discuss sending British troops to the south side of Kariba.

On Saturday it was announced that Britain would spend about £3.5m. on the improvement of the land route over which oil could be brought to Zambia from Tanzania, in addition to bearing the cost of an oil airlift.

On Sunday Mr. Hughes saw Dr. Kaunda for the first time, the President being at Lusaka airport to bid goodbye to a four-member mission leaving for London, Washington, and Moscow, to press for a United Nations resolution which would make sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory on all member nations. Mr. Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister, leads the mission, which was to see the Prime Minister in London early this week. Mr. Kapwepwe had arranged to fly to Washington on Wednesday, while Mr. Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, went to Moscow "to discuss safeguards for the Kariba dam."

Mr. Hughes and Sir Leslie Monson, the British High Commissioner, were not invited into the airport lounge in which the President and Ministers talked, but were left standing on the tarmac, where they saw one of the large R.A.F. transports land. According to the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, the damage which it did to the tarmac must have equalled the value of the fuel carried.

Mr. Hughes was to have made a 10-minute broadcast before leaving. Though the text had been approved by Dr. Kaunda, permission for the broadcast was refused by Mr. Kapwepwe.

Africans at United Nations Insult Britain's Prime Minister

Twenty-five of 36 African Delegations Refuse to Hear Mr. Wilson's Speech

TWENTY-FIVE AFRICAN DELEGATIONS, numbering about 100 persons, marched out of the hall, passing immediately in front of Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, as he reached the rostrum to address the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York last Thursday.

Malawi was the only African State in the Commonwealth whose representatives remained.

So did the delegations of Liberia and of nine States formerly administered by France, eight in West and North Africa, and Malagasy.

According to one report, Mr. Wilson "stood glaring" as the Africans walked past him, some with their hands in their trouser pockets.

Such a rebuff in the General Assembly was unprecedented.

The part of the speech which dealt with Rhodesia ran as follows:—

Charge of Racialist Obsession

"I hope this Assembly will accept that no one could have done more than we have done to warn the then Government of Rhodesia of the incalculable risks they were taking if they plunged into the illegal action which they finally and irresponsibly announced on November 11. I hope the Assembly will agree that we did everything in our power to agree to a just and honourable settlement.

"We failed; and we failed because of the racialist obsession of the people with whom we were dealing—for not only did they defy the British Government, the legally constituted authority for their country; not only did they show their contempt for world opinion: worst of all, they have, while paying lip service to 'civilized standards', outraged the moral law which is working its purpose out as year succeeds year in world history—the right of all men to live their lives in the dignity of social and political freedom.

"In a broadcast to the British nation before the tragic decision of November 11—some weeks before—I said that in dealing with Mr. Smith, as I then was, I was talking in the accents of different worlds and, indeed, of different centuries.

"Britain, Mr. President, carries the responsibility. Sometimes I could wish it were otherwise. No Government, I believe, in our life has had to face a problem so complex, so multi-dimensional.

"In theory, and under constitutional law, this is a bilateral matter between the British Parliament, who

alone have the responsibility of decision in Rhodesia, and the people of Rhodesia. But those in any country who believe that this can be contained within the confines of Britain and Rhodesia—those who do not recognize the fact that this is a world problem both in what it symbolizes and in what its effect can be, such people are victims of self-delusion.

Reference of Problem to United Nations

"It was the recognition of this fact which led the British Government, within minutes of the illegal declaration of Mr. Smith and his colleagues, to instruct the Foreign Secretary to proceed at once to the United Nations and take the initiative in raising the matter with the Security Council.

"We accept the responsibility for dealing with this matter because it is our responsibility, but, Mr. President, having embarked on a series of measures of unprecedented severity, at considerable cost and still greater risk to ourselves, in order to secure the return of the Rhodesian people to their true allegiance and to constitutional courses of action, we have the right to ask every member of this Assembly to give us their fullest support.

"Above all, we have the right to demand that the financial and economic measures we have instituted are not frustrated by the nationals of other countries seeking to earn a sordid profit by traffic with those who have defied the opinion of mankind.

Deep Passions and Disagreement

"I know there are many nations represented here, many of our closest friends in the Commonwealth, who have criticized us bitterly for not invoking the use of military force to suppress this rebellion, and it is a sad thought that in this organization, created to establish the peaceful settlement of disputes, there is a deep disagreement between us on the question of what is held to be our failure to settle this matter by warlike means. Their passions run deep and every one of us understands this. But, I say to them that this is not the way to settle this problem.

"We shall not let up until Rhodesia has returned to constitutional rule. We believe that, given time, given patience, the British Parliament will effectively assert their authority in consultation with those who can claim to speak more representatively on behalf of the Rhodesian people as a whole.

"Equally I repeat—and this has been the view expressed by successive Governments in my country—that the future of Rhodesia, as we have ensured with so many formerly subject nations who have achieved independence in these past few years, must be on the basis of multi-racial harmony leading to democratic majority rule.

"Our disagreement is not about principles but about the methods for realizing those principles. The methods we use

to achieve a settlement must be based on the realities of the Rhodesian situation, realities which every one of us here must be prepared to face. Two facts I must underline.

First, Rhodesia is in legal terms a colony; but, as our representatives here in the United Nations have had to make clear on many occasions, Rhodesia has had a unique degree of internal self-government for over 40 years, unknown in any other part of the former British Empire.

In all our long, proud record of ending British colonial rule I do not believe that there is any example, apart from Rhodesia, where at the stage of qualified self-government the local régime exercised control over powerful armed forces. One may regret this fact, as one may regret that, over these last 40 years, previous British Parliaments failed to uphold and assert their right to insist on the maintenance of human rights and the protection of the African people in that country. But however we may regret failures of the past, we have to deal now with the consequences of those failures for 1965.

My second point is this. It has been a cardinal aim of British policy to secure a more rapid advance of self-government for African peoples and to train those peoples for self-government. I believe—and I have said this many times to Mr. Smith—that it is a tragic commentary upon the European record in Rhodesia that there is not in Rhodesia as elsewhere an African nationalist movement capable of the responsibility of self-government at this moment.

For one thing, it is tragically divided. For another, it has been denied the opportunity of practical political experience, and, in particular, of multi-racial co-operation. It is for these reasons that I have had to make it clear that so far as we are concerned a return to constitutional rule would not and could not mean an immediate advance to majority rule.

Time will be needed; and time, as I have said in London and in Salisbury, will be measured not by clock or calendar, but by achievement in working within a multi-racial Rhodesian Government, during a period in which the British Parliament remains in a position to ensure the protection of human rights, to guarantee the unimpeded advancement of the majority and to safeguard the rights of minorities. This has been done with success elsewhere in Africa, and it can be done in Rhodesia.

Wind of Change at Gale Force

"We are facing a dangerous situation. The wind of change in Africa is blowing at gale force. The tragedy is that there are deluded men who have seized the helm and who, with all the apparatus of a police State, have in turn deceived a lot of their fellow-citizens into believing that the relative stillness which is found at the centre of a cyclone can be a basis for quiet and stability.

I recognize the deep feelings, the passions, that have been engendered among our African friends. Yes, I know that when some in Britain say that the Rhodesian Europeans are our own kith and kin they can reply, with right on their side, that their own kith and kin outnumber the Europeans by 20 to one.

But this is a time when calm, cool counsels are more likely to settle this issue, and it must be on a basis that will avoid confrontation and conflict across Africa. Lord Caradon has warned that if passions take control this mad action could be the beginning of a new and more dangerous conflict which, unlike any in world history, would be a conflict of race, a conflict based on colour.

I am proud, Mr. President, that in the world where conflicts of colour and race are now occupying the centre of the stage, to the exclusion of our more ancient disputes, the Commonwealth is the greatest multi-racial association in the world. I trust it will remain so and that it will survive the strains of these past days.

But once the world begins to split not on the basis of ideology but on the basis of colour, then all that all of us have fought for, including this United Nations itself, will be consigned to the limbo of impractical experiments.

"This is a moral issue. More than two years ago, when Leader of the Opposition speaking at my party conference, I said this Rhodesian issue was one in which there could be no neutrals. Mr. President, there is no neutrality here.

Dante thus said: 'The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality'. Abraham Lincoln said in the context of a comparable moral crisis, a century ago, that 'no nation could survive half slave and half free'. That is the issue in Rhodesia today.

"But I beseech this assembly to give us time to deal with this situation. I have made it clear that in this task to which we have set our hands, there will be no turning back.

"I accept that there is a deep difference of opinion between the British Government and those in Africa whose good will and respect we would like to have and trust we shall yet retain. And I would ask our friends in Africa, when they are able to listen, to believe that difference is not about the objective of ending the rebellion.

"It is about methods. On objectives, our own determination to bring this through to a successful conclusion, I hope there

is no doubt about where we stand; this is a question of trust, trust in our sincerity and determination.

Understandable Anger

"As to methods, I referred a moment ago to Abraham Lincoln. At the moment of that great conflict when everyone doubted whether the methods he proposed would succeed, ever doubted this resolution, he said this: 'I will do the very best I can, the very best I know how. And I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out alright, what is said against me now won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, I won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, I will be swearing I was right would make no difference'.

"Could we leave it like that? Today we see some of our friends, passionate to intervene and unable to do so, directing their understandable anger not against Rhodesia but against Britain. All right; I understand that. But the British Government is not going to be deflected from the course that we are convinced is right, in which I believe the whole British people are behind us.

"But I do have the right to appeal to this Assembly to recognize that words and resolutions and criticism and passion, while they have their place, are not a substitute for action.

"When the American nation declared independence in the 18th Century they had world opinion on their side. What is more, they were dealing with a stiff, stupid, and unimaginative British Government, which is not the position today. I warned Mr. Smith and the Rhodesian people in advance that 1776 was no precedent.

"It is because Mr. Smith's tawdry declaration of independence, unlike that of 1776, never had, in the words of Jefferson, 'a respect for the opinions of mankind'; it is because the vast majority of the nations of the world have condemned this action that I have the right in this Assembly to appeal, nay to demand, that everyone who deprecates this irresponsible and backward-looking attitude of this Rhodesian minority should join with us, should back us to the hilt in our economic and financial sanctions, regardless of our differences, and so deny to the illegal Rhodesian régime the munitions of rebellion, the means they seek for defying history and for defying the objectives asserted on behalf of mankind in the Charter of the United Nations."

Government Thinking of Early Collapse

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, Mr. Herbert Bowden, said in the House of Commons last week:—

"We all hope very sincerely that nothing will happen between the adjournment and the return of the House which will necessitate recalling the House. On the other hand, we should face the fact that the situation in Rhodesia is changing, and it may be that as a result of the action already taken, while the problem will not have been solved, the illegal régime in Rhodesia will have come to an end by the time that we return" (i.e., January 25).

MR. PATRICK WALL had said:—

"We face one of the most dangerous crises, national and international, since the Christmas of 1938. I therefore suggest that we should be very cautious about adjourning to January 25. We should consider the potential dangers of the situation in Central Africa. During the recess we might well pass the point of no return and when the House reassembles we might find ourselves so far along the road to a shooting war that it would be impossible to retrace our steps.

"There has been a supposition in the Press that the Prime Minister, when he goes to the United Nations, will agree to mandatory oil sanctions. There have also been reports of a possible blockade of the port of Beira in order to enforce those sanctions. That could be regarded by the Portuguese as an act of war. The military blockade of a foreign port has always been accepted to be an act of war.

"Secondly, there is the possibility during the recess of United Nations intervention in Zambia. Zambian representatives are visiting Washington and Moscow to discuss such intervention. Thirdly, increased pressure from the Afro-Asian nations on Britain may lead to the despatch of British troops into Rhodesia to 'protect'—I say that word in inverted commas—the southern part of the Kariba Dam. All these matters could involve us in a shooting war during the recess, and that it would be difficult to support this motion unless we have a commitment from the Government that the House will be recalled in any of these eventualities.

"I hope the Government will give a categorical assurance that neither oil sanctions, nor the movement of British troops into Rhodesia, nor United Nations intervention in Zambia will be undertaken during the recess, and that if they consider that any of these three matters are necessary they will recall Parliament."

PERSONALIA

THE BISHOP OF BEDFORD will shortly visit Zambia. MR. JUSTICE K. G. BENNETT is now Acting Chief Justice of Uganda.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON has been elected chairman of the Brewers' Society.

MR. A. CHESTER BEATTY has been elected president of the British Overseas Mining Association. The new vice-president is MR. J. CAMPBELL.

MR. T. W. ASTON, British Deputy High Commissioner in Uganda, and MRS. ASTON arrived on Monday in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE.

THE RT. REV. KENNETH SKELTON, Bishop of Matabeleland, has arrived in London. He is chairman of the Rhodesian Council of Churches.

Two Tanzanian Ministers, Messrs. PAUL BOMANI and SWAI, arrived in Paris last week for discussions with French Ministers, industrialists, and financiers.

MR. J. H. COLLIER-WRIGHT, for many years on the staff of the East African Railways and Harbours, has joined the board of British Transport Advertising, Ltd.

MR. GRAHAM H. GRIFFIN, a local director in the Sudan of Barclays Bank D.C.O., is to go to Nigeria as an assistant general manager and a member of the Nigerian board.

MR. ABOKOR ABD AR-RAHMAN SHAYKH DEIRA, publisher of a weekly newspaper in Mogadishu, has been arrested on charges of insulting the honour of the Head of State of Somalia.

THE RT. REV. DR. LESLIE BROWN, lately Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, who has arrived in England, is to serve for the next three months as Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Southwark.

MR. BURKE KNAPP, vice-president of the World Bank, flew from Nairobi to Salisbury in the middle of last week for discussions in connexion with the Kariba hydro-electric scheme, for which the bank lent £31m. on British guarantee. MR. KNAPP had also arranged to visit Lusaka.

MR. E. W. WRIGHT, for the past 15 years secretary of the Manicaland Development and Publicity Association, has just retired. He had been secretary of the Manicaland Agricultural Society for 10 years from 1950. For many years Mr. Wright was on the staff of the Standard Bank, latterly as manager in Umtali.

MR. G. F. TAYLOR will on January 1 resign the managing directorship of Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Co., Ltd., but will retain the chairmanship. LORD GLENCONNER will simultaneously resign the deputy chairmanship but continue as a director. MR. W. R. MERTON is to become deputy chairman, and Messrs. M. LEES, C. D. MACQUAIDE and T. C. RAYMOND will be appointed joint managing directors.

BRIGADIER F. E. SPENCER will leave Exmouth shortly to visit relatives in Rhodesia.

MR. DONALD MUNRO has been appointed education officer to the Africa Centre, London.

BRIGADIER EMILIO MOURA DOS SANTOS, the military commander in Mozambique, has been promoted general.

ALDERMAN PAULO KAVUMA, Mayor of Kampala, has returned to Uganda after spending three months in Europe and the U.S.A.

MR. ALEKE BANDA, secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, has just paid brief visits to Israel, Formosa, Australia, and Britain.

THE REV. GRESFORD CHITEMO has been consecrated Bishop of the new Anglican Diocese of Morogoro, Tanzania. Part of his theological training was taken in Australia.

MR. SULEIMAN EL HADDAD, chairman and managing director of the Arab-African Bank in Cairo, has recently visited Tanzania for discussions with the Government.

BRIGADIER ANDREW SKEEN has been returned opposed as Rhodesian Front Member in the by-election in Arundel, Salisbury, caused by MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT'S resignation.

MR. A. T. LAW, sales director of the Gallaher group of companies, which has large Rhodesian and Malawi interests, will retire at the end of the year, but will remain on the boards of two of the companies in the group.

MR. F. COOLBAUGH, president of American Metal Climax Inc., which has large interests in Zambian copper mining, has succeeded MR. W. HOCHSCHILD as chairman and chief executive officer of the company. MR. HOCHSCHILD remains on the board.

MR. A. N. WILSON, public relations consultant to the Anglo American Corporation, is on the point of retirement, but will be retained in an advisory capacity. He has been with the corporation since 1949. He is a son of a former editor of the *Cape Times*, the late G. H. WILSON.

MR. DEREK B. KIMBER is to join the board of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., on January 1 as director in charge of shipbuilding activities. He has been deputy managing director of Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Co., Ltd., and president of the Clyde Shipbuilders' Association.

MR. P. RUBATIKA, an African who was elected to the Rhodesian Parliament as an Independent, who recently joined the United People's Party, and disagreed with his nine colleagues who walked out of the House in protest at the introduction of the new Constitution and the declaration of independence, has now said that he recognizes the *de facto* Government of Mr. Smith. He does not approve the Rhodesian Front's policy, but deems it his duty to remain in Parliament to represent African interests. The nine U.P.P. Members had, he thought, acted irresponsibly, foolishly, and without foresight.

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Obituary

GENERAL LORD ISMAY, K.G., G.C.B., C.H., D.S.O., who has died at the age of 78, was one of Sir Winston Churchill's closest associates during the last war. He made him Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in 1951, but very soon afterwards Lord Ismay was appointed the first Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Throughout the 1914-18 war he served in East Africa, partly in the King's African Rifles and partly in command of a Somaliland Camel Corps column in the operations against the Mad Mullah.

Tanzania Leads African Breakaway from Britain

First Commonwealth State to Sever Relations

TANZANIA broke off diplomatic relations with Britain at midnight on Wednesday of last week, December 15, as President Nyerere had threatened to do if "determined action to end the Rhodesian rebellion" had not then been taken by Britain.

Foreign Ministers of member States of the Organization of African Unity had resolved unanimously (Gambia being absent) at a meeting in Addis Ababa that all their countries should sever diplomatic relations with Britain if within a fortnight (December 15) H.M. Government had not "crushed" the Smith régime.

President Nyerere considered it a matter of honour for all O.A.U. States to act on the resolution, and Mr. Robert Fowler, British High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam, had received written notification that the breach would take place at midnight on the date stipulated.

No member of the Commonwealth had ever previously broken off relations with Britain.

Mr. Wilson Always Ambiguous

President Nyerere told Parliament that he had received a message from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in regard to the British position, but "unfortunately, as always, it was ambiguous in its phraseology; and it is too late for Africa to argue with Britain about the precise meaning of certain phrases."

On the previous day the President had told the National Assembly that though the responsibility for Rhodesia lay with Britain, as the British Government itself insisted, Britain "has not shown serious determination either to get rid of those in Rhodesia who have usurped British power or to replace them by representatives of the people."

"But it is not the timing which causes Africa to become angry. We could argue about timing. Our anger and suspicion arise from the fact that even now, on December 14, Britain is not committed to the principle of independence only on the basis of majority rule."

"Africa is not hungry for blood. We do not demand that British troops should die in Rhodesia or that Smith's forces should die. If this matter can be settled peacefully no one will be more happy than Africans. But Britain has done the very minimum, and left Zambia, an African State friendly to Britain, to live under threats to its livelihood from the rebels."

Economic Sanctions Will Not Work

"Economic sanctions against Rhodesia will not work so long as South Africa is allowed to trade freely with the rebel colony. Is Dr. Kaunda expected to sit quiet while increasing domestic pressure on the rebels makes them more and more desperate until they finally use their power to interfere with his power supply? As long as the Kariba power station is safeguarded it does not matter if the action taken is British. Let her call for United Nations help."

"How can we criticize Britain and not be willing to pay the price of freeing Rhodesia and helping Zambia if we are not prepared to pay a price to show our own determination. It is easy to call others to make sacrifices. Those who call on Britain without being ready themselves are guilty of a degree of hypocrisy unequalled up to now in Africa. If we have any respect for international obligations, how can we fail to honour our own resolution?"

"Breaking diplomatic relations with the British Government does not at present mean that Tanzania will leave the Commonwealth. We recognize that, because of Britain's special place in this organization, a diplomatic break by any other member with Britain would impose a great strain on it. We hope that it will still remain true to its principles."

"But loyalty to the Commonwealth and its principles is impossible without loyalty to O.A.U. If African members of the Commonwealth are loyal to O.A.U., the Commonwealth has a chance to survive because its members will respect each other. For the sake of the Commonwealth, as well as for the sake of O.A.U., Africa must honour its commitments."

Mr. Christopher Ngaiza, High Commissioner in London,

said that Tanzania would be represented in London by the Canadian High Commissioner.

It had previously been suggested unofficially in Dar es Salaam that the Canadian High Commissioner would act for Britain and be assisted by some members of the British High Commission, President Nyerere having said that he would not insist on all of them leaving; he had promised Zambia all possible aid, and one or two members of the British High Commission might help in arranging assistance promised to Zambia.

Three former French West African States, Guinea, Senegal, and Niger, broke with Britain on the same day. They do scarcely any trade with the United Kingdom, whereas Tanzania has a substantial import and export relationship and depends mainly on Britain for foreign aid. Since she became independent four years ago she has received some £28m. from the British taxpayer, and has recently been promised an interest-free loan of £7.5m. for development purposes. Nearly 1,000 Britons are in Tanzania as teachers, technical assistants, or in other professional capacities.

The office of Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, stated that he did not intend to comment on the Rhodesian situation or the O.A.U. resolution. He had consistently opposed African interference in the Rhodesian problem.

Two Voices in Uganda

Uganda's Vice-President, Sir Wilberforce Nadiopé, said in Kampala that his Government fully intended to act on the O.A.U. resolution, but the Prime Minister, Dr. Obote, stated shortly afterwards that there would be no immediate breach, though British policy indicated that the time for Uganda to implement the Addis Ababa resolution was coming nearer.

The Ethiopian Foreign Minister announced that his country supported an Egyptian proposal that the O.A.U. Council of Ministers should meet again to discuss Rhodesia before December 21.

Nigeria's Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, proposed a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in Lagos in January.

Ghana severed relations last Thursday, when President Nkrumah told the National Assembly:—

"If and when the United Kingdom Government succeeds in crushing the Ian Smith rebellion and solves the Rhodesian crisis in the interest of the majority of the Rhodesian people, the Government of Ghana will normalize relations." His Government's position was that "sanctions alone are inadequate unless backed by military intervention."

Ghana must now consider quitting the Commonwealth, and would place before the next O.A.U. Summit Conference a resolution calling on member States to sever links with their "former colonial masters".

Egypt, Congo (Brazzaville), Mali, and Mauritania broke off diplomatic relations on Thursday, when the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, said that the precipitate decision of Tanzania and Ghana "can only be of comfort to the Smith régime".

Sudan and Algeria broke off diplomatic relations on Saturday.

Another African Summit Conference

Emperor Haile Selassie, President Kenyatta, and Mr. Obote agreed in Nairobi on Sunday on the desirability of an immediate meeting of African Heads of State "to facilitate urgent consultation on a line of action to help solve the Rhodesian problem".

Mr. Joseph Mathenge, Leader of Government Business in the Kenya Senate, said that Kenya would carry out the O.A.U. resolution to break with Britain if all other African States did so.

Rhodesia's "True National Movement" Would Not Accept Whitehall Government

DURING A DEBATE on Orders in Council in connexion with the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia, Mr. John Diamond, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, said that the purpose of taking over control of Rhodesia's Central Bank had been to prevent use of its funds for the purposes of the illegal régime. No central bank had refused recognition to the new board under Sir Sydney Caine.

Mr. William Clark asked why there had been a delay of 22 days. During that time the Reserve Bank had bought all the gold it could. If it was right to act now, it would have been still more right to do so 22 days earlier. The delay afforded one more proof that the Socialists governed from day to day, never looking forward.

Rhodesia's reserves were about £9m. in London, £6m. in South Africa, and £3.5m. in Switzerland. Gold in Rhodesia was worth another £3.5m, and foreign currency reserves in Rhodesia might total £10m.

The public internal debt was £113m. Rhodesian Government stock in issue totalled £67m.; liabilities to the World Bank about £25m.; to the C.D.C. and H.M. Government £16m.; making a total of £221m. and a debt repayment of about £8m. annually. The interest figure was £3.25m. a year.

Stock Exchange quotations had fallen so much that one stock now yielded £11 12s. 6d. per cent. Had these stocks lost their trustee status? Must persons holding them under trust sell them as no longer of trustee status?

Injury to Sterling and British Credit

Mr. R. T. Paget, Socialist Member for Northampton, questioned the Chief Secretary's statement that only £11m. annually was involved in repayment of debt and interest. On a total of £220m. he regarded £26m. as a much more realistic figure—which had to be set against the loss due to the tobacco embargo.

"The hot shot sanctions which are to bring down Mr. Smith turn out to be an injury to our credit and sterling position", Mr. Paget ended with the words: "This is injurious and costly to us but a small injury to Rhodesia".

Mr. Julian Amery was sure that the impounding of Rhodesia's hard-won earnings in order to inflict hardship upon the people would make the British connexion seem even more odious to the people of Rhodesia—especially as Egyptian balances in London had not been frozen at the time of the seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956.

The Prime Minister's adventure would prove costly. It would include between £11m. and £26m. a year to meet Rhodesian liabilities and somewhere between £20m. and £35m. in dollars for American tobacco in place of Rhodesian. There should be negotiations now with Salisbury.

Mr. John Farr, who said that he had an interest in a farm in Rhodesia near the Kariba Dam, asked if the old board of the reserve bank still functioned in Salisbury.

Sir Kenneth Pickthorn objected to sanctions, since they "hit not only the chap one is trying to hit but oneself and a lot of third parties". To use legally and constitutionally doubtful sanctions to compel a return to law and order seemed to him a great betrayal of the practice and theory of Parliament.

Mr. Stephen Hastings suggested that the Prime Minister was aiming at something close to unconditional surrender and expected Rhodesia to be in grave economic trouble by about March. He did not share that view.

"Whether we like it or not, this is a true national movement. There is nothing in the British or Dutch Rhodesians to suggest that they will give in easily. On the contrary, there is much in their history to suggest that they do not. They live a harder physical existence than we do, and they are convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the very survival of their country is at stake. It is folly to imagine that the white Rhodesians will give up because of financial stringency alone.

There is an assumption that a significant number of white Rhodesians will be ready to co-operate with H.M. Government in the direct rule of Rhodesia from Whitehall as soon as the Smith régime gives in. Who are they? The names of Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Evan Campbell, and Mr. Winston Field have been mentioned, eminent Rhodesians and opponents of Mr. Smith in varying degrees. But none of them shows the least inclination to take up this position, and none would entertain the idea of direct rule from Whitehall in any circumstances.

"The only sane course is to initiate discussions now before the situation slips totally out of control. But every day this

may become more difficult. I believe that a settlement could now be reached. Mr. Smith has said that he is ready to talk. There must be give and take on both sides."

Sir Charles Taylor, though not condoning U.D.I., opposed the Orders in Council, for if the sanctions did not succeed Britain would have to resort to force, a policy with which he could never agree. The Government should withdraw the Orders, re-open negotiations with Mr. Smith, and seek a peaceful solution.

Chancellor's Statement Called False

Mr. Iain Macleod said that, as a result of the action of H.M. Government, there had been for the first time a default on British, Commonwealth, or Colonial stock. That day the Commonwealth Relations Secretary had told the House that the United Kingdom had not assumed the government of Rhodesia, "and has not in any way succeeded either to the assets or the liabilities of the Government of Rhodesia. It is not for the British Government to intervene in a situation where interest payments of Rhodesian public debt in this country have been stopped as the result of the illegal actions of Mr. Smith and his colleagues on November 11".

That answer was not true. H.M. Government was the legal Government of Rhodesia. It could not go on to say that "the Smith régime is illegal only for certain purposes"—those that happened to suit Britain.

The interest should have been paid. The good faith of H.M. Government was involved in its default on December 6, when £87,000 should have been paid to about 1,500 people.

Mr. Diamond made a long and involved reply. It did not answer the specific points put to him.

Insurance Claims Not Paid

MR. HEATH having asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he was aware that Lloyd's of London and British insurance companies were not now being allowed to pay on claims arising in Rhodesia.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: "Yes. This is one of the types of contractual payments for which permission has been refused since December 1".

MR. HEATH: "Is it not the first time that payments of Lloyd's have ever been stopped except in time of war? Will the Chancellor consider also the balance of payments aspect? British insurance companies have always resisted depositing moneys in other countries to cover their payments. This action will increase the pressure of other countries to make British insurance companies hold deposits in their native lands to meet payments."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I considered the position in time of war before this decision was arrived at. In this case the payments which have to be made are being held in London and will be paid when Rhodesia returns to a state of constitutional government. On the balance of payments aspect, the Leader of the Opposition points to the real dilemma, but if we were to be limited in our actions only to those which do not adversely affect our balance of payments, there would be no effectiveness in the sanctions we are undertaking."

MR. EMMYS HUGHES: "How much would British insurance companies stand to lose if anything happened to the Kariba Dam?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "This question points the dilemma. It is all very well being in favour of everything in general and nothing much in particular. There may be people willing to take advantage of any action of this sort—I am referring, maybe, to some in other countries acting in a private capacity—but that I do not think relieves us of the obligation of recognizing the enormity of the act which has been committed and of taking all steps possible to ensure a return to constitutional government in Rhodesia as quickly as possible. If we do not achieve this there are other consequences that might to this country be equally repugnant."

MR. HEATH: "The Chancellor has made a statement unworthy of him that the House, or I on this side, give him support in general but nothing in particular. That is not the case. We have raised one point on pensions which the Chancellor readily accepted. Will he not consider that Lloyd's is not a question of normal trading arrangements. It is a question of integrity, which has always been maintained by every Chancellor."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I assure the rt. hon. gentleman I was not necessarily putting the cap on his head when I made my first comment. It is for those in Rhodesia who are in a position to influence events to ensure their Government returns to the path of constitutional government. Then payments can be made."

How Long Till Independence? Government Somersaults Over Pensions

THE PRIME MINISTER, when asked in the House of Commons what estimates he had been given by Rhodesian Ministers of the time which would elapse before the 1961 Constitution brought majority rule, replied:—

"Several estimates were put forward—varying from five to 50 years. Mr. Smith referred to 15 to 50 years, but expressed the view that it is impossible to predict the period with any certainty. No estimate is valid, because the 1961 Constitution does not in itself guarantee unimpeded progress to majority rule. Mr. Smith's declared intention to abolish the B roll seats would have further delayed majority rule."

Mr. Wilson said that he would not make available in the library of the House the record of his talks with Mr. Garfield Todd and Mr. Nkomo while he was in Rhodesia in October.

H.M. Government did not intend to compensate British subjects resident in the United Kingdom for losses sustained as a direct consequence of the imposition of economic sanctions on Rhodesia.

Second Thoughts on Pensioners in Rhodesia

Mr. Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House that "in response to the humanitarian considerations involved, and in accordance with advice from the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, permission will again be given for payments from the United Kingdom of pensions due to residents in Rhodesia."

He added: "I emphasize that this decision implies no change of policy in the tight and effective control being exercised over other financial transactions."

MR. ZILLIACUS: "Does the Chancellor mean that Service pensions will again be paid to policemen and officers, United Kingdom subjects, who are now serving in Ian Smith's forces?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "It is not possible to make any administrative distinctions without setting up a large machine at this end, which in present circumstances I do not think I should be well advised to do. I hope that the pursuit of the other measures will ensure that Rhodesia will return to constitutional methods of Government before such a step is necessary."

DAME IRENE WARD: "While thanking the Chancellor for his change of opinion, may I ask why the Government always put the case of pensioners at the bottom of the list of priorities?" *(Interruption.)*

MR. CALLAGHAN: "That was not the criticism levelled against us from outside this country a year ago, when one of the first steps we took on coming to office was to make a record increase in pensions."

MR. DRIBERG: "While allowing for the humane treatment of existing elderly pensioners, would the Chancellor at least make it clear that those people who are at present in the civil service and armed forces and are continuing to serve the illegal régime in Rhodesia will forfeit their pension rights for the period from U.D.I. until constitutional government is restored?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I would not think it proper to give such an undertaking."

MR. HEATH: "May I join in thanking the Chancellor for admitting frankly that this measure was a mistake and for putting it right?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I am always ready to accept that there are occasions when one is handling large events—and we have not handled an event as large as this for a long time—that in a general prohibition of payments events may take place which, on reflection, ought to be reversed. I am glad that we have now been able to do this, although I am sure that I have the support of the whole House in saying that the control of payments to and from Rhodesia should be very firmly administered."

DR. BENNETT: "Since the Chancellor has revealed his intention to relax this restriction on the civil pensioners, can he affirm that this restoration will also apply to Service pensioners?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "As far as I know, it applies to all pensions. If the hon. gentleman will write to me on the subject I will give him an answer."

When Mr. Grimond, the Liberal leader, asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary what evidence he had stated that the Kariba Dam had been mined by the illegal régime

in Rhodesia, Mr. Bottomley replied that he was not prepared to divulge the evidence or its sources.

No Official Broadcasts from Bechuanaland

Broadcasts from the relay station now being built in Bechuanaland would, he said, carry B.B.C. programmes in their world and African services. No official Government broadcasts were contemplated.

Questions about the Charter of the United Nations "sometimes have a theological quality to them," said Mr. GEORGE THOMSON, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, adding: "The Prime Minister put the matter exactly when he said that in the view of H.M. Government the recent resolution on Rhodesia came somewhere between Chapters VI and VII."

Asked about a decision of the United Arab Republic to prevent the passage of goods for Rhodesia through the Suez Canal, Mr. THOMSON replied that H.M. Government had no knowledge of any confiscations or of such instructions having been given.

In response to Mr. WALL'S inquiry about countries which had decided to impose sanctions on Rhodesia, the Minister of State said: "The general support for our economic measures has been satisfactory, and is steadily extending as countries are able to take necessary administrative decisions."

"The following countries have placed a complete embargo on trade with Rhodesia: Denmark, India, Israel, Jamaica, Kenya, Libya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Norway, Singapore, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad, and Uganda."

"The following countries which take a significant quantity of Rhodesian tobacco have imposed a ban on imports of tobacco from Rhodesia: Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom and Colonies."

"The following countries which take a significant quantity of Rhodesian sugar have placed a ban on imports of sugar from Rhodesia: Australia, Canada, and the U.S.A."

"In addition, Australia and Canada have taken action against commodities covering about 90% of their imports from Rhodesia."

"We expect these measures to be very effective indeed in bringing home to the Smith régime the consequences of the illegal declaration of independence."

Rhodesia's Population

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES said in reply to SIR RICHARD GLYN: "The latest estimate of the population of Rhodesia is 4,020,000 Africans, 219,000 Europeans, 12,700 Coloured, and 8,000 Asians. The last full census, in May 1962, showed that out of a total of 3,616,570 Africans approximately 406,050 were born outside Southern Rhodesia. It is not known exactly how many Africans are over the age of 21, but probably between 40% and 45%. Mr. Smith was prepared to extend the B roll franchise to include approximately one million adult tax-paying Africans, but a commensurate increase in Parliamentary representation for the African population was not proposed."

No suggestion of a resumption of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Somalia had been received, but H.M. Government would be prepared, if so requested by the Somali Government, to consider the appointment of a consul in Mogadishu as a preliminary step to the full resumption of relations.

MR. JAMES JOHNSON had suggested that "there is a dangerous vacuum in the Horn of Africa despite the fact that the Somalis have enormous good will for us."

The House agreed to present to the House of Representatives of Kenya a bookcase containing British Parliamentary and constitutional reference books.

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Britain Backed by N.A.T.O.

AT A MEETING in Paris last week of the Ministerial Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance support for British action against Rhodesia was given by delegates from Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Greece, West Germany and Turkey. But Senhor Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, remained silent.

The lead appears to have been taken by Mr. Dean Rusk, the American Secretary of State, who called Mr. Smith's action tragic. The United States, he said, held firmly that the problem could not be resolved by force, and that a political solution should be possible. If Rhodesians meant to fight, the operation involved would require several divisions of troops. He pleaded with members of the Alliance to urge restraint upon independent African Governments.

Mr. Healey, the British Defence Minister, was stated to have told the Council that Britain could not use military force against Rhodesia without the risk of starting a racial war in Africa; that African countries had not the means to use force effectively; and that there could be no armed intervention by the United Nations unless operational aircraft were contributed by some member States. If Russia provided assistance through the Poles or the Czechs, the cold war would be carried into Africa, where Russians and Chinese would compete for the revolutionary leadership.

Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, said that his country had already cut off 98% of her imports from Rhodesia.

Switzerland announced that the account of the Rhodesian Reserve Bank with the Swiss National Bank was being temporarily blocked and that export of arms and ammunition to Rhodesia was prohibited. The Foreign Minister said that Switzerland had not recognized the Rhodesian Declaration of Independence. The Swiss Consul remained in Salisbury to protect the interests of about 400 Swiss citizens in Rhodesia.

"I want this House to know that the directors of the *Rhodesia Herald* [which had been under criticism] are the brothers-in-law of Welensky and Huggins. That is why they have this chronic hatred against our Prime Minister". — Mr. G. W. Kuntumanji, Minister of Natural Resources in Malawi.

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

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No Regent for Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT has decided not to proceed with the intention to appoint a Regent. The proposal has been abandoned "out of deference to Her Majesty the Queen and members of the Royal Family". Mr. Smith announced last Thursday:—

"The British Government has disgracefully dragged the Queen into the conflict between Rhodesia and Britain. The Rhodesian Government has no desire to emulate this conduct, and wishes to avoid involving Her Majesty in any further unpleasantness that undoubtedly would be created by the Wilson Government if a 'Regent' were appointed for Rhodesia.

"The same considerations apply to the title of 'Governor-General'.

"Therefore the Government has amended the Constitution with a new paragraph, the effect of which will be that until Her Majesty appoints a Governor-General, an event which all her loyal subjects in this country would welcome with glad hearts, the Officer Administering the Government will be an officer appointed by members of the Executive Council presided over by the Prime Minister or in such other manner as may be prescribed by a law of the legislature".

Unconditional Surrender Opposed Conservatives Censure Wilson Policy

FORMER MINISTERS and Privy Councillors have signed a Conservative motion censuring the Prime Minister for his attitude to Rhodesia. Mr. Turton, Mr. Julian Amery, Mr. William Deedes, Mr. Nigel Birch, Mr. Patrick Wall, and Mr. John Biggs-Davison have tabled a motion reading:—

"That this House deplores the statement of the Prime Minister on December 10 on Rhodesia demanding terms amounting to unconditional surrender before any negotiations can be conducted, and welcoming the proposals for negotiations made by Sir Alec Douglas-Home in his speech at Glasgow on December 13, urges that this course should now be pursued".

Tabling of the motion had been planned to coincide with Mr. Wilson's address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, so that it might be reported in U.K. newspapers at the same time.

By Thursday night more than 100 Tory M.P.s. had signed as supporters. That was regarded as ending bipartnership on Rhodesia in the House of Commons.

Rhodesia was also discussed that evening at a meeting of the 1922 Committee of Conservative backbenchers.

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DAY OF PRAYER OBSERVED IN RHODESIA

CHURCHES IN RHODESIA made last Sunday a special day of prayer, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster asked Christians in Britain also to pray for a just and peaceful solution of Rhodesian problems.

In calling people to prayer Mr. Smith had said: "It is my hope that Rhodesians of all races will make every effort to attend church on Sunday, and that they will each and every one of them set aside any prejudices and particular viewpoints that they may hold and submit themselves with humility and reverence before Almighty God, to ask that He may make His will known and give guidance to Rhodesia in the days which lie ahead."

The Rt. Rev. Kenneth Skelton, Bishop of Matabeleland, said in a sermon in Westminster Abbey on Sunday: "Mr. Smith has said that 'we have struck a blow for the preservation of Christianity'. This is not the religion of Christ. It is because of this kind of blasphemy that people are rejecting Christianity in Africa."

Rhodesia Asks for Queen's Broadcast

Rhodesia Television has asked for a full-length version of the Queen's Christmas broadcast, which was recorded a few days ago at Buckingham Palace.

A Christmas card reaching this country from Rhodesia shows four Rhodesians in uniform standing at the foot of a flagstaff and tightening their belts. The Union Flag flies beneath the Crown. In the background is a Cross.

Many Rhodesian children at schools in Britain have flown home for Christmas, and the traffic of Rhodesians to seaside resorts in South Africa and to Beira for the holidays is described as normal. South Africans are also visiting Rhodesia in their usual numbers.

Travellers from Rhodesia to Zambia are stopped at check-points for proof of identity. There are no such military or police controls on roads to South Africa.

The Minister of Information in Rhodesia, denying a suggestion that the country is now a *de facto* republic, has described the country as "a kingdom of whom the Sovereign is Queen Elizabeth II."

Mr. John Pelly, a former major of the Coldstream Guards, who now farms in Hampshire on a large scale, has protested publicly at the refusal of the authorities to grant a British passport to his Rhodesian-born wife because she has declined to sign a document condemning Mr. Smith's declaration of independence.

"I don't see why she should allow herself to be blackmailed into signing any document on Rhodesia, whatever her views, when she is the wife of a British subject who already possesses a British passport. I think her political views completely irrelevant," Mr. Pelly said.

"Nobody Trusts the Prime Minister"

The Monday Club has suggested that an all-party Parliamentary Commission should visit Rhodesia. Some of its leading members consider that Viscount Boyd of Merton would be the ideal leader.

Mr. Nigel Birch, M.P., said in Prestatyn: "Mr. Wilson is himself an obstacle to any settlement in Rhodesia. Nobody who knows him trusts him. One particularly nasty thing done recently is to refuse British passports to wives of British subjects who have Rhodesian passports unless they sign a declaration against U.D.I. This is blackmail and a national disgrace. British subjects are entitled to British passports without being cross-examined about their political views."

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., said a few days ago: "If Mr. Wilson thinks of Rhodesia as his Cuba, let him beware that it does not become his Waterloo. He is on a dangerous slide. He will not be forgiven if through pique or submission to the blackmail of African dictators, never averse from British aid, he allows sanctions to cascade into conflict or chaos. There should be new talks on terms for Rhodesian independence giving justice to all races."

Mr. Knapp, vice-president of the World Bank, said on Friday after touring the Kariba hydro-electric site that it appeared reasonably satisfactory from the security standpoint. The power output was about consumed equally in Rhodesia and Zambia, and the two Governments were equally represented on the Power Board. When a power station on the northern bank became economically justifiable the World Bank would be very much interested in providing financial help. Mr. Knapp flew back to Salisbury for further discussions with Mr. Smith before leaving for Zambia.

Not Buying Rhodesian Tobacco

Two of the largest British tobacco manufacturing companies with large Central African interests, the Imperial Tobacco Company and Gallaghers, have announced in Salisbury that they will not buy any of the 1966 tobacco crop in Rhodesia unless normal trading relations with Britain have been restored meantime.

Mr. E. J. Partridge, chairman of I.T.C., who is revisiting Rhodesia, said that his company had not dismissed any of its permanent staff of about 150 Europeans and 400 Africans, but the decision not to buy would affect about 1,500 other Africans usually employed during the season. Gallaghers employ 90 Europeans and 200 Africans, with another 950 Africans seasonally.

The I.T.C. investment exceeds £2m., and that of Gallaghers' £1.5m.

A representative of the Rhodesian Tobacco Export Promotion Council has visited Holland to study the possibility of sales of leaf to Common Market countries.

The West German Government has prohibited the import of Rhodesian tobacco except under licence; and the intention is to issue no licences.

The Panamanian vessel PERICLES, carrying nearly 10,000 tons of Rhodesian sugar for account of a West German import company, has been allowed to unload its cargo into bonded warehouses at Hamburg. The buyers, who said that they had acted for a London broker, have told the Press that the cargo may be stored for a couple of years if the Rhodesian situation is not resolved meantime. The West German Government ruled that the sugar should not be distributed within the Federal Republic; it must remain in bond or be moved to another country.

Italy has banned tobacco and sugar imports from Rhodesia. The Ministry of Trade in Tokyo has stated that Japan, which bought more than 200,000 tons of pig iron from Rhodesia in the 12 months to the end of March, representing about 90% of Rhodesia's exports, was prepared to reinforce its economic sanctions by banning pig iron entries.

In the middle of last week Kenya stopped all mail services to Rhodesia. Telephone, telegram, and telex links between the two countries have also been severed.

Rhodesia's new 2s. 6d. independence stamp is not recognized in Malawi. Postal material bearing the stamp is surcharged at double the postal rate.

The Congo Government has given assurances that R.A.F. aircraft on their way to Zambia may refuel and will be given all other necessary facilities.

The Reserve Bank of Malawi has made arrangements for the resumption of payments for current transactions between Malawi and Rhodesia, from which about 40% of Malawi's imports, including all its sugar and coal, are drawn.

Businesses in Zambia which are still tied administratively to Rhodesia should dissociate themselves from that country, Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister in Zambia, said recently, adding that he was extremely concerned at the number of Zambian businesses controlled from Rhodesia.

An American business visitor to Rhodesia, Mr. P. K. Peterson, said a few days ago that he was ready to buy all the beef, mutton, lamb and pork carcasses which were available for export to Western Europe. He is vice-president of a meat distributing company in Minnesota and a former Mayor of Minneapolis.

PUBLIC CRITICISMS OF U.K. GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

CHAOS AND BLOODSHED are to be expected if the quarrel between Britain and Rhodesia is not settled, seven Conservative Members of Parliament have said in a letter to *The Times*. Mr. Robin Turton, Mr. Julian Amery, Sir Richard Glyn, Sir Peter Agnew, Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Mr. John Page, and Mr. Stephen Hastings wrote:—

"Mr. Ennals and his 12 supporters in their letter of December 8 [which appeared in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week] disagree with the conclusion that an attempt should be made to patch up the quarrel between Rhodesia and Britain. Somewhat blindly, whilst acknowledging that U.D.I. is a fact, they refuse to accept it. This seems a purposeless attitude; its end is likely to be chaos and bloodshed in Africa.

"Surely we must accept the fact that Rhodesia is now independent, however much we may disagree with the illegal methods used to achieve independence. The object of negotiations should therefore be to secure terms on which we can recognize a *de facto* Government and repeal all measures discriminating against Rhodesia.

"The 13 Conservative M.P.s. suggested the five points enumerated by Mr. Wilson. Perhaps the terms could be clarified still further on some such lines as these: (a) a joint crash programme of secondary education to which Britain would contribute at least 50% of the cost; (b) an assurance from Rhodesia that they would amend the Land Apportionment Act and extinguish any remaining racial discrimination; (c) an undertaking from Rhodesia that any amendment of the 1961 Constitution would be submitted to the British Parliament for approval.

"Surely there are enough people of good will in Britain and Rhodesia who see nothing to be gained from a continuation of an economic all-in wrestling match, with the leading protagonists shouting vituperation against each other, whilst all that has been built by all races in Central Africa is slowly but inexorably being destroyed. Let us leave it to the constitutional lawyers to work out how the terms can be incorporated in an international document; but let the negotiations begin immediately".

Futility of British Policy

CANON R. W. HEAVENER, of Monaghan, has written in the *Irish Times*:—

"Many responsible people are seriously perturbed at the severity of the measures applied against Rhodesia by the British Government, aided by members of the United Nations. Every economic force that can be mustered by Britain at home and in the international field is to be used with apparently the same ferocity as the Black and Tans were used a few short years ago in Ireland and for the same purpose—to bring a small nation to its knees.

"Surely the lessons of history must drive home to every right-thinking person the disastrous futility of this policy. Two comparatively recent examples are pertinent and ought to be borne in mind: the legacy of hatred engendered by the Anglo-Boer War and the Irish War of Independence will never be lived down or forgotten—no, not while rivers run.

"America takes time off from bombing Vietnam to turn back to Rhodesia a cargo of 9,000 tons of sugar. The British Press gives a paragraph to the suppression of riots in Aden by British troops in full battle-dress but devotes many columns to tiny, unavailing incidents in Rhodesia that could blacken that country's reputation.

"I have little interest in British Governments, but I have a son in Rhodesia, to whom I always send a small cheque for Christmas. I may not do so this year; and I resent very bitterly the interference of an alien Government in my private and family affairs. This may not matter to the Bank of England—but I could represent millions of cheque-book holders who are similarly embittered.

"Must not poor Rhodesia feel like the traveller in the parable, and must she not be shocked to see the number of priests and levites passing by on the other side completely immersed perhaps in their own high-minded Utopian ideas of government?

"What has Rhodesia done? Is this a nation of traitors and

criminals, a lawless land? Far from it. This is not a State in which a white minority dominates and exploits a black majority.

"The franchise is based solely on merit. Every individual, regardless of race, has equal rights to the vote, provided he has the necessary qualifications; and the standard is not set impossibly high. So political and constitutional advancement is rapid, and is guaranteed under the new Constitution drawn up under the Smith régime.

"If we look at the facts without bias, the African, the white Rhodesian, and the British people might well be immensely proud of what has been achieved. The growth of Rhodesia's agriculture, her political institutions, and the standard of living are one of the great achievements of our time. It must not be destroyed.

"Surely it is not impossible to reopen negotiations with a view to finding a settlement satisfactory to all. Sanctions—which means a siege and blockade to cripple the country's economy—will cause nothing but civil strife, bloodshed, and chaos. What then? Surely there is somebody big enough, or some country noble enough, to act as a mediator.

"We ought not to lose sight of the simple, fundamental fact that probably not 1% of the people of Great Britain and certainly not half of 1% of Rhodesians—black or white—want to be involved in either a cold or hot war, or want to see this quarrel perpetuated to the grievous harm of both countries".

As Rhodesians See the Situation

MR. RICHARD SCOTT-MONCRIEFF has written from Impala Farm, Que Que, Rhodesia, to the *Scotsman*:—

"On November 11, the day independence was declared here, Rhodesians heard themselves reviled on the wireless in almost every tongue and every accent known to man.

"I have never been a supporter of the Rhodesian Front (the Government party) and have consistently opposed U.D.I., but now that it has come I have no alternative but to support them; and many more people are in the same position.

"Mr. Wilson's attempts to divide the electorate here are doomed to failure, because in our opinion the only alternative to the present Government is an African Nationalist Government which would be installed by Britain as soon as possible. Such a Government would lead, at worst, to a Congo situation, and at best the European would be a 'citizen on sufferance'.

"We know of friends in the Civil Service in one or other of the newly-independent States who have tried to pass on the knowledge and experience of years to their African successors in six months or less. The European has been dismissed.

"We have seen the sad trek of farmers from Kenya and Tanzania passing through Rhodesia with all their worldly possessions piled on to a three-ton truck. Some have received a pittance for their farms and some nothing.

"We know how European parents feel about educational facilities for their children in Zambia. Our schools and those in the north of the Republic of South Africa are packed with children from Zambia.

"Rhodesians, in the main, do not ask for a privileged position, but they do expect to live in peace and dignity in a country which they have done so much to develop and in which they expect to live as a right and not as a favour.

"Whether our present Government is legal or illegal, *de facto* or *de jure*, is of purely academic interest out here. It is the only power in the country and Rhodesians support it solidly because the alternative is ruin and chaos".

Untruth, Distortion and Half-Truth

THE REV. EDWARD D. K. WOOD, Rector of Lavant, Chichester, Sussex, who was Archdeacon of Mashonaland from 1946 to 1960, has protested in a letter to the *Church Times* at the "shocking campaign of untruth, distortion, and half-truth which is being inflicted on the people of Britain, and indeed of the world, about happenings in Rhodesia by men and women who should know better".

He has criticized the Rev. Paul Oestricher, associate secretary of the British Council of Churches, for having said in a sermon in Westminster Abbey that the Rhodesian problem springs from "the colonialist society, in which the under-privileged serve their masters; where higher education is for whites and not for blacks; where some men are born to be free and most men are not; some to be rich and most poor".

REAL TYRANNY IN RHODESIA IS THAT OF BLACK NATIONALISTS

That, Mr. Wood suggested, read almost like a description of conditions in Britain! Had Mr. Oestricher no knowledge of the non-racial university in Salisbury?

"The real 'tyranny' in Rhodesia is that of black nationalists, perpetrated against their fellow black Rhodesians, in pursuit of their own selfish desire for power. The whites have had to defend the blacks against their own people. That happens elsewhere in Africa. It is true to say that an ordinary, unintimidated black African would rather be governed by whites for a considerable time to come.

"After 30 years in Rhodesia, spent largely in the service of black Rhodesians and among them, I know something of what I write about."

Partisan Press and Broadcasts

MAJOR-GENERAL J. Y. WHITFIELD and MAJOR-GENERAL J. M. W. MARTIN write jointly from Chiddingfold, Surrey, to *The Times*: —

"We, who have served in Africa, and who wish nothing but good to black and white alike, are dismayed by the bitter and highly partisan tone of some letters in your paper as also of most broadcasts.

"The past must be shelved and not allowed to harm the future. Rhodesian distrust of any British Government, not entirely unjustified, must be overcome. Nor can any progress be expected until we recognize that there is a *de facto* Government in Rhodesia and that it is with that Government alone that we can negotiate.

"In our view it is unfortunate that the British Government has chosen to lay such emphasis on the purely legal issue. This is surely of minor importance compared to the moral and political issues involved? The use in public of such words as 'traitors', 'treason', and the like can only exacerbate the feelings of men who, even if misguided, are most certainly not 'small and frightened', which is how our Prime Minister described them.

"What is now essential is for fresh talks to start with no conditions laid down beforehand by either side, and in a real spirit of good will, generosity, and magnanimity. Inevitably this will mean a measure of concession from both sides, which may well be more readily forthcoming now than before U.D.I. Courage and statesmanship will be required, not least in confronting the threats from outside Rhodesia, many of them exaggerated and not all of them well intentioned. If our political leaders, and those of Rhodesia, cannot now achieve a peaceful settlement on these lines they will have failed their countries."

Unhealthy Coalition Crumbling

LORD COLERAINE wrote: "Ever since the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland there has only been one voice from Government and Opposition alike. So far as Central Africa is concerned we have suffered from the major vice of government by coalition — that all differences of opinion are masked and that the field of public discussion (and public education) is correspondingly limited. Happily, this unhealthy coalition is evidently beginning to crumble."

GENERAL SIR ROBERT MANSERGH, writing as president of the Royal Artillery Association, said: —

"I read with dismay and alarm, which must be shared by all British ex-Service men and their dependants throughout the world, of the unprecedented threat by the Government to penalize and deprive those living in Rhodesia of their earned pensions, because they happen to live in a country with which there is political disagreement.

"Whatever the argument between Governments, recognized or the reverse, may be, what justification can possibly be found to withdraw the earned rewards to Britain and the Commonwealth? for a lifetime of service to Britain and the Commonwealth?"

"Does this threat to those in Rhodesia foreshadow events to those in South Africa? or British Guiana? or Fiji? or perhaps even the Scilly Isles or Home Counties should political odds arise with Westminster.

"As president of the Royal Artillery Association and on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of Gunners and ex-Gunners of all ranks and their dependants, may I through your columns express my grave anxiety and strong disapproval."

SIR GEOFFREY FURLONGE denounced the withholding of pensions, saying: —

"The Government's decision to withhold payment to residents of Rhodesia of the pensions awarded to them for their past services to the Crown is wholly unjustifiable. The pensioners, whether they support or oppose the Smith régime — which the British Government cannot know — are apparently to live on air until present British policy succeeds or is modified merely because they chose in different circumstances to live in Rhodesia."

SIR ARMIGEL WADE, a former Chief Secretary in Kenya, has reminded the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* that weight of numbers matters little to Africans. His letter said: —

"Most of your readers and many of your correspondents seem to take it for granted that majority rule must be accepted as an axiom for government not less by Africans just emerging from savagery or tribalism than by us Europeans who have enjoyed a gradually developing civilization for approximately 2,000 years.

"To Africans, however, numbers do not mean a great deal. Many of them cannot count beyond 10, while others have a name for 100 but think of it as meaning only a large number with nothing very definite about it. Such arithmeticians are less likely to be impressed by weight of numbers of voters than they are by the weight of opinions expressed. In these emergent communities of Africa majority rule has no place as a principle of ordered government."

One-Man-One-Vote Absurdity

"With the veneration of majority rule as a self-evident proposition is commonly associated the doctrine of one-man-one-vote. This is not of course understood by those indoctrinated who have never had to vote on anything, and do not know what the procedure means, but is readily accepted as a general panacea.

"Probably the best way of finding out what the people really want, or what is good for them, or what is acceptable, would be by consultation with the chiefs. They have behind them the history of tradition and the accumulated lore of tribal custom, and they are normally ready to accept modern improvement in education, hygiene, transport, agriculture and commerce and such other developments as are valuable components of the Welfare State."

MR. HENRY BRIDGES, of Maidenhead, told readers of the *Daily Telegraph*: —

"Since the Rhodesian declaration of independence I have not met a single person — friend, relation, social or business acquaintance (some 200 to 300 people in all) — who has condemned Mr. Smith or his action. It would seem to be the most popular rebellion in history! Can it be that the Voice of the House of Commons is not the Voice of the people?"

MR. R. GOWANS wrote from Quay House, Fortrose, Scotland: —

"I have had a sticker on my car for the past three weeks saying 'support Rhodesia' and have been approached time after time by total strangers saying how much they agree with this sentiment and a lot asking where they could obtain one for their own cars. Not one single person has taken the least exception to it.

"The country is not behind sanctions against Rhodesia, far less the use of force, and for the Press to pretend it is a deliberate distortion of the truth."

DR. AHRN PALLEY, the only white M.P. in Rhodesia who represents a wholly African constituency, has written to the *Daily Mail*: —

"Circumstances will force the Smith régime to follow the South African pattern more and more to maintain political control. *Apartheid* is the logical outcome for those who accept a political domination based on race.

"Not only do I condemn *apartheid* for every reason moral and political, but I believe that it is impossible to sustain it as a system in Rhodesia. It is a costly exercise, and only a country like South Africa with great wealth and extensive material resources can afford *apartheid*.

"We who oppose the Smith régime believe that we can create a peaceful State in Rhodesia only by the complete acceptance of a non-racial society. Rhodesia cannot survive if all Africa (and most of the world) is opposed to it."

Cabinet Changes in Kenya

Dr. Kiano Leaves Ministry of Commerce

CABINET CHANGES were made in Kenya on Friday, when Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry for the past two years, and Mr. E. N. Mwendwa, Minister for Labour, exchanged portfolios. Mr. Paul Ngei, Minister for co-operatives and Marketing, has taken over a new Ministry for Housing and Social Services, with Senator N. W. Munoko as Assistant Minister, and Mr. B. C. W. Lutta as Permanent Secretary.

Mr. J. Nyamweya, hitherto an Assistant Minister, is appointed Minister of State in the Office of the President, a new post.

Mr. Njoroge Mungai, remains Minister for Defence but surrenders responsibility for internal security and immigration to the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Daniel Moi.

Mr. Achieng Oneko continues as Minister for Information, but tourism, hitherto part of the portfolio, has been transferred to the Minister for Natural Resources.

Mr. Charles Njonjo, the Attorney-General, is now responsible also for the organization of elections.

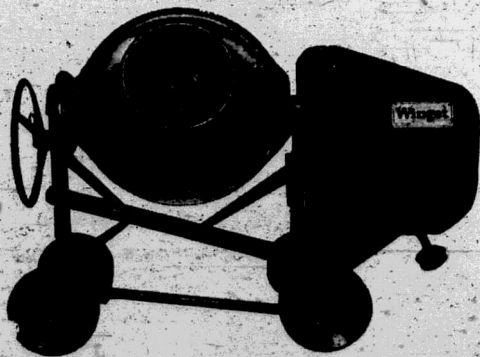
There are two new Permanent Secretaries, Messrs. A. J. Omanga (Home Affairs) and K. S. N. Matiba (Commerce and Industry and Co-operatives).

"Many African traders who in the past have received loans from the joint loan boards have demonstrated a complete lack of responsibility and failed to repay their debts"—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya.

"The six commandments of African Socialism are: 'Thou shalt seek and maintain political equality, social justice, human dignity, freedom from want disease and exploitation, equal opportunities, and high growing per capita incomes equitably distributed'. It is against this public ethic that all official actions will be measured"—Mr. D. N. Ndegwa, Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President of Kenya.

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Commercial Africanization in Kenya

Minister's Blunt Warning About Directorships

EXPATRIATE PERSONNEL must give way to local African staff in foreign-owned companies as soon as the necessary training is completed, Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, has announced.

He insisted that Africans who were appointed as directors in companies must have specified functional responsibilities and actually discharge them, "for otherwise the whole thing is fake window-dressing".

In several cases, he said, "leading Africans with big names or big positions have in good faith accepted appointments as directors of companies which have given them no functions. The African name is used as no more than a decoration."

"Asian-owned companies have gone round parading the fact that they have an African member on the board in the hope of receiving special consideration or special favours from Government agencies or foreign corporations from friendly countries. The appointment of such directors has in some cases been no more than a public relations gimmick."

"I warn my fellow Africans that some of their names are being prostituted commercially by unscrupulous non-Africans who have no intention at all of promoting Africanization in commerce and industry, but rather seek to blind Government eyes with African names for selfish gains."

"Any company, partnership, or corporation, or even an individual trader, seeking licences from the Department of Trade and Supplies, trade allocations by the Kenya National Trading Corporation, or loans from the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation by this practice of faked Africanization will risk the closure of the business according to law."

"Allocation of directorships or chairmanships to leading Africans without any functions connected with those appointments, except the mere exploitation of the association, is evil and dishonest, and it will not be tolerated by the Government."

The Turkish Ambassador in Cairo is also to be accredited to the Somali Republic.

Uganda has been elected to the governing council of the Food and Agricultural Organization.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has elected Uganda as one of four new members of the enlarged Security Council.

A film of Kenya called "Harambee" has been made with the co-operation of the Soviet Central Documentary Film Studios.

World Health Organization specialists have arrived in Kenya to advise on methods of checking a serious spread of sleeping sickness in the Nyanza Province.

Khartoum's Communist daily *Al Meudan* has had some 20,000 copies seized by the police following the Constituent Assembly's prohibition of the Communist Party.

The drug firm of CIBA claims to have found a cure for bilharzia. Trials with more than 4,000 patients suggest that a cure can be effected in a week for a cost of less than £1.

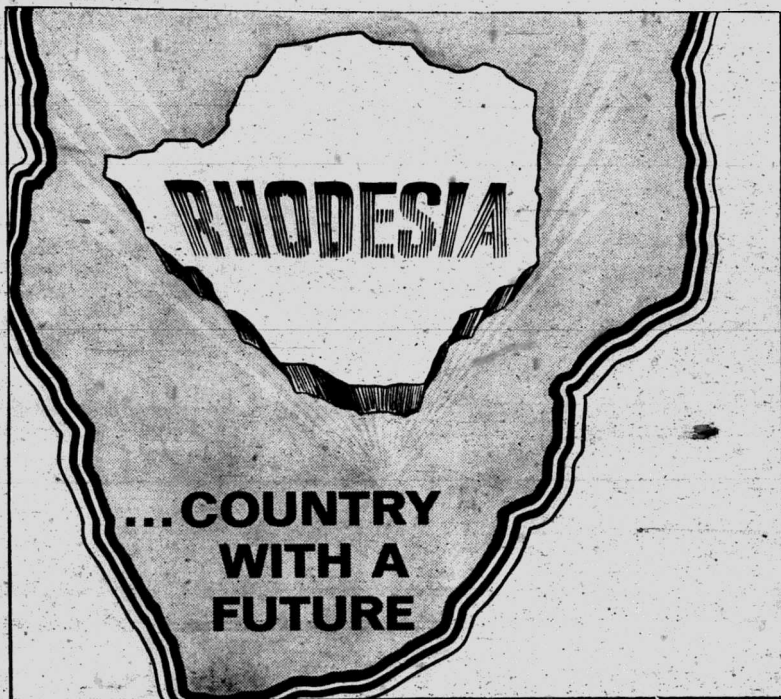
The British and Commonwealth liner *STIRLING CASTLE* sailed on Friday for an 11-day Christmas cruise, calling at Lisbon, Madeira, and Tangier. A New Year cruise of 14 days will start on December 28.

Carnegie Corporation of New York has made grants of \$192,500 to Makerere University College, Kampala; \$70,000 to the University of Zambia; \$60,000 to University College, Nairobi; and \$44,500 to University College, Dar es Salaam.

When some 50 Youth Wingers of the Uganda People's Congress demonstrated outside the British High Commission in Kampala against alleged British "inaction" in Rhodesia and refused to obey police orders to disperse, they were first charged with batons and then fired upon with riot guns. Two received minor injuries.

Since Kenya became independent nearly 6,000 Britons have renounced British and applied for Kenya citizenship. A far larger number of Britons in Kenya have now become "foreigners" because they have not taken up Kenya citizenship during the two-year grace period. They cannot buy land, borrow from the Land Bank, or vote.

Another two Malawi Africans have been sentenced to death for the political murder of Chief Timbiri while he was visiting the capital in October last year. On medical evidence Mr. Justice Bolt rejected a defence submission that they were under the age of 18 at the time of the crime and therefore not liable to be hanged. A third man had been sentenced to death a few days earlier.



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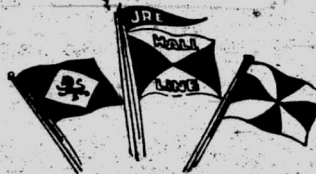
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 30, 1965

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No. 2151

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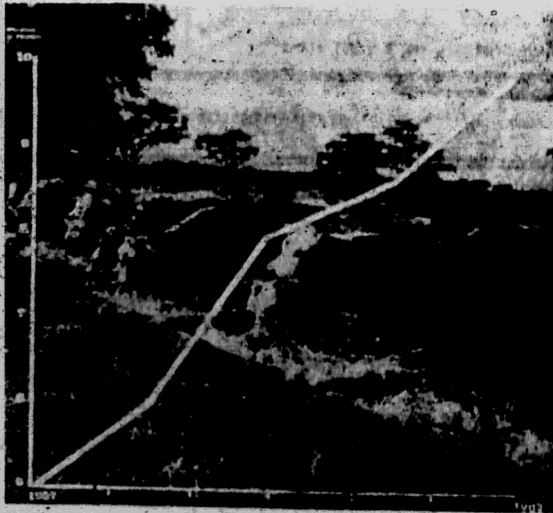
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Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PARLIAMENTARY BIPARTISANSHIP in regard to Rhodesia had, we wrote last week, been strained almost to breaking-point by the Prime Minister's contortions, self-contradictions, and changes in direction under pressure from members of the farcically named Organization of African Unity (there being no such thing as even the semblance of African unity) and the United (more accurately, Disunited) Nations. During the printing of the leading article which expressed that opinion the bipartisanship collapsed, for the Conservative leader in the House of Commons had to tell the Government quite bluntly that the Opposition had reached the limit of co-operation in reluctantly agreeing to an embargo on the supply of oil to Rhodesia and would not support a blockade of the port of Beira, or any similar war like action, in order to prevent evasions of the embargo. Mr. Wilson should be the last man to complain of the Tory attitude since November 11, the date of Rhodesia's declaration of independence. With increasing difficulty, Mr. Heath had persuaded all but a few of his followers to remain uncritical and astonishingly complacent, though more and more of them complained in private that the party was failing to voice public opinion as they found it in the constituencies, where there has been far more sympathy for Rhodesia than has been reflected by Parliament, Press, television, or radio. To judge by the fulsome compliments which Mr. Wilson went out of his way to pay repeatedly to leading members of the Opposition on quite trivial pretexts, he was well aware of his good fortune, and calculated that such flattery and his customary double-talk might ensure its continuance while he manoeuvred his devious way from one quickly discarded assurance to the next. For almost six weeks the Prime Minister was allowed, with nothing more than superficial and unsustainable criti-

cism, to do just that, when the honest course for the Conservatives would have been to emphasize his unreliability and instability, as a handful of public men knowing Rhodesia, most of them peers, and this journal have done week by week.

* * *

Had the Tory leadership been less dilatory in its decision to declare "Thus far and no further", Britons might have been spared at least some of the indignities which have been heaped recently upon their country and its spokesmen by African extremists who owe to the United Kingdom their own positions of influence and the very existence of their countries. Though boasting that they would not be "pushed around", Mr. Wilson and his Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, have in fact been quite easily pushed week by week, and at times day by day, in directions which must do great damage to British short-term and long-term interests. The costs to British finance, commerce, and industry, and to the taxpayers and the balance-of-payments, of the decisions made by a Prime Minister who has shown that he has not known his own mind will run into hundred of millions of pounds — of which fact the public has, of course, been given no inkling. Yet it is more than likely that his recklessness, ruthlessness, and extravagance will prove abortive, for, despite confident Socialist predictions that Rhodesian resistance will quickly cease, there is nothing to justify such expectations. On the contrary, our reports, without a single exception, are emphatic that Rhodesians, including many who were outspokenly antagonistic to U.D.I., are now solidly behind the Smith régime. It is childish to assume, as so many speakers and writers do, that petrol rationing and lesser privations will destroy Rhodesia's will to live; and the chorus of con-

demnation from non-white propagandists and plotters will strengthen Rhodesian determination not to suffer dictatorship from the United Kingdom politicians who stupidly accepted Afro-Asian misguidance and consequently became responsible for the present tragic state of vast areas of Africa.

* * *

Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who has emerged from recent exchanges with far more credit than any other member of either front bench in the House of Commons, has spotlighted Mr.

**It Lies with Britain
To Veto A Blockade.**

Wilson's intention of shifting blame from himself to the United Nations for a blockade of Portuguese Mozambique in the hope (in our view illusory) of preventing deliveries of oil, of which there is a surplus in the world, by privateers who would get both profit and satisfaction from outwitting national and international bureaucracies. Having declared again and again that Britain would not resort to force of any kind in connexion with an oil embargo, Mr. Wilson had to admit under pressure that he expected the pan-African zealots at the United Nations to use their votes to compel that organization to mount a blockade. Nonsense, retorted Sir Alec; according to the Charter of the United Nations any such decision could and should be blocked by Britain's use of her power of veto. On that welcome note of firm opposition to Wilsonian vacillations Parliament adjourned for a month — a month in which other means should be utilized to make the Government understand that Britain must not be made a party to any act of war — and blockade is an act of war — against Rhodesia, the dispute with whom is solely the concern of Britain, as Mr. Wilson has kept on asserting. The Prime Minister, who has acted most imprudently, must not expect to be rescued from his predicament by machinations at the United Nations. Had he not already proved himself so sadly deficient in judgment, his confidence in the early success of the oil embargo would be surprising. That final economic sanction will not, of course, prove decisive, as he imagines, for South Africa will in case of need provide what Rhodesia requires, if only because she would be next on the list of targets of the Afro-Asian and Communist intriguers, whose aim is nothing less than the elimination of the white man from Africa.

* * *

Being well aware of that fact, the Smith and Verwoerd Governments, and those in neighbouring Mozambique and Angola, would

in the last resort make common cause for the defence of Southern Africa. **Britain's Share Of the Guilt.** Is that what the Wilson Cabinet wants? If not, it would do well to let less of strong-arm methods and to set itself to promote conciliation, reconciliation, and reconstruction. As we argued as some length last week, the quickest, best, and only honourable course would be to admit Britain's share of the guilt for what has happened in Rhodesia. If that confession were frankly made, as it ought in common honesty to be, there would be every likelihood of a reasonable response from Rhodesia. Speed in this matter is highly desirable, for delay must harden the attitude on both sides, to the grave and continuing detriment of both. Now that he can act for a short while without immediate regard to Parliamentary reaction, will the Prime Minister not try this method of rapprochement? While he has everything to gain from it, he risks nothing more serious than the vituperation of a *claque*, white and black, which wants, not a fair settlement in Rhodesia, but the destruction of that State as Africa's only remaining example of prospering and promising multi-racialism.

Statements Worth Noting

"By the end of June there were about 514,800 radio sets in Kenya and an estimated 10,800 television sets". —Mr. Achieng Oneko, Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

"From now on civil servants' merits will be judged by their contribution to the development plan. They will be called to explain any failure to achieve their targets". —Mr. J. S. Gichuru, Finance Minister in Kenya.

"This fool of a reporter wrote that 'Dr. Banda provides for a future dominated by the fear of assassination'. If I were the wife of that reporter I would divorce him tomorrow. He is a stupid fool". —Mr. J. Z. U. Tembo, Finance Minister in Malawi.

"The Republic of Kenya is stronger than ever. We are united under one party; the numbers and units of our armed forces have increased and their fire-power is improved; the economy continues to expand despite the drought; and we have built a civil service composed mainly of our own people". —President Kenyatta.

"At the Accra Conference of the Organization of African Unity there were cliques and groups, each trying to win new adherents. The real, true African unity has yet to be born. So many of my colleagues say things to please their fellow statesmen, their fellow members of O.A.U. Sometimes they say things to please the host, you know". —Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi.

"During the struggle it was the patriotic duty of the unions to pursue militant policies because these policies served the interest of the people in their struggle for freedom. Now it is the patriotic duty of the unions to pursue constructive and responsible policies because it is these policies which will serve the people in their struggle for economic progress". —President Kaunda, addressing the governing council of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions.

Rhodesia Will Negotiate But Will Resist Interference

Petrol Rationing Introduced and British Aircraft Denied Fuelling Facilities

MR. SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said in a television interview which was filmed in the United States at the beginning of this week that the British Prime Minister had closed the door by breaking off relations, and that as Mr. Wilson held the key it was his responsibility to open the door again.

"If he wishes to open the door, I have stated that my door is open and always has been for negotiations. Is there anything more I can do?"

He had, he said, been holding discussions with African chiefs on the possibility of their being brought into the régime. Whether that meant more than the proposal for the creation of a House of Chiefs was not clear.

Saying that Rhodesia had enough oil for six months, Mr. Smith expressed confidence that supplies could be obtained despite the British embargo. He had not asked either South Africa or Portugal to supply oil, but Rhodesia was willing to buy from any source, including the Communist countries.

For fighting to erupt in Rhodesia, with Briton shooting Briton, would be a terrible crime; but Rhodesia would not let the down if anyone tried to interfere.

Mr. Clifford Dupont took the oath of allegiance in Salisbury last week as Officer Administering the Government. He had had the title of Acting Officer Administering the Government since November 17.

Petrol rationing was introduced from midnight on Monday, private motorists being now entitled to from three to five gallons a week according to the size of car, with exceptions for doctors, veterinary surgeons, disabled persons, diplomatic and consular representatives, ambulances, buses, school transport vehicles, etc. Commercial vehicles may have from five to 20 gallons, and motor cycles one gallon only. Ration cards have not been issued, wholesalers and retailers being responsible for administering the temporary scheme to their own customers.

Rhodesia's Tobacco Crop

Mr. Smith having said over the week-end that Rhodesia would sell her 1966 tobacco crop, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, replied on Monday:—

"This statement ignores the fact that all the major consumers of Rhodesian tobacco, namely, Britain, Germany, Japan, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries and Australia, have announced that they will not buy any more tobacco from Rhodesia while the Smith régime remains in power.

"On the basis of last year's figures, the consumers of some 90% of Rhodesia's tobacco have already placed an embargo on future purchases, and I am confident that the other countries which accounted for the balance of Rhodesia's tobacco sales will follow suit.

"If, therefore, the 1966 Rhodesia tobacco crop is to be sold, it will have to be bought by the Smith régime itself, and the growers will have to take whatever price—clearly well below the world price—the Smith régime is prepared and able to pay.

"The indications are that almost all the 1966 crop will have to be stored in Salisbury, and that Rhodesia will gain no benefit next year from her largest single source of export earnings, which brought the country some £41m. in 1965."

The Rhodesian Tobacco Association has suggested that the forthcoming crop should be graded by experts who would mark a reserve price on each bale, and that if that reserve was not reached at auction the Government should buy. The idea is that the reserve for good quality leaf should meet the average cost of production of competent growers, put for the current season at about 22d. per lb. Recent average sale prices have been around 36d. There are some 2,700 growers, of whom perhaps about one in five might not be able to continue to grow tobacco at the 22d. level.

Rhodesia's Registrar of Insurance has cancelled the registration of Lloyds of London in consequence of H.M. Government's decision that claims arising in Rhodesia may no longer be paid by British insurers. Lloyds, which may now neither renew existing policies nor issue new policies for residents in Rhodesia, remains bound by law to discharge liabilities under current policies.

The managing director of Rhodesia's largest insurance broking company said in Salisbury on Monday that the immediate effect would be to create a strong locally-based insurance market with Rhodesian brokers looking for re-insurance in South Africa and Switzerland in particular.

Britain Drives Business Abroad

Representatives of Lloyds and of the British Insurance Association had made strong representations to H.M. Government against the application of the exchange control restrictions to insurance business, arguing that international insurance agreements must be honoured in any situation short of war. Their pleas were rejected.

British-registered aircraft are no longer allowed to re-fuel at Rhodesian airports.

B.O.A.C., which has services to Salisbury from London on six days a week, has consequently to carry enough petrol for the flight to Johannesburg.

British United Airways, which has a weekly cargo flight with Bulawayo as the terminal, is consequently more seriously affected. Other B.U.A. flights end at Ndola and Lusaka.

Central African Airways Corporation is restricting its services from Salisbury and Bulawayo to Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Surcharges on international telegrams and teleprinter services have been introduced. For ordinary overseas telegrams the charge is up by 6d. to 1s. 8d. a word. For Press telegrams the cost has been multiplied five-fold—from the Commonwealth rate of 1d. to 5d. per word. In the case of telex services and photo telegrams there is a surcharge of 10%. Overseas charges must be paid in hard currencies other than sterling.

The December 26 edition of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, which predicted that Rhodesia would be "finished" by March, was banned by the Rhodesian censor.

Twenty-six Africans have been sentenced in Sipolilo to prison terms of from two to seven years' hard labour for damage to property and growing crops in that area. A police spokesman attributed the offences to broadcasts from Lusaka inciting Rhodesia Africans to acts of sabotage.

Governor's Card for P.M.

Good Will Inherent in Rhodesia

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, who sent Christmas cards to Mr. Ian Smith and the other members of his Cabinet, held to his view that "Christmas is a time for good will to all men, and has nothing to do with politics".

A Christmas message to Rhodesians was read to reporters at Government House by Sir Humphrey, who said:—

"The Christmas message of good will towards all men has a special meaning for us in Rhodesia this year; and we hope that the inherent good will that exists in our country will continue to flow. I hope that it is fully realized that I remain your legal Governor, and I hope and pray that I may be able to help our country return to constitutional government and true loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen".

Sir Humphrey and Lady Gibbs had received a Christmas card from the Queen, who normally honours in that way only Governors-General, Heads of State, and personal friends of the Royal Family.

Government House received more than twice as many cards as ever before, and Mr. Smith said that he had received more than 1,000 Christmas cards from different parts of the world.

Rhodesia Enjoins Silence on Economic Counter-Measures

Correspondent Convinced that Kariba Plant Will Not Be Destroyed

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT has prohibited publication of news of counter-measures taken against the sanctions imposed by Britain and other countries.

The Minister of Information, Mr. Jack Howman, announced last week: "In the circumstances facing us it is obvious that the publication of information as to how sanctions are being or will be overcome or circumvented is detrimental to the national interest, for the simple reason that it enables and encourages our opponents to take counter-measures which may well have the effect of blocking or nullifying our moves and also, of course, of embarrassing our friends.

"I therefore wish to make it known to the public of Rhodesia that the Government must insist that news media do not contain reports of or reference to actions, events or movements involved in or connected with 'beating the ban', and I ask for their understanding. However much they would like to be kept in the picture, they will, I am sure, remember the old exhortation 'Secrecy saves lives' and appreciate that silence now may well save the nation".

The statement was regarded as having been prompted at least partially, by speculation in Rhodesian publications about the extent of the country's oil reserves. It had been suggested in some quarters that fuel supplies would suffice for less than two months at current consumption levels (though other writers had taken a much more optimistic view); and that supplies in the pipeline from Beira would last only a few days.

No Staff Changes Without Minister's Consent

No employee of the Feruka oil refinery near Umtali or of any oil distributing company in Rhodesia may resign or be dismissed without the prior consent of the Minister of Labour. That decision, announced last week, was described as a direct consequence of the British Government's action in placing a prohibition on all British subjects in the handling of oil products for Rhodesia. The refinery is owned by an international consortium in which the leading companies are the Shell, B.P., Caltex, and Mobil groups.

After a *Government Gazette Extraordinary* had been published in Bechuanaland stating that any fuel destined for Rhodesia placed on the railway outside Bechuanaland would be allowed to pass through the territory, but that fuel might not be loaded in Bechuanaland for Rhodesia, a spokesman for the Colonial Office commented that the Bechuanaland Government would prevent transit of oil from South Africa.

A major Italian oil company stated on the same day that the Italian Government had not then banned supplies to Rhodesia. That, however, was unimportant, for Italian oil exports to Rhodesia had been negligible.

Correspondents in Rhodesia reported that pre-Christmas shopping was uninhibited and that about the only serious shortage was of golf balls, which were being sold one at a time, and then only on assurance that the buyer was not hoarding them.

Even businesses whose whole trade had been in imports from Britain which were now prohibited had generally avoided the dismissal of staff, white or black, though the inevitability of such steps after the holiday was recognized. According to one correspondent, almost all heads of the businesses have been scouring South Africa for supplies.

The South African Reserve Bank was stated to have frozen Rhodesian reserves of about £6m. under pressure from the Bank of England.

Just before Christmas it was stated in London that 29 countries had then announced bans on imports from Rhodesia, together representing purchases of about £31m. (Rhodesia's exports in 1964 totalled £119m.) £30m. worth of goods would have been sent to Britain, £5m. to Western Germany, £2m. to Belgium, £1.8m. to the Netherlands, £1.5m. each to Australia, Canada and Japan, and £1m. to India.

The Ministry of Commerce in Rhodesia announced that dealers in refrigerators, washing machines, sewing machines, cutlery, clocks, watches, and household utensils of glass, china-ware, porcelain, earthenware and stoneware might apply for import licences, and that allocations would be on the basis of 25% of the 1964 imports.

Railways and Airways Affected

Rhodesia Railways, jointly owned by the Governments of Rhodesia and Zambia, have been told that the new export tax of £5 per ton on coal must be paid in respect of their operations in Zambia, which consume about 35,000 tons a month. On that basis the additional cost to the railway would be about £2m. in a full year.

Zambian orders for Rhodesian coal have so far been unaffected. Allowing for the new export tax and freight charges, Wankie coal costs under £7 a ton at the Copperbelt, whereas the lowest estimate for coal from South Africa is £10.

Central African Airways announced in Salisbury that all freight from and to Rhodesia was being removed from aircraft passing through Nairobi and impounded. Unaccompanied passenger luggage was also being seized. In London B.O.A.C. advised the use of South African Airways, who use the Lisbon and Las Palmas route.

East African Airways have suspended flights between Nairobi and Salisbury on Kenya Government orders. Bookings already made are being transferred to B.O.A.C. flights.

The Ghana Government denied a statement by the British Foreign Secretary that Ghana, a significant importer of Rhodesian tobacco, had not banned its entry. A spokesman said that "three years ago Ghana placed a complete embargo on all trade with the South African and Portuguese Colonial ports through which Rhodesia's exports pass".

Mr. B. Whitaker, a 31-year-old barrister who is prospective Socialist candidate for Hampstead, said on his return to London from a visit to Rhodesia on behalf of Amnesty International that he had managed to make an anti-Smith broadcast on Rhodesia Television. Before being stopped he was able to refer to Rhodesia as a police state, saying that emergency powers had been obtained by "a lying trick", and that the judges and many men in the police and the armed forces were loyal to Britain.

Mr. Peter Lovell Wilshire has been appointed deputy governor of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia in Salisbury.

Mr. Ivor Benson, chief censor in Rhodesia since November 11, will quit that post tomorrow.

Since the Rhodesian declaration of independence there have been only three resignations by civil servants and three by teachers. Not one African in Government employment has resigned.

Rhodesians Return Their Medals

Mr. H. B. Fisher, of Enkeldoorn, has returned his British Empire Medal to the Queen, begging Her Majesty to note "that the policies presently pursued by your Ministers in Westminster are vindictive against our peaceful and beautiful country". An official at Buckingham Palace said that the medal would be kept in case Mr. Fisher should change his mind at some later date.

Mr. J. R. Duckworth has sent his medals to his old school, Hastings Grammar School, with a letter saying: "Rhodesia has been the most loyal of the Commonwealth countries, but her cause has been made the football of politics—and even her war dead are not exempt".

Mr. Nicholas Tomalin telegraphed to the *Sunday Times* after visiting Kariba that he had been told by the power station superintendent, Mr. Philip Slack, that his orders were to prevent any attempt to interrupt the flow of electricity and that they would be obeyed. Saboteurs might approach the dam and place charges against it if they managed to escape the vigilance of the security guards, but what explosives they could carry would be useless against a dam more than 80 feet thick. "It would take a train load of T.N.T. to make any impression", said Mr. Slack.

If some white extremist in the power plant planned sabotage carefully, the most he could do would be to put two or three turbines out of action. All the rest would still operate.

Mr. Leonard Black, operations controller for the Power Corporation, assured the visitor that no instructions had been received to prepare to cut off power supplies, and that the corporation, working for both Governments, was loyal to both. He had consequently given President Kaunda an assurance that there was no possibility of sabotage.

Mr. Tomalin concluded that sabotage at Kariba was impossible. Referring to Mr. Bottomley's assertion that Kariba was mined, he said: "I don't know where the Commonwealth Relations Secretary's intelligence men gathered their information. They cannot have gone as near Kariba as I did".

Conservatives Firmly Oppose Use of Force Against Rhodesia

"We Want Rhodesians in Partnership Again Within the Commonwealth"

SHARP WARNINGS against the use of force in support of the embargo on the supply of oil to Rhodesia were given in the House of Commons last week by leading Opposition spokesmen.

Forty-eight Conservative Members voted against an oil embargo despite appeals from the party leaders not to vote.

Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, who opened the debate, said in the course of his speech:—

"With the oil embargo on Rhodesia the limit of economic measures to be taken by this country and by a number of other major powers has been reached. Any further step can only be the use of force, which is abhorrent to this side of the House and, I believe, to many hon. Members in all parts of the House.

"The Government amendment to our motion illustrates the difference which now, alas, exists between the Government and the Opposition. The amendment calls on the House to support the Government 'in all measures', without qualification, which must of course include the use of British forces as the Government decide to secure the return to legal rule. These words mean that H.M. Government could use force; and that could escalate into war. That we on this side of the House cannot and will not support.

"I am astonished that the Government should refuse to debate a motion and an amendment of such importance at such a critical time but should continue with a general foreign affairs debate. I thoroughly deplore the Prime Minister's decision.

"I propose to devote the whole of my speech to Rhodesia, because I want there to be no misunderstanding about the position we have reached or about the future. Some hon. gentlemen opposite, now that they have reached the brink, are beginning to realize what is involved.

The Middle Way for Rhodesia

"The objective of British policy must be to secure the return of Rhodesia to constitutional legality. We must constantly make it plain to the people of Rhodesia that we here in Britain want this to happen. We want them to be in partnership with us again and within the Commonwealth.

"We as a Government and as an Opposition were opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence. We did our best to dissuade Mr. Smith from seizing independence illegally. When he did so, we condemned it. We are opposed to permanent minority rule. We are opposed to *apartheid* and to measures which have the aspects of a police state.

"We believe that the progress towards majority rule must continue, but we also recognize that it must take time before there can be full responsible majority Government. There is now a growing recognition of this fact in this House as well as among the African leaders inside and outside Rhodesia. Indeed, one of the tragic aspects of this situation was the belief that only two courses were open to those taking part—illegal independence or immediate African majority rule.

"From our point of view this was never the case. There was always the middle-way of continuing steadily along the path of constitutional development. This middle way must constantly and clearly be shown to be always there.

"I do not know, and I am sure the Prime Minister does not know, how many Africans support the present régime because they fear intimidation from African majority rule? The Prime Minister has spoken of such intimidation.

"In the Prime Minister's statement of December 10, I believe that he moved into a dangerous position. He is now equating the return of Rhodesia to legal rule with the objective of toppling Mr. Smith and his entire régime. This is a very dangerous position for the Prime Minister and his Government.

"On November 23, the Prime Minister said: 'as soon as the people of Rhodesia are prepared to return to constitutional paths, as soon as the Governor feels that there is an oppor-

tunity of, perhaps, forming a Government among those who will act in a constitutional manner, we would want to deal with those people, without any recrimination or any rancour about the past'. That was entirely without qualification.

"They were the words chosen by the Lord Chancellor to quote in another place on December 7. Indeed, the Lord Chancellor went further, and said that it was open to Mr. Smith now to put before the Government any proposals, and that those proposals would be most carefully considered by the Government. Again, that was said without qualification.

"However, on the same night the Commonwealth Secretary said, 'We cannot deal with Smith in any way—because he is not a man to be trusted'.—Everyone realized that there was a conflict. I have every sympathy with the Commonwealth Secretary, because he was called upon suddenly to answer an adjournment debate and obviously had not had time to prepare himself. He did not at that time wish to deal in detail with the subject of the B.P. tanker. But his remarks included that unwise phrase.

Prime Minister Wants Unconditional Surrender

"The Prime Minister made his statement about this on December 10. He could have adhered to his original statement and the Lord Chancellor's amplification of it and expressed his regrets about the Commonwealth Secretary's remarks, but he did not do so. He went back on both statements, and, indeed, went much further than the Commonwealth Secretary, for he said: 'We cannot negotiate with these men, nor can they be trusted, after the return to constitutional rule, with the task of leading Rhodesia in the paths of freedom and racial harmony'. The Prime Minister went on to say that he would discuss only the mechanics of constitutional rule. Last night on television he went even further than that.

"What the Prime Minister has done, therefore—either to shield the Commonwealth Secretary or as a deliberate act of policy—is to insist on the complete, absolute, and unconditional surrender of everybody in the present illegal régime in Rhodesia, and, further, to exclude them from any part in the future of Rhodesia.

"Does this mean that in any constitutional settlement there must be a clause which specifically excludes those men? What happens if, after a constitutional return, the people of Rhodesia themselves want these men to play some part, or to elect them? This therefore is an absolutely untenable position.

"Far from persuading the members of the régime—some, or some, or any of them—to change their minds and their policies—which, surely, is part of the objective of the return to legal constitutional development—this can only reinforce their determination at all costs to retain power, come what may.

Dangerous Commitment of Personal Prestige

"What the Prime Minister has done is to commit all his personal prestige and the prestige of the Government as a whole, to use the current phrase of some hon. Members opposite, to toppling the Smith régime. There lies the real danger. The Prime Minister will be under constant pressure to go further and further to achieve this new objective, and the danger is that he will be tempted into adventures to achieve this.

"We on this side are determined to do all we can to prevent actions by the Government being determined by questions of personalities rather than by policies which we believe to be wise.

"The methods so far used to bring about the return to legality are economic and financial. We have supported these measures, though for some of my hon. friends it has meant heartsearching as to whether they would help or hinder. I believe that we have been right in the national interest, in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole.

"We have taken into account the impact of Mr. Smith's action on Africa and all the developing countries, and recognized the dangers inherent in this situation—which, in fact, we always pointed out forcibly to Mr. Smith. We are determined that the economic measures taken should be given every opportunity of working.

"But I must tell the Prime Minister that in timing some of the economic measures—the second batch; and those in Washington last Friday—he has given the impression that he has succumbed to the heavy pressures to which he has been subjected; and this must raise further anxieties about the pressures to which he will be subjected in the future, the pressure to use force.

"The way in which the measures have been introduced have indicated that the Government have not, in fact, any

clearly-thought-out or balanced plan for dealing with these measures in the present situation. The ban on the payment of pensions was a very clear illustration of this—a ban which the Chancellor of the Exchequer rightly withdrew.

"The oil embargo calls for the deepest consideration. It is supported by the United States, by the members of the Commonwealth, by France, Italy, the Netherlands, and some other countries.

"The first fear concerns Zambia—whether her needs can be met by other means and whether the Government's contingency plan is adequate. Those who saw today the photograph of the airfield at Lusaka after the oil-carrying aircraft had landed must have anxieties about the capacity of the air supply for Zambia's total needs. The Government will indeed have been reckless if they have imposed an embargo without being able to ensure the satisfaction of Zambia's needs in this way.

"The second anxiety is that the oil embargo will not only affect the economy of Rhodesia but make the maintenance of law and order impossible and lead to a complete breakdown there.

"We on this side do not want to see the economy of Rhodesia reduced to chaos. That would be wrong. So it is important now that there should be emphasized again—now that this oil embargo is being imposed—the vital need to keep in touch with the régime in Rhodesia and show clearly the alternative way back to legality in order that the situation should not be reached in which the economy or law and order is not reduced to chaos, or anything near it.

"The effects of these economic measures are bound to take time, and I emphasize again to the Prime Minister that it is essential that there should be discussions in Rhodesia before there is any question of wrecking the economy, or of law and order breaking down.

Failure to Give Satisfactory Assurances

"The third and deep anxiety is that the order will lead to the use of force which will itself escalate. This has always been the question in connexion with any oil embargo throughout modern history. Some hon. Members believe that an oil embargo must inevitably lead to force, because the oil embargo itself will be ineffective. I do not myself share the view that the imposition of an oil embargo automatically leads to the use of force.

"It does not automatically lead to the use of force, any more than the imposition of any other economic measures justifies or leads to the use of force. But others believe that the Prime Minister is prepared to use force to carry out the oil embargo. Yesterday the Prime Minister would give the House no assurances on this point.

"On December 6 in the *Daily Mirror*, the Prime Minister said: 'We have made it clear time and time again that we shall not invade Rhodesia or get into a military clash on or over Rhodesian soil with forces controlled by the illegal Smith régime'. That is quite contradictory of the fact that the Prime Minister was prepared to undertake a limited operation around Kariba. It is precisely what the Prime Minister had not said time and time again—that he would not get involved 'in a military clash on or over Rhodesian soil with forces controlled by the illegal Smith régime'. So the House is entitled to wonder which of these two choices it should make. We believe that force can solve nothing in this crisis."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I agree. Force can solve nothing in this crisis. The rt. hon. gentleman knows perfectly well that I have twice met him and twice explained what I meant in relation to Kariba to him. He knows that if I were to spell out publicly what I said to him men's lives would be at risk. Is he still going to press this argument, or does he want me to say publicly what I have said to him privately?"

MR. HEATH: "The Prime Minister has never been prepared to give the assurance in the House that the other means, which he has mentioned, and which he mentioned in his same statement, would be used, but not a limited operation. If the Prime Minister is prepared to give it, there is no need for his amendment to demand authority for 'all measures'.

"A blockade will produce dangers of conflict with troops of other Powers and then pressure to extend a blockade to the whole of Southern Africa. In Rhodesia any use of force will mean conflict between Europeans and Europeans, Europeans and Africans; and, with a divided nationalist movement, between Africans and Africans. Therefore, we are categorically opposed to it.

"The Prime Minister has frequently stated that he wants a quick solution. I beg him to get this out of his mind, because the desire to get a quick solution can lead to other

policies, including the use of force, which would not be justifiable or tenable. Economic measures cannot work as quickly as he sometimes seems to think. There may not be a quick solution to this problem. The creation of economic chaos, the break-down of law and order, or military chaos, is no solution.

"This We Will Not Accept"

"But the Prime Minister calls for support for 'all' measures. *This we cannot and will not accept. The line here is absolutely firmly drawn.* I do not believe that the line is drawn on the oil order, on which the United States, the Commonwealth, and our N.A.T.O. Allies are co-operating. The line is drawn at using force in connexion with it. That is an absolutely clear line.

"The economic measures remain always under the Government's full control and can be changed at any time. Once force is used to support those economic measures no one can tell where that is going to lead or what the consequences of it would be. It is for this reason that I strongly advise my rt. hon. and hon. friends that it is not on the economic measure of the oil embargo order that we should oppose the Government tonight. It is on the use of force for which they ask authority and about which the Prime Minister gives us no assurances.

"The economic measures are much to the distaste of many people in this country, but they regard them as necessary. But they are not prepared to see these measures backed up by the use of force. If the Government attempt this while the House is in recess we shall demand the recall of Parliament and do everything in our power within the Parliamentary system to prevent him using force.

"If Mr. Smith ever had any illusions about the action which would be taken against an illegal régime, he and his colleagues can certainly be under no illusions now nor can their supporters. In this situation it is important that the door should be kept open and not slammed, as the Prime Minister has done. It is ironical that in every other corner of the globe rt. hon. and hon. Members opposite want to talk in situations of difficulty with whomever is involved in the dispute. Here is the one situation in which they exclude that entirely.

"If the Government believe that amendments are necessary to the 1961 Constitution, let them specify them. [Hon. Members: 'They have'.] They have not. It is the unknown which prevents progress. It was wrong, and I said so at the time, that the Prime Minister should speak at all about direct rule, even for a short time. This may be a tidy Whitehall solution for starting all over again, but few in Rhodesia, not even those of moderate opinion, who are lamentably few, will believe that direct rule once started is very quickly going to be brought to an end. Nobody will believe that.

Emphasis Should Be on Reconciliation

"The important thing is constantly to make plain that while these economic measures are being taken we seek reconciliation and are prepared to take steps towards it with all those in Rhodesia who are prepared genuinely to respond.

"Sir Alec Douglas-Home suggested in his Glasgow speech the basis on which this might be done. The Prime Minister in his last offer to Mr. Smith suggested that the Government would help with financing educational advance. It is no good the Prime Minister saying that it was turned down then. The point is whether there are to be constructive developments in Rhodesia. We should go further and perhaps offer help with industrial development to Rhodesia."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Prime Minister Smith objected that to press on with African education would be to give Africans votes."

MR. HEATH: "At the same time Mr. Smith offered to put nearly another million Africans on the electoral roll."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The B roll."

MR. HEATH: "Yes, the B roll. If the Prime Minister would turn his mind to the future instead of constantly to the past we might make progress. He has developed a habit of declaring that everything depends on the illegal régime created by Mr. Smith and his colleagues. At the same time great responsibility rests on H.M. Government and on all of us in the House not to stand aside but to take positive steps.

"The Prime Minister must not underestimate the depth of feeling which exists in Rhodesia, and I hope he is under no illusions about the difficulties which we face there. If this tragedy is not to end in disaster the Prime Minister must follow a twofold policy in which the details of active reconciliation are put just as prominently and constantly as the economic measures and sanctions.

"If the Prime Minister wants the House to have more information he should consider again the proposal for senior Members of the House to visit Rhodesia when possible and report back. This could be constructive and psychologically

(Continued on page 349)

Zambians Press for Use of Force Missions to Russia and U.S.A.

FOUR ZAMBIAN MINISTERS flew to London last week to press the Prime Minister to use force against Rhodesia. Mr. Wilson repeated that H.M. Government could not take such action.

Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister, who led the mission, was accompanied by Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister, Mr. Mudenda (Agriculture), and Mr. Zulu (Mines). They also saw the Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

Mr. Wina and Mr. Mudenda then left for Moscow, while Mr. Kapwepwe and Mr. Zulu flew to Washington, in order to discuss measures to safeguard Kariba.

Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, who was in Lusaka when it was announced that the Ministers were to be sent to Russia and the United States, then said that he approved the idea of discussions with the American and Soviet authorities, and that it would not diminish British co-operation with Zambia in seeking a solution of present problems.

Mr. Wina told journalists in London that H.M. Government had refused their request that it should underwrite the economy of Zambia, so that when sanctions ended their country would be restored to its former state.

Britain Clinging to False Hope

The situation would escalate more quickly in Zambia than in Rhodesia, and in order to bring down the Smith régime as quickly as possible and so shorten the period of suffering by Zambia, they had argued that the use of military force by Britain was essential, at least to protect the Kariba dam and power station.

The British reply has been that the vice-president of the World Bank was examining in Rhodesia and Zambia means of protecting Kariba, perhaps by employing the World Bank's own managers, engineers, and security police. The Zambian Ministers did not believe that that idea would be acceptable to Rhodesia; they held that Britain was clinging to a false hope in her determination not to use force.

Mr. Wina said that the term of office of the three Rhodesian members of the board of the Central African Power Corporation had just expired and that Zambia had refused to accept their re-appointment by Mr. Smith. Zambia would refuse to attend any board meeting with Rhodesians whom it did not recognize as validly appointed. Payments by electricity consumers in Zambia would no longer be remitted to Salisbury, but kept in an account in Lusaka in the name of the Power Corporation.

The World Bank had suggested that H.M. Government should nominate three persons to fill the vacant Rhodesian seats, but Britain had declined because she did not want any financial responsibility for servicing Kariba loans.

When Mr. Wina was asked about the possibility of an international force guarding the Rhodesian side of the Kariba dam, he replied: "It is a British responsibility, and it will cost less in blood if British troops occupy the area".

Coal from Sources Other than Wanki

Referring to the new Rhodesian export tax of £5 a ton on coal, he said that Zambia would stop buying from the Wanki Colliery as soon as alternate sources were available. By the end of January coal would be coming from Zambia's new open-pit deposit at Nkandabwe, and the Government hoped for 300,000 tons from that mine by June.

Before leaving Lusaka Mr. Kapwepwe had said that some two million people in Britain were dependent on copper from Zambia and might become unemployed if the mines were denied electricity from Kariba.

Of Zambia's coal imports of about 1.2m. short tons annually, the mines consume more than 760,000 tons. The balance is used mainly by the railway.

In Britain the National Coal Board denied newspaper reports that it had been asked to tender for coal for Zambia.

Mr. Wina said on his return to Lusaka on Monday that

his mission to the Soviet Union had achieved its objective. Russia would back any move by Zambia in the United Nations, in the Organization of African Unity, or on her own account to restore a legitimate Government in Rhodesia. He evaded the question of whether Russian troops might be sent to guard the Kariba dam, as was reported in Moscow during Mr. Wina's visit. It was then suggested that Russian lorries might be sent to Dar es Salaam for the carriage of goods to Zambia.

After Mr. Wina had seen Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, he declined to confirm the report that he had asked for Soviet troops. He also saw Mr. Kosygin, the Prime Minister, and President Podgorny.

Russia was apparently asked to buy tobacco from Zambia in replacement of what it had taken last season from Rhodesia.

Britain Leaderless, Says Mr. Chona

Mr. Mainza Chona, Minister for Home Affairs, had ridiculed those who criticized the Organization of African Unity for its demand that Britain should crush the Rhodesian rebellion within a fortnight. "Great Britain", he said, "if she is great and willing, could crush Smith as easily as crushing a louse, and in less than 24 hours". There had been no malice behind the O.A.U. ultimatum to Britain, whose sanctions were so ineffective that even liberal elements in Rhodesia were discouraged from opposition to the régime.

Military intervention, however, would at once hit the Europeans and force the Smith group to surrender without fighting back. The basic trouble, said Mr. Chona, was that Britain was leaderless; while Mr. Wilson was interested in remaining on top, Mr. Heath was interested in getting to the top.

A three-day emergency conference in Lusaka of the United National Independence Party, led by President Kaunda, adopted a resolution accusing the British Prime Minister of executing a "political somersault" by the suggestion of negotiating with Mr. Smith through the Governor of Rhodesia. Another resolution said that Mr. Wilson was using "dirty tactics" and making Zambia a scapegoat for his own inactivity.

In preparation for a considerable increase in the number of aircraft employed in the airlift between the capital of Tanzania and Zambia, R.A.F. Transport Command flew 50 men from Britain last week to set up an air traffic control in Lusaka in order to co-ordinate arrangements with Government and civil air operators and the fuel companies. Another 109 R.A.F. technicians left Gatwick for Lusaka on Monday.

The first airlift from Dar es Salaam to Ndola on December 19, was by two R.A.F. Britannias, each carrying about 3,000 gallons in 44-gallon drums. On the round trip each aircraft consumes some 4,000 gallons of aviation petrol.

By December 22 three more Britannias were on the service, which was scheduled to fly 16,000 gallons a day to Zambia.

That day Zambia introduced petrol rationing, motorists except those classified as essential users, being allowed only four gallons for five weeks.

The House of Commons has been told that the R.A.F. jet fighter aircraft sent to Zambia cost an additional £20,000 a week to maintain, and that decisions have not yet been reached with the Zambian Government on apportionment of the cost involved in British assistance.

The Queen's Christmas Message

THE QUEEN said in her Christmas Day broadcast: — "Good will towards men is not a hollow phrase. Good will exists, and when there is an opportunity to show it in practical form we know what wonderful things it can achieve. To deny this Christmas message is to admit defeat and to give up hope.

"It is a rejection of everything that makes life worth living, and, what is far worse, it offers nothing in its place. In fact, it is just because there are so many conflicts in the world today that we should reaffirm our hopes and beliefs in a more peaceful and more friendly world in the future. This is just the moment to remind ourselves that we can all find some practical way to serve others and help to create a better understanding between people.

"To each one of you I wish a very happy Christmas; and if throughout the Commonwealth we can all make a sustained effort, perhaps Christmas next year will be a much happier one for many more people".

PERSONALIA

MR. TSHOMBE is expected to pay an early visit to Europe.

MR. NOEL COWARD, the dramatist, has been staying in Seychelles.

SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART has given a pedigree bull calf to the Government of Kenya.

MR. MARSHAL P. JONES has succeeded MR. S. P. GILSTRAP as United States Ambassador to Malawi.

MR. F. C. WRIGHT has been appointed deputy chairman of Standard Telephones & Cables, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary.

MR. G. C. COLLIER has been appointed headmaster of Allan Wilson Technical High School, Rhodesia, in succession to MR. W. S. GILCHRIST.

MR. F. B. CANNING COOKE, manager of the Copper Industry Service Bureau of the Chamber of Mines in Zambia, has just arrived in England.

MR. MARK LONGMAN, chairman of the family publishing company, said during a visit to Kampala that it would publish and distribute books in Uganda.

MR. J. D. BOURN, British Deputy High Commissioner in Tanzania, has returned to London following that country's severance of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom.

MR. JOHN ABRAHAM SIBI-OKUMU is the first African in Kenya to be appointed a resident magistrate. He is a B.A. of London University and was called to the Bar last year by Lincoln's Inn.

MR. FRANCIS ROBERT DOLLING, chairman of the Ghana Board of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has been appointed a local director in Sudan, where he will become chairman on the retirement of MR. I. F. ANDERSON.

MR. PHILIP WANGALWA, now Press Attaché in the Kenya High Commission in London, had been Acting Chief Press Officer in the Ministry of Information with responsibility for the Government's news agency.

SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON, Conservative M.P. for Farnham, and MR. R. T. PAGET, Socialist member for Northampton, and MR. PETER BESSELL, Liberal M.P. for Bodmin, are visiting Rhodesia for a few days.

In bidding farewell to SIR SAMUEL QUASHIE-IDUN, president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, before his return to Nigeria, SIR JOHN AINLEY, Chief Justice of Kenya, said that SIR SAMUEL'S kindness, diligence and ability had won him affection and gratitude.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH OF TORO, who has been called to the Bar by Gray's Inn after being educated at Sherborne and Girton, has returned to Uganda, where she intends to practise in Kampala as a barrister. She will be the first African woman, and possibly any woman of any nationality, to practise in any part of East Africa.

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London, W.C.1.

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. S. WJNGATE GRAY is about to visit Kenya and Rhodesia.

MR. W. C. HARDAKER, secretary of Metal Box Overseas, Ltd., has been appointed to the board.

THE REV. R. N. FULLER has resigned from the United Church of Zambia to return to the United Kingdom.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD THURLOW has left by sea for Nigeria. He will be out of England for about two months.

MR. STEWART FITZ FINNIS, Under-Secretary for Immigration in Rhodesia, has retired after nearly 35 years in Government service.

SIR PETER RÜNGE, who recently visited Rhodesia, is about to relinquish the chairmanship of the West Indies Sugar Co., Ltd., Caroni, Ltd., and Corozal Sugar Factory, Ltd.

THE REV. P. R. W. TIDMARSH, lately principal of Bishop Willis Teacher Training College, Iganga, Uganda, has been appointed Vicar of Odiham with South Warnborough, in the diocese of Winchester.

MR. ROBERT FOWLER, British High Commissioner in Tanzania, flew home just before Christmas. Some of the other members of the staff, including MR. CECIL GREATOREX and his wife, sailed last week in the liner UGANDA.

SIR MACFARLANE BURNET has been appointed chairman of the board of trustees of the new Commonwealth Foundation, of which MR. G. W. ST. J. CHADWICK is the first director. He has been concerned with African affairs in the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. J. J. DUVENAGE, lately Director of Conservation and Extension, has been appointed chairman of the Natural Resources Board of Rhodesia in succession to MR. P. GORDON DEEDES, who had held the office for 13 years. LORD GRAHAM, the Minister of Agriculture, has paid warm tribute to his "boundless energy, enthusiasm and success".

As MR. BURKE KNAPP, vice-president of the World Bank, passed through London before Christmas on his way back from Rhodesia and Zambia to Washington, he called on MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations. MR. SMITH and PRESIDENT KAUNDA are said to favour a proposal that the bank should appoint an observer to the board of the Central African Power Corporation, which controls the Kariba hydro-electric power installation.

Obituary

LIEUT. PETER GORDON ROBERTSON, R.N., who was drowned in the Persian Gulf last week while rescuing three Iranians from a sinking dhow during a gale, was educated in Rhodesia, where his parents still live. He joined the Royal Navy nine years ago.

SIR GEORGE RUKIDI, Omukama (King) of Toro, died last week in Fort Portal, Western Uganda, at the age of 61. The ruler of Toro since 1928, he had visited Britain on a number of occasions in recent years, mainly for medical treatment. He was knighted three years ago. The new Omukama is Prince Patrick Kaboyo, aged 20, who has been a pupil at Sherborne School, Dorset. He flew back to Uganda last week. His sister, Princess Elizabeth Bagaya, has just been called to the Bar in London and intends to practise law in Kampala.

CAPTAIN SIR HENRY MONTGOMERY RAMSAY-FAIRFAX-LUCY, M.C., fourth baronet, who has died in Mombasa, aged 69, had lived mainly in Kenya between 1925 and 1945, farming near Kaptagat. He had presented his home, Charlecote Park, near Stratford-upon-Avon, to the National Trust. He served throughout the 1914-18 war in Europe, and afterwards in Iraq during the Arab rebellion. He was then commissioned in the Rifle Brigade but retired from the Army in order to go to Kenya. He had been a Deputy Lieutenant of Warwickshire.

Prime Minister Addresses Commons on Oil Embargo

Foreign Secretary Says O.A.U. Gave Comfort to "Rhodesian Rebellion"

THE PRIME MINISTER told the House of Commons last week something of the background to the decision of H.M. Government to impose an embargo on oil shipments to Rhodesia without waiting for the world-wide co-operation which he had previously stipulated to be an essential pre-requisite to such action.

Mr. Wilson said: —

"As I have repeatedly stated, H.M. Government were not willing to take action unilaterally on oil supplies; our position was that an oil embargo must be multi-lateral and likely to be effective. In addition I referred to our very special concern for the safeguarding of oil supplies to Zambia.

"Discussions on both points were in fact being actively pursued and agreement with the United States Government was well advanced before I left for Washington last week.

"In my first talk with the President on Thursday afternoon we were able to set the seal on these arrangements, and as the House knows a mission headed by the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations was discussing the organization of emergency oil supply arrangements with the Government of Zambia.

"When we were clear on both points, the embargo and the air lift, that is by Friday afternoon, it became possible to make orders in council prohibiting British subjects from supplying oil to Rhodesia and prohibiting the import of oil by Rhodesia.

Full American Support

"The United States Government welcomes and supports our decision, fully recognizes the authority of H.M. Government in this matter, and is advising all United States citizens and enterprises to comply with the terms of the order in council.

"We have also taken diplomatic action to seek the co-operation of the other main oil exporting countries. I have heard today that the Governments of France and Italy are co-operating fully in the arrangements to stop the flow of oil.

"Simultaneously the Minister of State's mission has reached agreement on detailed arrangements to provide Zambia with alternative supplies of oil and on equitable arrangements for the financing of the agreed contingency measures. These consist primarily of an air lift of oil supplies to Zambia—and we have been assured of all appropriate support from the United States to make it effective—with the result that, when the illegal régime in Rhodesia took the expected step of refusing to maintain oil supplies to Zambia, the first British aircraft carrying oil supplies to Zambia was able to fly in yesterday to Lusaka.

"The air lift will build up rapidly in the next few weeks, but its success will depend on our receiving full co-operation both from Zambia's neighbouring African States and from other countries who are in a position to help with the transport of essential supplies to Zambia.

"It was for this reason that I was particularly glad to hear from the Prime Minister of Canada during my visit to Ottawa yesterday that the Canadian Government will be considering very urgently how far they can supply aircraft to reinforce the British and American effort.

"These measures are directed to one purpose only—the return of Rhodesia to constitutional rule, and are essential to that end. They will mean great inconvenience and hardship, but they are essential if we are to get the quick solution which is needed to avoid much greater dislocation and hardship, and if we are to avoid too the immeasurable dangers of outside intervention, whatever form they might take—dangers which I was able to sense and assess as a result of continuing exchanges with Commonwealth and other African countries, and as a result of the almost irresistible pressures which are building up for still graver and more far-reaching measures in the United Nations."

MR. HEATH: "Can the Prime Minister say to what extent he considers the arrangements he has made will be effective? Will the United States enforce these measures? To what extent will other producing countries take part?"

"There have been reports from Washington that arrangements are being made by the President and the Prime Minister to deal with hardship in Rhodesia, particularly in the case of hospitals. Is there substance in these reports? To what extent is the supply to Zambia making itself felt today? How quickly is it going to build up?"

"Can the Prime Minister assure the House that these measures are intended to operate in the way he has so far anticipated and not by military blockade? These measures emphasize particularly the need to state again and again the path by which Rhodesia can come back to constitutional rule."

Zambia's Airfields A Limiting Factor

MR. WILSON: "The United States are fully satisfied with the assurances from American oil companies. There are still important oil supplying countries from whom we have not had a final answer—the Netherlands for instance are very important. I hope we shall get full co-operation. If not, we shall have to consider what action will have to be taken to deal with any leakage.

"As to hardship, I did raise this in Washington. A great part of the distribution in Rhodesia operates from the Umfali refinery and is in the hands of a company with whom we have some influence. They distribute stocks all over the country, and we have asked them to do everything possible to reserve supplies for hospital use, for generating plants for hospital surgeries, for doctors, midwives, ambulance services, and the rest.

"The airlift and mobilization of surface means of transport to Zambia is building up. It is going to take time. American aircraft have not yet crossed the Atlantic. Our own first aircraft have started and will be powerfully reinforced. The Americans will join with us to make this effective, and we have hopes of aircraft from other quarters.

"The limiting factor may be airfield capacity rather than aircraft, but we have given a satisfactory assurance to Zambia on this subject.

"We do not contemplate a military blockade certainly at this stage. I believe that the ban will be effective by the boycott of certain powerful Middle Eastern oil producing countries added to the action which the Government have made with oil distributing companies under their control.

If Seepages or Leakages Occur

"If there were any seepages or leakages by one or two spivs—I gather it is possible for spivs to invade the oil trade—for the purpose of defeating the laws that have been made, we would have to consider the matter in consultation with our colleagues.

"The Leader of the Opposition said it was important to state again and again the methods by which there should be a return to constitutional rule. I agree, and I did make a statement in the House a week last Friday. We have had an admirable statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and I agree with every point he made as to the four points by which we should move forward. But every one of those four points was turned down categorically by Mr. Smith time and time again."

MR. TAVERNE: "In the event of certain countries hindering or frustrating the oil embargo, will the Government consider promoting a mandatory resolution in the Security Council?"

MR. WILSON: "If there is frustration we shall have to consider what action is to be taken. At the moment the question is hypothetical. I do not think one should try and envisage what measures would be appropriate. I was well aware during my visit to the United States that a resolution on any aspect of the Rhodesian question might have a habit of escalation."

MR. GRIMOND, leader of the Liberal Party: "All who think effective steps must be taken to put an end to what is widely agreed to be a police state in Rhodesia will welcome the proposals that have been brought in at last. Are the American Government making it mandatory on American oil companies not to send oil to Rhodesia? Why, is it so important to get multilateral agreement for this embargo, are we not raising it under Article 41?"

MR. WILSON: "I am glad that now all three party leaders

have used the words 'police state' to describe the Smith régime. Mr. Heath said it on December 10.

"When Mr. Grimmond says that we have brought this embargo in 'at last' I would say that the talks that have now led to this were far advanced at the time he was raising it, but then I was not able to give him all the details. Sometimes, when we are being pressed, it should not be assumed that we are any more backward than those who are pressing.

"I know that the United States Government are fully satisfied with the assurances that they have had from the oil companies.

"I have mentioned Article 41 as an alternative way of acting, and it has certain attractions over the rather flat means of an order in council denying importation. But there are certain dangers about dealing with this by way of United Nations resolution. If it was confined to Article 41 that might be one thing, although there are worries there. There are dangers this might escalate to other resolutions much less acceptable to the House."

Gunboat Mentality of Africans

MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON asked whether there had been any official reaction from Portugal or South Africa, and if a naval blockade of the port of Beira had been ruled out, in the event of any leakages?

MR. WILSON replied that the Government were in touch with South Africa and Portugal.

"As to a possible naval blockade of Beira if there were leakages, we should have to consider the appropriate way of dealing with it. There are more ways than one. An awful lot of people in Africa, whom one would least expect, have displayed a considerable amount of gunboat mentality in the past few weeks. Not all of them, of course, have gunboats."

MR. AMERY: "In view of the deep disapproval with which many people view the Government's decision and of the Government's repeated assurances that the order will be brought to the House as soon as possible, can the Prime Minister undertake that this order will be brought to the House before Christmas, so that those who wish to oppose it will have the chance to do so?"

MR. WILSON: "I had the very great help when I was in the United States of seeing the motion on the order paper from Mr. Amery and his colleagues—(Opposition cries of 'Shame')—which was treated with just about the right degree of importance we would all attach to the rt. hon. gentleman.

"The Government would like to get the affirmative resolution in respect of this order as quickly as possible, to show the people of Rhodesia—one or two of whom have still got vain ideas that Mr. Amery represents real power in this House—where this House as a whole stands."

SIR IAN ORR-ERLING: "Will the Prime Minister bear in mind that we have had a great deal of experience in two world wars of naval blockades, and that any proposal to blockade Portuguese or South African ports would get us into very serious straits. No doubt, he will point that out to those African States who want to take instant warlike action in this way."

Blockade

MR. WILSON: "I have said that the question of a possible blockade, through the United Nations or any other way, raises very hypothetical questions, and only if there were serious frustration of the order in council would we have to consider that and a number of other alternative means of dealing with this situation.

"Certainly what the hon. member said about African States wanting to pursue warlike action strikes something of a chord in my breast. I tried to make the point the other day in the United Nations, although they were not all listening—they were outside reading my speech—that we felt in this House that a military solution was not the right answer."

MR. J. B. HYND suggested that it was important to know the attitude of the Leader of the Opposition.

MR. WILSON: "That is a matter for the rt. hon. gentleman. We all recognize the difficulties. He has over a very difficult period been extremely helpful in connexion with a large number of measures which were repugnant to him and to us but are forced on us by an even more repugnant situation.

MR. PAGET: "Is the Prime Minister not well aware that by reason of the available tankers in the Union and other things this embargo cannot possibly succeed?"

"Is it not precisely a sanction which the knows well cannot succeed, but merely a preliminary step to the next move, which is war? Is it not time that the country should be told fairly and truly that we have reached the point in which the only alternative to negotiating with the existing régime is to fight it?"

MR. WILSON: "The hon. Member is wrong on both points. I am really surprised at the minority on this side—I think confined to Mr. Paget—and the larger majority on the other side of the House who are not quite sure whether to attack

this measure because it is going to be ineffective or whether they are against it because they think it will be effective."

"We do not regard this as a step towards a military solution. On the contrary. If Mr. Paget would forget all that he has said in the past few weeks and study the facts he would be aware, as I am, and as anyone would be who is in touch with African opinion, that in the past few weeks we have been within inches of a very serious situation with other countries. This is our responsibility, and we must do everything to avoid a military solution being sought by anyone."

MR. HEATH: "Any escalation of these measures into the use of force would be entirely unacceptable to this side and, I believe, to the people of this country as a whole."

MR. WILSON explained that when he used the word escalation he was referring to a suggestion that they should use Chapter 7 language at the United Nations limiting the economic sanctions. Economic measures could escalate into mandatory Chapter 7 resolutions.

"On the question of military measures, what the rt. hon. gentleman said is what all of us have been saying for several weeks. I stressed this very strongly indeed in my speech to the United Nations General Assembly."

On the motion for the adjournment, MR. STEWART, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said that in spite of certain optimistic promises made by Mr. Smith no nation had extended recognition to his régime. The British Government's policy of increasing economic measures against the Smith régime had received steadily mounting support.

"It is the firm intention of the British Government to bring this rebellion to an end, and the measures we are taking for this purpose will not be in any degree frustrated or hampered by the hesitations of a number of other Governments to deal with their own trade with Rhodesia; or by any rashness on the part of other Governments either to try and take for themselves or give support to reckless, violent, or ill-planned measures."

African States Indicted by Foreign Secretary

"It is noticeable that some of the nine countries who have severed relations with us following the Organization of African Unity resolution have not so far taken any measures to obstruct their own trade with Rhodesia—notably Ghana and Congo Brazzaville, which import significant quantities of Rhodesian tobacco and have not yet taken any measures to bar these imports.

"As to breaking off relations with this country, I think it will now be realized by those who took part in the conference where the resolution was passed, and by those who have acted on the resolution, that if this has any effect at all it can only be to give aid and comfort to the rebellion in Rhodesia. I trust, therefore, that the unwisdom of this action will be seen. You cannot deal with the present and the future wisely solely on the basis of a memory of past wrongs, however deep. We have all of us, whatever the colours of our skin, to co-operate in getting this Rhodesian problem solved.

"Any further measures which the Government may find it necessary to take in pursuit of their policy of dealing with the rebellion will have to be taken in the light of what we judge to be wise and necessary. They cannot be taken as a result of pressure—like the pressure which, it was imagined, this breaking off of diplomatic relations would be.

"There has been much reference in the argument over Rhodesia to the phrase 'kith and kin'. Our kith and kin are mankind."

Bechuanaland Radio Station

THE NEW BRITISH RADIO RELAY STATION in Bechuanaland, built at a cost of about £100,000 some 10 miles from the border with Rhodesia, began test transmissions on Wednesday of last week. The chief engineer of the Foreign Office diplomatic wireless service, Mr. Harold Robins, is in charge. All programme material is to be supplied from London.

Some 90 men of the Gloucestershire Regiment were flown from Swaziland at the week-end to relieve the Africans who had been guarding the station, Mrs. Eirene White, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, having just visited Bechuanaland to discuss with Mr. Seretse Khama, the Prime Minister, both the desirability of entrusting guard duties to British troops and the undesirability of permitting oil for Rhodesia to be railed across Bechuanaland from South Africa.

REAL RISK OF WAR IN RHODESIA, SAYS SIR E. WHITEHEAD

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD considers the risk of a shooting war in Central Africa to be very real. He has written in the *Sunday Times* :—

"Should this occur the world will hold the British solely responsible. They have claimed complete responsibility. Their policy has vacillated between appeasement and toughness ever since November 11, and indeed before that.

"Time is getting short, and Britain obviously has no plan for dealing with the Rhodesian situation if their sanctions produce economic collapse and chaos not only in Rhodesia, but in Zambia, and possibly Malawi as well. If sanctions fail, war is probable.

"If the Organization of African Unity could persuade President Kaunda to permit an African task force to attack from Zambia, it would, for reasons of logistics, not number more than 10,000 to 12,000 men, and such a force could certainly not conquer Rhodesia or even make a deep penetration into that country.

"It would however, destroy the British contention that the Rhodesian problem was solely her concern, and advanced bases near the Rhodesian border might provoke the Rhodesian régime into preventive action which would involve violation of Zambian territory. If Rhodesian forces had to be moved to the northern border there would be a better chance for African subversionists to organize internal disorders in Rhodesia, and a call-up of Territorials would add greatly to the strain on Rhodesia's economy.

"Such a situation would probably cause most Europeans to leave Zambia.

"Rhodesia's main danger is large-scale unemployment, which would cause many whites to leave the country. There would also be increasing African unrest".

Zambia May Disintegrate

THERE CAN BE NO CERTAINTY THAT Rhodesia will fall within a year. Indeed, Zambia may disintegrate first. That is the conclusion reached by the special correspondent of *The Times*, who recently returned after spending more than two months in Rhodesia.

Sanctions will, he believes, prove to be either an impotent or a terrible weapon. The mood of Rhodesians is one of defiance, and morale is underpinned by growing hostility to Britain, not merely to Mr. Wilson.

"If Rhodesia were a land of hardy white tobacco farmers and tough factory workers, or if the African population were at one with the white, it could hold out for years, for it is almost self-sufficient in essentials and has South Africa at its back. Its vulnerability to sanctions depends on the fact that a luxury-loving white minority of 220,000 must hold down a black majority of 3,400,000, and to do so must sustain and finance a costly security organization.

"A point in the process of producing widespread unemployment and prompting a decisive segment of the small white population to depart is apparently to be reached at which the illegal Smith Government accepts the inevitability of defeat, resigns, and the Governor appoints 'moderate men' waiting to take over.

"Alternatively, the armed forces, realizing that the rebellion has failed, and that the remaining white population is in jeopardy as law and order breaks down, will themselves take over and ask for British help. The only other possibility would seem to be a successful African uprising.

"In each case the end of economic sanctions would be to pose a threat of violence to which the white minority would have to capitulate. The last stage would seem to be a British military occupation to preserve public order, sustain the interim Government, and permit reconstruction. Are such assumptions valid?

"People living in the towns on their pay packets may go to South Africa in search of jobs, but farmers and civil servants will hold out much longer. Until it is clear that the tobacco crop is not going to be sold except at disastrous prices, and only in part, it would be unwise to expect Rhodesia's will to resist to be seriously shaken. This may occur by May or June next year.

"Sanctions will hit the weak and the innocent, the 'moderate' whites and the Africans, long before they hit the hard core of the rebellion. Even when the outlook seems hopeless, those in power who have nothing to lose by fighting on will prolong rebellion, sure of safe billets in South Africa ultimately".

MR. PEREGRINE WORSTHORNE has suggested in the *Sunday Telegraph* that Mr. Smith may bring down Mr. Wilson, whose policy "cannot succeed without requiring actions outrageous to the conscience of a majority of the British people, and cannot fail without provoking the majority of his Parliamentary supporters into passionate rebellion". The article contained the following passages:—

"The more O.A.U. shouts for blood the more outraged British public opinion will become if Mr. Wilson allows any to be spilt. Nothing would be more fatal to any Prime Minister than to be seen to be destroying white Rhodesia in response to pressure and agitation from Addis Ababa.

"If he applies sanctions gently enough to avoid provoking British opinion Mr. Wilson will cause an uproar from black Africa, which will make it much more difficult for him to go on applying sanctions at all without seeming to jump to Dr. Nkrumah's whistle. This surely is an impression which no British Prime Minister can afford to give.

"A compromise with Mr. Smith on any terms conceivably acceptable to Salisbury would split the Labour Party. Having outraged his left over Vietnam, Mr. Wilson's position would be weakened beyond repair by another sell-out over Rhodesia. The Rhodesian situation will not allow protracted prevarication; it cannot be conjured away by double-talk.

"The reality is that to succeed Britain must coerce the whites to a point of widespread bloodshed and disorder. Mr. Smith is not going to bow out. He will go down fighting. His is a genuine national movement, and if the Africans under-estimate its vigour they will receive the same bloody nose as the Arabs did when they took on Israel. So will Britain.

"I am convinced that the first political leader who can get his party to accept the need to come to terms with Ian Smith would enjoy the backing of a massive popular majority in the electorate at large. Seldom is the gap between what the people say and what the politicians say been so alarmingly wide".

Bank's Assessment

RHODESIA MAY VERY SOON feel the pinch, and increasingly so for several months ahead if the British Government's economic sanctions are adopted and enforced by the whole Commonwealth and partly by the United States and some but not all other countries, says a leading article in the current monthly magazine of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

That, it continues, would involve a virtual halt to development plans, appreciable lowering in the standard of living, and marked increase in unemployment, but thereafter some stabilization unless further action be taken by other countries. No opinion is expressed as to whether the economic measures will achieve the political objective.

The article also says:—

"It is clear not only that support for Britain will not be forthcoming from South Africa and the Portuguese territories, but also that there is little sign that certain other nations will go much further than verbal approval. It remains an open question how many of the other industrialized countries are prepared to take any action to curtail their trade with Rhodesia, and there is a risk that some may take advantage of this situation.

"If even some of them continue to permit normal trading relations, then it seems likely that Rhodesia will manage after a few months to obtain her essential supplies if she can pay for them. This may be true even if an oil embargo is declared but not rigidly enforced. There is a world surplus of oil, and it is hardly cynical to say that 100% enforcement therefore becomes far from easy even if South Africa and Portugal play a purely passive rôle.

"The most important question will be whether Rhodesia can find new outlets for her largest export, tobacco (about £40m. in 1964). The U.K. has bought from one-third to half of the crop in recent years and Australia and other Commonwealth countries some of the remainder. Rhodesia probably has to find new outlets for at least half of a crop estimated at 280m. lb. in 1966. The difficulties are shown by the fact that in 1964 disposal of a record crop of about 320m. lb. caused a sharp fall in prices. In other words, a surplus of about 50m. lb. then proved troublesome, and Rhodesians are now likely to be faced with a surplus some three times as large".

Cost of Aid to Commonwealth Africa Heavy Burden on British Taxpayers

BRITAIN'S FINANCIAL AID to African territories which have recently become independent has cost £60,904,000 in the current year, the Minister of Overseas Development told the House of Commons last week.

Tanganyika Territory, which became independent on December 9, 1961, received in the next three years grants of £1,733,000, £4,660,000, and £1,200,000; loans of £450,000, £2,563,000 and £1,815,000; and technical assistance valued at £273,000, £2,584,000, and £2,174,000.

Since December 10, 1963, Tanzania—formed by the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar—has had £1,070,000 in grants, £4,208,000 in loans, and technical assistance costing £3,529,000.

Uganda, whose independence dates from December 9, 1962, has in the three subsequent years received grants of £1,111,000, £1,200,000, and £230,000; loans of £1,030,000, £2,458,000, and £1,947,000; and technical assistance calculated at £1,004,000, £1,863,000 and £2,031,000.

Kenya's £20.6m. in Two Years

Kenya achieved independence on December 12, 1963. She has since received grants of £1,549,000 and £4,554,000; loans of £1,161,000, and £10,239,000; and technical assistance of £157,000 and £2,991,000.

Malawi, granted independence on July 6 last year, has since had grants totalling £5,452,000, loans of £1,315,000, and technical assistance of £721,000.

Zambia's independence dates from October 24 last year. She has since received grants of £2m., loans of £800,000, and technical assistance worth £692,000.

Other help has included grants for Central Africa of £960,000 and for the East African Common Services Organization grants of £279,000, loans of £3,903,000, and technical assistance valued at £3,764,000.

Commonwealth African States now independent, including those in West Africa, have in the last five years received by way of grants, loans and other aid from British taxpayers £3,899,000, £12,087,000, £20,954,000, £23,016,000, and £55,628,000.

Non-Commonwealth Africa has in the current year had assistance totalling £5,276,000.

Civilians Only, Tanzania Insists R.A.F. Airlifters Ordered into Multi

THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT announced last Thursday that British military personnel helping in the airlift from Dar es Salaam to Zambia must leave the country as soon as civilian replacements could be provided and that meantime they must discard their uniforms for civilian clothing.

The statement was prompted by the arrival of H.M.S. Dido with 250 empty oil drums from Aden for use in the air lift. Another Royal Navy frigate, due on the following day with a similar cargo, was re-routed to Mombasa after the Tanzanian protest, which said publicly that the use of British naval vessels, even to help Zambia, was "not acceptable". It continued:—

"The Tanzanian Government has informed all concerned that British military vessels and personnel should not be used in Tanzania for the purpose of the oil lift to Zambia. The purpose of these operations must be completely civilian, not military."

Failure in Communications

According to some reports, the Tanzanian Government had not been informed of the impending arrival of H.M.S. Dido, whose commander, Captain Stocker, added to local anger by a courteous invitation to President Nyerere to lunch aboard his ship.

In Whitehall it was said that President Nyerere made his protest public in Dar es Salaam hours before any notification of his displeasure had reached London—where it had been officially announced a little earlier that H.M. Government had decided to continue its financial and other aid to Tanzania despite the fact that that State had broken off diplomatic relations with Britain.

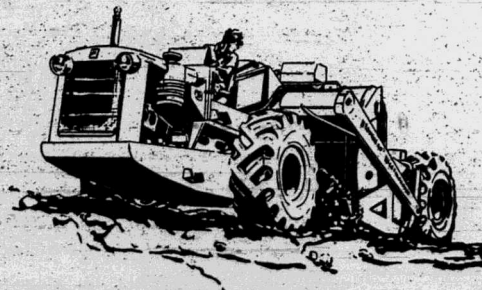
A fleet replenishment tanker of 15,000 tons, the TIDE-FLOW, which arrived with 800 oil drums, and the supply ship RETAINER, with some 2,000 drums, were apparently acceptable to the Tanzanian authorities because they are manned by Royal Fleet Auxiliary men and fly the Red Ensign.

Ninety-six Royal Air Force men engaged in the airlift were promptly put into mufti, and it was announced that they and the R.A.F. aircraft would be withdrawn and replaced by civilian planes and staff early in January.

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The Joint East and Central African Board has changed its name to Joint Africa Board. Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., is the president.

A Bechuanaland Constitutional Conference will open in London on February 14 in preparation for independence on September 30.

Some 3,000 refugees have fled into Zambia from Mozambique, saying that African "freedom fighters" had ambushed and killed an African and two Portuguese policemen and that Portuguese troops had taken reprisals.

In action against Kenya troops and police 26 Somalis are stated to have been killed in the North Eastern Region. About 100 had attacked the small township of Kathangachini, where they looted shops and killed two women.

The Supreme Court of Malawi has dismissed the appeal of Medson Silombela, aged 50, who was sentenced to death last month for the murder of a district chairman of the Malawi Congress Party. Silombela, described as chief lieutenant of the rebel ex-Minister Henry Chipembere, is the man whom Dr. Banda wants to see "dangling" after a public hanging.

Commons Debate on Rhodesia

(Continued from page 342)

helpful. It would be right for the Prime Minister to reconsider this suggestion.

"The people of this country long to see an end to this division between Britain and Rhodesia and a settlement on an honourable basis which will ensure that the rights of all races are secured. When the time comes when people in Rhodesia are prepared to return to constitutional legality the attitude of the Prime Minister and his colleagues should be that long ago defined by Burke—that 'magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom'.

"I again advise my rt. hon. and hon. friends, as firmly as I can, that we should not challenge the Government tonight on the oil embargo order. But I state quite categorically, as we say in our motion, that we cannot support the use of force. It is here that we firmly drew the line. As the Government have refused to debate the motion and the amendment, then it is on the adjournment that we must divide the House tonight".

Prime Minister's Reply

THE PRIME MINISTER said in his reply:—

"If the Opposition motion had been one of censure, calling in question the Government's handling of this infinitely difficult problem, the Government would have felt it necessary to interfere with the Parliamentary programme of debate in order to resolve the matter. But this was deliberately drawn to avoid being a motion of censure.

"The speech of the Leader of the Opposition seemed to me more concerned with the passions behind him than the problems in front of him. I wish he would look at the problem which we face in Rhodesia as a grave moral problem, a very dangerous world problem, and not think that he can deal with the whole thing as though it was a point of order at the Tory Party Conference.

"I am glad he expressed his utter repugnance to the use of force at all for settling disputes of this kind. I agree with him. That was the Chief Whip at the time of Suez who used this very considerable expertise—[Hon. Members: 'Cheap']—it is not, and it was not cheap in terms of lives in the Suez operation. The rt. hon. gentleman used his expertise then to keep his party together in support of Suez, which is more than he has done in keeping his party together on Rhodesia.

"What he says will be very abhorrent to the present régime in Rhodesia, and I am glad he said it. He referred to police state methods. He rightly spoke of African fears of intimidation, though he referred only to that fear of intimidation by certain nationalist extremists. He must realize that no African today can speak freely because of the fear of intimidation by the police.

"I went to great lengths in Rhodesia to make a statement trying to persuade the people that what was needed was patience and time and the dismissal of fear. But it is very difficult to get these things across in a country where there is such a perverted system of communications. It is terribly important for everyone who addresses himself to this subject to recognize the effect that our speeches, our actions or our inaction can have in a country where there is this highly selective form of amplification of what is said.

"One of the biggest problems in our negotiations was the hope, which turned out to be false, by Mr. Smith and his colleagues that there was going to be a major political revolution in this country, that at the time of the Conservative Party Conference Lord Salisbury and those who supported him were going to get the upper hand. They thought, when the voice rang forth from an hon. or rt. hon. Member below the gangway, that this was the voice of Britain or the voice of the Conservative Party. We know what weight to attach to these voices, but in Rhodesia they do not.

"Particularly since the illegal declaration the selection and biased use of their broadcasting, sound radio and television has been to amplify, beyond any reasonable measures, the voices of those who have criticized the British Government's policy and to suppress almost totally the voices of those who have expressed, on both sides of the House, support for the policy, which up to now has had fairly general national support.

"I want to say to those hon. gentlemen who write to me from time to time about their intentions to visit Rhodesia

that I hope they will recognize that if they go, maybe on some journalistic assignment, to get every point of view and all the rest, they have a real responsibility to express not their own personal views, not the views which they may find to be acceptable to those with whom they talk, but the views that have been expressed by this House as a whole. There is, broadly, a very great basis for unity and agreement.

"The rt. hon. gentleman has been through an extremely difficult time. We have only had to handle the problem: he has had to handle his party. There were occasions when I felt he was going to yield to the temptation to try to get some minor point to cause a diversion on this issue. It is to his honour that, even though he has found many of our measures repugnant, after due consideration and discussion with his colleagues he has felt able to support them.

"We have ruled out the use of military force for ending the situation in Rhodesia. I have said this time and time again. I said it in Rhodesia before the illegal declaration. I said it to Mr. Smith, although some felt that I ought to have said that we were prepared to use military force, or to have left him in doubt. Because I thought it right to be utterly frank on this, as on other things—I am one of the very few Ministers who has ever published every exchange they have had in this, every exchange, even when they were meant to be private discussions.

"With Mr. Smith's permission, we started to prepare them before the illegal declaration: I published every exchange. Mr. Smith said that if my predecessors had been as frank with him as we had—these were his words—this problem would not have been left to us. I replied that my immediate predecessor had been as completely frank on this issue as I had. There may have been others. Now I tell the rt. hon. Member for Enfield West (Mr. Iain Macleod) that if there is one subject on which all Rhodesians agree, it is on him, I said to Mr. Smith that if some of our predecessors had been as frank as he and I, the problem would have come to a head earlier. I think it fair to say that.

"Since the illegal declaration we ruled out military force. This has caused great feeling in African States. The Africans say: 'You used force against African Colonies such as Kenya when there was trouble or illegal action. Why do you not do it today? They say: 'Is it colour prejudice? Do you use force only against black men and not against white men?' Another question is: 'Is it because the Rhodesians are your own kith and kin?' The Africans have kith and kin in Rhodesia, too—20 times as many as we have.

"Many of our African friends do not understand the history of Rhodesia. It has been a substantially self-governing Colony for more than 40 years. Uniquely among all Colonies in history, it has developed its own armed forces, which means that it could resist any form of attack and invasion and that the use of military force against Rhodesia would not be like these other acts. It would not be a case of arresting a subversive individual. It would mean a bloody war—and probably a bloody war turning into a civil bloody war. I keep selling this to our friends in Africa.

"I have said repeatedly that we do not believe military force the right answer to settle this constitutional problem. One of the by-products of trying to solve the problem by unconstitutional methods might be that there would be grave and lasting damage done to essential installations. I am thinking particularly of Kamiba. If we were to invade Rhodesia to procure the end of the illegal régime, one of the earliest casualties could be the switching station and probably the generators and possibly, even—I hope not—the dam itself".

Not Willing to Use Military Force

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "On television last night the Prime Minister was asked: 'Are you prepared to blockade the port of Beira in Portuguese Mozambique?' His answer was: 'Well, there are a number of measures, aren't there? A lot depends on what kind of seepage we have to face. It may well be the United Nations would decide to take action under Chapter VII'."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I intend to deal with this. But no one could suggest that a naval blockade of Beira is the same thing as an invasion with military force.

"Because we are not prepared to use military force we have applied successively deepening economic sanctions. I believe that these sanctions will be effective. There is already considerable economic dislocation, especially monetary dislocation, externally and internally, partly due to our measures and partly to some of Rhodesia's own measures.

"I was very worried when the Leader of the Opposition warned me against trying to seek a quick solution. He said that such an attempt was likely to lead to the use of military force. If we do not get a quick solution it is much more

likely to lead to force being applied externally—not by us but by others—and in conditions which will present this country with a most appalling dilemma.”

MR. HEATH: “I recognize the world dangers fully, but what the Prime Minister does not appear to realize is that economic measures take time to work. When we have reached the limit of economic measures we cannot produce a quick solution. We must wait for them to work. It must take time before opinions change. If the Prime Minister keeps pressing for a quick solution he may get into a brash adventure which he may regret.”

THE PRIME MINISTER: “I am not taking anything about rash adventures from the rt. hon. gentleman. I have made that clear. Of course I recognize that this will take time. I am pressed by every Commonwealth country in Africa to say how long this will take. None of us can say how long these measures will take to have effect. The quicker they are in being successful, the greater our chance—and it will not be easy—of escaping measures taken by other nations that we shall be powerless to stop which might lead to the use of military force in conditions which none of us in the House could contemplate with any degree of coolness.”

“Hardship will be less than if there were a long-drawn-out agony of slow-working sanctions. Secondly, it will be much easier to reconstruct the economy when Rhodesia has returned to constitutional rule and we could cut off the economic sanctions very quickly—as quickly as we imposed them. Thirdly, the more quickly a solution is reached the less bitterness there will be, and, therefore, the greater the opportunity of creating the multi-racial harmony on which any permanent solution of the Rhodesian problem must depend.”

“If we had not taken these measures we would by now have been faced with sweeping mandatory international measures which might have produced irrevocable consequences on a continental if not on a wider scale.”

Dealing With International “Spivs”

“We believe that this oil embargo will be effective. It is quite wrong for people to assume that it will break down. I mentioned ‘spivs’ in international trade. They might have to be dealt with. It is possible, although I hope it is not likely, that Angola might ship oil around the Cape to Beira for putting through the pipeline. If that happens we shall have to consider this problem. There is more than one way of dealing with it. We might take legal action, for example, making it illegal for that pipeline to be used as far as it is on Rhodesian soil.”

“I hope there will not be the seepage or leakage referred to in the question from my broadcast last night. If there is, we shall have to decide how it must be handled; and it will be decided internationally. We have no intention of imposing a naval blockade round Beira. We never have had. We have not considered this: If the embargo fails it will fail because it is not sufficiently international and multilateral.”

“The House can be quite certain that it would then be raised at the United Nations—and not by us. If there is a decision under Chapter VII in which it is suggested that a couple of frigates be placed outside Beira to stop oil tankers going through, this is what will happen—and by international decision. We do not ourselves propose to seek such a resolution. We certainly do not propose to take individual, unilateral action to blockade Beira.”

“I do not believe it would be a particularly notable use of force in the sense of bloodshed, such as a military force against Rhodesia would have been. I believe it would have been one of the simpler operations. But we do not seek it, and we shall not seek to promote it.”

MR. RONALD BELL: “Since the United Nations is precluded by its Charter from taking any action in relation to this matter, how could it be mandatory on all countries?”

THE PRIME MINISTER: “The hon. Member has tried this before from the back benches. He is deluding himself. He can go to the United Nations and do his legal hairsplitting there. He would have a pretty thin time. The United Nations is not precluded from using the Charter or from Chapter VII decisions. Chapter VII applies possibly to economic, possibly to military action. It is a question of whether it is Article 41 or 42. The hon. Member can shake his head, but even more distinguished lawyers than himself in every country in the world take a different view.”

MR. WALL: “Would not the Prime Minister agree that many nations in the United Nations have for many years been calling for an oil blockade of South Africa? Is it not inconceivable that South Africa could permit a successful oil blockade of Rhodesia?”

THE PRIME MINISTER: “I do not speak for South Africa. I cannot forecast its attitude. I would feel that South Africa would behave with great prudence and caution in all this matter concerning Rhodesia. South Africa has not recognized the illegal régime. South Africa is in a very difficult situation. We would not help by trying to examine the arguments that might be going through the minds of its Government. I think

there will be a fear in many places in South Africa that if they were to frustrate this limited embargo there would be growing pressure in the United Nations to widen the embargo.”

“The rt. hon. gentleman knows the tremendous passion with which, for example, President Kaunda, a very good friend of this country, approaches the question of Kariba. All the arguments about Javelins and troops centre around Kariba. President Kaunda is terribly concerned lest the Smith régime should cut off the Kariba power from Zambia, which would mean the most tremendous and dreadful interference of Zambia’s economic position.”

“So far we have not reached agreement with the President of Zambia on the stationing of British troops for defensive purposes there, simply because we have refused to agree that those troops should be deployed south of the Zambezi or could be sent in to take over the Kariba Dam, the power station and the rest, and defend them. I hope that the Leader of the Opposition will not underrate the passion that this subject arouses in the heart of President Kaunda and his colleagues in the Zambian Cabinet.”

“None of us, I think, would want to stand idly by if that power were cut off. It is a vital British interest as well as a vital Zambian interest. We have seen rt. hon. gentlemen opposite rush in to protect what was felt to be a vital British interest at the wrong place and wrong time, which caused us months of economic difficulty in this country and years of political difficulty thereafter.”

“I am not thinking all the time of Mr. Smith. There are people around him who are a great deal more irresponsible than he, and there are some highly irresponsible and Fascist types among his police and his own forces—not, thank Heaven, at the top. It is important for them to realize that if they irresponsibly cut off power from Zambia we cannot leave that situation where it is.”

“The Leader of the Opposition knew exactly what we have in mind, because I have told him. It is irresponsible of him to go on pretending that he does not know and to try to find a contradiction between what I said in the House and what I said in the *Daily Mirror*. I challenge him to say whether in our discussions he has ever pointed out that there was a contradiction or whether he accepted what I said. He knows that for me to spell out in full would be dangerous and irresponsible.”

Assurance Withheld

MR. HEATH: “The Prime Minister knows that this matter has not been discussed with him since his statement in the House about Kariba. What he did not do was to limit himself in his statement in the House to what he has said to me. I specifically said that I did not ask for any explanation in the House. What I asked for was the assurance that the Prime Minister would not use troops in a limited operation; but he did not give that assurance.”

THE PRIME MINISTER: “It was explained to the Leader of the Opposition on the day before the statement was made in the House. It was explained to him in a telephonic conversation which we had the day after—the Friday—before he recorded his broadcast. He will remember what I said on that occasion. He is raising some dangerous issues. My statements are reconcilable and effective, but it would be wrong to spell it out further.”

“A very high-powered representative of the International Bank, which has a real stake in the Kariba Dam and the whole operation, has in the past few days been in Salisbury and Lusaka trying to bring about an arrangement for the quarantining of the dam on an agreed basis. I cannot say whether that would involve British or Commonwealth troops, but if it could be worked out we would be prepared to send troops across the Zambezi for the purpose, because it would be part of an agreed and unopposed operation. I do not think any hon. Member could object to that.”

“I must warn the House—especially those who think of this in narrow constitutional or negotiation terms—that within weeks, despite the oil sanctions, we may find ourselves faced with grave international action, with all the consequences that can follow.”

“There has been no alternative to the successive measures that we have followed. Certainly at no stage have we had alternatives suggested from the benches opposite. It is our responsibility, and we have taken that responsibility. Nevertheless we cannot protect ourselves from the tremendous passions which I saw at the United Nations last week. This is a world problem, and a moral problem. As I said at the United Nations last week to those who stayed to listen, quoting from Dante, ‘The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who are neutral in a moral crisis.’”

“I said yesterday how much we agreed with the proposals made by Sir Alec Douglas-Home in his speech last Monday. But everything he suggested was at the very centre of our negotiations with Mr. Smith’s Government. There is no reason for not saying what he said, and I agree with a great deal of it, but the five principles on which we negotiated were the principles that his Government followed. But every one of

those points suggested by the rt. hon. gentleman was flatly rejected by Mr. Smith throughout the negotiations.

"Guaranteed progress to majority rule: we are all agreed upon that. It is a cardinal point with all of us. But Mr. Smith blandly announced that he was proposing to destroy those parts of the 1961 Constitution which provided for B roll seats, and he said frankly that he would do that to delay the day of majority rule. That cannot be called guaranteed or impeded, and it was the subject of long-drawn-out discussions with Mr. Larmor, Burke and others.

Unsatisfactory Proposals

"Mr. Smith was willing to create a million more votes on the B roll. Yes, but no more seats. He did not offer to take a single extra African on the A roll, which is what matters. Those who devised the 1961 Constitution had never taken the precaution of entrenching these provisions; and I do not blame them.

"Day after day—and it is all on record—Mr. Smith and his colleagues flatly refused any provision that would have safeguarded the Constitution in writing. He rejected a blocking third. He was prepared to give us a so-called blocking proportion provided it was made up of his stooges. He was prepared to increase African representation provided his chiefs were appointed, every man Jack, of them paid by him and everyone of them totally responsive to what Mr. Smith tells them to think.

"I had the chance of evaluating them when I met them—charming and courteous, asserting their hereditary right to rule in terms which would never be asserted by any hon. or noble Member of either House here. Totally unaware of the meaning of many of the constitutional questions that I addressed to them, they asserted their right to speak for four million Africans. I was cheered at one point when they said that they would oppose illegal action by the Smith Government. I was correspondingly disappointed when after the illegal declaration they expressed their full support for Mr. Smith's action.

"We soon found that the treaty suggestion was no more than a time-wasting manoeuvre on Mr. Smith's part timed to put the responsibility for a break on us. As Mr. Smith and his colleagues agreed, what matters is not whether it is a treaty or a constitutional amendment. It is not the vehicle in which the changes are made that matters, but the content of the changes. On every one of the content points, such as the blocking third, the entrenching and the safeguarding provisions, they were utterly obdurate—because they were determined men utterly resolved on the one proposition that we should not seek majority rule in Rhodesia in their lifetime. That is why the negotiations broke down.

"When we asked Mr. Smith if he was prepared to speed African education for the purpose of using those constitutional clauses which provided for political enfranchisement as education proceeds, he not only made it clear that he would not do so, but he and his colleagues said that if education meant too fast a rate of enfranchisement they would slow up the programme. When I went to Salisbury I took with me a Minister specially for the purpose of discussing a massive programme of educational advance. He was wasting his time. It was the last thing they wanted. Indeed, after the illegal break one of Mr. Smith's Ministers poured scorn on the idea of taking a Minister there for the purpose of discussing African educational advance."

Use of New Radio Station

COLONEL SIR TUFTON BEAMISH: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the generous proposals to help with education in Rhodesia were not explained to the Rhodesian electorate? Will he give an assurance that, in view of the censorship, every means, including the new broadcasting station, will be used to make it quite clear to the electorate in Rhodesia what is the constructive alternative to the illegal path which they are now following?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I agree, and I give the assurance that it will be done. I believe that if Mr. Winston Field had continued in office he would have made a reality of the hon. gentleman's proposal. We followed and tried to support it, but I agree that the people of Rhodesia as a whole have never been told the whole story.

"My colleagues and I never thought the 1961 Constitution was perfect or appropriate. We voted against it. So did Mr. Smith, but for opposite reasons. Let me concede that it was devised in good faith in the hope of providing a Constitution which men of good will could work. The then Government here and the then Government in Rhodesia meant what they said when they enshrined, even though they did not entrench, clauses designed to provide a gradual but unimpeded movement towards majority rule. It was not entrenched because they trusted the then Government to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution. I believe the then Rhodesian Government would have made a reality of the 1961 Constitution, but not Mr. Smith's colleagues.

"This is one reason why there is no solution to this problem based on resuming with Mr. Smith and his colleagues the

negotiations which he broke off. Quite apart from the repugnance, which I hope we all share, about negotiating with the illegal régime, the very idea that we could ask the rest of the world to reverse the policies they carried out at our request, that we could ask other countries to hold their hand while we parley with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, is the product of the most woolly-minded thinking.

"I have sometimes drawn distinctions between Mr. Smith and some of his colleagues. In Salisbury in one of our frank talks I told him that I thought he was a natural leader of his own people, but I could not understand why he was surrounded by such a bunch of thugs. He took both parts of this proposition extremely well. I believe that he could have averted this declaration—to which, on my information, he was opposed—if he had had the courage to go to the Governor and ask his leave to form a more broadly based Government. I believe there was a real chance of that.

"His Government have made it clear that they are only interested in terms which will give them the substance of what they have taken by illegal action, while we have to provide the form of constitutional rectitude. There may be, though I doubt it, some Members who would be prepared to negotiate with a burglar on the basis that they would allow him to retain his illegal gains, provided that they did not stay illegal, by changing a theft into a gift. This is what negotiation on Mr. Smith's terms would mean.

"It would make a mockery of centuries of constitutional action and law in this country. It would make us a laughing-stock of world opinion. But that is the proposition put forward to us. Now that we have seen how far Mr. Smith and his colleagues are prepared to go in twisting and perverting the 1961 Constitution in turning it into a police State, by the trickery of a pre-U.D.I. declaration of emergency—and this trickery and there were lies about it—by every device they could think of aimed at obstructing the safeguarded positions, when hon. Members consider this, I hope that they will feel that we cannot entrust the future of Rhodesia to these men or to this régime.

Governor and Mr. Smith

"The Governor has a standing authority to talk to anyone in Rhodesia who can provide the means of a return to constitutional rule. The British Government have authorized him to discuss even with the illegal régime the mechanism by which Rhodesia can be returned to constitutional rule. There are a lot of detailed points on the mechanism, including—and this is very important—the transfer of the armed forces and the police to the Governor's authority, and also a number of other administrative matters which will be handled more smoothly if there are discussions.

"What we cannot do is to barter all these questions against fresh demands from Mr. Smith and his colleagues. Illegal action has totally altered the situation. We cannot wipe out the past five weeks and all that has happened in the world, and go back to the morning of that telephone call, because we know the quality of the men with whom we are dealing. I still had hopes before that call, but their action, particularly in the matter of censorship, the police State, and in other ways, has created conditions in Rhodesia which make it impossible for these men to lead Rhodesia to independence based on multi-racial harmony. Without that multi-racial harmony there cannot be any future for Rhodesia.

"The Governor can give to Mr. Smith or to any other Rhodesian the assurances that we have given at various times about the fears which still obsess them—for example, the danger they feel that a return to constitutional rule will be followed within days or weeks or months by majority rule. If Mr. Smith were to say: 'We will agree to end the illegal régime provided we have an assurance that it will not mean one man one vote tomorrow', and then stand down, the Governor is authorized to give him or anyone else that assurance. What he cannot do is to barter the constitutional position in this country and in Rhodesia against any kind of return to the sort of negotiations that we had before.

"The time has come to set up more clearly for the use of the Governor our ideas for the future following the return to constitutional rule, and the terms on which he can be authorized to enter into discussion with representative leaders of Rhodesian opinion. We are in communication with him, though communications are inevitably limited and cannot obviously be perfect. I am proposing, therefore, to ensure not only that the Governor knows more fully what is in the mind of the Government here but that we know more of what is in his mind.

"Hon. Members have suggested that the Governor might come to London. There could be great advantages in this, though hon. Members will realize some of the possible difficulties and dangers. He might find that Government House had been taken away when he went back; but I would hope that that would not happen. I believe the Governor, when he enters into discussions in Rhodesia—and I can see signs that these discussions could emerge—should be able to do so after the fullest possible interchange of views between him and the Government here in London."

M.T.D. (Mangula) Net Profit of £2m.

M.T.D. (MANGULA), LTD., which is incorporated in Rhodesia, reports net profits to September at £2,031,965, compared with £1,141,319 in the previous year. There is no liability for taxation: £900,000 (£500,000) is appropriated for capital expenditure and £1,125,000 is absorbed by dividends totalling 22½%.

Issued capital is £5m. in 5s. stock units. Capital reserve stands at £2.3m. Mining assets have a balance-sheet value of more than £6.7m., interests in fellow subsidiary companies appear at £260,000, and stocks of oxide ore at £557,330. Net current assets total £284,423.

Refined copper production totalled £11,083 long tons, and copper sales showed a working profit of just over £2m. (£1,162,559 in the previous year). Sulphide and oxide ore reserves are computed at 18.7m. and 4.2m. short tons respectively.

Commander H. F. P. Grenfell is the chairman.

A new self-service store in Lusaka has cost about £250,000. Rhodesian Breweries, Ltd., are to pay a 6¼% interim dividend.

A mica processing plant of Italian manufacture may be ordered for Rhodesia.

In the national interest, Rhodesian farmers have been asked to grow smaller acreages of groundnuts.

The German Airline Lufthansa is to start weekly flights between Frankfurt and Nairobi by April.

De Beers Industrial Corporation, Ltd., are paying a final dividend of 25 cents, again making 37½ cents for the year. Rhodesia could become a major producer of good quality cotton, says a Government crop and livestock production policy statement.

Wankie Colliery sold 297,973 tons of coal and 18,324 of coke in October. The September figures were 327,543 and 18,050 respectively.

Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., are to pay a further special dividend of 8d. per ordinary unit, taking £510,854, consequential on a further distribution by Union Minière.

Rhodesia's Burley tobacco crop has increased from almost nothing six years ago to 5.6m. lb. The Minister of Agriculture has suggested that 7.5m. lb. could be sold.

Prodolite (Rhodesia) (Pvt.), Ltd., Salisbury, are investing about £100,000 in plant to produce fibre-glass reinforced piping, roofing sheets, irrigation conduits, and other products.

Rhodesia Katanga Co., Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 5% less tax. Investments at the end of September were valued at £2.1m., that in Tanganyika Concessions appearing at £512,661.

Doubling Production Capacity

African Chrome Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, plan to double production capacity in the next three months. Rhodesia Chrome Mines, Ltd., Selukwe, aim to raise output by 50% over the next three years.

Lancashire Steel Corporation, Ltd., which has substantial Rhodesian interests, announces pre-tax profits for 1964-65 of £275,000, compared with £1,279,218 in the previous year. The dividend is cut from 10% to 4%.

Fibreglass reinforced P.V.C. piping is to be manufactured in Salisbury by a group combining Rhodesian, English and Italian interests, which are investing about £100,000 in the project. The new company is named Promat, Ltd.

Winter wheat trials under irrigation at the Salisbury Research Station have given the highest yields ever obtained in Rhodesia, and, it is believed, anywhere in Africa. Of 12 varieties tested four yields exceeding 30 bags per acre, with 33.3 bags as a record. The lowest yield was 24.7 bags.

The Umali business of Ferguson Shiers and Company is spending about £200,000 on extending and modernizing their carpet factory and adding spinning and dyeing plants. Among the shareholders are the Anglo American Corporation, the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Central Africa, and Ebonite Container Co. Ltd., London.

Rhodesian Engineering and Steel Construction Co., Ltd., of Bulawayo, which already held contracts valued at £490,000 for building tracks for Rhodesia Railways, has received a £261,000 order for 52 steel ballast wagons. The contract was won in open tender against 11 competitors in the United Kingdom, Continental Europe, South Africa, and Japan.

The Sudan Parliament has been told that 88 foreign companies have established themselves in Sudan since 1951, and that 56 were insurance companies and 17 contractors. In the past four years individuals in business in Sudan have been allowed to transfer abroad profits amounting to £51,821,000, £52,262,609, £52,105,731, and £51,918,392. Companies, including banks, transmitted in the four years between 1961 and 1964 £51,892,000, £51,276,310, £51,247,158, and £51,627,459.

A trade delegation from Zambia is visiting East Africa. An American trade delegation of seven members is visiting Ethiopia.

A trade fair to be called "Africa Presents" is to be held in London in August-September 1967.

The Colgate Palmolive group have established a £350,000 factory at Nairobi for the manufacture of soaps, detergents, and dental cream.

Kenya's import of synthetic fabrics in the past three years have been valued at £2,969,754, £4,212,948, and £2,211,525, mainly from Japan.

The International Coffee Council has allowed Uganda an additional export of 135,000 bags of coffee, Ethiopia 75,000 bags, and Tanzania 50,000 bags.

The Chambishi mine in Zambia has just produced its first concentrate. A production rate of about 18,000 long tons of copper annually should shortly be reached.

The Anglo American Corporation mines in Zambia — Rhokana, Nchanga, Bancroft, and Zambia Broken Hill — will spend almost £1.5m. on housing in the next few months.

Kenya's Six Textile Mills

Kenya has now six large textile mills. The factory in Kisumu represents a £2.5m. investment; there are two factories in Thika, each costing about £1m.; and another at Mombasa has similar capitalization.

Planning and Development Company International, Ltd., an Israeli enterprise, which has just built a 200-room luxury hotel in Dar es Salaam at a cost of rather more than £1m., is planning a 150-room hotel for Nairobi.

Blackwood Hodge, Ltd., a group with East and Central African subsidiaries, are making a one-for-five share distribution. Profits before tax to the end of October are estimated at £1.6m., compared with £1.4m. in the preceding year. A dividend of 12½%, less tax, is to be paid on the increased capital.

Copper wire bars were quoted in London on Christmas Eve at the record price of £568 per long ton, an advance of £18 10s. in the week, £41 in three weeks, and £238 on the year's lowest price (on January 19). The London Metal Exchange quotation is now £264 above the price fixed by the Zambian Copperbelt and other producing mines.

Increased trade between Zambia and Japan is expected as a result of a visit to the Far East of a three-member delegation consisting of Mr. Humphrey Mulemba, Deputy Speaker, Mr. A. S. Sardanis, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation of Zambia, and Mr. G. H. Mutale, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Zambia's two copper mining groups, Anglo American and Roan Selection Trust, have ordered 86 lifting lorries from Germany at a cost of about £1.3m. The intention is to use the vehicles to carry copper from the refineries at Ndola airport and between Dar es Salaam airport and the harbour. The cost of sending copper by air to Dar es Salaam has been estimated by the Lockheed Aircraft Company at about £21 10s. a ton. The rail freight to Beira is £16 10s.

Losses in Malawi

African Lakes Corporation, Ltd., had a group loss of £20,659 to January 31 last, compared with a profit of £8,835 in the previous year. The motor businesses in Malawi were seriously affected by adverse trading conditions, and their trading profits fell from £27,794 to £8,051. The issued capital is £330,750. Fixed assets appear at £509,339 and net current assets at £127,786. Mr. J. Gibson Kerr is the chairman and managing director.

Mini Mini Estate Holdings, Ltd., report a group net loss of £397 for the year to June 30, against a profit of £8,429 in the previous year, tea sales having fallen from £92,624 to £77,188. The issued capital is £89,064. Most unfavourable weather reduced the yield per acre by 33%, and increased wage rates caused costs of production to rise by 9d. per lb. while prices rose by only 6d. A 2½% dividend is paid by drawing on the dividend equalization reserve.

London, Australian & General Exploration Co., Ltd., which was at one time interested in gold mining in Kenya, and which has for many years produced indifferent results, announces net profits before tax for 1965 at £130,212. The figure was £62,007 in 1964, £38,411 in 1963, £12,423 in 1962, and in 1961 there was a loss. L.A.G. have now offered to acquire the issued capital of Investors Savings Trust, Ltd., by an issue of 9% convertible unsecured loan stock.

The Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-operative), Ltd., reports that in the period from August 2, 1964, to March 31, 1965, profits after tax amounted to £39,068, but the auditors consider that not enough has been provided for bad debts; debts totalling £25,422 were written off, and the directors deem it advisable to increase the provision to £188,320. Capital and revenue reserves total £792,968, fixed assets £755,793, net current assets £109,306, and investment in subsidiary companies £28,802. Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott is the chairman and Mr. C. D. Hill the vice-chairman.



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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

TRUTH—which is said to be the first casualty in any war—has been severely wounded in the near-war which the British Socialist Government (returned by a minority of votes, and therefore in office by

Background Of Guilt.

kind of accident native to the overpraised one-man-one-vote system which is the cause of so much distress in Africa) is waged with ever-increasing ferocity against Rhodesia, whose record of internal self-government over more than forty years can stand comparison with that of any other country anywhere. The standards of its public men and public life have certainly been better than those in Britain. Indeed, the deterioration in Britain is the main cause of the present tragic conflict, which, like that by which the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was betrayed, results from Rhodesian mistrust of United Kingdom Ministers. The justification for lack of faith during the disastrous Macmillan-MacLeod era needs no recapitulation in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which recorded the whole series of prevarications, tergiversations, and abominations as they occurred, and emphasized again and again the damage which they were doing to British and British African interests.

Suffice it to recall that so stalwart and honoured a Conservative as Lord Salisbury, himself a former Secretary of State both for the Colonies and the Dominions, and at the time of his statement still very much the guardian of the Tory conscience, felt himself driven to denounce as "unscrupulous" the

Both Parties At Fault.

Central African antics of the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain MacLeod, whom Mr. Macmillan had selected as his "hatchet man". If that was what a senior colleague in the party deemed it necessary to declare publicly in the national interest, what must Rhodesians have

thought? The present Socialist Government would have done well to take so material a matter into its consideration of the Rhodesian problem. It has not done so, doubtless because, having consistently encouraged Macmillanism in Africa, it is sensitive of sharing the Conservative guilt. Its blameworthiness, indeed, goes much further back than that, for throughout the previous two or three decades the spokesmen for Socialism had done everything in their power to stimulate the aspirations and political agitation of Africans who lacked the knowledge, experience, or environment which could make them safe guardians of their own people if they were prematurely brought to power by the support, and often incitement, given by extremists in the West, especially in England and the United States, scarcely any of whom had any real knowledge of Africa.

Now, when Zambia is wholly dependent for her existence upon the lavish expenditure of money and effort by the British Government (which her politicians nevertheless vilify week by week, if not day by day).

Must Ministers "Equivocate"? Kaunda and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, have publicly accused Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley, the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary, not merely of breaking their promises, but of denying that the promises were made. President Kaunda has said more than once that understandings were reached for the use of military force against Rhodesia if economic sanctions had not dislodged the Smith régime by an agreed date, a date now past (and widely believed in Zambia to have been December 31). A second date (understood to be January 10) was allegedly substituted when the romantics in the Wilson entourage began to recognize the folly of their original euphoria. In London the two Ministers concerned have categorically denied

the whole story. Instead of replying personally, President Kaunda authorized a spokesman to tell journalists that he quite understood that for reasons of convenience Downing Street must "equivocate". When standards in British public life were healthier, such a remark would have been deeply resented. Now it is regarded merely as evidence of sophistication. So far as we are aware, no Parliamentarian, no other political commentator, and not one newspaper has troubled to comment. What was equivalent to a charge of falsehood against the two British Ministers chiefly concerned with Zambia and Rhodesia has not been regarded as a reason for resentment. To such a past has British public life been reduced by the deviousness and folly of ministers.

* * *

We do not know, of course, what words passed in the conversations between these highly placed persons, but from statements made in the House of Commons it can certainly not seem surprising that the Government of Zambia should express dissatisfaction with the emphasis now being placed by Mr. Wilson and his colleagues on their belated decision that there can be no question of British military action against Rhodesia. When Mr. Wilson said on two separate occasions within a few hours that Britain would not "stand idly by", what interpretation was President Kaunda expected to put on the words? Because of their obvious danger, this journal immediately asked for an unequivocal definition. Of course, it was not given. If Mr. Wilson has been misunderstood, he has himself to blame. At first he emphasized that economic sanctions imposed upon Rhodesia must be neither punitive nor coercive. Quickly discarding his own prescription, he started a process of tightening the screws, sometimes without regard even to common decency. For instance, he ordered the withholding of the pensions earned by Britons who now happen to live in Rhodesia—an unconscionable act which he had to countermand because of the sense of outrage among the British electorate. Then, after seizing, or at least immobilizing, the assets in Britain of the people of Rhodesia—those of ordinary citizens, not merely of the Government—he acted unilaterally in imposing an oil embargo, although he had given repeated pledges that there would be no such action except after close and lengthy investigations and general international consent. When announcing this final economic measure, final only before war itself, the Prime Minister was emphatic that there would be no attempt to blockade the port of Beira, through which oil

passes by pipeline to Rhodesia. Within a few days, however, he was talking unctuously of the possibility of blockade by the United Nations. Yet he knew, and was reminded, that the United Nations could not act in that way unless Britain failed to use her power of veto in the Security Council. In the light of this history of slither and worse in less than two months, is it surprising that accusations of bad faith should be made against Britain from Zambia, from Rhodesia, and from people in Britain who are still reconciled to such faithlessness in politics?

* * *

The United Kingdom Press, having incautiously hearkened to hint-dropping by Ministers, has given a very one-sided account of events, and has encouraged the expectation

that Rhodesia will quickly capitulate. **Misrepresentations in The British Press.** Nothing that we hear from that country war-

rants that assumption. This week London mass-circulation dailies have vied with one another in attributing to Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, the implied declaration that his country will deny oil to Rhodesia, whereas he had said quite explicitly that South Africa will not engage in economic sanctions and will continue to trade with both Rhodesia and Zambia. He specifically offered to send coal north of the Zambezi, and invited traders in his republic to sell what they could to Rhodesia. That, surely, was the very reverse of a refusal to supply Rhodesia with oil. Simultaneously, when Mr. Smith marked the New Year by an offer to continue to supply Zambia with oil if the crude product were delivered in Beira, the gesture was either interpreted as evidence of his serious distress or dismissed with scorn. Considering the immense cost to Britain of delivering oil and other necessities to Zambia by air from Dar es Salaam and Leopoldville; it would have been more sensible to urge acceptance of the proposal, both because it would have offered the prospect of widening discussions with the Rhodesian authorities and because it would have relieved taxpayers in this country of an enormously expensive commitment. It is true that Rhodesia would have gained something: she would presumably have asked for the refining costs to be paid in a currency other than sterling; the reduction in refining costs would have eased the strain on her own budget; and more work would have been found for white and black employees at Feruka. These, however, are trivialities in comparison with the savings which might have been made in air-lift expenditure. Unhappily, emotion excluded realism in the Zambian decision.

Did President Kaunda consult any member of the British Cabinet before publicly rejecting Mr. Smith's proposal? Considering that Britain is understood to have promised to pay all the costs of the air-lift from Dar es

Xenophobia In Zambia.

Salaam, H.M. Government's view ought certainly to have been canvassed. We write "understood" because before it went into recess the House of Commons was denied an answer to the suggestion that this country had promised to meet the full bill. Was that because the Cabinet expected that disclosure would produce the criticism that Zambia, one of the most prosperous of African States, thanks wholly to its great copper industry, should have been asked to share the expense? The attitude of her Government is that the present situation offers a wonderful opportunity of transforming her economy at the cost of other countries. Only the other day President Kaunda spoke of utilizing the chance to make Zambia self-sufficient. That is an ambition which takes no account of basic geographical and economic factors which will long outlive today's distress and disharmony. It is nonsensical for Zambia to couple insistence upon African rule in

Rhodesia at an early date with her own immediate industrialization. Even the pan-African zealots should now know that years must pass before there can be any question of black rule in Rhodesia, and those with any knowledge of economics must recognize the folly of spending millions of pounds on the establishment of factories in Zambia to supply a small market when Rhodesia already manufactures the same goods and can supply them promptly and more cheaply. If British Ministers encourage this manifestation of xenophobia in Zambia they will do permanent damage to the economy of Rhodesia, and deprive considerable numbers of white men and far, far larger numbers of black men of their livelihood. Permanent retribution of that kind upon thousands of persons completely innocent of the current political situation would be unforgivable; and now, while Britain is pouring out millions to aid Zambia, is the time to bring influence to bear in the right direction. Ever since November 11 Mr. Wilson and his colleagues have been driven from one position to another by the African extremists. It is past high time to resist their pressures.

Two Tankers Pirated on the High Seas, Says Mr. Smith

"Those Who Dance to the Tune of International Communism"

IN A NEW YEAR MESSAGE Mr. Smith said that Rhodesians had smiled under British sanctions, but "behind the smile there is the resolution of a united people ready and willing to meet any threat". Rhodesians had stepped forward calmly and confidently into a new future, and the country continued to be a "model of peace and stability, which is the envy of countries less fortunate than ours".

That peace and tranquility had been maintained in the face of appalling threats, punitive sanctions, and "masterly, vicious, and even vindictive propaganda by the country which we once held in the highest esteem.

Great Caine Robbery Overcome

"On November 11 I warned Rhodesia that attempts would be made to visit retribution upon us. We were temporarily embarrassed by the Great Caine Robbery but have managed to overcome it. More recently two tankers of oil belonging to us, for which we had paid, were pirated on the high seas.

"So the Government has decided to introduce rationing sooner than we had anticipated. Of course we shall overcome this problem".

After 43 years of successful government, Rhodesia was now a sovereign independent nation, "a nation to which we can dedicate ourselves with pride and determination". He was confident that she would overcome the problem caused by the oil embargo.

"With every day that passes this independent, resolute nation grows in strength. We will emerge from this exercise a far, far stronger nation than ever before in our history.

"When the story of Rhodesia's struggle for nationhood is written, history will recount the retribution which in turn will be exacted from those who today dance to the tune of world Communism in the guise of democratic institutions".

Appeal to Young Rhodesians

The Prime Minister appealed to young white Rhodesians "to set an example in behaviour and good will towards others, in particular to those who may be less fortunate in material benefits of life. I ask you to make a special point of treating your fellow Rhodesians every bit as courteously and decently as you would members of your own circle of friends".

Mr. Smith concluded: "If you would make some thank-offering for the blessings you enjoy, let it be an act of kindness to someone in need.

"This year will fulfil all our expectations for an independent Rhodesia".

No Guarantees Against Prosecution

BRIGADIER CLARKE asked the Prime Minister before Parliament went into recess for an assurance that Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues might come to this country at any time to negotiate with H.M. Government without fear of arrest.

The Prime Minister: "Any question of prosecution is one for the prosecuting authorities, not for H.M. Government".

Offers to Send Oil to Zambia and Remove Coal Surcharge

Mr. Smith's New Year "Gesture of Good Will" Rejected by President Kaunda

MR. SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, began the New Year with two "gestures of good will" towards Zambia: he offered to resume the supply of oil from the Rhodesian refinery and to remove the heavy royalty and export taxes recently imposed on coal and coke exports to Zambia.

President Kaunda of Zambia rejected the overtures as "a cheap move, the cry of a drowning man clutching at a reed."

"According to information available to me," Mr. Smith had said in a Press statement, "the position in Zambia could become chaotic in a short time if present circumstances continue. Economic dislocation in Zambia would be in the interests only of those who are spreading Communism."

"My first proposal is to offer quite unconditionally, subject only to acceptable administrative and payment arrangements, to refine, and rail to Zambia its normal requirements of motor spirit. The crude oil earmarked for this purpose to be delivered on Zambian account through the port of Beira.

Helping Zambia and British Taxpayer

"My second proposal is to suspend for the time being the additional new royalties and export taxes which have been imposed on coal and coke railed north of Wankie to both Zambia and the Congo."

Acceptance of the offer would relieve British, Canadian, and American taxpayers of the "enormous and wasteful costs of airlifting oil to Zambia. It is my hope that this gesture will contribute to a restoration of normal relationships between Zambia and Rhodesia, and bring to an end this useless economic war between two countries which have always in the past maintained close and friendly relations."

Zambia was the main sufferer from sanctions, and the Western world, and Britain and the United States in particular, should pause and reflect whether their actions were consistent with their avowed policy of combating Communism. Were they not, albeit unwittingly, aiding and abetting the march of Communism down the Continent of Africa?

President Kaunda described Mr. Smith's offers as "cheap propaganda which does not impress me at all". He added: "The rebels are beginning seriously to feel the pinch of economic sanctions. The fact that Zambia means to go ahead independently has made the Rhodesian people realize, pause, and reflect on the circumstances which the rebellious Government has created for them. They realize that Zambia means business when she speaks of using this sad affair to make herself free of any country economically".

Moreover, Mr. Smith had made earlier promises which had been broken. What reason was there to believe that these new offers were genuine?

Coal Obtainable from Other Sources

Even if Rhodesia stopped her coal exports Zambia would be able to continue copper production, though not at full capacity. Enough coal would be imported from other countries to keep the mines in production, and arrangements would be made to find employment for the miners, even if jobs had to be provided in other spheres. The offer by the Prime Minister of South Africa to sell coal to Zambia was welcomed.

Mr. Smith's statement that Zambia was approaching chaos and in danger of falling victim to Communism was "stupid nonsense". His so-called good will gesture was the first sign of a break-through for economic sanctions; "and if sanctions can succeed nobody would be happier than I, because this is a much better weapon than military action".

A few days earlier President Kaunda had referred to the Rhodesian leaders as "little men who in a spirit of frenzy and self-adulation think they can defy the world".

On Tuesday the Rhodesian Ministry of Lands and

Mines announced that royalties of £5 a ton on coal and £8 on coke exports had been suspended.

Cabinet Changes

Cabinet changes were announced on Friday. Lord Graham, Minister of Agriculture, has taken over the portfolios of External Affairs and Defence, vacant since Mr. Dupont became Acting Officer Administering the Government. The portfolio of Agriculture is added to those of Transport and Power held by Mr. George Rudland, who has transferred responsibility for Roads and Road Traffic to Mr. Basil Mussett, who also remains Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Mr. Van der Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, said in Johannesburg that the Commonwealth had become an Afro-Asian bloc with Britain as a European outpost. He believed that a new organization would emerge within 18 months.

Parliament is to reassemble on February 2, nearly three weeks earlier than had been intended.

In correction of a local newspaper report, the Rhodesian Government announced last week that there was no intention of withholding the pension of £2,200 a year which Parliament had agreed to grant to Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Prime Minister, as from April 1 last.

Tighter petrol rationing restricts farmers to half their normal bulk supplies, and withdraws exemption from the diplomatic and consular corps. Diesel oil, the basic fuel used by farmers, is not rationed.

Governor to Pay Rent for Government House

Mr. Smith announced last week that Sir Humphrey Gibbs would be charged a monthly rent of £250 for the use of Government House, Salisbury, from January 1, and would also be required to pay the salaries and wages of his European and African staff, the electricity, water and rubbish removal charges, and other expenses together totalling nearly £1,000 a month. An explanatory statement said:—

"As Sir Humphrey Gibbs no longer has any official standing and is occupying Government House and grounds, which is a property belonging to the people of Rhodesia, without the approval of the Government of the country, the Government feels that it is only fair that a proper rent should be charged. Sir Humphrey Gibbs has accordingly been informed that from January 1 as long as he remains in residence at Government House without the approval of the Government he will be charged personally a rent of £250 a month for house, furniture and grounds".

The Government had been paying for a European house-keeper and for 23 African domestic staff and 15 African gardeners, who had also been provided with rations and clothing.

"When after November 11 Sir Humphrey Gibbs decided to remain in possession of Government House, although he had ceased to be Governor, he kept on this staff and the Government continued to meet their salaries and wages. Under the pressure of economic sanctions applied to Rhodesia by the British Government it is necessary for economies to be made in every direction, and the Government is unable to continue meeting Sir Humphrey Gibbs's household expenses".

Apart from his military A.D.C., Captain Christopher Owen, who had resigned from the Rhodesian Army in order to stay with him, the Governor had already lost his police A.D.C., his secretarial staff, and his official cars and typewriters. Salisbury residents had thereafter provided voluntary secretarial assistance.

Mr. John Pestell, secretary-comptroller to the Governor, told reporters that Sir Humphrey Gibbs intended to remain in Government House as long as he considered that his presence there might serve some useful purpose for Rhodesia, and that he would there-

fore "probably" meet the demand for a rent of £250 a month and also pay as much as he could of staff salaries and wages. Many Rhodesians, Mr. Pestell added, had sent and offered the Governor financial help. That day one businessman had sent a cheque for £1,000. Mr. Pestell has been given three months' notice by the Government, but has decided to remain with Sir Humphrey.

The Governor is understood to have refused an offer by the British Government to pay his salary, which was terminated when the declaration of independence was made on November 11.

A "Friends of Sir Humphrey Gibbs Society" formed in Salisbury has asked that at least 250 of the thousands of people who signed the visitors' book after U.D.I. should contribute £1 a month towards the rent now charged for his residence.

Thousands of motorists in Rhodesia now display the Rhodesian flag and stickers with such slogans as "Good Luck, Rhodesia" and "Forward, Rhodesia", and cyclists have begun to fly miniature flags from their handle-bars. Some have cut the Union Jack out of the Rhodesian flag. The Rhodesian Front office in Salisbury has sold more than 30,000 flag stickers (at 1s. 6d. each).

Some opponents of the Smith régime demonstrate their support for the Governor by displaying on their cars a strip cut from the carton of a well-known tooth-paste which refers to "New Formula Gibbs SR".

To Mitigate Unemployment

Mr. John Hughes, president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia, said a few days ago that the imposition of sanctions would probably cause at least 4,000 white employees to lose their jobs in the next three months, and that many others would have to accept reduced salaries. Unemployment would be highest in the retail and distributive trades, the first persons to be discharged being married women and men about due to retire.

To be completely realistic was essential in present circumstances, optimism being as dangerous as pessimism, Mr. Hughes emphasized.

A.C.C.O.R. has established a national advisory service for employers suffering from the embargoes, import controls, and the credit squeeze, with advisory panels in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Umtali. They will suggest means of diversifying activities, substituting local goods for imports, and other ways of avoiding retrenchment, in some cases by amalgamation with other businesses. The panels are available to members and non-members of the Associated Chambers.

Some 2,500 Europeans and 40,000 Africans are employed in the Rhodesian mining industry, which has received a Government grant of £270,000 for the promotion of developments through a loan fund and of £250,000 for a new fund which will ease difficulties arising from the present situation.

A net gain of 639 in Rhodesia's white population is reported for November, when 1,031 white immigrants entered and 392 left.

Gwelo Town Council is to spend £100,000 on African housing.

The Minister for Agriculture, Lord Graham, has appointed a five-member committee to deal with tobacco questions pending the creation of an organization to receive the proceeds from all leaf sales, take possession of all unsold tobacco and dispose of it to the best advantage.

The *Rhodesian Tobacco Journal* expects the Government to buy the whole crop at an initial price of 24d. per lb., with the hope of subsequent disbursements after sales. A crop of at least 200m. lb. is forecast.

A Rhodesian Products Promotion Society had been formed

in Fort Victoria. A subsidiary activity is to be the collection of materials which can be re-processed.

For a new issue of Rhodesian postage stamps, £18,000 was paid last week to London printers "in a currency other than sterling", according to an official announcement in Salisbury.

The 1,577 new motor vehicles registered in Rhodesia in October represented a record for any month. The previous highest total had been 1,523 in July, 1963.

The Rhodesian Government's crash wheat production programme provides for an initial 2,800 acres under irrigation on the east side of the 22-mile concrete canal connecting Manjireni Dam with Nandi Estate, the dam and canal having each cost about £1.25m. The original intention was to irrigate sugar cane at Nandi. There will be enough water for some 15,000 acres under wheat, which is to be grown on part of 400,000 acres of Crown land described as the finest irrigable soil in the country. Sowing will be completed before April.

Recommendations of Council of Chiefs

Having decided to allocate £500,000 for special purposes in the tribal trust areas—in addition to £850,000 already granted in the current financial year—the Government asked the Council of Chiefs to advise on the use of the money.

The chiefs propose that £300,000 should be devoted to irrigation schemes; £100,000 to buildings for schools under local government councils; £50,000 to the creation of a Tribal Trust Land and Industrial Development Corporation; and £25,000 each to a school for the sons of chiefs and headmen and to offices and other accommodation for tribal authorities.

The tribal area tax in Rhodesia is to be reduced from £2 to £1 per head from the end of June. Thereafter the receipts will be devoted to the local government councils in the areas concerned.

A Rhodesian African nationalist organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union, which is proscribed in Rhodesia but has offices in Zambia, Tanzania, and elsewhere, claimed in Dar es Salaam last week that tobacco crops were being uprooted at night by Africans in areas around Salisbury, Fort Victoria, Umtali, Sipolilo, and Zimunya, and that some farmers had had to be given military protection. Forests were stated to have been set afire in the Malssetter district.

After drinking from a trough in which arsenic was found to have been placed, 125 cows died in one day on a ranch near Bulawayo.

Ready to Form Interim Government

No Recrimination and No Treason Trials

MR. G. W. BRIND, who resigned from the executive committee of the Rhodesian Front just before the declaration of independence, and was later expelled from the party, told journalists in Johannesburg on Friday that there were Rhodesians who were ready, when the Smith régime collapsed, to form an interim Government which would be composed of former Cabinet Ministers and leading businessmen together with Mr. Gondo, leader of the United People's Party, which has 10 African M.P.s, and probably another African.

On his return to Salisbury in a few days, Mr. Brind continued, he would telegraph to Mr. Smith offering to mediate between him and the Governor. "It is a question of saving Mr. Smith's face or waiting for the economy to collapse through sanctions. We do not want civil war in Rhodesia. If President Kaunda gets impatient with the slowness of sanctions he may call in troops—and they may be Russians. There will be no recriminations and no treason trials", he concluded.

"FACING THE FACTS ON RHODESIA"

By John Biggs-Davison, M.P.

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Support The Rhodesia Emergency Fund

Lord Salisbury Condemns British Government's Policy

Possibility of U.N. Blockade the Most Sinister Aspect of Present Situation

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said in a recent speech in the House of Lords:—

"During the Second World War it was my good fortune to occupy successively the posts of Dominions Secretary and Colonial Secretary. As a result I became deeply interested in the development of our Dependencies overseas, and when an opportunity occurred shortly after the war of acquiring a share in two farming properties in Rhodesia which were to be developed I jumped at it. They have not been very profitable investments.

"Indeed, I have never had a penny of interest from either of them; but I have never regretted my decision, because the estates have been greatly improved. One is today one of the best cattle ranches in the country, with one of the best cattlemen in charge; and we give employment to a small number of Europeans and a large number of Africans, all of whom, so far as I know, are happy and contented.

Not Yet Ready for Majority Rule

"The African in Rhodesia is not yet ready for majority rule over a large multi-racial community. That is not surprising. We tend to forget how short a time it is since they first had contact with civilization. Rhodesia has moved so far almost entirely as a result of work done by Europeans. The Africans have moved forward too. More money has been spent on African education in Rhodesia during recent years than in any of the African territories administered by the Colonial Office—and it was all done with the Rhodesians' own money.

"In these circumstances does a dispute concerned not with the fact but with the pace of African advance justify the mobilization of the whole world against these people to whom alone, it is generally believed, the greatly improved condition of the African in their country is due—without whom, indeed, the Africans would be relatively in the same condition in which they were before the Europeans first came there?

"If it is pointed out to me that the Rhodesian Government have also done something very wrong in unilaterally declaring their independence, I would reply: 'That may well be so. I think they were wrong to do it. But that is a matter which concerns Rhodesia and us alone. It does not, or should not, concern any other nation'.

"The white Rhodesians apparently, in the eyes of the Prime Minister and possibly some of the Members in this House, have put themselves beyond the pale by what they have done. They have become, as it were, the embodiment of evil; and the war against them, although up to now it has been cold, has become regarded as a holy war, in which there can be no compromise but only unconditional surrender.

Sanctions Multiplied

"One sanction has been piled on another. First, there has been the denial of the automatic economic advantages that flow from membership of the Commonwealth. That the Rhodesians brought on themselves. Then there was the embargo on the purchase of sugar and tobacco, the two main products of the country. Then there was the embargo on the purchase of 95% of the other products of the country. Then the embargo on all trade between the two countries, and the embargo on the transfer of monies from one country to another. Finally there was the seizure of the reserves of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia.

"The Lord Chancellor said tonight that all the information which has reached the Government was to the effect that sanctions were already, to some extent at any rate, succeeding. My information is exactly the opposite; and I suspect that

my information is more correct. Why otherwise are we now told by the Prime Minister that he has decided to resort, without any previous consultations with Parliament, on the harshest, cruelest and most dangerous of all sanctions, the oil sanctions?

Too Cruel for Egypt But Not Rhodesia

"There was a suggestion at the time of Suez that we should cut off oil from Egypt. It was vetoed because it was regarded as just too cruel. It is not, apparently, regarded as too cruel for the Rhodesians. The oil sanction is cruel because nowadays oil comes so much into the lives even of quite poor families. It is also a far more dangerous sanction, for it is liable to bring nations to the verge of war.

"Suppose a tanker flying a flag of convenience tries to run the blockade, and that, being hailed, she refuses to stop. What does the blockading warship do? Does she sink the tanker? That might take place even before your lordships meet again after Christmas.

"Yesterday the Prime Minister said: 'He—that is, Mr. Heath—fears it will lead to a naval blockade of Beira. It will not'. But I could not but feel that these words should be read in the light of another passage in the speech of the Prime Minister when he said: 'If the matter was raised at the United Nations, and there was a decision to stop oil tankers from going to Beira, that would be an international decision,—which is, apparently in his mind quite a different thing. To be fair, he added: 'We do not ourselves propose to seek such a resolution'. But he did not say that we would veto such a decision. He rather indicated that we should feel unable to resist it.

"This is the most formidable and even sinister aspect of the present situation. The Prime Minister's intention may be comparatively limited in its objective—limited to getting rid of (I am glad to see that he has dropped the word 'traitor') the illegal régime in Rhodesia. But the Afro-Asians, who are making the running in the United Nations on this subject, do not care a row of beans for Mr. Smith. They do not care whether he is legal or illegal. They would feel just the same about a Government headed by Sir Roy Welensky or by Mr. Winston Field.

"Their object is much more far-reaching. It is, to use a graphic phrase once coined by Mr. Tom Mboya, to 'make the white man scream out of Africa'. That is their objective; and if they can create chaos and ruin in Rhodesia they will have gone far to achieve it.

"If we by approving oil sanctions open the door to a United Nations—if not to a United Kingdom—blockade, we shall have gone far to facilitate their schemes. But if we in Britain decide not to approve them, they will, if they intend to pursue their blockade with a view to creating chaos in Rhodesia, have to come out in their true colours and not merely behind the stalking horse of H.M. Government.

Only Hope of Avoiding Conflagration

"The only hope now, I believe, of avoiding a conflagration is not further to intensify sanctions. Apart from bringing nearer the wider dangers of which I have just spoken, an oil sanction could only create such bitterness that no Rhodesian, whether pro-Smith or anti-Smith, would sit down at a conference table with a representative of the United Kingdom Government.

"The imperative need is for a return to the paths of conciliation and negotiation, of which Sir Alec Douglas-Home has spoken so wisely. This is no time for saying: 'I won't speak to Mr. A or Mr. B or even to Mr. S'. It is a time for saying: 'I will speak to anyone if it will serve the cause of peace'. But if we agree to these sanctions I believe the situation will pass out of our control. We shall be swept forward inevitably into rapids infinitely dangerous both to our Commonwealth and our country—into the realm of force, with all that implies.

"Some newspapers, even those hitherto most favourable to the Government's ideas, or willing to accept them, have begun to show very considerable nervousness as to the shoals and rapids into which the country is now being led. The *Daily Telegraph*, which has always supported—rather to my regret—a bipartisan policy, is beginning to talk about the 'slippery slope on which we are all embarking'; and even *The Times*, which has supported fully the policy of the Government, is beginning to suspect that the Prime Minister has reached a point when he is seriously considering the use of force, at any rate by someone, if not himself.

"The oil sanction contains the seeds of danger, and possibly imminent danger, to peace; and, once peace is broken, who knows where the red tide of war may spread?"

God or Caesar in Rhodesia ?

Britain Partly Responsible

B.B.C. TELEVISION took as its topic for discussion in the "Meeting Point" programme on Sunday evening "God or Caesar in Rhodesia ?"

Mr. Kenneth Harris, the commentator, opened with the reminder that all the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops in Rhodesia had declared the unilateral declaration of independence to be wrong by every standard of Christian judgment. Film interviews with Mr. Leonard Parkin in Rhodesia just before Christmas were then shown.

Dr. Cecil Alderson, Bishop of Mashonaland, agreed that a large majority of the white population disagreed with his own condemnation of U.D.I. Many Rhodesian Christians thought it morally right, and others who had not taken that view now considered it to be their duty to pull together as Rhodesians.

People in Britain who criticized Rhodesians for accepting conditions which conflicted with Christian teaching should remember the state of Britain not so long ago; as a young man the bishop had then seen in industrial areas in England conditions worse than anything he had ever seen in Rhodesia or South Africa.

That there was a gap between Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia was not to be denied, but it must in fairness be remembered that a greater proportion of the Africans had education than in any other African State, and that a great deal had been done recently to provide them with secondary education. Many Christians had been in the forefront of the movement towards liberalism and against restrictive laws.

Do Not Hasten African Advance Unduly

The Bishop said emphatically that he did not believe in unduly hastening African political advancement.

That was also the opinion expressed by an unknown woman who was interviewed in the precincts of Salisbury Cathedral. She did not think that Africans would be able to provide civilized government in Mr. Smith's lifetime; she felt that he and his associates really were saving Christian civilization.

Another person interviewed stressed that black and white got along very well together. While the pace of African advancement should be accelerated, real merit should be the criterion.

Mr. Peter Canham, lately of the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said when questioned by Mr. Harris that Africans could take part in a Government now, but certainly not run the Administration. Not many Rhodesians wanted to delay African participation indefinitely, but most wanted to delay it while Africans gained experience. "If I were a Rhodesian, I should say: 'African advancement, yes; but not just yet'."

After recorded extracts from a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey by Bishop Skelton of Matabeleland had been broadcast, Mr. Alan Booth, of the World Council of Churches, said that to move too fast in Rhodesia would be to bring down the whole house. He was convinced that the two communities in that country could not resolve their problems alone; they must have the help of an outside referee.

Britain should not condemn; and there has been much too much condemnation. The truth was that Britain was part of the problem, which she had helped to create. Too much moralizing would not help towards a solution. Much nonsense was talked about the use of force. There was no obvious solution; it must be sought in Rhodesia.

Duty of the Bar

THE BAR COUNCIL OF RHODESIA has said in reply to an allegation in a Salisbury newspaper that few of its members would be willing to defend African nationalists. "Members of the Bar have a duty to appear to represent any person by whom they are properly instructed, and neither the political persuasions of the client nor the private views of the individual advocate can affect this duty. So far as is known to the Bar Council, no member of the Bar in Rhodesia has failed or would fail to discharge this duty, and no pressure has been brought to bear to cause him to do so. So far as is known, all members of the Bar are willing to represent African nationalists, and many have frequently done so."

Queen's Message to Governor

Suppressed by Rhodesian Censor

THE QUEEN sent on Saturday to Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, a message of "encouragement and good will", the text of which was broadcast from the new B.B.C. transmitter in Bechuanaland. Her Majesty wrote:—

"As the year draws to its close, I send to you, and through you to the people of Rhodesia of every community and race, a message of encouragement and good will.

"I have greatly admired the steadfastness and dignity—with which, as my appointed Governor of Southern Rhodesia, you have conducted yourself and upheld constitutional government in this most difficult period.

"I deeply regret the events which have subjected the loyalties of the people of Rhodesia to uncertainty and strain.

"It is in the hope of a speedy ending of this unhappy situation and an early return to constitutional rule that I send my good wishes for the coming year to all my loyal subjects in your country."

The censorship ordered the message not to be printed in Rhodesian newspapers. When the editor of the *Rhodesia Herald* was told that it might not appear, he asked that the matter should be referred to Mr. Smith. On his instructions the censor's ruling was upheld.

Americans Deported from Rhodesia

THE RT. REV. JAMES PIKE, Episcopalian Bishop of California, was immediately expelled from Rhodesia when he arrived last week to visit the Anglican Bishop of Matabeleland. He was not allowed to leave the airport, whence he flew to Nairobi.

There he told journalists that he believed his deportation resulted from a communication sent to the Government and to newspapers in Rhodesia by a priest in Arizona who had been conducting a one-man vendetta against him on the ground that he was doctrinally unorthodox.

Bishop Pike thought that there would soon be a bloodless *coup* in Rhodesia, organised in Salisbury clubs by large land-owners and businessmen suffering from the effects of the economic sanctions. If such a *coup* failed, and if Britain remained unwilling to take military action, the use of force by the United Nations would become justified.

On arrival in Tel Aviv on Sunday the Bishop said: "I shall return to Rhodesia soon, because Ian Smith's régime will not last another month". He had, he declared, been held incommunicado at the airport without the right to consult a lawyer, see anybody, or make a telephone call.

Three Expelled from Chikori Mission

The Rev. Donald Abbott, the American superintendent of the United Church of Christ mission school at Chikori, was last week declared a prohibited immigrant and ordered to leave Rhodesia with his wife and four children within a week. He said that he had been given no reason for his expulsion, but admitted having criticized Mr. Smith and his Government privately, though never publicly. He had lived in Rhodesia since 1950.

In July an American teacher at the mission, Mr. Lester Winer, was declared a prohibited immigrant after being fined £25 for writing a poem which criticized the police. Mr. Jack Heinrich, another American teacher at the mission, had had expulsion papers served on him earlier in the year while he was on leave in the U.S.A.

PERSONALIA

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., has left London for South Africa and Rhodesia.

MR. R. H. TURNER has retired from the board of Turner and Newall, Ltd.

MR. A. SALMON, a director of J. Lyons & Co., Ltd., is on his way to Malawi by sea.

MR. J. R. N. CHINYAMA has been appointed to the Malawi Board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

SIR FOSTER ROBINSON sailed on Friday in the Transvaal Castle to revisit Southern Africa.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE is about to pay his annual visit to Kenya, where he farmed for many years.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD has resigned from the board of Union Corporation, Ltd., owing to pressure of business affairs.

LORD COLYTON was 64 on Monday, on which day SIR JULIAN CROSSLEY was 67 and SIR GEORGE BERSFORD-STOOKE 69.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, Tory M.P. for Lancaster, leaves today for Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia. He hopes also to visit Rhodesia.

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL has resigned the chairmanship of Bookers Engineering and Industrial Holdings, Ltd. He remains chairman of the parent company.

MR. T. F. BETTS, field director in East Africa for Oxfam, is the elder brother of MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, M.P., lately Minister of Overseas Development.

MR. N. R. HEATHCOTE, lately Deputy High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, has been appointed Under-Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in Salisbury.

SIR ANDREW McCANCE has retired from the board of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., in order to reduce his business commitments. MR. DEREK B. KIMBER has been elected a director.

MR. G. H. D. HINDE, for the past two years technical manager of Rhodesia Sugar Refineries, Ltd., has been elected to the board. He joined the company 15 years ago as an assistant chemist.

MR. A. M. R. SYLVESTER, who has been appointed to the board of British Metal Corporation, Ltd., will continue as secretary of the company and of Amalgamated Metal Corporation, Ltd.

MR. A. E. LEMON, managing director of Cayzer, Irvine & Co., Ltd., and Messrs. G. F. BEDFORD and R. J. BLOXHAM have been elected directors of the British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.

MR. H. W. HOLTAM, who has retired from the Broken Hill mine in Zambia after 21 years' service, is to spend a holiday in England before going to South Africa to live. At one time he was in charge of Kabwe mine.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, British High Commissioner in Aden, and formerly Governor-General in Tanzania, has arrived in London for discussions with LORD LONGFORD, the new Colonial Secretary.

Three M.Ps. left London at the week-end for Rhodesia: MR. EVELYN KING (Conservative), SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON (Conservative), and MR. REGINALD PAGET (Socialist). Others are expected to follow.

MR. ANTOINE GIZENGA, who was Deputy Prime Minister in the Lumumba Government in the Congo, and who has been under house arrest for many months until recently, has been nominated to a seat in the Senate.

PRINCE PATRICK was on Friday proclaimed the new Ruler of Toro in succession to his father, SIR GEORGE RUKIDI, who had died 10 days previously. PRINCE PATRICK, aged 20, had been a pupil at Sherborne School, Dorset.

MR. JOHN DAVIDSON is the new president of Livingstone Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Zambia. There are two women, MRS. L. HEBBLETHWAITE and MRS. M. PRINSLOO, among the seven other members of the committee.

SIR FULQUE AGNEW is on his way to Beira in the KENYA CASTLE, in which LADY LOUISE GLEN-COATS is a passenger for Mombasa, as are DR. AND MRS. R. A. TOZER. The REV. and MRS. M. J. H. FOX are passengers for Dar es Salaam.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE ERSKINE, who commanded the 7th Armoured Division, the "Desert Rats", in North Africa during part of the 1939-45 war, and was afterwards G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, left £32,577 on which duty of £4,721 has been paid.

Queen's Commissions have been abolished in the Uganda Army and replaced by warrants, the first two recipients of which from the President, SIR EDWARD MUTESA, were BRIGADIER OPOLOT, Commander of the Army, and COLONEL IDI AMIN, Chief of Staff.

PRINCESS MUTUMBAETWA, third daughter of the LITUNGA of BAROTSELAND, and MR. MWAMBWA MUWANEI, regional publicity secretary for U.N.I.P. in Mongu, have been married. The College of Indunas resolved that the bridegroom should receive the title of ISHEE NAMUYOWA.

MR. W. M. McCALL, Q.C., and MR. I. M. EVANS have been appointed puisne judges in the High Court of Zambia. The former went to Northern Rhodesia late in 1951 as Solicitor-General, became Attorney-General, and retired from the civil service last January. MR. EVANS was appointed to Northern Rhodesia as a resident magistrate 12 years ago and was called to the English Bar in 1949.

SIR GEOFFREY GIBBS, who has succeeded LORD ALDENHAM as chairman of Antony Gibbs and Sons, Ltd., merchant bankers, has been a partner and director since 1932. He is chairman of Barclays Overseas Development Corporation and of the Australian and New Zealand Bank, deputy chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and chairman of the managing trustees of the Nuffield Foundation. He is a member of the council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

MR. J. F. BOWLES has just retired from the post of Under-Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in Rhodesia. After leaving Oriel College, Oxford, in 1934 he joined the Native Affairs Department. He was a member of the Rhodesian delegation to the 1951 conference of officials on closer association in Central Africa, and five years later went to Nairobi as Commissioner for the Federation. For two years from 1958 he served at Rhodesia House, London, as Counsellor, and was then sent to Nigeria as Commissioner, and later High Commissioner, for the Federation. In 1962 he went to the British Embassy in Washington as Senior Counsellor for Rhodesia and Nyasaland Affairs.

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New Year Honours List

Sir Jock Campbell A Peer

THE NEW YEAR HONOURS LIST does not, of course, contain awards to any Rhodesians.

Malawi was the only recent recipient of independence in Central or East Africa to submit a list for the Queen's approval.

LIFE BARONS

CAMPBELL, Sir John (Jock) Middleton, chairman of Booker Brothers, McConnell and Co., Ltd., and of the Economic Development Committees for Building and for Civil Engineering in the United Kingdom. Has large business interests in Zambia and Malawi. Supports the Labour Party. Chairman of company owning the *New Statesman*.

KING-HALL, Commander Sir (William) Stephen Richard, R.N. (Retd.), founder and president of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government. Founder of *King-Hall Newsletter*. Has visited Central and East Africa.

KNIGHTS BACHELOR

WHEARE, Kenneth Clinton, C.M.G., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Rector of Exeter College. Has advised on East and Central African constitutional problems.

MCADAM, Ian William James, O.B.E., M.B., F.R.C.S. (Ed), Professor of Surgery at Makerere University College, Uganda.

ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE

K.C.M.G.

FOWLER, Robert William Doughty, C.M.G., British High Commissioner in Tanzania.

JOHNSON, John Baines, C.M.G., lately British High Commissioner in Rhodesia.

NORMAN-WALKER, Hugh Selby, C.M.G., O.B.E., H.M. Commissioner in Bechuanaland.

PECK, Edward Heywood, C.M.G., British High Commissioner in Bechuanaland.

C.M.G.

BENNETT, Kenneth Geoffrey, puisne judge in the High Court of Uganda.

FINGLAND, Stanley James Gunn, lately British Deputy High Commissioner in Rhodesia.

JOHNSTON, Peter Hope, lately Provincial Commissioner and Local Courts Adviser, Tanzania.

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

C.B.E.

GREENSMITH, Henry Powell, M.B.E. For services to horticulture in Kenya.

SANDFORD, Mrs. Christine, O.B.E. British subject resident in Ethiopia.

SANGSTER, Robert Gray, lately Conservator of Forests, Tanzania.

FRASER-SMITH, Selwyn Willis, O.B.E., M.C., lately Commissioner for Village Settlement, Tanzania.

STRINGER, Dudeley John, lately general manager of the Tanganyika Electricity Supply Co., Ltd.

O.B.E.

AKEHURST, Basil Clifford, M.B.E., lately Director of Research Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, Tanzania.

BILLINGTON, the Rt. Rev. Vincent Aloysius, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kampala, Uganda.

FALCONER, John, Director of Veterinary Services, Bechuanaland.

DEVEREUX, Laurance George, lately chairman of the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association.

NEWLANDS, Hugh William Crispen, Commissioner of Veterinary Services, Uganda.

FALLISTER, John Weaver, lately Director of Geological Survey, Tanganyika.

SCOTT, Douglas Jack Pearce, lately Assistant Director of the Veterinary Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, Tanzania.

TALBOT-PHIBBS, James Owen, Colonial Treasurer, St. Helena. Served previously in East Africa and on the staff of the East African Office in London.

TURNER, Peter Percival, M.D., M.R.C.P., physician to the President of Uganda.

M.B.E.

BYERS, Mrs. Rosemary Frances, lately organising secretary, Uganda Red Cross Society.

CEURVORST, Anthony Paul, lately Second Secretary (Administration) British High Commission, Salisbury.

CLARK, Harold Sidney, lately Treasury Officer of Accounts, Uganda.

DAWSON, Miss Rowena, Communications Officer, British Deputy High Commission, Zanzibar.

GRIMLEY, Sidney Cecil, Senior Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Uganda.

JONES, Thurstan Roy, lately spraying machinery technologist, Uganda.

M'CLOUGHLIN, Sister Mary, nursing sister, Victoria Hospital, Seychelles.

MULLINS, Maurice Reginald. For services to British prestige in Uganda.

PRISSICK, Miss Doreen Ann. For services to the Women's Police Force in Tanzania.

SAVY, Louis Michel Philippe, Auditor, Seychelles.

SWART, Miss Antoinette, principal, Nsamizi Training Centre, Uganda.

WILLIAMS, Miss Margaret Aileen, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Medical missionary in Uganda.

WINSTANLEY, George, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Bechuanaland.

BRITISH EMPIRE MEDAL

(Civil Division)

RUMBOL, Miss Violet Edith May, formerly matron, Ocean Road Maternity Hospital, Dar es Salaam.

MALAWI LIST

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(Military Division)

C.B.E.

LEWIS, Colonel Thomas Paul Joseph, O.B.E., Royal Corps of Transport, formerly Commander of the Malawi Army.

M.B.E.

OWANI, Lieut. John, Malawi Rifles.

(Civil Division)

C.B.E.

GRAHAM-JOLLY, Henry George, Secretary for Home Affairs.

O.B.E.

CURRIE, Gordon, M.B., Ch.B., Government Leprologist.

M.B.E.

ACHESON, John Edgar, principal forester.

QUEEN'S POLICE MEDAL

HOLMES-A-COURT, Robert Douglas Hardman, Senior Assistant Commissioner, Malawi Police Force.

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"Our Time Limit Has Expired"

Zambian Reference to Military Action

SHARP DISAGREEMENT between Zambia and Britain was given public expression last Thursday by President Kaunda, who said that the two countries had agreed on a time limit for crushing the rebel régime in Rhodesia by economic sanctions, and that when that date was reached Zambia would consult with Britain, Tanzania, and the Congo before deciding on a new line of action.

"Our own time limit expired a few days ago", he said, "but the British Government came back to us with certain arguments, and so we agreed with them on a new date. If sanctions fail we shall have to consider military operations".

Earlier in his statement the President had reaffirmed his conviction that sanctions would not defeat the Rhodesia régime, which had rebelled against the Queen. That rebellion required to be quelled by Britain, the responsible Colonial Power; military action was the only way by which to bring down Mr. Smith.

Commonwealth Secretary's Denial

The Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, at once denied that a time limit had been fixed, or that there was any intention of using military force. Dr. Kaunda had pressed for tougher action, and it was evident that demands for the use of force would grow stronger, but Britain would not be pushed into the use of military measures or to blockading Beira, the Mozambique port through which oil had been piped to Rhodesia.

In reply to the Zambian President's statement, Mr. Bottomley said: —

"There has naturally been discussion between the British and Zambian Governments about the period in which economic action against Rhodesia is likely to become effective. The British Government have made known to the Zambian Government their reasons for thinking that the effect of the economic sanctions on Rhodesia will become increasingly severe in the new year. It is not, of course, possible to be precise about the time it will take for them to exert a decisive effect. This will depend not only upon British and Zambian action but also upon the degree of co-operation forthcoming from neighbouring African countries and the other nations of the world.

"The British Government have, however, assured the Zambian Government of their determination to do all that lies in their power to make economic sanctions upon Rhodesia fully effective, and thus to bring the illegal régime to an end at the earliest possible date".

Whenever questions have been put to Government spokesmen in recent weeks about the effect of sanctions, the reply has been that they would really begin to "bite" early in 1966. On December 21 the Prime Minister said again in the House of Commons that H.M. Government would not resort to military measures against Rhodesia.

A spokesman for the Rhodesian Front, the party forming the Government, said in Salisbury: "We think it highly likely that behind the façade of sanctions Mr. Wilson is planning a military invasion of Rhodesia and will soon begin conditioning the British people for it".

An official source suggested that President Kaunda had revealed a confidential understanding between Britain and Zambia, and that Mr. Wilson privately recognized that sanctions would not break the Smith régime, and, above all concerned to save his own face, would take the most extreme measures under pressure from Zambia.

Attention was called to the fact that in the previous few days some 400 British troops have been flown to Bechuanaland, ostensibly to guard the new radio station at Francistown, which is only 70 miles from Bulawayo, Rhodesia's main industrial centre. Nothing like 400 men were required to protect a radio station from possible sabotage.

During his news conference President Kaunda had said that his Government did not think a meeting of Commonwealth political leaders in Lagos could serve any useful purpose, but that Zambia would be represented just to show that she was not boycotting the conference.

There had already been a special meeting about Rhodesia of the Organization of African Unity, and another by its

Council of Ministers, who had unanimously resolved that their Governments should break off diplomatic relations. But only a few of the member States had responded. If so modest a measure could not be implemented by the majority of independent African States, what was there to discuss in Lagos?

What the whole Commonwealth needed to do was to help Zambia, which was facing the brunt of the battle. Other African countries, some of them thousands of miles away from Rhodesia, could afford merely to shout slogans. Zambia could not break off relations with Britain, because she could not then fight her battles. The rest of Africa should act, not waste time in discussions.

Zambia was doing everything possible to build up her own self-sufficiency, so as not to have to continue to rely on supplies from Rhodesia.

The copper mines had been asked to consider the use of oil instead of imported coal for fuelling the smelters. The possibility of obtaining coal from Tanzania was also being examined.

Air deliveries of petrol were so much better than had been expected that rationing might soon end.

Certain offers made by the Soviet Union to the two Zambian Ministers who were recently in Moscow and the report of the other mission which visited Washington were under examination.

The British High Commission in Lusaka said that fuel pumping and other improvements were being made at Dar es Salaam airport and that a special depot, costing about £500,000, was being built at Isoka, near the Zambian border with Tanzania, for the transfer of oil from Tanzanian to Zambian vehicles. Equipment ordered for oil carriage by road and water from Dar es Salaam to Zambia would cost about £130,000.

General Mobutu, President of the Congo, last week authorized the transfer of 25,000 tons of petrol from Congolese army stocks to Zambia.

Four Royal Canadian Air Force aircraft are now carrying petrol and oil to Zambia through Leopoldville. The first flight, made last Thursday by a crew of 12, carried 3,600 gallons of motor oil and enough fuel for the return trip.

It was announced in the United States that jet aircraft of Pan-American Airways were scheduled to deliver 6,000 tons of oil to Zambia in January and February.

Pan-American Airways, using Boeings, have begun to fly fuel from Leopoldville to Elisabethville, when it is carried into Zambia by rail or road.

R.A.F. Transport Aircraft Withdrawn

By Thursday of last week the R.A.F. had delivered just over 100,000 gallons; 21,000 gallons were flown from Dar es Salaam on the Wednesday and about 24,000 on Thursday. On Sunday it was announced in Lusaka that in the previous 10 days R.A.F. Britannia aircraft had ferried 130,000 gallons of fuel from Dar es Salaam, and that by the middle of this week the last of the aircraft would have left Tanzania, having handed over their task to charter planes. Of Transport Command's fleet of 23 Britannias, eight have been involved, five being constantly engaged in the airlift.

All the costs of the R.A.F. and charter flights from Dar es Salaam are being borne by the British Government. They are believed to average £250 per flying hour. As the flying time between Dar es Salaam and Lusaka is three hours, the delivery of 10 tons of oil thus costs about £1,500.

Seven charter aircraft from the United Kingdom have reached Dar es Salaam, two DC-8s and two Caravans from Air Ferry, and one Britannia each from Caledonian Airways, Transglobe Airways, and Lloyds International Airways.

Shortage of fuel has caused the R.A.F. Javelins recently sent to Zambia to restrict their flights to one a day.

Mr. Reuben Kamanga, Vice-President of Zambia, and Mr. Mundia, Minister of Labour, flew to Dar es Salaam last week to see President Nyerere, who told journalists that he had given an assurance that nothing would be done by Tanzania to impede the air lift of oil. On his return to Lusaka Mr. Kamanga declined to say whether Russia would help to bring in supplies.

With the introduction of petrol rationing, Mr. D. Molynaux, British Deputy High Commissioner, and six other members of the staff now evole to the office. The High Commission, the largest diplomatic body in Zambia, has been allocated petrol for three official cars. The United States Embassy has a ration for two, and the Russian and Chinese missions for one car each.

A 200-ton operation from Tanzania is now thought to be carrying 117 tons of oil daily to Zambia. The transport fleet is expected to be raised shortly to about 300 lorries.

Many light aircraft in Rhodesia were grounded and several power-boat repairs were cancelled during the Christmas and New Year period owing to petrol rationing.

Rhodesia's only cycle factory, in Bulawayo, intends to raise its production this year to between 30,000 and 40,000 machines.

Letters to the Editor

Rhodesian Africans Support Government How Nationalist Extremists Are Financed

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—The British Government and the British Press apparently refuse to believe what they have been repeatedly told—that the bulk of the African population of Rhodesia who are able to understand the implications support the present form of Government under the present Constitution, knowing perfectly well that they have made tremendous progress in the 40 years of self-government, far greater, in fact, than their brothers in the Colonies that have been governed by Britain for so long and have recently been given their independence.

These Rhodesian Africans know perfectly well that if the African nationalists secure power the bullying and intimidation already meted out to them on a small scale would increase by alarming proportions.

The fact that more than 7,000 Africans living in the townships have joined the Police Reserve in order to protect themselves against the thugs and intimidators employed by the nationalists—and paid with money they bring into the country from the Communists, and, regrettably, also from Britain and the U.S.A.—is the soundest answer to those who hope to force upon us a policy dictated by the Afro-Asian bloc, which it is at present expedient to the British Government to support but which in the long run will surely lead to Communist domination of Africa.

Yours faithfully,

G. R. A. JOHNSON,

Chairman,

Johnson & Fletcher, Ltd.

Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Thoughts for Politicians to Ponder

If Some States Left the Commonwealth

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—States inside and outside the Commonwealth are doing their best to make the present Rhodesian situation escalate into bloodshed. Their enthusiasm to achieve this is noticeably in direct proportion to their distance from Central Africa, and, consequently, the possibility that they might have to do anything other than talk. Their activities obviously now include the *agent provocateur*, for the recent pylon damage in Zambia cannot be attributed to anything else.

Cannot our politicians—and not only those of the left—spend a little more time in reflection before they throw Rhodesia to the wolves in the supposed interests of the chimera of Commonwealth unity and to appease the more irresponsible and noisy members of U.N.O.? Or do they wish to see the clock turned back 60 years, and Rhodesia, developed from barbarism into a modern and progressive country by British brains, toil, and imagination, plunged into chaos, and worse?

With the example of Zanzibar before us, do we really believe that "Red troops in blue berets" are more likely to materialize in the Rhodesia of today than in Rhodesia under African rule? With the example of other African States before us, do we really believe that the African population of Rhodesia would be better off, man for man, under African rule than under the present Government led by Mr. Smith, once it has been given a chance to settle down?

And would it be such a tragedy if some countries were to leave the Commonwealth club?—countries which are members on paper but patently retain their membership only for financial and economic benefits,

who pay no real allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, and use Britain only for their own purposes when convenient.

By contrast Rhodesia's record of loyalty to the Crown and of unstinting service in two world wars speak for themselves.

Yours faithfully,

O. S. SWAINSON.

Isle of Man.

[Mr. Swainson served for some 40 years in East and West Africa.—Ed.]

Security of the Kariba Dam

Lady Wilson Gives A Warning

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—The greatest danger to the great Kariba Dam lies in the possible sabotage by enemies of Britain and Rhodesia. Propaganda would then be poured forth throughout the world claiming that the damage had been done by the Rhodesians. That calumny would be swallowed by those who are scheming for the humiliation of Britain, the jealous and the wicked, and also by the ignorant people who are confused and fearful. Alas!, so many people want to believe it; and the capacity of mankind for self-deception is unlimited.

Anyone knowing the almost impenetrable thorn bush, the rock terrain, and the ravines will recognize that it would not be difficult for thugs to get away. Proof as to who had done the dastardly deed, would be impossible to obtain, and the maxim that "You can never catch up with a lie" would once more prove only too true. The past masters in psychological warfare will not have overlooked this means of discrediting the hard-pressed and gallant Rhodesians.

The vindictive and malicious distortion of facts by some of Britain's political leaders leave one aghast. Has some dreadful madness seized them? This is indeed a year of blackest shame for our once great little Mother Island.

Ulu,

Kenya.

Yours faithfully,

ELIZABETH WILSON.

Rhodesia's Dead Were Not Forgotten

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Rhodesia's dead were not forgotten in Grimsby either. On Remembrance Sunday I attended a service at the local Cenotaph and laid a poppy wreath inscribed: "In proud and glorious memory of the men and women of all races of Rhodesia who gave their lives in two world wars. May their sacrifice be not in vain. Does it mean nothing to you who pass by?"

Yours faithfully,

JOAN TIERNEY.

Grimsby.

Rough Stuff

"MR. WILSON appears to relish his act—and he is a superb actor—of vilifying the Rhodesian Prime Minister. He has abused Rhodesia's leaders repeatedly, and in my opinion reprehensively. Does he imagine that this kind of rough stuff will placate anyone in Rhodesia? Or does he not want reconciliation? Did he say anything like this at the time of the obscene Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya? That deliberate conspiracy deserved denunciation in the most extreme terms. What, I wonder, was the sharpest thing that Mr. Wilson had to say about it?—or about the Zanzibar revolution in which 10,000 to 12,000 innocent people were probably murdered in cold blood. He is very selective in his targets for abuse and malice."

Negotiate Now, Say Visiting M.P.s.

MR. REGINALD PAGET, Socialist M.P. for Northampton, said on arrival in Salisbury on Monday that Rhodesia and Britain were doing each other a great deal of harm; that prompt negotiations were desirable; and that since the position became rigid when top men met, discussions should start at lower levels. "Nobody is going to be beaten to his knees, and the sooner negotiations start the better. People will have to have their heads banged together until there is a solution".

Sir Godfrey Nicholson, Conservative M.P. for Farnham, agreed. He was emphatic that "the position is not irreconcilable".

Their first call was on the Governor, with whom they met Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice. Though they had booked hotel accommodation, the two M.P.s. accepted an invitation from Mr. Van der Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, to stay with him for a few days.

Mr. Peter Bessell, Liberal M.P. for Bodmin, who also arrived on Monday, preferred to stay at an hotel.

Commonwealth Conference

A CONFERENCE IN LAGOS of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, convened on the initiative of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, will open tomorrow week. Eighteen of the 22 Commonwealth countries had by Tuesday indicated that they would be represented, some not by their Prime Ministers.

Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, was the first to decline the invitation on the ground that there could be no expectation of unanimity of view and that such a conference would inevitably disclose bitterness, since several Commonwealth Governments were publicly demanding the use of armed force against Rhodesia by Britain, a proposal which Australia completely opposed.

The Prime Minister of Trinidad said that he would not attend, and the leaders of Tanzania and Ghana, two States which had severed diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom, excused themselves on that account.

Whether the British Prime Minister will attend had not been announced when this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA went to press.

The conference, which is expected to last two days, has only one item on its agenda—Rhodesia.

It is to be followed by a conference of member States of the Organization of African Unity, either in Lagos or in Addis Ababa.

Sir Savile Garner, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Commonwealth Relations Office, flew to Lagos at the weekend.

Dr. Banda announced on Monday that he would not attend, but would send his ambassadors in Ghana and Ethiopia as observers.

On the same day President Nyerere said that he would not go to Lagos because all that would result would be "fruitless and empty arguments".

"Kenya's sound radio output is 52 hours a day in a dozen languages. On television we use English and Swahili"—Mr. Achieng Onyok.

"The scheme to grow 2,800 acres of wheat under irrigation in the Lowveld next winter, using water from Manjirenji Dam, will cost about £450,000. It will benefit our balance of payments, provide employment, and assist the settlement of a hitherto undeveloped area"—Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

"Scouting is one of the best ways of making the citizens of the future—that is, people who will think of others first and themselves second. I am glad that in Kenya the rules for the Lion's Scout Badge—formerly the Queen's Scout Badge—insist on practical service to the community as a pre-requisite for gaining the badge. This requirement was introduced in Kenya several years before it was introduced in Britain"—Mr. T. J. Mboya, M.P.

Dr. Banda Warns Against Use of Force Rhodesia Could Become Ideological Battleground

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, told the Malawi League of Women on Saturday that African political leaders were shouting about intervention in Rhodesia in order to gain cheap popularity, and that those who advocated military action well knew that not one African State had an economy which could finance a war or could recruit and train an army.

"I do not want Central Africa to become the battleground between white imperialism in the West and yellow imperialism in the East", he said.

The Rhodesian issue could easily be turned into an ideological war between East and West, for some people had the idea of bringing in certain Powers to intervene in Rhodesia—an apparent reference to the recent visit to Moscow of two Zambian Ministers after the British Government had categorically refused to use military force against Rhodesia.

Malawi, said Dr. Banda, would not break off diplomatic relations with Britain because that action would not help the people of Rhodesia. The problem concerned Britain, and Britain alone could solve it. Those African nations which had severed diplomatic relations had made empty gestures.

He warned the people of Malawi to be on their guard against the intrusion during the coming heavy rains of forces recruited in Tanzania by Kanyama Chiume, the former Minister for External Affairs in Malawi. Chiume, Dr. Banda repeated, was in the pay of the Chinese Embassy in Dar es Salaam, and was boasting of an imminent invasion to overthrow the Banda Government. Forces were being trained by Chinese experts in guerrilla warfare tactics in camps in Tanzania. Malawi forces could, he was confident, contain any invasion.

Journalist Wins Appeal

MR. JOHN A. PARKER, president of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, and chief sub-editor of the *Sunday Mail*, has won his appeal against a magistrate's order of seven days' imprisonment for declining to name an informer.

He had declined to tell the police the name of the persons who in January showed him confidential memoranda on the probable economic consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence prepared by the Association of Rhodesian Industries and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry. An earlier appeal having been dismissed, he was jailed for two days. A second appeal was made after both associations published their memoranda.

In the Court of Appeal last week a section of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act was quoted which states: "Every magistrate may at any time upon the request of the local police prosecutor require the attendance of any person who is likely to give material evidence as to any supposed offence whether or not it be known or suspected who is the person by whom the offence has been committed".

Mr. Justice Macdonald said that it was the right of any person to keep information to himself unless such privacy would or might adversely affect the interests of justice. Further evidence which had now been led justified the court in concluding that it would not be a proper exercise of its discretion to require the appellant to answer the questions.

Testimony had been given that about 34 copies of the two reports had been distributed to various members of the two organizations, who had not been prohibited from circulating them privately. It was improbable that the disclosures to Mr. Parker had been made by a civil servant, and in all the circumstances "it does not seem that it is possible to say with any conviction that the interests of justice outweigh the interests of privacy and confidence relied upon by Mr. Palmer, whom I have regarded simply as an ordinary member of the public, not attaching any importance to any special right or privilege which he claims as a journalist.

"In my view a journalist possesses no right in regard to silence and privacy which is not enjoyed in equal measure by any other member of the public. My opinion is that the grounds for supposing that an offence under the Official Secrets Act may have been committed are too slender and too insubstantial to warrant interference with Mr. Parker's fundamental right to privacy or with his fundamental right to respect a confidence".

Mr. Parker, who has lived in Rhodesia for nine years, intends to return to England shortly.

Kariba-Kafue Hydro-Electric Schemes

Sir Gilbert Rennie's Recapitulation

SIR GILBERT RENNIE has said in a letter to *The Times* :—

"In his letter about the Kariba-Kafue controversy Mr. Brian Colquhoun suggests that before the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into being the Government of Northern Rhodesia gave in weakly to the Government of Southern Rhodesia in allowing the Kariba hydro-electric scheme to be given priority over the Kafue scheme. His criticism is not based on the facts.

"On September 3, 1953, before the Federation was established, agreement was reached between the Government of Northern Rhodesia and the Government of Southern Rhodesia (on the former's initiative) that the earliest possible construction of the Kafue scheme should be proceeded with immediately—first as a Northern Rhodesian Government project, and later, when the Federal Government was ready to assume the responsibility, as a Federal Government project—on condition :—

"(1) That the Government of Northern Rhodesia would raise from sources other than the London market and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as much as possible of the capital sum required, and

"(2) That the Government of Northern Rhodesia would give full support to the carrying out of the first stage of the Kariba scheme as soon as possible after work on the Kafue scheme had been begun if investigation proved the Kariba scheme to be economic in relation to alternative sources of power.

"In March, 1954, the Federal Government—with which exclusive responsibility for hydro-electric schemes then rested under the Federal Constitution—made it clear in the Federal Assembly that it would carry on with the undertaking that the Government of Southern Rhodesia gave to the Government

of Northern Rhodesia that the Kafue scheme would be proceeded with. The Minister concerned explained that the Kafue came first because it was able to be brought in two, three, or four years earlier than Kariba.

"Three months later the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, stated in the Federal Assembly that new calculations indicated that the Kafue potential might be greater than had been originally estimated, but at a higher cost, and that the Kariba cost might be lower and the period of construction shorter than had been estimated.

Why Decision Was Changed

"As a result the dates on which power would be first available from either scheme might not be very different. The Federal Government therefore felt it essential, the Prime Minister stated, to have the best possible technical advice on the engineering aspects of both schemes to enable it to reach the correct decision as to which scheme should be started first; and it had decided to seek the assistance of French consulting engineers.

"In March, 1955, Sir Godfrey Huggins announced in the Federal Assembly that his Government had decided to go ahead with the Kariba scheme and not the Kafue one. He explained that a new dam site had been found on the Zambezi river which would enable quicker and cheaper construction than had been thought possible earlier, and that preliminary information indicated that the full Kafue scheme (excluding the Meshi-Teshi gap proposals, which would require several years' investigation) would cost much the same (around £50m.) as the first stage of the Kariba scheme.

"In the circumstances, Mr. Colquhoun's criticism of the Government of Northern Rhodesia is not justified. When that Government was responsible for Kafue it persuaded the Government of Southern Rhodesia to agree that Kafue should have priority over Kariba. It had no responsibility for and no part in the later decision of the Federal Government to give priority to Kariba; and it had no legal power under the Federal Constitution to intervene in what was then exclusively a Federal subject.

"As regards the relative merits of the two schemes, opinions differ among experts as well as among laymen; but in my view a much better case can be made out for Kariba on technical, financial and economic grounds than Mr. Colquhoun suggests."

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Mr. Kapwepwe Contradicts Mr. Bottomley

MR. SIMON KAPWEPWE, Foreign Minister of Zambia, said in Zambia on Friday on returning from visits to the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom that the use of force to crush the rebel régime in Rhodesia "has not been ruled out in Washington and London".

Asked if he had been given that information by Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, he answered: "Yes".

After his talk with Mr. Bottomley on Wednesday of last week he had told reporters in London: "If the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers is held in Lagos in January we shall line up with our friends against Britain for not having used force, which we consider necessary. It would have been cheaper in the end".

He also said: "There is now talk of sending us 14,000 tons of oil a month by air and 7,000 tons by road. If we get that it will be all right".

In Washington he had pleaded for stronger measures against Rhodesia. He wanted the United Nations to invoke Chapter VII of its Charter in order to enable stronger action against the rebel régime, with troops taking over Kariba.

A correspondent of the *Sunday Times* was told by a State House spokesman in Lusaka on Saturday: "The need for Mr. Bottomley and the Commonwealth Relations Office to equivocate is appreciated, but so far as we are concerned the date limit for Ian Smith's downfall by economic methods alone is agreed".

Russians Expelled

AN ENTIRE TROUPE of 19 Russian variety artists was ordered to leave Tanzania on Monday within two hours. An extension of 24 hours was granted later.

South Africa's Attitude to Rhodesia No Interference with Normal Trade

DR. VERWOERD, Prime Minister of South Africa, said in a New Year's Eve broadcast that it was not true that his Government had given any assurances to Britain in regard to Rhodesia which would have been tantamount to secret support of sanctions, and other measures aimed at overthrowing the Smith Government.

"To give assurances", said Dr. Verwoerd, "would in fact mean actively choosing sides. I must therefore state quite unambiguously that South Africa makes her own decisions in her own interests and will not be coerced into participating in any form of boycott by suggestions that by not doing so she would be helping one party or the other.

"We have blood relations over the border. However others may feel or act towards their kith and kin when their international interests are at stake, South Africa on the whole cannot cold-shoulder hers."

Earlier in his speech the Prime Minister had said that South Africa, disliking boycotts, would sell coal to Zambia if an order were placed, "whether Rhodesia likes it or not", and would not suppress the trade in whatever commodities South African exporters had to offer Rhodesia, "whether Britain likes it or not". His Government would maintain "regular relations" with both Britain and Rhodesia.

"The Government carefully avoids participating in this domestic confrontation between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia by continuing regular relations with both. It would be idle to hide, however, that most South Africans are convinced that it would be neither just, advantageous, nor wise to white or black in Rhodesia to seek to hasten black Government, whether at the pace Russia professes to support or at the somewhat slower rate to which the United Kingdom Government and those enlisted in its service seem to be committed.

"Very few South Africans are impressed by the attempt to appease African States, or to relieve their crude pressure, by the actions taken against Rhodesia."

South Africans did not believe that a race war in Africa or armed invasion could be avoided only by enforcing majority government on Rhodesia.

"Most South Africans state freely that, should black supremacy be established there or placed in the offing, that would indeed ultimately damage peace and harmony in this part of Africa and lead to economic deterioration and unemployment."

Press Pessimism

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* commented that South Africa had done surprisingly little to help Rhodesia. The odds against her were so great that negotiations with Britain should be promptly renewed.

Its political correspondent wrote that in Parliamentary circles the Prime Minister was believed to expect the Smith régime to fall and "wants to be standing well clear of Rhodesia when that happens".

The *Johannesburg Star* wrote:—

"Rhodesia faces the rest of the world. Her chances of success are fast disappearing, and at some point gallantry will become stubbornness, and courage to endure will mean only economic ruin for the country. At some point patriotism will not mean struggling on but facing realities, bitter though they may be, and returning to a path of constitutional government, which Mr. Wilson has assured the world, does not mean an early African majority."

Use of Force Against Rhodesia

Prime Minister's Assurance Reiterated

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, said in a New Year message that the real test in respect of Rhodesia had still to come—the test whether Britain could provide the constructive statesmanship necessary to achieve a solution which would safeguard the interests of all races.

Mr. Reginald Maudling, who is acting as Leader of the Opposition while Mr. Heath is in Asia, asked the Prime Minister to clear up "the fresh confusion that has arisen about the Government's attitude to the use of force in Rhodesia". What had in fact been said to the Zambian Government on that subject?

An immediate reply from 10 Downing Street emphasized that nothing had been said either by the Commonwealth Secretary or the Prime Minister during the recent visit to London of Zambian Ministers which in any way qualified the Government's repeated statements against the use of force. "The Prime Minister himself spent a very considerable time explaining to Mr. Kapwepwe and his colleagues the reasons why the Government consider the use of force to be inappropriate means for bringing Rhodesia back to constitutional rule."

Towards Majority Rule

Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Secretary, speaking in Middlesbrough, described the Smith régime as "an international outlaw", and continued:—

"Economic measures taken by Britain are intended to bring a return to constitutional rule as quickly as possible and establish a just and democratic society. We hope eventually to see the economic and social links between Britain and Rhodesia restored and strengthened. This will enable all communities in Rhodesia to reach and enjoy a high standard of living.

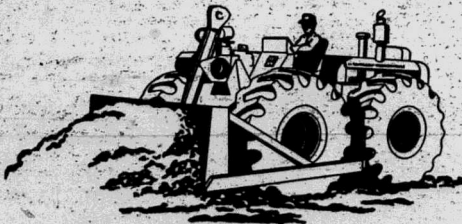
"A lot of Mr. Smith's recent statements give one the feeling that he is whistling in the dark and trying to distract his people's attention from their own difficulties. What Mr. Smith omits to tell his own people and others is that the whole world stands behind Zambia and is coming to her assistance. Rhodesia cannot expect such help, and her difficulties can only become progressively worse."

Britain had always envisaged a period of preparation during which the African should gain the skills and experience needed for participation in the work of Government. "Smith is trying to hold back the tides of progress. Eventually the majority will rule, and, if they are denied peaceful progress to power they will eventually seize it by force."

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COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL'S STATEMENT

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE MESSINA (TRANSSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on February 10 in Johannesburg.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the chairman, COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL, D.S.C., R.N. (Retd.):—

The Copper Market

In my statement last year I attempted to summarize the situation at the end of November as follows: "Consumption is still running at a high level and seems likely to continue to do so during 1965. Productive capacity throughout the world is fully employed but remains subject to interruption from labour stoppages, which, as we have seen in the past year, can seriously affect supplies to the market. Further substantial expansion of output is planned in Chile and Zambia, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, but this is unlikely materially to affect the issue in the near future."

The behaviour of the copper market during the past twelve months has shown that this view was substantially correct, and looking ahead it seems to me that similar considerations will apply, at least for the remainder of our current financial year.

There are of course various imponderables which, either individually or collectively, could radically change the picture as it appears today. For example, the credit squeeze in the United Kingdom has not yet had any noticeable effect on copper consumption in British industry. How much longer will this state of affairs continue?

Then again, in spite of many predictions to the contrary during the past year, the economy of the United States has so far maintained its buoyancy, and consumption there is as high as it has ever been. A contributory factor to this demand is obviously the war in Vietnam, the end of which does not yet appear to be in sight.

Finally, the market is influenced by the fear of possible interruptions to the deliveries of copper from Zambia as a result of repercussions arising from the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia which declared its independence on November 11, 1965. At the date of writing this statement the situation there is fluid, and, as members will appreciate, further comment on this subject would be of little or no value.

These—and other—factors must be borne in mind in attempting to forecast the behaviour of the copper market in the near term. Nevertheless, the situation today is, I believe, broadly as I have stated at the beginning of this review. As long as consumption continues to outrun production the market is likely to remain at a high level and as highly sensitive to outside influences as it has been throughout 1965, with frequent fluctuations in prices—unwelcome to consumers and producers alike.

Financial Results

The net profit of the Group, after providing for taxation and the interests of minority shareholders, amounted to R6.2 million, as compared with R3.5 million last year. The net profit of the parent company

was R5 million. In view of this satisfactory result, we have thought it wise to transfer the appreciable sum of R3.3 million to reserves. In addition to this appropriation we have declared dividends of 35%, compared with 15% last year. Members will see from the balance-sheet that the whole of the bank overdraft had been paid off by the end of the year.

Operations

At Messina, although the mill throughput of 914,000 tons was a record, the grade at 1.32% was slightly lower than last year, and copper production fell by approximately 370 tons. Improvements to the concentrator should result in a somewhat higher mill throughput this year, and this will partly offset the fall in production grade.

I am pleased to be able to report that at Umkondo development underground in two new areas, the Esperanza and Quarry West sections, has been remarkably successful. In consequence ore reserves have improved from 78,000 tons to 194,000 tons, and the grade from 2.3% Cu. to 3.1% Cu. The outlook for the next few years at this small but profitable mine is most encouraging.

The results achieved at Alaska are a considerable improvement over last year, although on recalculation ore reserves show a drop in grade from 2.07% to 1.87% Cu. Concentrator throughput and copper production each increased by 18%, while mine working costs decreased by 12%. The output of the Alaska Smelter again showed an increase, the production of fire-refined copper amounting to 14,578 long tons. By agreement with the holding companies, smelting charges were raised during the year to finance a number of improvements being made to the plant.

Mangula had a very successful year and declared dividends amounting to 22½%, compared with 12½% last year. The main achievement was the completion of the oxide ore leach plant, which was officially opened by the Prime Minister of Rhodesia on 30th August. Present indications are that it will be fully up to designed expectations in performance and production. The Company is technically and financially sound.

Assuming a reasonable level of prices in the copper market, it is expected that the profits will become liable to taxation towards the end of the current year. However, the extra production from the leach plant should offset the incidence of taxation sufficiently to allow the Company to continue to pay satisfactory dividends.

Future Outlook

I see no reason to change the opinion I have often expressed at our annual general meetings as to the favourable long-term outlook for copper. The demand for basic commodities such as copper increases year by year in line with expanding populations and rising standards of living throughout the world, and fundamentally the main problem facing our industry is one of ensuring adequate supplies at prices sufficiently competitive to discourage substitution by other materials.

£32 a Ton More for Zambia Copper

THE MINING COMPANIES in Zambia raised their basic price for copper from £304 to £336 per ton on Monday. Three days earlier the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga had increased its price from 41,600 to 46,000 Belgian francs per metric ton, which is equivalent to £336 per long ton and to a dollar price of about 42 cents. per lb. Mines in Chile and the United States have since fixed the same export prices.

Zambia Ends Tariff Preferences

TARIFF PREFERENCES were abolished by Zambia on Monday. Each article now pays the specified rate of duty whatever its country of origin, on the ground that that better reflects the policy of non-alignment. British exports will be adversely affected. A motor dealer in Lusaka commented that small British cars would cost about £150 more, while French, German, and Japanese vehicles become cheaper.

The "Mombasa Times" has ceased publication.

The Institute of Race Relations has received a £25,000 grant from H.M. Government.

Eighteen American journalists have spent eight days in Kenya as guests of Pan American World Airways.

Non-designated expatriate officers in Zambia are to receive retirement benefits under a Bill before the Legislature.

Volunteers from the Netherlands will shortly arrive in Zambia as agricultural instructors to the Youth Service.

Two Union-Castle liners sold to Safmarine, TRANSVAAL CASTLE and PRETORIA CASTLE, are to be renamed S. A. VAAL and S. A. ORANJE.

To irrigate one million acres of land in Kenya would cost about £200m., Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister for Agriculture, has told the House of Representatives.

An airport for Seychelles and the finances of the Colony are to be discussed with the Colonial Office by Mr. G. P. Lloyd Colonial Secretary of Seychelles, who is on his way to London.

Six members of the Zambia Youth Service who were arrested on charges of unlawful assembly after numerous assaults had been made on white women, children and men in Livingstone have been released because, in the words of President Kaunda "there was insufficient evidence to warrant prosecution".

During 42 years ...

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

THE RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY (PVT) LIMITED

BELAWAY OWELU SALISBURY UMTALI LIVINGSTONE LUSAKA KITWE

Commercial Brevities

Uganda's next cotton crop is at present predicted at about 375,000 bales.

Alka Pains Company of Central Africa, Ltd., have withdrawn from Zambia to Rhodesia.

Overseas Ranchers (Pvt.), Ltd., Rhodesia, have increased their nominal capital from £120,000 to £350,000.

International Computers and Tabulators (Zambia), Ltd., has been registered in Zambia with a capital of £20,000.

The West German Development Bank is to make a £5m. loan to the Kenya Government for sugar development purposes. Zambia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., will spend some £450,000 on building 500 houses for employees during the next four years.

Traffic through the port of Beira in the first 11 months of 1965 totalled 4,250,534 tons. Cargo handled in the whole of 1964 amounted to 3,730,781 tons.

The new Ndola factory of Lever Brothers, constructed at a cost of £14m. to manufacture soaps, margarine and vegetable oil, has been opened by President Kaunda.

Extensions to the electrolytic refinery at the Mulfulira mine of the R.S.T. group completed at a cost of £1.65m., will raise the annual capacity from 108,000 to 180,000 long tons of copper.

Farmers growing winter wheat near Que Que have reported an average yield of between 16 and 17 bags per acre. The 1964 average, the first year of wheat growing in the district, was about 13 bags.

East African Railways and Harbours, which expected that its accumulated deficit at the end of 1965 would be £2.4m., now estimates that it will be about £900,000, and that it can be reduced by about another £700,000 in 1966.

Sales of Uganda cotton to October 31 realized £18,176,314, or £1.6m. above the receipts for the previous season. Export duty brought the Government almost £2.2m. The price assistance fund had to bear a loss for the year of just over £1m.

The only heavy engineering company in Salisbury, W. S. Craster, Ltd., reports a 35% increase in business in the past 18 months. It has a staff of 260, of whom 85 are Europeans. The company has moved from the premises in which the business was begun 60 years ago to a new factory double the size.

Six qualified air pilots living in Malawi have registered Leopard Air, Ltd., to operate charter flights from Lučenza. The chairman is Mr. "Chip" Kay, a well-known tea planter, and the other five directors are Messrs. Puccio Conforzi, W. R. Slade, W. Stone, Basil Tennett and Desmond Tennett.

The Old Mutual group of insurance companies has registered a subsidiary in Zambia with an authorized capital of £200,000 and headquarters in Ndola. Mr. C. Savage is chairman, and the other members of the board are Mr. R. E. G. Hope, Mr. M. Gersh, and Mr. D. Gibson. The manager is Mr. N. B. Collings.

Ruo Estates Holdings, Ltd., tea growers in Malawi, made a pre-tax profit to June 30 of £25,208 (against £36,602). Tax liability was £10,460. A 7% dividend takes £10,281, leaving a carry-forward of £21,599 in the accounts of the parent company and of £6,033 in that of Ruo Estates, Ltd. Issued capital is £250,000. Estates stand in the books at £238,475 and net current assets at £144,864. The tea output was 1,873,536 lb., against just over 2m. lb. in the two previous seasons, but the average price realized was 30.63d. per lb., compared with 28.65d.

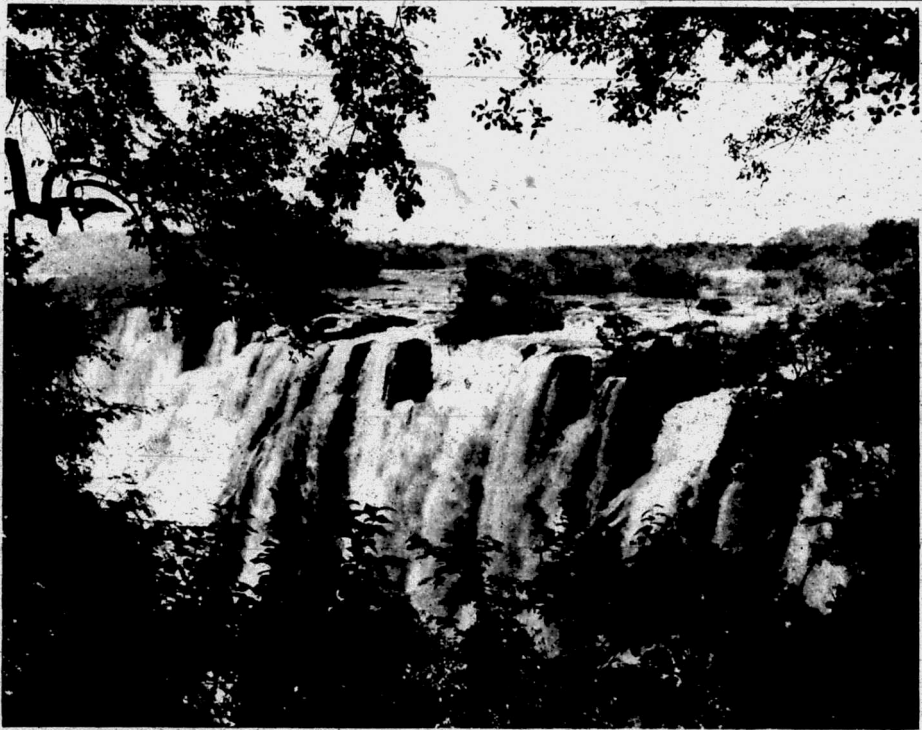
Pipeline from Beira

THE OIL PIPELINE from Beira to Feruka, near Umtali, 189 miles long, stopped pumping last Friday, the crude oil storage tanks at the port being then empty. That left about 14,000 tons in the pipeline, from which it could be released only by pumping in sea water, at the risk of severe corrosion of the pipe.

The owners, Companhia do Pipeline Mocambique-Rhodesia—in which Lonrho, Ltd., holds 62% of the equity—are understood to have asked the refinery for an indemnity in cash to cover the full cost of the pipeline, about £5m., before agreeing to force in sea water.

Mr. Alan Ball, chairman of Lonrho, and Mr. R. Rowland, the managing director, saw officials at the Ministry of Power in London before flying at the week-end to Lisbon, where C.P.M.R. is registered. Though Lonrho has a majority holding, there are only four British directors on the board, against five Portuguese, one of whom represents the Portuguese Government.

A representative of the Lourenço Marques refinery visited Salisbury a few days ago.



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