

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, January 13, 1966

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1966

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SIR ROBERT MENZIES**, Prime Minister of Australia, and doyen of Commonwealth statesmen, who has had the problems of Central Africa under study for a very long period—more years in his case than weeks in Mr. Wilson's—has for the first time declined to attend a conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government, and his lead has been so widely followed that only eleven of the twenty-two Prime Ministers and Presidents were present at the gathering which opened in Lagos on Tuesday on the initiative and under the chairmanship of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, spokesman for Nigeria, a Federation of some fifty million people and the largest concentration of Africans within or without the Commonwealth. Though himself a good Commonwealth man, he has not troubled to hide the fact that his primary purpose was to save the Organization of African Unity from the predicament into which it was plunged by the puerile but nevertheless unanimous resolution of its Council of Ministers that all the member States should sever diplomatic relations with Britain if the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia had not been "toppled" within a fortnight. Merely eight of the thirty-six African countries concerned have accepted the commitment of their Foreign Minister. Of the Commonwealth members in Africa only two, Tanzania and Ghana, have loyally stood to the O.A.U. decision. The Malawi dictator, Dr. Banda, could not have been more bluntly critical of it in public on several occasions; but, under pressure from Mr. Wilson, he reversed his original decision and flew to Lagos (on the promise that a British aircraft would be put at his disposal for the flights there and back—at the expense of the overburdened British taxpayer). Whereas the African politicians, desperately anxious to repair the self-inflicted damage to their

passionately proclaimed but non-existent "unity", saw the Rhodesian situation as convenient material with which to patch their discordance, Australia's elder statesman would not join in their plan. Rhodesia, he insisted, was solely the responsibility of the United Kingdom, which would be embarrassed, not helped, by further polemics.

\* \* \*

Mr. Wilson—who thinks always in terms of public relations, political gymnastics, and his personal position—was not so prudent. For days he dithered. Whether he would or would not go was allowed to continue a main topic of newspaper discussion for the best

(or worst) part of a week. That, of course, was not complimentary to Britain, Nigeria, or the Commonwealth. Not until last week-end was his decision announced—the delay being assuredly due to a series of endeavours to induce affirmative answers from recipients of the invitation who remained uncommitted or might change their minds. As though it were a matter for approval, not as we think for reproach, publicity was given to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's flight from Nairobi to Lusaka to plead with President Kaunda to attend; but Zambia's leader, who might have been swept out of office recently but for the promptitude and nature of British aid, would not absent himself from his republic even for forty-eight hours. Despite the poor results of his canvassing, Mr. Wilson flew off on Monday with the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and a large entourage (including a number of British and American journalists who were offered free seats in his aircraft by a politician whose contacts with the Press are even more assiduous than those of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod when they were in office; and all Fleet Street agrees that no Ministers had ever previously been so alert, attentive, and

expectant as they). So the Prime Minister, who has ceaselessly asserted that Britain alone is responsible for Rhodesia, again fractionalizes that responsibility by a trip to West Africa, as he did last month by a jaunt to the United Nations. There he was publicly insulted as he rose to speak by the organized withdrawal of African delegates. Some of those who arranged or sanctioned that affront have sat with him in conference this week.

\* \* \*

"It is right for me to listen to the views of other Commonwealth Heads of Government", he said on departure from London Airport. Of course. But has he not had ample opportunity of hearing every view again and again since the declaration of independence on November 11? He has seen African Ministers on their home grounds and in London; African States have their High Commissioners in Britain, which has its High Commissioners in Africa; and Mr. Wilson has his telephone. That same day (but in another context) he gave a warning against "the siren voices of those who talk smoothly". Does anyone talk more smoothly than he?—unless it be some of the African past masters in ambivalence. His cant was crowned by denunciation of "the slanting of news which is now one of the chief attributes of this police State of Rhodesia". Nobody knows better than Mr. Wilson that slanting of the news—by the dropping of hints by politicians, from the Prime Minister himself downwards—is one of the most prominent, disturbing, and ugly facts of life in once great Britain. For six years, with scarcely any pause, almost the whole of the British Press has been lulled into apathetic acceptance of whatever British politicians wanted to do or leave undone in Africa; and, to their discredit, the overwhelming majority of the Parliamentary members of all the political parties and the radio channels have been equally supine during a process of betrayal which, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA emphasized week by week, could lead only to calamity. But the wreckage of their making does not perturb the politicians—which is the basic reason why Rhodesians have refused to allow their future to be misshaped by men in Westminster and Whitehall with shocking records of foolishness and faithlessness. Having to live with the results of political decisions, Rhodesians very reasonably demand that they should be realistic, not theoretical abstractions or utterly reckless gambles. In African territories to the north they see calamity, including the spread of violence and corruption and of Communist influence, intrigue, and danger.

At least a dozen Africans were killed in political clashes in Lagos itself last week-end; and not fewer than one hundred, and quite possibly five times that number are believed to have lost their lives in political gang warfare in the Western Region alone during the previous ten weeks.

**Rebellions In Plenty.** Yet Nigeria is generally regarded as the most sensible, stable, and hopeful of all the independent African States! Between November 25 and January 5 four African Governments in West Africa were overthrown. First came the Congo, where General Mobutu seized power. Three days before Christmas General Soglo, commander of the forces in Dahomey, thrust out the man who had been President since the grant of independence by France. On January 1 the military commander in the Central African Republic, merely a colonel, ousted President Dacko, likewise in office since independence. Both promptly dismissed the Chinese missions and broke off relations with Peking. On January 5, after four days of disorder in the capital of Upper Volta, the President was ejected by Colonel Lamizana. So in under two months there have been four military *putsches*—or, in English, revolts against the established Governments.

\* \* \*

In East Africa within the past two years there have been unsuccessful mutinies—which were intended to be the preludes to rebellion against the Africans in power—in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda; a

**Background of Resistance.** dramatically staged revolt in Zanzibar, in which ten or twelve thousand innocent men, women and children were slaughtered in cold blood; a rising in Zambia which probably cost about a thousand lives; an abortive rebellion in Malawi; large-scale and long-continued rebellion in the Southern Sudan, in which many thousands of lives have been lost; and, of course, persistence of guerrilla war between Somalia and Kenya. British politicians, and of course African politicians, nevertheless maintain the pretence that all is well in black Africa, and that it is ridiculous for Rhodesians to object to the "wind of change" which has blown over West, East, and Central Africa. The true iniquity is not Rhodesian resistance but that British Governments, aided by the Opposition, should have behaved with such staggering ignorance and irresponsibility, and that, having seen the fruits of their own folly, they still persisted in their recklessness until they had destroyed the Federation which they had created in Central Africa. That was Rhodesia's real warning. Mr. Wilson has talked absurdly of "little, frightened men in Salisbury". The little,

frightened men have been and are in London: frightened of any bully, whether black agitator or white trade union leader; frightened of principles and basic truth; frightened, above all, to do right at whatever consequence to their career. That their destructive intentions and actions should have been resisted by Rhodesia should surprise nobody who really knows what has happened in Africa since the beginning of this decade.

\* \* \*

It is fantastic that the politicians in Britain should be able to present themselves as wise, forward-looking, almost blameless men and the Rhodesians as intolerant, impatient, and immunized against liberal ideas.

**Dunkirk Spirit.** The white communities in Central Africa have in fact shown too much

patience with and too much tolerance of British political folly—not because they were blind to it, but because they continued overlong to regard it as folly, when it was unhappily a deliberate course of betrayal of undertakings and obligations. Now, too late, that has become clear. The resultant mistrust was fundamental to the decision so reluctantly taken by the Rhodesian Cabinet and now supported—as Socialist and Liberal members of the House of Commons have just testified during visits to Rhodesia—by almost every responsible person in that country, including large numbers of Africans. If they and others will declare that truth in and out of Parliament again and again in the next few weeks, and also their conviction that the Smith Government cannot be brought down by sanctions, however brutal, some hope may emerge of a more reasonable attitude by the British Cabinet. All it is now doing is to flounder more and more deeply and extravagantly, and thereby strengthen Mr. Smith's claim and hold on a public which will not be battered into submission. Its spirit is no more breakable than was that of Britain after Dunkirk.

\*\* \* \*

**WE COMMENTED LAST WEEK** on denials by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary that any promises had been made to Zambian Ministers to use force against Rhodesia if financial and economic sanctions had not brought down the Smith Government by a specified date. We have now received the official record of statements made at a news conference by President Kaunda on December 30, when, asked about the possibility of military action, he said: "If sanctions fail to

**What Was Said About Rhodesia if financial and economic sanctions had not brought down the Smith Government by a specified date. We have now received the official record of statements made at a news conference by President Kaunda on December 30, when, asked about the possibility of military action, he said: "If sanctions fail to**

achieve the desired results, the answer is 'Yes'. We will definitely have to consider military operations". He was then asked: "Does this mean that the British Government has agreed with you on a time limit—that you have a joint time limit and Britain abides by it?" The President's answer was: "This time limit has been suggested by the British Government, and I had to alter my own timing to suit their timing. So certainly I take it as agreed that there is an agreed time limit". Two days later a journalist asked at another news conference if the President agreed with the estimate that the Rhodesian Government would fall about May. Dr. Kaunda replied that Zambia had not five months' patience. "We are very patient in other fields, but not in that field".

\* \* \*

Two days before Christmas he had said in a broadcast message to the nation: "Any attempt by rebel leader Smith to get extra foreign exchange out of Zambia will be met with a response that will **'We Shall Strike Back.'**" than he plotted to gain. This issue is crucial, concerning not only our economy but also our sovereign security and national dignity. If it is persisted in we shall strike back promptly and firmly. May the flag remain unfurled! May the Zambian eagle for ever fly! God Save the Republic!" Do not these extracts from official documents suggest that Zambia's leader was led to understand, or at any rate did understand, that the British Government was prepared to take military action against Rhodesia if other pressures did not succeed?

**Statements Worth Noting**

"I have lived in America. I have lived in Britain. I cannot be deceived". — Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, speaking in the Malawi Parliament.

"Well over one-third of the workers employed in Uganda are migrant labourers from neighbouring countries". — Mr. Cuthbert Obwangor, Minister of Justice in Uganda.

"Working in our public services and businesses we have a number of people from Britain. Many of them, I suspect most of them, are highly critical of their Government"—President Nyerere of Tanzania, speaking in the National Assembly.

"It would be disastrous if the unity built up in Uganda since 1962 were destroyed and replaced by tribal groups such as Kabaka Yekka, Kyabazinga Yekka, or Omugabe Yekka". — Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda.

"Mrs. Gladys Johnson came to Wankie School to help out for one term in 1940 and stayed 25 years. More than a thousand children owe one step in their education to her". — Mr. T. A. J. Braithwaite, when making presentations on her retirement.

# Rhodesia's Worst Drought in Living Memory

## Vast Numbers of Cattle Must Be Moved to New Pastures

THE WORST DROUGHT in living memory has struck Rhodesia much more severely than the economic and financial sanctions imposed by the British Government. Maize crops, the staple food, have failed completely in many areas, thousands of African-owned cattle have died, and hundreds of thousands must be rapidly moved out of Matabeleland and the Midlands to pastures in Mashonaland if they are to be saved.

Lord Graham, then Minister of Agriculture, said a fortnight ago after touring Matabeleland that drought conditions there represented a national crisis, and that losses would run into millions of pounds if at least 200,000 head of cattle were not moved by a crash programme to areas with available grazing, for which fair rates would be paid. He appealed for help to farmers in Mashonaland.

The situation has since deteriorated.

### Problem of Distributing Famine Relief

Mr. George Rudland, the new Minister of Agriculture, said on Saturday that unless Britain lifted the oil embargo, so that food could be distributed by road to the stricken tribal areas, thousands of Africans might die. While Rhodesia accepted full responsibility for the welfare of her peoples Mr. Wilson denied the wherewithal to deliver the necessary food.

More than 1,000 head of cattle would need to be moved every day for the next three or four months. For slaughter cattle the Cold Storage Commission would pay higher prices, bringing the average to about 153s. per 100 lb.

To those who sold cattle because of drought conditions the Government would pay a bonus varying from 70s. to 110s. per head, according to age, but that bonus would be retained to the seller's credit, so that when rains came at the end of 1966 he would have money with which to rehabilitate himself.

Land for grazing was especially necessary in and near the line of rail at Mount Hampden, Banket, Headlands, Hartley-Makwiro, Rusape, Macheke, and Marandellas, which would be key off-loading and dispersal points for cattle from drought-stricken districts.

### Cattle Casualties in Victoria Area

In Victoria Province deaths of African cattle are put at about 250 daily. In that area, where there has been no rain for 14 months, rivers and dams are dry, indigenous trees are dying, and one can drive for miles without seeing any grass. The maize crop has completely failed — as also throughout the Midlands.

Farmers are replanting with sorghum, which has withstood the drought well. Cotton has not yet suffered. Tobacco growth has been arrested, and there are reports of leaf scorch from exceptionally hot sun.

Heavy rain fell in Matabeleland in the middle of last week, but too late to save the grazing land or the maize. At least 400,000 bags of maize are estimated to have been lost in that part of the country, where for weeks the temperature has been about 100°.

Good rains fell in Mashonaland and Manicaland last week just in time to save crops and pasture.

Some 300 cattle trucks have been commandeered from Rhodesia Railways for the removal of cattle from barren lands to grazing areas. Salisbury City offered the use of 11,500 acres of grazing, including an old airport of 1,500 acres.

A Drought Relief Action Committee in Matabeleland

is buying cattle for slaughter, since many of the beasts cannot be moved elsewhere in time.

The Rhodesian Freedom from Hunger Campaign is spending about £250 a day on feeding more than 27,000 African children in Matabeleland. Oxfam has promised £15,000 next month. The campaign director, Colonel John Lombard, said a few days ago: "I hope the money will come. I can't see even this British Government extending their sanctions to African children". It was expected that the feeding of the children would end next month, when crops would normally be reaped. Now there will be no such crops.

Bechuanaland is also suffering severely from drought. Cattle losses exceed 250,000 head, and more than 100,000 people are receiving emergency food supplies.

Mr. E. J. Jeffreys, president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, said a few days ago that in the past 10 years Rhodesia had exported to all parts of the world tobacco worth £283m. Some 500,000 African workers and their families had received about £67m., improved housing, primary schools, medical aid, and other benefits. There had never been a major labour disturbance in the industry, which had a record of contentment for which there were few parallels anywhere in the world. Now punitive sanctions sought a break down that splendid achievement.

### Stricter Rationing of Oil

More drastic rationing of petrol started in Rhodesia on Tuesday. Bulk purchasers are restricted to 50% of their consumption averaged over the 12 weeks before rationing began. In the case of diesel oil the new basis is 80% of the consumption over the 12 weeks; but the requirements of licensed farmers will be met in full.

Private motorists now receive a basic ration calculated on the weight of the car and a supplementary ration varying according to the distance which has to be travelled to work. The permissible figure is recorded on an identification card, which authorizes purchases at any garage. Applications for additional rations will not be granted unless absolute need be proved.

Private motorists have been asked to pool resources in order to save fuel. Neighbours are sharing cars; lift clubs are being organized; and many people are using motorcycles, scooters, and bicycles. The Prime Minister now cycles to his office.

Aircraft registered outside Rhodesia may purchase only enough aviation spirit to get them to the next scheduled stop. Local commercial air operators must cut their consumption by at least 50% of the average over the last three months. Club and instructional flying is prohibited, and the only private flying now allowed is on errands of mercy and for essential business.

Experiments are being made into the production of motor fuel from sugar-cane spirit, and there is talk of an oil-from-coal conversion plant at Wankie colliery.

The five garages in the Transvaal town of Messina, 10 miles from the border with Rhodesia, are doing record business. It was estimated last week that they are selling nearly 1,000 gallons of petrol daily to motorists from Rhodesia. Before the oil embargo their daily sales were about 50 gallons.

Mr. A. R. Kemp, chairman of Rhodesian Railways, has said that the carriage of coal and general goods between Rhodesia and Zambia is more or less normal.

From tomorrow any goods passing by air through Nairobi for Rhodesia will be seized by the Kenya authorities. From February 2 the same regulation will apply to ship cargoes through Mombasa.

The £2m. Dunlop tyre factory in Bulawayo will on January 17 start a four-day week because of the loss of export markets, primarily in Zambia. The factory, the only one of its kind in Central Africa, employs about 600 people.

The Ethical Drugs Association in Salisbury has begun to ration some drugs to chemists. Supplies of essential drugs are adequate for at least six months if there be no hoarding through excessive orders.

The Massey-Ferguson group having decided to transfer its main African headquarters from Rhodesia to Kenya, 12 senior members of the staff have left for Nairobi.

The Commission in Brussels of the European Economic Community has offered to co-ordinate a joint programme of economic sanctions by Common Market countries against Rhodesia.

West Germany ceased on January 5 to grant official credit insurance for exports to Rhodesia.

Medium-wave transmissions from the British Government's new radio relay station in Bechuanaland cannot be heard in Salisbury during the day, and for most of the evening they are drowned by the African service of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation. Only after that service closes at 10 p.m. can the B.B.C. programmes be heard clearly on medium wave. By that time most Europeans and Africans are abed.

Any postal items sent in Tanzania to Rhodesian addresses are now returned to the sender.

The Rhodesian Government has denied reports that it had printed more than the 750,000 Independence stamps permitted by international postal laws, and also rumours that some 300,000 first-day covers had been sold to American dealers. An official suggested that such statements were made by people who wished to discredit Rhodesian stamps on the world market for their own reasons.

When Mr. Harold Soref, chairman of the Africa Group of the Monday Club, arrived in Salisbury he was asked to broadcast on the British attitude to Rhodesia. Large numbers of Britons, he said, did not endorse the Wilson Government's sanctions. "The fury of politics will, I think, now enter into the party strife, and there will be an increasing pro-Rhodesian feeling among many Conservatives".

## British Leadership Disastrously Alien to Africa

### Mr. Wilson Accused of "Fiddling Without Comprehending the Issues"

MR. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism, said in Salisbury last week:—

"1965 was a vigorous, exciting, tumultuous year. One more country in Africa attained its independence in unique and unusual circumstances.

"There was no civil war. No United Nations delegates were murdered (as in Israel or the Congo). No one was raped. There was no general exodus. There were no sinister human sacrifices. Not a drop of blood was shed. There was no headlong race to apply for aid from the West, Peking, or Moscow. No attempt was made to play one ideology against the other.

"Normal and healthy economic development was guaranteed for all people. Law and order were maintained, and progress was assured for all. That assumption of independence guaranteed peace in a continent in turmoil. No covetous eyes were cast on any neighbour, nor were tribal feuds engendered. A small but highly effective and mobile fighting arm maintains peace and provides a deterrent to anyone with over-ambitious designs on the country's sovereignty. That country sought and still seeks to trade with its neighbours, to carry their goods to seaports, to supply them with electricity, coal and technical aid.

#### Astonishing Condemnation

"Such an independent nation was something unique. Would not one expect its newly acquired liberty and independence to be hailed enthusiastically, to be a matter for rejoicing and congratulation? That country was our own defiant and morally justified little Rhodesia.

"What do we find? In terms of self-righteous and ill-founded indignation, Britain and the world condemned it—a quite astonishing spectacle if the picture be weighed against the innumerable rebellions and transitions of the most sinister kind in other lands which Britain countenanced and indeed approved.

"One of the most significant statements made in the course of charge and countercharge since our independence was one intended in castigating vein—that we live in different worlds, indeed, in different centuries. Basically it was failure to recognize and accept that simple and obvious fact that led to the breach between ourselves and Britain.

"Here we had *Homo Rhodesiensis*, living in Africa and dealing with Rhodesia as it is—having a practical, pragmatic approach, exercising lucidity of thought, loving his country, and infinitely preferring its happy survival to the ploys of hazy political theory. In the British corner, a technical man, a computer-technocrat, a 'one world visionary', increasingly falling back on expediency

and *ad hoc* solutions—a kind of 'blue-print-cum-computer' approach to international thinking.

"British leadership seeks to put strategy first and political decisions in second place—as some American generals did with such disastrous results at the close of the Second World War. Surely responsible leadership should have come to realize that strategy must stem from political decisions?

#### Commonwealth Now Meaningless

"It is the rigidly strategic approach that has made the concept of the Commonwealth largely meaningless. Just as surely, it is obsession with blue-print theories of multi-racialism and majority rule that is losing the political initiative to the Communist imperialism that sets no bounds to its progress and ultimate global domination.

"British leadership has proved to be disastrously alien and remote from Africa. It has fiddled with affairs in Africa without truly comprehending the issues involved. No Rhodesian Government could in the Rhodesian view prudently or safely delegate its decisions to people from "beyond the walls".

"The British concept of majority rule is in its essence that Government should be in the hands of persons the colour of whose skin is black and who happen to be the more numerous: It is a purely racial approach, based on a mechanical conception of the counting of heads to determine the seat of power. Yet everything worth-while in this world is based on and is the result of human quality or virtue. A good farmer means a good farm. A good herdsman means a good herd. There is no short cut, and the whole purpose of political existence and organization is to avoid and keep at bay the anarchy, the misery, and the poverty into which, without responsible government, man must inevitably fall because of the conflicting passions of his imperfect nature.

"Without men trained in and accustomed to the art of government, men accustomed to ensuring order and obedience to the order which is indispensable to progress, happiness and human civilization, any society must relapse into anarchy or become an absolute dictatorship.

"It is this basic fact that is at the root of our Rhodesian philosophy, which is that a country is amply justified in limiting the franchise to those of its inhabitants capable of exercising it with reason, judgment, and public spirit. We seek to ensure this by two means—firstly, an educational test, on the theory that you thereby have a mind that is trained and disciplined in some degree, and, secondly, a means test, on the theory that a man earning more than a mere subsistence or acquiring property of some substance has the necessary qualities of character and mind.

"There can be no general rule without hard cases, but no-one has yet devised a more certain, practical, or logical approach to the exercise of the franchise. What we do know is that there can be no progress on the basis of an uninformed, emotional mass electorate, and that adult suffrage, inherent in majority rule, would in Rhodesia place control in the hands of those unequipped to exercise it. The mob may be

able to form judgments of the personal qualities of candidates—but that is not enough, for a voter must be able to form an opinion of the merits of the policy presented to him.

"What is so wicked is that such philosophies—having no taint or circumstance of race—are dismissed as a device for 'preserving a privilege' in white hands.

### Pakistan Endorses Rhodesian View

"That there are others conscious of these dangers is evident from the report of the Constitutional Commission of Pakistan appointed by President Ayub Khan to investigate the reasons for the failure of Parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. It contains this pregnant comment: 'Elections on a fairly extensive scale were held only in 1937. This period has been too short for any traditions to grow. In these circumstances a person who cannot read or write and has no compelling necessity to acquaint himself with the merits of the various candidates cannot be trusted to discharge the functions of the voter merely because he is shrewd in local matters.

"And this comment too is to be found: 'One more argument for universal franchise was that if it was not given the Communists, who are very active in East Pakistan in creating discontent, would exploit this dissatisfaction; but we feel that if universal franchise is given, the Communists or any other group hostile to Pakistan would find it much easier to exploit the ignorance of the masses to our disadvantage. Therefore, the fact that we had universal franchise in the past, for one election in each of the provinces, should not deter us from correcting ourselves at the earliest possible opportunity. There is no force in the view expressed by some that restricted franchise would be considered by the outside world as a reactionary move. We have to devise a scheme to suit our genius and not to the satisfaction of other countries'.

"So the Commissioners of Pakistan endorsed the attitude of Rhodesia and Rhodesians.

"The Fiji Constitutional Conference of 1965 is just as illuminating. 'H.M. Government for their part'—so its report reads—'recognized that elections on a straight common roll basis were not practicable for Fiji until a greater degree of integration of the communities had been achieved'. The plain fact was that the Indian community constituted the majority of the population, but representation was determined not on numerical strength but on the special position and value to the community. Incidentally, two chiefs form part of the legislature—to keep the balance.

"So much for principles.

"1966 will tax our endurance, fortitude, and ingenuity to the utmost. We shall encounter every form of unfair attack. Our motives will be misrepresented. We shall be calumniated and called wrong-doers. Every kind of attack will be made upon us by powerful, numerous, and extremely vocal forces. If I may parody the words of a great man, 'Never will, so much be said by so many about that of which they know so little'. If there is anything really wrong with the world today, it is that everyone thinks that he knows all of the answers to everything.

### Pan-African Conflicts

"We must remember too that the elimination of the white man in Africa comprises the sole bond of union between the conflicting nations of pan-Africanism.

"We must be under no illusions as to the extent and nature of the war being waged against us. The economic war will be of the utmost intensity, designed to disrupt and destroy the lifelines of trade and bring us to our knees. The psychological war, designed to disturb, demoralize, and ultimately destroy the fabric of government, will be of fiendish subtlety and a measureless ordeal.

"Men who can order the construction, equipment, and manning of a radio station on our borders on land that is shrivelling for lack of water and faces death, starvation, and desolation from drought—men who assess the priorities in this fashion—are not to be lightly treated.

"We in the Ministry of Information are straining every muscle and using all our ingenuity to disseminate information and fight back. We are trading blow for blow, and I believe not without success. What I find exasperating is that we also have to defend on the home front.

"If we had more than one daily newspaper I believe censorship would be unnecessary. How one would welcome criticism and comment designed to reform and improve instead of criticism and comment designed to undermine and destroy!

"I believe we should stop slinging Mr. Wilson and look upon developments with dignity, whatever the provocation. We have to fight a secret war, and that calls for the utmost restraint and control on the part of us all.

"Our defences will be strained, our resources are limited, and we have our vulnerable points.

"But what we also have is a people of undivided loyalty, stout heart and great courage—united in their pugnaic determination to see the battle through, come what may".

## Drought Aid Programme Proposed

### Mr. Wilson's Publicity Methods Resented

MR. WILSON announced last Friday that he had telephoned the Prime Ministers of Australia and Canada and obtained their consent in principle to a joint famine relief programme for the drought-stricken areas of Central Africa, including Rhodesia.

Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia, had been asked to report on the needs of that country. H.M. Government would act only through Sir Humphrey in dealing with the Smith régime, and would not weaken the grip of economic sanctions or allow relief operations to interfere with the embargo on trade. There would, however, be no barrier to the supply of grain and fodder.

African Governments which received help would find no political strings attached. Who would pay had still to be settled, but that would not delay the operation—which would be extended if necessary to Malawi and Kenya. The Prime Minister hoped that the scheme, essentially humanitarian in intention, would be accepted in that spirit by Mr. Ian Smith.

Australia and Canada quickly indicated that before they could allocate wheat and feeding stuffs they must know much more about African needs. Messages from Australia, which is herself recovering from drought, suggested that the wheat crop would be 30% or more below last year's output.

Reports from Canada stated that Mr. Wilson's approach and publicity had taken the country by surprise, especially as she had just committed herself to spend £5m. on sending wheat and powdered milk to India. Moreover, since the St. Lawrence River was frozen over, shipments could not be made promptly.

By Sunday it was being said in Whitehall that the requirements could not be ascertained from Africa for several weeks.

A senior Canadian official commented that "Mr. Wilson is grabbing your headlines with our grain".

From Australia came news that Sir Robert Menzies had been embarrassed by the publicity given in Britain to an agreement which he had made only in principle and about which he needed much more information.

In London it was stated that Mr. Stanley Findland, H.M. Government's representative in Salisbury, had been authorized to consult with the Smith régime about the problem, including means to supervising petrol relieved from the blockade in order to supply famine areas with grain.

A spokesman for Mr. Smith said at the week-end that no intimation about the offer had been received by him. When it came it would be duly considered.

## Rhodesian Pensions Not Paid

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—As a subscriber to your excellent EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, I would like to point out that whereas Mr. Wilson, under pressure, was prepared to acknowledge his mistake in withholding pensions payable to Britons living in Rhodesia, he does not consider it a mistake for Rhodesian pensioners living in Great Britain to have their pensions withheld at his instigation. I happen to be one of these pensioners, who have received no pension for December.

The paying agent has been the Pensions Issue Section of the Ministry of Overseas Development, which, it seems, has received instructions from a higher authority to discontinue payment.

I shall no doubt be told that Mr. Smith is in default with these payments. I do not believe it, for all the evidence I have from Rhodesian sources is that he is only too willing to honour his financial obligations to us, but is prevented from doing so by the inhuman behaviour of the British Prime Minister. Let him for once show a spark of humanity and defreeze these pensions so that we can continue to buy the wherewithal to keep body and soul together.

Yours faithfully,

A. M. LOVERIDGE.

Exmouth.



## Commonwealth Conference in Lagos

### Half Prime Ministers and Presidents Absent

**RHODESIA** and the effects of her declaration of independence upon Zambia were said to be the sole subjects for discussion at the Commonwealth Conference which opened in Lagos on Tuesday at the invitation of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria.

This is the first major Commonwealth conference ever held outside London or under the chairmanship of anyone but the British Prime Minister of the day.

Only about half of the Governments of the Commonwealth have been represented by their Prime Ministers or Presidents. When this issue went to press no official list was available, but representation was expected to be as follows:—

#### Those Attending

*Britain*.—Mr. Wilson, Prime Minister, and Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

*Australia*.—Sir Robert Menzies had declined to attend or send a representative of his Government. The Australian High Commissioner in Lagos attended as an observer.

*New Zealand*.—Neither the Prime Minister nor any member of the Cabinet would make the journey. Sir Thomas Macdonald, High Commissioner in London, was their representative.

*Canada*.—Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Minister.

*Ceylon*.—Name of representative unknown.

*Cyprus*.—President Makarios.

*Gambia*.—Sir David Jawara, Prime Minister.

*Ghana* (which has broken off diplomatic relations with Britain) sent nobody.

*India*.—Minister of Law and Social Security and Secretary to External Affairs Department.

*Jamaica*.—Mr. Donald Sangster, Acting Prime Minister.

*Kenya*.—President Kenyatta decided at the week-end not to attend, but to send one or more Ministers.

*Malawi*.—Dr. Banda made a last-minute decision to attend. He had previously nominated the Malawi Ambassador in Ethiopia, Mr. B. Katenge, to lead a delegation.

*Malaysia*.—The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

*Malta*.—Dr. Borg Olivier, Prime Minister.

*Nigeria*.—Sir Abubakar Balewa, Prime Minister.

*Pakistan*.—The High Commissioner in Lagos.

*Sierra Leone*.—Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister.

*Singapore*.—Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister.

*Tanzania* (which recently broke off diplomatic relations with Britain) announced that it would not be represented.

*Trinidad*.—The Deputy Prime Minister.

*Uganda*.—Dr. Obote, Prime Minister.

*Zambia*.—President Kaunda announced on Monday that he would not attend. Mr. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister, was his delegate.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, was in attendance. He was understood to carry an invitation from President Kaunda to the Prime Minister to visit Lusaka on his way back to London.

Mr. Arnold Smith, who was recently appointed Commonwealth Secretary-General, said on Monday that the three topics for discussion were (1) an early ending of the Rhodesian rebellion; (2) Rhodesia's future thereafter; and (3) Commonwealth co-operation with Zambia in the event of further sanctions.

#### Why Mr. Wilson Went

Stringent security measures were in force at Lagos Airport, on the route to the hotel commandeered for the conference, and in and around that building. There had been large-scale rioting at the week-end in the suburbs of Lagos, where at least 12 Africans were reported killed in political clashes in two days.

Mr. Wilson said on leaving London that though Rhodesia must remain a British responsibility, it was right for him to go to the conference to hear the views of other Commonwealth leaders. The situation was very, very serious, and affected not only the future of the Commonwealth but relations between advanced countries and the newer countries. A very large number of Commonwealth countries had consistently favoured the use of force to bring down the Smith régime.

"Of course we understand the tremendous passion they feel, and we must listen to what they say; but we have decided our policy. Since they expressed their views in December I think they would feel that the actions we have taken have gone much farther and much deeper than perhaps they then thought."

In the circumstances of today the Rhodesians might feel that they should try to negotiate, "so that they can get by negotiation what they tried to take by illegal action; but it is not for me to interpret what is going through their minds."

#### African's Tribute to Mr. Smith

While the delegates were assembling the editor-in-chief of the *Lagos Daily Times*, who had just returned from Rhodesia, where he had interviewed the Prime Minister, wrote: "Mr. Smith will ride his trail to the bitter end. His supply of guts is high in calories. If his morale is at a low ebb he does not show it."

The Nigerian Foreign Minister said that force was still the only way to bring down Mr. Smith.

Newspaper correspondents sent from London reported that the African leaders in general were sceptical of the British expectation that the Smith régime was about to collapse.

The Rhodesian Prime Minister said on Monday that if the talks in Lagos were not based on facts the participants would be responsible for aiding and abetting the creation of a Vietnam in Africa. Communism was trying to establish itself in Southern Africa. Rhodesians were determined that it should not succeed in their country.

## Congo Corruption and Calamity

PRESIDENT MOBUTU, the new Head of State of the Congo Republic, has said in an address to the nation:—

"The national and provincial life in our Republic is corrupt. Justice is done in a deplorable manner. The economic and financial position is disastrous.

"The country has been forced to beg aid. Foreigners have to provide the Congolese with the maize and rice they need to feed themselves and the cotton they need to clothe themselves. Hate, quarrels, corruption have taken the place of fraternity, co-operation and effort for development and well-being. Since the Congo no longer produces, since the people no longer work in the fields, tremendous sums are spent—and the previous Government spent enormous sums on irregular or unjustified expenditure.

"In 1966 there will again be far too much money to spend, for wages have spiralled, and not enough goods to buy. I do not want passed to us the responsibility for the increase in prices which will certainly come about in 1966. The bad seed was sown in 1961 and 1965. In 1966 we shall reap the fruits of past mistakes. It took the politicians five years to bring the country to ruin. It now needs five years to right it. I shall take the necessary measures.

"The politicians have done the country too much harm for them to be allowed to ruin it even further. Have no fear! My Government is not composed of politicians. Its Ministers do not represent political parties, but their provinces, and only their provinces.

"These Ministers, the Prime Minister and I will act for the good of the country and the Congolese people. There are no longer any party politics in this country.

"The situation calls for urgent measures to end the existing corruption, and I warn all civil servants that from today if they forget they are working in the service of the nation and accept any remuneration other than their salary they will be hounded out and brought to trial."

# PERSONALIA

THE KING OF NORWAY is on a five-day State visit to Ethiopia.

LORD BOYD OF MERTON has been appointed Messel Medallist of the Society of Chemical Industry.

MR. JOHN M. MUNRO, of the Cotton Research Station at Namulonge, Uganda, is due in England in a few days.

MR. DOUGLAS FAIRBAIRN and CAPTAIN P. A. TRAVERS, chairman and general manager of Central African Airways, are in London.

LORD ALDENHAM, eldest brother of SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Rhodesia, is to visit him in Salisbury at the end of this month.

Proclamations both by the PRESIDENT and the PRIME MINISTER have been gazetted in Uganda recognizing PRINCE PATRICK KABOYO as Omukama of Toro.

MR. IYALLA, assistant secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity, has completed his term in Addis Ababa and has gone to New York as Nigeria's representative at the United Nations.

MR. DAVID L. GORDON has been appointed East African representative of the World Bank, with headquarters in Nairobi. He has been deputy director of its Development Services Department.

MR. J. OWUSU-ANSAH, High Commissioner for Ghana, and MR. BOUBKER BOUMAHDI, Moroccan Ambassador, have presented their letters of credence to SIR EDWARD MUTESA, President of Uganda.

MR. MENNEN WILLIAMS, United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, called last week on the Heads of State in Ethiopia and East Africa with messages about Vietnam from PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

CAPTAIN SAM BREWER, who was a member of the staff of Rhodesia House in London until he returned to Salisbury some months ago to join the Ministry of Information, has been transferred to the office of the Rhodesian Diplomatic Representative in Pretoria.

MR. C. KERR, lately regional manager in East Africa for the Ottoman Bank, has been appointed assistant general manager in London, and MR. C. D. F. ALLEN, the general manager, has been appointed to the committee, from which MR. ROBERT TILNEY has resigned owing to ill health.

PROFESSOR ALASTAIR HERON, director of the Institute for Social Research of the new University of Zambia, and three persons from the United Kingdom, DR. MARY ALLAN, MR. J. C. HOUSTEN, and MR. M. W. ZIMMERMAN, are working in Zambia as an educational and occupational assessment team to advise the civil service and private industry on modern methods for the selection and promotion of staff.

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London, W.C.1.

MR. ALBERT BALELA is now Congolese Ambassador to Western Germany.

AWIL HAJI ABDULLAHI FARAH, Finance Minister of Somaliland, has resigned.

MR. TSHOMBE has arrived in Europe. He spent Christmas in France with his family.

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister of Economic Planning in Kenya, is leading a delegation to Moscow.

THE RT. REV. ERICA SABITI, Bishop of Ruwenzori since 1960, has been elected the first African Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. He is an Ankole, who was ordained in 1933.

LORD RENWICK has succeeded SIR ANDREW MAC-TAGGART as chairman of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd., and Tersons, Ltd. SIR KENNETH HAGUE has been elected deputy chairman of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd. and Tersons, Ltd., and chairman of Messrs. Kilpatrick & Son, Ltd. MR. R. H. R. MCGILL is now finance director of Power Securities Corporation.

Conservative M.P.s in the neighbouring constituencies of Worthing and Hove, MR. TERENCE HIGGINS and MR. MARTIN MADDAN, are under criticism for having supported the Socialist Government over oil sanctions against Rhodesia. Votes of censure by rank-and-file members are being considered. MR. H. HERITAGE, the Conservative agent in Worthing, served in the R.A.F. with MR. IAN SMITH during the war.

## Obituary

### Mr. Ransley S. Thacker

MR. RANSLEY SAMUEL THACKER, Q.C., who has died in Chipunga, Rhodesia, aged 75, was the man who sentenced Jomo Kenyatta and other Mau Mau leaders to seven years' hard labour. The case was tried at a remote court, Kapenguria, and the convictions were quashed by the Supreme Court of Kenya on the technical point that Mr. Thacker had no jurisdiction to try the case in that locality. The Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, however, restored the convictions and sentences.

Thacker, who was born in Nottingham, was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1913. After practising in England for some years, he joined the Colonial Legal Service and in 1931 was appointed Chief Justice of St. Vincent, in the West Indies. Two years later he went to Fiji as Attorney-General, leaving in 1938 on appointment as a puisne judge in Kenya, where he was also chairman of the Farmers' Conciliation Board. He was lent to Zanzibar as Chief Justice in 1947, but soon returned to Kenya as a senior judge.

He retired soon after the Mau Mau trial, practised for a short time in Uganda, and then went to Rhodesia, where he farmed and presided over a number of industrial boards.

His first wife had died in 1948. He married again four years ago. There are two sons and a daughter of the first marriage.

MR. MERVYN HILL has died in Kenya. A memoir will appear next week.

MR. HAROLD BURNHAM has died in Nairobi after a short illness. He leaves a widow, two daughters, and a son.

MR. DESMOND LYNTON HILL, who has died in England, was at one time in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika.

MR. DUNCAN LAMPARD, M.C., sometime a captain in the Irish Guards, was recently killed by lightning in Salisbury, Rhodesia.

## Negotiate Now, Say M.P.s. of All Parties Sanctions Will Not "Topple" Mr. Smith

MR. PETER BESSELL, Liberal M.P. for Bédmin, said on his return to London at the week-end from a short visit to Rhodesia that three other M.P.s. who were there at the same time, Sir Godfrey Nicholson and Mr. Evelyn King, both Conservatives, and Mr. Reginald Paget, Q.C., a Socialist, and he had all followed their own separate lines of investigation, but had all reached the identical conclusion—that the time had come for a new approach in the interests of Britain as well as Rhodesia.

"Negotiations should be re-opened, in the first instance at a comparatively low level, and not in the form of a summit meeting between the Prime Ministers, or even between members of the two Cabinets. In the normal run of things we four M.P.s. would have had little in common politically. The fact that we reached an identical conclusion without any joint discussion cannot be without significance.

"Discussions should be opened quickly in order to ease as far as possible the growing bitterness which I found even among Europeans who had previously opposed Mr. Smith's U.D.I., and among responsible commercial and industrial interests concerned that the economy of the country should not be totally destroyed—which could be the result of long-drawn-out sanctions".

### Mr. Smith Firmly in the Saddle

Mr. Bessell emphasized that the talks would have to be with Mr. Smith, "for he is firmly in the saddle, and if you are going to negotiate you must do it with him".

Before leaving Salisbury Mr. Bessell had said: "If action is not taken now there is a grave danger that the Rhodesian problem will not be settled peaceably. The dangers of delay to Rhodesia, Britain, and world peace cannot be too strongly stressed. The alternative to negotiations will be the risk that military force, probably through the United Nations, would become a reality".

He believed that Mr. Smith and his Government were prepared to negotiate, provided it be clearly understood that the negotiations were realistic and that their position was in no way impaired. That implied *de facto* recognition of Mr. Smith's Government.

He did not believe that the Rhodesian Government would fall through sanctions, which would be more likely to tighten white resistance and increase support for Mr. Smith.

Mr. Bessell said that he had met Europeans and Africans of all shades of opinion, among them being the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, leaders of commerce, industry and trade unions, church leaders and African nationalists, educationists, students, and others. He had found all responsible persons unanimously in favour of quick negotiations.

Mr. Evelyn King told journalists in Salisbury on Friday that he did not believe that sanctions would "topple" Mr. Smith's Government. There ought to be prompt negotiations.

day that he had found in Rhodesia a "1940 spirit; reason has been abandoned, and faith adopted... Having spoken to the opponents of the régime, from the Governor downwards, my conclusion is that it is unmitigated nonsense to talk of toppling the Smith Government by March.

"Economic sanctions are doing grave injury not only to the economy of Rhodesia, but to the economy of all Central Africa. We have to care for the future well-being of the Africans; and we are not going to do that by destroying Rhodesia or by a premature handover, though there has to be majority rule eventually. We must have an unimpeded road for political advancement for the African. This is accepted in principle in Rhodesia".

Before leaving Salisbury Mr. Paget had said that it was very silly indeed of President Kaunda to reject Mr. Smith's offer to ease economic damage to Zambia. Britain had to pay for the relief of Zambia, and the President ought not to be given a blank cheque to conduct economic war with Rhodesia.

"I think Mr. Smith's gesture was wise and sincere. I can imagine no greater threat to Rhodesia than the collapse of the Zambian economy or Government".

## Threat to Imprison Mr. Patrick Wall President Kaunda's Attack on M.P.s.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told a mass rally at Chingola on Sunday that if Mr. Patrick Wall, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice, set foot in Zambia, "he will be arrested and imprisoned". He had been declared a prohibited immigrant because he had been against African nationalism in the struggle for independence and now supported the Smith régime in Rhodesia.

Three other British M.P.s.—whom he did not name—who had been visiting Rhodesia were not welcome in Zambia, for they had "toasted Rhodesia and the U.D.I. party, attended meetings with people who had rebelled against their Government", and had not met the Governor who is the legal authority there". Their visit was perplexing. Any Zambian Minister or civil servant who met them would be sacked.

Sir Godfrey Nicholson, Conservative M.P. for Farnham, said in Salisbury as soon as he was told of the statement that he would cancel his visit to Zambia which he had arranged for the next day. Mr. Evelyn King, Tory M.P. for Dorset South, also cancelled a booking. He said that Sir Godfrey, Mr. Bessell, Mr. Paget, and he, the only British M.P.s. then in Rhodesia, had all called on Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor.

Mr. Paget commented that President Kaunda, who had shown grave discourtesy to Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, when he was recently in Lusaka, had now offered a "quite outrageous affront" to Sir Godfrey Nicholson, who had in fact voted for oil sanctions on Rhodesia. Such behaviour ought no longer to be tolerated by H.M. Government.

Sir Godfrey Nicholson said that it was very necessary to reduce the temperature and to avoid terms of abuse. "Let us try to make friends again".

Before Sir Godfrey flew to Malawi he said: "I think that Kenneth Kaunda, a personal friend of mine, has acted like a bloody fool. I am personally and deeply hurt".

It was not true that he (Mr. Paget) had had a drink or toasted Mr. Smith, though he would have no objection to drinking with him.

Mr. Humphry Berkeley, Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, said on arrival in Salisbury a little later that he intended to fly to Zambia on Friday.

### Pro-Wilson Socialists

Three Socialist M.P.s., Dr. Jeremy Bray, Mr. David Ennals, and Mr. Christopher Rowland arrived in Salisbury on Monday.

Mr. Rowland, who is a Parliamentary Private Secretary at the Foreign Office, said on arrival that the M.P.s. from Britain who had arrived before them were not representative of mainstream political thought in Parliament. He and his two Labour colleagues disagreed with the other Conservative, Socialist and Liberal M.P.s. that it was necessary to have early negotiations with Mr. Smith. They were convinced that any famine relief should be sent through the Governor, through whom Mr. Smith was free to make any contact with H.M. Government; the British Government would in no circumstances recognize Mr. Smith's régime or deal with him until he himself went to the Governor.

The main purpose of their visit, the three M.P.s. said, was to put the British Government's point of view to Africans. They expected to be warmly welcomed in Zambia.

Before leaving London Mr. Ennals said: "We want to point out to Mr. Smith that the choice is not between the end of an illegal régime and immediate African majority rule. This has been said over and over again, but we are not sure it has got over. There cannot be an end to the crisis until there is a return to legality".

His colleagues and he, who expect to be away about a fortnight and to visit Zambia and Tanzania, he said, raised the money for their fares from a number of sources, but not from the Government. The Aerial Foundation is understood to have paid part of the cost.

### Rhodesian Faith

Mr. Paget said on his arrival at London Airport on Mon-

(Continued at foot of previous column)

## Proposals Anent Rhodesia Prime Minister's Intentions

THE PRIME MINISTER, before leaving London for Lagos, let it be known that he was drafting a declaration of the British Government's proposals for termination of the Rhodesian crisis, and that it would be published at what was deemed to be the moment for a decisive influence upon Rhodesian opinion.

The Commonwealth Relations Secretary suggested simultaneously that further economic sanctions were likely to follow the Lagos conference, and there were hints in Whitehall that banks in Rhodesia with headquarters in London might be ordered to cease granting credit facilities.

Suggestions—clearly due to "inspiration"—that Earl Mountbatten might be asked to head an Administration in Rhodesia were quickly discounted, and replaced by indications that the Prime Minister hoped that Sir Humphrey Gibbs would remain in office and lead Rhodesia back to legality with a council of advisers of some kind.

Whereas not long before Christmas Mr. Wilson, and especially Mr. Bottomley, were emphatic that Mr. Smith and members of his Government must be excluded from any new Government, it is now accepted that the Rhodesian Front must be represented in any interim Administration, and that no negotiations can succeed if the exclusion of Mr. Smith be one of the conditions.

### Mr. Maudling's Warning

There are hints that some people in Rhodesia have already indicated their willingness to join a legal government, and that the first name on the list of Africans is Mr. Gondo, leader of the African Opposition in the Assembly.

Among Rhodesian Front Ministers who are now said to be favourably regarded in British Government circles are Mr. Harper, Minister of the Interior, Mr. Wrathall, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Musset, Minister of Commerce.

Mr. Maudling, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, and acting leader during Mr. Heath's absence in the Far East, told his constituents in Barnet on Saturday that the Prime Minister could not expect Tory support if at the Lagos conference he allowed himself to be pushed down a road which could lead to disaster in Rhodesia.

"Mr. Wilson must make it absolutely clear that Britain will in no circumstances contemplate, or consider the use of military force to solve the constitutional problem, and that we cannot support measures whose logical outcome would be the use of force. A solution can come only by discussions with Rhodesian leaders who would abide by the Constitution.

"Those leaders can be chosen only in Rhodesia, not by Whitehall. Mr. Wilson cannot exercise a veto in this matter."

The proposal to supply food to the drought-stricken area of Rhodesia would, Mr. Maudling hoped, offer an opportunity to make a start on the positive and necessary process of seeking agreement.

## Smug and Irresponsible

MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HUTSON has written from Oxted, Surrey, to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. Wilson shows no sign of taking up Sir Alec Douglas-Home's suggestion that a plan for independence be put on the table. He continues his insistence on unconditional surrender, thereby jeopardizing the hope of a harmonious settlement between white and black Rhodesians and risking a racial war. All the time too he is running up an immense bill which the British taxpayer will have to meet.

"With so much at stake it is difficult to understand the backing given to Mr. Wilson, whose over-dramatization of the unilateral declaration of independence into treason has been the cause of so much of the tension and growing passion amongst the African States.

"When we remember, too, that past mistakes and evasions by successive British Governments have probably had at least a 50% share in creating the climate for U.D.I., the view that Mr. Ian Smith has put himself out of court is smug and irresponsible.

"It is high time that M.P.s. took a stand against Mr. Wilson's war for a constitutional principle and insisted on a move for the real objective—a just settlement within which white and black Rhodesians can live and prosper."

## Sharp Criticism of Sanctions Mr. Smith and the Governor

A SHARP ATTACK on Mr. Wilson's imposition of sanctions on Rhodesia has been made in the *Financial Times*, which is particularly irate that Lloyd's of London and British insurance companies may not meet claims arising from their operations before U.D.I., "a decision which will register a big black mark against British insurance which will not easily be erased".

"A much more costly product of British determination to fly in the face of reason to no obvious purpose where Rhodesia's U.D.I. is concerned concerns the Smith Government's New Year gesture proposal that the flow of oil through the Rhodesian pipeline for Zambia's use should be taken out of the sanctions battle—so that the impact of the struggle on Zambia's economy would be minimized and the British taxpayer spared the considerable expense which the present air-lifting of Zambia's fuel needs entails.

"Mr. Paget, a Labour M.P. who is certainly no friend of U.D.I., described this offer as 'wise and sincere' and the rejection of it as 'silly'. He is, of course, absolutely right. The only reaction Mr. Smith's 'wise and sincere' offer seems to have drawn from the U.K. is a series of fatuous remarks that to do anything about it would mean 'modifying the oil embargo'—which is, of course, in a strictly logical sense untrue.

"The British authorities have made enough fuss about the harmful effects that Rhodesia's behaviour will have on other African countries and elsewhere. They should be able to see that by failing to be mentally big enough to take advantage of all opportunities that present themselves for limiting those effects, they are running the risk of being held guilty of adding to the damage.

### Deviation from Commonsense

"The classic example in the purely political field of the curious deviation from traditional British commonsense that has characterized the approach to the U.D.I. issue at almost all levels in this country concerns the treatment of 'poor Sir Humphrey'. Mr. Smith and his fellow rebels have been castigated almost daily for the indignities they are said to have heaped on the beleaguered Governor.

"Yet what is really astonishing about the Sir Humphrey affair—and is evidently regarded so almost everywhere in the world—is that such a revolutionary Government as that which Mr. Smith's is said to be is actually prepared to allow an avowed rallying-point for counter-revolution to remain in its midst with a fair degree of freedom to carry on its work.

"Such a thing can surely have rarely happened in such circumstances before. It is easy to see that men with such a deep respect for the British way of life as Mr. Smith claims to have would not be able, even when in a state of rebellion, to bring themselves to mete out the kind of treatment counter-revolutionaries are apt to receive in other parts of the world. It would have been the easiest thing in the world for the revolutionary régime to pop Sir Humphrey on a 'plane for England on the not unreasonable argument that the safety of a counter-revolutionary could not be guaranteed in the prevailing climate.

"Given the traditional British commonsense approach, the conclusion might well be that, all things considered, Mr. Smith is not doing too badly by Sir Humphrey. I suppose some would argue that it is so important to beat the Rhodesian Government with all available sticks that a disregard of what is fair and reasonable may be justified here on the grounds that the end is more important than the means.

"But this can hardly explain away some of the illogicalities that are being perpetrated in the economic field in relation to the handling of the U.D.I. affair, for they are inflicting damage elsewhere without making any significant contribution to the cause of restoring Rhodesia to constitutional rule."

## Man of the Year

THE B.B.C. has a Home Service programme in which listeners are asked to notify by postcard their choice of a "Man of the Year". Despite the ceaseless criticism, much of it grossly inaccurate, of Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, by British politicians, journalists, radio commentators, and others, he was third in the running, with 19.8% of the votes received. Mr. Richard D'Ambleby, best known of all television personalities, who was dying at the time, received 20.8%. Mr. Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, had the support of only 24%; but that minority vote gave him top place.

## Beira-Umtali Pipeline Ban Fails Portuguese Directors Defeat British Colleagues

IF TANKERS deliver oil for Rhodesia to the Mozambique port of Beira, it will be pumped to the Feruka refinery, near Umtali.

That decision was reached in the middle of last week at a meeting in Beira of the board of Companhia do Pipeline Mocambique-Rhodesia.

One of the five Portuguese directors, Senhor Fernandes Seixas, a Government nominee, was absent on business in Mozambique. Time had been allowed for his return, but that was evidently not deemed necessary, since the decision could be, and was, settled by the casting vote of the chairman, Senhor Antonio Dias da Cunha. Three of the four British directors — Mr. Alan Ball (who is chairman of Lonrho, Ltd.), Mr. Roland ("Tiny") Rowland, and Mr. John A. Caldicott — flew to Lisbon. Mr. Angus Ogilvie deputed Mr. Ball to exercise his proxy vote.

The British directors had proposed that pumping operations should cease so long as the Southern Rhodesia (Petroleum) Order, 1965, made by the British Government, remained in force. After lengthy discussion a resolution in that sense was defeated.

The board, however, unanimously rejected a request, dated January 1, received through Central African Petroleum Refineries (Private), Ltd., proprietors of the refinery, for the "transfer of the crude oil contents of the pipeline into the storage tanks at Feruka", the directors having been advised that if that were done damage would be caused to the pipeline.

### Government Withdraws Request

The suggestion that the pipeline (of 189 miles), which holds nearly 14,000 tons of crude oil, should be emptied, had been made to C.A.P.R.E.F. by the Rhodesian Government. There being no crude reserves in Beira, the pipeline could have been emptied only by forcing through sea water, at serious risk of corrosion. The request that the pipeline should be emptied was withdrawn shortly before the meeting. No reason was given.

No crude oil had in fact been pumped since 1 p.m. on December 31, and nothing had been taken into the Beira storage tanks since that date.

Lonrho, Ltd., hold 62% of the equity of the company owning the pipeline through Mozambique. One of the conditions of its construction was that there should be a Portuguese majority on the board.

A Portuguese director told journalists after the meeting: "We are concerned with people, and people need oil. We will do it for Malawi and for Zambia, just as we will do it for Rhodesia. This is a purely private decision, taken without consultation with the Portuguese Government. It is a decision which can in no way be revoked."

Immediately a ship carrying oil docked at Beira, he added, pumping operations would restart. Newspaper estimates of 14,000 tons of crude oil in the pipeline were "slightly exaggerated".

At the Portuguese Foreign Office it was stated that no Government comment was to be expected. The decisions of the private company concerned must hold when taken in accordance with its articles of association and contractual obligations.

The Shell and B.P. groups each hold just over 20% of the capital of the refinery company, the balance being divided between three American companies (Mobil, Caltex, and Amin), the Total Company (French), and the Kuwait National Petroleum Company.

London newspapers coupled with the news widely varying computations of Rhodesia's oil supplies. The lowest figure, given by the *Guardian*, was of "four weeks' normal supply, which, with severe rationing, might be stretched to 12 weeks". No paper suggested that, with tighter rationing, supplies would last six months. A telegram from Salisbury to the *Financial Times* estimated that of the present rationing basis Rhodesian stocks would last 10 weeks.

In the Rhodesian capital it is widely believed that petrol in drums is being sent in fairly substantial quantities from South Africa via Lourenço Marques.

Some petrol is also arriving from Mozambique by tanker lorries.

## Zambia to Have Two Brigades President Speaks with Two Voices

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has told Miss Clare Hollingworth, defence correspondent of the *Guardian*, who is visiting Zambia, that he expects the "crunch" with Rhodesia to come in the early spring, that Britain must then use military force, and that all his Cabinet are convinced that the Rhodesians would not make even token resistance. If military aid did not come from Britain, other States, mostly African, would help.

"Speaking almost with two voices, he claimed, first, that apart from petrol rationing, sanctions had not brought hardships to the Zambian economy; and secondly, that soon there would be severe problems, which were causing his Cabinet and the political and tribal leaders throughout the country to press the British to take military action to bring the Rhodesian illegal régime to an end.

"Although British officers and instructors were doing an excellent job in helping to form and train the embryonic Zambian Army and Air Force, he thought it was nevertheless unfortunate that they were all from the United Kingdom. He suggested it would be better if other Commonwealth English-speaking countries, including India, supplied some of them.

"The Army, he said, was going to purchase helicopters, and he thought those used by the United States in Vietnam were already well tested for the conditions of altitude and humidity which would be experienced in Zambia. I reminded him that British helicopters were successfully flying in the even higher and damper climes of Borneo. He said that many people were trying to sell him a variety of unsuitable weapons including supersonic jet fighters".

From other sources it is learnt that the Zambian Army, which has now about two and a half battalions and only 30 African officers, is to be increased to nearly two brigades and provided with anti-tank weapons, probably Swedish, new radio equipment, and helicopters. British, French, Italian, and United States companies all hope to supply helicopters. Another proposal is for the purchase of jet fighters for the small Air Force, now manned entirely by seconded R.A.F. pilots.

Gatages in Lusaka ran out of petrol on Friday because the entire fleet of 50 road tankers had been commandeered and sent to the Congo and Tanzania. President Kaunda was stated to have been angry at the mismanagement, to have called a Cabinet meeting at 3.30 a.m., and to have rescinded the announcement on the previous day that petrol rationing was to end immediately in the Eastern Province.

Lusaka Airport runway was reported to be seriously damaged by the traffic of heavy transport aircraft laden with oil. A Conqair, which burst a tyre on landing, gashed the tarmac for some 300 yards.

It was announced on Sunday that expatriate civil servants would probably be paid on the same basis as Africans doing the same job, with a small additional cost-of-living allowance.

The Southern Province, the largest maize growing area, has been severely affected by drought; about half the crop is estimated to have been lost. There is, however, a reserve supply in silos.

## Sending Oil Through Malawi

THE EXORBITANT COST of flying petrol from Dar es Salaam to distributing points in Zambia has caused the British Government to arrange for some oil for that country to be delivered through Mozambique and Malawi by rail and road.

Three tankers, reported to be carrying between them some 36,000 tons of petrol and large quantities of 44-gallon steel oil drums, are reported to have reached Beira, whence the petrol in drums is railed to Salima, rail-head in Malawi (158 miles by road from Fort Jameson, just inside the Zambian border, and another 371 miles to the capital, Lusaka, by a generally indifferent road which may not stand up to heavy traffic.

At Salima four large collapsible storage tanks are to be erected. The first, in sections, reached Blantyre in the middle of last week in three aircraft of a Lebanese charter company. The tanks, each with a capacity of 90,000 gallons, will be sent to Salima by road, a distance of 266 miles. The air delivery costs of flying the tanks from the United Kingdom are put at £64,000.

## Eighty-six Executions in Burundi

### All Chief Hutu Leaders Shot

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS announced in Geneva at the week-end that Professor Philippe Graven, whom it had sent to Burundi by agreement with the Government, had reported that after the abortive mutiny in October 86 persons were executed, among them all the elected officers of both Houses of the Burundi Parliament and the principal leaders of the Hutu race.

Twenty-two of the executions took place on December 16, two days after Professor Graven's arrival. He was not told of the impending executions, which took place about 30 miles away from Bujumbura, the capital. He was afterwards promised copies of all the trial documents, but received none.

Six officers of Parliament who were executed were the President of the House of Representatives, Emile Bucume; the two Vice-Presidents, Paul Mirerekano and Patrice Myondo; the President of the Senate, Joseph Bamina, a former Prime Minister; and two Vice-Presidents of the Senate, Ignace Ndimanya and Sylvester Karibwami. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Pierre Burarame, the president of the People's Party, Paul Nibirantiza, and the president of the Christian Trades Union, Bernard Niyirika, were also executed. So were nine of the chief Hutu leaders. Almost all the other persons executed are believed to have been Hutu.

Professor Graven found prison conditions a cause for grave concern. Estimates of the number of persons detained since the attempted mutiny range from 500 to 1,200.

### Mwami in Switzerland

MWAMI (KING) MWAMBUSHA IV of Burundi, now 56, who took refuge across the Congo border at the time of the mutiny and shortly afterwards left for Europe "for medical attention", has been living in a large flat in Geneva since November.

According to the *Sunday Telegraph*, he has "divided his time between night-clubbing with his close friend, French strip-tease dancer Josy Vellicour, 35, and ski-ing and recruiting mercenaries for his depleted palace guard. This week he drove Josy and two aides to Paris, where he talked to President de Gaulle about aid. He motored on to Brussels."

A member of the staff, Mr. Gerald Bitolirobe, was reported to have told a correspondent in Geneva that about 1,000 people now awaiting trial were confined in a prison built to hold 80, and that the Mwami would remain in Switzerland for at least another fortnight.

The executive secretary of the International Commission of Jurists told reporters last week "We hope the Mwami will return home soon because we believe he is a moderating influence. In his absence the left-wing has been promoting trouble and racial disorders". The King is one of the most elusive characters in Geneva. I have been trying to get in touch with him for six weeks without success."

Ministers from Burundi, court officials, and ambassadors have visited him in Switzerland in order to persuade him to return. His reluctance has been attributed to increasing Chinese influence in his own tribe, the Tusi, among whom there is a movement to depose him and establish a republic.

### American Ambassador Expelled

Mr. Donald Dumont, the United States Ambassador, the counsellor at the embassy, and the director of the United States Centre in Bujumbura were on Monday ordered to leave the country within 24 hours.

In New York the State Department announced that the Burundi Ambassador had been summoned to receive an official protest, and that appropriate retaliatory action was being considered.

### Adventure at 92

MRS. EMILY COLE, aged 92, has insisted on accompanying her son, Commander George Cole, his wife, and their two children, aged 23 and 19, on a voyage from Mombasa to New Zealand in a 40-foot trimaran built by Commander Cole since his farm was bought for re-settlement by Africans. "I'm a good sailor and not too old to enjoy the adventure", she insisted against all attempts to persuade her to go by air. The trimaran sailed on Saturday.

## Dr. Banda's Cabinet Changes

### Mr. Aleke Banda Promoted

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, has made changes in his Cabinet.

Mr. Aleke Banda, the 26-year-old secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, director-general of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, and national chairman of the League of Malawi Youth, but not a Member of Parliament has been appointed Minister of Development and Planning, Information, which ceases to be a separate portfolio, comes under his control. He is widely regarded as Dr. Banda's "favourite son", but they are not related.

Mr. John Tembo who was Minister of Development and Planning, Minister of Trade and Industry, and Minister of Finance, now retains only the Finance Portfolio, Mr. J. T. Kumbweza, a Parliamentary Secretary, becoming Minister of Trade and Works.

Mr. John Msonthi remains Minister for Transport and Communications, but has lost responsibility for Education to Mr. Alec Nyasulu, lately Minister of Health. Dr. Banda will for the time being take charge of that Ministry, and become responsible for Prisons, lately the concern of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Mr. Albert Muwalo, lately Minister of Information, becomes Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office with a seat in the Cabinet.

Three Regional Ministries disappear, but the persons concerned continue as regional chairmen of the Malawi Congress Party.

During the Parliamentary session which opened on Monday Dr. Banda will introduce a Bill to provide that persons found guilty of treason or subversion shall forfeit all their property to the State.

### Peace Corps Rebuked

THE JEANS, sweaters and sandals which have been standard kit for the 200 American volunteers serving in Malawi in the United States Peace Corps have offended the Prime Minister, who is reported to have asked the American Chargé d'Affaires to ensure that his compatriots, most of them teachers, dress more appropriately. Their deportment had also been criticized by the Minister of Education. The Peace Corps, which quickly took the hints, has now started a Rugby team called "The Yanks".

### Railway to Pakwach

THE RAILWAY EXTENSION from Gulu to Pakwach was opened on January 3, when Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, drove the first engine into the new station, which by railway mileage is nearly 1,000 miles from Mombasa. Pakwach East, on the Acholi bank of the Nile, would, he said, not be the terminus; the railway must go on into the West Nile District at Arua, conquering the river by a railway bridge, on which work would begin before June. The narrowest point between the banks was 990 feet. The cost of the bridge, about £500,000, would be shared equally between the Uganda Government and East African Railways.

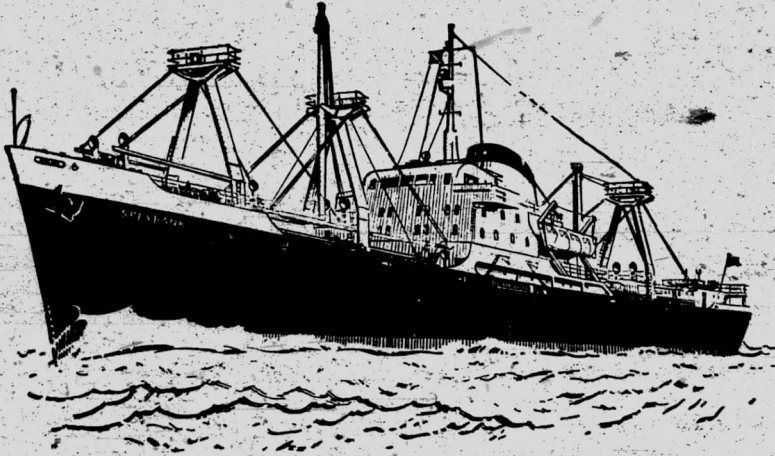
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# Mitchell Cotts Group Limited

## Confidence in Group's Competitive Ability

### MR. H. C. DRAYTON'S SPEECH

THE FORTY-SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF MITCHELL COTTS GROUP LIMITED was held on January 7, in London.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON, the chairman, presided, and in the course of his speech, said:

Our Group trading profit for the year amounted to £2,650,000 as against £2,047,900 last year. After deducting depreciation, and other items, we are left with a figure of £1,705,000, which together with our investment income of £219,000 makes £1,924,600 available for dividends, as against £1,480,600 last year, an increase of over 30%.

In this organization we have had a pretty long period of change—social, political and economic—in most of the principal territories in which our Group is established. That in this last five-year period we have seen our profits rise in round figures from under £600,000 to their present figure of not much under £2,000,000 should, if nothing else, give us confidence in the ability of this Group to be adaptable and flexible in meeting whatever difficulties there may still be.

Your directors are recommending a final dividend of 15% on the ordinary shares, making 22½% for the year, as against 20% for the previous year, and that will leave £3,621,000 to carry forward, as against £3,400,000 brought in.

#### Balance-Sheet Features

On the asset side of the balance sheet, our debtors, and bills receivable show an increase at £10,485,000 of roughly £1,700,000 which is only natural in view of our increased turnover and profit. The satisfactory feature is in our stocks and work in progress, which at £7,900,000 show an increase of only £300,000 over the previous year.

Our turnover for the year was £105,000,000. Quite frankly, what you are supposed to conclude from this I have to confess I do not know. Our turnover in this company could show an appreciable decrease, while the percentage profit on turnover might be considerably up. This arises from the nature of our business. To give you an example, when we are shipping a big grain crop, this is all done by bank overdraft and we are at no risk as the crops are sold and the freights taken into account before we take our commitment. A satisfactory business, but one which does not deserve high remuneration as there is no great risk element.

There is one other aspect of turnover which can affect the percentage, and when I tell you that over the last two years the price of sugar has varied from between something over £100 a ton to something under £23 a ton, you will see that turnover can vary with no necessary link with our profits.

#### Question of Interim Reports

The other matter which is worrying your board a little is the question of the interim report on the half year's results. We issued an interim report in April 1965 and it showed an increase as compared with the same six months of the previous year of only some £60,000 whereas the actual increase for the year was very much larger, being in the neighbourhood of £440,000.

This arises I believe from two causes: (1) the nature of certain of our business particularly the contract side in South Africa where the incidence of the finishing date of the contract affects the profit; but (2) I believe is more psychological in the attitude our managing directors on the spot take in assessing their profits; when they know they are going to be published they become conservative. This is particularly true when estimating the value of their stocks and any bad debts they think may occur.

You will appreciate it is not possible to have an audited figure for the six months, but I think as we get more experience the six-monthly figures will become more valuable to you. I do want to stress, however, that the half-yearly figures have definite limits as a guide to how the year will finally turn out.

#### Directorate

During the past year we have appointed Mr. P. P. Dunkley a managing director, and we have co-opted Sir Arthur Hope-Jones to the board. Mr. Dunkley has been a senior executive with the Group for a number of years and has well earned his promotion to this post, and I am sure you would want me to wish him every success. Sir Arthur Hope-Jones has an extensive knowledge of many of the areas in which our Group is established, and we know that that knowledge will be of advantage to the Company.

#### Review of South African Interests

Each year it has been my practice to try and tell you something about the different areas in which we work, and this year it is appropriate that it should be the turn of South Africa. I say it is appropriate for two reasons: (1) South Africa is our largest profit earner and our largest investment and has contributed the greatest part of the increase in profits now in front of you; and (2) the tragic events in Rhodesia will have raised questions in your own minds as to how our affairs will be affected as we have branches in Rhodesia of our local autonomous South African company.

From this angle the amount of capital we have at stake in Rhodesia is small and our guess is that any effect on our profits for the year ending 30th June, 1966, will be only marginal. Whether there will be any chain



reaction from which subsidiary problems may arise, quite frankly your guess is as good as mine: but even so, I cannot see it having any great effect on your company's position.

**Fraser & Chalmers:** Fraser & Chalmers continues to be the largest profit earner of our South African companies, and in the year to the 30th June, 1965, it achieved a turnover in excess of £8,000,000.

The company conducts its business through two operating divisions—Contracts Division, which undertakes mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering construction of all kinds, and an Industrial Equipment Sales Division which markets such commodities as pumps, bearings, valves, electronic equipment, mining equipment and asbestos products.

**The Reinforcing Steel Co. (Pty.) Ltd.** The Reinforcing Steel Company undertakes the design of all types of reinforced concrete and pre-stressed concrete structures. It supplies, fabricates and erects reinforcing steel and also has facilities for manufacturing and erecting pre-stressed concrete units in all four provinces in the Republic of South Africa.

### Lloyd's Certificate of Approval

**Cotts Steel Industries (Pty.), Ltd.** In January 1965 Cotts Steel Industries became the first South African manufacturer to obtain the Lloyd's Certificate of Approval for their short link and stud link anchor chain. This coveted award, which was only won after exhaustive tests by Lloyd's, has given Cotts Steel Industries a local lead in the supply of stud link chain to the newly created South African shipbuilding industry.

**Shipping and Allied Services Subsidiaries:** Our shipping activities fall largely under three heads, Mitchell Cotts (S.A.), William Cotts and the Stevedoring companies—Frank Robb & Goodwin, Associated Stevedores and Mocambique Stevedores. They work in close co-operation, the largest being Mitchell Cotts (S.A.) which is established in the main centres of South Africa and in Mocambique as well as in Rhodesia. It acts as ships' agents and also clearing and forwarding and travel agents. The results for the financial year ending 30th June, 1965, show an improvement over the previous year and reflect great credit on all concerned.

**Union Mining Machinery Co. (Pty.) Ltd.:** The Union Mining Machinery Company is a general engineering business having a well equipped machine shop and plate shop, and for the year ending 30th June, 1965, we had a full order book.

**General Fire Appliance Co. (Pty.) Ltd.:** This subsidiary is the oldest firm of fire protection engineers in South Africa. It manufactures under licence or acts as sole agent for some of the world's greatest fire equipment manufacturers.

We have a factory in Johannesburg and there are branches in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

### Bank Overdrafts

Commenting on the Balance-Sheet, Mr. Drayton said it would seem that Bank Overdrafts were £3,978,000. He added:—

With the growth of turnover it is natural that this bank overdraft should grow, but it does mean that a certain proportion each year of that growth should be looked upon as working capital and of a permanent nature. In addition, in a company like ours it is essential for the directors to have elbow room to be able to find additional finance for projects that turn up from time to time.

Consequently your directors have decided it would be in the interests of the company and the shareholders

that there should be additional capital raised. This will take the form of a rights issue to ordinary shareholders of one share in respect of every five shares already held at a price of 10s. per share. This will raise approximately £1,400,000 less expenses and can be put to work straight away.

### Current Year's Prospects

Naturally you would like to have some indication of what the present year's profits are likely to be and what dividend the directors think they might pay. Provided there is no major slip up in any of the territories in which we operate, it would seem that our total profits for the year ending June, 1966, should show some increase on those for 1965.

When we come to the dividend it would be your directors' intention on the indications we have that we should be able to recommend a dividend of at least 22½%, split as a 7½% interim and a 15% final, the same as the present dividend we are recommending.

The report and accounts were adopted:

**The Congo and Burundi** are to resume diplomatic relations. The new University of Zambia is to introduce a four-year course for the degree of Bachelor of Social Work.

**Portuguese Airways** flying Boeing 707s, now provide a twice-weekly service from Lisbon to Beira and Lourenço Marques.

A radio station near Dar es Salaam is being built by Chinese technicians. The cost, to be met by Communist China, will be about £400,000.

A Royal Air Force team is to compete in the East African Safari motor rally, which will start from Nairobi on April 7. They will drive a 1963 three-litre Rover.

The Uganda Government's £2m. stock issue, first issued in June, is still not fully subscribed. Issued at £96 with a 6½% coupon, it is to be repaid at par in 1972.

A flying doctor service is expected to be established in Zambia, to which Mr. Vyrell Mitchell, a pilot of Beagle Aircraft, has flown a twin-engined light aeroplane for demonstration purposes.

An African in the Fort Jameson district of Zambia, Mr. Victor Daka, who began poultry farming two years ago with a £200 loan from the Government, has now some 700 birds, and sells about 3,000 eggs a week.

Visitors to the Congo must now deposit at official currency exchanges a sum equivalent to £7 for each day of their stay. What they receive in Congo currency is about one-third of the rate paid in the black market.

South Africa has officially denied President Kaunda's statement that an air base in the Caprivi Strip was being built by that republic at a cost of £8m. Airstrips under construction by South Africa near Katima Mulilo will cost less than £500,000.

Sixteen as the minimum age for marriage, with the proviso that no one under 18 should marry without parental consent, is recommended by a committee appointed by the Uganda Government. A fine not exceeding £100 or imprisonment up to one year or both is suggested for bigamy.

The 14-year-old liner BRAEMAR CASTLE, 17,024 tons, has been sold to a Scottish ship-breaking company in the Metal Industries group. On the East African service since 1952, she has become surplus to requirements now that a joint service is to be operated by the Union-Castle and British India Lines.

Twenty-six leaders of the coffee trade in Europe and Canada and four economic journalists are about to visit Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania as guests of their coffee marketing boards. In the party will be six British subjects, six Germans, four Dutchmen, two Finns, two Swiss, and delegates from Austria, Canada, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

A world-wide trade boycott against Portugal in order to compel her to grant independence to Mozambique, Angola and Guinea was approved last week by the General Assembly of the United Nations by 66 votes to 26, with 15 abstentions. Western and some other States had objected that such sanctions could be imposed only by the Security Council.

Uganda has deported a West German who, the Prime Minister said, had been sent to make a political assessment with the help of the Democratic Party, but had alleged on arrival that his purpose was to study community development. It had been discovered that he was working for the Institute of International Partnership, which had connections with Kenya, Tanzania, Somalia, Bechuanaland, Nigeria, and Madagascar. "My colleagues and I will not tolerate foreign interference", Dr. Obote explained.

## Messina (Transvaal) Development Co.

MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD.—the parent of M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., Rhodesia—reports profits after tax to September 30 at R.4,969,413, a gain of more than £1m. on the R2,877,945 of the previous year. R2.6m. are transferred to capital reserve and R674,566 to general reserve and R674,566 to general reserve. Dividends totalling 35% take R1.7m., leaving a carry-forward of R5,153,036 (R,919,345). The consolidated profit and loss account of the parent and subsidiary companies together shows a profit after tax at R6.2m. (R3.5m.). Issued capital is R4.9m. in stock units of 50 South African cents.

Mining assets in Rhodesia appear at R20.8m. and in South Africa at R6.9m.; investments at rather more than R2m.; and current assets less current liabilities at R2.75m. Capital reserves exceed R16.4m. A loan of R314.814 to the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., was converted into ordinary shares, making the Messina holding 24% of the issued capital.

The report contains much detailed information about the Messina mine in the Transvaal and the Mangula's and Alaska properties in Rhodesia. Mangula's proved sulphide and oxide ore reserves exceed 16m. and 3.7m. long tons respectively.

Commander H. F. P. Grenfell is the chairman and Mr. W. I. Spence the managing director (with Mr. W. A. Smit as alternate). The other members of the board are Messrs. R. P. Grenfell (alternate R. E. C. Jobling), P. U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart.

Mr. W. A. Smit is the general manager; Mr. C. H. W. Irwin, manager at Messina; Mr. H. T. Hutton manager at Alaska; Mr. W. J. Wilson manager at Mangula; and Mr. C. H. Chandler manager in Salisbury. The group secretary is Mr. R. E. C. Jobling and the London secretary Mr. S. H. Verrall.

## Bird and Company's Heavy Loss

BIRD & CO. (AFRICA), LTD., report a loss to June 30 of £64,349 after bringing into account transfers of £85,000 from the taxation equalisation reserve, £68,000 allowed but not required for taxation, and £39,595 from the contingencies and staff fund. In the previous year there had been a net profit of £579,198. No dividend is to be paid.

The tea estates have caused the loss. Whereas an outturn of 600,000 lb of leaf, compared with just over 500,000 lb. in 1963-64, had been expected, the production was in fact only 274,995 lb., owing to drought. Selling prices were also disappointing.

Sisal production totalled 19,251 tons of fine fibre and 2,598 of fine tow, but the average selling price for No. 1 dropped from £148 per ton c.i.f. in July 1964 to £93 at the end of June 1965. Moreover, more than £50,000 had to be paid in severance allowance to workers made redundant by re-organised production methods. Mature sisal covers 17,735 hectares and matured tea 1,140 hectares.

Mr. C. L. Woolveridge is the chairman and Mr. B. J. J. Stubbings the managing director. The other members of the board are Messrs. R. Gray, J. F. Lloyd, V. S. Makame, E. J. Mitton, N. J. Robson, and P. M. Wise.

## Bank Chairman Speaks on Rhodesia

MR. FREDERIC SEEBOHM, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has told shareholders that rather less than 3% of its assets are in Rhodesia, but that the business is important and greatly valued. Depreciation of Rhodesian Government stock did not represent a very significant figure, but considerable deterioration in the country's economy must be expected and some loans and overdrafts would consequently become frozen. The possible loss of friendships and ties built up since 1896 caused as much anxiety and distress to the Bank as prospective financial losses.

The Malawi Development Corporation is now committed to eight major projects, in which the investment will be about £24,000 this year and £742,000 next year. Housing development will take £120,000 this year and £300,000 next; an investment in David Whitehead (Malawi), Ltd., £200,000 in each of the two years; investment in Malawi Distilleries Ltd., £51,000 and £50,000; and a fisheries development plan £30,000 this year, three times as much next year, and £50,000 in 1968.

Kenya's gross farm revenue is officially estimated at about £48.7m. for the current year, against £55.2m. last year, the drop being largely due to drought, which has entailed expenditure of £2m. on maize imports from North America. The coffee outturn is put at 36,000 tons (43,500), and the average price realized is about £6 per ton lower. For the first seven months the tea outturn was 10,342 tons, compared with 11,974 tons, and the London price had averaged about 4d. per lb. less.

## Commercial Brevities

Steel hoes and shovels are to be manufactured at Lugazi, Uganda.

By a one-for-five rights issue Mitchell Cotts Group will raise an additional £1.4m.

The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce has sent a representative to tour East Africa.

A fully automatic soap factory, costing about £110,000, is to be built in Mwanza, Tanzania.

A rubber and plastics factory in Nairobi will have Japanese financial assistance and co-operation.

Manchester Chamber of Commerce is to organize specialist selling missions to Zambia and Malawi.

Zambia Television, Ltd., controlled by the Government of that country, has started a service from Lusaka.

"Five Roses" Tea and Coffee Works, Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., have raised their capital from £30,000 to £155,000.

A pre-investment agricultural survey in the Kilombero Valley of Tanzania is to be made by Dutch consultants.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., produced 112 tons of sisal and tow in December, making 1,662 tons for 1965 (1,855 in 1964).

Spring Valley Estates (Pvt.), Ltd., has been registered in Salisbury, with a nominal capital of £100,000 as fruit growers.

A mobile service training unit is being sent to East Africa by the British Motor Corporation in support of their export drive.

## Nakuru May Get £1m. Factory

India's largest wool manufacturers are considering the establishment of a £1m. wool processing factory in Nakuru, Kenya.

A United Arab Republic Trade Centre has been established in Kenya, where the Egyptian El Nasr Company has opened a branch.

Phoenix-Rheinrohr International, a West German company, are to build in Mombasa a fertilizer factory costing more than £6m.

British, French, Italian, and American sales teams are in Zambia seeking a £1m. order for helicopters for the Zambian Air Force.

Mombasa's first sock factory, costing about £100,000, has begun production. A similar factory has also been established in Dar es Salaam.

Tanzania and North Korea, which Vice-President Kawawa recently visited, have decided to implement their trade agreement immediately.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 291,739 tons of coal and 18,079 of coke in December. The November figures were 317,670 and 19,014.

Last year's diamond sales through the Central Selling Organization had a value of £148,316,941, compared with £196.4 total of just over £133m.

A Chinese team of 30 members has begun a geological survey in Zanzibar with a special object of finding water for agricultural irrigation purposes.

Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Zambia, have commissioned their ninth pump in the V.S.I.B. chamber, which can now pump to the surface 39m. gallons of water daily.

Thirty 10-ton tipping lorries have been ordered from West Germany by transport contractors in Zambia for the carriage of coal to the railway from the new Kandabwe field.

In order to reduce fuel oil consumption, the rate of removal of overburden at the two open pits in Zambia of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., is being temporarily reduced.

## Wheat in Kenya

The area under wheat in Kenya has risen in three years from 226,000 to about 300,000 acres. Rapidly increasing consumption of wheat products makes 400,000 acres a desirable target.

The Government of Kenya intends to form a unit trust in order that local people, including those with very small incomes, may have a financial interest in what the Minister of Commerce terms "the safe and lucrative industries of our country".

Agricura Rhodesia, Ltd., registered with a capital of £200,000, is a subsidiary of Agricura Laboratoria, Ltd., of South Africa, which is represented on the board by Dr. F. J. Veldman and Mr. E. E. W. Kohl. The first Rhodesian director is Mr. E. T. Thompson, of Salisbury.

Housing Finance Company of Kenya, Ltd., has been registered in Kenya, the Government of which has contributed £170,000 to the capital, while the Colonial Development Corporation participates to the extent of £530,000. The objective is to place mortgages on a building society basis. Two directors each will be appointed by the Government and C.D.C.

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

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



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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, January 20, 1966

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

AFTER MR. WILSON'S FOLLIES in the past ten days, added to his contortions over Rhodesia in the previous ten weeks, his own party zealots must feel more than ever doubtful if they have an ice-cold calculator as their leader, as legend **Gravely Guilty.** would have us believe, and large numbers of responsible people throughout the country must have concluded that it has a Prime Minister who is a political exhibitionist, not an administrator, a salesman, not a statesman. Had he not so astutely and assiduously maintained his relations with the Press, there would be far wider understanding of his blunders, which continue to be presented as triumphs by journals which are still bemused; and in regard to Africa in recent years scarcely any daily or weekly newspaper can claim to have been well informed, critically alert and independent, and foresighted, let alone far-sighted. This tragic failure of the Press has contributed to the stupidities of the politicians, who, if they had been under constant scrutiny and criticism, would in self-defence have been much more prudent. In particular, they would not have dared to act so cynically, faithlessly and recklessly—and their cynicism, faithlessness, and recklessness have strewn Africa with irreparable disasters. All three parties have been gravely guilty, and that sense of guilt is assuredly at least partially responsible for the staggering failure of the Conservatives to expose Mr. Wilson's almost daily blunders over Rhodesia. Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Enoch Powell are about the only members of the Shadow Cabinet who insist on voicing public anxiety. Yet, when so much wrong is being done in Britain's name, it is the manifest duty of all to acquaint themselves with the facts and then declare them clearly and continually.

\* \* \*

That Mr. Wilson should not have gone to Lagos was argued last week. As we expected,

he was pilloried by African politicians who want a military adventure (which would almost certainly be a misadventure) in **Mr. Wilson And Lagos.** Rhodesia, and who promptly told visiting journalists what had been said in supposedly secret sessions of the conference. Newspapers all over the world could consequently tell their readers of Africans thirsting for the blood of white men; and many of the news stories naturally recalled that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity had unanimously resolved that all member countries should sever relations with Britain if she had not "toppled" the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia by January 15. Two former British territories, Tanzania and Ghana, broke off relations on that date, and some others have publicly announced that they have merely deferred action. Less than half of the Commonwealth States sent their Prime Minister or President to Lagos—Australia and New Zealand, staunch allies of Britain in peace and war, refusing to participate in an exercise which, Sir Robert Menzies and Mr. Holyoake rightly said, could not help Britain, Rhodesia, the Commonwealth, or the cause of race relations. They knew, as did everyone else, that the initiative had been taken by the Nigerian Prime Minister while his country was in turmoil, with political murders a daily occurrence. A gathering of some two hundred persons from many parts of the globe would, the simpletons thought, divert attention. It inevitably did exactly the opposite, for, in order to capitalize their opportunity, the opposing party thugs concentrated their operations in the suburbs of the capital itself, where at least a dozen murders occurred in the week-end before the conference opened. Delegates were told that there had been perhaps seven hundred political murders in one of the regions in three months. But Nigeria was "Britain's show-piece in Africa", her monument to "democracy"! Three days after the end of the two-day conference

Nigeria exploded in rebellion. It was the fifth West African rebellion since October.

\* \* \*

The conference, Mr. Wilson declared, was "a great success"; the Commonwealth was stronger than ever! Influential newspapers endorsed that nonsense. So far as we know, not one delegate

### What H.M. Government Must Understand.

from any country uttered a word about the state of Nigeria or any other black African territory. It was Rhodesia which was unstable and a police State! Those last two words are chanted by Mr. Wilson as an incantation. Will he note that British M.Ps. of all parties, including some of his own devotees, have within the past week testified that they went unaccompanied wherever they wished in Rhodesia, talked to whomsoever they liked, and saw not the slightest evidence of a police State? Incidentally, what would the present British Cabinet say if Rhodesian M.Ps. boarded an aircraft in Salisbury and disembarked in London? And

what did the Prime Minister expect Mr. Smith to do about his ridiculous idea of sending the Commonwealth Relations Secretary to see the Governor of Rhodesia but no member of the Cabinet? Has he forgotten that Mr. Bottomley insulted the Rhodesian Prime Minister outrageously in the House of Commons? If he wanted a messenger, he could obviously have made no worse choice. As Mr. Smith has made plain, he would have welcomed anyone who was prepared to abide by the courtesies prescribed by protocol. He has also emphasized that he wants no vendetta with Mr. Wilson, and will discuss with any British representatives at any level new proposals for a settlement of the dispute, provided only that Rhodesia's independence be recognized. That condition may appear absolutely unacceptable to the Socialist leader, but he would be wise to understand that what has just happened in Nigeria and other African States will strengthen the determination of Rhodesians to protect their country from being sacrificed to political theories which do not operate very successfully in Britain and not at all in Africa.

## Mr. Wilson Expects Early Collapse of Rhodesian Regime

"Force May Be Necessary to Restore Law and Order in Rhodesia"

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE which met last week in Lagos was attended by only 10 of the 22 Presidents and Prime Ministers in the Commonwealth.

Twelve countries sent delegates of lesser status.

Tanzania and Ghana, both of which recently severed diplomatic relations with Britain, declined to be represented.

The two-day meeting, called on the initiative of the Prime Minister of Nigeria, dealt only with the question of Rhodesia and the effect of its declaration of independence upon Zambia.

It was accepted that in Rhodesia "The use of military force could not be precluded if this proved necessary to restore law and order"; that "a period of direct rule would be needed, leading to the holding of a constitutional conference"; and that Commonwealth countries should "accelerate the training of Rhodesian Africans, including the early establishment of an administrative training centre in Rhodesia."

### In Weeks Rather than Months

The British Prime Minister having told the conference that sanctions "might well bring the rebellion to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months", it was agreed that the Prime Ministers should meet again when that was deemed desirable by a Sanctions Committee composed of representatives of all Commonwealth countries.

The *communiqué* gives no date, but journalists were told by Mr. Wilson that the next meeting would be in July if the Smith régime had not fallen meantime.

Some Prime Ministers indicated an intention to call for mandatory action by the United Nations if sanctions did not quickly cause collapse in Rhodesia.

The full text of the *communiqué* was as follows:—

"The meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government under the chairmanship of Ahsan ul Rt. Hon. Sir Abubakar

Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, ended today in Lagos.

Cyprus was represented by its President and Zambia by its Vice-President. In addition to Nigeria, Britain, Canada, the Gambia, Malawi, Malta, Sierra Leone, Singapore, and Uganda were represented by their Prime Ministers. Jamaica was represented by its Acting Prime Minister, while Malaysia, and Trinidad and Tobago were represented by their Deputy Prime Ministers. Ceylon was represented by its Minister of Justice; India by its Minister of Law and Social Security; Kenya by its Minister of Finance; and New Zealand, and Pakistan by High Commissioners. There was an Australian observer.

On the eve of the meeting news was received of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Prime Ministers paid tribute to the work of the late Mr. Shastri, and a message of condolence was sent by the chairman on behalf of the meeting.

The Prime Ministers welcomed Singapore to their discussions as an independent member of the Commonwealth.

### Essential Character of Commonwealth

"They expressed their especial appreciation of the invitation from the Prime Minister of Nigeria to meet in Lagos. Observing that this was the first meeting to be held in Africa, they agreed that to assemble from time to time in a different Commonwealth capital would underline the essential character of the Commonwealth as a free association of equal nations, spanning all races and continents.

"The Prime Ministers noted that this was also the first meeting to be held after the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat and were glad to welcome the Secretary-General (Mr. Arnold Smith of Canada).

"This was the first meeting called to deal with a single political issue and was devoted entirely to the question of Rhodesia. The Prime Ministers discussed in particular the ending of the rebellion; the need for co-operation with and assistance to Zambia; and the future of Rhodesia under constitutional rule.

"A working party of officials discussed in greater detail the nature and efficacy of economic measures against the illegal régime in Rhodesia; ways in which Zambia could be helped in its co-operation in these measures; and the question of Commonwealth assistance in training Africans in Rhodesia. They reported their conclusions to the meeting.

"The Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the authority and



responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rested with Britain, but acknowledged that the problem was of wider concern to Africa, the Commonwealth, and the world.

"The Prime Ministers recalled their statement, first made in 1964 that "for all Commonwealth Governments it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens".

"They further recalled that in their 1965 *communiqué* they stated that "the principle of one-man-one-vote was regarded as the very basis of democracy, and this should be applied to Rhodesia".

"They expressed their concern at the danger to all multi-racial communities in the Commonwealth, particularly in East and Central Africa, and at the danger to the future of the multi-racial Commonwealth itself if the situation in Rhodesia were to continue.

"*Objectives*—The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it. They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority, for the benefit of a privileged few, was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights.

"The meeting agreed that the goal of future progress in Rhodesia should be the establishment of a just society to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential.

"To this end several principles were affirmed. The first was the determination of all present that the rebellion must be brought to an end. All those detained for purely political reasons should be released. Political activities should be constitutional and free from intimidation from any quarter. Repressive and discriminatory laws should be repealed.

### Period of Direct Rule

"The Prime Ministers noted the statement of the British Government that a period of direct rule would be needed, leading to the holding of a constitutional conference. This conference representing all sections of the Rhodesian people would be for the purpose of recommending a Constitution leading to majority rule on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"*Ending the rebellion*—The Prime Ministers reviewed and noted the measures taken by Commonwealth and other countries against the illegal régime. Some expressed concern that the steps taken so far had not resulted in its removal. They called on all countries which had not already done so to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Security Council resolution of November 20, 1965, making at the same time necessary arrangements to provide for the repercussions of such further measures on the economy of Zambia.

"The Prime Ministers discussed the question of the use of military force in Rhodesia, and it was accepted that its use

could not be precluded if this proved necessary to restore law and order.

"In this connexion the Prime Ministers noted the statement by the British Prime Minister that, on the expert advice available to him, the cumulative effects of the economic and financial sanctions might well bring the rebellion to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months.

"While some Prime Ministers had misgivings in this regard, all expressed the hope that the measures would result in the overthrow of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia within the period mentioned by the British Prime Minister.

"The Prime Ministers decided on the following measures of Commonwealth action starting now:—

"(1) To appoint two continuing committees composed of representatives of all Commonwealth countries to meet with the Secretary-General in London.

"The first will review regularly the effect of sanctions and also the special needs which may from time to time arise in honouring the Commonwealth's undertaking to come to the support of Zambia as required. The second will co-ordinate a special Commonwealth programme of assistance in training Rhodesia Africans as set out below.

### Sanctions Committee

"(2) The Sanctions Committee will recommend the reconvening of the Prime Ministers' meeting when they judge that this is necessary. In any case, the Prime Ministers agreed to meet again if the rebellion has not been ended before then.

"(3) The Sanctions Committee will advise the Prime Ministers if it considers action by the United Nations is called for.

"(4) Some Prime Ministers indicated that they reserved the right, if need arises, to propose mandatory United Nations action under articles 41 or 42 of chapter VII of the Charter. The statement was noted by the other Heads of Government.

"*Co-operation with Zambia*—The Prime Minister of Britain informed his colleagues of British actions in support of Zambia. The Prime Ministers welcomed the effort made by Commonwealth and other countries in organizing the emergency transport of oil and vital supplies.

"The meeting agreed that members of the Commonwealth should give full consideration to concerted assistance to Zambia, and that this assistance should be extended to include Malawi if necessary.

"*Assistance in training Rhodesia Africans*—The Prime Ministers were agreed that planned assistance to a lawfully constituted Government of Rhodesia should begin at once. They therefore approved the establishment of a special Commonwealth programme to help accelerate the training of Rhodesia Africans, and directed the Secretary-General to arrange as soon as possible a meeting of educational and technical assistance experts to consider detailed projects of aid by Commonwealth countries, including the early establishment of an administrative training centre in Rhodesia.

"*Conclusion*—Finally, the Prime Ministers saw the Rhodesian question in the context of the world-wide problem of race relations. They reaffirmed the declaration made in their *communiqué* of July, 1964, and expressed the hope that a just solution to the Rhodesian question would light a way of hope for men and women of all races throughout the world for a future giving assurance of greater harmony between nations and recognition to the dignity of man".

## Britain Sharply Criticized At Lagos Conference

### Chief Critic Invited to Consider Himself C.-in-C. for Invasion of Rhodesia

**B**ITTER CRITICISMS of the British Government's handling of the Rhodesian crisis was made at the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos, especially by Sir Albert Margai, of Sierra Leone.

Sir Abubakar Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, was emphatic that Rhodesia should revert to colonial status when the rebellion ended: that Britain should control the armed forces, police, judiciary and civil service. Some of the African nationalists now detained in Rhodesia should be brought into the new Cabinet, with the Governor as chairman. While the Rhodesian issue was primarily Britain's responsibility, the conference was entitled to advise.

He supported the principle of African majority rule, but stressed that that must not involve neglect of the interests of the white minority.

Vice-President Kamanga spoke of Zambia's predicament, and said again that economic sanctions would not succeed against Rhodesia without the use of force.

Sir Albert Margai — who wore a shirt decorated with the map of Africa and emblems of the Organisation of African Unity — was highly critical of the British Prime Minister in an address lasting an hour. He used extremely blunt language in replying to a speech in which Mr. Wilson had reaffirmed British opposition to the use of military force and given an optimistic report on the damage already being done in Rhodesia by financial and economic sanctions. He had repeated that African majority rule must come by achievement, "rather than by clock or calendar".

Sir Albert, insistent that British troops should occupy the Kariba power plant on the Rhodesian side of the border, said that, by relying solely on economic sanctions which could not be guaranteed to work, the British Government was practically in collusion with Mr. Smith.

Mr. Wilson, who had not intended to speak a second time that day, replied at length. Though the session

was supposed to be secret, much information about the speech was given to the Press, which was told that Sir Albert, having been invited to imagine himself commander-in-chief of a force ordered to invade Rhodesia, was asked a number of questions.

"Could you give us a date by which you could guarantee the fall of the Smith régime without involving the death of many thousands of Africans as well as of Europeans, and without seeing the Kariba station blown up?"

"Do you think that the operation could be mounted with anything less than about two divisions of troops, say 25,000 men? Do you suggest that Britain should pull thousands of troops out of Malaysia for the operation?"

"How could Britain get a sizeable force into Rhodesia without risking pre-emptive action against the dam by Mr. Smith? Would you ferry the troops across the Zambezi under fire? If the idea is to airlift them into Rhodesia, how would you secure the necessary airfields?"

That evening, however, African leaders told correspondents that they did not share Mr. Wilson's supreme confidence in the efficacy of sanctions and still wanted to know what would be done if sanctions failed.

### Use of Military Force

Some resented Mr. Wilson's suggestion that African countries which had no power to undertake war on Rhodesia themselves wanted to make Britain accept that job. He had said that Britain would use force only if the Smith régime succumbed to economic pressures and it then became necessary to restore law and order and undertake direct rule from London while a constitutional settlement was worked out.

When asked about a time-table for the collapse of the régime, he is understood to have replied that "rebellions do not run like trains".

Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, said next day that there was need for immediate decisive intervention by Britain, preferably with troops. Correspondents reported that he had been much less emotional than Sir Albert Margai, and less emphatic than had been expected.

Mr. James Gichuru, Kenya's Finance Minister, argued against the use of force.

Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, proposed that two committees should deal with the Rhodesian crisis, one making a day-to-day study of the efficacy of sanctions, and the other preparing plans for full-scale Commonwealth assistance when the rebellion ended, including a massive British educational programme, Canada would contribute to the cost.

Sanctions were working, but if Mr. Wilson and he were wrong in that belief, then by March British support might be obtainable for mandatory economic actions by the United Nations under Chapter VII of its Charter.

Military sanctions had lasted a very long time in Algeria. Were the African militants sure that they would act in Rhodesia more quickly than severe economic sanctions?

### "Spell-Binder" from Malawi

The Malawi public was told in a radio report from Blantyre last Thursday: —

"The Prime Minister, Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda, arrived back this morning from Lagos, yesterday at the conference he held other delegates spellbound, and changed the whole atmosphere when speaking on the Rhodesian issue. He showed remarkable command of the facts of history and the true position of Rhodesia. The conference was so quiet and attentive that you could hear the sound of a pin if dropped, conference sources remarked. Ninety per cent of the leaders could be seen nodding their heads in agreement with the Ngwazi. Many times the Ngwazi challenged anyone to refute the facts he gave, but no one accepted the challenge.

"The Ngwazi said that talk by certain leaders about breaking diplomatic relations with Britain was an empty gesture and childish, which did not help the situation for the Africans in Rhodesia. The Ngwazi emphasized: 'The Rhodesian issue is primarily Britain's problem. I trust Britain to handle the problem the best way she thinks fit. Britain has gone a long way to change her attitude on Rhodesia during the last few years. In the past Britain would never allow us, even at Commonwealth conferences, to discuss Rhodesia because she

contended that Rhodesia was self-governing; but it is not so now. Britain has never been in full control of Rhodesia at any time. Rhodesia has never been a British colony in the same sense as Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya or Malta."

It was unreasonable to expect Britain to send any army to Rhodesia because the settlers in Rhodesia were Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen. No British Prime Minister could last if he advocated the use of force there. The Rhodesia issue could be used by certain races for propaganda, and not from sympathy for Africans. An ideological war over Rhodesia could cause another Vietnam in Africa. He wanted Africans in Rhodesia to rule themselves, but people must be realistic and patient.

### "Commonwealth Stronger than Ever"

On the eve of the conference Mr. Wilson had given a Press conference, parts of which were shown on television to viewers in the United Kingdom. They heard the Prime Minister tell one interrupter angrily to "belt up", and saw how he was refused a hearing by journalists, many of them Africans, who crowded round him, many talking loudly at the same time.

Before leaving in his chartered aircraft on Wednesday night for Lusaka to see President Kaunda, Mr. Wilson claimed that the conference had been "a very great success", and that "the Commonwealth has emerged much stronger than ever before".

No date for the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers had been mentioned in the *communiqué*: Mr. Wilson said that it would be in July "if the rebellion has not been ended before then". Other delegates expected the meeting to be in London.

British spokesmen said that the final decision to return to London via Zambia had been made only that morning, and it was hinted that it might have been influenced by Mr. Kamanga having shown less hostility than had been expected. Mr. Wilson wanted if possible to pay a brief visit to the R.A.F. unit at Ndola and to see President Kenyatta as he passed through Kenya.

Though strongly urged by the British, Canadian, Nigerian and other Governments, President Kaunda had refused to go to Lagos, though Canada offered an aircraft for direct flights there and back.

There was comment in Lagos and in Lusaka that the Zambian delegation had not included Mr. Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister, who leads the militant group in the Cabinet, and had told friends that he would lead the party. At the last moment Vice-President Kamanga was sent instead.

During the two days of the conference 12 Africans were officially admitted to have been killed in riots in the northern suburbs of Lagos, and many others elsewhere in Western Nigeria.

### Zambia Expels British Envoy

MR. J. A. MOLYNEUX, British Acting Deputy High Commissioner in Lusaka, has been declared *persona non grata* by the Government of Zambia. He had left Lusaka for London a week earlier for what the High Commissioner said were urgent consultations about the Rhodesian situation.

It became known on Monday that the expulsion was caused by a wrongly directed letter. In a report for the Commonwealth Relations Office Mr. Molyneux criticized Zambian politicians, including some Ministers, and by mischance the document was placed in an envelope addressed to the Minister of Internal Affairs in Lusaka. Mr. Chona showed it to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, who sent a terse note demanding the immediate withdrawal of the writer.

The matter was discussed while Mr. Wilson was in Lusaka last week, and the two Prime Ministers agreed that it did not affect good relations between the two States. It was thought in Lusaka that there was a tacit understanding to make no public reference to the affair.

After Mr. Wilson's return to London, however, a Foreign Office spokesman said that H.M. Government "regarded the complaint as unwarranted, but in response to the Zambian Government's request arrangements were made for Mr. Molyneux to leave Lusaka".

That provoked the Foreign Ministry in Lusaka to announce that Mr. Molyneux had been expelled "because his continued stay in the country was considered prejudicial to the existing cordial relations between Zambia and Britain".

The cause of Zambian displeasure had already been "leaked" to local journalists.

# Rhodesia Getting Oil Despite Embargo, Says Mr. Smith

## Ready to Negotiate on Basis of Rhodesian Independence

**MR. IAN SMITH**, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said in a television interview on Monday that, despite the month-old embargo, oil was still reaching the country. Certain undertakings given to the Government had not been fulfilled, but new plans had been made. "Things are beginning to flow, and I am satisfied that we will solve this problem". He did not expect still stricter petrol rationing to become necessary.

"Mr. Wilson will be in his grave before the day arrives on which this country will be brought to its knees by sanctions".

The repeated claims of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley that Rhodesia would crumble, if not in the next few weeks, then in the next few months, were part of their psychological warfare, and Mr. Wilson's allegations about chaos in Rhodesia, about a police State, and about white lives being in danger were just propaganda. His advisers were either ignorant or mischievous.

### Politicians With Bees in Their Bonnets

Questioned about possible negotiations with Britain, Mr. Smith said: "I have repeatedly said that I am ready to reopen negotiations. Just because a couple of politicians may have a bee in their bonnets is no reason for aggravating Anglo-Rhodesian relations. That seems quite illogical. I am prepared to open negotiations at any time provided they are constructive.

"If I were to disclose any of my terms I should be putting my cards on the table and the other side would not. That would be weakening my position. But one condition must be that Rhodesia retains its independence. I do not mind at what level negotiations begin".

Asked about his conditions for the proposed visit by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary last week, the Prime Minister replied: "Here we have a message that comes to me through the back door at fourth hand; but we said he could come. The conditions he quoted which made it impossible for him to come were not laid down by the Rhodesian Government. The whole thing was stupid.

"I had hoped Mr. Bottomley would come and have the courtesy to meet a Rhodesian Minister, according to traditional protocol. I was going to make sure he did by sending a Minister to the airport to meet him.

### Acknowledgement of Rhodesian Government

"But surely a far greater acknowledgement of the Rhodesian Government was implied when he sent the message asking if he could come. I felt that something could have come out of the visit. I believe that we should try to get negotiations started for the sake of Anglo-Rhodesian relations".

The three Socialist M.Ps. who were expelled last week — Dr. Jeremy Bray and Messrs. Christopher Rowland and David Ennals — were, Mr. Smith commented, left-wing protégés of Mr. Wilson, who had been briefed before their departure, who had come "to carry out a certain mission", and whose Salisbury meeting was part of the plan. They had been deliberately provocative. "I would not have gone to London and done this".

"I do not reciprocate the personal feeling of Mr. Wilson, because the issue is too important to allow it to degenerate into a personal vendetta".

The Prime Minister advised Rhodesians to "plan for things to go normally", adding that as a farmer he was planning for next year's crops.

The country's finances would withstand the present severe sanctions. "This is one of the phases of the economic and financial war against us which we have

been most successful in overcoming. There was talk of devaluation of the Rhodesian pound but no one here talks about this any more".

In a radio interview later the same day he described Mr. Wilson's much publicized offer of Anglo-Canadian-Australian aid for the drought-stricken areas of Rhodesia as a "political gimmick" by the British Prime Minister, for whom the conflict with Rhodesia had become a personal issue. Rhodesia had managed to deal with drought in the past and would do so again.

Despite the optimistic reports about the oil air-lift into Zambia, the daily deliveries were still not equal to the daily consumption in that country.

### Chief Justice Visiting London

**SIR HUGH BEADLE**, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, arrived in London on Tuesday for discussions with the British Government. He lunched with Mr. Bottomley, and then saw the PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. Smith raised no objection to his visit to London. Mr. Wilson, however, objected to the Chief Justice seeing the Leader of the Opposition yesterday, as he had arranged to do on his own initiative.

**MR. WILLIAM HARPER**, Rhodesian Minister of Internal Affairs, told a Rotary Club luncheon in Salisbury last week that the name of the British Government must be made to "stink in the nostrils of the world, and particularly those of the British people".

Rhodesians must take seriously the fight forced on them by the Wilson Government. Let them tell the world that British insurance companies could not meet their commitments and when British goods were shoddy.

There could certainly be no going back on independence. The best course would be to show the British Government that "we can take it and we can dish it out. However great the pressures upon us, our society can be nurtured, kept alive, and made to flourish and increase only if control remains with those who embrace it, practise it and teach it — in reality, with those who have it inherent in them".

**MR. PHILIP VAN HEERDEN**, Acting Minister of Labour, has praised Rhodesian employers for having shown admirable public spirit in retaining the services of staff while they sought ways and means of adjusting their businesses, and those employees, mostly married women, who had been equally selfless in resigning in order that bread-winners might remain in employment. He asked employers and employees to make full use of the Government's employment exchanges.

## Returning from New Zealand

*MORE THAN 150 FORMER RHODESIANS who had gone to live in New Zealand are on their way back by ship, all paying their own fares. When the vessel in which they are passengers docked at Sydney, Australia, on Monday, their spokesmen told reporters that they were returning to "fight for the Smith Government if needed: and the country will not be handed over to the blacks without a fight". They believed that other Rhodesians were flocking back from many parts of the world to rally round Rhodesia's flag.*

## Malawi Railways

THE MALAWI GOVERNMENT has given the requisite 12 months' notice that it wishes to take over the Malawi Railways, for which Lonrho, Ltd., act as managing agents, and acquire the company's shareholding.

## Socialist M.Ps. Expelled from Rhodesia

### Incidents At Salisbury Meeting

THREE SOCIALIST M.Ps. FROM BRITAIN were manhandled by angry white Rhodesians during a meeting in a Salisbury hotel on Wednesday last week.

Next day the occurrence was made the main news story of many United Kingdom newspapers, most of which gave it precedence over the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos. One of the exceptions was *The Times*, which nevertheless gave double-column emphasis under the caption "British M.Ps. Manhandled by Mr. Smith's Supporters".

The *Daily Telegraph* made the affair its lead story under three-decker heads: "M.Ps. Manhandled in Rhodesia; Europeans' Meeting Ends in Uproar; 'Liar' Shouts; Beer and Water Thrown".

"Rhodesians Beat Up British M.Ps." and "Mob Sets on M.P. Visitors: Britons Are Pummelled and Drenched in Rhodesia" were the large-type headings on the front pages of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* respectively.

Many other papers dealt similarly with circumstances which must have done serious damage to Rhodesia.

The three M.Ps. who were subjected to rough treatment were Mr. Christopher Rowland, aged 36, Member for Meriden, Warwickshire, and Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. George Thomson and Mr. Walter Padley, Ministers of State at the Foreign Office; Mr. David Ennals, 43, M.P. for Dover and P.P.S. to Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Transport; and Dr. Jeremy Bray, 35, a back-bencher, who represents Middlesbrough West.

### Jeered At Throughout

They had advertised in a morning newspaper that they would hold a meeting in a Salisbury hotel for an exchange of views on the Rhodesian situation. Between 400 and 500 people attended, and there was booing and jeering from the start.

When Mr. Ennals tried to speak he was accused of being a Communist and told to "Get Out". His denial that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party was derisively received. He mentioned the name of Mr. Ian Smith, whereupon some in the audience sang "For he's a jolly good fellow".

Dr. Bray, referring to the charge against his colleague of having been a Communist, said: "If you want to investigate the past political affiliations of people, you should investigate the political ancestry and antecedents of Mr. Van der Byl and Mr. Benson", respectively the Deputy Minister of Information and, until his recent resignation, chief censor in Rhodesia. That caused uproar.

When Dr. Bray mentioned that "I have five doctors in my family", someone shouted "Dr. Banda, Dr. Kaunda, and . . ." the rest of the statement being lost in laughter.

The M.Ps. who were constantly interrupted, tried for more than an hour and a half to make themselves heard. Then the hotel management asked them to end the meeting because of the attitude of the audience. A call to the police was also made.

As the visiting Parliamentarians were about to leave the platform someone grabbed papers which Mr. Rowland held, and dragged him, still holding the papers, into the crowd. He fell, and most accounts state that a jug of water was poured over him. Some state that he was kicked. Dr. Bray, who went to his aid, was overborne. At that stage police and members of the audience intervened, and the three M.Ps. were helped to the manager's office, where they were given refreshment.

Meantime many people upbraided the attackers, whom they accused of disgracing Rhodesia. Quite a number went to the manager's office to apologize, but they were turned away by the police.

Towards the end of the meeting an African had asked a question about intimidation and violence practised by African politicians against other people of their own race, and had said that Mr. Smith had put an end to "this dirty work". Mr. Rowland was attempting to answer the question when the papers in his hand were seized and the fracas began.

Reports refer to Mr. Rowland being in a state of "near collapse", and to his statement that "It really was a bit of a fright. I am dazed but certainly not injured".

Dr. Bray expressed regret at what happened because it would give a wrong impression to the world and aggravate an already difficult situation. He said: "We believe that the behaviour of a few people tonight was entirely unrepresentative of the courteous and hospitable treatment we have received from people of all shades of political opinion in Rhodesia".

During the evening many notes of apology were left for the M.Ps.

### Regulations Disregarded

Mr. P. Van der Byl, the Deputy Minister of Information, said:

"This matter is to be regretted. However, the visiting Parliamentarians had infringed the regulations, which pertain to the holding of meetings. They had refused offers of assistance made by the Rhodesian Minister of Information to organize programmes which they wanted, an offer which had been accepted by previous visiting British M.Ps. Had they accepted that offer it is probable that the incident would never have happened. Previous visits by M.Ps. have gone off smoothly. I hope that on future visits M.Ps. will conform with the laws of the country, and accept offers of assistance".

Political meetings of more than 12 people are permissible only when sanctioned by the authorities. No application for a permit for the meeting had been made.

This was the first political meeting held in the country since the declaration of independence on November 11.

According to the report of *The Times*: "The Rhodesian Front strong-arm section and members of the left-wing Cadour League attended in force. The meeting was rough from the beginning. Because of the noise and confusion, and the fact that there was no loud-speaker equipment, a coherent report of the question-and-answer session is out of the question. However, the three Britons were left in no doubt of the average European's opinion of them, of Mr. Wilson, of Britain, and of sanctions".

The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent cabled: "The meeting was intended to be a 'political surgery' on the decorous lines well known in most British constituencies, but the M.Ps. had under-estimated the violence of the feelings of white Rhodesians, or at least of an extreme group among them".

The *Daily Express* dispatch referred to the three Members as having been "roughed up in 10 mob-mad minutes, in which Mr. Rowland was sluiced with beer and water, Mr. Ennals punched, and Dr. Bray's hair pulled. It looked as though Mr. Rowland was kicked as he lay on the floor. Police plunged into the rough house and hustled the M.Ps. to safety".

"Questions streamed at Mr. Ennals about his leadership of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. Every time he tried to answer the crowd yelled: 'You are a Communist'. When a burly Rhodesian tried to bring the audience to order Mr. Rowland called to him: 'Go away; this is our meeting'".

Earlier in the day the three M.Ps. had been received by Mr. Ian Smith. They said afterwards that they had told him that if sanctions continued there would be a slide into economic disaster, unemployment, and starvation.

Dr. Bray told journalists that they had told the Prime Minister that loopholes in the petrol embargo were being plugged, to which report he had replied that he knew a few more loopholes which could not be plugged.

The *Express*, which has strongly supported Rhodesia throughout, wrote in a leading article: "Such stupid hooliganism makes harder the task of those who are trying to bring about a sensible, amicable settlement of the Rhodesian problem. Mr. Smith, sensitive as he must be to the good name of Rhodesia, should make clear without delay that he condemns schoolboy rowdiness of this kind".

**Provoked Incidents and Incited Trouble**

Next day the three M.P.s. were ordered to leave the country. A Government statement expressed "deep concern" at their having broken the law in convening the meeting, one of their number having admitted at the start that it might be illegal. Their conduct "had been deliberately designed to provoke incidents and incite trouble". As such behaviour could not be tolerated, "Government demands that they leave the country forthwith: if they fail to do so the Government will not hesitate to act, and the law will take its course". The statement said: "They did not conduct themselves in the manner expected of Members of Parliament. Indeed, their conduct was in marked contrast to that of other Members of the House of Commons who preceded them".

Mr. Ennals and Dr. Bray, who had gone to Bulawayo meantime, told reporters that they intended to ignore the warning to leave immediately. They would proceed with their programme and fly back to Salisbury next morning.

Their meeting with trade unionists was rowdy. The general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union asked: "Are you spies for Wilson? Have you come to try and brainwash us and search out our weak spots so that you can exploit them?" Mr. Ennals replied: "Mr. Wilson did not ask us to come, but when I meet him I shall report my impressions".

Dr. Bray told reporters: "At present the Rhodesian Government has the support of the trade unions".

After spending a couple of hours with the Governor on Friday afternoon, the two Members decided to fly back to London that evening. They declared: "It is quite absurd to use the events of Wednesday evening as justification for ordering us out of the country. In fact, very many people have called, written or phoned to express their regret at the behaviour of some of the unruly element who had come to the hotel".

Mr. Rowland, who had flown to Lusaka, said there that he did not think the time ripe for negotiations with Rhodesia. Sanctions had, he believed, begun to bite economically but not politically.

On reaching London he said in a television interview: "One or two people had a pummel at me at that Salisbury meeting. In no time some special branch police officers emerged from nowhere and I was quickly surrounded and given perfectly adequate protection".

Mr. Ennals and Dr. Bray issued a joint statement on arriving in London, saying: The growing impact of sanctions is now freely acknowledged by business leaders of all political views. Mr. Smith admitted to us that sanctions were no longer a nine-day wonder and had escalated beyond his expectations. But the ordinary person is only beginning to realize what is coming. The situation is moving fast. We felt the change during our stay. The hard core of support for the régime is hardening and the fringe is falling away".

Meantime the Prime Minister issued a statement while in the air on his way to Nairobi from Zambia after attending the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos. It said:—

"I can only express my disgust at the boorish treatment of any visitors, be they British M.P.s, or any others, who freely decide to visit Rhodesia at this time.

**British Prime Minister's Allegations**

"I am glad, however, to learn also that the more decent-minded people protested and left the meeting. This demonstration of unreasoning intolerance, combined with the obvious political instruction which had been given to the special branch to remain passive in the face of this clear breach of normal standards of law and order, can only have the effect of showing the nature of the problem which the British Government and Parliament, and indeed the whole civilized world, are facing in a country whose leaders have deliberately put it outside the law".

The Socialist Chief Whip, Mr. Short, was reported to have said in London:

"It is regrettable that the incident should have occurred. I doubted the wisdom of their going in the first place".

Mr. Anthony Fell, Conservative M.P. for Great Yarmouth, speaking at an open-air meeting in his constituency on Saturday, referred to the rough-handling of three M.P.s. in Rhodesia, and said that he would have spat on them if he had been there. He recalled a meeting in Hammersmith, London, at which someone spat at his wife. "At least none of the Rhodesians spat on them," he said.

"They arrange a meeting. Anybody with any sense would realize that these three M.P.s. are not going to be exactly welcomed after what they have said in the House of Commons about Rhodesia.

"These three nits, after they had said the most controversial things—you can bet your life they would be controversial—got involved in an argument, and Chris Rowland fell down and somebody poured a glass of water, and possibly a glass of beer, over his head. What a terrible thing!"

**Prompt Negotiations or Disaster**

**No Surrender of Independence**

MR. REGINALD PAGET, Q.C., Socialist M.P. for Northampton, who visited Rhodesia earlier this month, has written in the *Sunday Express* under the heading "Disaster Unless You Deal with Smith":—

"Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice of Rhodesia, whom I saw with the Governor, said to me: 'When you get back, for Heaven's sake convince them that they have got to negotiate with Smith. There is no one else. The alternative is disaster'. I asked: 'May I quote you?' He answered: 'Yes'.

"Mr. Smith's Government gave us every opportunity to see everyone we asked to see, and left us free to make our own arrangements to see people privately. We saw all the leading Europeans who had opposed U.D.I. and whose names have been mentioned as possible members of an alternative administration.

"We saw a number of Africans, including Mr. Gondo and other Parliamentary Opposition. We saw the leaders of the business community.

"We went into the country and attended meetings of farmers and miners. We talked to the university faculty and the leaders of the religious communities. The emphasis varied but the advice was the same: 'You must negotiate with Smith'.

"Sanctions cannot starve Rhodesia into submission. She has a food surplus. If she must she will reduce herself to a Boer subsistence republic. Only total military defeat will compel her to surrender her independence.

"And where does one go from there? Agriculture and industry will be in ruins. The whole machine of Government—armed forces, police, and civil service—will be among the defeated. Business will be indescribable. It will not be easy to find a Marshal Petain, Humphrey Gibbs, Hugh Beadle, and Evan Campbell will be among the unavailable.

**Rhodes Principle Accepted**

"Mr. Smith's own estimate was that perhaps 10% of the whites stand for permanent white majority rule. He accepts Rhodes's principle: 'Political equality for civilized men and an open road to the achievement of civilized standards'.

"Negotiations must be private. Mr. Bottomley's visit to Salisbury was bound to break down on a question of protocol. We need an able, anonymous mediator who enjoys the confidence of both sides.

"Would the African members of the Commonwealth accept negotiations with Smith? They would not, and there might be resignations from the Commonwealth. But for all that I do not believe that the sacrifice of Rhodesia to appease the racialism of black Africa will succeed or is justified.

"It will not succeed because nothing short of the total and immediate exclusion of the white man from all political authority in their continent will be accepted by the black Africans. It cannot be justified because we are responsible for the people of Rhodesia, black and white, and ought not to destroy them to please somebody else.

"If we push our policy to the destruction of Smith we do so at too high a cost in human suffering, because for every white man who loses his job 25 black men will lose theirs. The whites will not starve. Many of the blacks will and their children too. We started this to secure African advance. We shall have destroyed the means of that advance".

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# PERSONALIA

THE HON. C. M. NAPIER is on his way to Rhodesia by sea.

MR. A. C. BARNES has retired from the board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MR. T. D. LARDNER-BURKE has returned to London from a brief visit to Rhodesia.

MR. VERNON MWAANGA, Zambian Ambassador in Moscow, has flown to Lusaka for consultations.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP KIHANGIRE has been installed as bishop of the new Diocese of Hoima, Uganda.

LORD DEVLIN has been elected High Steward of Cambridge University in succession to LORD BUTLER.

MR. ALAN IZOD is now Under Secretary in charge of the External Services of the Rhodesian Ministry of Information.

SIR TIMOTHY BLIGH is now assistant managing director of the Thomson Organization, Ltd., which has large African publishing interests.

MISS KATHLEEN CLARKE, assistant secretary of the Fauna Preservation Society, which she has served in that and other capacities for 36 years, has retired.

MR. RONALD F. MEDLICOTT has been elected to the board of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of SIR MARK TURNER.

MR. TIMOTHY BAZARRABUSA, Uganda's High Commissioner in London, accompanied DR. OBOTE, the Prime Minister, to the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos.

MR. JEAN BOURGAU, Belgian Ambassador in Zambia, and MR. F. VAN RAALTE, Netherlands Chargé d'Affaires in that country, have both been accredited to Malawi also on a non-residential basis.

MISS THERESIA DISMAS has been unanimously selected as Tanzania's "Sportsman of the Year". At the Brazzaville Games she won a silver medal for the best javelin throw—of 140 feet 3 inches.

MR. YOERI KYESIMIRA, a lecturer in the Department of Economics at Makerere University College, and PRINCESS ESTELA NYAKADOGI, daughter of the OMUKUMA OF BUNYORO, have been married in Uganda.

MONSIGNOR ALFREDO POLEDRINI, Pro Nuncio Apostolic in Zambia and titular Archbishop of Vazari, has also been appointed Apostolic Delegate to Malawi. His predecessor in that office, MONSIGNOR GUIDO DEL MESTRI, is now Pro Nuncio in Kenya.

LORD RENWICK OF COOMBE has been appointed chairman of the London board of East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., on the retirement of SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART. MR. EDGAR WILKINSON is now deputy chairman. MR. DONALD C. BROOK is the executive director.

DR. P. C. SPENSLEY has succeeded MR. E. S. HISCOCKS as director of the Tropical Products Institute. Messrs. R. J. OGLE and C. H. STEWART LOCKHART have joined the board of British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd.

VICE-PRESIDENT KAMANGA of Zambia is now making a series of weekly television broadcasts on current affairs.

MR. M. W. STEPHENSON, general manager of the Nkana Mine, and MRS. STEPHENSON have arrived from Zambia.

SIR JOHN RICHMOND, British Ambassador in the Sudan, which recently severed diplomatic relations with H.M. Government, left Khartoum for London last week.

An honorary doctorate of Manchester University has been conferred on PRESIDENT KENYATTA. It was presented by the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Chancellor of the University, who is visiting Kenya.

THE AGA KHAN, who is due to visit the Congo this week, is to meet PRESIDENT MOBUTU and PRIME MINISTER MULAMBA. He is to open a 12-storey building in Leopoldville for the Ismaili community.

Among recent visitors to the Safari Club on the slopes of Mount Kenya have been the EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA, his 25-year-old granddaughter PRINCESS RUTH, LORD and LADY DELAMERE, the DUKE OF MANCHESTER, and the EARL OF ENNISKILLEN.

MR. FRANK SYKES, High Sheriff of Wiltshire, chairman of Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., Tanzania, and an agricultural adviser to the Queen, is to advise the Government of Thailand on the introduction of modern techniques in tropical farming.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia said when he opened in Addis Ababa a Conference on Science and World Affairs that the money provided to help developing countries compared badly with the enormous resources squandered on weapons of destruction and wars.

MR. ROBIN THORNE, acting assistant High Commissioner in Aden, who had previously served in Tanganyika for 12 years, received serious injuries on Monday when a plastic charge exploded as he opened an envelope addressed to him. Part of his right hand has had to be amputated.

MR. E. R. WILKINSON is now deputy chairman of Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd., chairman of Balfour Beatty Overseas, Ltd., and president of Balfour Beatty & Co. (Canada), Ltd., and Balfour Beatty Power Consultants (Canada), Ltd., and MR. D. M. BALFOUR has been appointed managing director of Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd.

SIR WILLIAM GORELL-BARNES, who joined Harveys of Bristol on retiring from the Colonial Office, will at the end of this month relinquish his appointments as vice-chairman of the company and financial director of an independent group of companies which no longer exist now that the business has been acquired by another group.

MR. JUSTICE CHANAN SINGH is chairman of a Maize Commission of Inquiry appointed in Kenya. His two colleagues are MR. JAMES NYAMWEYA, M.P., and MR. J. K. GECAU. One of their instructions is to report on "the allegations of unfairness, inefficiency, corruptions, and black market in the distribution and marketing of maize throughout Kenya".

MR. MICHAEL KITTERMMASTER, who has arrived in Lusaka to take up duty as director of the Government-controlled Zambia Broadcasting Services, was a broadcasting officer in the Information Department of that country from 1948 to 1953. He has since written many radio and television plays, worked as a free-lance journalist, and travelled East, Central, and West Africa with a television-radio team for the United Nations. He is the author of two books, "The District Officer" and "Katakala".

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**Obituary**

**Mr. Mervyn F. Hill  
Editor and Public Servant**

MR. MERVYN F. HILL, editor of the *Kenya Weekly News* since 1945, has died at the age of 62.

Born in Ceylon, the son of an officer in the British Army, he was educated at Repton, where, as he often recalled, he had been appropriately chastised by a headmaster who was to become Archbishop of Canterbury; the boy's offence had been to scale the spire of the village church and decorate it inappropriately. He was often to show unconcern for the proprieties in later life.

At the age of 15 he was in the school cricket team. His love of the game lasted through life. He likewise became a horse racing enthusiast. A keen follower of form, he was patient in backing his fancies. He once told the writer that he had sometimes waited a whole year to place what he considered the right bet: that he had then almost always proved right; and that there had never been a year in which he had not made a profit from his wagers.

**Work for Public Causes**

Lung trouble having been diagnosed in 1924, he was advised to spend at least six months in a sunny climate. He chose Kenya. Fortunately for that Colony, a fellow passenger was the then Director of Agriculture, Alex Holm, one of the best any East African territory ever had. He spotted the young man's latent ability, and, learning that he was to stay on a farm near Eldoret, persuaded the owner, a friend of his, to get Hill to take over the honorary secretaryship of the local branch of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society.

What was to have been a pastime of a few months became a devotion of many years, for Hill decided to make Kenya his home, and in 1926 the society appointed him its secretary in Nairobi. He continued in the office until 1941. During that time he was also honorary secretary of the Stockowners' Association; the Kennel Club, the Arts and Crafts Society, and editor of the *East African Stud Book*. For a period he was also secretary of the Kenya Elected Members' Association. He worked selflessly for any cause which attracted his interest.

Soon after the outbreak of war in 1939 he was appointed Timber Controller, and from November 1940 until mid-1942 he was Kenya's Director of Information. In that post he showed imagination and zeal. Unhappily the appointment was terminated in circumstances which need not be recalled.

**Critic and Campaigner**

Three years later he followed Frank Coudrey, the founder, as editor of the *Kenya Weekly News*, and in time made it the most respected publication in the country by the candour of his criticisms and his campaigning for a policy very similar to that then advocated by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Later the opinions of the two journals deviated: while he continued to back Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, this publication, considering that that settler leader was veering from his declared objectives, criticized him accordingly, and increasingly as he submitted to the manoeuvres of Mr. Iain Macleod, then Colonial Secretary. Hill, who had always advocated a genuine multiracialism (as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA did and does), belatedly recognized that Macleodism had killed that concept in Kenya. That checked his zest as a political writer. The authority of his paper was also weakened, for it could no longer be the mouthpiece of

a strong, confident white farming community, since the 1960 Constitution had undermined faith and made it certain that most of the European farmers would leave the country within a few years.

Having a smaller paper to edit, Hill, a hard worker, turned increasingly to authorship. He wrote histories of East African Railways and Harbours, Tanganyika Railways, the Kenya Farmers' Co-Operative Association, the Magadi Soda Company, and the coffee and dairy industries.

His first book, published in 1945, had been entitled "Dual Policy in Kenya". That dual policy was destroyed in 1960. Nothing, he felt thereafter, was to be gained by publishing the factual reports which reached him constantly of the weaknesses of the Kenyatta régime, especially as the custom on public occasions is now for speakers, white as well as black, to speak fulsomely of its successes. He was disenchanted, as are the vast majority of Europeans in Kenya. For a journalist with a critical mind, wide experience of affairs, exceptional sources of information, and eagerness to write, the vexation and embarrassment were especially irksome. He found consolation in his deep love of the land, and of Kenya.

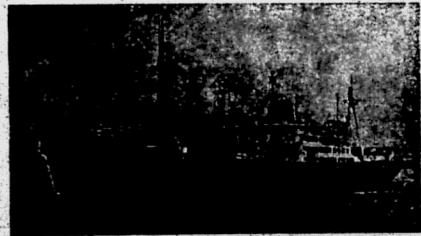
SIR SYDNEY PHILLIPSON, K.B.E., C.M.G., who has died aged 73, was Financial Secretary in Uganda from 1941 to 1945, when he was transferred to Nigeria.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES WILLIAM MARR YOUNG, O.B.E., who has died in hospital in Nairobi, had served the East African Power & Lighting Co., Ltd., after leaving the Royal Corps of Signals.

SIR HAROLD DOWNIE, K.B.E., C.M.G., who has died at the age of 76, was a Crown Agent for the Colonies from 1942 to 1953, and previously on the Colonial Office staff. He had been chairman of the East African Currency Board.

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## Bottomley Visit to Salisbury Proposed.

### Why Strange Idea Was Cancelled

**A**N ABORTIVE ATTEMPT to send Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, to Rhodesia was made by the Prime Minister after last week's Commonwealth Conference in Lagos.

Official spokesmen said that the idea occurred to Mr. Wilson on the flight from Nigeria to Zambia. He had expected the Smith régime to welcome the opportunity of making discreet overtures to the Secretary of State while he was staying with the Governor.

So confident was Mr. Wilson that he revealed his intentions to reporters before they had been put to Mr. Smith—or, it is believed, to Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor.

Mr. Smith's office announced on Thursday: "The Prime Minister this morning received a request from Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Secretary of State, for Commonwealth Relations, asking if the Prime Minister would agree to his coming to Salisbury. The Prime Minister has replied that the Government is prepared to receive Mr. Bottomley."

### Recognition of Rhodesian Régime

If other communications passed is not known, but a little later the British High Commission in Lusaka stated that the proposed visit had been cancelled after soundings had been taken by the Governor and because of a risk that Mr. Bottomley might be subjected to "insults or worse". It was clear to the Minister that "the Smith régime is not prepared to recognize his proposed visit as a visit by one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State". The conditions suggested would be tantamount to British recognition of the régime by the paying of a courtesy call on one of its members.

Mr. Bottomley added that he had ascertained that he would not have been provided with the facilities necessary for him to work in circumstances befitting one of Her Majesty's Ministers. The Rhodesian reaction had been "a transparent and stupid way of getting me to recognize the rebel régime". He would try again later, for he still thought a visit desirable.

Mr. Stanley Fingland, formerly British Deputy High Commissioner in Rhodesia, who has remained there as chief representative of the British Government, had been summoned to Lagos to see the Prime Minister, had accompanied him to Lusaka, and had then flown on to Salisbury. The decision to abandon the proposed visit was made after he had telephoned to Lusaka.

As he passed through Nairobi that evening Mr. Bottomley told journalists that he had been expected to pay a courtesy call on Mr. Smith; the conditions which it had been sought to impose on him were "intolerable". While the Prime Minister was in the air he had informed him of the decision not to go to Rhodesia, and Mr. Wilson had agreed that that judgment was right.

He had planned to arrive in an R.A.F. aircraft, spend some time with the Governor, and return to London via Zambia and Malawi. He remained in Lusaka for further talks with President Kaunda after Mr. Wilson and his party had left.

Rhodesia's oil refinery at Feruka, near Umtali, is expected to close down this week. Only one of the 13 units producing various petroleum fuels was working on Monday. The storage tanks are empty. Operations could restart at five days' notice if more oil should be pumped from Beira.

The British aircraft-carrier EAGLE has been cruising off Beira.

Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, said on Saturday on returning from South America, that in Argentina he found that an agent of the Smith Government had been trying to buy oil, but without success.

South Africa is to lend Rhodesia 100 railway wagons to help in the removal of cattle from drought areas to new pastures in Mashonaland. Rhodesia Railways should be moving about 2,000 head daily by the end of the week.

Owing to flooding as a result of heavy rains, the railway between Rhodesia and Lourenço Marques has been closed for several days. In some places the line was washed away.

Arrangements acceptable to the Rhodesian Government had now been concluded with the British Government for the payment of British pensions in Rhodesia. Rhodesian pensioners in Britain, to whom payments were suspended, have now received their December entitlements.

## High Court Might Be Closed New Constitution Challenged

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Q.C., counsel for the Ministers of Justice and Information, who are defending an action in the High Court of Rhodesia asking for the censorship regulations to be declared invalid, suggested on Friday that the court might be closed if it intervened in the constitutional conflict with Britain.

The application, made by the *Central African Examiner*, challenged the validity of the 1965 Constitution, introduced when the declaration of independence was made.

Mr. Greenfield asked the court to decline jurisdiction in the matter saying: "It might not be a noble concept, but in a delicate situation of this sort one has to go with extreme delicacy. It would save the courts here from having their position imperilled in the way indicated."

Mr. Justice Lewin: "Is it the proper course for the courts to decline jurisdiction every time the validity of the 1965 Constitution is under issue? Does it not amount to virtually closing the courts to the public, denying them justice?"

Mr. Greenfield: "Is that not the lesser-evil than the closing of the courts and the substitution one shudders to think of?"

Mr. Justice Lewin: "Revolutionary tribunals?"

Counsel replied that the Government controlled the means of giving effect or otherwise to the court's orders and serious confusion could result.

Mr. Justice Lewin: "The courts still have a duty to apply the law, and the problem inevitably arises: What is the law?—law under the 1961 Constitution or the 1965 Constitution?"

Judgment was reserved.

## "Britain Should Have Sent Troops"

VICE-PRESIDENT Kamanga said in a broadcast from Lusaka that the problems of military action against Rhodesia had increased during the two months since the declaration of independence, but that the Zambian Government had little faith in the effectiveness of economic sanctions, even though they now included an oil embargo. It was unfortunate that the British Government had refused to send troops to guard the Kariba hydro-electric installation.

"Why cannot Zambia send her own troops to Kariba? Because Zambia does not wish to provoke a racial war that might disrupt the entire world. In any case, why should Zambia fight Britain's battles? It is Britain's responsibility to discipline her own kith and kin. Let British troops quell the rebellion and bring the ring-leaders to justice."

Twenty-one flights a day with oil for Zambia are now being made by the R.A.F. from Nairobi, the Royal Canadian Air Force from Leopoldville, and British chartered aircraft from Dar es Salaam. In addition, an American airline is ferrying fuel across the Congo to Elisabethville in the Katanga, whence it is being sent on by rail and road.

Damage to Zambia's airfields is considerable. Aircraft approaching Lusaka have now been ordered to land from the eastern end of the runway whatever the wind conditions, since the western end, the normal line of entry, is cracking under the impact of the heavily laden planes.

The Mombasa refinery owned by the Shell group announced a few days ago that Zambia had ordered 2.2m. gallons of petroleum products, of which more than 1.25m. had been supplied by R.A.F. aircraft operating from Nairobi, by ship to Dar es Salaam for onward carriage by air, and by two other routes from the Tanzanian capital, one by rail to Mikumi and thence by lorry to the Zambian border, the other to Kigoma by rail and then by ship to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika.

A direct telegraphic link between Ndola and London was opened last week.

"White supremacy in Southern Africa is regarded by black Africans very much as world Jewry regarded Nazism". —Mr. William Clark, director of the Overseas Development Institute.



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*ACCEPTS Mr. Ian Smith's Government as the de facto Government of Rhodesia.*

*REJECTS the demand of the Black African States for the destruction of Mr. Smith's Government as an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of another nation.*

*VIEWS the prospect of military action against the Rhodesian Government as a threat of war against the British people.*

*AIMS to inform public opinion in this country about Rhodesia and to secure its recognition as an independent member of the Commonwealth, in the firm belief that this would be in the best interest of the Rhodesian people as a whole.*

*DECLARES that the British people must promptly declare its refusal to allow Rhodesia to be wantonly reduced to economic chaos by persistence in vindictive sanctions.*

*THANKS all those who have contributed to this Fund, thereby meeting the cost of this advertisement.*

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## Mr. Smith Firmly in the Saddle

### M.P. Says Government Should be Recognized

MR. PETER BESSELL, the Liberal M.P. who recently visited Rhodesia, said on returning to London that Mr. Smith was firmly in the saddle, that his Government should be given *de facto* recognition, and that Mr. Smith would then be found helpful and frank in negotiation. Sanctions were toughening, not weakening, Rhodesians.

MR. IAN GOW, Conservative candidate for Clapham, said in London last week on returning from an eight-day visit to Rhodesia that there was no sign that sanctions would bring down the Smith Government. "I went out very much a supporter of Mr. Wilson's policy, but I have come back disillusioned".

Sanctions would damage the economy, cause unemployment, and prevent relief to sufferers from the drought, but they would not cause collapse of the régime. He had talked to many people, including the Governor and Mr. Smith. "The Governor hopes that moderate leaders will come forward before many months have passed. I do not share that view".

MR. JULIAN AMERY, Conservative M.P. for Preston North, who returned to London on Sunday after spending three days in Rhodesia on his way back from South Africa, said that sanctions were not yet working, but would "bite deeper and deeper as the months pass". There was no white resistance to the Smith régime.

### Mr. Smith Can Negotiate from Strength

MR. EVELYN KING, Conservative M.P. for South Dorset, who was declared a prohibited immigrant in Zambia because President Kaunda had accused him of "winning" with Mr. Smith and associating with extreme members of the Government, said on his arrival in Nairobi last week that he had received every courtesy in Rhodesia and had met with intolerance only from Zambia. His impression was that 90% of the white population supported Mr. Smith.

"I went where I liked, walked unescorted in the African townships, and talked to whom I wished. There was no sign of violence. Some of the Africans I met support Mr. Smith. I believe that he and the African nationalist leaders are now ready for compromise. The Smith régime will soon be ready to negotiate—so long as Mr. Wilson does not try to force complete surrender".

Before leaving Salisbury Mr. King told reporters that he saw no signs that the Smith Government would be "toppled" by sanctions and that he found support for it to be higher than was realized in Britain. The security forces were in complete control, and Mr. Smith could negotiate from strength.

MR. GEOFFREY LLOYD, Conservative M.P. for Sutton Coldfield, and a former Minister of Education, arrived in Salisbury last week. He predicted that talks between Rhodesia and Britain would start within a fortnight. He could see no sign that Mr. Smith's Government was weakening, but at a lower level there appeared to be willingness to talk. He suggested that Britain and Rhodesia should between them raise some £200m. to bring Rhodesia to the point at which she would be granted her independence, probably by 1980.

MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice, arrived in Salisbury a few days ago from Johannesburg. He was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Evan Campbell.

MR. IAN LLOYD, Conservative M.P. for Langstone, is visiting Rhodesia.

SIR JOHN BARLOW, M.P., left London on Monday for Rhodesia.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, Tory M.P. for Lancaster, who was in Rhodesia and Zambia last week, said in Salisbury that he had been told on "good authority" that soon after Rhodesia seized independence the Army and police were ordered to arrest Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor—and refused. "They were also ordered

to arrest the Chief Justice, Sir Hugh Beadle, they refused to do so unless a warrant was signed by another High Court judge".

### Mr. Berkeley's "Mischievous Distortion"

Mr. Smith promptly denounced the statement as "a deliberate and-mischievous distortion of the truth. No such orders were given. It is incredible to me that a British M.P. could descend to make statements which are completely devoid of truth". He challenged Mr. Berkeley to disclose his "good authority".

The M.P. replied: "It is not always advisable in a police State to reveal one's sources. I had this from a very high source in England before I came here and it has been confirmed here. I believe it to be true".

In the current *Observer* Mr. Berkeley suggests that 25% of the white population now oppose the Smith régime. Looking to the future, he writes:—

"A possible start in the right direction would be the nomination by the Governor, after U.D.I. has ended, of an administration of national unity under British protection. This should be broadly based, and might include Mr. Smith, Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Robert Tredgold (the former Chief Justice), Mr. Gondo (Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly), and the two banned-nationalist leaders, Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. Early elections would not be desirable".

He admits that "the Westminster pattern has rarely been successful when transplanted".

### British Muddle and Indecision

MR. DONALD BOX, Conservative M.P. for Cardiff North, said at the week-end: "It is fantastic that two months after the declaration of U.D.I., British companies operating in Rhodesia do not know whether they are committing treason by paying taxes to the illegal Government. The Prime Minister has said that the matter is being urgently considered, but no decision has been announced. This is further indication of the muddle and indecision that surrounds the Government's policy on Rhodesia".

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## If African Commonwealth Dissolved Would It Be A Major Disaster?

SIR HAROLD MACMICHAEL has written in *The Times*:-

"Mr. Corfield wisely urges the reopening of negotiations with Rhodesia 'on the basis of the ordered transfer of power'. No doubt; Government and Opposition alike would agree to the proposition in general terms, but I suspect that behind the readiness in the meanwhile to tighten the screw is the feeling that any settlement reached which was acceptable to white Rhodesian opinion would not be acceptable to African opinion and might therefore involve the break-up of the British Commonwealth in Africa. This, it appears, is feared as a major disaster. Would it be so in fact?"

"Of course the break-up might not materialize if the realization of their own self-interest, always acute, were sufficiently potent among the African States to prevent it — and nothing else would do so; but the vital question does remain, supposing propaganda working upon excitability does lead to a decision to break the British connexion, would this really matter?"

"Maybe many years of experience of Africa under very different conditions may be regarded as prejudicing me, but a survival of common sense still makes me doubt whether the *nomini umbra* is worthy of the sacrifice and danger involved in its preservation. The compensating advantages would be negligible, and I suggest that our political parties are far too ready to assume that it would be an unmitigated disaster."

Mall trains between Bulawayo and Livingstone were delayed for almost six hours after a goods train had struck an elephant, which collapsed on the line and had to be shot.

Theileriosis, a killer disease carried by tick, has been diagnosed in some areas of Rhodesia to which cattle were to be moved. Seven large ranches have been quarantined.

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## Face Facts About the Commonwealth Private Views Conflict with Public Statements

MR. ENOCH POWELL, M.P., Opposition spokesman on defence, said in Camborne, Cornwall, on Friday that it was high time to end hypocrisy and self-deception about the Commonwealth.

Most people in Britain now thought that the concept of a Commonwealth composed largely of independent, and sometimes hostile, Afro-Asian countries was unreal. Many believed that it would be a good thing if it broke up. The Opposition should not leave unvoiced a major and relevant aspect of public opinion.

The convention had reigned for many years that the Commonwealth was one of those subjects on which it was not "done" to say what one thought. Consequently there was one language in public and another in private.

The British people noted that some Commonwealth countries were antipathetic to one another, even to the extent of breaking off diplomatic relations and going to war. They gathered that the manner in which the internal affairs of some of those countries was conducted was repugnant to their own basic ideas about liberty and democracy.

"It is difficult after all this to be told that all these countries form with us a great Commonwealth which is the world's best hope and the model for international and interracial co-operation."

Almost every week new events re-emphasized these "sensations of incredulity".

While Britain, at its own expense, was helping Zambia, Tanzania had broken off relations with Britain in a particularly insulting manner. The first steps to reconciliation between India and Pakistan had not been achieved in London but in Tashkent.

On Rhodesia people resenting being told that certain action must be taken solely because if it was not it would mean the break-up of the Commonwealth.

## What Meaning Has the Commonwealth?

MR. WILLIAM CLARK, director of the Overseas Development Institute, who has just returned from a visit to East and Central Africa, has thus concluded an article in *The Times*:-

"Africans ask what benefit, political or economic, they derive from association with Britain, whose enemies do not seem to be Africans' enemies, and whose wealth goes on increasing while they remain poor. In Britain more and more people question whether the Commonwealth association has any meaning or value when leading African statesmen bite the hand that feeds them, and behave with stupid discourtesy in the United Nations to our Prime Minister. If this mutual disillusion is not checked at Lagos or soon after, the Commonwealth link will surely wither away even if it is not severed, and one of the last faint hopes of preventing a world divided starkly into rich and poor nations will have disappeared."

## Assassination Plot Alleged

MR. ALEXANDER LATIM, Leader of the Opposition, said in the National Assembly a few days ago that some politicians on the Government side of the House and some people in the Uganda Army had plotted since October to assassinate certain public men. Fortunately, the plot had been discovered. Even the Prime Minister had absented himself from some functions on Independence Day (October 9). The Minister of Animal Husbandry condemned the allegations as irresponsible.

Several hundred terrorists in Mozambique were killed, wounded or captured last year by Portuguese armed forces, it was officially announced in Lisbon at the week-end.

The Chief of Staff of the Tanzanian Army, who is leading a military delegation on a three-weeks' visit to Cuba, is reported to have told journalists in Havana that the people of Tanzania sympathized with Cuba because it was in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism.

Weapons used by Somali guerrillas operating in the North Eastern Region of Kenya were said in a broadcast from Radio Mogadishu not to have been supplied by Somalia but to have been captured from the Kenya Army, which, having suffered very heavy casualties, has retaliated by killing innocent civilians.

## Communists Plan to Dominate Africa

LORD SALISBURY has written in the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"The Rhodesian Government regards itself as standing for a great principle on which it cannot and will not budge.

Mr. Smith—and in this he has the support of the great majority of his fellow-countrymen—believes that what matters more than anything else for his country is the survival of the British way of life; or, as I am afraid they might probably now say, the Western way of life.

"The concern of the Afro-Asian States and Russia is not whether Mr. Smith's Government is legal or not. They don't care a rap about that. Some of them have not worried unduly about legality of changes which they have made in their own Constitutions. What they are after is the disappearance from Africa south of the Sahara of every Government that is not entirely non-European.

"Behind them loom the far more sinister figures of the great Communist Powers, Russia and China, whose aims in many matters may not be identical with those of the African States or even with each other's, but who have this in common, that they both want to see the disappearance from Africa of any régimes that are on the side of the West.

### African Nationalism A Stalking-Horse

"Both Rhodesia and Vietnam are areas where the Communist powers are trying, in their unremitting campaign for world domination, to press back the boundaries of the Free World. Victory in Vietnam would help to open the whole Pacific, right down to Australia, to their further expansion. Victory in Rhodesia would be a big step forward to the domination of Africa; and Communist domination of Africa would in its turn be a big step forward towards the outflanking of the whole Western position in Europe. Support for African nationalism is for them only a stalking horse. Their long-term objective is the extinction of the Free World.

"The cold war now sprawls across the whole continent of Africa. It is no mere chance that we hear of Chinese missions to Tanzania and Zambian missions to Tanzania and Zambian missions to Moscow. Yet while in Vietnam the United States and Britain show themselves very much alive to the dangers threatening the Western world, in Rhodesia they seem to be quite blind to these dangers; and their policy has even become, in effect, one of active co-operation with Communist policy, to destroy one of the few remaining bastions of Western civilization in Central Africa.

"Mr. Wilson's 'holier-than-thou' attitude towards the Rhodesian Government must seem difficult to stomach by the many fellow-countrymen who remember what has happened in some African countries which are members of the Commonwealth."

## Negotiate Now, Say Scottish M.Ps.

THREE SCOTTISH M.P.S. attacked Mr. Wilson at the weekend for his actions over Rhodesia.

Sir John Gilmour, chairman of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, said that the Prime Minister's handling of the situation made it more difficult each day to expect a just and honest solution. If in the past Britain had negotiated with a Kenyatta and a Makarios, she should certainly negotiate with leaders in Rhodesia who had been elected under a Constitution approved by the British Parliament.

Mr. A. Buchanan-Smith, M.P. for North Angus and Mearns, thought there was the gravest danger of reaching the point of no return. There would be bloodshed if H.M. Government were not now pressed to have prompt negotiations.

Mr. J. Bruce-Gardyne, M.P. for South Angus, considered that Mr. Wilson had gone out of his way to make the problem more difficult and more dangerous.

"Every fresh statement he makes is deliberately insulting Mr. Smith. If only the British Government would make it clear that there is an opportunity for negotiations, then I believe Mr. Smith and his followers would realize not only that they are knocking their heads against a brick wall but that there is a possibility of a perfectly honourable settlement."

## Time to Talk to Mr. Smith

SUDDEN REVERSAL of the *Economist's* attitude to Rhodesia has been indicated in a leading article. Under the caption "Why Not Talk to Him?", it says (in part) :—

"The time has come for Britain to talk to Mr. Smith. If the rebellion drags on many Rhodesians will have lost their savings as well as their jobs by the time business picks up with the return to legality. By then the trek to South Africa will have started, and Rhodesia will lose thousands of whites that its economy cannot spare. It should be Mr. Wilson's purpose to keep those that matter to Rhodesia where they are.

"Britain's uncompromising objective is steady progress towards majority rule, but Mr. Wilson has already said that this will take 'a very long time'. Now is the moment to repeat that assurance, loud and clear, both to hasten the rebellion's end and to secure as much white-co-operation as possible once it is over. The white Rhodesians who once voted for Sir Edgar Whitehead will not find it a strange conception.

"Now is the time to start spelling out Britain's proposals for Rhodesia's future. This not only means publishing an accepted minimum programme for Rhodesia as soon as possible. It also means setting it out clearly, unequivocally, and in detail. In the past attempts to gloss over awkward points and to shelve others led directly to misunderstanding and distrust.

"Indeed, it is just possible that U.D.I. might never have taken place had Mr. Wilson spent an extra week-end in Salisbury in October to settle details of the agreement which he and Mr. Smith then thought they had achieved. Instead, Mr. Bottomley, left behind, created the impression that Britain was again talking with two voices.

### Mr. Smith Should Not Be Excluded

"There may be a brief interim rule by the Governor and an appointed Cabinet. It has been thought in London that such a Cabinet might be headed by an experienced businessman and political moderate like Mr. Evan Campbell, the former High Commissioner in London. Yet the Cabinet must not be one of merely uncommitted moderates; it must represent all shades of Rhodesian opinion, including the dominant white voice of the Rhodesian Front. That should include Mr. Smith (if he sees fit to pursue his political career) and certainly the more sensible of his Ministerial colleagues. But the Cabinet must also contain those black African leaders, like Mr. Gondo, whose reputation as a practical politician exceeds that of either Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Sithole.

"If Mr. Wilson is daring, or generous, he will talk to Mr. Smith as Prime Minister to Prime Minister and fix the terms with a Government that has made itself broader-based. The 1961 Constitution still offers the best basis for negotiation.

"Britain must powerfully subsidize not only African education but the economic development of an African middle class. And once Britain has got an acceptable solution, it must be prepared to outface the black African extremists.

"Britain will need to act quickly to relieve some of the damage of the sanctions and get Rhodesian business going again, which will mean generous credit to Rhodesian importers and Rhodesian tobacco farmers, who will probably find it hard to sell some of this year's crop even if sanctions were lifted tomorrow.

"Rhodesia's economy has probably been changed for good by the events of the past two months. The impetus given to the diversification of agriculture and the development of newly exploited resources like graphite is likely to endure. But some of Rhodesia's main markets for manufactured goods in Zambia and Malawi may have gone for good and the potential of Rhodesian industry has been correspondingly reduced.

"Britain and its friends should programme their investments to take account of this economic change, which is by no means detrimental in itself. Before the rebellion the Rhodesian Government envisaged a total public and private investment of up to £250m. in the promising Lowveld agricultural development scheme over the next 25 years. Rhodesia's considerable potential as a widely diversified primary producer has hardly yet been tapped. Given a secure political framework and the right kind of foreign investment, Rhodesians with white skins and black skins still have a very promising future.

"Mr. Wilson should tell them so now. And then repeat it again and again. This is part of a package deal for any settlement. Before Rhodesia falls into agonies of disappointment and despair, the offer to talk must come from London. Mr. Smith can propose little because he is so weak. Why not talk to him?"

Company Meeting

# Tanganyika Concessions Limited

## CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE'S REVIEW

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS LIMITED was held on the 13th January, 1966, at the head office of the Company, Bahamas International Trust Building, Bank Lane, Nassau, Bahamas.

CAPTAIN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES WATERHOUSE, M.C., D.L., the Chairman, presiding, addressed the meeting as follows:—

In my Chairman's review which was included in the recently published report and accounts of your company, I told you that it was my intention to retire from the chairmanship shortly after the annual general meeting of the Union Minière which will be held in Brussels on Thursday, 26th May next.

### Board Changes

I then said that the Rt. Hon. Lord Colyton, P.C., C.M.G., who is already a member of your board, had accepted its invitation to succeed me as chairman. We are glad that Lord Colyton has been able to attend the meeting today, and we extend to him a wholehearted welcome and our best wishes for a prolonged period in the chair.

I have to tell you that I have received a letter from Sir Mark Turner informing me that increased responsibilities in other directions make it necessary for him, with regret, to tender his resignation as a director of your company, and I propose to lay this letter before your board at its meeting later today. Sir Mark Turner was appointed to your board on the 17th November, 1956. He has therefore served you as a director for more than nine years, and I take this opportunity on your behalf of thanking him most sincerely for the work he has done over that period, which has covered years of particular difficulty in your company's affairs.

I am glad to be able to tell you that Mr. Ronald Medicott has accepted your board's invitation to become a director. He will join your board at its meeting later today, and his name will go before you for confirmation at the annual general meeting in 1967.

Mr. Medicott is a director of Kleinwort, Benson, Limited, and of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and has over a long period served on the boards of mining and finance companies both in London and in Africa. We shall, therefore, have the advantage of his knowledge and experience over a wide field of operations comparable to those of your company.

### Union Minière

The absence of political difficulties in the Katanga during 1965 has enabled the Union Minière to complete a successful year. The target of copper production was fully attained and 287,500 metric tons of copper were produced. There has been a ready market for copper throughout the year, and the selling price, which on 1st January, 1956, was £260 per long ton, was increased to £288 per long ton on 3rd May, to £304 on 21st October, and to £336 on 3rd January, 1966. The above prices refer to the producer price at which

the Union Minière supply their customers. It is to us, therefore, largely a matter of academic interest that during 1965 the lowest price on the London Metal Exchange was £331 per long ton on the 20th January, 1965, and the highest was £570 on the 28th December, 1965.

The production of cobalt was 8,350 metric tons, as compared with 7,680 metric tons in the previous year, and zinc concentrates 206,000 metric tons as compared with 178,800 metric tons in 1964.

The financial results of this satisfactory period are, however, still loaded with the heavy burden of taxes and dues, and more especially by the continuance of the double rate of exchange under which the exporting companies suffer a direct levy of 60 Congolese francs on every 100 Belgian francs transferred to the Congo.

The extensive programme of capital expenditure, some details of which for the year to 31st December, 1964, are set out in the report and accounts of your company, has continued uninterrupted during 1965. Expenditure continues at a high level both on the development of new mines and workshops and on the provision of housing and social amenities for the company's large African staff and their dependants, who together number about 100,000 men, women and children.

As has already been announced, the Union Minière were able to distribute a second instalment of 300 francs per *part sociale* in respect of the dividend declared but unpaid in May 1962. This dividend has made it possible for your company again to declare a special dividend of 8d. per unit of stock, which, added to the ordinary dividend for the year of 9d., makes an overall payment of 1s. 5d. per unit of stock in your company.

It seems probable that shareholders on the Rhodesian register will have to await a settlement of the present dispute before payment of their dividend can be effected.

### The Benguela Railway

The Benguela Railway Company has operated normally throughout the year, and is again able to claim that no consignment of goods has been refused normal transport facilities. As was foreseen, there has been some reduction in the tonnage of copper over the Benguela Railway due to the re-opening of the Matadi route. Other exports from the Katanga, notably cobalt and zinc, have fulfilled expectations. The manganese traffic from the Congo and iron ore from Cuima are also substantially up to the weight anticipated.

The pay-ton kilometres in 1965 are likely to approximate to those of 1964. Gross receipts have been fully maintained, working expenses are normal, and the net receipts for the year should be somewhat better than in 1964. I should like on your behalf to thank and congratulate all members of the staff of this company on the loyal and effective performance of their duties.

The possibility of difficulty in the movement of copper from Zambia via the Rhodesian Railways to Beira has revived interest in the part which the Benguela Railway could play in this situation. The traffic from the

Zambian Copperbelt over the B.C.K. and Benguela Railways to Lobito was originally covered by the tripartite agreement between the Rhodesian and the two Northern Railways under which some 10,000 tons of copper per month could be carried to the West Coast. The operation of this agreement was in part suspended in 1960, and since then no copper has moved by this route. Arrangements have now been made to carry about 5,000 tons per month until June, 1966. The first consignment to Lobito was railed in December, 1965. It is expected that this tonnage may be materially increased in the near future, and that the Railway may carry substantial quantities of coal and of general import traffic to Zambia from Lobito.

Tanganyika Concessions has had an assessment made against it for a special graduated income tax levied by the Angola Government. The amount involved is some £200,000 of tax per annum. An appeal has been lodged with the Governor-General of Angola, and your board is advised that there is good reason to believe that the company will be declared to be exempt from this tax.

The activities of your wholly-owned subsidiary, Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), Limited, have not been materially affected by the recent declaration of independence. The work of the company's main office in Salisbury is proceeding normally.

The possibility of an embargo by the Japanese on their contract for pig-iron with the Rhodesian Iron & Steel Company, Limited, would appear to be likely to have an effect on the result of this year's working of that company.

### Commonwealth Timber Industries

Commonwealth Timber Industries, Limited, continue to trade on a satisfactory basis. The Novobord factory is working to capacity. Improved production is coming from the sawmills, and the prospects of the wirebound box factories at Port Elizabeth and the White River are up to expectations. The profit before tax earned by the Port Elizabeth group in the four months to 31st October, 1965, is £103,544, as compared with £220,988 for the twelve months ended 30th June, 1965.

The deputy chairman, Mr. T. P. Cochran, addressed the meeting as follows:—

Chairman, this is the last occasion on which you will preside over the annual general meeting of shareholders of this company. It has been my privilege to serve as your deputy throughout the eight years of your chairmanship, and thus I am well placed to pay tribute to the wisdom and perspicacity which you have applied unstintingly to the direction of this company's affairs. In the latter part of this period the company has been largely deprived of its principal source of revenue, and it is in such difficult times that your ability has had full play in safeguarding and strengthening the interests of shareholders.

I speak for your colleagues on the board and also have been specially charged to convey to you the appreciation and warmest good wishes for the future from the staff in London and Salisbury of our associated and subsidiary companies.

It is a very great personal satisfaction to all of us that you are remaining on the board and thus your unique knowledge will be available to your successor and your colleagues for what we hope will be many years to come.

The report and accounts were adopted, and payment of the ordinary stock dividend was approved.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Colyton, the Rt. Hon. Lord Clitheroe, Sir Andrew Strachan, M. André de Spirlet, Mr. E. F. O. Cascoigne, and Dr. A. Pinto Basto were re-elected to the board.

## State of the Sisal Industry

WIGGLESWORTH & CO., LTD., write in their current monthly market letter:—

"Sisal spinners have had two bad trading years, with demand below expectations, falling prices, and only small profits, with in some cases not inconsiderable losses. Competition in the sale of sisal twine is severe and has greatly increased since new spinning plants came into operation in East Africa, Angola and Brazil. Not unexpectedly, sisal spinners, with the resulting heavy pressure on prices and margins, have become increasingly cautious and reluctant to commit themselves to more than minimum stocks and shipment contracts. The expectation of increased competition from synthetic twine has added to their reluctance to enter the market, but the indications are that the position is now considerably better.

"The expansion of sisal spinning in Tanzania, Mozambique, and Angola will bring these countries into competition with many of their customers. Although the value of twine exceeds that of unprocessed sisal, the added value may not exceed 30%—40%. It is debatable whether, with the depreciation and amortization of machinery, the increase in export proceeds will reach expectations; it may also in some degree be offset if increased competition in twine encourages overseas spinners to hasten development of substitutes.

"Current levels of sisal prices are low and in many cases below the growers' cost of production... Any considerable rise in prices would greatly increase the risk of sisal being displaced by synthetics in its main markets. It is most advisable for the sisal industry to find ways of reducing its costs so that profits can be restored without price increases.

"A contributory factor to the firmer sisal market has been drought, which has caused a not inconsiderable fall in production both in Tanzania and Kenya, currently at a rate of 20%.

"A spinning plant in course of erection in Mozambique may ultimately consume something approaching one-third of fibre production in that country."

## Turner and Newall's £9.3m. Profit

TURNER AND NEWALL, LTD.—among whose subsidiaries are Rhodesian and General Asbestos Corporation, Ltd., Bulawayo, and the Turners Asbestos Products companies in Rhodesia and Zambia—report profits after tax to September 30 at £9,354,741, compared with £7,638,275 in the previous year. Dividends take £4.7m., ordinary stockholders having received 12½%. The amounts carried forward are £3.4m. in the books of the parent company and nearly £1.3m. in those of subsidiaries. Issued capital is £65.2m. Group fixed assets have a book value above £53m., and net current assets are little short of £5.5m. Mr. R. G. Soothill, the chairman, refers to the embargo on imports of Rhodesian asbestos fibre into the United Kingdom and other countries, but hopes for a favourable future for the mines in Rhodesia as well as those in Canada and Swaziland.

A Kenya Dairy Commission, similar to the Milk Marketing Board in Britain, is to be established. Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., report sisal production for December at 1,757 tons, making 9,888 for July-December.

A new bottling company in Fort Victoria, Rhodesia, capitalized at £120,000, is due to come into operation in April. Because the balance of trade with Hong Kong has been unfavourable for some years, the Sudan Government has decided to stop all imports from that source.

Sherwood Starr Gold Mining Co., Ltd., Rhodesia, has decided not to declare a dividend for the year to June 30, 1965, since funds may not be remitted to U.K. shareholders.

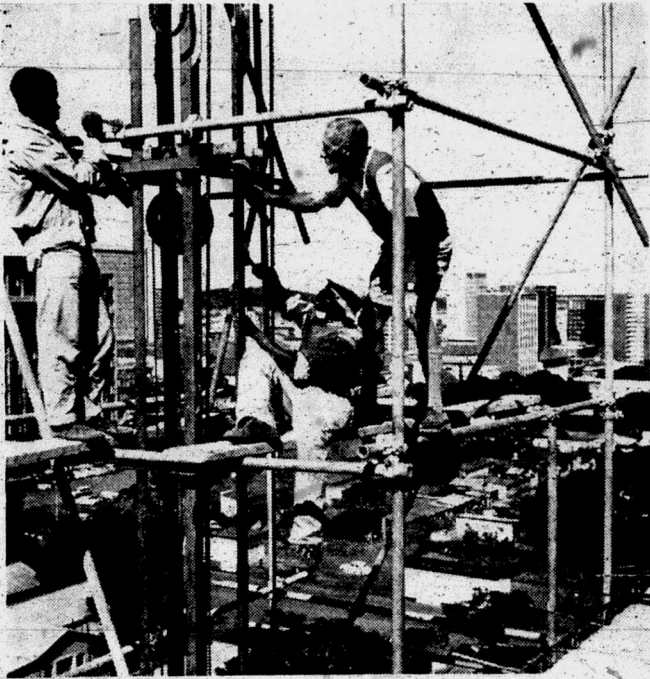
Kenya National Trading Corporation, a Government organization, with working capital recently increased from £10,000 to £70,000, has now a monthly turnover of about £500,000.

Globe Telegraph and Trust Co., Ltd., estimate earnings before tax for the nine months to December 31 at £1,454,000, compared with £1,322,000 in the same period of the previous year. Tax will take £632,000 (£541,000).

Union and Rhodesian Mining and Finance Co., Ltd., has paid a first interim dividend for 1965 of 3d. per 2s. share and intends later to declare a second interim of 1d. Payment can at present be made only to shareholders on the Rhodesian register.

Plans for seven new industries in Uganda represent investment commitments of £350,000, according to a Standard Bank report. A milk processing plant will involve £120,000, and machinery orders are being placed in Britain for a £70,000 nylon and cotton sock factory. The Uganda Development Corporation and Crown Cork Co. (East Africa), Ltd., are to be joint partners in a cork factory costing £40,000.

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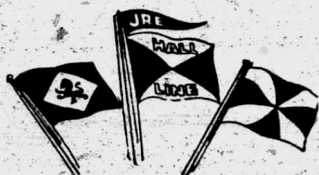
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor : F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

SINCE NOVEMBER 11, the historic date on which Rhodesia declared her independence, Mr. Wilson has been allowed to do as he willed, with astonishingly little criticism or check from the Opposition, which has considered it more important to tolerate the Prime Minister's gimmicks, contortions, and even contradictions in support of a so-called national policy than to examine each act or statement promptly, impartially, and from the standpoint of the contribution which it might make either to the solution or the aggravation of the Rhodesian problem. When bipartisanism could have served Africa's best interests, the politicians derided the idea. Now that it is manifestly detrimental to Rhodesia, they resort to it. But at long last, two months later than was desirable, there appears to be a prospect of a more responsible attitude by the Opposition, partly because Mr. Wilson has so obviously overreached himself; partly because M.P.s. of all parties who have visited Rhodesia this month have testified on their return to the strength of Mr. Smith's position and the negligible effects so far of the sanctions imposed by the British Government; and partly because the visit to London of Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, has both shaken the pretentious complacency nursed and proclaimed by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and reinforced the almost unanimous warnings given to the Government by the Parliamentarians who have just made their own assessment of the situation on the spot.

These and other obvious considerations should encourage the Shadow Cabinet to abandon its short-sighted and compliant

attitude to the decisions of Mr. Wilson—who increasingly reveals his dictatorial streak—and perform more seriously and sedulously its duty of critical analysis and exposition. All too often, unhappily, front-benchers of both parties prefer the convenience of expediency to the challenge of principle. When strong personal feelings impinge, however, that negligence can give way to sudden change, and then sometimes to sustained controversy. It is to be hoped that such development will now occur. As the news in other columns makes plain, the Leader of the Opposition has been nettled by two separate attempts of the Prime Minister to exploit Sir Hugh Beadle for his own purposes. If that justifiable annoyance prompts a new alertness and assertiveness about Rhodesia by the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, it will be to the advantage of that country and Britain.

Parliament re-assembled on Tuesday in the expectation that it would quickly learn not only of the conversations with the Chief Justice, but also of the Government's proposals for the next steps in Rhodesia. Mr. Wilson—who tells the Press about his hunches, suppositions, intentions, hopes and activities with a freedom and regularity paralleled by no previous holder of the highest political office—had caused it to be known that he had been working on a statement which would tell Rhodesians what they must expect to face when negotiations with Britain take place. Little more than a month ago he and Mr. Bottomley were affirming that they would never talk to Mr. Smith except perhaps as a private individual. During the past fortnight hints have been

**Must Talk  
To Mr. Smith.**

dropped that that silly posture has been abandoned, doubtless in part at least as a consequence of Sir Hugh Beadle's emphatic message through Mr. Reginald Paget, an open-minded, candid and courageous Socialist, that Mr. Smith was the only person with whom to talk. Fortunately, that statement was given such prominence in the British Press that it could not be disregarded. If, when he asked Sir Hugh to fly to London for consultations the Prime Minister counted on persuading him to veer from that conviction, he has manifestly failed. For two or three days after his arrival pro-Wilson newspapers suggested that the visitor had been given such surprising secret information about the efficacy of British sanctions that he had changed his mind, but that optimistic presentation of developments, and seeming misrepresentation of Sir Hugh's outlook, ceased when Mr. Heath spoke of attempted "brainwashing" by the Prime Minister and insisted that the three party leaders should have serious and joint discussions with the Chief Justice. The fact that the four men were together for two hours on Sunday morning suggests that there was free questioning of the Governor's confidant, for the gathering could otherwise scarcely have lasted anything like so long.

Now, moreover, a number of prominent Conservatives are openly rejecting the Prime Minister's assurances that sanctions will bring down the Rhodesian Government "in a matter of weeks rather than months", and emphasizing the need for early negotiations with

#### **Rhodesian Petition.**

Mr. Smith, who is unquestionably in control in Rhodesia. Discontent is also expressing itself spontaneously in many parts of the country, where little groups of persons concerned about Rhodesia have within the past fortnight begun to organize petitions condemning the use of British military force against Rhodesia in any circumstances and urging the immediate resumption of negotiations with Mr. Smith. Some of the organizers of this most useful form of local initiative have received such enthusiastic support that they believe that a million signatures will be quickly obtained. With the prospect of a general election this year, so striking a demonstration of public feeling could not fail to impress the Tory and Socialist leaders, and it would certainly influence individual candidates, particularly those in marginal constituencies. Friends of Rhodesia, whatever their feeling about the unilateral declaration of independence, should therefore not merely sign the petition but obtain copies of the printed form from the Anglo-Rhodesian Society

(1 Dover Street, London, W.1) and persuade friends, neighbours and strangers to sign it.

Scarcely anyone of any political attachment can want blood to be spilt in Rhodesia. Infringement of her frontiers by a British force would mean fratricidal war; and that outrage,

#### **Provocation Instead Of Conciliation.**

if ordered by politicians in Britain, would be known to be the product of ceaseless prodding by the Ministers in Black Africa who have clamoured almost day by day for the invasion of Rhodesia by British forces. That the troops would obey orders to shoot Rhodesians cannot be taken for granted. We have been told of two British battalions officers of which have expressed the belief that all their comrades would resign their commissions rather than obey such repulsive orders. That three young men of the Royal Air Force contingent sent to Zambia should already have decamped into Rhodesia ("defected" was the word used by most United Kingdom newspapers, so many of which now use that Communist term) may be a pointer which service chiefs will think well to emphasize to Ministers. Nobody can know whether this is an isolated act, or whether it is symptomatic of the sentiment of young men brought close to the risk of war against kith and kin. The dispatch to Zambia last week of a military planning mission as a consequence of Mr. Wilson's recent short conversation with President Kaunda must arouse apprehension that a capricious Prime Minister, who only the other day was emphatic that British troops would not be used against Rhodesia (though he hinted that United Nations forces might be), is back to his earlier bluster of "not standing idly by" at Kariba. A battalion of Scots Guards may, it is suggested, be flown to Zambia this week to take up positions on the north bank of the Zambezi. Could anything be more provocative to Rhodesians? Who in his right senses could regard this as likely to create the right atmosphere for negotiations? If the Guards are sent, there ought to be an explosion of anger.

Sadly few Conservatives in the House of Commons have yet expressed dissatisfaction with the Government's handling of the Rhodesian issue, and among the Socialists Mr.

Paget alone has said bluntly and repeatedly what many Friends of Rhodesia, perhaps most, of his colleagues know to be the truth; for there is ample evidence of widespread anxiety and criticism in the constituencies. Yet they have uttered no word of dissent in public, and

probably few in the private party meetings. City leaders, it must be admitted, have been similarly silent. Those whose companies have millions of pounds at stake are direct enough in private condemnation, but there has been no evidence whatsoever of corporate protest. Men prominent in the City of London have privately commended the critical editorial attitude of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, but, when asked the questions, every one of them admitted that neither he nor any business associate had sent a written protest to (1) the Prime Minister or any other member of the Government; (2) the Conservative and Liberal leaders in the House of Commons; (3) any other M.P.; (4) any peer; (5) any newspaper; or (6) the British Broadcasting Corporation. In such circumstances how are the politicians, the Press, and the broadcasting authorities to be expected to believe that there is anger and deep discontent in the world's most important financial centre?

\* \* \*

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tions will naturally not beat drums of dissent in the market-place, but it is surely their duty to proffer their highly important advice to Government and Opposition leaders in private, and also to communicate it, not necessarily for publication, to responsible newspapers, which in the absence of such representations are inevitably inclined to conclude that there is no very deep anxiety among those who are best able to gauge the risk of dire and permanent damage to British trade and to Rhodesia. The disquiet which we know to exist, and believe to be spreading, requires authoritative expression; and we suggest that each of the above six points merits consideration. In many cases it would suffice to write to the Prime Minister and send carbon copies to the other addressees. If a few thousand persons who could say that they have personal knowledge of Rhodesia or of the injurious effects of present policy on the British economy would now act in the way suggested, the effect might be substantial. It could even be crucial.

## Sir Hugh Beadle's Talks with Political Leaders in London

### Prime Minister's Manoeuvres Annoy Leader of the Opposition

SIR HUGH BEADLE, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, and the only man in that country holding the Queen's commission, who is officially recognized by both the British and Rhodesian Governments, arrived in London by air on Tuesday of last week, having flown from Salisbury under an assumed name. Two M.P.s travelling in the same aircraft, Mr. Ian Lloyd and Mr. Christopher Rowland, did not know that he was aboard.

After Sir Hugh had had talks with the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, he was asked to see the Leader of the Opposition next day, and it was arranged that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Commonwealth Affairs spokesman in the Shadow Cabinet, should also be present.

#### Mr. Wilson Angers Mr. Heath

Mr. Wilson is said to have objected as soon as he heard of the appointment, insisting that there should be no contact with Opposition M.P.s until discussions with the Government had been completed.

Angered by the attempted embargo, Mr. Heath told the Prime Minister that he did not recognize his right to intervene, and that the Parliamentary Opposition attached great importance to hearing at once from Sir Hugh on his report to the Government. Conservative Party spokesmen gave the news to the Press, which gave it special prominence next day.

The *Daily Express*, which had featured the issue as the day's main story under banner headlines across six of its eight columns, commented editorially:—

"The public learns with astonishment that Mr. Wilson made a bid yesterday to prevent the Chief Justice of Rhodesia from meeting Mr. Heath and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. He insisted that the Government's talks with Sir Hugh Beadle must first be completed. Mr. Heath resists this attempt and is right to do so.

"As Sir Hugh suggested the meeting, Mr. Wilson's attempt to impose a veto is an act of discourtesy towards a distinguished and important visitor. Moreover, Mr. Wilson attempted to exceed his constitutional powers. He has no right to dictate to the head of the Rhodesian judiciary how he should conduct himself.

"What is Mr. Wilson's motive in seeking to prevent, or at least postpone, this meeting? . . . There can be no doubt of the value of Sir Hugh's impartial testimony or of the right and necessity of the Opposition leaders learning what he has to say.

"Mr. Wilson's move strengthens all the doubts that exist about his purpose. Does he want to bring down the Smith Government or to destroy Rhodesia? It is in the highest degree important that Sir Hugh Beadle and the Opposition leaders should exchange views.

#### Retreat from Arrogance

"Mr. Wilson seems to think that he should be the sole channel of communications between the British people and Rhodesia. Let him put aside his arrogant demand while he can still do so with dignity and revert to normal procedure.

"It is the best way to ensure the result that he must want as much as anyone — reconciliation between Britain and Rhodesia based on better understanding. Understanding is not the monopoly of one country, one party, or one man."

Mr. Wilson at once retreated. Political correspondents were told that there had been no attempt to prevent a meeting. They doubled the assurances.

The representative of *The Times* wrote:—

"Conservative suspicions about Mr. Wilson's moves and motives are deeply felt. Mr. Heath had every expectation that he was to have a meeting alone with Sir Hugh yesterday. Sir Hugh was understood to have agreed, and then apparently changed his mind. Conservative leaders ask why. The answer they light on disturbs them. From several sources they have learnt that Sir Hugh, and apparently Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor of Rhodesia, have told Mr. Wilson that the only way to resolve the Rhodesian independence crisis is to reopen talks with the Smith régime and negotiate.

The reports reaching the Opposition suggest that Sir Hugh believes that no Rhodesian figure who is not a member of the régime is likely to come forward. This gives rise, they

think justifiably, to Conservative suspicions that Mr. Wilson may have wanted to stop Sir Hugh having exchanges with Mr. Heath before he had been committed to (or 'brainwashed with' is a phrase used last night) the Government's own proposals.

"The Prime Minister and his colleagues nurse no illusions that the reconstruction terms likely to be announced next week will transform the Rhodesian attitude immediately. The Government are not issuing what might be called an instant draft treaty to serve as a bait for Mr. Smith or any of his lieutenants to ask for quarter.

"The proposals, in fact, promise to be a reaffirmation of the British position as defined by Mr. Wilson in the House since the London talks with Mr. Smith ended and the Rhodesian régime created a new situation by its illegal declaration of independence.

"Mr. Wilson is determined that in the coming weeks, or possibly months, the Rhodesian régime should not be misled by a predictable flood of vague proposals for new talks into thinking that London would start from the premise that Mr. Smith speaks for a recognized Government which could be a high contracting party to a negotiation.

"It would never be enough for Mr. Wilson to have a chance of talks based on the assumption that a little sub-editing and amendment of the 1961 Constitution is all that is needed to find a way out of the present Anglo-Rhodesian dilemma.

### Unwelcome News

"Sir Hugh Beadle came to London with a report on Mr. Smith's present attitude. Apparently it amounts to a claim to recognition by the British Government. This appears to be merely Sir Hugh's reading of the situation—certainly it is not a formal message from Mr. Smith—but it is a claim that Mr. Wilson finds intolerable.

"In short, Mr. Wilson's five basic principles for any Rhodesian settlement remain valid, and to them he now adds, as he did at the Lagos conference, a sixth. This affirms that there must be no oppression by a minority of the majority, or by the majority of a minority."

The *Daily Telegraph* said:—

"Conservative M.P.s. consider it extraordinary that the Prime Minister should have gone to such lengths to justify anything what he evidently considered a premature meeting with the Opposition. They discount the talk of protocol by pointing out that visiting Prime Ministers have often seen members of the Opposition between sessions of a Commonwealth conference without feeling it incumbent upon themselves to wait until their discussions with Ministers were finished.

"In the Conservative view, Mr. Wilson may not have heard from Sir Hugh the kind of information about Rhodesia's reaction to sanctions and determination to hold out that he would have liked to hear. He may even have been told that in the opinion of Sir Humphrey and Sir Hugh there is no chance whatever of a settlement until the Government is prepared to pocket its pride and negotiate with Mr. Smith.

"This, it is thought, might provide a reason for keeping Sir Hugh away from Mr. Heath until he had been thoroughly 'brainwashed' by Ministers and officials in London."

### More Criticism of Prime Minister

According to the *Guardian*:

"Conservative Party officials claimed that Sir Hugh had been prevented from seeing Mr. Heath by the direct intervention of the Prime Minister. They insisted that Sir Hugh had expressed a willingness to see Mr. Heath, and had reached the stage of discussing dates and times for a meeting when Downing Street intervened.

"These allegations produced a storm of indignation from the Government. Senior officials flatly denied that a time and place for a meeting had been arranged or that the Prime Minister had instructed Sir Hugh to cancel it.

"At the same time, it was pointed out (a) that it would have been perfectly in order for the Government to prevent such a meeting, since Sir Hugh was in London as a Government representative, and (b) that it was normal protocol for visiting dignitaries not to meet non-governmental representatives until after they had concluded their business with the Government."

The *Daily Mail*, normally a strong supporter of Mr. Wilson on African issues, said:—

"Sir Hugh, a loyalist and fellow resident of the legal Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, in Salisbury's Government House, is warning the British Government that it is absurd to imagine Britain can achieve a settlement without discussions in some form with Mr. Smith's régime. Sir Humphrey may be like-minded.

"Heavy denials echo down Whitehall that there is any serious cleavage between the two and Mr. Wilson. Nevertheless, there is not total agreement on the best way to treat

Mr. Smith. Mr. Wilson and the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, have been committed heavily to an anti-Smith line."

Between the writing and the publication of such comments it had been arranged that Sir Hugh Beadle should meet Mr. Heath at his flat a day later than had been originally arranged, though his talks in Whitehall would not have ended.

There was also a suggestion from official sources that Sir Hugh might meet the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Conservative Parties together, perhaps at lunch, before he returned to Salisbury to lay before the Governor the British Government's "peace" or "reconstruction" terms.

On Wednesday of last week Sir Hugh Beadle lunched at 10 Downing Street. The Prime Minister's other guests were the Secretary of State and Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Sir Hugh spent three hours on Thursday afternoon with Mr. Heath, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and Mr. Duncan Sandys. Because of the length of their discussion Mr. Heath cancelled a reservation for a flight to Rome.

### Case for Early Talks with Rhodesia

Spokesmen for the Conservative Party said after the talks that what they had heard from the Chief Justice reinforced the conviction of the leaders that there should be early negotiations with Rhodesia through Mr. Smith, who remained in complete control, with no sign of any other group emerging, and that it would be folly to attempt direct rule from Britain, as Mr. Wilson proposed, even for a short period. That it was emphasised, would destroy confidence in British good faith.

There were suggestions that these views do not differ from Sir Hugh Beadle's opinions.

Government spokesmen insisted, however, that the Chief Justice shared Ministerial thinking completely now that he had been fully briefed on the effectiveness of Britain's financial and economic sanctions.

It was admitted that the visitor had told the Prime Minister that Mr. Smith would certainly not back down on the declaration of independence.

On Friday Sir Hugh met Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.

Anger at Mr. Wilson's attempt to prevent discussions, or at least secure their postponement until after they could influence Sir Hugh's exchanges with Ministers, continued to be expressed, and journalists were told that Mr. Heath had refused an invitation from the Prime Minister for pre-lunch drinks on Sunday with Sir Hugh and Mr. Grimond. The Tory leader replied that he wanted more than a social chat.

He let it be known that he had read newspaper reports of the proposed Sunday meeting before he had received an invitation.

### Sir Hugh Meets Party Leaders

Sir Hugh Beadle made it clear on Saturday that he was very anxious that leaders of all three parties should be present at the meeting proposed for the next morning, and the Prime Minister decided to abandon the idea of a short chat over a glass of sherry. Mr. Grimond flew from his Orkney constituency, and Mr. Heath said that he would attend, explaining:—

"I was not prepared to go to a purely social occasion in which no serious business was to be discussed or in which the publicity and photographs could be used to imply that I as Leader of the Opposition, or we in the Conservative Party, are in agreement with the policy which the Government is apparently going to announce next week and about which we have not been consulted, or which can be used to imply that the Government and the party leaders are in agreement with Sir Hugh when we do not know whether the Government is or not."

The two-hour meeting, held in the Cabinet Room, was also attended by Mr. Bottomley.

Mr. Heath said on leaving: "We have had two hours with Sir Hugh, in which he had the opportunity of putting his views to us. These have been extremely valuable. I had three hours of talk with Sir Hugh on Thursday, and my views on Rhodesia have not changed."

Mr. Grimond said: "There was an exchange of views. We received some very useful information about the state of affairs in Rhodesia."

Sir Hugh saw the Prime Minister again on Monday,

and left London Airport that night for Salisbury.

It is understood that he did not at any time indicate that Mr. Smith would be ready to accept any proposals unless they recognized Rhodesia's independence.

Before leaving London Airport Sir Hugh said: "I think my visit has been profitable. I have had interesting exchanges of views with all those people who are interested in solving the Rhodesian problem; and one thing that has really impressed me is the tremendous interest that everybody here has in Rhodesia."

## No Retreat from Independence, Says Mr. Harper

"Rhodesians Can Take It, But Must Also Dish It Out"

**AN AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE** by Rhodesians in response to the pressures imposed upon them by Britain's Socialist Government was recommended by Mr. WILLIAM HARPER, Minister for Internal Affairs, when he addressed a meeting of Salisbury Rotary Club.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA can now amplify the brief report already published.

Mr. Harper said, *inter alia* —

"Since November 11, 1965, we in Rhodesia have been like sitting ducks on what we have prided ourselves to be the still waters of the mill pond of the Rhodesian scene. Our pride in the way in which all our people, with rare exceptions, have gone quietly about their business, endeavouring to adjust themselves to new situations, is something of which we can justifiably feel a sense of achievement, but, in terms of the task ahead, it is not enough for us to allow ourselves to be potted at by the British Government.

"The reduction in crime, the quietness of the Rhodesian scene, the fact that the races appear to be getting on well, are excellent, but not sufficient protection against those who shoot at us. It may comfort our friends abroad if life proceeds smoothly here, but does that get us safely to our destination? Sitting ducks are excellent targets for hunters standing on the banks. Not only have most sportsmanlike shots been aimed at sitting birds, but the blighters have invited hunters from other parts of the world to join in the game; and apparently there is to be no closed season.

### Moving from Passive to Active Role

"Fortunately, some are not such good shots as others, and a few appear to have loaded their guns with blanks, but sooner or later all this must come to an end. Either they run out of ammunition and leave us alone, or we make it not worth their while to waste further ammunition on us, or we come to an arrangement to be allowed to be left in peace and in control of our patch of water. We must plan for all of these contingencies.

"We can be proud of the way in which the public and the services have rallied to the cause of Rhodesia, and are prepared to meet the demands being made upon them. Most of us, officials, businessmen, professional men, artisans, are playing our part as best we know and within the limits of the guidance by the Government. But now, two months after our declaration of independence, the actions of the British Government demand that we move from this passive rôle to an intensely active one.

"Our task now is to take the fight to the enemy—to those we face in the British Government who are planning our destruction, despite solemn assurances that they would never be vindictive.

"However great the pressure upon us, it must be remembered that European society—be it in Africa or

elsewhere—is distinct from any other in the vast majority of its facets, and it can be nurtured, kept alive, flourish and increase only if the control remains within the hands of those who embrace it, practise it, teach it—in reality, have it inherent in them.

"Secondly, the rights of a society to defend its very existence is not only the most natural but the oldest of rights.

"It is not enough to dodge the effect of sanctions like ducks on a pond, because the cumulative effect would be to keep ourselves on the defensive, merely waiting for the next bang from Wilson. I am no advocate of personal animosity towards the British people. After all, we are a part of that ourselves; but this contest will be won only when our anger rises, as it had to do in the '39/45 war.

"In this psychological and economic battle there is an extremely important part to be played by the Government but which must for obvious reasons remain unsaid. The Government, with the advantage of its staffs and advisers, can plan and bring into effect numerous actions to this end. But the man in the street has no such springboard from which he can operate, and from the many people to whom I speak it is clear that they would welcome a lead. People want to be a part of the fight, but many do not know what to do.

### Bringing Public Opinion to Bear

"First and foremost I believe, the people must bring public opinion to bear against news media articles dedicated to warming the heart of Mr. Wilson.

"Take the case of last night's fracas [the meeting in Salisbury addressed by three Socialist M.P.s from Britain, two of them Parliamentary Private Secretaries.—Ed.] Whether this was engineered or not we shall probably never know, but the net result is a weapon in the hands of those who wish us harm. A newspaper editorial has to have an obvious wallow in the matter, with pontification to match. We can do without some of the visiting M.P.s. I do not object to visits by M.P.s. who do not see eye to eye with us provided they have open minds and are prepared always to be objective. But visits by known fellow-travellers can lead only to mischief.

"I would never want newspapers or other media of information to cover up failings of the Administration, but that is not the same thing as cheering on the British Government. To this extent I consider censorship a necessary evil at present. However, this will not be new to journalists, for newspaper owners and editors employ their own brand of censorship, depending on the political views they espouse. Thus we have a censorship far more partial and far more difficult to detect than anything the Government does. My own approach to the problem is to have the public given a variety of news from competitive papers, thus covering the news more faithfully.

"Next, we must do our best to undermine and bring down the Labour Government, as it is trying to do to us. By word, by deed, by business contact the name of the British Government must be made to stink in the nostrils of the world, and particularly those of the British people. If this is to be a fight, let us take it a great deal more seriously.

### Doing Business with the Continent

"Apart from those British firms who are endeavouring to help—and there are some whom we must not forget—let us turn our attention to other countries on the Continent. If British goods are shoddy, let's tell the world. If British insurance companies cannot meet their commitments when it suits British politics, let's tell the world. If we cannot get spare parts for British-made machines because of British politics, again let us tell the people. Let us not sit and wait for the next measures

against us. Perhaps a department of psychological and economic warfare is needed to help to get things going faster in this direction.

"This morning I see that a business in Portugal manufacturing adhesives is offering to do business here. Let us have more of this. Spain, France, Germany and other countries must now be given preferential consideration by our business men. Insurance and shipping should avoid British associations. Above all, let us stick to those who were prepared to come and help us in our time of need. The British Government is trying to get at the Rhodesian Government through imposing difficulties on the Rhodesian people. Let us get back at them through British business and the impact upon the British working man... I repeat that there are exceptions to the rule, and that we must differentiate between those who are helpful and those who are not.

"In a shooting war of any length of time, both sides generally have their successes and their reverses. For strategic reasons we are not able to point to obvious successes, but without giving the game away much can be done to show that we are fighting our way out. As our position strengthens this can be made more obvious to the public. The mere fact that life is

proceeding normally and without rationing will be adequate evidence for our most hardened opponents. But that time is not yet with us and some hard cycling is necessary if we are to get to the point from which we can coast down the hill for a bit.

"In the not too long run, provided the administration is effective, we shall fight our way out of the position in which Britain is endeavouring to place us, but we want a lot more looking ahead than we have seen in some cases, and we need a change of attitude amongst many influential Rhodesians to a positive and aggressive approach to the problems. One thing is sure: we cannot go back on our independence. So it is best for all if we show the British Government through the British people that we can take it but intend to dish it out.

"Finally, may I say how grateful I am for the kind offer made in an English paper that I should form a Government with Mr. Todd, Lord Malvern, Uncle Tom Cobley, and all. No doubt those gentlemen have equally strong views on the position, but I cannot and will not move from my principles, and there is not the least chance of my joining them. My objectives are to save the society to which I belong, not to give it away".

## Britain's Purely Destructive Policy

### Aiding African Nationalism, Says Sir E. Whitehead

IT IS TRAGIC that the British Government should have deliberately set itself to destroy the economy of Rhodesia in furtherance of the aims of African nationalism, SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has said in a long article in the *Statist*.

He wrote *inter alia*—

"The confrontation between the dominant white Governments of South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola on the one hand, and the rest of the African continent on the other, is a struggle which will continue for years. The African nationalists will keep it up until there is no white Government left in Africa or until they are defeated. The immediate problem is whether the frontier between black Africa and white-dominated Africa is to be the Zambezi or the Limpopo.

"If an African Government were established in Rhodesia, and a Government hostile to Portugal were to take over Malawi, the military defence of Mozambique would be beyond the capacity of Portugal. They would probably have to withdraw south of the Limpopo and rely on South African aid to hold Lourenço Marques and the southern tip of the province.

### Gift to the Extremists

"Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence, a gift from the gods to the African nationalists, has been probably the only fact which could have persuaded the United Kingdom, the United States, and most of the Western Powers to combine for the destruction of the Rhodesian economy and the overthrow of the white Rhodesian Government.

"The Lagos Commonwealth Conference has committed Britain completely to the support of the African nationalist aims on Rhodesia—though not, of course, necessarily to their precise time-table or methods.

"For a month after U.D.I. we were told that the immediate aim would be the reinstatement of the 1961 Constitution under a moderate, mainly white Government to be appointed by the Governor.

"Since Lagos the talk is entirely of a period of direct rule by Britain after the collapse of the régime. This will involve an enormous outlay by Britain and the presence of British troops so long as such direct rule continues. It means that the handover, when it comes, will be to an African nationalist Government. It also means that African impatience and the great cost will

ensure that the period will be short—less than five years.

"At Lagos Britain accepted a deadline of July for sanctions to have overthrown the Rhodesian régime. Britain has bought six months on the plain understanding that stronger measures will be used, probably by the U.N., if sanctions have not been effective by then. The British Government believes that the régime will have collapsed long before July. If they are found to be wrong, force is almost certain after July.

"Lagos has made further negotiations with the Smith régime impracticable. The two matters of principle on which the régime could not compromise and survive are, first, the maintenance of the independence they assumed illegally, and, secondly, the maintenance of white political supremacy for a long period of years. It is quite certain therefore that the régime and the bulk of the white Rhodesian population will resist sanctions to the point of complete economic collapse, and the consequent breakdown of law and order. I would not expect this point to be reached as early as July, if at all.

### Britain Committed to Destroy Rhodesia

"In Britain it is not yet generally realized that the Lagos Conference has committed Britain to the complete destruction of the Rhodesian economy, to be followed by a period of direct rule from Britain which will be immensely costly, and will inevitably involve for some years the stationing in Rhodesia of substantial numbers of British troops.

"In the event of sanctions not proving effective, they are virtually committed to acquiesce in the use of force by the U.N. to overthrow the Smith régime, with the very probable involvement of both South Africa and Portugal in war in Southern Africa.

"When it is realized where present policy is leading us, there will be a deep and highly emotional split in British public opinion that will cut across present party boundaries and profoundly affect British politics.

"Western Europe, particularly France and West Germany, will not wish to become involved in U.N. or Commonwealth action in the racial struggle for the control of Southern Africa. They will immediately be affected by the withdrawal of British troops from Rhodesia could be obtained. Many people in Western Europe already regard Britain as the 'Sick Man of Europe.' Her assumption of heavy new responsibilities in Southern Africa for military occupation expenses and a rescue attempt on a ruined Central African economy, coupled with a probable confrontation with South Africa, her third best customer in normal times, is likely to end any possibility of Britain being accepted into Europe.

"The fault of the whole Rhodesian policy is that it is purely destructive. To a person like myself, who has devoted 30 years to trying to build up the economy of Central Africa in general and Rhodesia in particular, it is tragic to see the British Government deliberately setting out to destroy it in furtherance of the aims of African nationalism. The supreme folly of the Smith Administration is no excuse for a purely destructive policy by Britain.

"If Britain as well as Rhodesia is to avoid widespread and destructive consequences from this conflict, the only hope is an immediate Act of Union. White Rhodesians can accept the security such an Act would give now and for the future; the African could get at once one-man-one-vote and cease to be a second-class citizen in the land of his birth; and neighbouring territories, black and white, would be spared the prospect of a racial war."



## Britain Must Trust Rhodesia Mr. Smith's Blunt Criticisms

MR. SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, contributes to this week's *Punch* a three-page article which concludes:—

"We asked the British Government to trust us. This they would not do. Now they have no option but to take us on trust."

"Today our aim is to show the world that, despite the pressure of certain evil forces who desire nothing more than the complete elimination of the white man from Africa, we are prepared to honour the pledge which we offered to the British Government. *Sit nomine digna*. We will prove worthy of it."

Asking that Rhodesia's case should be looked at from her point of view, Mr. Smith writes:—

"Since the second world war we have seen successive British Governments yielding time and again to the pressure of the rabble-rousers who, to serve their own ends, desire the immediate 'liberation' of all Colonial States of Africa and Asia."

### "Liberation" Means Domination

"First the forces of 'liberation' seek out the 'power-hungry', the 'favour-peddlers', and the 'workshy' for the purpose of forming them into a leadership nucleus of a terrorist organization. The second phase is the subjugation of the minds of the untutored by witchcraft and other bestial practices. Then follows the bloodshed of innocents who want nothing more from life than the opportunity to follow their own inclination and desires in peace and tranquility. At this point the forces of law and order arrest the so-called leaders and incarcerate them."

"But sometimes in the weird recesses of the minds of those who lead the British Government there leaps the thought that these men, whose crimes against humanity are far worse than anything conceived by the beasts of Belsen, are the true leaders of the people and must be elevated overnight to the administrative control of those whom they sought to destroy."

"This phase is followed by the ceremonial hauling down of the Union Jack by some unfortunate member of the British Royal Family. Then, sometimes within months, sometimes within weeks, but more often within days, there is the final phase of the installation of a totalitarian regime."

"In anticipation of the second phase, caches of firearms and explosives were smuggled into Rhodesia. In remote areas of other nations which pay lip-service to the Commonwealth ideal, training is being given to so-called freedom fighters, so that they might undertake guerrilla operations in Rhodesia."

"Mr. Wilson played along with those whom we regard as the leaders of the Rhodesian terrorist organizations. Here were the men he had in mind to take over this country at the earliest possible moment. He gave a clear indication of this when he gave a lion's share of his time to Nkomo and Sithole, when to the Council of Chiefs, the traditional leaders of three million people, he impatiently gave less than an hour."

## Airmen in Rhodesia

THREE SENIOR AIRCRAFTSMEN of the Royal Air Force, who were stated on Sunday to have been absent without leave for a week from their unit at Ndola, are believed to have entered Rhodesia in muffi and crossed the Zambezi by the bridge at Chirundu. Their comrades have complained that conditions at Ndola are most unsatisfactory, and said that there were probably also political reasons for the disappearance of the three young men, who had been engaged on unloading oil-lift aircraft from Tanzania. Though the work was dirty, there was lack of washing facilities in the camp, no places for clothes to be hung, and not even chairs in the large exhibition hall in which many of the men were housed. Even sanitary arrangements were inadequate, and rain penetrated the roof of the sleeping quarters.

"Elm. has been spent in the past year on the buildings of University College, Dar es Salaam"—President Nyerere.

## Three-point Peace Plan for Rhodesia Rejection of Idea of Direct Rule

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, said on Monday at a Commonwealth Correspondents' Association luncheon in London that the British Government should be ready to talk to the Rhodesian Prime Minister, and that there should be no question of direct rule from Westminster or through the Governor.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Heath said:—

"We have supported the economic measures taken by the Government to persuade some people in Rhodesia who are supporting illegal independence to change their minds. Our aim has been to see Rhodesia return to the path of constitutional development within the Commonwealth."

"As the economic measures take effect—I have always emphasized this in every speech in the House of Commons—we should show the people in Rhodesia the way back to the path we want them to take."

It is very important at that moment to do this, at a time when the economic measures are taking effect, and as they do so bitterness increases.

"Two reasons why it is important are, first, so that those moderate views shall not become more extreme; second, so that we can try to remove some of the suspicion and bitterness which undoubtedly exist, and enable them to come back to the constitutional path."

"I make three broad points, broad because at this stage one wants to show the path simply and clearly. It may be that people in Rhodesia have not yet reached the stage where they are prepared to enter into discussions."

### Britain Must Talk to Mr. Smith

"The first is that we shall be prepared to talk to any and all in Rhodesia who are prepared to return to the path of constitutional development. This includes all those who have maintained their belief in the constitutional path, and any others, including Mr. Smith or members of his group, who decide that they want to return to that path. There should be no hedging about this simple, broad statement. Whenever they are ready, we are ready."

"The second point is that the return must be to constitutional government. There can be no question of a return to direct rule, either from the Secretary of State's office in Westminster or from the Governor."

"That would have no attraction for anyone in Rhodesia, moderate or otherwise, because it would mean going back on 40 years of development towards independence. It must be a return to constitutional rule."

"The easiest framework for this is the 1961 Constitution. Into this could be embodied such amendments as are necessary to give reassurance to the European population that there is no threat of immediate majority rule, and assurance to the African population that there is no question of going back on what has been achieved, but that there will be steady progress."

"The third point in the plan must be substantial British help for an accelerated educational programme in Rhodesia and British assistance in Rhodesia's economic development."

Mr. Heath concluded by insisting that the British Government must abandon its ideas of never talking to Mr. Smith or any of his Cabinet colleagues, of trying to disqualify them from public life, and of ruling through the Governor.

MR. ANTHONY BARBER, Conservative M.P. for Altrincham and Sale, a former Minister of Health, said in Knutsford, Cheshire, at the week-end that Mr. Wilson's behaviour over Rhodesia in the past couple of days had been deplorable. "Not only has his public relations outfit at No. 10 tried to squeeze party political advantage out of every development since Sir Hugh Beadle arrived, but Mr. Wilson personally sought to prevent him from seeing Mr. Heath until the Government had everything cut and dried. Sir Hugh has advised the Government to negotiate with Mr. Smith, which Mr. Wilson has repeatedly refused to do."

# PERSONALIA

SIR ROY WELENSKY was 59 last Thursday.  
SIR STEWART GORE-BROWNE has visited Tanzania from Zambia.

KING OLAV has returned to Norway from his State visit to Ethiopia.

BRIGADIER and MRS. W. E. DUNCAN are on their way to Rhodesia by sea.

ARCHBISHOP GUIDO DEL MESTRI has been appointed Pro-Nuncio in Kenya.

PRESIDENT NYERERE flew to Lusaka at the beginning of the week to stay with PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

MR. L. W. COLE, secretary of the Standard Bank, is now also secretary of the Bank of West Africa.

MR. MAERSK MOELLER, chairman of the Tanganyika Planting Company, has visited Tanzania from Denmark.

VICE ADMIRAL PEVERIL WILLIAM-POWLETT and MRS. WILLIAM-POWLETT, widow of CAPTAIN NEWTON WILLIAM-POWLETT, R.N., have been married in London.

MR. ANGUS MAUDE, M.P., who had published two articles sharply criticizing the Conservative leadership, last week resigned as its spokesman on Colonial affairs.

MR. A. C. NOBLE, London editor of the Argus South African group of newspapers, and MRS. NOBLE have left in the PRETORIA CASTLE for South Africa and Rhodesia.

SIR CHARLES AND THE HON. LADY PONSONBY sailed on Friday in the PRETORIA CASTLE. SIR KENNETH and LADY HAGUE and SIR ERIC and LADY MILLBOURN were fellow-passengers.

MR. J. VASS has arrived in Uganda to establish a national provident fund scheme and train personnel for it. His appointment is under the Commonwealth African Assistance Plan.

MR. E. J. D. KEWLEY has been appointed assistant staff general manager of the Standard Bank; MR. D. P. PINKS assistant general manager; and MR. H. D. M. TURNER deputy secretary.

MR. B. W. THOMPSON has retired from the post of Director of the East African Meteorological Department, which he joined in 1951. The Acting Director, MR. C. M. TAYLOR, was his deputy.

COMMANDER GEORGE COLE's trimaran was eight days overdue when it returned to the Seychelles on Sunday. MRS. EMILY COLE, the 72-year-old grandmother, said that she had greatly enjoyed the sail from Mombasa. The family are making for New Zealand.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, Kenya's High Commissioner in London, has visited the Vatican to present his credentials as Ambassador to the Holy See. He was accompanied to Rome by MR. KENNETH MEADOWS. DR. KARANJA will continue to reside in London.

DR. PETER POVEY of St. Patrick's Hospital, Gwelo, will shortly return to Britain from Rhodesia.

MR. M. F. STRUTT has been elected vice-chairman of Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., a group with large East African interests.

MR. PETER SCOTT, son of the explorer, who has paid several visits to East Africa, is in the Antarctic to retrace his father's footsteps for a television documentary.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, British Representative in East and Central Africa, flew from Nairobi to Blantyre last week to see DR. BANDA. He was in Malawi only one day.

SIR MARK TURNER is now a deputy chairman of Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd. Owing to other business pressures MR. GERALD COKE has resigned as a deputy chairman but remains on the board.

MR. ROBERT RUARK, the American novelist and journalist who lived for some time in Kenya and wrote two sensational books about that country, left estate in England valued at £23,908, on which duty of £3,614 has been paid.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER, Third Secretary in the British High Commission in Nigeria, is in Addis Ababa under treatment for jaundice and the after-effects of hepatitis. He first visited Ethiopia while an undergraduate.

MR. H. F. (HARRY) GOOD, recently appointed sales manager for all the African routes covered by B.O.A.C., is now visiting the territories. He was sales manager in the U.S.A. for 10 years, and then for two years sales manager for Europe.

SIR HAROLD EVANS will on March 1 become public relations adviser to the chairman of the Vickers group. He was seconded from the Colonial Office to become public relations adviser to MR. MACMILLAN when he was Prime Minister. A baronetcy was conferred when MR. MACMILLAN resigned.

DR. and MRS. L. C. HOLLAND, MR. T. A. LEWIN, MR. D. B. POLLARD, COMMANDER and MRS. I. SCOTT-DALGLEISH, and DR. and MRS. STRUBE are passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE, which sailed from London last Thursday. DR. I. MACADAM is a passenger for Dar es Salaam.

The new board of East African Cargo Handling Services reconstituted by direction of the East African Common Services Authority, consists of MR. C. TAMALE (Chairman), MR. W. B. AKATSA, MR. A. R. COLLIER, MR. A. H. EARLEY, MR. A. P. DE JEAN, MR. J. P. LUPEMBA, MR. R. W. MACDONALD, MR. A. E. MBUYA, MR. D. G. SEVASTOPULO, MR. I. M. SHEJA, SIR JOSEPH SIMPSON and MR. A. C. A. TANDAU. One member remains to be nominated. MR. EDWARD HALWENGE has been appointed general manager.

## Obituary

MISS ALICE FRANCES CLOETE has died suddenly in Kitale, Kenya, aged 80.

MR. NORMAN PHILIP MITTON, of Nairobi, has been killed in a car accident near the Kenya capital.

MR. ARTHUR WALLIS SKRINE, for many years in the Sudan Civil Service, has died in Salcome, Devon, aged 80.

MR. JULES LEON KIDICHO, Minister for Social Affairs in the Congo, has been killed in a car crash in Leopoldville.

FLYING OFFICER DEREK LAW, of Salisbury, Rhodesia, who had served in the R.A.F. since 1958, was killed when his jet fighter aircraft crashed near Ipswich.

MR. JOHN ROBERTSON, of Kilmarnock, who had retired to Scotland after farming for many years in Southern Rhodesia, left personal estate in the United Kingdom of £35,965.

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Letters to the Editor

# How Rhodesian Minister Was Promised Independence

Mr. J. H. Howman Describes Crucial Conversation with An Evasive Mr. Butler

**DENIALS BY BRITISH MINISTERS** that independence had been promised to Southern Rhodesia before the Victoria Falls Conference on the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland led the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to invite Mr. J. H. HOWMAN, now Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism in Rhodesia, to make a statement for publication on a conversation which he was known to have had in the summer of 1963 with Mr. R. A. Butler, then First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs.

*As will be seen from the letter hereunder, Mr. Howman received from Mr. Butler the clear impression that H.M. Government had decided to grant the independence which Rhodesia had claimed.*

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR,—I was in London in June, 1963, when the question of the dissolution of the then Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was a very live issue. You will recall that the attitude of the Government of Southern Rhodesia had been that it would not attend any conference in connexion with the dissolution unless it was assured of its independence. It was whilst I was in London that the Rhodesian Government altered its plans and decided that it would in fact attend a dissolution conference.

As a result I was invited by Mr. Butler, the then First Secretary of State, to call upon him in order to discuss events. Mr. Butler indicated that he was anxious to be reassured on the attitude of my Government and of the Federal Government in relation to the proposed conference. He was clearly apprehensive lest we should attend without constructive intent.

I recall telling him that if he had such fears he did not really understand or know us, and that I had no doubt at all that if we agreed to attend we would co-operate fully to make the conference a success. But it was dependent upon the extent of his co-operation and the extent to which his actions made it possible for us to attend.

If, for instance, there was any question as to where the Royal Rhodesian Air Force were to be assigned, or if there was any suggestion that Rhodesia should foot the bill arising out of the dissolution, then of course our co-operation would not be assured. Moreover, he had to realize that we were determined to pursue our objective of independence for Rhodesia.

Our conversation then went on to the attitudes of the Federal Ministers. I assured him that I was certain that they would be as anxious as everybody else to get the Federation wound up in an orderly manner as quickly as possible. Mr. Butler seemed considerably relieved.

I then turned to the question of Rhodesia's independence, for we had asked Mr. Butler to have two days of discussion with us on this subject before the Victoria Falls Conference started. I confess that after a while I became somewhat nettled by my inability to draw anything concise out of Mr. Butler, who was of course a master of diplomacy, whilst I was very much a new boy in this field.

Ultimately, I well remember turning to him with that sense of exasperation that lawyers get when they deal with an evasive witness and saying: "Mr. Secretary of

State, I come to the conclusion that you have no intention of granting independence to Rhodesia under any circumstances whatsoever".

His response was startling. He jerked up with obvious concern—he was sitting back in an easy chair—threw up his hands, and said words to this effect: "Please, I beg of you not to think that. The immediate problem facing us is the dissolution of the Federation. Immediately that is behind us the question of the independence of Rhodesia can follow, and I have no doubt that we shall be able to overcome the difficulties".

After this lapse of time it is of course difficult to be certain of his exact words, but a vivid impression remains with me of his reaction to my challenge. I should add that no one else was present.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. HOWMAN,  
Minister of Information,  
Immigration and Tourism.

Salisbury,  
Rhodesia.

## Africans Use the Block Vote System

Is that Not the Socialist Practice?

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—The one-man-one-vote system which so many people in this country want to force on Rhodesia would result, not in democracy, but in the seizure of power by fanatical African extremists determined on dictatorship. Many Africans already have the vote, but the majority, it would be fair to say, have a block vote through the tribal leaders. What is wrong with that from the standpoint of Socialism? Do not Socialists use precisely that system at their conferences?

Black-dominated States to the North have shown Rhodesians what happens under African dictatorship. Rhodesians do not want the corrupt and inefficient administration which is increasingly prevalent elsewhere in East, Central, and West Africa. We should support Mr. Smith in his endeavour to preserve what has been created and established in Rhodesia, mainly by Britons.

Most people in this country, to judge from my contacts, wish the Rhodesians well and dislike these spiteful, vindictive sanctions, which can bring no good to anyone. I know from the Rhodesian friends with whom I have spent considerable periods that nearly all Rhodesians, black as well as white, are united behind Mr. Smith.

With results which are painfully evident today, we have given independence to other countries in Africa long before they were ready for the responsibility. It is absurd to refuse that status to Rhodesia which has striven so hard to preserve high standards.

Yours faithfully,

Petersfield, Hampshire. I. B. LAMPORT (MRS.).

## Mr. Wilson's New Statement

*The Prime Minister has made a new policy statement on Rhodesia, the text of which was not available when this issue went to press. It will be published in full next week.*

## Royal Reprieve for Two Africans

### "Political Move" Charge by Mr. Smith

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE of the Privy Council last week dismissed two appeals by Rhodesian Africans, named Lazurus and Runyowa, against conviction and the death sentence for attempted arson of houses in Salisbury with petrol bombs. On the advice of the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, the Queen thereupon exercised her prerogative of mercy.

Mr. Bottomley urged the Smith régime to spare the lives of the two men and commute the death sentences to life imprisonment, adding: "We must wait and see whether the Smith régime will dare to execute these two men, neither of whom is a murderer, against the express wishes and orders of Her Majesty".

On Saturday the B.B.C. twice broadcast to Rhodesia a warning by the editor of the *Law Guardian* that the Smith régime would be guilty of murder if the reprieves were ignored. "I tell my fellow-British subjects in Salisbury that we have no wish to be unfriendly to them, but they ought to remember the fate of William Joyce. He forgot that he was a British subject and was guilty of plain disloyalty to his Sovereign in Germany. In due course he was sentenced to death at the Old Bailey for treason".

Another legal expert said: "In English law the hangman would be guilty of murder and the members of the Executive Council who ordered the act would be accessories and accomplices. The condemned men could petition the High Court in Rhodesia for a stay of execution, and the High Court would then be squarely faced with the question of the legality of the Smith Administration".

On Friday the Rhodesian Government issued a statement describing as an "illegal act" the "so-called" exercise of the royal prerogative, saying that "nobody can deny that this is a political move designed to embarrass the Rhodesian Government; it is a pity that once again the British Government should have shown its willingness to embroil Her Majesty the Queen in politics".

The Executive Council, consisting of the Officer Administering the Government and the members of the Cabinet, would consider the cases in the normal way.

### Man's Life Used for Political Ends

The statement described the British Government's action in making a recommendation to the Queen as irresponsible, for it had not before it the written report of the judges or the reports concerning the circumstances of the condemned man.

"Here a man's life was at stake and the British Government have used it for their own political ends; quite obviously with the intention of trying to undermine law and order in Rhodesia and interfere with local security. Moreover, the British Government knows full well that it has neither the authority nor the power to see its decision carried out in Rhodesia".

On Sunday the Rev. Gary Strong and the Rev. Shadrach Ushewokunze, prison chaplains in Rhodesia, appealed to political leaders in Britain and Rhodesia not to drag into the arena of political controversy the cases of Africans condemned under the "hanging clause". They said:—

"As chaplains to more than 20 prisoners in the condemned cells of Salisbury, we view with dismay the possibility that the question of granting clemency may be dragged into the arena of political controversy. During the past two years we have been in close proximity to those who live under the shadow of execution. We shared a little of the protracted and agonizing suspense to themselves and their families while awaiting the verdict of the Privy Council.

"From personal knowledge we can testify to the great reluctance of the Rhodesian authorities to impose the extreme penalty upon these men and their hope that it may prove possible, without undermining the course of justice, to exercise clemency. We believe too that this would be the wish of all true Rhodesians. We therefore appeal that, without prejudice to the question of any future trial, there should be an early review of each case with a view to commuting the sentences and thereby ending the uncertainty concerning their execution".

Both ministers belong to the Methodist Church. Mr. Strong was born in Rhodesia. Copies of their appeal have been delivered to the Governor and Mr. Smith.

The first African to be sentenced to death under the "hanging clause" in the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, Richard Mapolisa, had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment last year by the Rhodesian Government. Twenty-three other Africans have been similarly sentenced, but in no case has the convicted man been hanged.

## Rhodesians Write to British M.P.s.

### Standards Second to None in Africa

MANY MEMBERS of the House of Commons, and other people in Britain, have received the following air letter from Rhodesia:—

"This is our first independent Christmas. Yet, although independent, we feel as closely bound to you as before. Ties of kinship and the tribulations of two world wars have welded us into a united people. We have been accused of being 'More British than the British'. We are not ashamed of this, for in our minds it stands for justice and fair play.

"But there comes a time in every nation's life when it must decide its future in the world. To us in Rhodesia that day arrived on November 11. Our demeanour was one of calm, united determination. Freedom, and all that it stands for, meant to us the right to rule our destiny for the benefit of all our people. On such a significant day we remembered those who had gone before us, and said a silent prayer that we too would have the courage to live for what they had died—the right of small nations.

"Our new Constitution, while giving independence to the people of Rhodesia, forges an unbreakable link with the people of Britain, and maintains our long proven loyalty to the Queen. Yet our reward for past loyalty and sacrifices on behalf of the British Commonwealth is to have our advance to full freedom attacked by the application of vindictive sanctions.

### No Thought of Surrender

"These measures, the weight of which we have yet to feel, are the only stumbling-block to our future. We know that, given a fair chance, we can move quickly forward to economic expansion in unity of purpose. Of all the new free nations in Africa we alone have achieved true freedom through our own efforts. We have cost the British taxpayer nothing, and in every sphere we have achieved standards second to none.

"Many of us remember when we stood with Britain and faced an awful future. It is with the same determination that Rhodesia looks to the future. There was no thought of surrender in your hearts in 1940, and there is none in ours today. We face these sanctions with sadness in the knowledge that you, our people, condone them. How can the greatness of a stand be looked upon by you as something unjust? Surely you must agree that a basic part of man's heritage is to claim his rightful place in the world. It is your right. Why not ours?

"When we base these ideals on fair play for all our people, where is the injustice in our cause? We are, and will be, all the greater because we did not choose the easy way out; but we see our earnest endeavours and all our achievements being thrown to the winds. How can anyone with fellow-feeling hack asunder the bonds which bind us together? This will inflict wounds which may never heal, but may ever be a thing of shame in the history of a great nation.

"Will you add your voice to the many millions in Britain who are not prepared to see their kith and kin in Rhodesia submitted to measures which will not beat us to our knees but will only cause bitterness and lasting resentment? We will never surrender to force and intimidation.

"More important still, ask those people who brought about these sanctions to remember that when they hit us they also hit our African people, to whom, by our efforts alone, we are striving to give an equal place in the sun".

## Sympathy in Australia and New Zealand

PUBLIC OPINION in Australia thinks that Britain has gone crazy in abdicating its leadership under African pressures. Mr. Jonathan Aitken has reported from Sydney to the *Daily Express*. He has found sympathy for Rhodesia extremely strong in New Zealand also, where one leading Government official estimated that "80% of this country is solidly behind Mr. Smith".

The editor of the *New Zealand Herald*, equivalent in local status to the *London Times*, told him: "Most New Zealanders think it is high time a barbed-wire fence was put round Black Africa to let them fight things out among themselves. We would like to see South Africa back in the Commonwealth. The Rhodesians are only doing what we did to the Maoris a century ago. Naturally we feel strongly sympathetic".

## Use of Force Utterly Repugnant No Veto on Rhodesia's Spokesmen

MR. MAUDLING, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said in a speech in Portsmouth last Thursday that there must be early discussions with Rhodesia, which must be free to choose its own representatives.

"They cannot be chosen in Whitehall, and Mr. Wilson cannot claim the right to exercise a veto. The object of policy now should be to begin discussions at the earliest practicable moment with the leaders of Rhodesia, whoever they are, so long as they are prepared to return to constitutional ways. A solution can come only by agreement, and that presupposes discussion.

"The use of force to solve the constitutional problem is utterly repugnant to the people of Britain."

He also told a conference of East Midlands Conservatives on Sunday: "We must deal with the people in Rhodesia who represent Rhodesia so long as they are prepared to return to constitutional government."

Asked if he thought that Sir Alec Douglas-Home could helpfully visit Rhodesia at this stage, he replied: "Sir Alec's prestige stands high there and here, but timing is immensely important, and we must be careful not to give an impression of seeking political capital."

### Governing by Gimmick

He described Mr. Wilson as "governing by gimmick and excuses, making his way through the political jungle by swinging from one slender branch to another, abandoning each just before it breaks".

Addressing a meeting in Portsmouth on Friday, Mr. Maudling said that the aim of British policy should be to start discussions with Rhodesia's leaders, whoever they were, as soon as possible. The problem had been intensified by Mr. Wilson's recent actions; by his personal attacks on Mr. Smith; by his references to direct British rule in Rhodesia; by the strange decision to send Mr. Bottomley to Salisbury, a decision rescinded within hours; and by his actions on such matters as pensions. In all those ways the Prime Minister had placed obstacles to a solution.

Sir Gerald Nabarro, prospective Tory candidate for South Worcestershire, and a former M.P., said in an address in Grimsby that the Prime Minister's sequestration of the funds of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia "was as illegal as Rhodesia's U.D.I., and infinitely harmful to London as the great international financial centre". He continued:—

"The Rhodesia Reserve Bank funds were virtually on deposit in London. So are countless other Commonwealth and foreign funds. Many foreign depositors may well take the view, as I do, that if at any time in the future London disapproves politically of a depositor's behaviour, their London funds are liable to sequestration. Then Zurich, Amsterdam or Wall Street, safe from Socialist political whims, may be deemed preferable to London by future Commonwealth and foreign depositors.

"Does my bank manager pinch my money on deposit because he disapproves of my behaviour on Saturday nights? Mr. Wilson has impugned the good name of the Bank of England by his spiteful and vicious behaviour against white Rhodesians."

### Resume Relations, Say Constituency Leaders

By 13 votes to 10, the Conservative divisional council in Chislehurst, Kent, which consists of 63 branch officials in the Chislehurst Parliamentary division, has resolved to press for the resumption of political and trade relations with Rhodesia.

Mr. Raymond Pope, the vice-chairman, said that he had supported the resolution because "I feel very strongly that the official party line does not represent the general feeling in the Conservative Party. The party seems completely out of touch with the opinions of its workers and supporters over Rhodesia. We shall be accused of rocking the boat, but it is imperative that someone speaks out."

Another member of the council said: "On Rhodesia the party has been very wussy-wussy and flabby. I am sure that the majority of Conservatives want negotiations with Mr. Smith and a return of normal relations with Rhodesia."

Dame Patricia Hornsby-Smith, M.P. for Chislehurst, said: "Many of those who spoke for the resolution wanted recog-

nition of the Smith régime. I emphasized that it was essential to keep the matter in Britain's hands, and told them that recognition would certainly mean United Nations intervention, probably Canadian, which would be a disaster."

Mr. Christopher Rowland, Socialist M.P. for Meriden, said on his arrival in London from Rhodesia:—

"I was at that rowdy meeting in Salisbury for only the last 20 minutes, but I was the one that got clobbered. A great number of people turned up who had no wish to discuss the situation with us or listen to answers to questions. Whether the incident that ended the meeting was deliberately organized I shall never know.

"I think the sanctions are beginning to bite. The top people in industry are starting to worry, but the man in the street, who is not so well informed, does not know that the sanctions are beginning to take effect.

"There are rumours that there is an oil leak. My feeling is that if there were any substantial oil importations going on they would be known about. Mr. Smith may be trying it on."

### B.B.C. Not Heard in Salisbury

Mr. David Ennals, Socialist M.P. for Dover, said that none of the Rhodesian trade union leaders had been shaken by British sanctions out of firm support for Mr. Smith.

In Salisbury he and his two colleagues had met nobody who had heard the B.B.C. transmissions from Bechuanaland, but they were heard in Bulawayo.

Sir Thomas Pilkington, a director of the Harrison Line, said that British shipowners were suffering heavy loss of business owing to the Rhodesian situation.

Mr. Hyde C. Burton accused the Tory leaders of "backing a policy which will not only ruin Rhodesia, but have a disastrous effect on the United Kingdom economy, and might even wreck the pound sterling".

The council of the British Medical Association has protested to the Minister of Health against sanctions which involve medicine in political action. It deplors interference with a British Empire Cancer Campaign research project in Rhodesia, a Medical Research Council investigation of spinal tuberculosis, and an anti-malaria drive by the World Health Organization.

A medical consultant in Rhodesia has informed *Medical News* that foreign drug manufacturers have shown readiness to do business with Rhodesian hospitals.

Dr. Coggan, Archbishop of York, told the Convocation of York a few days ago that in Rhodesia "the struggle may be long, and the rebuilding, once it can begin, uphill and arduous".

### Too Grave for Party Treatment

The Church should pray for the Bishops of Matabeleland and Mashonaland in a situation "which must at times be agonizing" and for politicians at home and in Africa and others concerned "that they may be saved from making a party political issue out of matters which are far too grave to allow of such treatment".

The executive council of the Episcopal Church of the United States has called on members of that Church who are engaged in business affairs with Rhodesia to curtail their economic transactions with that country.

"Whatever sacrifice this may mean on a temporary basis pales alongside the witness our brothers are called on to make within the country itself. We urge vigorous joint action to demonstrate to our Government and to the United Nations that we support the imposition of whatever political and economic measures are necessary, nationally and inter-nationally, to bring a speedy end to the régime.

"Only after the removal of the illegal Smith régime can the groundwork be laid for a multi-racial society based on full participation in the affairs of government and an end to gross denials of human dignity."

### Opposed to Sanctions

PRESIDENT SWART'S speech from the throne at last week's opening of Parliament in Cape Town said that the Republic of South Africa proposed to continue normal relations with both Rhodesia and Britain and its policy of non-intervention, taking no part in boycotts or sanctions.

## British Military Mission to Zambia Plans for More British Troops

A BRITISH MILITARY MISSION, led by Major-General J. E. F. Willoughby, G.O.C.-in-C., Middle East Land Forces, arrived in Lusaka from Aden last week with three colleagues "to consider with the Zambian Government further arrangements for British troops in Zambia". According to the Zambian Government, dispatch of the mission was agreed when Mr. Wilson visited President Kaunda on his way back from Lagos to London.

Correspondents in Lusaka were told that its task was to report to both Governments on the logistic and other issues involved in the demands of President Kaunda and other African political leaders for British troops to be sent to Rhodesia.

Mr. Wilson, it was said from the British High Commission, had repeated in Lusaka only the previous week that there could be no question of using British military force in Rhodesia except to restore law and order if it were to break down, but it was generally assumed that the military advisers were to examine the use of Zambia as "a springboard for British military intervention in Rhodesia".

A Zambian Government spokesman said that because of the arrival of the mission there would be no further pressure on Britain to send troops into Rhodesia by February 10.

### Rhodesia's Accurate Intelligence

High Commission officials did not expect British troops "for some time", and suggested that what was being done was merely to plan for the movement of British forces into Rhodesia "if the Smith régime collapsed". Zambian officials, however, insisted that the British Prime Minister had now accepted the need to move into Rhodesia, and that the first step would be to send a British battalion to the north bank of the Zambezi at Kariba.

In that connexion they emphasized that Mr. Wilson had repeated only a few days earlier his pledge that "Britain would not stand idly by" if there were any interference at Kariba, having added in conversation with the President that "it would be essential for us to be there in order not to stand idly by".

General Willoughby visited Kariba on Friday. According to the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, he was due at 11.15, and "precisely at that time a Rhodesian Air Force Canberra fighter-bomber roared low over the dam, strictly within Rhodesian air space. Unfortunately the general missed this display of Rhodesian knowledge of affairs on the Zambian side of the border, for he was delayed on the 120-mile drive from Lusaka, the last 40 over a dirt road churned up by rain".

The mission also visited Livingstone and the site of the proposed hydro-electric installation at Kafue.

General Willoughby left by air for London on Tuesday. At the week-end a battalion of the Scots Guards was standing by, ready to be flown to Zambia. Reports from Lusaka said that a British battalion was expected within about a week.

The Government-owned *Zambia Mail* reported a few days ago that a party of senior officers, including "several generals", from a number of independent African States would arrive early in February on behalf of the Organization of African Unity.

### President Kaunda Talks of War with Rhodesia

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told the *Scotsman* in a telephone conversation at the week-end that he "is now more than ever convinced that British troops must be used against the rebels, and is willing to let British troops into Zambia in preparation for action in Rhodesia".

Economic sanctions, he insisted, "will take a very long time to bring down the Smith régime, and will leave behind a trail of bitterness between people of all races.

"Whether sanctions are successful or not, troops should be there, because after the Smith régime is brought to its knees the Rhodesian armed forces could be divided amongst themselves—some for the British Government and the Queen and some against. But the way sanctions are going it would take a long time to bring the Smith rebellion to an end".

He asked for the clearest possible commitment by Britain

to the principle of majority rule; for direct rule by Britain through the Colonial Secretary while a new Constitution was being hammered out in Rhodesia; and for specific promises from the British Government "that Zambia will be left where she was before U.D.I."

Returning to the topic of British military intervention, the President said:—

"The policy adopted by Hitler in his last days could very easily happen here: the policy of destroying everything before the collapse which applied to Hitler could apply to Smith as well. It is therefore more urgent now that British troops should be placed on the southern bank of Kariba to protect the dam and the installations. There is no question of my dropping this demand. Some people regard it as sheer blood-thirstiness on our part. It isn't that at all.

"If war broke out in Rhodesia human lives would be lost, but you would save lives by taking a quick action which would last only 48 hours and finish the job, rather than have a progressive deterioration in Rhodesia which will leave a power of bitterness behind.

"There is a danger of a breakdown of law and order in Rhodesia. Therefore, if it was essential for British troops to move in, I certainly would not hesitate to offer them a place here. I said this long before U.D.I. I refused to accept British troops if they were just placed here doing nothing, because the breakdown of order is going in Zambia—it is in Rhodesia. So if sanctions were not to result in chaos or if Britain became determined to use troops, I would not hesitate to offer them a place".

Dr. Kaunda was not complimentary about the Commonwealth Conference in Lagos, saying that all that it had done was to set up two committees, which could equally well have been arranged through the Commonwealth Secretariat.

## Save Southern Africa From Disaster Suspend Sanctions and Talk to Mr. Smith

SUSPEND SANCTIONS, the *Sunday Telegraph* has urged, on the ground that "they offer not the slightest hope of rescuing Rhodesia from Mr. Smith—only the certainty of hurling Rhodesia and Mr. Smith into the same abyss".

The leading article continued, in part:—

"Sanctions have united the white Rhodesians for destruction. They thus serve no constructive purpose. If only Mr. Wilson would admit as much, the ultimate tragedy might still be averted.

"Sanctions should be suspended for a year. Let the oil flow again. Let the world's buyers attend this year's tobacco auctions. Let the financial restrictions be removed. Then let the British Government pocket its pride and acknowledge the Smith régime as the *de facto* authority in Rhodesia. Let it talk to Mr. Smith, and propose terms which he must accept if these devastating sanctions are not to be reimposed 12 months later.

"The terms should be not less than a return to the 1961 Constitution, which was designed to facilitate that 'measured advance to majority rule'. It must be improved, of course, by some device like the 'blocking third'. Meantime Mr. Smith would remain Prime Minister.

"There would be no question of 'consulting' those four million Rhodesian citizens that he has no claim whatsoever to represent. The choice would be placed before the whites alone, and they would have a year to decide. No doubt Mr. Smith would reject the terms scornfully, declaring that sanctions had failed and Mr. Wilson been humiliated. He might even believe it himself.

"At Lagos Mr. Wilson pledged himself to the continuance of sanctions until it was possible to impose direct British rule for the purpose of holding a constitutional conference of all races. If he went back on this pledge he would be executed by the Organization of African Unity, condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations, disowned by *Tribune*. He might never again attend a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. But that would be the lesser tragedy.

"Britain has already seen a major Commonwealth dispute settled through Communist mediation. She has been unable to maintain diplomatic relations with two other Commonwealth countries. Her greatest black friend in the Commonwealth, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, was in all probability murdered on her account.

"O.A.U. is powerless except when invested with power by others. The same is basically true of the United Nations. The Commonwealth is a disappearing myth. These are not the entities that should prevent Britain from doing what still lies in her power to save not only Rhodesia but all Southern Africa from disaster".

## Socialist M.Ps. Would Accept Mr. Smith Government's Complacency At Murders

### In Inter-Racial Nationalist Government

THREE SOCIALIST M.Ps. who recently visited Rhodesia have returned convinced that that country's next Government must contain supporters of the Rhodesia Front, "perhaps including Mr. Smith himself".

They are Mr. David Ennals, Mr. Christopher Rowland, and Dr. Jeremy Bray. The first two are Parliamentary Private Secretary—at the Ministry of Transport and the Foreign Office respectively.

In a joint letter to *The Times* they wrote:—

"The visit to London of the Chief Justice of Rhodesia, Sir Hugh Beadle, is well timed. He is a man of wisdom, courage, and integrity who, together with the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, has a crucial rôle to play in the future of Rhodesia. His advice is essential for the second stage of the struggle to bring Rhodesia back to the paths of legality.

"The first stage has been the tightening grip of sanctions. When we saw Mr. Smith last week he admitted to us that sanctions had not been the 'nine days' wonder' he had prophesied, but had escalated beyond his expectations. Although the full effects of sanctions have not yet been felt by the man in the street, he is now just becoming aware of what is to come; but those who know most, the industrialists and the business community, are fully conscious of the calamitous effects that sanctions are bound to have. The more the public is cushioned from the effects—the sharper will be the fall when it comes.

### Hard Core Hardening

"It is our view, based on meetings at every level in Salisbury and Bulawayo, that support for Mr. Smith though widespread is past its peak. The hard core is hardening and the fringe is falling away.

"The time is now ripe for the second stage in the British Government's policy—the presentation of a reasonable alternative. Mr. Smith was able to rally widespread support after U.D.I. because it seemed to Europeans in Rhodesia that the only alternative to Mr. Smith was immediate majority rule. Negative assurances by Mr. Wilson and others are not accepted. What is now needed is a clear statement of the method by which constitutional rule can be restored.

"We found already considerable support for the establishment of a National Government, appointed by the Governor, of men and women representing the main political and racial groups, with the task of ruling while the next stage of constitutional advance is re-examined.

"Such a Government cannot only consist of 'moderates'; it must, in our view, include African nationalists and supporters of the Rhodesia Front, perhaps including Mr. Smith himself.

"It would, however, be short-sighted and wrong to grant *de facto* recognition of Mr. Smith's illegal régime, or to leave to the Rhodesia Front the future destiny of 4,250,000 people, four million of them African."

Sir Godfrey Nicholson, Conservative M.P. for Farnham, who had also just visited Rhodesia, said on the same day that the Government should open immediate negotiations with the Smith régime: this was the moment for a magnanimous gesture. "Before we go through to the final crunch let us do all we can to mitigate this terrible feeling of bitterness that exists between Britain and Rhodesia."

### Prime Minister Challenged

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL will ask in the House of Lords while this issue is being printed what reason the Prime Minister has for his allegation that members of the special branch of the police in Rhodesia "had obvious political instruction to remain passive" during the meeting in Salisbury addressed by three Socialist M.Ps. who were reported to have been manhandled. Lord Russell points out that one of them, Mr. Christopher Rowland, afterwards stated that "Special branch officers emerged from nowhere, and I was quickly surrounded and given perfectly adequate protection". He wants to know whose version of the incident was correct.

### Attitudes to Nigeria and Rhodesia Compared

MR. NORMAN A. PANNELL, a former member of the Legislative Assembly of Nigeria, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* on Tuesday:—

"Those who know Nigeria well cannot fail to be astonished at the complacency with which the recent dreadful events in that country have been received. Even the brutal murder of that great African statesman Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa has provoked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary to a mere expression of regret. Not a word of condemnation of those responsible for this dastardly crime has issued from his lips or been uttered by our own Prime Minister, who was the honoured guest of Sir Abubakar only a fortnight ago.

"Indeed, the only official reaction to the slaughter of the leading Nigerian statesman is the reported willingness of the British Government to recognize the new régime which, if not responsible for these appalling crimes, has expressed no intention of punishing the guilty.

### Cynical Political Expediency

"Has political expediency reached such cynical depths that we accept without protest the most barbaric behaviour in the name of Commonwealth unity?

"No wonder the poor elector is bewildered when he contrasts this attitude with the vigorous sanctions against the Smith régime in Rhodesia; whose aim, however misguidedly expressed, was to protect their country against the same possibility."

SIR BRYAN SHARWOOD-SMITH, a former Governor of Northern Nigeria, wrote:—

"As scores of others must have been, I was shocked and disgusted to see on B.B.C. Television the principal murderer interviewed, as though he were a successful footballer; he jauntily described the 'operation' that he had conceived and carried out with so much ruthlessness and cunning. What effect is this apparent condonation of mass murder going to have on the more impressionable and less knowledgeable of viewers in this country? Is this another example of B.B.C. 'realism'?"

### Friends of Rhodesia

THE FRIENDS OF RHODESIA ASSOCIATION, recently formed in South Africa, is to hold a national convention in Durban shortly, at which it is proposed to raise £5m. to be spent mainly in buying petrol and oil for Rhodesia. Many South Africans have already agreed to give one gallon of petrol a month for Rhodesia, and some filling stations in Johannesburg and elsewhere are running "Petrol for Rhodesia" schemes. One garage in Johannesburg has already raised enough money to send a large road tanker full of petrol to Rhodesia. A "Golf Balls for Rhodesia" scheme has also been started in South Africa.

### Rhodesia's Population

A NET GAIN of 4,464 white immigrants in 1965 is officially reported from Rhodesia, there having been 11,129 arrivals and 6,665 emigrants. For December there was a net gain of 204. There are now estimated to be 224,000 Europeans, some 13,000 Coloureds, 8,100 Asians, and just over 4m. Africans in the country. Taking births into account, the European total rose 6,882 in the year, whereas in 1964 there had been a fall of 4,011.

### Not in the Top Five

A NUMBER OF EDITORS in Europe, the United States, and Asia are asked at the end of each year to list what they consider the 10 biggest news stories of the past 12 months. In all three cases Vietnam has been placed first for 1965. The European panel gave sixth place to "Rhodesia's seizure of Independence," which came ninth in the Asian list and nowhere in that from America.

## Kenya's Warning to Rhodesia

### British Government's Dishonoured Pledges

WING-COMMANDER G. A. W. SAUNDERS, chairman of the Settlement Board Farmers' Association in Kenya, has written from Njoro to the *Daily Telegraph* : —

"In recent weeks the British Government has made many verbal promises to Rhodesians. These promises may be valueless if the treatment of our ex-Servicemen farming in Kenya is anything to go by.

"The Settlement Scheme was approved by the Labour Government in 1945, and its object was to entice ex-Servicemen to farm in Kenya. Applicants and their wives appeared before a selection board in London, and if accepted had to agree to realize their assets in Britain and transfer them to Kenya. On arrival in Kenya they had to complete successfully an agricultural course before being allowed to start farming.

"The Settlement Board farmers took over either run-down farms or virgin land, and by their efforts over the last 15 to 18 years they have increased the value of their farms and helped the economy of Kenya. The only way these tenant farmers can recover the value of their efforts, the profits they have put back into their farms, and in many cases additional capital, is by a just payment for the increased value of their land.

#### Attorney-General's Advice

"In May, 1962, the Settlement Board Farmers' Association took legal opinion from Sir Elwyn Jones, who is now Attorney-General. I quote from a paragraph of that opinion : 'In my view the moral obligation of the British Government in the circumstances is overwhelming, and the special position in which the members of the association find themselves demands quite special consideration and recognition. The fact that there is technically no legal redress does not in my view diminish the extent of the moral obligation'.

"The British Government has recognized as recently as November, 1965, the fact that the Settlement Board farmers are a special category outside the general case of the British mixed farmer in Kenya; however, they are not prepared to meet their obligations to them.

"When I discussed their case with the senior civil servants in the Ministry of Overseas Development I pointed out that they were Government-sponsored settlers who should be treated at least as fairly as Kenya civil servants. I further stated that in addition to being paid for their increased land values they should receive a disturbance allowance. I was told that civil servants had signed a contract which the farmers had not.

"As ex-Servicemen we trusted the British Government and believed that what was written in their pamphlets would be honoured. Let this be a warning to Rhodesians and anyone who has dealings with the Government that the bigger the promise the bigger can be the dishonour.

"The sum of money required as a free grant is £550,000 to pay for the increased land value on 217,000 acres. This very small amount of money would enable the British Government to discharge its overwhelming obligation to these ex-Servicemen and at the same time assist the Kenya Government in obtaining this acreage for no further payment, as when the tenants terminate their leases the land reverts to the Kenya Government.

"The recent overall proposals for a limited buy-out of European mixed farmers does not definitely include the Settlement Board farmers, and therefore is totally unacceptable".

## Hutu Leaders Being Exterminated

EXTERMINATION of the *élite* of the Hutu tribe is now proceeding throughout Burundi, according to a statement made in Brussels last week by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. A few days earlier the International Commission of Jurists had been told by an observer whom it sent to Burundi that 86 persons, including all elected officers of the two Houses of Parliament, had been executed after an abortive rising in October.

The trade union report asserts that the feudal Tusi minority are exterminating Hutu in the remotest districts. All Hutu mayors, Members of Parliament, and officials of organizations have been imprisoned. Many died from ill-treatment on their way to jail in November and December. The news has been suppressed because broadcasting is a State monopoly and there are no newspapers.

According to I.F.C.T.U., "in the Province of Bururi prisoners are crowded together in such appalling conditions that several died every day from lack of food, air, and care".

On December 15, it is alleged, "the feudal rulers celebrated the day of the Burundi dynasty by torturing and executing 84 Hutu leaders at Muramba. Several were national trade union leaders".

Last week the United States Government demanded that the Burundi Ambassador in Washington should be recalled. On the previous day the American Ambassador had been expelled from Burundi with three members of his staff.

## £2 a Gallon for Petrol

AIR TRANSPORT OPERATORS in Britain are asking how the air-lift to Zambia will fare if the Rhodesian crisis has not been resolved by May, when almost all, if not all, the civil aircraft now chartered by the Government to carry oil from Dar es Salaam will be required in Britain to fulfil contracts made months ago to fly holiday-makers to pleasure resorts in Europe and elsewhere. Most of the aircraft have day and night flight bookings at that time. In air transport circles in London it is now suggested that the cost of supplying Zambia with petrol is about £2 per gallon, and that fuel for the R.A.F. Javelin jet aircraft sent to Zambia, having to be flown from Nairobi, costs some £8,000 per two-hour practice flight.

## Torrential Rainfall

MAHE, the largest island in the Seychelles group, had 21.21 inches of rain in November, whereas the average precipitation in that month during the past 64 years has been only 8.57 inches. Tiny rivulets became raging torrents which carried soil far out to sea, and heavy landslides occurred in many places.



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## Rhodesian Brevities

REAR-ADMIRAL M. C. MORGAN GILES, Tory M.P. for Winchester, arrived in Salisbury on Sunday. He was the 14th Member of the House of Commons to visit Rhodesia in three weeks.

Mr. William Yates, another Conservative M.P., visited Zambia and Rhodesia this week. He said that he would not indulge in clowning for the benefit of television in Britain.

On behalf of the American-Affairs Association, Congressman Ashbrooke, Dr. Max Yergan, and Mr. Ralph de Toledano are visiting Rhodesia this week.

Mr. Evelyn King, Conservative M.P. for South Dorset, said on Monday on returning from a short visit to Rhodesia, that from his talks with Mr. Smith and members of his Cabinet he was quite sure that they were not prepared for unconditional surrender and doubted if they ever would be. Now was the time for Mr. Wilson to negotiate.

The appointment of Brigadier Andrew Dunlop as Minister of Roads and Traffic, Transport and Power, has brought the number of Ministers to 13. He was previously Deputy Minister of Roads and Road Traffic.

Petrol rations were cut by 25% in Rhodesia on Tuesday, when the price was increased by 1d. per gallon.

Sir Ray Stockil, chairman of Hippo Valley Estates, Ltd., announced that Rhodesian scientists had had encouraging initial results from experiments for the use of sugar cane spirit in motor vehicle engines.

As a means of reducing oil consumption, Rhodesia Railways have brought 21 steam locomotives back into service.

Mr. Anthony Hawkins has written from Salisbury that "the economy is not winding down with the dramatic speed that Whitehall—wrong as usual—appears to believe. Reports that a Rhodesian economic collapse could be expected within weeks rather than months are totally unrealistic".

### Marketing of the Tobacco Crop

Independent experts, who will not know the ownership of the tobacco which they grade, will pre-classify all the Rhodesian leaf sent for sale on the Salisbury auction floors this season, and a reserve price, which will do little more than cover the production cost, will be fixed for each grade. Neither seller nor buyer may appeal against the classification. Any leaf not bought will be taken over at the reserve price by a Tobacco Corporation which will be responsible for selling the crop and distributing the proceeds equitably. Delivery to the auction floors may be made from February 15. The plan closely resembles proposals made by the Tobacco Trade Association. Members of the general public will no longer be admitted to the auctions.

Mr. Heurtley, president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, said last week that all possibilities of selling the crop were being explored.

Mr. J. H. H. Louwrens, chairman of the Drought Relief Action Committee, said last week that farmers in the high rainfall areas had responded "most magnificently" to the appeal for grazing for cattle from the drought-stricken areas. Already 207,000 acres of private grazing had been offered, and more offers were arriving. His figure excluded holding grounds along the line of rail, Crown land, and national land.

Some 1,600 head of pedigree cattle have been moved from the Government research station in the Matopos to Hippo Valley sugar estates.

Farmers forced to sell cattle because of the drought will qualify for a tax-free bonus of £4 per head, payable when restocking becomes possible.

Theileriosis, a tick-borne disease of which seven recent outbreaks have been reported, need cause no alarm, the Veterinary Department has stated. It is preventable by dip-

ping cattle at short intervals and by hand-dressing of ears and tail brushes. Whereas there were 38 outbreaks and 248 deaths in 1963/4 and 23 and 134 respectively in 1964/5, there have since been only seven outbreaks and 31 deaths.

Twelve French-bred Charolais heifers in calf, the first of the breed to reach Rhodesia, have been imported by Mr. F. G. R. Townsend, of Mtoroshanga, near Lochinvar.

Though drought set back the maize crops, they have since responded to rain, and the latest reports are that only a small proportion of sowings will be a complete failure. Average yields, however, are likely to fall by 25% to 33%. In the Que Que area there has been complete failure, and it is generally poor in the Victoria Province.

The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. has denied local reports that it was about to discharge 70 whites and 120 Africans because of the loss of its markets in Zambia for iron and steel and in Japan, Britain and the U.S.A. for pig iron. A man-power control order has been placed on the company by the Government. About 50,000 tons of pig iron which should have been loaded at Beira for Japan still lie at the Mozambique port because shipowners have feared that sanctions might exclude the cargo from the markets to which it was being carried.

Three representatives of Lloyd's, London, arrived in Salisbury last week for talks with local insurance businesses.

### B.O.A.C. Services Suspended

B.O.A.C. yesterday suspended its six-days-a-week service with Salisbury in consequence of the decision of the East African territories to deny overflying rights to all civil aircraft scheduled to land in Rhodesia. Passengers for Europe will now be flown from Rhodesia to Johannesburg, South African Airways and U.T.A. still fly direct from Salisbury to Europe via Brazzaville.

The Belgian airline Sabena has been granted landing rights in Salisbury.

Salisbury airport is to be improved at a cost of £1.3m. The runway will be extended from 8,500 to 13,500 feet.

A new issue of Rhodesian stamps, printed in London before independence and locally overprinted with the words "Independence, 11 November 1965", was introduced last week. Values range from a halfpenny to a pound. There was officially reported to have been a "terrific" demand. On February 9 this "Independence" set will be replaced by a new definitive issue.

A schoolboy last week presented to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, a petition from the young people of Salisbury pledging loyalty and devotion to the Queen, to the Rhodesian Government, and especially to the Prime Minister for his ceaseless efforts to safeguard the future and rights of the youth of Rhodesia. The petition contained more than 1,000 signatures which had been collected in coffee bars, in sports and youth clubs, and at swimming pools.

An official spokesman in Paris said last week that France would suspend imports of Rhodesian chrome if the United States took the same action.

The British decision to ban the export of chrome from Rhodesia will test the South African Government's attitude to that legal ruling. South Africa has been Rhodesia's second best customer for chrome and might act as a middleman for its re-export.

A leaflet printed on airmail paper and headed "Tudor Rose Society for the Protection of the British Way of Life", which has been distributed in the Hull North constituency during the by-election campaign, is alleged to have been sent from Rhodesia for dispatch from fictitious addresses in London and Edinburgh. Labour leaders contend that it is illegal because it bears no imprint and was issued without permission of any election agent. The leaflet concludes with the charge that Mr. Wilson has made the British nation "party to a plot against their blood relations in Rhodesia", and has inflated into a world crisis "what should have been no more than a domestic argument between Rhodesia and Britain".

### Copper Boom

RESTRICTIONS on the export of copper from the United States caused the price of the metal on the London Metal Exchange to jump £25 a ton on Friday to £630 for prompt deliveries. On Monday the closing price was £642. Wild buying of Zambian copper mining shares was reported, R.S.T. rising to 72s., a gain of 8s. in two days, Zamanglo to 74s., Nchanga to 54s., and Rhokana to 49s. 6d. In New York a million R.S.T. shares were said to have changed hands in less than two days. In London on Tuesday they fell back to 63s. 9d.

## Penalties for Trading with Rhodesia

### Chrome the First Scheduled Article

BRITISH SUBJECTS who export specified goods to Rhodesia will be liable to two years' imprisonment or to a fine and imprisonment under the Southern Rhodesia (Prohibited Exports and Imports) Order, 1966, now published. It refers to "prohibiting the exportation from Southern Rhodesia or the importation into Southern Rhodesia of goods specified by order", and was specifically stated by the Commonwealth Relations Office to be effective under United Kingdom and Rhodesian law and applicable to all British exporters of goods specified by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

The penalty clause provides for imprisonment up to six months on summary conviction, or a fine up to £500 or both. For conviction on indictment there is more severe punishment.

Where the offence is by a body corporate and is proved to have been committed with the consent, connivance or neglect of a director, manager, secretary, or similar officers, he or they would be liable to the punishment.

Except where authorized by Government regulation, no person may "make or carry out any contract for the exportation from Southern Rhodesia or the importation into Southern Rhodesia of any specified product; or make or carry out any contract for the sale of any specified contract which he intends or has reason to believe that another person intends to export from or import into Southern Rhodesia".

For an offence allegedly committed outside the United Kingdom proceedings may be started up to 12 months after the date on which the person charged first entered the U.K. after committing the offence.

The order voids any contract for export from or import to Rhodesia of specified goods whether made before or after January 20 and any transfer of property or interest in products in pursuance of any such contract.

The order, which became effective on January 20, requires the approval of both Houses of Parliament.

Chrome was the first commodity to be specified.

## New Conditions for Copperbelt Miners

### Underground Craftsmen Now Earn £850

THE ZAMBIAN MINERWORKERS' UNION and the copper mining companies have reached agreement on increases in basic pay and other benefits as from February 1. The 35,000 Zambian mineworkers affected will, at the union's request, have their pay calculated on a monthly instead of a daily basis, irrespective of the number of days in a month. The wage paid in February will be the same as that of any other month. The other benefits are increases in shift differential of up to 2s. 8d., the introduction of paid sick leave entitlement for all employees of up to 30 days a year, lengthier paid annual leave, improved rates for overtime, and consolidation of housing allowance which brings consequent fringe benefits.

The new minimum basic wage for the industry is now £22 7s. 6d. a month for surface workers and £23 7s. 6d. for underground workers. A skilled Zambian craftsman underground will earn a basic wage of £71 2s. 6d. a month.

Z.M.U. undertook to make no further demands for two years except in the case of senior operators and craftsmen. In their case the standstill is for one year.

Fifty-seven political refugees from Zambia are reported to have arrived in the Congo. No name has been given, but one is said to be an Opposition M.P.

Eight six-ton mobile cranes for the port of Mombasa are to be supplied by an Ipswich manufacturer. The order was obtained against keen competition from other leading manufacturers in the U.K. and other European countries.

Kenya Toray Mills, Ltd., of Thika, Kenya, have been established by the Mitsui Company of Japan, the Chori Company of Japan, and Toyo Rayon Co. The new factory has appointed the Government-owned Kenya National Trading Corporation as its main distributing agents.

Duty on motor-cars entering Malawi has been increased to 15% if of British manufacture and 32½% if of other origin. Internal letter postage is up from 3d. to 4d., and the duty on 30 cigarette rises 2½d. In order to attract skilled men, the budget abolishes super-tax up to £4,000 for single and £6,000 for married persons.

## Tanganyika Concessions' £976,976 Profit

### High Value of Union Minière Holding

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., whose chairman's review was published last week, report group profits after tax to July 31 at £976,976, against £880,580, in addition to which dividends totalling £562,772 were received in respect of a previous year on a holding of Union Minière shares which stand in the balance-sheet at £4,338,573 but had a market value of £10.6m.

Shareholders again receive a dividend of 9d. per 10s. stock unit and a special distribution of 8d., leaving a carry-forward of £1,646,127.

The consolidated balance sheet shows fixed assets (mainly holdings in Union Minière, Benguela Railway, Commonwealth Timber Industries, and Tanganyika Holdings) at £12.7m., interests in wholly-owned subsidiaries at £1.4m., and net current assets at almost £2m. The issued capital is £9.5m. There is an outstanding 4½% loan of £1m.

Captain Charles Waterhouse, chairman since 1957, is to retire this year, but will remain on the board. His successor will be Lord Colyton.

Tanzania and Argentina are to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

An M.P. in Uganda has asked that the allowance paid to students overseas should be raised to £60 monthly.

Tanzania has so far escaped the drought from which parts of Kenya and much of Central and Southern Africa are suffering.

A series of four stamps depicting local butterflies will be on sale in Malawi from February 15. The values will be 4d., 9d., 1s. 6d., and 3s.

The first anniversary of the murder of the Burundi Prime Minister Ngendandumwe fell on January 15. The day was declared a public holiday.

Seychelles has this week issued a commemorative stamp of 1 rupee 50 cent. denomination bearing portraits of the Queen and Sir Winston Churchill.

Compensation of more than £7,000 has been received by a Mr. Killen, of Worlington, for the death of his son while serving in the Congo as a "mercenary".

Because of Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting, celebrations of the second anniversary of the Zanzibar resolution were postponed from January 12 to February 12.

Sharp fighting between Congolese troops is reported to have occurred near the Uganda border between factions respectively supporting General Mobutu, the new President, and Mr. Tshombe.

A Central Organization of Trade Unions (C.O.T.U.), registered in Kenya, has been described by Dr. Kiano, Minister of Labour, as "in accordance with the policy of African Socialism".

Armed bands, including refugees from Burundi, have crossed from Rwanda, killed at least 14 people and burnt many houses. The Burundi Government has complained to O.A.U. and the United Nations.

The Zanzibar News Service will no longer publish *Zanews*. It was founded by Mr. Babu, then secretary of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, and now Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives in Tanzania.

Lumumba Institute near Nairobi remains closed. Financed by Russia, which also supplied some of the staff, it was placed under control of the Ministry of Education some six months ago and has since conducted no courses.

American Peace Corps volunteer teachers serving in Kenya are to be increased this year to rather more than 60, from a total of 40 in 1964, when the United Kingdom supplied 100 teachers. Peace Corps personnel serve for two years.

A motion of no-confidence in the Bunyoro Kingdom Government, Uganda, was defeated in a secret ballot by 40 votes to 31. The motion charged the Katikkiro and other Ministers with misusing public funds and not respecting the Omukama.

After the Minister of Finance in Somalia and the Assistant Minister for Agriculture and Veterinary Services had resigned, the Ministers of Commerce and Industry and of Agriculture and Veterinary Services were dismissed. No reasons have been given.

Nine minutes' silence was recently observed by Bukedi District Council—three minutes each for the late Omukama of Toro, the late Mr. Shastri, and the late Mr. Babukika, M.P. The Uganda National Assembly observed two minutes' silence for the late Prime Minister of India.

Because the Sudan Government ordered the suspension of two magazines after the Sudanese Press Association had demanded that that right should be vested only in the judiciary, all Khartoum newspapers refused to publish for two days, during which correspondents of foreign newspapers sent no dispatches.



## RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

Rhodesia is packed with scenic splendours which make the heart of Africa a Wonder of the World. The Victoria Falls, where the mighty Zambesi river thunders into a chasm more than a mile wide and three hundred feet deep, are the greatest natural spectacle in all Africa. Within easy reach of the falls is the famous game reserve of Wankie which provides many modern amenities for the comfort of the visitor, in the heart of the African bush. Visitors are assured of seeing elephant, lion, antelope and many other species of wild life.

Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. These exciting places are not so far away as you may think! The V.C.10 will get you there on any day of the week in under 14 hours. A grand safari holiday is not beyond your reach when you take advantage of a package tour to this sunny land.



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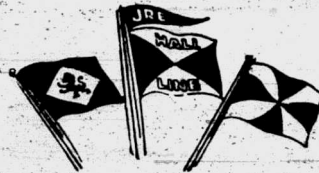
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