



Rhodesia and Eastern Africa

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THE LAST ISSUE

JOINT SERVICE



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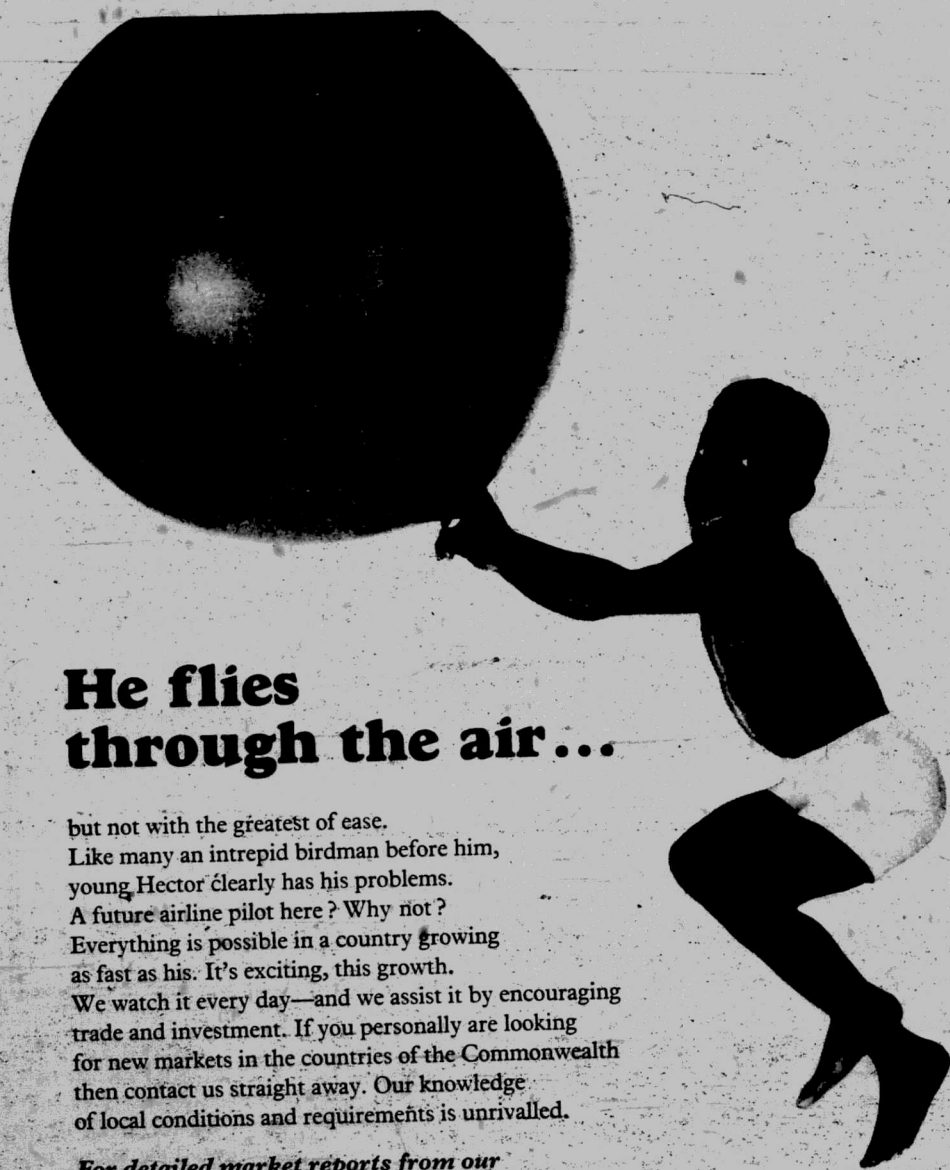
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1967

Vol. 43

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THE LAST ISSUE

Retrospect

MUCH OF THIS LAST ISSUE has been written by our readers, some of whom have asked for facts about the paper itself. Since no reason remains for reticence, I accept the suggestion—and for the first time in more than 42 years "I" appears in this column.

First must come an acknowledgment of the great debt which I owe my wife. When I told a few people early in 1924 that I intended to found a weekly journal to deal with the affairs of East Africa, none but she had faith in the venture. That faith has never wavered, however adverse the circumstances. Her judgment has often been most valuable, and she has made many sacrifices for the paper, and consequently for the territories it sought to serve.

Not one of the businessmen in London to whom I outlined my plan felt any confidence in it. All warned me that the endeavour must fail. Had they known that I was without journalistic experience of any kind except that of free-lance contributions as I had travelled about the world they would doubtless have thought me mad. I had never seen a line of type set in metal. My knowledge of the preparatory stages of production was limited to the correction of the proofs of a book which I had written on Tanganyika.

Where the Seeds Were Sown

Four years in East Africa had, however, convinced me that there ought to be an independent newspaper which would record impartially and discuss candidly the affairs of the territories. I had gone out for the first time early in 1914. Within a few months I was a prisoner of the Germans, who moved me more frequently and kept me longer than any other Briton. No-one else spent rather more than three years in their hands. It was then that the seeds were sown from which this paper grew.

When Belgian Congo columns swept in from the north-west in 1916 and Northey's much smaller forces penetrated equally boldly

from the south, the Germans decided to leave a couple of hundred prisoners behind in Tabora, for on a retreat likely to last months they could spare neither food nor guards for such numbers. They had other plans for me. At an hour's notice I was put on a train for Dar es Salaam, where I was quartered in the gaol at the time when British warships had the habit of dropping a few heavy shells in the vicinity every afternoon. While the gaolers crouched in their trenches I hoped that each round would be the last to fall near my lodging.

Listening-Post

Soon came a transfer by stages to Utete, to various posts along the Rufiji, and finally to Mahenge. Having had high fever for several days on that last march, I collapsed after scaling the steep escarpment and awoke to find myself in a hospital ward with about 20 Germans. Concealing my knowledge of their language, I heard scores of discussions of events in "German East" since the outbreak of hostilities and speculations about the future. Though despondent and anxious that Mahenge should fall before they were fit for active duty again, all my fellow patients were confident that the Fatherland would either win the war or prepare for another. None doubted that the German colonies would be recovered because of their strategic importance. Then I lost my listening-post, for the medical officer of a detachment passing that way visited the ward and recognized me. When he addressed me and I remained silent the occupant of the next bed explained that I did not speak German. The M.O. knew better, for we had talked in his own tongue some months previously. Within the hour I was in a cell in the boma.

The German newspapers, periodicals, and books which I read during and after the war reinforced my conviction that the Reich would prepare for a second great conflict, and that a campaign for the return of German East

Africa would be waged, largely because submarine bases on its coast could cripple Indian Ocean shipping. To keep that danger under public notice in Britain was one of the two main reasons for the establishment of this paper (and for my book "Germany's Claims to Colonies").

The second was an equally strong belief that the British East and Central African Dependencies required deliberate policies of internal and external co-operation. In the prison camps I had met farmers, planters, merchants, missionaries, civil servants, contractors, and others from Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias, and had been astonished to discover that the man from Kenya or Uganda scarcely ever knew anything or cared much about the neighbouring country; that Kenyan non-officials kept officials at arm's length and *vice versa* (though individuals in each category were often on excellent personal terms); that laymen, official and non-official, were generally sceptical of the missions (though frequently very friendly with individual clergies); and that most of the missionaries had given practically the whole of their time and thought to Africans. Such aloofness and suspicion between adjacent British territories, and between the white communities within each of them, clearly needed correction, and I gradually developed the idea that these attitudes might best be challenged by a paper which insisted on taking an inter-territorial view.

Unpopular Platform

Before I could put my theories to the test every national newspaper in London except the *Daily Telegraph* had become openly pro-German, as had many of the provincial dailies. One plank in my platform was therefore certain to be unpopular. As to the other, nothing had been done to strengthen the bonds between neighbours in East Africa.

It was obviously desirable to seek a printer who would not only initiate me into such of the mysteries of his craft as would be necessary for the work which I meant to tackle, but whose interest would be testified and maintained by partnership. By good fortune the first person whom I approached was ready to listen, and we arranged a partnership on the basis that if either died the survivor would have the option of acquiring his shares at the auditors' valuation. We each held half the shares in a small private company, of which I became chairman for life with a casting vote and complete control of editorial policy. My partner, who lived only a few years thereafter, never once demurred on any matter. He remained quite unperturbed as the initial losses mounted, as they were bound to do while the paper made itself known and

attracted subscribers and advertising (but much less than I had optimistically expected).

Manufacturers and their advisers were, I discovered, very wary of new publications, among which the mortality rate has always been high. Most said, in effect: "How do we know the paper will survive? Don't reapproach us for at least a year." Then, if the paper is still alive, we might possibly consider advertising in the following year". Since revenue from advertising is the life-blood of the Press, it was fortunate that there were exceptions to that planned procrastination.

Why London Was Chosen

Rhodesians and Kenyans have often suggested that the paper should have been established in Salisbury or Nairobi, and inducements to transfer the offices to Africa were offered several times. London, however, was and remained the logical centre for news collection and distribution from and for our area of coverage. Nowhere else could the essential contacts have been made and kept with leaders in all forms of activity.

All persons of importance in East and Central Africa come to London from time to time, and there are scarcely any with whom I have not had repeated private talks, in which most valuable information was often volunteered. It was clearly understood that publication was not intended, and on that basis it was rare to find inhibition. Nothing has been more pleasant from the editorial standpoint than such open exchanges in confidence with nearly all those who have most influenced the affairs of the territories. Even when we held diametrically opposite opinions, the conversations were generally friendly, whether with Europeans, Africans or Asians, and I believe mutually helpful.

Politics and Politicians

One recurring criticism was that too much space in the news and editorial columns was given to politics and politicians. Since politics now intrudes into everything I thought the complaint invalid. Moreover, it was suspect, for suggestions for a switch in emphasis came more often than not from men with specific political commitments. That they should broach the matter personally, instead of through someone else, merely showed the lack of judgment which is so common among politicians. Africa is littered with their wreckage, and it would naturally have suited them to have political blunders less persistently exposed.

From dealings over the years with scores of Ministers and hundreds of other politicians, black and white, I know how extremely thin-skinned and vain most of them are. While

the exceptions are often splendid persons, men of real character, with whom it is a delight to exchange news and views, confidence and quips, the great majority crave praise, resent any criticism, and take themselves with pretentious seriousness even when they know nothing of the topic under discussion; and, having made a foolish statement in public, they will never withdraw it. Africa has suffered severely from the refusal of Ministers and their parties to admit past errors. When there was real scope for independence in the House, many outstanding businessmen felt it their duty to serve a term or two in Parliament. None of those whom I recall was above seeking advice or touchy about criticism. It is a tragedy for Britain and the world that party dictatorship should since have made it pointless for such men to waste their time in Parliament, the quality of which has unquestionably deteriorated in consequence. Professionalism has not brought excellence.

Legislatures in Africa have likewise not been impressive. The *Hansards* of some of them are nowadays chronicles of unbelievably childish utterances. Worst of them all is that of Malawi. Nobody with a modicum of judgment could read a couple of copies and still contend that the one-man-one-vote nostrum makes sense in such a country.

Men of Quality

Rhodesia and Kenya have, however, produced some public men who could match most Ministers in British Governments. At least half a dozen, and perhaps double that number, would, if they had sat in the House of Commons, have deserved a place in a strong Cabinet in Britain. Considering the small populations from which they were drawn, that testifies to the quality of the men who bore Britain's burdens overseas.

RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has, of course, not been the favourite journal of the nescent but self-confident, errant but stubborn M.P.s whose fuddled but much publicized dogmatism has done irreparable damage to Africa. Many of them have been attacked in these pages, but with sadly little effect, for none of the parties now excludes from high office even those of its Parliamentary members with staggeringly bad histories of misjudgment. Though that fault may prove extremely costly to the country, the hierarchies rate it far below the ability to make good speeches, interject efficaciously at question time, and succeed on television. What matters is the "image", not the reality.

Those whom I have criticized most frequently and forcefully, but I hope fairly, in recent years have been Mr. Macmillan while he was Prime Minister, Mr. Iain Macleod, his

lamentable Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. (now Sir) Michael Blundell, the non-official leader in Kenya who allowed himself to be duped by them despite many warnings. For their reckless, ruthless, and in my opinion iniquitous policy I coined the term MacBlundellism seven years ago. It still crops up in letters from East, Central and Southern Africa.

MacBlundellism

The scuttle from Africa—or MacBlundellism—disregarded Britain's honour, obligations, interests and responsibilities, and directly caused the calamities which East and Central Africa have since experienced and have still to suffer. Had Mr. Blundell not been so catastrophically weak at a crucial moment the Macmillan-Macleod plan would have been checked. His compliance enabled them to rush ahead. Being primarily to blame, they deserve to be coupled by historians as the chief wreckers of what was British East Africa, and might with a saner policy have become part of that great East and Central African Dominion for which this paper stood for years—for one federation embracing the three African territories, another combining the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and an eventual merger of the two groups as communications developed.

Opportunities for an East African Federation were thrown away, especially during the last war. History would have been very different if an untoward general election had not removed Mr. Leopold Amery from the Colonial Office when he had almost succeeded in that achievement.

Betrayal

After much damaging indecision and procrastination a Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland did emerge; but within a few years the flabby, faithless Macmillan Government—with the indispensable assistance of Mr. Macleod, Mr. R. A. Butler, and others—had destroyed that most encouraging of all East and Central African experiments, basically because Ministers were afraid of the clamour organized by a small number of vociferous African politicians. Socialist spokesmen had theorized ridiculously about Africa for decades, and had incited the few Africans in their early twenties who were then at British universities, and immature African trade union officials of about the same age whom they met, to demand "one-man-one-vote" and then "majority government". That was what the young men wanted to hear—especially when the exhortations were accompanied by gifts of money. Thus began the movement to which the Macmillan Cabinet and a staggeringly complacent Conservative

Party in Parliament submitted long before independence should have been granted.

This paper has always stood for advancement by merit. When that idea was anathema in Kenya we pleaded for great expansion of Makerere University College in Uganda, the only institution of higher education then available, and then for the creation of similar colleges in the neighbouring territories, because it was obviously wiser to educate able young Africans in their own environment. Our argument was that they should normally be brought to Britain only for post-graduate courses. Unhappily, that policy was not followed. The late Carey Francis, for long headmaster of the Alliance High School, the best in Kenya for Africans, who knew well almost all the Africans sent to this country in the earlier years for higher education, told me more than once that with scarcely any exceptions they were the worse for their experiences. It was the judgment of a man of integrity who was so devoted to Africans that when he retired he volunteered to teach in a little school in a Nairobi slum. I am sure that he and I were right and the Colonial Office and the politicians wrong.

Colonial Office Weaknesses

Until Leopold Amery transformed the Colonial Office its staff had little practical knowledge of the Dependencies. They worked from the written records, saw a few officials on leave, and drew their conclusions without personal acquaintance with the territory concerned. Often, moreover, its Governor had been badly selected. Having known every Governor in East and Central Africa for more than 40 years, I do not hesitate to say that half of them would not have been appointed by any board of directors in the City of London for the responsibilities which they were to discharge. Such being the conditions, it is not surprising that there was no forward thinking or planning. To make things worse, even the best Governors were scarcely ever consulted after they retired.

A staggering example was provided by the Kenya Constitutional Conference called by Mr. Macleod for January 1960. Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Howick), who had been Governor of Kenya for the previous seven years, had retired a little earlier, and his successor Sir Patrick Renison, who had never previously set foot in Africa, had been in office only three months. Yet it was Sir Patrick, whose knowledge of Kenya was consequently negligible, who was made the chief adviser at the conference to Mr. Macleod, who also knew next to nothing about the country. Sir Evelyn was firmly excluded. Would any board of directors have acted with such folly?

It was an early pointer to the behaviour to

be expected from Mr. Macleod. Kenya interpreted the arrangement as evidence that the Secretary of State had already made up his mind and was not ready to run the risk of being diverted by Sir Evelyn, who knew all the delegates, black, brown and white, how much weight to attach to their statements, and what not to do. Mr. Macleod's frivolity and autocracy passed without condemnation in Parliament or Press—except in these pages.

Readers have had their full ration of politics, but most of them are unlikely to know much about the economics of weekly journalism.

Killed by Sanctions

Contrary to the general assumption, subscriptions leave little or no margin after meeting the costs of printing, paper, and distribution. Indeed, there may sometimes be a marginal loss. That this fact is not commonly understood has been repeatedly proved in the past few days, which have brought many letters offering to procure new subscribers in order to ensure continued publication. One writer undertook to campaign for five hundred new readers. Another suggested a plan for the potential enrolment of perhaps five thousand over a period. Success even with the more ambitious proposal would not have improved the financial position sufficiently. That could be done only by an immediate and substantial increase in the advertising; and that has been made impossible by the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. In that sense RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has been killed by sanctions.

Individuals regard their earnings as a private matter, and publications likewise refrain from discussing their income from advertisements. Since lack of adequate revenue from that source is the cause of the demise of the paper, its friends are, however, entitled to explanations which would not normally be expected.

Agency Obstructionists

Almost all manufacturers place their publicity through advertising agencies, very few of which are really interested in sales possibilities in Central and East Africa. The great majority of manufacturers have been similarly complacent. Even great corporations still leave important decisions to agencies with no more than superficial knowledge of Africa. Directors of companies whose issued capital amounts to tens of millions of pounds, and in one case hundreds of millions, have told me fairly recently that they did not advertise in our columns simply because an advertising agent objected. In neither case had the agency obstructionist ever set foot in Africa.

Some agencies have always put first the present and prospective interests of their clients, assembling the facts assiduously and basing their judgment on those facts; but in my experience they are still very much in the minority.

No Tolerance for Exceptions

Almost every valedictory message in this issue indicates that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has been somewhat exceptional. After four decades that argument has still not been accepted by advertising agencies in general. Senior men on their staffs have repeatedly said: "You claim to differ radically from other London publications with an overseas title. We do not operate on that basis. We lump them all together, and use none of them unless specifically instructed to do so by a client who really knows his own mind; and that does not often happen. If we were to book space with you, every other paper in the category would expect to be put on the schedule. Since we cannot include all, we exclude all". British exports have certainly not been helped by so unintelligent but adamant an attitude.

Another agency objection has been that our rates have been too low. Incidentally, we have never cut a rate, as so many publications do; and we have excluded all advertising which we deemed undesirable. A minimum commission of 10% is paid to the agencies—illogically, by the publisher, not by the principal. Quite often we have been told: "Your half-page rate of £30 would mean £3 for us. We naturally prefer the client to go into a more expensive paper, one which would earn us commission of £10, £20, or £30 for the same amount of work".

Quantity before Quality

Craving for mass circulations has been another major obstacle. I cannot recall an agency ever asking first about the character of the readership; the request was always for figures. Quantity is absurdly overrated, and quality nearly always an afterthought. RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has been bought not merely by individuals in many countries, but by numerous Ministries, local government authorities, banks, other businesses, mines, estates, clubs, messes, libraries, and universities (61 by direct subscription in the United States). Consequently a single copy has in many cases been regularly read by anything from 10 to perhaps 100 or more persons. Few publications can make that claim. Yet only the very exceptional agency paid the slightest attention to it. The rest wanted figures for their statistical tables, not evidence for special consideration.

Many exporters have shown such recklessness in appointing their sales representatives

overseas that they have also had inadequate help from those sources. For the first half of the life of the paper few British shippers had even moderately good selling arrangements. Many had still one agent for all Africa. In several cases within my knowledge that one man lived in London—and one was in Vienna! It was quite common for someone in Cape Town or Johannesburg to hold the sole agency for Africa—usually because he had once placed an initial order for a few hundred pounds and the absurd bargain had never been reviewed. The franchise for all East Africa, and frequently for a wider area, was usually held by someone in Nairobi who was unlikely to do more than visit Kampala once a year and Mombasa perhaps twice. Of course, travelling increased as business and air services developed.

Manufacturers and Agents

The best agents were constantly tempted to assume greater responsibilities than they could discharge. Several times when I asked such a man who had spoken appreciatively of the paper why he had not recommended So-and-So to advertise in it he replied that I was mistaken in thinking that he held the agency. "But they have told me that you do". Out would come a typed list and the admission that he had forgotten them! A manufacturer whose name was not even recognized immediately could scarcely expect satisfactory results. It was not always the agent's fault. Perhaps an engineering company for which he had done well had pressed him to act for friends in the textile world, and though he knew nothing of piece goods and did not want to be drawn into that trade he had accepted merely to please an old connexion.

Seldom has the manufacturer retained control of the advertising, though that would obviously have been the sound course, since the goodwill of his product was permanently at stake whereas the agent might resign or be changed. The representative was normally paid commission on all business from his area plus a stipulated annual sum for advertising. The manufacturer in, say, Birmingham does his own advertising in the national newspapers in this country and looks to his distributors in Devonshire, East Anglia or Northern Ireland to buy space in their local papers; but he has not followed the same sensible principle in Africa, where agents are generally expected to share the cost of any advertising in journals circulating far beyond their respective boundaries.

Since the last war many exporters have subdivided their agency areas in East and Central Africa and now have from three to perhaps a dozen agents. It is almost impossible to get so many to agree a basis for co-operatively

financed advertising, for the number, quality, and buying power of subscribers must vary between territories in ways which nobody can accurately assess. It has therefore not been unusual to be told that all or nearly all the agents favoured the use of the paper but that no agreement could be reached for division of the cost between them.

Prosperous Years

Despite these problems (which remained unsolved), the world slump of the 'thirties, successive years of drought and locust invasions in East Africa, and then the second world war, the advertising revenue did grow, so that for years the paper flourished financially and was able to publish weekly issues ranging from 32 to 48 pages, as against 12 and 16 pages latterly. There were also frequent special numbers on a variety of subjects and a series of books. (One of them, Commander Blunt's "Elephant", was recently priced in a London bookseller's catalogue at £20; we published it at 25s., or perhaps 21s.)

A story that will never be fully told is of the direct and indirect pressures exerted by black politicians on businesses of all types, sometimes by innuendo and sometimes by open coercion, and on occasions even by Ministers, who took care not to speak before a third party, so that in case of complaint it would be one man's word against another's. When underlings were used as messengers, however, it has been customary to send two or three, who would support each other in any story which they might concoct.

Pressure by Black Politicians

The first businesses to be victimized were those owned by Asians, many of whom contributed substantially to the rival political parties in the hope that they would have friends in high places whichever might emerge victorious. They soon found that what they had intended to be a once-for-all donation was regarded by the recipients as a quota which they must repeat annually, or even more often. Organized encroachment on plantations and farms by squatters was another method.

Suggestions have been made to some prominent businesses that large purchases on public account would be placed through them on condition that a stipulated percentage of the amount involved would be handed in notes to the proposer, who mitigated his offence by asserting, falsely of course, that he was not thinking of his own pocket but of his party's needs. Another extortion, undertaken by some quite senior Ministers, has been to make it plain to various companies that they were expected to participate in schemes with which they would not have considered associating

themselves but for the implied threat that they would otherwise prejudice their standing with the Government.

Business Blackmail

There must be few black-governed States, if any, in which business blackmail of some or all of these and other types is not practised. Such transactions cannot be kept secret, partly because the Africans involved are unable to refrain from boasting, partly because Europeans and Asians who have left Africa rather than submit have given friends the detailed reasons for their withdrawal, and partly because enterprises under threat seek some protection by asking friends and competitors if they have had the same experience. When that is so, as it often is, they fix a mutually acceptable limit to their "co-operation". In every instance of which I have been told that has temporarily removed further pressure; but no realist can doubt that it will be renewed. The appetite of despoilers is insatiable.

Because this paper had frequently criticized black politicians—though certainly not half as sharply as such British architects of catastrophe in Africa as Mr. Harold Macmillan and Mr. Iain Macleod—I was not surprised when I began to receive broad hints that it was unwise to stand against the "wind of change". Messages in that sense were sometimes delivered in person by Africans visiting London, sometimes by African students at United Kingdom universities, sometimes in letters (which were not always anonymous), and every now and again by a white *collaborateur* with black extremists. The stock reply to the messengers was: "Tell the Minister who sent you that we shall not change the policy but will always be ready to publish any letter criticizing any leading article". Not once was the assumption that the man was an envoy of a Minister denied. Nor was the challenge ever accepted by a Minister.

Threats to Ban the Paper

On dozens of occasions when talking to African Presidents and other Ministers who criticized our policy I made the same offer, but it has never been acted upon, presumably because they recognized that an editorial footnote might expose the defects of a letter.

When it was understood that the policy would not be bent, I was told that the paper was likely to be banned in East Africa. For some time that idea was influentially canvassed in and from Kenya, but it was coldly received when broached in high quarters in Tanganyika and Uganda. Inter-territorial action being thus unattainable, the zealots in Kenya turned to methods which I shall not describe because that might injure the interests of other persons. Suffice it to say that within

a few months advertising contracts of long standing, which in some cases had run for unbroken periods of 20, 30, and even more years, were ended, and that when another year had passed little of our East African advertising remained. Moreover, leading manufacturing and other concerns in Britain were similarly influenced to withdraw. Thus by the time Rhodesia assumed her independence revenue had been so seriously curtailed that expenditure exceeded income.

Mr. Wilson's Lost Opportunities

Having not the slightest doubt of the fundamental justice of the Rhodesian case, the paper was determined to do all in its power to explain and support it, and increasing losses were borne in the conviction that a settlement between the two Governments could and should be reached. Had the British Prime Minister not blundered so badly, the dispute would already have been solved. Unhappily, he has thrown away three outstanding opportunities, the last being aboard H.M.S. TIGER, when, after reaching an accommodation with Mr. Ian Smith on the constitutional issues, he ensured the failure of the negotiations by coupling with the agreed plan conditions for a return to legality which were manifestly unacceptable by any Rhodesian, as Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, two former Prime Ministers, and both of them political opponents of Mr. Smith, have publicly declared. Could there be stronger condemnation of the Socialist Prime Minister? Mr. Wilson then quickly banged and bolted the door against a settlement by asking the Security Council of the United Nations to instruct all member States to prohibit their nationals from import or export trade with Rhodesia. The resultant mandatory sanctions point to a long period of stalemate.

Folly and Faithlessness

Rhodesia will certainly not surrender, whatever the deprivations. Her spirit is that of Britain after Dunkirk. As no man could then estimate how long the war with Germany would last, so today nobody can set a term to the tragic strife with Rhodesia—the basic causes of which are the folly, faithlessness, deceit, and cowardice of United Kingdom politicians. Having drifted into the present situation, the Government has no idea of how to escape from it. Its tragic and damaging impercipience may be stubbornly prolonged. For that period, whatever its length, RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA could not hope that revenue would cover expenditure, and there was therefore no escape from the decision to discontinue publication.

Though that decision was announced less than a week ago, several hundred letters

expressing regret have already been received. Their general character can be judged from the extracts which appear on other pages. Three writers, one in Rhodesia, have used the same words: "If I were a millionaire I would finance the paper". Knowing the generous-hearted correspondents, I am sure that none would have wished to limit editorial freedom. Another old friend wrote confidentially: "You are a 'war casualty'; I suppose you felt reluctant to pass on the paper to anyone who would not faithfully carry on the crusade which you have for so long upheld". That is the case. A sale could have been arranged, but I am convinced that the purchaser would have destroyed the character of the paper, which it is therefore more honourable to end.

Kipling's Challenge

Soon after its birth the editor received a letter of good wishes from Rudyard Kipling, who quoted a well-known couplet from one of his poems:—

"Go to your work and be strong, halting
not in your ways,

Baulking the goal half-won for an instant
dole of praise".

That challenge has hung framed in my office ever since. To what extent it has been answered is for regular readers of the paper to judge.

A Few Copies Still Available

"Rhodesia and East Africa"	- -	25s 9d
"Angling in East Africa"	- -	6s 6d
"Sunshine and Rain in Uganda"	- -	6s 6d
"Rhymes of the Old Plateau"	- -	6s 6d
"Tanganyika Becomes Independent"	- -	5s 6d
"Uganda Becomes Independent"	- -	5s 6d

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RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

26 Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1

VALEDICTORY MESSAGES

Sir Alec Douglas-Home

P.C., K.T., D.L., M.P.

Prime Minister, 1963-64; Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-60. Then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

"I am so sorry to hear that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is shortly to close down. Your weekly has given great encouragement to the many in Rhodesia and Britain who were working for a genuine multi-racial society in that part of Africa. We must all pray for happier times. In the meanwhile, well done".

The Hon. Ian D. Smith

D.F.C., M.P.

Prime Minister of Rhodesia

"I learn with sincere regret that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA must cease publication, for Rhodesians in general owe a debt of gratitude to you for the manner in which you have fought Rhodesia's fight in the face of overwhelming odds.

"The war of attrition which has developed between Great Britain and Rhodesia has unfortunately taken toll of yet another fighter in our cause—your publication. When things have returned to normal I hope that we may see the reappearance of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Meantime I send you my very good wishes for the future".

Viscount Malvern

P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D.

Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1933 to 1953 and first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1953-56

"So you are obliged by circumstances beyond your control to cease publication. That to me is a most melancholy circumstance. I regret very much that after 42 years, the pleasure derived from reading it is to be no more.

"I have vivid recollections of the numerous occasions on which you had to espouse the cause of sanity as against political expediency; you have kept your two feet firmly planted on the ground, whilst others, who should have known better, were star-gazing and living in a wonderful ethereal atmosphere.

"Your paper was the only one from which the full information on the territories of East Africa and Rhodesia could be obtained—all the territories embodied being so relatively unimportant, from the world point of view, that the daily Press had very little to say.

"I realize yours was largely a labour of love to which you had dedicated the best part of your life.

"Although your paper goes, we shall still hope to have information from your pen in other ways".

Sir Roy Welensky

P.C., K.C.M.G.

Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1956-63

"I hear with deep regret that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is to cease publication.

"Two things struck me on hearing this news. The first is that Africans, white and black, will lose a great

champion. This paper, over the many years it has been in existence, has always attempted to place the facts fairly and squarely before the British and African public.

"With no exceptions, it has been the only paper which foresaw the tragic end to the Macmillan-Macleod policy of 'scuttle' from Africa, and it said so in season and out of season.

"Stephen Joelson, the editor, is a man whom I have been proud to call friend for nearly a quarter of a century. On events in Africa he has been one of the most widely informed men, and, as any man with sand in him must expect, he has made many friends and some enemies. However, the columns of his paper were open to friend and foe, and he never applied censorship to the views that were opposed to his own, as some of the other great newspapers do today.

"I hope he will continue to offer his wisdom and advice to his friends in Africa, even though he will not be able to do it through the vigorous columns of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA".

The Hon. Winston J. Field

C.M.G., M.B.E.

Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, 1962-64. Member of Federal Parliament, 1957-62

"No one has done more than you have to try and enlighten the British public on our affairs—but they have not been interested. It is a strange state of affairs when one of the first victims of sanctions against Rhodesia should be a journal published in England.

"Throughout the whole of its life RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has presented a fearless and accurate picture of that part of the African continent with which it has been concerned, and it is sad indeed to know that this must be the final issue".

FORMER SECRETARIES OF STATE

The Marquess of Salisbury

K.G., P.C., F.R.S.

Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 1940-42. Then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1943 again Dominions Secretary until 1945. In 1952 Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations

"I am so very sorry to hear that you have decided to give up the editorship of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. There comes of course a time in the lives of us all when we have to make these decisions; but I should not like this one to pass without a word of warm thanks from me for the immensely valuable work that you have done while you have been editor. Your courage and sturdy independence of mind have, I am sure, been an inspiration to many people to continue the fight for those things in which they have been brought up to believe and which are now so sadly neglected. We shall miss your robust articles very much. Every good wish to you for many years of happy retirement".

Viscount Boyd of Merton

P.C., C.H.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1954-59

"I am very sorry that this is the last issue of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Throughout its life of 42 years it has shown courage and independence. It has never courted popularity or joined in any conspiracy to ignore unwelcome facts. Stephen Joelson has made many friends, and he has often earned the sometimes reluctant respect of those whom he has criticized; they have recognized him as a forthright and candid opponent".

Viscount Chandos

P.C., D.S.O., M.C.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1951-54

"I hear with great regret that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is coming to an end. The paper has made an important and responsible contribution to the knowledge and study of African affairs. The winds of change do not always blow softly, and we can ill afford to lose its voice".

Mr. Duncan Sandys

P.C., M.P.

Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1960-64, and for the Colonies 1962-64

"I have read your paper for many years. Your readers are much indebted to you for your fair and well-informed presentation of developments in Africa during this crucially important period".

FORMER GOVERNORS

Sir Robert Armitage

K.C.M.G., M.B.E.

Governor of Nyasaland, 1956-61

"The paper has been invaluable. I read it for a great number of years in East Africa and have done so since my retirement. Your comments, with which I have not always agreed, were pungent and put a point of view which no other paper did. You never subscribed to the prevailing view that the British Empire did nothing to improve the conditions of the many millions of Africans now independent. It was well that someone should champion our behaviour and record in the Colonies. Your paper was unique. It cannot be replaced".

Sir Walter Coutts

G.C.M.G., M.B.E.

Formerly Governor-General of Uganda, and previously for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya

"I have always admired the forthright way in which RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has wholeheartedly stood up for what it believed, though I have by no means always agreed with its policy.

"In an era when conformity and compromise appear to be the regular practice, and even our heritage of freedom of speech is at times in danger, it seems to me a great pity that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA and its fighting editor should go out of business".

Sir Frederick Crawford

G.C.M.G., O.B.E.

Governor of Uganda, 1956-61 and previously Deputy Governor of Kenya. Now resident in Rhodesia

"I first knew EAST AFRICA, as it was then called, in the late 'twenties, when it was published in a brown cover and when the exploits of its founder as a prisoner-of-war of the Germans in Tanganyika were still being talked about in Dar es Salaam. Even when harnessed to a muck-cart at the Tabora prisoner-of-war camp in a vain attempt to quail him, the prisoner showed his irrepressible spirit, his fight against oppression and wrong,

that were later to inspire his paper for the whole of its life.

"Joelson began his fight for East Africa in the 1914-18 war, and was to continue it for 42 years through EAST AFRICA, later EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, and then RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. What a story lies behind the successive changes in title!

"He alone at one time campaigned against the handing back of Tanganyika to the Germans in the 'thirties, and from its first issue refused to have a German advertisement in his paper despite the considerable loss of advertising revenue involved.

"He pleaded for the amalgamation of East Africa when the then Governors of the three territories opposed it, largely on grounds of personal antipathy.

"In more recent years he fought first against the premature granting, as he saw it, of independence to these territories which has resulted in their present-day position, and then against the break-up of the Central African Federation. And now because of the 'progress' of these latter years, because of politics, and, finally, because of sanctions, the paper is obliged to close.

"EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, as I still like to call it, was not always everybody's cup of tea. I have even heard people in high places talk of trying to restrict its circulation in their territories when something it said particularly annoyed them. But in the end they, and many others who had an interest in East and Central Africa, realized that they could not afford to miss it. It became an institution, and its personal news columns a far-flung club. Many will lament its end.

"One feature of the paper has always given me particular pleasure—the impeccable and forceful English in which it was unflinchingly written.

"Over the years I have valued the friendship and the discretion of its owner. Let us hope that he will not sheathe his pen".

Sir John Hathorn Hall

G.C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C.

British Resident in Zanzibar, 1937-40; Governor of Uganda, 1944-51

"In common no doubt with countless others, I was genuinely grieved to learn that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA — that fearless, stimulating and always well-informed periodical, which has become part, and a not unimportant part, of the life of East and Central Africa — has, after a brave survival in increasingly adverse circumstances, finally fallen a victim to sanctions, that blunt instrument which strikes down Rhodesians and Britons alike.

"During the 10 years that I worked in East Africa I do not think that I missed reading a single issue of the paper, not always with agreement perhaps, but invariably with interest and usually with benefit.

"It is indeed a sad reflection on our times that so independent, courageous, excellent, and eminently readable a journal is, after all those faithful years, to cease publication. Many will miss it. It has done a wonderful job".

Lord Howick of Glendale

P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

Governor of Southern Rhodesia, 1942-44; Governor of Kenya, 1952-59; chairman of Commonwealth Development Corporation since 1960

"Like many of your old friends I am very sorry to learn that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA must cease publication. During my more than seven years in Kenya you and your newspaper were a great help. Your reporting of facts was always correct and your comments thoughtful and stimulating. With many others I feel that you have performed a great service both for Africa and Britain".

Sir Wilfrid Jackson

G.C.M.G.

Governor of Tanganyika Territory, 1941-45

"Nothing can replace RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Its detailed reports of many aspects of Central and East African affairs not dealt with in any other publication and its independent attitude have been most valuable in throwing light on the real position, and in recent times most especially on Rhodesia and its problems. I congratulate you on keeping the paper going so long in spite of the increasing difficulties which had to be faced".

Sir Gerald Reece

K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

Governor of British Somaliland, 1948-53

"I have read RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA from the very beginning and have always found it useful. It has done much good over the years. Two things about EAST AFRICA, as it was originally called, impressed me in particular: one was the efficiency and accuracy of your news service, and the other was the forthright manner in which you denounced what you believed to be wrong, combining with it conspicuous fairness in presenting also the views of the other side. I shall look forward to reading the books which I am sure that you will write".

Sir Gilbert Rennie

G.B.E., K.C.M.G., M.C.

Governor of Northern Rhodesia, 1948-54. High Commissioner in U.K. for Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1954-61

"I am very sorry to learn that publication of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will soon be discontinued. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA (as it was called until recently) has held a unique position for many years among newspapers in the United Kingdom because of its comprehensive, accurate, and factual reporting of events, progress, politics, and personalities in the countries in East and Central Africa.

"Its editorial comments on current affairs have been distinguished by extensive knowledge of the subjects under review, penetrating insight, sound judgment, frank, vigorous, and fearless expression of view, and passionate involvement in the destinies of the territories and their peoples. Those of us who have been concerned with or interested in the affairs of those countries are greatly indebted to the journal and its editor, F. S. Joelson, for their outstanding contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the problems in those countries. No newspaper, no editor could hope to fill the gap".

Lord Twining

G.C.M.G., M.B.E.

Governor of Tanganyika Territory, 1949-58

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, as it has become known lately, was born as EAST AFRICA about the time I first went to East Africa 42 years ago. I remember thinking what a good idea it was to have a paper devoted to East African affairs. Under Stephen Joelson it soon grew into an influential publication which nobody interested in the territories could ignore.

"The political rôle of the publication was the one which Joelson relished best, and his forthright articles, devastating in their criticism, without doubt exercised a powerful influence. But the times changed and his views did not; he became the champion of lost causes. Like Canute, he was unable to stem the tide.

"However much one may have disagreed with some of his views, one could not but admire the continuous vituperation and invective which frequently hit the nail

on the head. The power of his writing stemmed from his singleness of purpose.

"But in the course of time all except the true die-hards tended to adapt themselves to the great changes brought by African nationalism and to tire of the lone voice crying in the wilderness. Nevertheless, Joelson's political writings will survive as an expression of views shared by many at the time.

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA had another rôle of which the importance cannot be minimized. Week by week there were pages devoted to current events and activities. The paper fulfilled a very valuable purpose by collecting information from a diversity of sources which were not readily available. Any library with a complete file will have a very valuable record for use by students.

"It can be said with confidence that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has played a considerable part in the building of these countries, and that that would not have been possible without F. S. Joelson".

PEERS**Lord Coleraine**

P.C.

"I am indeed sorry to learn that your excellent weekly RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is coming to an end. You have done a fine job in instructing public opinion—but the public has been both uninterested and misled".

Lord Colyton

P.C., C.M.G.

Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, 1952-55. Chairman of Joint East and Central African Board, 1960-65. Chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd.

"Having read RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA for many years, I have always admired your great knowledge of people and affairs in East and Central Africa and your own courageous exposition of your views during a most critical and decisive period. I know too that many people in those countries who did not share your views always respected your single-minded and sincere approach to political affairs. The British Press will be the poorer through the loss of an independent, fearless, and most readable weekly paper".

Earl De La Warr

P.C., G.B.E.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1936-37; Chairman Joint East and Central African Board, 1955-58; Chairman, Royal Commonwealth Society, 1960; Chairman, Uganda Company

"With the closing down of your paper we shall lose the weekly expression of views of an individual who has always given fearlessly of his best. We shall certainly be very much the poorer for the loss. Your paper has always had a sense of robust integrity, which is all too rare nowadays, and which, if only there had been more of it in official circles, might well have given us a happier Africa today.

"A prominent African once said to me: 'The worst insult that you Europeans can pay us is always to agree with us; we know it for the patronizing lie that it is'. You have certainly never been guilty of this fault. You know the African and you like him, but you also know the facts of life in Africa, and have spoken fearlessly of them in days when to speak the truth was to be labelled a reactionary.

"Thank you for the pleasure and interest which you have given me for years reading your paper, and all best wishes to you in your retirement".

Lord Hastings

P.C.

"I am sorry indeed to hear that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is to cease publication. I have read your paper for the last 40 years and have found it an invaluable service of information. It has always given a wider and more factual coverage of events in a large and vital part of the African continent than any other paper, either daily or weekly. Your pungent and forthright editorials have been a prominent feature; relished by some, disliked by some, but enjoyed by all who appreciate good journalism. The disappearance of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will leave a void in the lives of all who are seriously interested in that part of the world".

Lord Milverton

P.C., G.C.M.G.

Chairman Royal African Society, 1963-65. Former Governor of Nigeria, Jamaica, Fiji and North Borneo

"I have heard with great regret that your paper is shortly to terminate its years of public service to the welfare of the territories which you have made your special study. For many years I have been one of your regular readers, and I have admired your fearless determination to publicize the facts of life in those territories and the policies, whether good or bad, that were from time to time in operation there.

"We all appreciate the good faith with which you fought for the principles that seemed to you right, and your uncompromising condemnation of what seemed to you unwise or ill-judged. The keynote of your paper has been sincerity inspired by friendly interest in the welfare of all classes and races in those territories, and objective determination to paint a true picture of conditions, political, economic and social.

"You have always been at great pains to verify your facts and to buttress your personal knowledge with continuous study of reliable sources of information. The extinction of the light that you have steadily shed on African affairs will be greatly regretted".

The Earl of Portsmouth

P.C.

President of Electors' Union, Kenya, 1953-55; Member of Kenya Legislative Council, 1957-60; Vice-Chairman of East African Natural Resources Council

"For most of the years since 1949 I have been a reader and often an admirer of your paper and its stout endeavour to keep East Africa and Rhodesia on the map of European, and especially British, politics. In the last few years, having the good fortune to live in a well-governed part of East Africa, I have naturally often disagreed with a good deal of your editorial comment. Nevertheless I feel that on balance through the years we owe you a debt for having made the paper something to which we looked in each issue for informed and readable news, which would not otherwise have been put before readers in Britain and abroad".

Lord Russell of Liverpool

P.C., C.B.E., M.C.

"In common with many others who are interested in African affairs and know Africa I am most distressed to learn that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is soon to cease publication. Under the able editorship of Mr. Joelson it has been one of the very few papers in this country which has consistently tried to dispel the illusion, so prevalent today, that the independence which has been given to many African countries during the last few years has brought with it any benefits to the ordinary African citizen".

Lord Tweedsmuir

P.C., C.B.E.

Chairman, Joint East and Central African Board, 1950-52; President Commonwealth and British Empire Chambers of Commerce, 1955-57

"I am extremely sorry to hear that your excellent weekly is coming to an end. All those of us who have a deep interest in Eastern and Central African affairs will greatly miss its news, its informed and sympathetic comment, and the absolute fairness with which it has always presented the facts. Your paper performed a great service through times often difficult and always challenging, and there will be many who, like myself, would like you to know how much the paper was appreciated".

Mr. B. G. Abnett

"Africa is diminished by the disappearance of your paper, which has served it so well. I had noticed the withdrawal of advertisements which had appeared for many years. The great businesses with millions invested in Africa must be mad to force you to cease publication by failing to support you. In the long run they will pay heavily for their stupidity. Or is it that they are afraid of the black Governments with which they do so much business?"

Mr. W. D. Andrews

"You are the doyen of Commonwealth writers in the U.K., and I doubt whether anywhere else in the Commonwealth there is a founder of a paper who has been its very active editor for 42 years. And very few editors could equal your record of service on public bodies".

Mr. L. F. G. Anthony

"The closing of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is distressing and tragic, but you have the consolation of knowing that you have played a prominent part in African history. Many, many people in this country and overseas will have good cause to remember with affection the impact that you have made over the years".

Mrs. Katherine Ayling

"Looking back over the years, one now sees that your paper has always been right in what you foresaw. It is a real tragedy that it should have to cease publication".

Mr. Carl Aschan and Mr. Sydney Tranter

"Your uninterrupted editorship over almost half a century, its very high standard, coupled with courage and sincerity in the expression of your opinions, have richly earned the high respect and regard in which the journalistic profession holds you. You can look back on a job well done".

Mr. Anstis Bewes

O.B.E.

For many years managing director in Tanganyika Territory of Riddoch & Co., Ltd.

"I shall miss immeasurably your weekly information about Rhodesian and East African affairs and intensely your illuminating and stimulating editorials. For many years I have read the paper from cover to cover and passed it to friends. No publication can take its place. There is no other to which we can look for informed guidance and criticism. Most of the national newspapers have been completely unreliable on Rhodesia and East Africa—and I attribute it in no small measure to your publication that the *Telegraph's* presentation of African affairs has taken on a more realistic aspect.

"Your influence has been far more extensive than you may at times have felt. During the last few years you must have been exasperated at the gullibility of so many in this country. What has disturbed and surprised me more than anything since I left East Africa has been the unwillingness of so many people to consider any point of view other than the one they hold as the result of reading hopelessly biased and one-sided newspapers and watching B.B.C. television features.

"You have rendered invaluable service to all who have the interests of Rhodesia and Africa at heart".

Mr. John Biggs-Davison M.P.

"My distress at the passing of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will be shared by many who dissent from the editorial views of a man of vision, courage and integrity.

"Stephen Joelson might be termed, in the jargon of the Left, a 'premature anti-Nazi'. He started his journal in 1924 convinced by his experience as a prisoner of war in East Africa of the need for co-operation between its territories and also of the persistence of German ambitions. When the Nazi exponents of a brutal racial myth laid claim, with some exalted support in Britain, to British African territories, he fought for British, and therefore African, rights.

"Abhorring racialism, he believed in federation as a great means to non-racial advancement. Would that more statesmen had shared his faith!

"With brilliant invective he scathingly exposed the hypocrisy that cloaked the abandonment of duty. Running before the wind of change was excused elsewhere as making a virtue of necessity. Historians may decide that it was neither necessary nor virtuous.

"Principles were preferred by Stephen Joelson to popularity—and circulation. If his journal appealed to the settler, and to the Right, its policy might have saved millions of Africans from danger, dictatorship, and death. In a long and honourable career, he spared neither opponents nor himself. May he now find time to write of Rhodesia and Eastern Africa in books which he has long wanted to write and which we shall eagerly await".

*Sir Handley Bird C.B.E.

Representative Member of Uganda Legislative Council, 1947-55; Minister of Commerce and Works, 1955-58

"In terms of British interest in East Africa the phrase 'half as old as time' might well be applied to your paper. Seldom, if ever, has an editor commended such a wide circle of informed friends and earned such trust in his objective and truthful representation of affairs and interests. We must hope that you will contribute still further by writing a history, say from 1946, from your unrivalled knowledge".

The Hon. Robert Boscawen

"No newspaper tried harder to arouse and warn those who could listen before it was too late of the impending tragedy in Africa. Your articles have never wavered in courage and consistency or in the belief that Britain's word once given could be broken only at the peril of the lives and happiness of the people of all races in the countries concerned. That such a unique service can now no longer continue is greatly to be deplored".

Sir Kenneth Bradley C.M.G.

Director of the Commonwealth Institute since 1953. Information Officer in Northern Rhodesia, 1939-42

"Those of us who lived and worked in East and Central Africa when we were young will be sad to think that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is coming to

the end of its long, useful, and honourable life. For nearly half a century Mr. Joelson has owned, managed, and edited this journal, and this alone must surely be a record.

"All of us who have known him over the years have always greatly admired his courage and outspokenness and his astonishing capacity for gathering news. He was a firm, and sometimes rightly critical, champion of the Colonial Service, and he has always set a fine example of consistent integrity and high professional standards".

Mr. Sydney F. Brice O.B.E.

Head of the Rhodesian Mission in London

"I welcome this opportunity of paying Mr. Joelson a well-deserved tribute, although nobody regrets more than I do that it should acquire the character of obsequies for RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA.

"For nearly as long as I have been alive Mr. Joelson has been personally identified with his paper. He has achieved the status of an honorary Rhodesian.

"Unlike many one-man bands, his product has always had the polish and expertise that distinguish the professional from the amateur. This is not to say that he has ever lacked such robust, amateurish qualities as energy, enthusiasm and sincerity. He has these in abundance, and the paper he edited bore testimony to his ability and industry.

"Many Rhodesians will regret the passing of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. It was a publication which was both well informed and well intentioned concerning our affairs. I console myself with the belief that Mr. Joelson has been a journalist too long to stop writing. I look forward to reading further contributions from his fluent and fecund pen".

Dr. William O. Brown

Of the Colonial Studies Department of Boston University, U.S.A.

"As a subscriber of long standing, I have always found your journal of very great usefulness in my work, and will most certainly miss your vigorous observations on the politics and policies of Eastern and Central Africa".

Mr. Evan R. Campbell C.B.E.

High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia, 1964-65. Previously president of Rhodesia Tobacco Association and chairman of Tobacco Export Promotion Council

"As a Rhodesian I write to say how extremely sorry I am that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is to discontinue publication. For more years than I like to recall this journal has put the case of the East and Southern African Colonies into perspective. I know what an enormous amount of good it has done, and I, amongst many others, am sorry to think that we shall no longer have such a staunch friend amongst the publishing world in London. To its editor I would say this: you should be happy to remember the job that you have done. It was well done and appreciated by us all in Rhodesia".

Dr. James Carmichael C.M.G., M.R.C.V.S.

"It is so very sad that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA should close down. When it started I was in the Colonial Service in Uganda, and I have read it ever since, and must be one of thousands who are most grateful to you for your work and efforts on behalf of East Africa. I have always admired the way you have championed the

sensible development of East Africa, and it is regrettable that your advice was not in many cases heeded.

"To look back over 44 years—I was in Uganda from 1913 to 1954—is to see the sorry mess mainly made by the meddling of politicians in this country, Conservative and Labour, who knew nothing about Africa or the people. The result is much unhappiness and the denial of everyday justice to millions of decent Africans".

Sir Nicholas Cayzer

Bt.

Chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.; Clan Line Steamers, Ltd.; Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.; and other companies

"It is indeed sad that after 42 years it should be impossible to continue publication of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, but the situation is so difficult at the moment that I quite appreciate the reason I hope, however, that you will continue writing on the many aspects of the developing scene in the area that you have covered. That must be of great interest and importance to a very large number of people who realize that Africa could be the key to the future progress of mankind".

Sir Roger Chance

Bt., M.C.

"Yours is a magnificent record. Countless people must be grateful to you for telling the truth and for fair comment. The events which force you to close down are tragic".

Sir Thomas Chegwidden

C.B., C.V.O.

Past president of Association of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Industries

"Rhodesia will miss very much your robust and persistent championship of our cause. We shall now be deprived of information which has never been made available to us through any other media. May I mention your admirable extracts from Parliamentary debates? It really is a tragedy that circumstances oblige you to abandon publication".

Captain A. K. Chesterton

M.C.

Founder of League of Empire Loyalties and editor of "Candour"

"I am most grieved to learn of the impending demise, through force of circumstances, of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. During the 20 and more years in which I have followed your unrelenting battle on behalf of civilized rule in Africa it has given me much comfort and reassurance to know that there was so valiant and informed a champion among the very few periodicals opposing the Gadarene rush towards anarchy and chaos.

"I cannot tell you how much I deplore the fact that so strong a light in the darkness is about to be extinguished. Agreed on ends, you and I have sometimes differed about means (and overseas leaders), but never for a moment have I failed to appreciate your superb qualities of mind and heart, your absolute personal integrity, the coolness of your judgment, and the sheer brilliance of your writing. May the fog of the world's madness soon lift, allowing a great little paper to be revived and your own tremendous gifts again to be given full scope".

Mr. Stuart Cloete

Author of numerous books about Africa

"For many years yours has been the only reliable periodical dealing with East and Central Africa. Its predictions have almost always been correct. It alone foresaw and foretold the full tragedy of Uhuru for the African peasant mass. The paper was a window into

what is again becoming Darkest Africa. Now the shutters have to be put up, and we shall no more get your unbiased information. It was never slanted—as it frequently is elsewhere by 'liberal social scientists' for whom an African can do no wrong and the white man in Africa no right—men who see terrorists as 'freedom fighters' and never report the number of Africans whom they kill.

"The death of your paper is a great loss. Blown away on the 'wind of change', its end was inevitable, but it has gone down fighting, as it lived. I greatly admire the splendid fight you have put up".

Mr. S. V. Cooke

C.M.G.

A former Member of the Legislative Council of Kenya

"Hail and farewell, great patriot and fearless journalist".

Sir James G. Craufurd

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has been unique. Its reports on Rhodesia have been the more valuable since its information, favourable and unfavourable, enabled its readers to form a balanced judgment. The paper has done invaluable service to the cause of Rhodesia".

Mr. A. D. Dodes-Parker

M.P.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, 1954-55; Chairman, Joint East and Central African Board and British Empire Producers Organization, 1947-50

"I have heard with dismay that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is closing down. I write to express my thanks for all the interest and usefulness which you have provided for me for more than 20 years. We first met just after the war when I became chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board. From then on I have read your paper regularly, and found great value in it. It seems all wrong that it should close down at this moment when exchange of information is more necessary than ever".

Mrs. Alexandra Fawcus

A former chairman of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League and of the Voice of Kenya

"As one of your oldest subscribers I shall find the disappearance of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA a great blow. You have always stimulated us even when we disagreed with you. You have campaigned courageously for so many years for your convictions. Your admirable newspaper will be sadly missed".

Mr. Arthur Ffooks

"It is a great pity that such a high-quality journal should have to be closed. It will be greatly missed by Rhodesia's friends wherever they may be. You have earned for yourself an honoured place in Rhodesia's history. I shall expect you to bow out with all guns blazing".

Mr. Lionel Fleming

Former Commonwealth Correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation

"It is sad that EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA (as I shall always think of it) must go out of publication. I did not always agree with your views, but I did immensely admire the honesty and courage with which you edited your paper, and also your own mastery of good, fighting English. The best tribute I can pay is to tell you that it was always 'must' reading for me while I was with the B.B.C. Do not hang up your sword. There are too few vigorous journalists".

Mr. Mervyn M. F. Fox

"Where now can we turn for news of your part of Africa? The popular national newspapers give insufficient coverage and do not expose much that should be exposed.

"I have subscribed to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA for only three and a half years, but I have carefully preserved every copy, for I have cherished your weekly commentaries at perhaps the most changing and damaging three and a half years in African history. I think the future will prove you to have been correct most of the time, if not entirely. I wish I owned all 2,208 copies of your newspaper. I write as a farmer in Devonshire who was born and brought up in Kenya".

Mr. Rolf Gardiner

Chairman of tea-growing companies in Malawi

"The end of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is a blow for all men of honesty, accuracy and good-will who are concerned for the happiness and welfare of Africa. Mr. Stephen Joelson is a man of forthright views and absolute integrity whom one knows to be respected even by his political opponents. He has something of a Cromwellian Ironside in his make-up. His pen is a brandished sword of fearless and passionate conviction which he has wielded with tireless energy and forthrightness through many decades. He has proclaimed moral truth and moral standards in a slippery world of easy-going evasiveness.

"Such outspoken straightness and ethical consistency are not the habit of politicians. It is a tragedy that African nationalists have been led to copy the dishonest methods of white politicians, as though tortuousness were a law of nature. Joelson, who has many black African friends, has stood firmly for an opposite ideal—for moral uprightness in public life and political negotiation, for keeping one's word through thick and thin, for chivalry towards one's opponents, and loyalty towards one's friends. He is certainly not a racist, a bigotted defender of white domination. But he holds firmly and rightly to a belief in advance to responsibility by proven merit. He has sought to protect the true long-term interest of Africa from the treachery of politicians of all colours, not least our own.

"His repeated sallies at certain of our so-called statesmen should have made them bow their heads in shame. It is they who in vacillation, weakness and ignorance have let Africa down. With this valuable paper gone, who will shoot at them? Where can the ordinary reader now get a regular verbatim summary of all the debates and speeches current about African affairs?

"Mr. and Mrs. Joelson have borne a burden at considerable personal sacrifice too long, and out of a single-minded sense of duty, prompted by high principles. We are deeply in their debt. Their service should be publicly recognized".

Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand

K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.

Chief of Staff of 8th Army, 1942-44, and of 21st Army Group, 1944-45. Served in King's African Rifles in Nyasaland, 1926-31, latterly as O.C. Troops

"I have known Mr. Joelson for nearly 40 years. Not only has he on occasion given me extremely sound advice, but he has performed a great service to the old East and Central African Colonies for a great number of years through the columns of his excellent magazine RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA.

"He has always fought for what he thought was right and in the best interest of all the inhabitants of those countries. In my view, the situation might be less complex today if his advice on various issues had been taken. "I am extremely sorry to hear that the paper must cease to be published. Many of us will regret this very greatly".

Mr. John Gwynne-Evans

"Rhodesia loses the services of one of our most powerful sources of support throughout the world, especially in Britain. Your paper has steadfastly upheld Rhodesia's case with courage and determination. It has given excellent service. Its demise is a sad blow to many who, like myself, have spent most of their lives in the United Kingdom but now strongly support Rhodesia in her struggle".

Major E. J. Halsted-Hanby

G.M.

"Yours is the only publication which, in winged words, has told the truth about Rhodesia. Some of your issues have contained the most forthright and best indictments of Harold Wilson which I have read. That you should have to cease publication is appalling".

Mr. H. B. Hayter

"Now we shall be absolutely without the truth about Central and East Africa, for reliance cannot be placed upon the national newspapers in Britain".

Mr. J. H. Howman

M.P.

Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism in Rhodesia

"RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has been an invaluable source of information to the Government and people of Rhodesia over many years. We hope that your talents will still be available in other ways in the days to come".

Mr. Rowland Hudson

C.M.G.

Sometime Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, and for many years head of the African Studies Branch of the Colonial Office

"I have read the paper for more than 40 years, and have always admired your courageous honesty in the causes in which you believed, even when I disagreed with your judgments of people or events. You have the satisfaction of knowing that as you saw things you did right and feared no man".

Sir Bruce Hutt

K.B.E., C.M.G.

Administrator of the East Africa High Commission, 1954-59; previously Acting Governor of Tanganyika

"I have been a regular and enthusiastic reader of your paper ever since I first went to East Africa in 1925 and I have had many years of enjoyment out of it. I have greatly admired the way you have striven through the years to present an accurate and comprehensive coverage of happenings and events in East and Central Africa.

"You have always been forthright in expressing your views and fearless in your criticisms—even sometimes of those in high places. For these attributes we who have known the countries you have written about so well shall always be grateful. I feel quite sure that the books you will write will be as valuable, interesting, and instructive as your paper has been".

Mr. A. S. Kharusi

"My colleagues and I in the Zanzibar Organization regard cessation of your publication as a great blow to freedom-loving people in general and to us Zanzibaris in particular. Only through RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA have the atrocities committed by the present tyrannical and Communist-puppet régime in Zanzibar been exposed".

Subversion in Africa Organized by Communist Experts

Documentary Evidence of Nkrumah's Use of Russian and Chinese Instructors

THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA has published a 91-page book, entitled "Subversion in Africa", which discloses in considerable detail the way in which Kwame Nkrumah, then President of Ghana, plotted against other African Governments and tried to make himself the outstanding political figure of all West, East and Central Africa.

Men now in most influential ministerial positions in East and Central Africa were then strong Nkrumahists, and some made no secret of the fact that they had received substantial subventions from his organizations.

The following extracts indicate the general nature of Nkrumah's activities:—

"Nkrumah's excesses were so vast that action had to be taken to dismiss him; but the discoveries made by the Government of Ghana revealed that the danger to Africa was one hundred times more serious than anyone outside of a small circle had realized.

"The fatal flaw in Nkrumah's character was his megalomania, which led him to scheme to consolidate his hold on the country through intrigue, blackmail, treachery and thuggery. He organized lieutenants, hangers-on and hirelings to go about publicizing him as having supernatural powers.

Amassed Fabulous Wealth

"Nkrumah spent huge sums to build prisons where all Ghanaians whom he thought were a danger to his self-aggrandisement, dictatorship and inordinate ambition were carted away to languish in detention. His security officers, men and women, were placed in factories, offices, drinking bars, political rallies, and even in churches, not forgetting the taxi and bus drivers, shop assistants, pedlars and seemingly unemployed persons who acted as informants. Nkrumah encouraged rivalries and dissensions among officials in responsible positions, hoping in that way to discourage them from taking united action against him.

"Whilst his economic policies brought the country to the brink of ruin, he himself amassed fabulous wealth. He had returned to Ghana after 12 years abroad with one battered suit-case containing a few toilet articles and a faded gaberdine suit.

"He posed as the champion of a united 'socialist' Africa, but as his megalomania increased he discarded the concept of working for African unity through the Organization of African Unity. He began to dream of himself as the ruler of all Africa except the area along the Mediterranean. Other leaders and other elected Governments showed no willingness to turn over their powers to him, and so he began to plot against those countries, planning to replace their leaders with people who had been trained in Ghana in methods of violent revolution. The methods to be employed included guerrilla warfare, sabotage, terrorism and assassination.

Opposed East African Federation

"Nkrumah was bitterly opposed to attempts by anyone else to promote regional unity. His files reveal that he used a variety of means to oppose the establishment of the East African Federation: his meddling became so apparent that on August 6, 1963, President Nyerere of Tanzania wrote him a very angry letter on this subject.

"After an attempt on his life in 1962 Nkrumah realized that he could not rely on more than a handful of base men to help carry out his plans. As a result, he appealed to the Communist States to provide him with personal protection and to prepare detailed plans for spying on the citizens of Ghana and for espionage and subversive activities throughout the continent. The U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, and the German Democratic Republic eagerly responded. Somewhat later numbers of Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Poles, Bulgarians, North Koreans and Cubans flooded into the country. According to his orders, the immigration officials kept no record of these arrivals; more than 1,000 of them came and moved freely about the country.

"While Nkrumah was making use of these Communist experts and advisers, they were enjoying a splendid opportunity to carry out plans that were only in their own interests. The Russians and East Germans recruited their own agents within the intelligence service of Ghana. The Russians and the Chinese who trained freedom fighters tried to use them in ways harmful to the cause of African freedom, while a large group of Cubans carrying diplomatic passports got in touch with the freedom fighters without asking permission of Ghana. The Russian Embassy had its own arrangements with individuals coming from Congo/Kinshasa. The Russians, Chinese, and East Germans selected members of the intelligence service who were to be trained in those countries in guerrilla warfare and the techniques of espionage, expecting them to return to Ghana as devoted Communists.

1,100 Russians and 430 Chinese Fled

"The liberation of Ghana was a bitter blow to all these Communists. Like animals running in front of a forest fire they fled the country. Planes and ships took away 1,100 Russians, 430 Chinese, and scores of people from the countries already named. Among these were 22 Russian and three Chinese intelligence officers and 13 Chinese guerrilla warfare instructors.

"Each year Nkrumah spent about £600,000 on the Presidential Detail Department, which employed 15 Russian experts and advisers. The Presidential Guard Regiment cost £369,000 a year; it comprised a battalion of 1,500 men, and a second battalion was being trained by Russians, so that the cost would soon have been doubled. £120,000 went to the Special Intelligence Unit; its purpose was to spy on Ghanaians and in particular to uncover anything unfavourable to Nkrumah. Two Russians trained the recruits on how to spy on their fellow countrymen. The President's bodyguard cost £30,750 a year.

"The Bureau of African Affairs was established in March 1960. In spite of the large sums spent, it was always in debt, and its director sent a stream of appeals to Nkrumah for additional funds. In one year the Bureau estimated it would need £120,000 for general expenses, but even this amount proved insufficient.

"The Bureau was bringing freedom fighters and African leaders in and out of Ghana by air. At one point it owed Ghana Airways £70,000 and the Black Star Line £10,367 for passages; and these debts were never settled. Almost anyone who was in the favour of Nkrumah or the Bureau could come to Accra by a first-class flight; Oginga Odinga was issued two round trip tickets from Nairobi.

"The African Affairs Centre, opened in 1959 in Accra, housed freedom fighters from all Africa. At times there were 170 men and women in residence; in February 1966 there were 136 residents.

Cynical Treatment of "Freedom Fighters"

"Most of those who went through the training camps were sent out of Ghana as soon as the courses were over. The Bureau then sent their names and photographs to the immigration authorities with orders to place them on the list of prohibited immigrants. This action, taken so that none of them would give up their aim of achieving the independence of their countries and try to return to Ghana, was a cynical way to treat former guests of Nkrumah—he had stated that all freedom fighters were his personal guests—who might well try to seek refuge in Ghana if they failed to carry through some plot in their own countries.

"For each country of Africa the Bureau set up a special file entitled 'Revolutionary Movement'. Each file maintained a record of the parties, groups, and individuals. For Uganda the Uganda People's Party was favoured; in Malawi the Malawi Congress.

"Listening devices were installed in a number of rooms at the Ambassador Hotel and in chalets at the Star Hotel in Accra in time for the O.A.U. Conference in the fall of 1965.

"It is absolutely clear from the files that the Russian advisers installed secret listening devices in rooms 307, 309, and 312 during their stay at the Ambassador. The files also contain some evidence that rooms 107, 207, 306, 308, and 407 were also wired. The overall plan included bugging selected rooms on each floor of the hotel.

"The register of the Star Hotel gives the names of the O.A.U. delegates who were housed in the chalets where over-hearing devices had been installed. They included 17 individuals from such countries as Zambia, Tunisia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Gabon, and the Republic of the Congo. It was considered vital to overhear any conversations that might indicate opposition to Nkrumah's plan to dominate the conference.

Parlous State of Mixed Farming in Tanzania

Despairing Appeal of Tanganyika Association of Agricultural Employers

MIXED FARMING IN TANZANIA, and perhaps also coffee growing by Europeans, cannot survive the burdens now placed upon it by the Government, says a memorandum of the Tanganyika Association of Agricultural Employers. The document states:—

"During the past two years, but more particularly recently the non-plantation agricultural industry has had to survive the cancellation of freehold titles without compensation, and indeed expense in obtaining leasehold grants, which they did not desire; the revocation of rights to occupy farms for which they had paid rent and development expenses; increased income tax and personal tax; minimum wage orders, not enforced upon other than our members; increased rates of district council cesses; National Provident Fund contributions; and recently the arbitrary imposition of the development levy.

Required to Attend Political Meetings

"At the same time they have had imposed upon them without remuneration or any apparent benefit heavy administrative work, including in many cases the necessity of paying for clerical assistance though requiring constant supervision, the payment and return of union dues under the check-off system, deductions and returns required under the pay-as-you-earn income tax provisions, the returns which will be required under the development levy, and finally the many and various forms considered necessary to implement the Security of Employment Act 1964.

"It may be said that most of these burdens have in many countries been placed upon employers, but the reply to this is that in them it has been over a long period of years and where reliable clerical assistance is available, and not where to all intents and purposes the whole weight of responsibility and work falls upon the shoulders of the individual farmer.

"In addition to these responsibilities and work, our members are expected to leave their farms and sit on boards—and severely criticized if owing to pressure of work they resign or decline appointment; assist local authorities; and, the latest requirement, provide transport for, and even themselves attend with their staff, instructional meetings and political gatherings.

Utter Discouragement

"There are therefore ample grounds for the feeling of utter discouragement, resulting in the sale of farms much below value, and retirement; and it would be a grievous error to suppose that the purchasers, or in other cases the vacant farms, are producing or will produce the former output or employ the same number of workers. Indeed, vacant farms are lapsing back into bush with a productivity of nil.

"The development levy has imposed a tax of 5% on income, but that, serious enough in itself, is nothing compared with the imposition of that tax upon the gross proceeds of sale of coffee and other produce.

"The taxes, cess, and administrative costs deducted upon the sale of a ton of coffee now amount to £80 to £83 per ton, and the gross proceeds of sale bear no relation whatsoever to the net proceeds. The operational cost of producing one ton of coffee varies greatly from one district to another, and indeed between farms in the same district, for reasons which are unalterable. Yet all coffee wherever produced is taxed in the like amount. Indeed, the levy and cess are deducted even where there has been a loss incurred as a result of weather, disease, etc., the proceeds of the harvest not paying the operational cost.

"Another aspect, which may well not have been appreciated is that the proceeds of the coffee crop produced on a mixed farm are expected to meet the losses incurred in dairy work

or the failure of other crops due to weather. It may well be said that dairy farming, except on a large scale perhaps, will be rendered impossible.

"This Association views with grave anxiety the results of the measures which have been enacted, the effect of which will be cumulative over the present and future years, and will have a disastrous effect upon the economy of Tanzania. We have obtained from our members sufficient data, supported by accounts, to prove our conclusion.

Government Did Not Seek Facts

"When collecting and compiling this data the thought arose: had Government this information available before deciding upon the legislation? To the best of our knowledge no effort was made to obtain it, though clearly of paramount importance, before imposing the development levy and exchange control restrictions. It seems that Government came to its decision without knowledge of the capital invested, the production costs, the minimum profit margin, the maximum tax ratio relating to this industry, and to the detriment to the economic future of this State and the five-year development plan, which it has doomed to failure.

"It is not too late even now for Government to make further investigation with the relevant statistics, which are available, and to consider the far-reaching effect of its legislation. This Association is firmly convinced that failure to amend these enactments, or at least to make provision for the amounts deducted for levy and cess being allowed as a rebate from income tax and corporation tax assessment, so as to be related to net profit and be equitable and reasonable in their operation, can only result in:—

- (1) The bankruptcy of marginal-profit farming enterprises;
- (2) Complete cessation of all intended development on the larger agricultural estates;
- (3) A decrease in the production and quality of the major revenue-producing crops, including in particular coffee, and probably tea and sisal;
- (4) An increase in unemployment, which is already considerable as a result of taxation, increased wages, and lack of discipline largely caused by the misguided activities of the subordinate staff of N.U.T.A.

"These conclusions have been reached after careful consideration and with a full realization of their serious nature.

Farmers, Not Clerks

"The primary object of our members is to increase the productivity of their farms, difficult enough against rising operational cost with no perceptible increase in the work done by their employees, and not to become involved in profitless hours of administrative, accountancy, and clerical work, for which they have neither desire or interest, nor in many cases any aptitude. They are first and foremost farmers, not lawyer/accountant/clerks, and they feel that the stage has been reached where the limit of their power to co-operate and assist Government has not only been reached but exceeded.

"Such confidence as has survived the above legislation and the public statements of Ministers has now been further undermined by the provisions of the Exchange Control Amendment Act, which must be considered from two aspects: (1) The result upon private capital being remitted for investment here from the Scheduled Territories will be that it will cease in all cases where not already committed; and (2) our members consider it unjust that, having purchased and, in many cases after nearly a lifetime, developed their farms here, and desiring in the natural course to retire, should not be able to sell their farms without restriction as to the proceeds. Having sold at a loss—for present market price is far below value—they should be able to retire and remit the proceeds to their intended home within the Scheduled Territories.

"In most countries, including Kenya, where wage rates are lower, mixed farming is subsidized. In this it is 'milked' and the farmers and the public suffer. This industry is unique in that the development levy, cess and other taxes, charges, and other burdens cannot be passed on by being absorbed in the price of goods produced or sold, as can be done by industrial and commercial businesses. In fact, our members as part of the consuming people have this further charge to bear.

"In conclusion, this Association considers that the taxes and burdens now imposed upon overseas and private investors in farming, though representing a major contribution to Tanzania's revenue, have reached, if not passed, the limit compatible with the viable survival of mixed farming."

PERSONALIA

Mr. J. D. C. DREW, Government archivist in Malawi, is on leave in Britain.

SIR ALEXANDER CARR-SAUNDERS left £64,116, on which duty of £27,994 has been paid.

MR. JUSTICE L. WESTON, Chief Justice of Botswana, is on his way back to Southern Africa by sea.

MR. ALAN GRAY is re-visiting South Africa for about five weeks, one of which will be spent in Rhodesia.

DR. CAREL DE WET, South African Ambassador in Britain, will shortly return home to become Minister of Mines and Planning.

MR. TOYV, First Deputy Foreign Minister of Mongolia, is visiting Tanzania. The two countries are to exchange ambassadors.

MR. ARTHUR ROBSON, who has been in charge of the publicity department of the Union-Castle Line, has retired after 48 years' service.

MR. E. R. ORME, who lived for some years in Tanganyika, left estate in Britain of £108,357, on which duty of £49,461 has been paid.

MR. JOHN BROOKE LACEY, of Zambesi Farm, near Livingstone, has applied for registration/naturalization as a citizen of the Republic of Zambia.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE received last week the first Mongolian delegation to visit Ethiopia. The two countries are to exchange ambassadors.

SIR HUGH NORMAN-WALKER has been appointed Governor of Seychelles in succession to the EARL OF OXFORD AND ASQUITH, who will retire in April.

MR. J. C. GRAYLIN has been appointed chairman of the National Export Council of Rhodesia. He is also chairman of the Tobacco Export Promotion Council.

SIR HERBERT MARCHANT is now associate director of the Institute of Race Relations. His last two appointments were those of British Ambassador in Cuba and in Tunisia.

THE REV. SERAPIO MAGAMBO, who has been appointed chaplain of St. Leo's College, Fort Portal, returned to Uganda recently after spending two years at Oxford University.

MR. ANTHONY CAYZER, a deputy chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Company, has been unanimously nominated president-elect of the Chamber of Shipping.

MR. VICTOR JENKINSON, Que Que's new mayor, is a grandson of the first mayor of the town. Two former mayors, MRS. B. M. ASHTON and MR. W. E. OGLE, have been made aldermen.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, lately Governor-General of Uganda, and formerly for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya, left London on Monday for India for a visit of about three weeks.

SENIOR CHIEF MWAMBA has been installed as CHIEF CHITIMUKULU of the Bemba tribe in Zambia. The ceremony must traditionally be postponed for a year after the death of the previous Paramount.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, has joined the board of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. He is a director of Tate and Lyle, Ltd., another group with large African interests.

SIR BERNARD DE BUNSEN, principal of Chester College of Education, and formerly of Makerere College, Uganda, has been appointed chairman of a working party which is to investigate problems of Anglican theological colleges.

PRESIDENT NYERERE told a Regional Commissioners' Conference in Arusha last week that Tanzania must choose either socialism or capitalism, and that since socialism must be preferred the country's leaders could not stand for both principles.

MR. APOLO KIRONDE, Uganda's Ambassador at the United Nations, has been released at the request of U THANT so that he may take up an appointment as special assistant on African problems to the Under-Secretary of the Security Council.

The Beit Bridge Rail Commissioners—ADVOCATE W. G. MULLER, MR. H. G. ASHWORTH, and DR. M. D. MARAIS—presented their report on Monday to MR. C. W. DUPONT, the Officer Administering the Government of Rhodesia. They had been received by the Prime Minister on their arrival from South Africa.

LORD WEDGWOOD, acting chairman of the council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., and MR. HAROLD SOREFF, chairman of the Africa Group of the Monday Club, were the speakers at a largely attended meeting in Henley organized by the Oxfordshire Branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. MAJOR TARRELL presided.

The election of MR. PERCY MKUDU as chairman of the United People's Party of Rhodesia was recorded last week. He polled 58 votes against 26 cast for MR. JOSIAH GONDO, the previous chairman. MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA, also a former leader, likewise had 26 votes, but withdrew when nominations were made for the offices of vice-president and deputy leader.

MR. MARUMU AKUNAR, an Mbulu from Tanzania, is the first African to be elected a member of the East African Professional Hunters Association, all of whose 83 members are licensed by the Game Department of Kenya. For the past 10 years he has been gun-bearer to Captain "Laddy" Winca, who has said: "He is a great tracker, a first-class shot, and has saved my life many times".

Grateful Thanks

THE PROPRIETORS *thank all who have co-operated in the production of this paper—present and past members of the staff; friends in many countries who have so generously shared their knowledge and experience; advertisers who have supported the journal, particularly in the last few difficult years; the many faithful subscribers who have sent information of value and commented candidly on the editorial policy; and present and past printers and their employees.*

The editor has also greatly appreciated the visits while in London of readers from many countries. Over the years there have been thousands of such visits. Only two opened unpleasantly; and both ended with a handshake.

Thanks are also tendered to the Governments, other public bodies, companies, newspapers and others who have sent their reports. Would they now remove "Rhodesia and Eastern Africa" from their dispatch lists?

Since the decision to discontinue publication was announced hundreds of letters of regret have been received, and more arrive by every post. It is unfortunately not possible to reply to them all. Will the writers accept this acknowledgment and our grateful thanks.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

CHEQUES IN RESPECT OF THE UNEXPIRED PORTION OF ALL PREPAID SUBSCRIPTIONS WILL BE POSTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Would subscribers be good enough to pay them into their banks without delay?

Obituary**Mr. Ernest Belart****Most Modest Man of Business**

MR. ERNEST BELART, who has died at his home in Nairobi, had been associated with that country for more than half a century. F.S.J. writes:—

"He was my oldest East African friend. We travelled out in the same liner early in 1914 and struck up a friendship which had never weakened and was refreshed whenever he came to England.

"I have known no businessman more modest, tolerant, and hospitable. He did good by stealth, and his friendship, once given, was proof against all circumstances.

"One of his Nairobi friends was stricken many years ago with paralysis which completely deprived him of the use of his limbs but left his mind as clear as ever. Belart visited him regularly and frequently for the rest of his life. Twice I accompanied him. The other man's face lit up at his entry, and they chatted and teased one another as though there were no physical impediments. When Belart left us for a moment Tate remarked: 'That's the finest man in East Africa'. Never have I heard a criticism of Belart or an unkind word by him about anyone else.

"Of Swiss birth, he went to Singapore in 1900, and four years later to Egypt as manager of a Tobacco company which was taken over in 1908 by the British-American Tobacco Company, which invited him to join the London staff. Within a few years he began extensive travelling in Europe and Africa for the group, but it was not until 1914 that he first went to East Africa. In the middle of that year he marched through Ruanda to Lake Kivu and then on to Lake Tanganyika and reached the then German township of Usumbura on the very day of the outbreak of war. They sent him to Dar es Salaam, and when H.M.S. PEGASUS visited the port towards the end of August he slipped out of the hotel, approached the officer in charge of one of the boats, pleaded his status as a Swiss citizen, and, leaving all his possessions behind, persuaded the captain to take him to Zanzibar, thus escaping the years of imprisonment which some other neutrals suffered.

Thereafter he was indefatigable in travelling on behalf of his company, for he did not believe in waiting for business to come to him in Nairobi. He itinerated constantly, visiting on foot or by car outlying townships and even villages on which other business representatives thought it unnecessary to call. Because of his high good humour and constant readiness to give any help in his power, his appearances were considered social rather than commercial occasions; and they were of course all the more successful commercially on that account. I doubt whether any European had so many friends at the time among Asian shopkeepers in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; and his relations with his own race and with Africans were equally happy.

"He was for a long period Swiss Consul in Nairobi. After his retirement from the B.A.T. he became a director of Grayson & Co., Ltd.,

"There will be widespread sympathy with Mrs. Belart. They had been exceptionally happily married for 35 years".

RHODESIA will make three commemorative postal stamp issues this year. In May a single stamp for 1s. 6d. will mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Dr. Jameson, who entered with the Pioneer Column in 1890, became Administrator of Mashonaland in 1921, of Matabeleland also two years later, and afterwards led the raid into the Transvaal; he became Prime Minister of Cape Colony in 1904 and died in London in 1917. In July four stamps will commemorate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the National Gallery. In September there will be a series of 10 stamps showing flora and fauna conservation.

Pro-Rhodesia Societies**Organizations on the Continent**

ELEVEN CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES have now public bodies friendly to Rhodesia, namely:—

- Comité France-Rhodésie, 7 Rue Victor, Chevreuil, Paris.
- Austria-Rhodesia Society, Wien 1, Postfach 684, Austria.
- Comité Belgique-Rhodésie, 20 Placé de l'Altitude, Bruxelles 19, Belgium.
- Swiss-Rhodesia Association, Seestrasse 186, Kilchberg, Switzerland.
- Finland-Rhodesia Society, Box 10368, Helsinki 10, Finland.
- Malta-Rhodesia Society, 153 Zabbar Road, Pawla, Malta, G.C.
- Italy-Rhodesia Society, Via Stresa 133, Rome; and Via Etna 183, Catania, Italy.
- Danish-Rhodesian Society, P.T. Virum, Skovridergaardsces-5, Denmark.
- Norway-Rhodesia Society, Camilla Colletts Vei 19, Oslo 2, Norway.
- Netherlands-Rhodesia Society, Statenlaan 59, Den Haag, Holland
- Rhodesia-Hjälpen, Morbydalen, Danderyd, Sweden.

Rhodesian African Civil Servants

CONTRARY to allegations frequently made by critics of Rhodesia, the Civil Service of that country is non-racial, all appointments since the beginning of 1961 having been made on a strictly competitive basis. Of some 10,000 permanent civil servants about 1,700 are now Africans. Because many have as yet only short service to their credit, approximately 1,250 are on salaries up to £420. The emoluments of the rest range up to £1,280, with a few recent promotions to appointments on a scale rising from £1,320 to £2,650. The more senior posts held by Africans are as doctors, veterinary surgeons, school inspectors, and social welfare, information, and co-operative officers.

Ministers Dissatisfied

THE INDUSTRIAL COURT having awarded an additional £2 a month to dockworkers in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly was asked to approve a supplementary estimate of £135,000 to meet the increases: One Minister, Mr. W. W. Kanema, said that such awards, made by judges who were not economists, were becoming too frequent, and that small groups of powerful unions might wreck the economy if they were not checked; and another Minister, Mr. M. Kamaliza, from Tanzania, complained that the demand "had just come out of the blue", without any prior notification.

Bank of Uganda

THE BANK OF UGANDA'S directors are Messrs. W. Senteza-Kajubi, J. Sebana-Kizito, D. Oluo, I. C. Oming Mboyijana, B. Wandera, and Professor W. T. Newlyn. The governor of the bank is Mr. J. M. Mubiru, and the deputy governor Mr. I. D. Lewis, lately of the Bank of England.

Zambia and R.A.F.

ZAMBIA has asked for Royal Air Force crews to be sent to serve in that country on three-year contracts. The proposal has been rejected by H.M. Government, for acceptance would have deprived Britain of the right to withdraw the seconded forces within the period stipulated.

Corruption

THE KENYA SENATE has been told by the Leader of Government Business that "certain Government officers have forged certificates to try to get themselves higher positions".

FURTHER MESSAGES

Sir Arthur Kirby

K.B.E., C.M.G.

General Manager of East African Railways and Harbours, 1953-57. East African Commissioner in London, 1958-63. Now chairman of British Transport Docks Board

"Mr. Joelson's paper was the best obtainable weekly consensus of information about East Africa and Rhodesia. More important, in retrospect, is that EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA (as I knew it most of my time) was possibly unique in its one-man editorial written with unwavering consistency over several decades of political change—editorials which were for the most part regarded as authoritative comment. Honesty and integrity were the keynotes: some people might have said the tune was the true blues played on the extreme right of the keyboard!

"Because of his integrity his bitterest critics, even in the African political field, had great respect for Mr. Joelson. For most of us our loss will be the disappearance of a great protagonist of the old school from the African front, for we all have an abiding affection for F. S. Joelson".

Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Lennox

"Now no voice will speak for Rhodesia. How pleased Wilson must be to have scored such a victory! Your unique paper dies after 42 years. The forces of evil are triumphant as yet".

The Hon. Joseph Murumbi M.P.

Lately Vice-President of Kenya

"I have for many years been a reader of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA, and although I have not always agreed with the views of its editor I have come to admire Mr. Joelson for his frankness and honesty. In the world of journalism today many papers seek mere sensationalism. This has never been his policy. What I have always admired is that contributions to the paper were published in full, thus giving the readers a full opportunity to read one's views. However, in his comments column Mr. Joelson always criticized frankly if he thought it necessary. This is, of course, his right, and I feel that he is one of the few journalists that I know whom I can say with all sincerity has maintained the true journalistic tradition. I am very sorry that this provocative publication will not longer appear. I send Mr. Joelson all good wishes on his retirement, and hope that he will maintain an interest in African affairs".

Mr. Alex Noble

Managing editor in London of Argus South African Newspapers

"I am grieved that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is to cease publication. Its demise is a tragedy.

"Those who treasure the principles of our vocation admire your high professional standards, even when not always agreeing with your viewpoint. Consensus by news management, alas, or dominance by the Whip, has become far too crushing, a feature of our weak-willed society—and for this reason the closure of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is regrettable. It has never been afraid to speak out strongly in less popular directions where it felt the good of Africans might be best served".

Mr. Vivian L. Oury

"It is with very sincere regret that I learn of your decision to cease publication of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Having been a regular reader for very many years, I deplore the loss of such a reliable

and most impressively alert source of factual news from the region of Africa with which my interests are bound up. Above all, I shall miss your editorials, which have always been noteworthy for their foresight and balanced judgment. Your work has provided a very valuable and much appreciated service to those concerned with the advancement of Africa".

Mr. A. J. A. Peck

Author of "Rhodesia Accuses"

"All of us Rhodesians have appreciated the magnificent and fearless fight that you put up on our behalf. It will not be forgotten".

Mr. A. T. Penman

Past President of the Institute of Journalists

"Discontinuance of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is a grave shock to one who has followed its fortunes from the first issue, as I have done.

"My interest in Rhodesia dates from the beginning of the century when, as a journalist transferred by Reuters to their Cape Town office in 1901, I had more than one conversation with Cecil John Rhodes, and I learned something of what Rhodesia was then (a decade after the occupation) and of what Rhodes saw as its future. A few months later (March, 1902) it fell to me to report the last week of the great man's life.

"As I look back over 66 years of Rhodesian history I cannot but assert that Rhodes's successors have carried out his wishes to the full, from whatever aspect it is regarded, and not least in developing his unalterable maxim of 'equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambezi'.

"In the welter of hay-wire reporting on Rhodesian affairs—largely by people without the slightest first-hand knowledge of either the history or the development of Rhodesia—it has been a joy to turn to RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA week by week for one of the very few objective and impartial records of what has been happening in Central Africa.

"As a journalist with over 52 years of experience in the ruck of daily journalism, I recognize not only the value of the unbiased and unprejudiced statements of the facts, but also the quality of the writing, which has always been a marked feature of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. It has at all times treated the English language as the greatest heritage of the English race. The passing of the journal is a real loss to journalism".

Dame Margery Perham

D.C.M.G., C.B.E.

For many years Fellow in Imperial Government at Nuffield College, Oxford

"I have taken your paper from the very beginning. My cupboards bulge with the result of this faithfulness. Seldom can any journal have owed so much to the faithful energy of one man. In recent years I have found myself increasingly in opposition to your views, but I respect your courage and energy and your publication of news and views opposed to your own ideas. I know something of your personal kindness to East Africans over here who were ill or in trouble. My best wishes for the work which you still plan".

Colonel Sir Charles Ponsonby

Bt., T.D., D.L.

A past chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society and of the Joint East and Central African Board

"Your straightforward efforts and personal courage for 40 years and more have been an inspiration to all in East Africa and Rhodesia. All regret the necessity to close.

"I have read your paper from the first issue and we have been friends since that time. You have fought great battles all these years.

"I remember your fight against the proposal to return Tanganyika to Germany; the perpetual fight to impress on the British Government and public that the policy of 'hastening slowly' was essential to East Africa; the fight against Colonial affairs being treated as a matter for party politics in England; and the fight all the time for the formation of a definite policy and for strict adherence to that policy.

"All the time you have been absolutely straightforward, regardless of the personal unpopularity which your views might bring; but even your opponents would join with your friends in admiration for your honest efforts—so often so eloquently expressed. You have been of great help to the peoples of East and Central Africa, and I hope that you will still use your able pen to keep the truth before the public".

Brigadier-General Sir Godfrey D. Rhodes C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Former General Manager of Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours. Chief Scout for Kenya

"I have been a regular reader since the very early days and have always admired the fearless expression of your views, always in the interests, as you saw them, of East Africa and Rhodesia. I remember that when I was general manager of East African Railways we always had your support when we needed backing for policies which were sometimes unpopular in some quarters but necessary for the good of most of those whom we served.

"The cessation of publication from circumstances beyond your control will be regretted by all who like to see every side of every important question brought into full view. The sanctions policy will have many unfortunate side-effects, of which the case of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is one example".

Mr. John L. Riddoch C.B.E.

A former Member of the Legislative Council of Kenya, and one of that country's business leaders

"I must be one of your oldest subscribers, and I have greatly admired your forthright style and the fearless manner in which you have commented on a very wide range of subjects affecting East and Central Africa. I have also been struck by the way in which you have kept in close touch with events and the accuracy of your facts.

"Of course, you have had your critics, but none could say that they did not know where they stood in relation to your paper. Nor could they ever say that you adopted an equivocal attitude. In my opinion you have performed a valiant service for very many years. The passing of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will be greatly missed by many individuals of all races".

Major B. P. Roberts

Formerly a Member of the Legislative Council of Kenya and chairman of the United Party

"The contribution that you have made towards the maintenance of civilized rule in Africa is beyond all praise. Your courage and tenacity of purpose must call for thanks from all white persons and responsible Africans throughout the former British territories, and none less than the grossly misunderstood and much maligned Rhodesia. You have stood up to great strain and done more than your share, but I am sure that your able pen and fertile brain will not be lost to the cause for which you have fought so courageously".

Mr. John Robinson

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society

"All members of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society are very distressed at the sad news that this must be the last issue of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA.

"All join me in a tribute to the courage and determination which have brought you through these last terribly difficult years. They wish me to tell you how grateful they are for the help you have always given this Society. We all wish you leisure and good health in which to turn to the writing of books about Africa".

Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. E. M. Sewell

"We are most distressed at the cessation of publication of a paper which has been our life-line to the truth about Rhodesia, and which has provided reports of events and speeches which have been scarcely mentioned anywhere else. Your leading articles have been unfailingly excellent. In retirement you should have the certain knowledge of a rewarding job wonderfully done".

Brigadier Andrew Skeen O.B.E., M.P.

High Commissioner for Rhodesia in U.K., July-November, 1965. Elected to Rhodesian Parliament soon after his return when independence was declared

"Thousands of other readers will be as sad as I to hear that the paper must close down; but in the present frustrating circumstances I am sure that your knowledge and devotion will be better used in writing books.

"Rhodesia, and indeed all who hope for sanity in Africa generally and Southern Africa in particular, will be sad that this is the last issue of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Had the present and past Governments of Britain heeded only a fraction of the advice tendered in the journal Africa would be a happier and more prosperous continent today. The truths so often stated in RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA are now becoming evident to an increasing public, and Mr. Joelson can have his satisfaction in knowing that in Southern Africa at least his writings have contributed to what will be stability and progress in the future".

Mr. Ronald A. Snoxall

Former Deputy Director of Education in Uganda and a past president of the Uganda Society

"It is tragic that unrelenting persecution by an ill-informed and bigoted Government in Britain, 'the land of the free', has succeeded in securing the suppression of a newspaper pre-eminent for its factual and up-to-date reporting and its fair and outspoken criticism. Many of us will feel sad and lost at the non-arrival of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA week by week".

Mr. Harold Soreff

Chairman of the Africa Group of the Monday Club

"Of all current and rumoured Press demises yours is the most tragic and irreparable. Not only have you uniquely chronicled the history of Central and East Africa for almost half a century, but you have provided your readers with editorials that have been prophetic and inspired. You have anticipated all our present problems on the African Continent with unerring foresight and accuracy.

"No other writer on Central African affairs has been blessed with your wisdom, foresight and intuition. The editor and the paper were, and remain, inseparable. The paper is to close is a reflection on our debased times. Your readers are the poorer. It is unthinkable that your prescient voice should be stilled".

Mr. Nigel J. Store

"The disappearance of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is a tragedy of the first magnitude for all that wish to know the truth about Africa and hope that sanity and decency may prevail in Anglo-Rhodesian relations. Yours has been the only paper from which one could learn the true facts. The public spirit which you have shown is very, very rare. You deserve the greatest gratitude from all who care for Africa and civilization".

Sir Edmund O. Teale

D.Sc., F.G.S.

Director of Geological Survey in Tanganyika Territory, 1926-35, and then Mining Consultant to the Government of that Territory until 1940

"My first acquaintance with your name dates back more than 50 years and throughout that period your influence on East African affairs has been comprehensive and important. Your criticisms and judgments have always been sound and directed towards the development and progress of that region.

"Very many people must hope with me that you will make the results of your experience available in book form. That would be most valuable".

Lieut-Colonel V. W. Tobin

"That your splendid paper is forced by sanctions to close down has shocked Rhodesians, for we have regarded it as a true and honest friend standing by us in our struggle. Something precious now goes out of our lives. You have suffered for championing a cause which you knew to be right and just".

Mr. Hugh Tracey

"Your journal over all these years has been such a valuable source of information and constant inspiration for greater sanity in African affairs that its premature demise is like the loss of a close friend.

"Partisan political stresses and propaganda have been allowed to dominate the daily Press with the myopic bias of a chronic neurosis; the selection of 'news' values, as much through omission as commission by editorial policy, has amounted to such a censorship by the Press that your journal was a necessity for anyone who wanted to hear both sides of an African question.

"You have so constantly emphasized the need for wisdom appropriate to the moment and to African communities as a whole, as opposed to the accent on the acquisition of political power for the few, that one shared with you the conviction of Pope, who wrote 'For forms of government let fools contend: 'Whate'er is best administered is best'. Ambitious African politicians richly deserve the violence which is coming to them; the common people do not.

"It is with the gentle and creative minds of Africa, for whom you wrote, that one laments the passing of yet another voice of common sense in the present wilderness of modern journalism and political cant".

Mr. Robin Turton

P.C., M.C., M.P.

Chairman, Commonwealth Industries Association

"Thank you for all the stimulation you have given us by your brilliant editorship throughout many years. I have always found your paper of immense value. Its contents, and especially the leaders, were directed at giving the true facts, and RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will be widely missed.

"What a mess we politicians have made of Africa! How much wiser many of our statesmen would have been to take your advice. Still, you have no cause to regret your efforts. You can look back on a great journalistic record".

Mr. J. A. Tweedie

"The first inconvenience I have suffered here in Rhodesia from sanctions is the closing of your paper. Nothing can replace it".

Sir Alfred Vincent

*Member of Kenya Legislative Council, 1942-48.
Member of Executive Council and Leader of European Elected Members, 1944-48*

"Having been a subscriber for many years, I shall miss this publication because of its forthright opinions and excellent detailed reporting.

"You have served the interests of East Africa and Rhodesia with great vim and courage, and although you cannot have expected everyone to share all your opinions, the passing of your journal will be an occasion of sincere general regret.

"It is to be hoped that you will be able to record your 42 years of detailed experience of East African history during your retirement, and also through some respected medium contribute your views on current events".

Dr. and Mrs. M. C. Vyvyan

"We have greatly admired your fearless defence of truth. Now another lamp goes out, a bright lamp in a very dark world which is shadowed by prejudices and misrepresentation".

Mr. Patrick Wall

M.C., V.R.D., M.P.

"Throughout its existence your paper has always displayed courage of the highest standard and has never been frightened to criticize where it felt criticism was due. I believe that this policy was appreciated by many Africans as well as the large majority of Europeans, though of course it is bound to grate on politicians who, irrespective of their colour, dislike criticism!

"If only more people had had the courage of their convictions it might well be that RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA would continue for another 40 years. Unfortunately, however, in the atmosphere of the world today criticism does not pay, particularly if it is criticism against what appears to be the general tide of world opinion.

"During your editorship you have performed a great service both to Britain and to the countries of East, Central and Southern Africa. Your publication will be greatly missed. There will be a gap that cannot be filled. However, I hope that closing the paper will not silence your pen".

Mr. John Walter, Jr.

"I am more sorry than I can say that your wonderful little weekly is forced to discontinue publication—one of the nobler casualties of an altogether unedifying political vendetta. I shall grievously miss Friday's postman bringing the weekly breath of fresh air, outspoken common sense, and courageous and accurate reporting. Where can I look for a substitute? There is none that deals with an absolutely vital issue in the way you have consistently dealt with it—by so doing having performed a great public service".

Mr. W. E. F. Ward

Editor of Overseas Education, 1946-63

"Yours has been a wonderful paper, full of punch and personality and giving a splendid coverage of news. The African scene will not be the same without it. Thank you for the grand show over so many years".

Mr. G. Wellard

"Your sacrifices have been in the cause of truth, justice, fair play, and fearless journalism. Now the truth will no longer be fully available to us. The loss is great. We seem in danger of becoming, not perhaps the Dark Continent, but the Dark Country".

Sir Charles Westlake

Chairman of Uganda Electricity Board, 1947-55, and Member of Legislation Council, 1954-55

"Thousands of your faithful readers will, with me, deeply regret the closing down of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA. Its forthright comments over the many years I have read it have been most refreshing, and those who lived in East Africa and Rhodesia appreciate the hard work which the editor has put into making the public aware of all that was happening.

"I always enjoyed reading your lucid exposition of political problems, and envied your marvellous command of the English language. This marks the end of a wonderful paper and the end of an era. Alas, there is no journal to take its place".

Mr. Oliver Woods

M.C., T.D.

Assistant to the Editor-in-chief of Times Newspapers, Ltd.; previously deputy managing director of "The Times", and sometime its Colonial correspondent

"It is remarkable that one man through his energy, ability and dedication should have been able to keep a periodical going in the way which you have and maintain its standards in spite of all difficulties. I should like to take this opportunity of saying what help, profit and pleasure I have derived over the years from reading the paper".

Dr. Max Yergan

Co-chairman of the American-African Affairs Association

"Under your able, dedicated, and forceful editorship RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA has played a unique rôle in the life of East and Central Africa. With sure wisdom, accurate prediction, and unflinching courage you have written and worked for a reasonable and realistic political and economic policy affecting the life of all the people and interests of that vast African area. This is admirably illustrated by your efforts in the present Rhodesian situation.

"Your advocacy has strongly encouraged the political and general advancement of Africans. You have also warned responsible Britain and, of late, my own country, the powerful United States of America, against the tragic mistakes made, and still being advocated in Africa and without, in the precipitous transfer of high and final responsibility to immature hands.

"Now, after its long and highly serviceable life, comes the information that the publication of RHODESIA AND EAST AFRICA must cease. And this, may I add, at the very time when slow-moving public opinion in Britain and America is beginning to see and oppose the evil results of the rash and harmful political actions in Africa against which you have warned.

"I can only say that when RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA does not appear a bright and effective light will have gone out and that our loss will be a heavy one. I shall sorely miss your publication, whose weekly arrival for so many years has been for me the evidence of first-rate journalism committed with honesty and courage to the cause of sound public development and good and lasting human relations in Africa. Without doubt its influence will long continue".

From an Old Age Pensioner

"I would gladly pay half-a-crown a copy if you could continue the paper, though my income is under £10 a week. To be without RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA will be not merely distressing but devastating".

From "Diplomat"

"The void now created can never be filled. The cessation of publication of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA is the only triumph of Wilson's sanctions".

Potted Biography

JOELSON, F. STEPHEN. Born 1893. Went to East Africa 1914 as assistant manager of rubber plantation. Prisoner-of-war in German East Africa, August 1914 to September 1917. Then commissioned in Intelligence Corps and appointed to G.H.Q., Dar es Salaam. Demobilized 1920. Married 1921 Florence Buchanan; one daughter.

1924 founded London weekly EAST AFRICA: renamed EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in 1936, and RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA in 1966. Editor from time of establishment until cessation of publication on February 2, 1967.

Author of "Tanganyika Territory" and "Germany's Claims to Colonies". Compiler of "East Africa Today", "Eastern Africa Today", "East Africa Today and Tomorrow", "Rhodesia and East Africa", and other volumes.

Past governor of Commonwealth Institute. Past president of East African Dinner Club. Past vice-president, Royal African Society. Past chairman, East Africa Group in London. Co-founder of Colonial League. Member of council of Anglo-Rhodesian Society. Past member of council of Royal Commonwealth Society, Royal African Society, and Royal Overseas League. Member of committee of Commonwealth Writers of Britain. Fellow of Institute of Journalists and for many years member of the Overseas Committee. Medallist of Royal African Society.

This biographical outline is given in response to a number of requests that it should appear in the last issue of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA.

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BIDS ARE INVITED

for a complete and strongly-bound set of this journal from its first to its last issue. Very much a collector's item

*Letters to The Editor***U.S.A. and Rhodesia****Activities of "Liberal Progressives"**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR,—The U.S.A. is calling the tune in the Rhodesian controversy, as in most international questions today. The recent unanimity regarding sanctions is most suspicious. Only a few days ago a newspaper report from Rhodesia stated that "whereas British sanctions are not fully effective, U.S.A. sanctions are 100% effective".

Senator Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., is no friend of Rhodesia. His British opposite, Lord Caradon, a typical liberal "progressive" is very anti-Rhodesian. It is easy to imagine what transpires when Senator Goldberg, Lord Caradon, and the Afro-Asian rabble get together.

As at present constituted, the U.N. is a disaster, not to say a farce. Every small nation has the same voting power as the U.S.A. or U.K. The less important they are, the more noise they make; but I think the U.S.A. calls the tune.

Canadian politicians have also made themselves very prominent in connexion with the disastrous U.N. "army" in the Congo, the virtual expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, and now against Rhodesia, to judge from Mr. Lester Pearson's speeches and activities. He sent me a copy of his fire-eating speech about Rhodesia to the Canadian Parliament before the Commonwealth Conference. Senator Goldberg holds a key position, and ought to be given all the information possible from the Rhodesian standpoint.

The liberal "progressives" have a mania for boosting the coloured races to their own detriment. The responsibility of the "progressives" for the disastrous process of de-colonization and the present chaos in the newly independent African States is clearly demonstrated in "Suicide of the West", by J. Burnlaw, an American.

Harrogate
Yorkshire

Yours faithfully

E. A. CALVER

Most Ministers Merely Puppets**"Docile and Regimented Parliament"**

To the Editor of RHODESIA AND EASTERN AFRICA

SIR.—You constantly berate successive British Governments for the chaotic state of Africa. But "Government" nowadays are composed of a gaggle of Ministers who have to learn their jobs from unacknowledged bureaucrats whose last consideration is the British taxpayer—or the economic advancement of black Africa; and in most cases Ministers are mere puppets in the hands of faceless anonymous "civil" servants who intercept letters, dictate replies, and in general tell the public where it gets off. Britain is no longer a democracy, but a bureaucracy, and it is this troglodyte, faceless type of rule that Britain wishes to inflict on Africa in general and Rhodesia in particular.

Every single African territory for which Britain was at one time "responsible" has rebelled against what is euphemistically called "majority" rule; and in every case, except Rhodesia, Britain has accepted these rebellions without hesitation. The moment Nkrumah was out Britain accepted the situation. Did Britain do anything to succour the Kabaka of Uganda?

Who cares that Tanzania is a one-party Communist State or that Dr. Hastings Banda compelled the Queen's representative to sign an Act authorizing public hanging? If Zambia is in financial straits, then some bureaucrat goes into a huddle with others recruited under Parkinson's Law and takes the easy way out—

lend or give away public money, using some Minister or other to announce the *fait accompli* to a docile, regimented Parliament which does not consist of "representatives" but of delegates of the bureaucracy.

Complain to the Minister theoretically responsible in a private and confidential letter, and it will be intercepted, for there is no such thing as "confidence" in bureaucratic circles. Write to one's M.P., and the odds are that the letter will be passed on to the Department responsible, there to be answered (or evaded) by some bureaucrat and pushed in front of the Minister for signature.

It is a singular fact that while neither the Empire nor the Commonwealth exists any longer, save as a species of cash-distributing agency for indigent black autocracies, the number of civil servants is vastly greater than it has ever been before. Winston Churchill said that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance". That phrase might well be brought to the attention of the Opposition, which should undertake to slash the number of civil servants and force the redundants into productive work, thus reducing Government squandering of public money, eliminating the creeping invasion of public liberty, and restoring the representative functions of Parliament.

Finally, is it not high time that a clear distinction was made between the Government and the Monarchy, so that Rhodesians and others are free to retain their loyalty to the Queen but equally free to tell the Wilsons, Thorpes, Macleods, and similar mountebanks to go to hell? "Confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks". What a wry sound those words have in these days of bureaucrats, shop stewards, and delegates!

Lyndhurst
Hampshire

Yours faithfully

RAYMOND BYRNE

POINTS FROM LETTERS**Hypocritical**

"IT IS HYPOCRISY for the *Rhodesia Herald* to complain about censorship when it censors (by refusal to publish) such a letter as that from Archdeacon Lewis which you have published".

Institution

"YOUR PUBLICATION has long been an institution in its own sphere, something which men of affairs could not disregard. Whether we liked the week's leaders or not, we knew them to be an honest statement of opinion from a uniquely qualified writer".

Strange Bedfellows

"IT IS NOT just coincidence that the hundreds of millions of avowed enemies of Christ in Communist countries support Mr. Harold Wilson's policy towards Rhodesia. The Councils of Churches which side with him have selected strange bedfellows. Fortunately for Christendom, the bulk of the laity have not followed the Plaza-Toro leaders".

Bias of the B.B.C.

"THE B.B.C. NEWS at one o'clock is mixed with commentary called 'World at One'. Every time I have heard Rhodesia mentioned in that programme the commentator has been extremely anti-Rhodesia. The impression given is that on the Rhodesian issue the B.B.C. is to the left even of this left-wing Labour Government. Why must the commentary so often be from a member of the staff of the extreme anti-Rhodesian *Guardian*? Why cannot such views be balanced by speakers of opposing opinions? And on Rhodesia B.B.C. Television is quite as blameworthy for its partiality as sound radio".

Which President ?

"AN AFRICAN PRESIDENT whom you and I know and in whose country I was a civil servant is now a very frightened man (to use the adjective which Mr. Wilson so casually and stupidly applied to a better man than himself.) I have reason to believe that President X will never take a drink from a bottle which is not opened in his presence".

Radio Campaign

"THE BIAS of the British Broadcasting Corporation against Rhodesia is so evident that I have just addressed a letter to the 'B.B.C. Radio Campaign against Rhodesia'. There ought to be an outcry against this brainwashing of the public, for it indoctrinates people without their becoming aware of what has been happening".

Impeccable English

"I SHALL GREATLY MISS the impeccable English in which the robust leading articles have always been written. I know no paper with a better standard. Not less important has been your practice of keeping opinion scrupulously to the editorial columns, and avoiding all slanting of your news pages. There are very few papers now with such standards".

Champion of the Underdogs

"THE UNDERDOGS—whether the ordinary African bullied and often battered by his political bosses, the Kenya settlers betrayed by MacBlundellism, or the Rhodesians tricked by U.K. politicians—have always been able to look to your paper for support. On those three matters at least it battled more steadfastly than all the rest of the Press put together".

Wind of Change

"LIBERALS and Labour men (though then of course it was mainly the Liberals) were all pro-Boer when I was young. Now one never hears a good word from them for any white man in Southern Africa. So rare is a friendly reference to a white Rhodesian that any Socialist in Parliament who dares to differ from the Wilson line, as Mr. Paget has courageously done, becomes almost a political leper".

Power of the Purse

"LESS THAN HALF the British electorate support the present Government. One course the rest of us might follow is to restrict our buying to goods from countries which continue to trade with Rhodesia, and strictly to avoid purchasing goods from countries that threaten war against Rhodesia. If one-fifth of the British population were to change their spending habits in this way by an average of £100 a year, the existing economy would be upset to the tune of £1,000m."

THE LAST CHANCE to obtain back issues

Subscribers who have kept files of the paper but lack some copies are invited to notify us immediately of any missing numbers which they require. Many are still available

Ashamed of Britain

"IT IS HIGH TIME that I told you how much I admire your fight against impossible odds. Your whole paper makes excellent reading. The editorials are superb. I lived in Northern Rhodesia for 44 years. Because my son and his family are still there I cannot sign this letter. Such is freedom in Zambia. Never did I think that I should be glad to leave that country, or that I should come to loathe British 'statesmen'. It is incredible that men who have lied and misled the people so damnably should still remain in office. There are British-born men in Africa today who are ashamed to say that they are British. The present Prime Minister reminds me of Mark Twain's famous gabbler Pudd'nhead Wilson".

Kenya's War

"AN AFRICAN MINISTER has been telling friends in Nairobi, some Europeans among them, that the military operations against the Somali 'freedom fighters'—of course, he spoke of *shifita* (brigands)—cost the country about £3m. last year and may cost £4m. this year. Yet the official pretence is that there are merely occasional skirmishes—in which Kenya's troops and police are always victorious. Now, apparently in order to whip up indignation, troops of the Somali Army are said to be serving with the *shifita*. Weapons with Russian markings and land mines of Egyptian origin have been recovered. You predicted before Kenya became independent that she would have to face costly and continuing military operations which might develop into war. Prominent African politicians laughed at the prophesy. Like so many of your other forecasts, it has proved justified".

Threat To Peace

"IT IS SCANDALOUS that the United Nations should have based its policy of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia on the damnably false allegation that this country threatens world peace. It is as peaceful as ever—indeed, more so than in recent years, for the thugs who murdered and assaulted African men, women and children in the name of the two nationalist political parties are now in jail or restriction camps, so that ordinary Africans are no longer terrorized. Two days before the first anniversary of U.D.I. an African M.P., Mr. Chigogo, said that Rhodesia was 'the only country in the world where the blood of human beings does not flow in the streets'. It is very close indeed to the truth. Innocent people are killed in the U.K., U.S.A., and pretty nearly everywhere else—except in Rhodesia. Yet the U.N., egged on by the British Government and the Afro-Asians, denounces my country as a threat to peace. There was never a worse lie".

Free-dom

"I HAVE BEEN STRUCK repeatedly by your emphasis (by the hyphen in the spelling) that there is all the difference between freedom as understood in the West and the free-dom of present-day Africa. Several times in recent weeks, for instance, President Kenyatta has sternly warned anyone who 'interferes' with the elected Government of Kenya that he will experience real trouble. Here those who would be free are very conscious of the 'dom'—domination by Ministers who intend to cling to their comparative wealth and luxury. It is astonishing, as you say, that Sir Godfrey de Freitas should naively suggest that Rhodesians might quickly accept the one-man-one-vote system for their Africans if only they troubled to make their own inquiries in Kenya. If they did—preferably looking in on Tanzania, and especially Zanzibar, on the way—they would be more than ever encouraged in their resistance to the string of follies which you have labelled Macmillanism, Macleodism, and MacBlundellism".

Bishop's Views on Rhodesia

Why Dr. Mortimer Is Perplexed

THE BISHOP OF EXETER has written about the Rhodesian issue in the current *Diocesan Leaflet* (which has a circulation of 66,450 copies):

"I wonder if many others are as perplexed as I am by the confidence with which some people—from the British Council of Churches downwards—advance what they call the obvious Christian solution or policy for the tragic situation in Rhodesia.

"Take, for example, the one-man-one-vote slogan. This is a highly advanced political system, which made its appearance in Europe only 100 years or so ago. Indeed, in the form one adult, one vote, it appeared in England only during my life-time. But I do not remember that people went about saying that to support the suffragettes was an obvious Christian duty.

"Universal suffrage presupposes, surely, a political society with a built-in sense of cohesion and a minimum standard of universal education. Without these conditions, universal enfranchisement may cause less individual freedom and more injustice than a limited franchise.

Bulwark of Freedom

"The real bulwark of freedom and justice is equality before the law. This requires, as its conditions, an independent judiciary and restraint on the part of those in power. I can see clearly that in any society where it does not obtain Christians ought to work towards it and to protest against any and every injustice on the part of the governing classes. Everyone should be equal before the law, irrespective of rank, wealth, race or anything else; and Christians should view with sympathy, and so far as they can support, the efforts of their fellow Christians to bring this about in any part of the world.

"It is said that (1) there is racial discrimination in Rhodesia and (2) that it is the intention of the white Rhodesians that this should be permanent. I think that there can be little doubt that (1) is true, though there is a conflict of evidence as to its extent. There is also a division of opinion about (2). One's natural tendency would be to disbelieve (2). But there is the horrible example of South Africa. There, all the entrenched clauses which were intended to ensure the steady if gradual growth of all sections of the population to political maturity and equality have been removed, and racial discrimination is rampant. Would the same thing happen in Rhodesia? How can one be sure that it would not?

"Grant, for the sake of the argument, that it would happen, and that Christians would do their best to prevent it, as in South Africa: what support can and should we give them? I find this question difficult to answer. It is by no means clear how far, if at all, the black Rhodesians resent the present state of affairs. 'Wars of liberation' presuppose the existence of a seething mass of oppressed people longing to be freed. It would be monstrous to impose on any people an unwanted liberation, or forcibly transfer them from one set of masters to another.

What Black Africans Probably Want

"But let us assume—what is in any case the most probable assumption—that the black Rhodesians want neither immediate one-man-one-vote nor permanent inequality with the whites, but a gradual advance towards a political, social and economic equality within a multi-racial society. Let us assume further that if the present *de facto* Rhodesian Government is not in some way held in check, the possibility of such an advance will be lost for generations, if not for ever. What should we do?

"If it were not for the fact that at the time of U.D.I. the British Government had the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the black Rhodesians, the answer would almost certainly be 'nothing'.

"Interference in the internal affairs of another country is, in general, a bad thing. It is better to let another country work out its own salvation. But Rhodesia is not quite another country. It is half-way between a Colony ruled directly from Whitehall and a self-governing Dominion. I have no doubt therefore that, on the assumptions which I have made, we have the right and the duty to do something. Only what?

"The nearest parallel to the situation that I can think of is the Irish rebellion of 1916 and the 'troubles' which followed. On that occasion we had no hesitation about using force to undo the attempted Irish U.D.I. How things have changed in 50 years!

"But let us suppose—it is a wildly improbable, even absurd, supposition—but still, let us suppose that in 1970 the Ulster Government were to make an U.D.I. and it was generally believed that the intention behind it was to enable the Protestants to persecute the Catholic minority. What should we do

then? Would it be thought right, or not, to use force at once to put down the 'rebellion'? What, in fact, could we do, except stand helplessly by and impose certain economic and immigration restrictions, which would probably have little effect?

"This brings me to the use of sanctions. Sanctions are the 20th Century equivalent of the old siege warfare. A siege was a slow and costly way of making war. The besieged had usually taken the precaution of laying up considerable reserves of food and water. The besiegers ran the risk, as time went on, of seeing their forces dwindle, as one contingent after another got tired of it and drifted off home. Much the same sort of thing seems to happen with the imposition of sanctions. It is a slow business; it is an expensive business; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to prevent leakage as one or another of the besiegers calls it off.

"It is true that mandatory sanctions have not yet been tried. To be successful they would require the full co-operation of every member of the United Nations. Would they get it, and for how long? And if a country broke away, say South Africa, would the sanctions be applied to that country? And for how long could the world's trading and economic systems stand the strain? Indeed the consequences of imposing mandatory sanctions are incalculable, and the risks involved are immense.

"It is always extremely distasteful to have what one considers a thoroughly righteous cause and to be able to do nothing about it. That is what I believe to be our position over Rhodesia. We can do nothing except keep as wide open as possible all public and private channels of communications, to refrain from abuse, to rebuild confidence and trust between Westminster and Salisbury, and to do what we can, through contacts with private friends, to overcome the strange and deplorable Press censorship in Rhodesia."

U.N. Charter Distorted

Misused by Prejudiced Politicians

MRS. WINIFRED M. OSTLER has written from Bexhill-on-Sea to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Anyone who has not recently read the Charter of the United Nations would do well to refresh his memory, for it is continually referred to in support of our Government's treatment of Rhodesia, whereas everything which our Government has done is directly contrary to its provisions.

"The provisions of the Charter all refer to 'international peace and security'. The key word is *international*. The intention is to prevent the outbreak of war between two nations or groups of nations, and for that purpose to induce them to settle their differences by negotiations. If that proves impossible, then force may be used by the U.N. to restrain the aggressor, i.e. the country threatening war.

"In recent years there have been many occasions when the U.N. might have taken action justifiably: when China overran Tibet; when India took Goa; Indonesia has attacked Malaysia; President Nasser still continues to threaten Israel and claims to be at war with her; and now we find African States threatening Rhodesia.

"All these warlike conditions come under the jurisdiction of the U.N. as they are *international* disturbances. The Charter states (Article 2.4): 'All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State'. Rhodesia has not threatened war against any other State, and has not therefore made herself liable to interference by the U.N.

"Article 2, section 7, of the Charter states: 'Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the U.N. to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter'.

"Is this not exactly what is being done in the case of Rhodesia?

"Article 51 states: 'Nothing in the Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs . . . until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security'. It would follow that if Rhodesia were attacked she would have the right to appeal to the U.N. for support against any aggressor.

"The imposition of sanctions is envisaged only when a country is making war and cannot be restrained by any other means. Article 27 states: 'Decisions of the Security Council . . . shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members'. In the case of Rhodesia there were not concurring votes from all permanent members.

"It is a horrifying thought that statesmen of the world can be misled by prejudices and other influences to misinterpret the plain meaning of the Charter."

ANGLO-RHODESIAN SOCIETY

The object of the Society is to provide a channel for the maintenance and expansion of understanding, friendship, contacts and good-will between all people of the United Kingdom and Rhodesia.

The Marquess of Salisbury is President of the Society, of which Brigadier A. W. A. Llewellyn Palmer is Vice-President.

The other members of Council are the Duke of Atholl, Viscount Cranborne, Lord Forester, Sir Archibald James, Mr. F. S. Joelson, Mr. T. D. Lardner-Burke, the Hon. Malcolm Napier, Mr. R. T. Paget, Q.C., M.P., Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., and Lord Wedgwood. The secretary is Mr. T. P. Lawler.

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Mr. Wilson's "Tiger" Trap

Rhodesia's New Constitution

MR. IAN SMITH has reminded the Rhodesian Parliament that the 1961 Constitution was recommended to the country by the United Federal Party, then in power, as a basis for independence; Rhodesians were led to believe that that Constitution was a contract with H.M. Government for independence. The assumption of independence could therefore not have been illegal.

The Prime Minister spoke at length of the talks in H.M.S. TIGER, pointing out obvious mistakes in the working document and emphasizing that Mr. Wilson had not allowed proper time for negotiations on board. He (Mr. Smith) was to have been appointed interim Prime Minister but without the right to select his own Cabinet: would that prerogative be surrendered by Mr. Wilson in Britain? The working document had been a well-prepared trap.

As to Mr. Wilson's reference to the offer of an act of union having been rejected, the matter had never got to that point. When it was mentioned he had merely smiled and asked the cost to Britain of adding 4,000,000 Africans to the British scale of social services. Thereafter the subject had not been raised again.

The Prime Minister announced that an independent commission would be appointed to consider a new Constitution; that censorship would be removed as soon as a satisfactorily alternative which would safeguard the country's security had been found; and that a tribunal would examine the cases of people in detention whose political views were hostile to the Government.

An invitation to Mr. Smith to address the Church League of America in Chicago next month was accepted subject to official assurances that he would have "unconditional freedom" to enter and leave the U.S.A. The reply was that the Prime Minister would require a valid British passport.

White Paper on Independence

A White Paper entitled "Rhodesia Independence Constitution" has just reached London from Salisbury. Its purpose is to "demonstrate the legal courses and options which the working document produced aboard H.M.S. TIGER opened up to the British Government had the Rhodesian Government complied with the conditions for the return to legality and the implementation of the fifth principle"—that which stipulates that H.M. Government must be satisfied that any proposed plan for independence would be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Yesterday the West German Government announced that sanctions would not be applied to goods imported from Rhodesia under contracts signed before December 14, the date of the Security Council's resolution. Substantial contracts had then been placed by German interests for Rhodesian copper and asbestos.

Frankfurt civil court has rescinded the injunction withholding 28 tons of Rhodesian banknotes printed in Germany, but an appeal court at once granted a stay of execution pending appeal. The judgment was that the order had been legally given by the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia in Salisbury. The Foreign Office announced that a British appeal would be made.

According to the *Guardian*, some "50,000 American officials are charged with making sure that sanctions work. So the U.S.A. wants an assurance that other Western Powers, the elusive French and Belgians for instance, are being equally rigorous. As Senator Robert Kennedy was stressing privately recently, it does not want to find this sanctions plan collapsing like the last voluntary one, poisoning Washington relations with African friends. He will be saying it all over again in Paris".

Mr. J. H. Howman, Minister of Information, told a Lions' Club luncheon in Salisbury: "Sanctions will grow in intensity, and the economic war will be of the utmost intensity, designed to destroy the lifelines of trade and bring us to our knees.

"The psychological war will be designed to disturb, demoralize, and ultimately destroy the fabric of government. The campaigns will be of fiendish subtlety and a measureless ordeal. But let us maintain our unity, expressing our differences of opinion as proud and independent peoples always have, but in no circumstances allowing ourselves to fall into the trap the enemy sets for us".

The British Treasury has imposed stricter controls on the use of sterling accounts by Rhodesians, who may no longer use them to pay salaries, wages, or fees, or to make commercial loans in the sterling area. Educational and medical fees may be paid only to British residents. Hitherto such payments have been permissible anywhere in the sterling area.

Mr. Bottomley Admits Party Politics Over Rhodesia

Mr. Bottomley, M.P., Minister for Overseas Development, said on Friday when addressing Birmingham University students: "If it had been possible to put on sanctions fully and effectively from the beginning, Smith would not be there. Why was it not possible to do it?" Voice from the audience: "Because you were scared of losing an election". Mr. Bottomley: "This factor had to be considered. With a majority of three, with the emotions which could have been built up, you would have had a Tory Government back".

Brigadier Andrew Skeen, M.P. for Mangwedi, formerly Rhodesian High Commissioner in London, has suggested that discussions with Britain should be regarded as ended and that all ties should be irrevocably cut. That done, other countries would have the confidence to accord Rhodesia formal recognition.

Mr. Alan Izod, of the Rhodesia Ministry of Information, said in Auckland last week that his visit had convinced him that four New Zealanders out of five supported Rhodesia.

The Friends of Rhodesia Trust in Salisbury has received £132,000 from Friends of Rhodesia group and private donors outside the country.

Dr. Craig, vice-principal of the University College of Rhodesia, has said that about 200 Africans have applied for admission this year, 50 more than last year, and that all who qualify will be enabled to take up their places. He was emphatic that university education for all the peoples of Rhodesia would be advanced "not by withdrawal but by a substantial increase in the British Government's grant and by the continued support of our colleagues in British universities".

About 100 trained African terrorists have been killed or captured by Rhodesian security forces in the past nine months, the Minister of Law and Order told Parliament when asking for an extension of the state of emergency for another three months. The forces were "very much on top of the subversive elements", but it would not be safe to relax, as both of Rhodesia's banned African nationalist parties, operating from Lusaka, were sending Africans to Tanzania, Russia, and China for terrorist training. An organization instructed from outside Rhodesia had been rounded up, and about 50 people would be tried for sabotage and subversion.

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REQUESTS Her Majesty's Government and Commonwealth Prime Ministers to abandon their policy of "toppling the Government of Rhodesia", and, subject to Royal consent, to grant Rhodesia her independence.

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

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West Works for Moscow

Parallel Policies of U.S. and Russia

MOSCOW'S INCAPACITY to establish itself in Africa is said to be proved by the present absence of Communist societies in that continent, an idea that makes us smile, said DR. SALAZAR, Prime Minister of Portugal, in a recent broadcast talk, "for what Moscow wished to do is being done for her by the West, and the rest of the programme will be carried out in Moscow's own good time.

"Russia is behind all the movements of pseudo-emancipation. She sets herself up discreetly everywhere and maintains the necessary economic, political and cultural contacts with the leaders. These contacts will yield fruits which will be gathered when they are ripe.

"On the other hand, the United States makes no secret of its policy to help with all its power to set up all over Africa independent States corresponding to the former colonies or territories integrated in European nations. From this point of view American and Russian policies are parallel, and the fact that the United States aids the so-called emancipation of Africa to keep it free from Russian or Communist influence makes little difference to the essence of things.

"It matters little that one Power starts from the purpose of giving freedom to all men and peoples, and the other from its concept of a world revolution. The two nations pursue the same policy, though for apparently different ends."

African Crisis Will Last Centuries

Dr. Salazar had said earlier:—

"The crisis in Africa will not improve, much less heal, in two or three centuries, given the many wars which will be

fought there, the pretended geographical or racial readjustments, the annexations, the divisions of some States, regrouping of others, the instability of public authority, the lack of means of progress. For, the command having been lost, neither the concert of Powers nor the unity which is being proclaimed and which all feel to be impossible of achievement will be able to solve anything.

"Multi-racialism is a Portuguese creation. Black racism is a negation of our conceptions. The only probability of success for the new States lies in following those principles of non-discrimination or racial equality which we proclaim and have always practised. A multi-racial society is above all a way of life and a state of mind which can be maintained in equilibrium and peace only with the support of a long tradition. The centrifugal minorities, whatever their ethnic group, have no future if they ignore these fundamental truths.

"Countries represented at the Addis Ababa Conference have conceded training camps to revolutionary elements, offered volunteers or mercenaries, subscribed funds to defray the expenses of terrorist campaigns, and supply arms and technicians for subversive warfare. Until a very few years ago such countries would have been regarded as in a state of war with Portugal. Now the 'sacred ambitions' which certain persons and peoples embody are considered to prevail over all duties and rights.

Shady Compromises and Emotional Slogans

"Decolonization is said to be the greatest need of the century and the highest work which mankind can undertake in our day. Decolonization should at least mean that the people concerned should be capable of choosing their Government, and of the *élites* being sufficiently prepared to make the structures of administration function. But it has already been solemnly proclaimed and voted in the same United Nations that lack of preparation in the political, economic and social domains or in that of instruction should never serve as a pretext to delay the granting of independence. Independence must be given immediately, whatever happens thereafter.

"The vagaries of a thoughtless majority are even regarded as the true expression of the general will. We are not converted to such ideas. International life cannot be at the mercy of inter-racial collusions, compromise formulas, votes obtained by shady arrangements and manoeuvred by emotional slogans which are neither intelligible nor responsible."

Farewell to an old friend

Best wishes for his retirement

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£13.85m. "Support" for Zambia World Bank to Finance Kafue Scheme

AFTER MONTHS OF DISCUSSION the Government of Zambia has accepted £13.85m. from Britain "to provide support for a wide range of measures and projects arising from Zambia's diversification of her trade and traffic so as to lessen her dependence on Rhodesia for imports and exports; the bulk will concern the development of alternative routes to the East Coast, including utilization of the port and airfield at Mtwarra. Other measures include help with the crash development of the new Zambian coal mines and the provision of British heavy transport vehicles".

The World Bank announced yesterday that it is now ready to finance the \$84m. (£30m.) Kafue hydro-electric scheme.

The World Bank and the African Development Bank are to consider participation in the Zambia-Tanzania railway project.

Zambia is to have a Government-owned National Insurance Company with a paid-up capital of £100,000. Initially it will not transact life, business. Reinsurance is being negotiated with a Swiss company.

Very Expensive Economic Errors

Zambia is forcing itself into some very expensive economic errors, in the view of the *Economist*, which has written:—

"The biggest error is the essay into self-sufficiency in coal for the Copperbelt. For medium-term political motives Zambia is pouring money into mining low-grade, expensive coal, when a short distance over the border there is a high-grade, exploited and cheap reserve. The supply is impeded at present by Rhodesia's one-for-one rule in railway trucks, but Zambia's chief motive is the political capital that can be made from independence—one day—of Wankie.

"The 'contingency' field at Nkandabwe came into production in June 1966. The coal is proving to be of poor quality, with high ash content at 24% and low calorific value of 10,500 BTU/lb. It is worked by open-cast methods despite a steep dip averaging 19.6 degrees, which means that the thickness of the overburden to be removed quickly assumes uneconomic proportions. Workable reserves are limited to about 4m. tons, and annual capacity is likely to be about 300,000 tons, a quarter of Zambia's current consumption.

"Mining difficulties and the need to truck the coal by road some 47 miles up the Zambezi escarpment to the line of rail make the estimated price of the coal at the Copperbelt 90s. per ton, considerably more than the better quality Wankie coal at 53s.

"Siankodobo, south-west of Nkandabwe, was discovered in May. Reserves are large (40-50m. tons) and quality is better than at Nkandabwe, with ash content at 19% and calorific value of 11,500 BTU/lb. Although the angle of dip is very low, deep mining will be necessary.

"Siankodobo is even less accessible than Nkandabwe. The direct access road from Choma on the line of rail is negotiable only by four-wheel drive vehicles even in the dry season. In the wet season, when 40 inches of rain fall in six months, the 2,000 ft. climb up the Zambezi escarpment becomes impossible. The valley floor road to Nkandabwe is 34 miles long, making a haul to rail that way of about 80 miles. An idea perhaps more feasible in the long term is for an aerial ropeway to negotiate the difficult escarpment country with possibly a rail spur from Choma to the plateau edge.

"Whatever the solution, the cost will be enormous. The present estimate of 65s. per ton at the Copperbelt seems optimistic.

"The commercial irrelevance of both Zambia's pits is shown up by the figures for Wankie, with reserves of 600m. tons of better quality coal, an ash content of only 10%, and calorific value of 13,500 BTU/lb, producing at low cost, with excess capacity even before U.D.I.

"One of the more desperate good reasons for an early settlement in Rhodesia is to save Zambia from the economic consequences of its political courage".

A hippopotamus with toothache seized a young keeper round the waist at Coventry Zoo and plunged with him into a pool; but immediately obeyed the customary command "open, open", he dropped his victim, who had suffered serious injuries.

Three hundred elephants have had to be killed by white hunters in the Tsavo National Park, Kenya, to relieve the pressure on the food supply. There are now some 20,000 elephants in the park, and perhaps a quarter may have to be sacrificed.

Africa's Greatest Enemy: Mr. Wina's view Capitalism Creaking in the United States

ANTI-COLONIALISM is the most significant aspect of Communism. Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister in Zambia, told the National Assembly in a speech in which he emphasized that Africa's greatest enemy was lack of confidence in its own people, and in its leaders in particular.

In the course of a long speech he said:—

"Who is a capitalist? Who is an imperialist? I lived for two years in the United States and found the foundations of capitalism creaking under the whip of 20th century revolution of the masses. The real Americans, 99.5% of the people, lead a life that would make Western Europe gasp for breath — a professor whose lunch is a hamburger bought in a queue with workers, cooks and waiters who run about in an automobile equal in expense to that of a factory manager; factory workers who earn more than medical doctors — a perverted society.

"That position which we in Zambia have come to associate with status — more money and comfortable living — does not hold in the United States. Yet it is a happy life for Americans, and whoever thinks that the life of the people of the United States will be changed by a revolution from the masses is burying his head in the sand, because the masses of America (except the Negroes) will be the first to defend what they call their way of life".

Denmark is to grant a development loan of 1.5m. kroner to Malawi. Part will be spent on a local brewery.

The maximum fine in Zambia for offences against the price control regulations has been increased from £5,000 to £50,000.

The Malawi Congress Party has expelled its district chairman in Fort Johnston "because of his interference with the work of the police".

Secondary schools in Zambia increased from 46 in January, 1964, to 77 in the same month this year. Whereas there were 723 primary schools in 1963, there are now 2,099.

African poachers in Zambia are officially estimated to have killed at least 6,000 red lechwe annually and to have sold the meat and skins, mainly in Lusaka, for about £60,000 a year.

Two African M.P.s. in Zambia who have resigned from their parties, one from U.N.I.P. and the other from the African National Congress, have thereby lost their seats in the National Assembly.

Charterland Primary School, Fort Jameson, has been renamed Hillside Primary School by the Zambian Government, which has removed the name of Norman Price from another school in that town, replacing it by Kanjala.

A scholarship worth £1,700 a year offered by British United Airways for training in aeronautical engineering in Britain has been awarded to a Zambian African who has been working at Lusaka Airport since he left the sixth form of Munal School.

A Viet Cong delegation of seven members has recently visited East and West Africa under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity. The leader said on returning to Vietnam that the tour had been suggested by the French Communist Party.

A Tanzanian People's Defence Force second lieutenant has been sentenced to be cashiered and to 14 months' imprisonment for disobedience and absence without leave. For negligence and destroying official documents a lieutenant has been reduced to second lieutenant and fined.

The National Assembly of Zambia has recognized the United Party, formed by dissidents from the African National Congress, with Mr. Mumbuna, M.P. for Mazabuka, as president. Another of the founders is Mr. Dickson Tukulua, who resigned from U.N.I.P. some time ago.

The four newspapers now published in Zambia by the Anglo-American Corporation mines will shortly give way to a 24-page group fortnightly to be called *The Miner*. It will have a circulation of about 40,000. The editor will be Mr. J. E. Miller, now editor of the *Rhokana Copper Miner*, and the assistant editor will be Mr. J. E. L. Patterson.

The first stage of development of the Baluba ore body, eight miles north-west of Luanshya, is shortly to start. R.S.T. expect to spend about £850,000 on the initial work during the next two years. If results prove satisfactory the intention is to develop the property to produce about 22,000 long tons of copper and 950 of cobalt annually. To reach that capacity would cost more than £10m. and take about six years.

Monstrously Un-British Somali Attitude to "Captive Brethren"

SOMALIS, LIKE BRITONS, are so passionately attached to freedom that they will fight for it against all the odds and heedless of the cost, the EARL OF LYTON has written in the *Daily Telegraph*, continuing:—

"Ethiopia's large forces are equipped by America, Kenya's by Britain; Britain also provides the general officer commanding the Kenya Army, which is applying measures of extreme harshness in an attempt to crush Somali patriotism.

"This Anglo-American backing of the rich and powerful (30m. in Africa's most productive highlands) against the 'poor nomads' (4m.) for whose independence Ernest Bevin pleaded 20 years ago, is a monstrously un-British way of doing things.

"Yet Somalis have still a great liking for British people; they know that some of us understand their aspirations better than other nations, and they believe Britain still has influence—with Kenya, which we are sustaining more than any other former Colony; with the Emperor, whose empire our soldiers reconquered and restored to him; with General de Gaulle, of whom the world might scarcely have heard but for British war-time patronage.

"As an indication of Somali feeling for Britons from Prime Ministers to lorry-drivers, I quote from the speech delivered in my honour by the Mayor of Berbera last July:—

"We are glad to greet Britons in Berbera once more. You gave us our system of government and our education and we are grateful. You were the best of the Colonial Powers, and when you left us during the war we prayed in our mosques for your victory that you might return to rule over us once more.

"It was only when, in granting independence to all your Colonies, you started giving away parts of our nation to alien States that we began to like you less; but we distinguish between the British Government, which has done us this injury, and British people, whom we like."

"Somali statesmen are of one mind that their captive brethren can never be abandoned; yet they do not want war; nor do the Russians who have, I suspect, promised them (because Washington, London, Bonn and Rome refused) sufficient arms to equip an army one-seventh the size of Ethiopia's.

Impartial Test Demanded

"The Somali attitude amounts to this: 'Let the wishes of the people in the disputed regions be ascertained with care, efficiency, and impartiality under a guarantee that the judgment will accord with the verdict and be implemented. With this we shall be entirely satisfied whichever way the voting goes'.

"Ocean outlets for land-locked Ethiopia can be as readily guaranteed as they are in the case of Rhodesia and Uganda. There is no Somali hostility to Ethiopia or Kenya, America or Britain, only to their out-of-date imperialism."

"Lastly, it is not without interest to speculate how differently this dispute might have turned out had the Somali Republic entered the Commonwealth on the basis of the Somaliland Protectorate's long connexion with Britain. Such circumstances would no doubt have made the British Government's position even more difficult; but they would perhaps also have provided a setting in which the aspirations of the Kenya Somalis would have received a fairer hearing."

Mr. Lewis emphasizes that whereas elsewhere in Africa, the problem is to build nations from polyglot and polytribal territories with the arbitrary frontiers which are the legacy of colonialism, the crux of the Pan-Somali aim is to move from existing nationhood to statehood—against the weight of the Organization of African Unity, which insists on maintenance of the old colonial frontiers.

The vacillations in British policy before Kenya became independent are recalled. There would then have been little difficulty in transferring to Somalia those parts of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya in which the population was and is overwhelmingly Somali. Instead of acting when there would have been no real resistance from Kenya African politicians, however, Ministers in Britain dillyed and dallied until "Kenya African leaders acquired further authority and began to display increasingly military attitudes towards the Somali secessionists". Thus was future trouble made certain.

"Tanzania has at least three training camps manned by Red Chinese instructors; and Zambia and Kenya have secret organizations tucked away in the forests".—Mr. Harvey Ward, in a broadcast talk from Salisbury.

Lost Opportunities in Kenya When Somali Problem Was Solvable

MR. I. M. LEWIS'S "Modern History of Somaliland" (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 36s.) is objective, adequately comprehensive, up-to-date, interesting, and well written. The author, who seldom expresses a personal opinion is candidly crucial in attributing the breach between Britain and the Somali Republic to H.M. Government for acting too indecisively and too slowly. He writes:—

"For several years prior to the 1962 Kenya conference the provincial administration of the N.F.D. had consistently reported on the direction and strength of Somali feeling. Had those reports received serious attention it would clearly have been possible for the British Government to prepare the ground for the eventual secession of the N.F.D. without at that stage incurring serious opposition from African opinion in Kenya. This, however, was not done. The problem was left until it became insoluble except at the cost of alienating one side or the other.

"At a much later stage in the development of the affair it is also questionable whether the middle course of, in effect, passive resistance adopted by the N.F.D. Somalis with the concordance of Mogadishu was the best strategy to pursue in the circumstances. It is, of course, easy to be wise after the event. But it might well have been more profitable for the N.F.D. Somalis to have adopted more valiantly intransigent tactics, or alternatively, to have participated wholeheartedly in the new constitutional arrangements with the aim of using the new region's territorial assembly as a mouthpiece from which to press their secessionist aims in a manner which the British Government might have found it possible to accede to more readily.

"To have been acceptable, however, this latter course would have required a degree of mutual confidence and understanding which the British Government's conduct of the dispute rendered impossible.

"Bishop Stanway of Central Tanganyika told me that in his area he reckons on a 9% increase of Christians annually. At this rate the church doubles itself in eight years".—Bishop Stephen Neill.

RHODESIA AND INDEPENDENCE

KENNETH YOUNG

Rushed through for publication in March, this account of the Rhodesian crisis—its background, the political moves and counter-moves, the effect of sanctions—brings invaluable clarity to a tragic situation that has already cost the British taxpayer £100 million, halted Rhodesian economic expansion and even come close to war.

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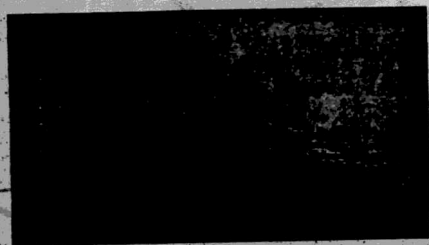
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COMPANY MEETING**TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS LTD****DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONGO GOVERNMENT
AND UNION MINIERE DU HAUT-KATANGA****Congolese Proposals Which the Company Could Not Accept****LORD COLYTON'S STATEMENT AT ANNUAL MEETING**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS LIMITED was held on January 26th, 1967, at the head office of the Company, Bahamas International Trust Building, Bank Lane, Nassau, Bahamas. THE RT. HON. LORD COLYTON, P.C., C.M.G., who presided, addressed the meeting as follows:—

In the past months stockholders will have seen in the Press numerous references to the affairs of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga and of those of your company as one of its principal shareholders. I hope that the following comments may help to put the matter in proper perspective.

I referred briefly in my review to various decrees published by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to the ensuing negotiations between that Government and the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. These decrees do not, of course, affect your company directly, since it does not itself carry out any activities in the Congo, but they have serious repercussions on the operations and indeed the very nature of the Union Minière.

Three Decrees

Three decrees are involved, each of which is to some extent dependent on the others. The first required that all companies whose main sphere of operation lies in the Congo should transfer to that country their domicile and central management on or before 1st January, 1967. The second decree, the "Bakajika Law", announced that all concessions granted prior to Congolese independence in 1960 by the Belgian Colonial Power or its predecessor in title had been resumed by the State. And the third announced that 10 per cent of all material production should be handed over in kind to the State without payment.

Until 1960 the registered office of the Union Minière was located at Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi). The effective seat of management has, however, always been located in Brussels, where the shareholders' meetings were held. Apart from the practical difficulties inherent in moving this to Kinshasa, insuperable legal, and fiscal problems are involved. The company accordingly notified the Congolese Government to the effect that such a move was not a practical proposition.

Instead the company proposed that its assets in the Congo, which include the mining concessions, mines and processing plant, and substantial mineral stocks, should be transferred to a Congolese registered company, to be called Union Minière du Congo. The remaining assets outside the Congo (comprising the investment portfolio, metal stocks, and real estate in Belgium) would remain in the existing company, which would be re-named the Union Minière et Métallurgique.

Proposals to this effect were placed before the Congolese Government by a delegation headed by M. Louis Wallef, Chairman of the Union Minière, and including Mr. R. F. Medlicott and myself.

Discussions were held in two sessions during the period October-December, 1966, under the aegis of the

President of the Congolese Republic, and, as a result, agreement in principle was reached on many of the points discussed. Unhappily, however, agreement was not obtained on several vital issues, and shortly after the delegation returned to Europe at the close of the second session the Congolese Government announced that the talks had been broken off, and not merely adjourned, as had been thought. Consequently the Union Minière was ordered to comply with the letter of the decree requiring transfer of its domicile and central management to the Congo.

On 23rd December the Union Minière published a *communiqué* stating categorically that, as a matter of law and of fact, the domicile and central management of the company could not be transferred to Kinshasa. The *communiqué* further stated that if the Congolese Government were effectively to withdraw the concessions and the operating rights in the Congo from the Union Minière, the latter would consider itself to be relieved of all responsibility for the consequences of an Act of State amounting, in effect, to outright expropriation. Furthermore, the Union Minière reserved to itself the right to protect its interests, and those of its shareholders and employees, by all means open to it in law. Nevertheless, provided all duress was eliminated and that rights incorporated in the Belgo-Congolese Treaty of 6th February, 1965, were respected, the company was prepared to collaborate with the Congolese Government in the furtherance of the rights and legitimate interests of both parties.

Congo Government's Actions

The Government of the Congo reacted immediately to this *communiqué*. The export of metals and ores from the Congo was forbidden, the Union Minière's bank accounts in the Congo were frozen, and the formation of a new Congolese company to take over the concessions and mining plant with effect from 1st January, 1967, was announced.

Simultaneously with these public announcements, I received through diplomatic channels from President Mobutu an offer of a 15 per cent participation for your company in the new company, together with an invitation to nominate one director. President Mobutu also invited me and any of my colleagues on your board to visit Kinshasa to discuss the offer before the first of January.

Your board met on 30th December to consider this offer, and concluded that it would be impossible to accept it. Your directors were unanimously of the opinion that it would not be in the interests of the company and its stockholders to be party to an illegal act of confiscation which would have placed in jeopardy its valuable continuing investment in the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga.

In conveying this decision to President Mobutu, your board, after referring to their desire to maintain the historical ties between the company and the Congo and their cordial relations with the President and members

of his Government, expressed the earnest hope that the Congolese Government would find means to avoid the action forecast for 1st January, i.e., the formation of the new Congolese company and the transfer to it of the Union Minière's assets in the Congo. A Press announcement was also issued on 3rd January, setting out in full the circumstances and the reasons for the board's refusal.

The hopes expressed by the board proved vain. In spite of the message to President Mobutu and of further conciliatory moves on the part of the Union Minière, together with diplomatic representations stressing the importance of the avoidance by the Congolese Government of any action leading to a final rupture, the latter announced on 31st December the formation of the new Congolese company described as the Société Générale Congolaise des Minerais.

The public announcements by the Congolese Government have been accompanied by successive demands for substantial sums of money claimed to be due to them which the Union Minière regard as being without any foundation.

The announcement by the Congolese Government of the formation of the new company was followed on 3rd January by a further statement by Union Minière. The company protested most vigorously against the seizure of its plant and other assets in the Congo, and announced counter-measures, which included the threat of legal action against any buyer of Congolese copper sold otherwise than through Union Minière sales organization, such action being accompanied by possible seizure of the metal, and by the cancellation of the Congolese Government's shareholding in the Belgian company, which had been issued in return for the granting of the mining concessions.

Seeking A Solution

The past few weeks have seen an almost continuous interchange of views and proposals between the Union Minière and the Belgian Government on the one hand and the Belgian and Congolese Governments on the other. As far as the union Minière are concerned, the object of these interchanges has been to examine all possible means of arriving at a solution which, while safeguarding all reasonable and legitimate demands of the Congolese Government, would at the same time protect all their own legal rights under the concessions and the Belgo-Congolese Treaty of 6th February, 1965, and the rights and security of their personnel in Africa. These interchanges are still proceeding, but with little progress to report.

The two remaining decrees referred to at the beginning of my speech have been to a great extent overtaken by the events related above. Prior to 31st December Union Minière had applied for the re-confirmation of its concessions under the terms of the "Bakajika Law" at the same time reserving its rights under its existing concessions.

The third decree, dealing with the mining levy of 10 per cent of production, had not up to 31st December been implemented, although the Congolese Government have, as part of their series of demands, claimed that 10 per cent of 1966 production should be handed over. Metal of an equivalent value was still on Congolese territory at the date of expropriation, and is indeed still there, and the Union Minière is naturally refusing this additional claim.

If the 10 per cent levy had been effectively enforced the Union Minière would have paid out in taxes, in cash and in kind more than its operating profits in 1966. Even so the tax burden was extremely heavy: I would remind you that in 1965 86 per cent of pre-tax profit was swallowed up in taxation.

The Union Minière's copper production for the year 1966, at over 300,000 metric tons, set a new record for the company. Since April, 1966, the Company's

selling price has been fixed by reference to the quotation on the London Metal Exchange; this, together with the strong market for metal and the rise in production, obviously would in normal circumstances have resulted in substantially higher profits.

Unfortunately this favourable commercial situation must to a large extent be nullified by the imposition of higher taxation and all the complicated issues to which I have previously referred.

Benguela Railway

Turning now to our other main activities, the increase in traffic carried by the Benguela Railway during 1966 has already been mentioned in my review. Since then copper railages from Zambia have increased to about 14,000 tons a month. Import traffic to Zambia continues to increase. The railway has during the year carried substantial tonnages of coal for use by the railways and mining plants in both Katanga and Zambia whose supplies from Wankie have been reduced.

These various factors have led to a more balanced traffic on the railway: whereas in the past traffic has been predominantly downward, thus necessitating the upward haulage of empty wagons, these wagons are now earning profitable freight on their upward haul. It is therefore expected that the Railway will show record earnings for the year.

The events in the Congo at the end of December are unlikely materially to affect the results for 1966, but the cessation of all mineral exports from the Union Minière via the Benguela Railway, if effective for any length of time, would undoubtedly have a serious impact on the results in future.

At the present time Zambian copper is continuing to reach our line, and upward traffic to both the Congo and Zambia is now crossing the frontier normally despite minor dislocations to traffic for a short time.

It is perhaps opportune at this point to remind stockholders that, despite a considerable holding of the equity of the Benguela Railway Company, your company is not in a position to determine the commercial policy of the Railway, which operates as a common carrier under its concession from the Portuguese Government, thus taking all traffic that is offered.

The activities in Rhodesia of your wholly-owned subsidiary company, Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), Limited, have not been seriously affected by the events of the past year in Rhodesia.

The main sufferers from these events are, I am sorry to say, those stockholders who, being resident in Rhodesia, have been unable to receive their dividends from the company.

Timber Company

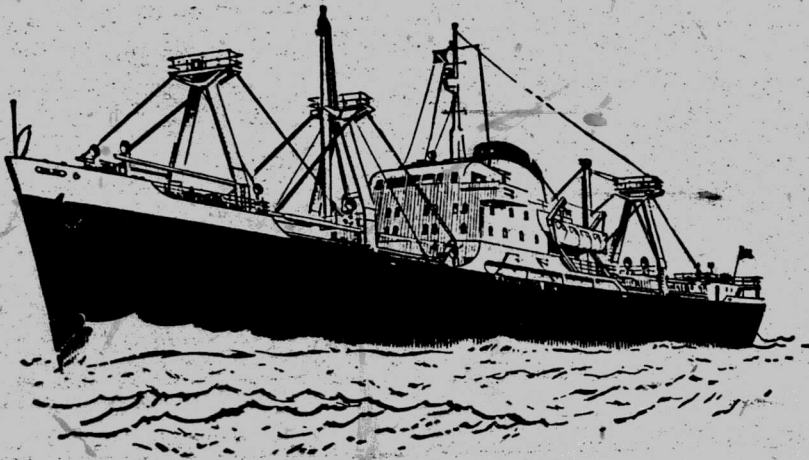
Commonwealth Timber Industries Limited, although registered in Salisbury, carries out its trading activities through its subsidiaries in the Republic of South Africa. These operations are to some extent being affected by the credit squeeze in that country.

Stockholders will recognize that during the past few months the members of your board have been faced with very great problems, particularly in regard to the Union Minière. We deeply regret the events which have been described in some detail above and which we believe to be contrary to the interests of all concerned, not least the people of the Congo. Stockholders may rest assured that your board will continue by every means in their power to support the rights and protect the interests of their stockholders in this unhappy situation.

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

Mr. R. F. Medlicott, Captain the Rt. Hon. Charles Waterhouse, M. Maurice van Weyenbergh, Mr. H. Revington, and Mr. D. H. A. Wright were re-elected to the board.

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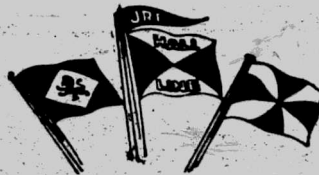
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