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Commonwealth Conference Discusses Rhodesia



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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

EVERY PRIME MINISTER in Commonwealth Africa — except, of course, Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia, the man most closely concerned — spoke at the Commonwealth Conference in London on Monday, when the whole day was reserved for speeches on (rather than dispassionate consideration of) the Rhodesian constitutional problem. There had been almost ceaseless talks on the subject in private and in public since the arrival of the African and Asian delegations a week earlier, and a number of the most vocal visitors had advertised their opinions at news conferences, in interviews with individual journalists, in addresses to influential societies, and in television programmes. It would be ingenuous to believe that this spate of propaganda to the detriment of Rhodesia was spontaneous and fortuitous, and reasonable to assume that it was the expression of a plan proposed and agreed in advance, probably in its final stages at the Lagos conference of Organization of African Unity States only a few days before most of the African and Asian spokesmen had to leave their capitals for Britain. Whatever the pre-arrangements may have been, clear evidence has been provided of a determination to focus maximum publicity on an issue which has been treated emotionally and superficially, not rationally and realistically, by the politicians in Britain no less than those in black Africa.

If they had intended to deal conscientiously and constructively with a problem of admitted difficulty, they would have invited and welcomed the Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Because he would

Prime Minister's Offensive Remark.

have revealed and emphasized the nonsensical nature of their so-called "arguments", they decided to exclude him last year and again this year. That

denial of elementary fair play to a country whose destiny was at stake cannot be extenuated. Nor can the rash and reckless remark of Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, that a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia last October would have led to a "Congo-type blood-bath". Was that absurd allegation premeditated? If so, it is the more reprehensible. If not, why was it not corrected during the television programme in which it was made, and which was not near its end at the time? The speaker, a very shrewd and practised debater, must have recognized the harshness of his judgment and the resentment which Rhodesians would justifiably feel. The fact that he failed to withdraw the offensive and obviously false comparison then or later suggests that it was thought to serve his political purpose of showing sympathy with those whose outright attacks on H.M. Government and the Rhodesian Government were to be the main feature of the conference.

* * *

Sir Abubakar Balewa, Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria, seems to have been the only African to insist on fair play for the white minority in Rhodesia, and to declare

Safeguards for The Europeans.

emphatically that safeguards for the minority were essential if a universal adult franchise was to be introduced, with the inevitable consequence that power would be transferred to the black majority. While that statement of principle was necessary and welcome — and supported by the Prime Ministers of Australia and Canada — it cannot be expected to be acceptable by responsible Rhodesians as reasonable consideration for the abandonment of authority to Africans completely without experience in public affairs, at bitter enmity one with another, and hopelessly incompetent to manage the affairs of a sophisticated economy, especially as no con-

confidence in the African nationalist politicians is felt either by the white community or Africans in the mass, who still prefer the guidance of their traditional tribal leaders.

As if to demonstrate their irresponsibility anew, the African Prime Ministers pressed for the immediate release of all the political agitators who have been interned and restricted in Rhodesia, their

Violence in Politics.

assumption being that such a gesture of good-will would create confidence as a prelude to a constitutional conference. There is not the remotest chance that the proposal will be adopted by the Rhodesian Government, which is not to be tricked by airy-fairy theories which have no relation to the facts. Release of the political trouble-makers, among them a dangerous thug element, would not be a gesture of good-will, but an opportunity for the ill-will of subverters of law and order to express itself in the many forms of intimidation in which they specialize, so creating, not confidence, but the conviction among Africans in general that the Government had abdicated in favour of politicians with a long record of resort to violence, including murder, maiming and arson on a large scale, because they could muster a following in no other way. These are the elements, nearly all of them townees, whom African and Asian politicians would make Ministers—the basic reason being that many of the men who now hold portfolios in newly independent African States were themselves propelled into office by organized violence.

After hours of talk on Monday the Commonwealth Conference decided on a *communiqué* which said merely that the problem of Rhodesia had been discussed and that

Unintended Irony of Interim Communiqué.

“the hope was expressed that a way would be found in which Rhodesia could proceed to independence at the earliest practicable date on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole”. The irony of the situation is that those words could equally well have been used by the white Rhodesians whose views of a “practicable date” differ fundamentally from those of the authors of the statement. If the Prime Ministers were honest in professing that independence cannot come until it is acceptable “to the people of Rhodesia as a whole”, they would recognize that a long period of preparation is inevitable, for only when large numbers of Africans have acquitted them-

selves creditably in political, administrative, cultural, and business affairs will they be acceptable as leaders in those departments of activity by their European associates and, not less important, by responsible Africans, including the traditional tribal leaders, who now completely distrust the extremist politicians. The *communiqué* does nothing except gain a respite of a couple of days and ensure that high feelings about Rhodesia will rise again tomorrow when the conference has to decide upon its final statement. Past conferences have always issued one *communiqué*. We should not be surprised if on this occasion the African and Asian Prime Ministers were to sign and issue one of their own.

Statements Worth Noting

“It is more difficult to rule ourselves than to obtain independence”.—Mr. S. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia.

“Red China relied on her trained agitators to win her wars in Africa. There were at least 50,000 of them active on the African continent”.—Professor A. H. Murray, of Cape Town University.

“Some Members of Parliament in this country are using their Parliamentary privileges to instil ideas of subversion”.—Dr. A. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda.

“Kenya must encourage local capital accumulation so that we are not completely dependent on foreign investment”.—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

“I call on every working person, including farmers, to spend 10% of their income on buying National Savings Bonds and National Lottery tickets.—Mr. Joseph Nyerere, Regional Commissioner for Mwanza, Tanzania.

“Zambia will open its university early next year with 230 students. Likely admissions thereafter are 540 students in 1967, 1,090 in 1968, 1,860 in 1969, 2,540 in 1970, 3,810 in 1971, 4,810 in 1972, and 5,650 in 1973, when thought must be given to opening subsidiary universities”.—Mr. Sikota Wina, Minister of Local Government and Housing.

“We have become keenly aware that man's continued survival is fundamentally a technological, not a political or even economic problem”.—Mr. Mwai Kibaki, Kenya Parliamentary Secretary for Finance, assuring a conference on international research in East Africa that the “temptation” to regard research as a luxury would be resisted.

“What the churches have done in Kenya has been a manifestation of the spirit of *Harambee* and African socialism. The meeting-ground between African socialism and any important religion is the recognition of human dignity, respect for each other, and the equality of human beings”.—President Kenyatta, addressing the Christian Council of Kenya.

“I am often saddened and shocked to see the vast flood of human beings pouring out of Government offices at 4.30 every afternoon. I ask myself whether it can really be possible that every one of these people has so organized his work that precisely at 29 minutes past four he has completed his span of work for the day and left nothing undone”.—Mr. D. N. Ndegwa, Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President of Kenya and Head of the Civil Service.

Notes By The Way

"Condonation of Portuguese Domination"

ON THE MORNING of the opening of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the Bishop of Masasi, Tanzania, had in *The Times* a letter which described "the condonation by the Western Powers of Portuguese colonial domination in Mozambique and Angola" as one of the most disturbing aspects of the African situation, alleged that that "condonation" indicated British and American dishonesty, and called upon H.M. Government to "act and be seen to act". The letter, like so much else that Dr. Huddleston has written and spoken in the past, is sweeping in its generalizations, ambiguous in its implications, and essentially political in character and context. Because his see is contiguous with the northern border of Mozambique, he may consider Portuguese rule in that territory to be "one of the most disturbing aspects" of the African scene, but that is certainly not the opinion of the mass of Africans in East and Central Africa, despite the eager efforts of the small minority of political extremists to stoke up indignation, and, latterly, to give active encouragement to rebellion against the administrative Power. Had the Bishop been candid, he would have mentioned the so-called "freedom fighters" who are being trained in Tanzania, many of them in his diocese — among others by Chinese, Russian and Czech Communists — and by Algerians who gained much experience in guerrilla warfare against the French — for subversion, sabotage, and military raids in Mozambique. By his silence the Bishop condones these iniquitous activities, which are openly fostered by the Government of Tanzania and the Organization of African Unity. What a demonstration of unity!

Questions for the Bishop

WHAT ACTION does the right reverend gentleman want Britain to take? Is the Foreign Secretary to tell the Government of Portugal — Britain's oldest ally — that the Cabinet wholly sympathizes with the determination of O.A.U. to subvert law and order in Mozambique, and regards Portuguese administration of the territory as "colonial domination"? If the Portuguese reply, as they would, that Britain has no more right to intervene than they would have in any British Colony, are they to be told that that attitude is unacceptable in the modern world and must invite economic or perhaps military pressure because Afro-Asian fanatics would otherwise be annoyed? To pose the questions is to expose the nonsensicality of the statements which provoke them. (Incidentally, did the Bishop condemn or condone the invasion of Portuguese Goa by the troops of the Government of India? Or did he remain silent at the time of that unprovoked and inexcusable aggression?) Why should it be "dishonest" of the United Kingdom and the United States to refrain from meddling in the affairs of the sovereign State of Portugal? Is "honesty" the word which Dr. Huddleston would select to describe the machinations of men in Tanzania who are organizing bloodshed in Mozambique?

Mischievous Letter

HIS LETTER said: "One of the most disturbing aspects of the African situation in these days is the condonation by the Western Powers of Portuguese colonial domination in Mozambique and Angola. It leads inescapably to the assumption that Britain and America are in fact

dishonest in their attitudes. It is taken for granted that if they really wished to do so they could exert sufficient pressure to compel Portugal to withdraw. I write as one most directly concerned with this situation, for the southern boundary of my diocese is in fact the Mozambique border. Several thousand refugees have settled on this side of the Ruvuma River in the past few months. There is the constant fear of hostilities on a larger scale, and there is the constant irritant of security measures even now. But deeper than all this, there is the moral issue which affects especially those Europeans like myself whose greatest longing is for peace in Africa; whose work in God's name is gravely hindered by the seeming identification of Western Christian civilization with colonialism of the Portuguese variety, and who, in fact, cannot honestly deny Britain's apparent contempt for African concern in this vital issue of alien rule in East Africa. When will the Government not only act, but be seen to act"?

Professional Dilemma

WHAT SHOULD HE DO? A well-known professional man in East Africa has asked me: "Should I act on the assumption that substantial overseas businesses, some of them of top international standing, know what they are doing when they send me instructions, or should I demur and tell them candidly that I am convinced that the intended investment is extremely ill-advised on present political grounds, and that from my long experience and personal knowledge of many of the leading Africans, from Ministers to magistrates, from upstart politicians to trade union officials, I have no faith that things will get better? Ought I to make it clear that I would not invest a penny of my own money in any of the schemes?—not, of course, because I have doubts about the competence of the managers and technicians who would be sent out from countries in the Western world, but because I know that all kinds of political frustration and pressure will be added to the normal risks of business in the tropics, and that the projected enterprises will be squeezed more and more tightly as the general incompetence of the country, now masked by the presence of experienced Europeans, who are leaving with ever-increasing rapidity, becomes evident. I am constantly confronted with this problem, which is not simply that of earning what I can in professional practice by normal standards, but of deciding whether it is my duty to go far beyond professional requirements and volunteer opinions which may be unwelcome to distant entrepreneurs and still more unwelcome to the local advisers who have encouraged their interest.

MacBlundell Perplexity

"PERSONAL PRESTIGE is inevitably involved at both ends, and on that account it is quite likely that my advice, sincerely given, and with absolute conviction, might not merely be rejected—which need not worry me, for I should have done what I thought right—but might weaken the trust of the group concerned in those in East Africa on whom they had relied, perhaps for many years. It could cost a man his career. That would be more than bad enough if my advice were taken by the trustees for the shareholders; but, as I have said, it might be disregarded to their loss and to the serious hurt of the representative of the business in East Africa—who in more than one case is a personal friend of mine of long standing. I am not by any means the only man facing this burden of deciding in regard to issues

which have political, personal, professional, financial, commercial and ethical aspects. For me this aspect of my affairs is the worst problem of the post-Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell era."

Too Clever by Half

MR. IAN MACLEOD has undoubted ability, but, I have always thought, little judgment. If that were not so he would scarcely have used the headline "Too Clever by Half?" in the current *Spectator*, which he now edits. A comment under that heading about the Prime Minister, with special reference to his dealings

with President Johnson, ends: "It is a badly calculated piece of political juggling. Some people would call it 'too clever by half'." Mr. Macleod's own political juggling over a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia was denounced by Lord Salisbury, one of the most admired leaders of his own party, as "too clever by half" and as "unscrupulous". Those strictures will inevitably have been recalled by a number of readers of last week's *Spectator*. Of course, it is possible that Mr. Macleod did not see the headline before it was published. If that is the explanation he can certainly not have been pleased.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Condemn Rhodesia

Demands for Immediate Constitutional Conference, Election, and Independence

ALL MONDAY was spent by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in discussing Rhodesia. The session, which should have opened at 10.30 o'clock, was postponed for half an hour in order that the African and Asian Prime Ministers might meet again privately to consider developments in Algeria, where by a *coup d'état* the Army Commander and defence Minister, Colonel Houari Boumedienne, had overthrown President Ben Bella, whom he denounced as a "diabolical dictator" guilty of treason. Thirteen of the 21 Prime Ministers were to have gone on to Algiers for an Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference.

Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, summarized the situation in Rhodesia and explained the actions taken by the Government since it assumed office in October. No proposals were put to the conference by the British Government.

An unnamed African Prime Minister did, however, submit suggestions, the nature of which was not disclosed.

By lunch-time half a dozen African leaders of delegations had spoken, all strongly, especially in criticism of the Rhodesian Government; but, according to an official spokesman, none had used "bad-tempered language".

Speaker after speaker called upon H.M. Government to convene an immediate constitutional conference leading to a general election in Rhodesia on the one-man-one-vote system, with immediate independence under the Government returned at the election.

Kenya's Attack on British Government

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Foreign Minister of Kenya, spoke for 15 minutes, emphasizing that the Rhodesian problem was not unique, as was often said; it was comparable with what had happened elsewhere, including Kenya. What was lacking was courage on the part of the British Government.

It had granted independence to Zambia and Malawi on the dissolution of the Central African Federation. Why could Rhodesia not have been treated similarly? At the 1960 constitutional conference on Kenya H.M. Government had insisted that Kenya must achieve majority rule before it could become independent. Why should a similar pronouncement not be made concerning Rhodesia?

Europeans in Rhodesia were frightened. They could be given guarantees of peace under a democratic African Government.

As to Mr. Bottomley's statement that deep divisions between the African leaders and parties in Rhodesia made it difficult to know to whom authority could be transferred, that could be resolved by free and fair elections, in which Africans would show whom they chose as their leader.

In an appeal to H.M. Government to announce the decision to call a constitutional conference, Mr. Murumbi said that he recognized its very narrow Parliamentary majority, but that it was better to take the right decision, even at the cost

of losing that majority, than to lose the principles involved.

If Mr. Smith declined to attend the conference and made a unilateral declaration of independence, the African States in the Organization of African Unity would not remain passive, for they were committed to the total liberation of Africa.

Mr. Wilson interposed that he hoped to keep both his principles and his majority.

Sir Abubakar Balewa, of Nigeria, said that release of all nationalists under detention was necessary in order to create a feeling of confidence and pave the way for a constitutional conference, the date of which must be decided in London this week. The white settlers having made Rhodesia their home, there must be a working relationship between them and the large African majority, who could not accept a unilateral declaration of independence.

Safeguards for White Rhodesians

Delay was dangerous, for Rhodesia was being wooed by South Africa and Portuguese East Africa and might fall into their orbit. In Rhodesia, however, the whites must have their say and their place. The one-man-one-vote system could not be fairly introduced without safeguards for the white minority. Nigeria, he emphasized, took strong exception to continuance of the A and B electoral rolls.

Sir Robert Menzies and Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Ministers of Australia and Canada, both warmly supported the general line of Sir Abubakar's speech.

President Nkrumah of Ghana wanted the conference to condemn the Rhodesian Constitution as discriminatory against Africans. He suggested that there was real danger that the Commonwealth might be destroyed on the Rhodesian issue, for its African members were bound by resolutions of the Organization of African Unity to reconsider their membership if Britain failed to settle the Rhodesian problem.

Other Commonwealth countries should if necessary join Britain in sending a "peace force" to Rhodesia to ensure smooth transfer of power to the African majority.

If Mr. Smith declined to attend a constitutional conference within, say, a fortnight of a date to be decided now, H.M. Government should legislate to suspend the Rhodesian Constitution and appoint an interim Government to organize a general election on the basis of one-man-one-vote and then grant independence.

Sir Albert Margai (Sierra Leone) suggested a collective Commonwealth undertaking to help Zambia and Malawi if they should be affected by any action taken by Mr. Smith. The British suggestion of economic sanctions against Rhodesia seemed to him insufficient.

President Kaunda is stated to have asked why Britain could use force in Cyprus, Aden, and British Guiana, but not in Rhodesia.

Outside the conference he is understood to have offered Britain all necessary facilities for any military

action she might decide to take against Rhodesia. The delegates from Kenya and Tanzania indicated that the Royal Air Force would be granted whatever transit and landing rights might be necessary to enable Britain to take advantage of that offer.

Dr. Obote (Uganda) and Dr. Banda (Malawi) both spoke in the morning.

Mr. Harold Wilson (Great Britain) replied in a 40-minute speech which summarized the day's discussions and restated the United Kingdom point of view.

Z.A.P.U. Memorandum

The Zimbabwe African People's Union — an organization proscribed in Rhodesia — circulated a memorandum of 12 typed foolscap pages to the Commonwealth Heads of State.

It told them that what the British Prime Minister would say would be "no more than a lot of Wilsonian hot air, vague, devious, empty, and utterly unsatisfactory from a practical point of view". All that Mr. Bottomley had offered had been "large doses of racialism, bluff, incompetence, and political spinelessness".

Africans were "fed up and wondering if the British Government intends to throw Rhodesia down the Verwoerdian drain or grant it majority rule".

White Rhodesians were alleged always to have had "a loathing for the black man; to talk of white settlers being decent folk at heart is to pay them homage which they have never deserved".

"As a matter of fact, this goes for all white settlers in Africa, from Kenya down to the former Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia".

There was no hope of negotiating majority rule, for the views of African nationalists and Mr. Smith were decades apart. "The only hope is for Britain to accept and assert its legal sovereignty over its Colony of Southern Rhodesia and

then implement majority rule legislatively or militarily if Smith refuses to comply with it".

The memorandum carries the signature of Mr. Nelson Samkange, United Kingdom representative of Z.A.P.U.

Another memorandum, signed by Mr. George Nyandoro and Mr. George Situdzika, said that a stage had been reached at which "for our protection we are obliged to answer violence perpetrated on us with equal violence, even if the only prospect is the supreme sacrifice of our people".

In Lusaka Mr. Chona, national secretary of the United National Independence Party, said that the quarrel between Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. was embarrassing. Z.A.P.U.'s assertion that the O.A.U. resolution in Lagos was an insult to Zimbabwe was tantamount to an insult to the African States represented in Lagos, including Zambia. Z.A.N.U. had little support, but it was vital for its members to be persuaded and permitted to rejoin Z.A.P.U. The Lagos resolution had called on Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. to unite.

Visiting heads of delegations were the guests of the Prime Minister at Chequers and of the Commonwealth Relations Secretary at Dorneywood at the week-end.

Dr. Obote went to Chequers on Friday, Mr. Murumbi on Saturday, and Dr. Nyerere and President and Mrs. Kaunda on Sunday. President Nyerere and Dr. and Mrs. Kaunda had spent the previous night at Dorneywood. Mr. Murumbi was to have stayed there on Sunday night, but pressure of work necessitated his return to London.

The details given last week of the Uganda delegation, though supplied by the Ministry of Information in Uganda, were not altogether accurate. The delegation has consisted of Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister; Mr. Timothy Bazarabusa, High Commissioner in London; Mr. L. Lubowa, Minister of Commerce and Industry; Mr. S. Odaka, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. G. Binasa, Attorney-General; Mr. P. Munyasa-Nshimwa, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism; Mr. Z. H. K. Bigirwenkya, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Mr. H. K. M. Kyemba, private secretary to the Prime Minister.

P.M.'s. Suggestion of "Congo-Type Blood-Bath" in Rhodesia

Wish that Commonwealth, Not Britain, Could Handle Independence Problem

A UNILATERAL DECLARATION of independence "might well have meant another Congo blood-bath in Rhodesia," Mr. Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Britain, said last week in the course of a television discussion with the Prime Ministers of Canada, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Uganda.

The Prime Minister of Rhodesia protested promptly and emphatically.

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, the first of the visitors to be asked his attitude to the Rhodesian problem, said that he had proposals to put before the Commonwealth Conference but could not disclose them prematurely.

Mr. Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, had "no pet solution for this complicated question, but it seems to me quite clear that in the long run there cannot be a solution without a Government which meets the wishes of the majority of the people of Rhodesia".

Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, having been asked if he was satisfied with Mr. Wilson's handling of the question, replied that in the next few days he hoped to be told how the matter had been handled. He wanted to know exactly what had occurred. It seemed to him that the British Government would talk about continuing negotiations, as Sir Alec Douglas-Home had done a year ago and Mr. Macmillan in 1962. Was it the policy of successive British Governments to tell other Commonwealth Prime Ministers only about negotiations—and no progress?

Mr. Wilson replied that there had been progress. Fortunately or unfortunately, the responsibility fell on the United Kingdom. He wished it were an issue for Commonwealth settlement.

"I have always felt that if the Commonwealth could get together on this problem it would be better, but quite frankly, the Government of Rhodesia have not at any point been prepared to accept the Commonwealth as having any status in the matter. I would like to have sent a Commonwealth delegation of senior elder statesmen to try to get this matter settled and to recommend to the Commonwealth as a whole, but this has proved impossible. We are negotiating. It is very difficult."

Kenya's Government's Criticisms

Invited to comment on the Kenya Government's complaint that H.M. Government had been guilty of indecision, inaction, procrastination, and a grave error of judgment, Mr. Wilson said that the Kenya Government had also said much else, and continued:—

"When we came in we were faced with a most desperate crisis — with the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence which might well have meant in Rhodesia another Congo blood-bath, with the most devastating economic consequences for Rhodesia's neighbours.

"We stated very clearly—I think in the strongest statement any Government has ever issued about any other Government—what the consequences would be, what we should do; and we had the full backing of all our colleagues in the Commonwealth for that statement. Recently I have underlined it again. I hope that no one in Rhodesia has any doubts."

Dr. Obote asked if the idea of a unilateral declaration had been given up in Rhodesia.

Mr. Wilson: "I think it would be too optimistic to hope they have. Fortunately, because of the visit of the Secretary of State and of the Lord Chancellor, because negotiations

have been resumed, I think this has receded into the background. But we must always recognize the grave danger that this might be.

"We shall be discussing this question. I shall be fascinated and very keen to know what new ideas Sir Abubakar has, because we need new ideas on this; but we accept—all of us do—that we can have no solution in Rhodesia that is not acceptable to the whole of the country."

Dr. Obote: "It is true that the Rhodesian problem can't be settled except by the British Government, because Rhodesia is a British colony. But we would not be telling the whole truth if we said that it wasn't a matter for concern of the whole Commonwealth. We discussed it in 1962. We discussed it last year. It is now on the agenda, and I take it that the British Government is agreeable to a Commonwealth view to the Rhodesian problem."

"I would like the British Government to avoid treating Rhodesia as a federal State—a State federated to the British, the United Kingdom. Right now it looks as if the British want to treat the Constitution in such a way that Rhodesia is independent. I would like to see the British Government come more clearly into the open to show that Rhodesia is a British Colony."

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he would like to see a Rhodesian independence under which all living in the country had equal treatment.

Rhodesian Resentment

Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, expressed his resentment to Mr. Wilson's comparison of Rhodesia with "another Congo." Addressing Parliament during a debate on the adjournment, he said:—

"The conditions that develop in a country like the Congo are caused by interference by people from outside the country. Here, where we have Rhodesians in control, we have one of the most peaceful countries in the world."

If in the future Rhodesia did anything "unfortunate," it would be difficult to deny that she had been provoked by the irresponsible utterances of people living 6,000 miles away who had never been to Rhodesia.

Mr. Wilson had apparently come under pressure from Commonwealth Prime Ministers of whom probably not one had ever set foot in Rhodesia.

On the same day President Kenyatta told a *Daily Mail* correspondent in Nairobi that the Kenya delegation to the Commonwealth Conference had been instructed to accept no compromise on Rhodesia.

They would demand an immediate constitutional conference, which must be attended by Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, the Rhodesian African nationalist leaders. The conference should be held in London, not Rhodesia, "the area of conflict".

The Emperor of Ethiopia emphasized to the British Ambassador that the policy of the Rhodesian Government was of grave concern to all Africa, that African interests should be better safeguarded under a new Constitution, and that Britain was responsible for causing changes to be made.

President Nyerere on Rhodesia, China and Malawi

Federation Frustrated by Sovereignty and Selfishness

PRESIDENT NYERERE told a news conference in London last week that if Rhodesia declared her independence unilaterally he would expect Commonwealth troops to be used against her, for U.D.I. would constitute rebellion.

"If we had rebelled in Tanganyika, I know what would have happened. Why should rebellion in Rhodesia not be treated as rebellion?"

Asked what Britain should do if there were no rebellion, Mwalimu Nyerere replied: "Call a conference and discuss a new Constitution. If the Rhodesians won't play you abrogate the Constitution. I could not have threatened the British as Smith does."

"You realise that they could have put you in prison, but they can't put Mr. Smith in."

"It is not physically impossible. They can put him in prison. It would be tougher than putting me in prison, but certainly not impossible!"

"On what charge?"

"Rebellion"

"But what if he merely refuses to come to a conference?"

Britain Taunted

"Britain has power to abrogate the Constitution. Then Smith would be running an illegal Government and they should just lock him up. What is the use of talking about it at all if the British are so helpless that they can do nothing? Now the British plead so much weakness you would think they were on the verge of collapse."

"Isn't one of the problems of calling a new conference the fact that Mr. Smith would have control over Nkomo; and how would you get him to the table?"

"This is my point—that the British must accept the possibility of Smith refusing to come or to allow Nkomo to come. They can't say, 'This is our problem' and then say 'But what can we do?'"

"Would you say that Rhodesia is the main issue facing the conference from Tangania's point of view?"

"I think so."

"Will you raise the question of Britain's 'oldest ally'?"

"I have raised this with Wilson. We have exchanged frank

views on your ally. I don't think we agree on the approach, but we do agree on the objective. Britain agrees that the Portuguese Colonies should be free."

Asked about the failure of the East African States to federate, the President said:—

"Independence brings its complications. In 1960 we realized that our former objections to a federation—the fear of domination by Kenya settlers—were no longer valid, and that if we wanted to federate the time to do so was before independence, not after. For the sake of unity, and because I was convinced that separate independence would bring complications, I offered to delay Tanganyika's own independence so that we could all gain independence together as a federation. This was objected to."

Independence Makes Federation More Difficult

"Several of my colleagues in East Africa said: 'First let us put our own house in order'. I believed that was wrong. But we did take independence separately. Then in 1963 Kenya took the initiative and suggested we should federate before the end of the year. I began to think I might have been wrong after all, and I signed the joint declaration of intention to federate in 1963. But federation has still not come, and it is going to take a very long time now. Frankly, the longer you wait the more difficult it is going to be."

"No-one desires unity more than we do. Knowing all the difficulties, we are still ready for unity. If Kenya or Uganda said they were ready for federation tomorrow we would federate at once."

"In 1964 I said the same thing to Karume—that we were ready to unite as soon as they were—and Karume said: 'What do you mean when we are ready? Of course we are ready.' And so we federated."

"There is no region anywhere in Africa with better opportunities for unity than East Africa; but we are not moving towards unity. We must accept the fact that it will need a great deal more patience and diplomacy before we achieve it. There is not going to be a miracle; it is not enough to say: 'Let there be unity'."

"The obstacles are two: those I foresaw in 1960. First, the national problems, the unwillingness to surrender sovereignty. This was obvious in 1963. Some people think you can federate without surrendering sovereignty. There is an unwillingness to face the fact that to achieve unity you must cease to be a separate entity internationally."

"Secondly, and just as important, there is the personal unwillingness to surrender position, the unwillingness of individuals to surrender sovereignty—of Julius Nyerere to surrender their right to have a 21-gun salute on a State visit. These decisions have to be made by human beings. They don't just happen. It is the Karumes who bring them about—people who say their own position doesn't matter. This is unusual; but we are ready in Tanzania."

"You would be perfectly prepared to accept another leader?"

"There is no argument at all about leadership in East Africa. Kenyatta is there. He has only to say the word and we can be united."

Not Plotting Against Malawi

"Have you met Dr. Banda to discuss his allegations that two of your Ministers are involved in plotting against him?"

"It is up to the doctor. If he really believes it, he will probably want an explanation from me. It is absolutely ridiculous. The idea that we are preparing to overthrow the Government of Malawi is absurd. We have these ex-Ministers in Tanzania, and ever since they came the good doctor has been saying we are plotting against Malawi, and I have been telling him it is not true. I am waiting to hear him make the same accusations against President Johnson—because Mr. Chipembere is now in the United States!"

"He said you had detained in Tanzania some members of the Malawi Brotherhood and that he sent you a personal letter to which you had not replied."

"I don't like discussing private correspondence in public. If people from Malawi misbehave in Tanzania they can be locked up just like Tanzanians; and if any of our citizens misbehave in Malawi, he can arrest them. We have told our people to behave themselves in Malawi. He must do the same with his people."

"Is China helping with the Tanzania part of the proposed railway? What about your relations with China? We hear so many different views about the Chinese rôle in Africa."

"Whether the Chinese are going to help us with the railway I don't know. But if we ask them there is no reason why they should not look at it, as other countries have looked at it."

Very Friendly with Chinese

"Our relations with the Chinese I know is a big subject. We are friendly with them, as we are with other countries. This worries people. I don't know why it should. We are accused of opening Tanzania's doors to Chinese subversion in Africa. What China's influence in Africa is going to be is a question for Africa to answer. I can't speak for other countries, but we are very friendly with the Chinese. Because of this we are accused either of going Communist or taking orders from Moscow—no, I'm sorry, Peking!—and all sorts of silly things. It is not true."

"What specifically is China doing to help Tanzania?"

"Nothing more than other countries are doing. We say to countries that we cannot be bought. Some people have actually tried to see if we mean what we say or not—and slightly burnt their fingers in the attempt. We do mean it."

"Then we are asked: 'But what are the Chinese giving you? Why are you so friendly?' We don't become friendly just because people give us money. We can't quarrel with the Chinese just because the Americans say we must, nor with the Americans because somebody else says we must. The Chinese have promised us a lot of aid, up to £16m. We are working out projects through which we can use this aid. It is quite good aid because it never raises the problem of local costs. They work out the whole cost; and this is very useful to us. But the reason we are friendly is that we have no reason to quarrel with them. The moment they show me a reason I will quarrel with them."

Dr. Obote on "Africa's Greatest Danger"

Politicians Ready to Betray Their Countries for Cash

AFRICA'S GREATEST DANGER is "that there are always ready politicians who are prepared to serve in a Government and make that Government serve the interests of foreign countries", said Dr. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, when he addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London a few days ago.

In the course of a long speech Dr. Obote said:—

"We take a firm stand on colonialism, fervently desire to see all subject peoples move to their independence without delay, and are prepared to speak out against all forms of discrimination wherever it is practised. We are opposed to the use of force to settle international disputes, and in our short history we have always supported the policy of negotiation in settling international disputes."

"We uphold the principles of freely elected democratic Government based on the will of the people, and we have spoken very bitterly against manoeuvres where some nations seek to place in Government nationalists of a particular country not elected by their own people to positions of authority. This applies particularly to our neighbours."

"Uganda does not allow its territory to be used for the purposes of subversion or the overthrow of another Government in any country. We have maintained right from the date of our independence the policy of preventing nationalists of other States who come to Uganda from using facilities afforded to them in our country as a platform for attacks against their own Governments."

"We are members of the Commonwealth of Nations, and we value the Commonwealth ties and associations. Like most African independent States, we are a member of the Organization of African Unity. We subscribe fully to the principles of its Charter."

"We have maintained a very close working under-

standing with our East African neighbours, and although it has not been possible to effect the much-talked-of East African Federation, we nevertheless believe that, with the withdrawal of obstacles, our belief in closer association with our neighbours may in future mean political federation.

Could Become An Ideological Battle-Ground

"Our greatest ambition is to develop as quickly as possible. As we cannot expect to develop our resources unless we have peace in the world and stability at home, we are obviously the last country to go out of our way to create a situation of instability or to promote circumstances around our country which might lead to lack of peace in the world."

"The cold war has not yet subsided. There are distinct possibilities of our country being made an ideological battle-ground. We have from time to time warned all countries having relations with us that we would not allow them to reduce our country to be used as a battle-ground for ideology. It is because we want to steer clear of the basic ideology dividing the West and the East that we have adopted the policy of non-alignment and associated with other countries that wish to pursue the same policy."

"In subscribing to the principle of non-alignment, we have tried to make it clear that we shall remain free to support any nation on any specific matter irrespective of whether that nation is in the Western or Eastern bloc. We must equally remain free to criticize any nation on any specific issue."

"We reserve the right to take appropriate measures in developing our economy and social services. This right includes any decision taken by us to follow any particular pattern. Where such pattern coincides with a pattern either in the East or the West we shall make it clear that our decision has not been based on copying from abroad but has been dictated by our needs and what we consider to be the quickest means by which to develop our resources."

"We have sought economic aid from West and East because we want to consolidate the principle of being able to

do business with all countries in situations beneficial to us.

"It has been our experience that aid can be given without strings attached as well as having strings attached. No country, however, has come to us openly and demanded conditions which would have forced us to break off relations with any other State. We consider it our responsibility to watch against hidden strings in the aid we are receiving either from the West or the East, and we stand ready to draw the attention of any country which may give us aid with strings to our inability to accept such aid.

"We are now writing a development programme which will lead us to negotiate agreements on greater development assistance than hitherto. We shall have three things in mind. First, that it is in the interest of all countries that there must be peace in the world; secondly, that the task of nation-building means the maintenance of security, the promotion of understanding and co-operation, and a united effort within our own country; thirdly, that whatever aid we receive must be used only to improve the standard of living of our people.

Interference by Other Countries

"We are likely to run into some problems which will not be good for our people because certain countries in a position to give development assistance are taking more and more interest in how we implement our basic principles in foreign affairs. We must take serious objections when other countries make demands that we should do certain things in a particular way.

"Certain nations desire that we should follow their particular economic theories and systems. This we are going to reject. We consider such demands as attempts to reduce us to a colonial status, which could easily cause instability in our country. Other nations desire that our foreign policy should be framed as part of theirs. We cannot speak of being independent if our foreign policy is to be framed in that manner. We also wish to be free to accept proposals from either side, while retaining our freedom to criticize.

"Some big Powers regard any criticism by us as an act of disrespect, and comment on issues which divide the world Powers. For nationalists of any country to think that their Government is always right, and that any disagreement from a small country is not only wrong but unfriendly, is a point we consider to be unrealistic and dangerous. It opens the door through which forces which are destructive and can cause confusion and instability can operate.

"The line normally taken is that of seeking for politicians who would agree with a particular policy as expressed by a foreign country and who would work with that foreign country. To me such a manoeuvre can only mean an insult to the nationals of a developing State. No developing country can call itself free and sovereign when its Government is supposed to play the rôle of 'his master's voice'.

Traitorous Politicians

"The greatest danger in Africa today, as I see it, is that there are always ready politicians who are prepared to serve in a Government and make that Government serve the interests of foreign countries.

"There are some politicians who consider that assistance by foreign countries to place them in Government is not wrong to seek; and they sometimes believe that, having got to positions of authority in the Government through the assistance of foreign agents, they can find a way of resisting the pressures from foreign Governments. I do not believe that it is possible for any politician in Africa cheap enough to be used by any foreign State and to be placed in a position of authority to change and pursue any policy not acceptable to his foreign masters.

"There are already examples where leaders and members of Governments have been assassinated either because they refused to subscribe to pressure from outside or because they resisted such pressures after they were placed in positions of authority by foreign countries. These assassinations have not brought peace in many countries.

"The Congo is the clearest example of the dangers of the work of foreign agents in Africa. We in Uganda have had a bit of a brush with the Congo. We have received the worst Press possible, but, possibly because of vested interests, the writers of articles which have appeared in the Press appear not to have been interested at all in examining the facts and getting generally informed of the real situation.

"We are about the only country in Africa that has given material assistance to the Congo Government. We have a long border with the Congo, and we consider peace and stability in the Congo as basic to our interest. We desire trade with the Congo, but trade cannot flourish where you do not have law and order and peace. It is not in our interest to have the Congolese conflicts near our border.

Relations with the Congo

"We have loyally implemented resolutions on the Congo passed by the Organization of African Unity. Because, however, of vested interests, we have received the worst Press possible in the Western world in our relations with the Congo. Impossible stories have been published in the Press. We know why such stories have been published. It is not that we supported rebellion in the Congo. It is because we must be forced to support one man who is supported by certain Western Powers and has been placed in a position of authority by those same Powers.

"What is happening in the Congo today leads us in Uganda to believe that the period of great nationalist movements which led to independence of a large part of Africa is being turned into a period of the scramble for Africa. The difference is that instead of sending from overseas persons to go and rule over Africa, as was done in the last century, it is now found cheaper and convenient to pick upon individual African politicians to be agents to be supported in every respect by foreign States. This development makes us in Uganda consider the matter of colonialism as a live issue. We therefore take a very firm stand on the question of colonialism.

"We will consider any puppet Government in Africa on the same footing as we consider Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and South West Africa. We will continue to oppose any Power that seek to introduce colonialism not only in our own country but also in any other independent area of Africa. We will continue to speak against any country that assists Portugal or the South African minority Government.

"We will do this because it is part of the struggle we waged in our own country for independence; because foreign influence in any other part of Africa is a danger to us; because our ambition is to meet the aspirations of our people in providing for them economic opportunities and social services and that cannot be done vigorously and in circumstances of freedom unless influences from outside are eliminated.

"We must have a free Africa — free from colonialism and enjoying peace and stability. We must have in each of the African States a Government acceptable to the citizens. We must improve the standard of living of our people and achieve their aspirations for progress, social justice, freedom, and prosperity.

Angry With President Nyerere

FIFTEEN PASSENGERS who landed at London Airport at dawn one day 10 hours late expressed anger at the diversion across Africa to suit the convenience of President Nyerere of the East African Airways jet airliner in which they had travelled. Some sharply criticized E.A.A.'s disregard of its duty to keep to its advertised schedule.

Mwalimu Nyerere had arranged to fly by an Ethiopian Airways aircraft from Dar es Salaam to Lagos for a State visit to Nigeria, but engine failure prevented take-off, and it was arranged that a Comet of East African Airways should be delayed at Nairobi for an hour and a half while the Tanzanian party flew up to join it. Late arrival at Cairo caused some passengers to miss connexions. To the annoyance of those remaining the aircraft then crossed Africa to Lagos instead of continuing to Europe.

A spokesman for B.O.A.C., general agents for E.A.A. in London, commented: "Such a thing could not happen to a B.O.A.C. air-liner".

Gratitude to Britain

SIR EDWARD MUTESA, President of Uganda, said when he received the new British High Commissioner, Mr. Roland Hunt, that Britain and Uganda had much in common, that both were proud of the Commonwealth association, that he hoped for continuation of their relationship in a spirit of co-operation and partnership, and that Uganda's gratitude for the help given by Britain was enhanced by the knowledge that aid was provided without obligation or influence.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

Rhodesia is packed with scenic splendours which make the heart of Africa a Wonder of the World. The Victoria Falls, where the mighty Zambesi river thunders into a chasm more than a mile wide and three hundred feet deep, are the greatest natural spectacle in all Africa. Within easy reach of the falls is the famous game reserve of Wankie which provides many modern amenities for the comfort of the visitor, in the heart of the African bush. Visitors are assured of seeing elephant, lion, antelope and many other species of wild life.

Not all Rhodesia's tourist highlights are the work of nature: the silent ruins of Zimbabwe and the gigantic Kariba Dam stand as impressive monuments to the ingenuity of ancient and modern man. These exciting places are not so far away as you may think! The V.C.10 will get you there on any day of the week in under 14 hours. A grand safari holiday is not beyond your reach when you take advantage of a package tour to this sunny land.

The RHODESIA NATIONAL TOURIST BOARD will be happy to provide further details from its office at 21 Cork St., Mayfair, London, W.1. **TEGent 6400**



PERSONALIA

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., was in Ethiopia last week.

MR. NOEL LONGHURST has retired from Rhodesia Railways after 35 years' service.

SIR JOHN HATHORN HALL was 71 on Saturday, and EARL DE LA WARR 65 on Sunday.

BRIGADIER OPOLOTO, who commands the Uganda Army, is spending a fortnight in England.

SIR ARCHIBALD JAMES has left for Rhodesia, where he expects to spend about three months.

MR. JOHN SPICER passed through London last week on his way back to Rhodesia from Tokyo.

MR. LAWRENCE KALULE-SETTALA, Finance Minister in Uganda, is Acting Prime Minister during DR. OBOTE'S absence from the country.

MR. T. CHINTU has been re-elected chairman of Abercorn Town Management board, of which MR. L. T. C. CARLIN is deputy chairman.

On their way to Tokyo in September PRINCESS ALEXANDRA and MR. ANGUS OGILVY will spend a weekend in Hongkong as guests of the Governor.

COLONEL HORNUNG'S horse Casabianca won the Royal Hunt Cup at Ascot last week. Three days earlier he had been elected a member of the Jockey Club.

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Foreign Affairs in Rhodesia, paid a private visit to Lourenço Marques last week.

MR. REUBEN KAMANGA, Vice-President of Zambia, last week denied the suggestion in a newspaper that the copper mines might be nationalized without compensation.

MR. R. S. WALKER, vice-chairman of the Rhodesian subsidiary of the Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, flew back to Rhodesia on Friday after a short business visit to London.

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, Minister for External Affairs in Kenya, was received by THE QUEEN on Monday. He is to visit Egypt and Kuwait on his way back to Nairobi.

MR. A. E. S. CHARLES, Speaker of the Legislative Council in Aden, who was made a Knight Bachelor in the Birthday Honours List, served in the Sudan for many years.

MR. MAX WILSON, deputy chairman of South African Shipping (Pty.), Ltd., has announced that a 19,000-ton one-class liner costing £6.5m. is to be built to carry 1,600 passengers. Sailing under the South African flag, it will do the voyage to Lisbon in nine days, to Southampton in 10, and to Rotterdam in 11.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., is back in London after a two-months' visit to the United States, where he addressed many meetings on behalf of the English Speaking Union.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR UGANDA and MRS. BAZARRABUSA gave a reception at the Commonwealth Institute last week in honour of DR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda.

MR. N. PATEL, Speaker of the National Assembly of Uganda, is in London until the end of the month as a guest of the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

LORD ALDINGTON, chairman of National & Grindlays Bank, gave a luncheon in London last week for the PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA and members of his delegation to the Commonwealth Conference.

LORD NETHERTHORPE has joined the board of the Steetley Company. He has been chairman of the Fisons group since the end of 1962 and is a director of the Richard Costain group, both of which have Central African subsidiaries.

MR. GEORGE THOMSON, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, is in Washington for an Anglo-American Parliamentary Conference on Africa which will last from today until Sunday. It has been arranged by John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

MR. N. R. HEATHCOTE, Deputy High Commissioner in London for Rhodesia, will be Acting High Commissioner until BRIGADIER ANDREW SKEEN arrives on July 21 as successor to MR. EVAN CAMPBELL.

Passengers for Mombasa in the BRAEMAR CASTLE include MR. & MRS. L. H. W. BAILEY, MR. & MRS. T. H. M. FRANKLIN, MR. G. J. P. FRASER, DR. & MRS. R. A. JONES, the REV. & MRS. A. D. LAMONT, MR. & MRS. F. C. T. LANE, and MR. & MRS. T. H. J. WEAR.

PRINCE WILLIAM, elder son of the DUKE and DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER, is to go to Lagos in the autumn as Third Secretary on the staff of the British High Commissioner in Nigeria. The DUKE and DUCHESS have repeatedly visited East Africa where the DUCHESS stayed for considerable periods with her uncle, the late LORD FRANCIS SCOTT.

MR. JIM REDMAN, the world champion motor cyclist from Rhodesia, won the Junior Tourist Trophy race in the Isle of Man last week at a speed of 100.72 m.p.h., the first time the 100-mile mark had been beaten in the 350 c.c. class. He had already finished first in the 250 c.c. class, setting up the record of winning both events in each of three successive years.

An application by MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, the African nationalist leader, to have his restriction order set aside, has been rejected by the High Court of Rhodesia, which found it valid. An order against MR. RHAMANBHAI NAIK, an Asian supporter of MR. NKOMO, was ruled invalid because part of the restriction area is African national land and therefore not the natural habitat of a non-African.

MR. JOSIAH CHINAMANO, chief lieutenant of MR. NKOMO, one of the African nationalist leaders, MRS. CHINAMANO, and another African, MR. DANIEL MADZIMBAMUTO, have been restricted to Wha Wha camp for five years. Mr. Chinamano told journalists that he had been arrested in Bulawayo and accused of subversive activities. Two months ago his wife and he were released after a year in restriction.

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Economic Development and Planning, said in Nairobi last week on returning from visits to Britain, France, and Italy, that while Britain had done and was still doing a great deal to aid Kenya, she could not supply all that was necessary for Kenya's development programme, and that the country would have to turn increasingly to the Continent of Europe for investment and technical and economic co-operation.

ZAMBIA



For information APPLY TO
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER for the
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

7-11 Cavendish Place, London, W.1.

Telephone: LAngham 0691

President Kaunda on His Struggle

First Priority Given to Education

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia, who received the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from the University of Sussex last week, said on that occasion:—

"Words are not my forte. I have always led a fighting life, in a struggle which always had in view the ultimate independence of my people. My struggle has caused me to be called many things—criminal, a wild man, a black mamba, an agitator. Once I was even called a diplomat.

"Is this the reputation which has led the University of Sussex to honour me today? No, Mr. Vice-Chancellor. A university searches for truth, and in that search goes behind the facade of accepted views to seek out the true nature of things. I am honoured today for what I really am—a man with two rôles, first as the leader of my country, and secondly as a politician.

"In my political rôle I have always tried to lead the people of my country, without regard to race or creed, to a better life, a life in which each individual is valued because he is a human being. It is to this end that my struggle has been dedicated—to service to man, for only in the service of mankind as a whole can anyone find real happiness and fulfil his destiny.

Essential Dignity of Man

"My struggle in the past centred on political independence, on ensuring that every individual in Zambia was given political rights and afforded the dignity entitled to all who are created in the image of God. Now my struggle and my dedication will be to ensure that this essential dignity of man is not denigrated by poverty, ignorance, and disease.

"I shall continue to fight to ensure that my people are freed from economic oppression, as they have now been freed from political oppression. Because I am first of all a politician, most of my fight will be for the people of Zambia. Should those who do not understand the necessity for creating conditions in which man can fulfil his destiny label me again a wild man, I ask you to remember this message.

"Unselfishness is an essential attribute of man as created by God. I therefore give a pledge that other unfortunates, still faced with economic or political oppression and thereby restrained from developing as individuals, will not be absent from the thoughts and policies of the Government and people of Zambia".

This is the President's third honorary degree.

In an address to the boys of the sixth form of Lancing College on the same day he said:

Haves and Have-Nots in Zambia

"The years of popular political discontent gave rise to a crisis of expectations on the part of my people. We too, have the problem of the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. When my countrymen look at the Copperbelt and the line-of-rail and see modern highways, modern individually designed buildings, street lighting, two-car families, etc., they very naturally expect something like this level to be provided throughout the country.

"Giving everyone the high standards of our better-off citizens cannot be done for a long time; but it is the firm intention of my Government to improve living standards for all our 'have-nots', although we realize that real progress will take many years to achieve.

"As with the world at large, the rate of development continues to be much higher in the wealthier areas than in the poorer. Left to themselves the wealthier sections would continue to expand more rapidly than the remainder of the country.

"The potentials for rapid development are greater in

those areas which now enjoy higher levels of income and services, for Zambia's wealth flows from two main sources—the copper mines and commercial agriculture along the line-of-rail. Nearly 60% of our gross domestic product comes from these two sources. Together they account for 98% of our export earnings.

"The rural population has little contact with the sources of wealth. Only through redistribution can Government use our increased wealth to reduce the differences in income levels. This problem is in part the result of unplanned private sector activities over the past 40 years.

Major Aim of Development Plan

"This the major aim of our economic development plan is to make the economy less dependent on minerals whilst ensuring that economic advance is spread as widely as possible. But this cannot be done by holding back mineral developments. We need the mineral output to earn foreign exchange. Pushing mineral production needs balancing; otherwise we should add to the already excessive income differentials.

"Public expenditures must more than balance the necessary developments in mining; and the need for foreign exchange means that export industries must be efficient, even though this leads to substitution of capital for labour as real wages rise.

"Unlike many other developing countries, Zambia has both the financial resources and foreign exchange earnings for a prolonged period of investment and economic development. Our 1964 balance-of-payments surplus on current account probably exceeded £30m., and the Government's budget surplus on recurrent account is likely to be about £18m.

"This very satisfactory position has been achieved without a deliberate policy of import substitution and with one of the lowest direct and indirect tax burdens in the world. We thus have opportunity to increase public expenditures substantially if a foreign exchange shortage becomes imminent or the Government's budget position becomes tighter there are available savings of foreign exchange and additional tax fields readily at hand.

"It is a shortage of real resources, particularly man-power and domestic capacity for capital construction, which is holding back the rate of investment. It is the shortage of prepared products, the absence of knowledge of the technical qualities of our soils and waters, and the limited capacity of our transport system which prevents us from increasing the rate of investment.

Desperate Shortage of Skills

"The primary cause of the low absorptive capacity is the desperate shortage of educated and skilled people. Neglect of the education of our people was the greatest crime committed during the period of Colonial rule and the years of federation.

"We became independent only nine months ago, and figures produced at that time showed that no more than 1,000 Africans out of a population of four million had achieved 'O' levels of education or above. Fewer than 100 Africans in Zambia have university degrees.

"Because the administrative system cannot be operated without educated and skilled people, my Government has given education first priority in its development programme, and has planned for an expansion of the secondary school population unprecedented anywhere in the world. There is to be 100% increase in secondary school entrants next year.

"Many people think we are doing too much—that even if we build schools we shall be unable to find the teachers; that even if we found the teachers there would not be sufficient students well enough prepared to take advantage of the educational opportunities; that the pressure we are putting on the educational system may lead to lower standards. It is my Government's view that this is a risk well worth taking. Should standards fall—and we do not think they will—they can be raised again in the fullness of time.

"Increased agricultural productivity is our second priority. In a country so vast as Zambia this involves untraditional approaches to agricultural pricing, transport, and marketing. It requires imagination and a willingness to take risks—and our highly successful copper industry allows us to risk making a few mistakes in the interests of speed and equity. Not many less developed countries can afford to be bold and daring".

Jehovah's Witnesses in Zambia have agreed not to mention any political party in their preaching and to tell inquirers that individuals must decide such matters for themselves.

Excavations near Monze, Zambia, have revealed a Late Stone Age settlement. The carbon process has dated finds on the site as ranging from about 2800 to 1700 B.C.

Letters to the Editor**"Knocking" in the Brave New Britain**
Culpability of the Politicians

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—For the best part of a decade the white residents of Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, and South Africa have been subjected to a ceaseless "knocking" campaign by British politicians of all parties. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was ruined by British professional "knockers". Thousands of our own kinsmen in Kenya have lost all as a result of unremitting "knocking", emphatically by the British Socialists and their packs of Negrophilist hyenas and jackals.

"A vast knocking campaign against the Government", growls Mr. George Brown, First Secretary of State; and he goes on to name parts of the Press and the City of London as the culprits. "Knocking" presumably includes distortions of intent, deliberate twisting of historical facts, personal and class smears, dishonest use of information services, biased news, cunningly arranged interviews contrived to put into the victim's mouth words that he never used, mendacious propaganda, threats against public corporations and associations, fomenting suspicion between class and class and between one race and another . . . in fact, all the paraphernalia of hatred and mistrust employed by Goebbels, Stalin, and Mussolini.

It must be very galling for the proletarian oligarchy to find that it has no monopoly of these loathsome weapons. But, short of imposing on Britain a one-party State, with the First Secretary acting the part of some Nkrumah or Trujillo, what can be done? "Knocking" is no legal offence—any more than robbing the Burmah Oil Company or filching the royalties of the Chartered Company or conspiring to destroy the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Indeed, "knocking" is just as much a national sport of the new brave Britain as soccer, striking, or bingo.

The First Secretary has several bodies to which he can complain. The League against Cruel Sports would no doubt listen with sympathy and persuade some private member to clutter up the law still further by a bill to outlaw the baiting of Marxists by the bourgeoisie. Then there is the Security Council. Let Mr. Shastri allege that the state of Britain is "explosive" and threatens world peace, or suggest to Tunku Abdul Rahman that Britain does not match up to the democratic requirements of the "Commonwealth". Perhaps W.H.O. could be persuaded to interest itself in Britain's mental health, or O.A.U. to insist that Britain's coloured population is not getting adequate proteins or recognition in the Birthday Honours.

The only alternative is that the "knockers" should add to sleaziness any and every device calculated to cripple permanently our "rotten" politicians (*vide* Mr. S. de Ferranti) and give the British people a chance to recover from the most incompetent and disreputable administration of modern times.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Brown's pathetic squeal will not be lost on the Rhodesian chiefs who recently visited Britain, and who are themselves the victims of bi-partisan "knocking" and of every conceivable political chicanery in the armoury of the Government propaganda machine.

Yours faithfully,

Southampton.

RAYMOND BYRNE.

A Rhodesian View of the Commonwealth**Is It A Bulwark Against Communism?**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA
SIR.—Mr. J. B. Johnston, British High Commissioner in Rhodesia, is reported to have told Umtali Rotary Club that the only people who stood to gain from a break-up of the Commonwealth were the Communists.

He said that this was now one world, all countries being neighbours and living in the same century politically, though the most unquiet century ever, in which immense forces of emotion and opinion had been unleashed, with the free world and Communism in conflict. The world would "go bust" if the millions now living below subsistence level were not brought into the world trading community within the next half-century.

The High Commissioner did not believe that anyone really wanted Britain to pull out of the African Commonwealth countries, taking away the Commonwealth assistance loans, technical experts, teachers, and army officers, sending home the 16,000 students now studying in Britain, and leaving the field clear for the Russians and Chinese.

We in Rhodesia are not so sure that the Commonwealth really is such a bulwark against Communism. Events in Tanzania, for instance, where the Prime Minister of Communist China received a rapturous welcome the other day, are scarcely encouraging.

That representatives of 21 Commonwealth countries should gather round the same table in Marlborough House has not much impressed Rhodesians, whose own Prime Minister has been excluded. Following the vogue of counting heads for votes, the United Kingdom is now a mere junior partner in the Commonwealth; and she regularly allows herself to be pushed around by more vocal and populous Commonwealth peoples.

As to the suggestion that it is Commonwealth or Communism, does the Commonwealth speak on that ideology with one voice? I think not. We Rhodesians can look after ourselves in the matter of Communist infiltration. And is Commonwealth membership such an advantage in the present disturbed state of the world? That is not to say that we are not fully aware of the aid so generously distributed to underdeveloped countries by British taxpayers.

While the Commonwealth may survive as a currency and trading area, and while Rhodesia is proud to have contributed much to the Commonwealth in peace and war, how can it be suggested that it remains a true Commonwealth of Nations when so many independent African and Asian States publicly boast that they are "unaligned" with the Commonwealth and some openly demonstrate their friendliness to Communism?

Yours faithfully,

Salisbury.

RHODESIAN.

Disgraceful

THE B.B.C. BROADCAST on Monday evening a short interview with Mr. Evan Campbell which had been recorded before he left London on retiring from the office of High Commissioner for Rhodesia. He denounced as "disgraceful" the decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to exclude the Rhodesian Prime Minister from their conferences, and remarked that African political leaders seemed always to think and talk in terms of boycotts.

Zambia has given notice to leave the African Postal and Telecommunications unions a year hence because South Africa is a member of both.

Recruitment this year of 1,000 teachers for overseas countries is the aim of the Ministry of Overseas Development, which recruited 801 last year.

White Farmers Help Africans Swift Success of Rhodesian Plan

MR. C. G. TRACEY, who is chairman of the Rhodesian Promotion Council, president of the Cotton Growing Association, vice-president of the National Farmers' Union, and chairman of the African Farming Development Company, told journalists in London last week of the work done by the last-named organization.

What he refrained from saying was that he and Mr. T. R. Stanning, son of a well-known settler family in Kenya, were the pioneers of the voluntary scheme under which white farmers in the Centenary district help their African neighbours in the Chiweshe tribal trust area by giving them advice, by deep ploughing their land, by lending them money for the purchase of seeds, fertilizers and insecticide, and by advising on the crops as they grow.

Incomes of £300 to £500

This practical demonstration of good-neighbourliness has been so eagerly welcomed by Africans of all ages that co-ordination of the many individual efforts has become necessary. African Farming Development has therefore been registered as a private non-profit-making company, (a) to increase as rapidly as possible the agricultural productivity of African farmers, and so stimulate economic and social development in the rural areas, and (b) by expansion of the work to create a national market for locally manufactured machinery, fertilizers, insecticides, fuels and consumer goods, and for transport, banking, and other services.

About 150 Africans in the Chiweshe area are each now practising sound husbandry on eight to 12-acre plots, with the consequence that their cash incomes in the first year have risen from practically nothing to between £300 and £500, with the likelihood that the average for the second year will be about £600.

In that tribal trust area there are some 5,500 African farmers. The 150 who have accepted the guidance

and help of their European neighbours already have between them a cash return higher than that of the remaining 5,350.

The help given by the Europeans has been entirely voluntary, except that as the plan expanded it became necessary to employ an agronomist. When the African beneficiaries were asked if they would pay half his salary when their crops were sold, the reply was that they wanted to pay the whole salary themselves.

Africans Prefer Europeans

Later, as more and more tribesmen emulated the initiative of neighbours, they were told that one agronomist could not do all the work and that it was intended to find him African assistants for training. "No", said the Africans; "engage more Europeans. We want the best help and will pay for it".

European and African farmers have travelled from all parts of Rhodesia to see what is being done, and the work, now well past the experimental stage, is soon to spread to another 10 or 12 localities.

About £350 a year is required to finance each African farmer, and substantial loan capital is therefore needed for wide and rapid expansion of the pilot project. Mr. Tracey said that funds in hand would suffice for the current year, but that in 1966 at least £100,000, and perhaps as much as £250,000, would be needed. Security for the lenders was provided by marketing the crops through a co-operative organization to which each farmer gave stop orders against the proceeds of the sale of his maize, oil seeds, cotton, and burley tobacco.

The African-grown burley leaf was of such good quality that last season the average price paid for it was 4d. per lb. above the average for the whole country's production from European and African lands taken together.

Asked if there had been obstruction by African political extremists, Mr. Tracey said that it had been tried but had now completely evaporated at Chiweshe, where it had been shown that Africans, aided by private enterprise, could quickly change their standards of living completely.

The African farmers were encouraged to spend their unexpectedly high incomes on the purchase of better foods, clothes for themselves and their wives and children, bicycles, radios, furniture, and other household necessities. They were thus becoming a middle class of small capitalists, and were likely to resist trouble-making politicians and propagandists for Communism. That was a by-product of the plan, not its purpose, which had been to raise African living standards and increase the national market for secondary industries of all kinds.

Agriculture Could Be Revolutionized

Seeing that scope for the sale of their goods could be expanded by the scheme, local companies had lent considerable sums, and during his recent visits to the United States and England Mr. Tracey had had talks with financial and commercial enterprises and international foundations which were disposed to provide further funds.

The pilot project, which had no parallel anywhere in Africa, provided a pattern for emulation elsewhere, and visitors from any country would be warmly welcomed.

If a quarter of the estimated 500,000 African farmers in the tribal trust lands of Rhodesia decided to operate on Chiweshe lines, their output would have a market value in excess of the annual receipts of Rhodesia's tobacco industry, her main source of income. They would then represent enormously enhanced buying power.

The output of European agriculture in Rhodesia was now worth about £65m. annually, and the farmers spent nearly £6m. on fertilizers and insecticides. African agriculture produced nearly £3m. a year in cash, apart from providing food for the growers, but Africans spent only about £153,000 on fertilizers.

Community development by private enterprise on the lines described could, Mr. Tracey insisted, quickly revolutionize agriculture and bring great social and economic benefits.

Mr. Leo Baron

ASKED IN PARLIAMENT what representations he had made to the Rhodesian authorities concerning the restrictions placed on the movements of Mr. Leo Baron, a British citizen resident in Bulawayo, Mr. Bottomley replied: "Mr. Baron is, I understand, also a Rhodesian citizen, and this is a matter entirely for the Rhodesian authorities. I have, however, been in contact with the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London about the matter".

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

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Anglo-Rhodesian Society Formed

Twelve Members of Council

THE ANGLO-RHODESIAN SOCIETY has been formed in London to replace the Friends of Rhodesia. Its purposes are "to provide a channel for the maintenance and expansion of understanding, friendship, contacts, and goodwill between all people of the United Kingdom and Rhodesia, and in particular to spread knowledge of Rhodesia in Britain".

Brigadier A. W. A. Llewellyn Palmer has been elected chairman.

The 11 other members of the council are Lord Colyton, Earl De La Warr, Major-General W. A. Dimoline, General Sir Richard Gale, the Hon. Sir Geoffrey Gibbs, Sir Archibald James, Mr. F. S. Joelson, the Hon. C. M. Napier, Mr. John Robinson, Lord Wakefield of Kendal, and Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P.

The secretary is Mr. T. P. Lawler, who will be glad to hear from anyone interested in the purposes of the society and anxious to join it. His temporary offices are at 7, Berkeley Street, London, W.1. The annual subscription is £1. Mr. T. D. Lardner-Burke is the honorary treasurer.

A small executive committee is to be appointed by the council. Formation of provincial branches is intended.

M.Ps.' Motion on Commonwealth

REFERENCES TO RHODESIA appear in a motion on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference tabled a few days ago by 11 M.Ps.—Sir Peter Agnew, Sir Eric Bullus, Sir Donald Kaberry, Sir Stephen McAdden, Sir Derek Walker-Smith, Dr. Wyndham Davies and Messrs. John Biggs-Davison, Anthony Fell, M. Clark Hutchinson, Robin Turton, and Patrick Wall. It reads:—

"That this House reaffirms its faith in a Commonwealth based upon the need and desire of peoples to maintain their sovereignty in partnership with others; recalls India's five principles, enunciated by the late Jawaharlal Nehru, namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs of an economic, political or ideological character, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence; considers that the timing and conditions of Rhodesian independence are matters exclusively for H.M. Government and the Rhodesian Government; trusts that nothing will be done to provoke a unilateral declaration of independence; urges political leaders and parties in Rhodesia to eschew violence and work the Constitution; urges H.M. Government further to assist the educational and economic advancement, and thus the political emancipation, of all in Rhodesia; deprecates threats of economic or other sanctions against the Republic of South Africa as self-defeating, contrary to the aforesaid five principles and likely to harm the promotion by H.M. Government of the prosperity and independence of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland; would welcome with full respect to the sovereignty of India and Pakistan a settlement within the Commonwealth of their disagreements over the Rann of Kutch and over Kashmir; believes that this would facilitate combined sub-continental defence strategy on the lines already suggested by Field-Marshal Ayub Khan; recognizes India's reluctance either to make nuclear weapons or to commit herself to a military alliance with the United States of America and congratulates H.M. Government on deploying British nuclear as well as conventional forces east of Suez; therefore considers that the said Government deserves Commonwealth support in holding the necessary base and staging facilities from Gibraltar to Singapore; further congratulates H.M. Government in the United Kingdom, supported by H.M. Governments in Australia and New Zealand, on aiding the defence of Malaysia, whose independence and integrity are the concern to the whole Commonwealth; and foresees a special rôle for the Commonwealth in the eventual settlement of South-East Asia".

A Rhodesian African employed by Rhodesia Railways as an industrial relations assistant, Mr. Peter Chibi, has been expelled from Zambia as "an undesirable inhabitant". At one time he was branch chairman in Broken Hill of the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

New Cabinet in Sudan Three Seats for Southerners

SAYED MOHAMED AHMED MAHGOUN, who has been elected Prime Minister of the Sudan (of which he was formerly Foreign Minister) appointed a Cabinet consisting of:—

Sayed Ibrahim El Mufti, Minister of Finance and Economics; Sayed Abdulla Abdel Rahman Nugdalla, Minister of Local Government; Sayed Mohamed Ahmed El Mardi, Minister of Commerce, Industries and Supply; Sayed Mohamed Ibrahim Khalil, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice; Sayed Hassan Awadalla, Minister of Education; Sayed Hussein Sharif El Hindi, Minister of Irrigation; Sayed Abdel Rahman El Nur, Minister of Information and Labour;

Sayed Ahmed Bukhari, Minister of Health; Sayed Nasr El Din El Sayed, Minister of Communications; Sayed Abdel Hamid Salih, Minister of Cabinet Affairs; Sayed Abdel Magid Abu Hassabou, Minister of Works and Mineral Resources; and Sayed Ahmed El Mahdi, Minister of Interior.

Three seats which he kept for representatives of the Southern Provinces have since been filled by Mr. Andrew Wei, as Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Benjamin Lockie, as Minister of Animal Resources; and Mr. Alfred Woe Akoie, as Minister of State.

A Supreme Council of State has been elected, with Sayed Ismail Al Azhari as Permanent Chairman. The other members are Sayeds Abdel Hakim Mohamed, Luigi Adok, Khidir Hamad, Abdullah Alfidil El Mahdi, and D. C. Catter (a former student of Makerere College, Uganda).

Political Solution Possible

UNDER THE TITLE "Rhodesia: The Political Background", Mr. B. Hutton-Williams has written a 21-page pamphlet for the British Society for International Understanding. He ends this compilation of the essential basic information with the words: "Rhodesia is in the process of becoming a nation. Africans, Europeans, Asians, and Coloureds are still in the process of becoming Rhodesians. Many of all races need to understand what makes a village, a town, and a potentially great country 'tick'. If funds could be found and administered properly to speed up all forms of education, a political solution based on the co-operation of all races within the framework of the 1961 Constitution is not impossible. Have passions risen so high that it cannot be attempted?"

The Government of Uganda offers 5s. for young crocodiles "of the size of the domestic lizard".

Unanimous approval to the one-party State proposals was given last week by the Tanzanian Parliament.

A week's visit to Yugoslavia has been paid by a three-member delegation of the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions.

An emergency grant of £15,000 has been offered by Oxfam to the Rhodesian Freedom from Hunger Committee on condition that it raises a similar sum itself.

A Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee publication entitled "Language and Communication in the Commonwealth" has been published by H.M. Stationery Office at 3s.

An R.S.P.C.A. official at London Airport complained last week that two baby hyenas sent from Tanzania for Edinburgh Zoo had been packed in cardboard boxes with hessian covering without side ventilation or food.

After spending 10 months in Moscow on courses in labour movement activities, two Africans from Uganda have returned home. They are representatives of the Uganda Printing Workers' Union and the National Union of Plantation Workers.

The Mozambique Government announces that Portuguese civilians, aided by a small army unit, recently captured in the Cape Delgado area members of a terrorist gang and considerable arms and supplies. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the intruders, who killed a European warrant officer.

American Attitude to Rhodesia Pledge to Support British Government

MR. MENNEN WILLIAMS, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the United States, said in Chicago last week that if asked to do so the United States should give the fullest support to the British Government in whatever actions it might take in connexion with independence for Rhodesia.

In the event of a unilateral declaration of independence, Britain could be sure of United States co-operation.

In the course of his speech Mr. Williams said:—

"A unilateral break in the constitutional relations of Southern Rhodesia with the United Kingdom by the Southern Rhodesian Government would cause inevitable political, economic, and social chaos in the country. I am firmly convinced that an illegal minority Government in Southern Rhodesia would not find international support or recognition. I therefore urge in the most serious manner and with the utmost good will that the Southern Rhodesian Government recognize the full consequences of an act of rebellion.

No Formula Offered

Many of the actions that would be forced upon the United States, Britain, and other Governments in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence would not be happy ones for any of those concerned.

The United States firmly believed that the British Government, with their broad experience in matters of decolonization and their determination to see justice done for all the inhabitants, would do all they could to ameliorate the situation. He hoped Rhodesians would recognize the seriousness of the world's concern with events in their country.

The United States had no formula to advance beyond the rightful and natural one of timely majority rule. The ways, the means, and the pace at which the goal was achieved were for Rhodesians, black and white, to work out with the help of Britain.

Describing United States relations with Rhodesia as "correct but cool", Mr. Williams said the American Consulate in Salisbury dealt with the Rhodesian Government as a British Colony accorded internal autonomy by Britain. A unilateral declaration of independence would not alter the basic legal or policy views of the United States.

"Let me make our position crystal clear, so there will be no misunderstanding. The United States will support the British Government to the fullest extent, if asked to do so, in its efforts to reach a solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem. We would also support the British Government to the fullest extent in case of a unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia."

American investment in industry, mining and agriculture in Rhodesia was estimated at \$56m.

It was not true that the United States was supplying arms or equipment to Rhodesia. Such items had not been supplied since the dissolution of the Federation, and the operation of the Agency for International Development in Rhodesia, which had never been very large, had been terminated completely on June 30 last year. A successful information programme was maintained in Rhodesia, however, and student scholarship programmes brought about 50 young people a year to the United States from Rhodesia.

The Vatican and Kenya have decided to establish diplomatic relations.

The U.N. Anti-Colonial Committee ended its session in Addis Ababa last week by recommending the Security Council to meet on African soil.

Interest-free loans may be granted by Britain to developing countries in special cases, the Minister of Overseas Development told the House of Commons on Monday.

An African schoolboy was battered by spectators enraged because he had scored two goals for his school, which won by six goals to two.

The official U.N.I.P. newspaper, *Zambia Pilot*, wrote recently: "When Banda goes the whole psychopathic set-up will perish and Malawi will be born again." The Malawi Government has called upon U.N.I.P. to dissociate itself from the article.

The statement of the opposition to all forms of revolution made by the Kenya African National Union, the Kenyatta party, has been challenged by the publicity secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union, who has asked K.A.N.U. to define its attitude to the Zanzibar Revolution.

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Tanzania's Expenditure Rises £1.9m.

Defence Vote Now About £2.2m.

TANGANYIKA'S BUDGET provides for expenditure of £44,836,779 on its Ministries and Departments during the next year, an increase of £1.9m. on the 1964-65 total. Net recurrent expenditure increases to £36.4m. from £34.5m.

The largest increase is for the Ministry of Home Affairs, which rises by £625,000 to just over £5m. An expansion of 369 men in the security establishment in Zanzibar adds £100,000 in personal emoluments, and the establishment of a police marine unit and of a police parachute field force unit will cost £60,000 and £68,000 respectively. Of an additional £270,852 for prisons half is needed to feed "the regrettably steady rise in prison population."

The allocation for education is £6.5m., an increase of £608,000, of which primary education accounts for £277,000, secondary education £108,000, and teacher training and technical education £85,000.

The Defence and National Service vote goes up by £450,000 to rather more than £2.2m. The Tanzania People's Defence Forces will cost just under £1.5m. (£1.25m.), the Air Wing receiving an extra £50,000, and £20,000 being spent initially on establishing a naval wing.

Expenditure on the Ministry of External Affairs will double, the provision amounting to £785,860, compared with £394,542, partly owing to new embassies in Addis Ababa, Paris, and Ottawa, and the cost of maintaining embassies recently opened in Stockholm, Moscow, Washington, Peking and Cairo.

The vote of the Ministry of Commerce and Co-operatives is increased by £329,000 to £753,000.

There are subventions of £200,000 to the Kilombero Sugar Company, £220,000 to the Mwananchi Publishing Company, and £100,000 to the National Sugar Board.

Expenditure on the health services will rise from just under £2.5m. to £2.6m.

Recurrent costs of Radio Tanzania exceed £200,000.

The Ministry of Community Development and National Culture will cost £420,000, of which £31,462 will be spent on celebrations and festivals.

Higher Taxes in Uganda to Raise £1½m.

P.A.Y.E. System To Be Introduced

A SEVEN PER CENT CUT in the expenditure of Ministries in Uganda, saving £1.5m., was mentioned by Mr. Kalule-Settate, the Finance Minister, in his budget speech in the National Assembly. New tax proposals should raise £1.5m.

Recurrent expenditure of £33.3m. would exceed the provision for the past year by £4.1m. Recurrent revenue for the past year at £32.9m. would be £2.3m. above the original estimate, mainly because of higher customs and excise receipts.

The company income tax rate, leviable on incomes earned in 1964, would rise from 7s. 6d. to 8s. in the £1. On 1965 profits a corporation tax of 7s. 6d. would be payable. The pay-as-you-earn system of income tax collection would operate from July next year.

The child allowance for income tax purposes would be £96 for each of the first four children, and £48 per fifth and sixth children. Deductions in respect of air and ocean passages would cease.

Under the pay-as-you-earn system a flat rate tax of 2s. 6d. in the £ would be paid on all chargeable incomes, plus a graduated surtax on chargeable incomes over £1,000, the surcharge ranging from 3s. to 12s. (over £10,000).

Trustees and executors would pay at the rate of 7s. 6d. in the £. Tax on interests would be 2s. 6d. in the £ if paid to an individual, but otherwise 7s. 6d.

10% on Hotel, Restaurant and Club Bills

Duty on motor-cars, motor-cycles and some heavy vehicles would be increased by 5%, and on other vehicles by 30%. Vehicle spare parts and accessories would also pay 30%, and petrol an additional 10 cents of a shilling per gallon. Sugar would pay an extra 5 cents per lb., and beer 5 cents per bottle. A consumption tax of 20 cents was also proposed on beer.

The textile industry will pay a tax of 25 cents per lb. of local lint used.

It was intended to introduce a Bill to impose a 10% surcharge on hotel, restaurant, and residential club bills.

There would be a deficit of £10.1m. on development account for the past year, and development expenditure for the next year would be reduced to £17m.

The cost of the Uganda Army and Air Force would rise by £1.1m.

Recurrent revenue in 1965-66 was estimated at £28.8m., a fall of £1.8m. on the approved estimates for 1964-65 and of £4.1m. on the revised estimates. It was not prudent to estimate receipts from the export duty on cotton at more than £2.1m., compared with the revised estimate of £7.7m. for the past year.

Uganda's robusta coffee production had now reached 170,000 tons, but robusta was now being grown in many parts of the world and output was above consumer demand. In order to maintain payments to the growers at 40 cents per lb. of kiboko £4.2m. had recently been withdrawn from the price assistance fund, reducing its resources to £1.5m.

The Zanzibar Government has expropriated another 34 farms in Zanzibar and Pemba.

The 53 chiefs from Rhodesia who were recently in Britain toured Portugal last week at the invitation of the Government.

Forty Chinese lorries for the Tanzanian Army were handed over in Dar es Salaam last week by the Ambassador, Ho Ying.

Two leaders of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association have spent a week in Uganda as guests of the Association of Uganda Journalists. They have now returned to Djakarta, Indonesia.

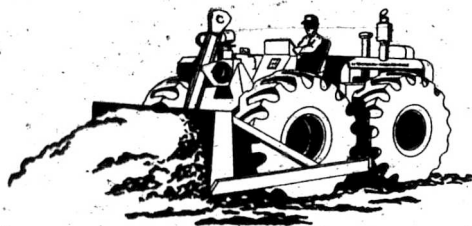
The Rhodesian Front's Que Que branch has asked electors in the constituency to write to their M.P.s. if they ever feel that the Government is departing from the party's principle or handling affairs unsatisfactorily.

Leopoldville Radio has relayed reports from Bujumbura of "a subversive network designed to overthrow Mwami Mwambutsa IV" organized by Chinese Communists, described as "Chinese philosophers of subversion".

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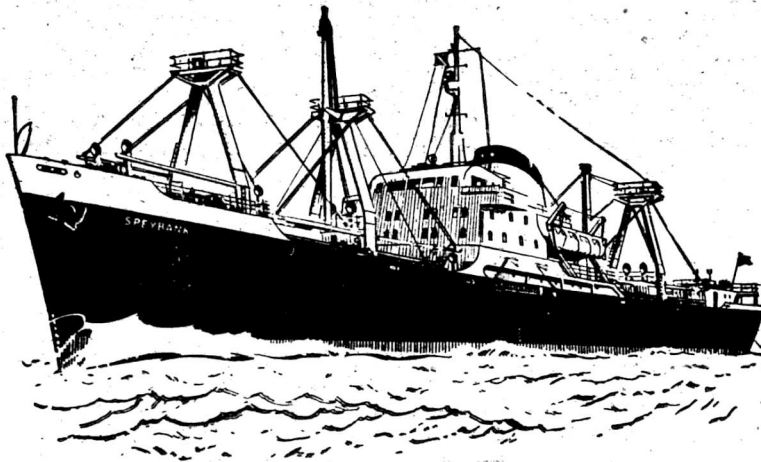
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Lumumba Institute Asks for Money

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Vice-President of Kenya, who was largely responsible for the building of the Lumumba Institute near Nairobi with Russian money, an institute opened in December when Kenya became a republic, has now said that it has not the funds for its second course.

Speaking at the week-end, when 85 branch officials of the Kenya African National Union completed their indoctrination course, he appealed for help from the East and West, saying: "Condemnation of capitalism and Communism without understanding of them will not help the people of Kenya to solve their problems objectively. There is a good side to capitalism. We can know what is good and what is bad only after we have studied both ideologies."

It had been intended to start courses in journalism, "but our finances have drained out, and we have nothing in our purse to begin our next course."

The board of Governors was determined, he said, to run the institute privately, not under Government auspices. The resolution of the House of Representatives had merely decided that the institute must be registered under the Education Act.

Two Russian lecturers are the only Europeans to have been employed.

The *Daily Telegraph* commented:—

"Violence, rape and civil war marked the short premiership of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. Guiltless African and European hostages were slaughtered last year at his monument in Stanleyville. What exactly the Lumumba Institute is teaching in Kenya is unknown to the British public. But, being short of funds for the next graduation course, Mr. Odinga turns to Britain for more.

"President Kenyatta closed the Lumumba Institute in May in a fit of annoyance. The closure happened after a shipment of Russian arms had arrived in Mombassa in obscure circumstances. Mr. Kenyatta then issued a statement emphasizing that there was a bad side to Marxism. It seems that now the institute is open again; and it would not be surprising if a Lumumba flag day were organized for it in London."

Bishop's Prejudice Against Mozambique

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL replied in *The Times* on Monday to the letter from Bishop Huddleston which is the subject of comment in Notes By The Way in this issue. Lord Russell wrote:—

"I was very perturbed to read Bishop Huddleston's letter about the 'condonation by the Western Powers of Portuguese colonial domination in Mozambique and Angola', particularly as I so greatly admired the fight which he carried on for so long against the South African policy of *apartheid* when as Father Huddleston he was superintendent of the Anglican Mission School at Sophiatown, Johannesburg.

"If Bishop Huddleston would only look a little further than the boundaries of his diocese and take a careful look at some of the African countries which have during recent years obtained their so-called freedom, he might be a little less critical of Portuguese Africa.

"I have only just returned from an extensive visit to Mozambique and Angola, and I suggest that he should rid his mind of existing prejudices and do the same. If he would do this, with a free and open mind, I feel sure that he would have to admit that there are no other territories in the whole of Africa where the ordinary peace-loving, law-abiding African or coloured person can live more happily than they do in Mozambique or Angola; nor where there is such a complete absence of race discrimination. That is in my opinion an indisputable fact.

"Bishop Huddleston mentioned the constant fear in Tanzania of hostilities on a larger scale. Can he possibly be unaware of the fact that the only present threat to peace in Africa comes from the very country in which he has now been living for several years?"

An Uganda Government loan for £2m. has been issued at 9½. It bears interest at 6½%.

The Kay King-Hall Memorial Fund made grants in the past year of £3,200 for the education of young people in developing African countries.

The Government of the Somali Republic has suggested that the United Nations should administer French Somaliland for two years and that the country should then be granted independence.

The Tanzania People's Defence Force has sent nine members to Canada for training as pilots. They were under training in West Germany until the recent dispute over diplomatic representation.

The Ethiopian Ministry of Information has accused Somalia of sending troops across the border to deliver arms to bandits, and of "hurling falsehoods and provocative propaganda to cover up Somalia's evil designs."

The anniversary of Malawi independence is to be celebrated from July 5 to 7. The only invitations sent out of the country are to a few youth leaders in Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, and France.

The Ministry of Education in Kenya has been asked by the president of the United Students' Organization at the Lumumba Institute to intervene immediately in an alleged struggle for power between the principal, Mr. Matthew Mutiso, and the registrar, Mr. Oluande Kudul. A memorandum from the students also asks for a review of the composition of the board of management.

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Company Report**DWA PLANTATIONS LIMITED****Output and Earnings Increased****Mr. S. R. HOGG ON CURRENT PROSPECTS**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF DWA PLANTATIONS LIMITED was held on June 16 in London.

MR. S. R. HOGG, D.S.O., M.C., F.C.A., the Chairman, presided.

The Chairman had circulated to the shareholders with the directors' report and accounts for the year ended on December 31, 1964, a statement in the following terms:—

The profit for the year ended December 31, 1964, after charging all expenses, including provision for maintenance of sisal areas and depreciation of buildings and plant, but subject to taxation, amounted to £64,842, compared with £61,060 in 1963.

Sisal output was 1,855 tons, compared with 1,566 tons in 1963, an increase of nearly 20 per cent.

Sisal Prices

The output was sold at an average c.i.f. price for all grades of £125 10s. per ton, just slightly higher than the average c.i.f. price of £125 per ton realized for the 1963 output.

Sisal prices started to fall in June 1964, and by the end of the year 1964 there had been a fall of about £44 per ton in the price of the higher grades, and about £50 per ton in the price of the lower grades. Fortunately, we had sold well forward, and were thus able to show a good average price for the year.

In May 1964, the Kenya Government imposed a graduated export duty, and an amount of £8,601 was paid under this heading in 1964.

Production costs were again higher, due mainly to higher wage rates. These higher rates applied to the whole of 1964, whereas in 1963 the effect of the 50 per cent. increase granted in October 1963 was felt for three months only.

A provision has been made for Kenya taxation on the 1964 profits, which, with a transfer to taxation equalization reserve, amounts to £22,310. There is also a provision of £3,725 for United Kingdom income tax on dividends payable.

Dividends

An interim dividend of 5 per cent., less income tax, was paid in February 1965, on the ordinary shares on account of the year 1964, and the directors recommended the payment of a final dividend of 17½ per cent., less income tax, making a total of 22½ per cent. for the year ended December 31, 1964, the same as for 1963.

The preference shareholders have received their fixed 6 per cent. for 1964, and if the final dividend on the ordinary shares is approved, they will receive a participating dividend of 4 per cent., making 10 per cent. for the year, the maximum to which they are entitled.

During 1964, 320 acres were planted with sisal. Clearing of a further area was commenced during 1964 in preparation for this year's planting, and it is hoped that 400 acres will be planted.

Additions to the fixed assets, apart from the re-planting above referred to, included the building of more houses for the African employees and a further replacement of some of the tractors.

Despite the substantial additions to the fixed assets, net current assets at the end of 1964 were £52,500, slightly higher than the amount of £51,414 at the end of the previous year.

The high standard of the amenities we provide for our employees has been maintained and improved still further, and facilities for education of the children have been increased.

The estate consultative committee, elected by the employees, held regular meetings throughout the year, and many aspects of the welfare and working conditions of the employees were considered.

Current Year Prospects

The prospects for the current year are not good, owing to the severe fall in sisal prices. I referred earlier to the fall in prices which occurred between June and December 1964. During this year they have fallen by a further £10 per ton for all grades.

Of this year's output 479 tons have been sold at an average price for all grades of just under £90 per ton, but average current prices are below this level.

It is hoped that output will again reach 1,800 tons for this year. Output for the first four months of the year has been 593 tons.

As a result of the 1965 Budget, the company will lose its status as an overseas trade corporation. This statement is being prepared before the publication of the Finance Bill, but it would appear from the statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the company will be liable to corporation tax at a rate not yet determined, against which it can claim as a relief the Kenya tax it pays. United Kingdom income tax will be deductible from dividends at the standard rate, and the tax so deducted must be paid over to the Inland Revenue. The company will, therefore, in 1965 and following years have to provide for gross dividends out of taxed profits.

Our thanks are once more due to the general manager and his staff for their efforts which have contributed so substantially to the good results I have been able to report.

Chairman's Additional Remarks

Addressing the meeting, the Chairman said:—

I take this opportunity of bringing up to date the

information given in my circulated statement. Output for the five months to May 31, 1965, has been 739 tons, compared with 748 tons in the corresponding period of 1964.

Because of the failure of the March-April rains, it is most unlikely that the estimated output of 1,800 tons for the year will be reached, and the shortfall may be substantial.

Eight hundred tons of this year's output have been sold at an average c.i.f. price of about £88 10s. per ton.

Since my statement was circulated the 1965 Finance Bill has been published and, in the terms of the Bill, your company will lose its status as an overseas trade corporation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has, however, stated that he proposes to introduce an amendment whereby companies which previously were overseas trade corporations will be deemed to have paid in the base year a notional 53½ per cent. income tax and profits tax, and will be entitled to transitional relief of the excess of that amount over the rate of overseas tax paid. The amendment will provide for this relief to operate in full for three years, but to taper off over the following four years.

It has been calculated that had the provisions of the Finance Bill applied to the company's 1964 profits, it would have been necessary, in order to retain the same proportion of profits, to reduce the dividend on the ordinary shares by about 9 per cent. The proposed amendment would result in a less serious position, but it is estimated that, in order to pay the same dividends and maintain the same retentions for 1965 onwards, the company would have to increase its 1964 profits by £2,000 a year in the first three years, gradually rising to an additional £15,000 in 1972.

A Budget statement made in Nairobi on June 10 indicates an increase in the rate of Kenya tax from 7s. 6d. to 8s. in the pound.

The report and accounts were adopted.

The chairman of Roan Selection Trust, Ltd., Sir Ronald Prain, will address an informal meeting of shareholders in London on July 6.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sent a four-member Government and trade delegation to Tanzania to discuss increased trade.

Rhodesia's mineral production for the first four months of the year had a value of £10,246,414, an increase of more than 20% on the comparable figure for 1964.

The Malawi Farmers' Marketing Board is to pay half the cost of importing 8,000 tons of fertilizer so that it may be sold to the public at 12s. 6d. per 100lb. bag.

Copperbelt Labour Relations and Strikes

NDOLA COPPER REFINERY was justified in dismissing Mr. Cypriano Musonda, the Government's commission of inquiry into the consequent strike reports, but the company is recommended to offer him another job in some other plant of the group "as a gesture of good faith".

The Zambia Mineworkers' Union should, it is suggested, negotiate a better agreement with the mining companies, especially over the clause which precludes the union from discussing as of right any question concerning the demotion, suspension, or discharge of any worker.

Another recommendation is that all workers should be addressed as "Mr."

During 15 months in which a Mr. W. Nshumfiwa held office as acting chairman and then chairman of a branch of the union, 193,688 man-hours were lost. Continuation of the strike after his dismissal cost 112,408 man-hours, and "the point was reached where management and the local branch of the union appear to have lost any remaining confidence that may still have existed between them".

Union Minière's African Directors

IN AGREEMENT with Mr. Moise Tshombe, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Union Minière du Haut-Katanga has elected four African directors, namely M. Antoine Mwenda Munongo, aged 60, paramount chief of the Bayeke, and half-brother of the Minister of the Interior; M. Thomas Lumanga, a 39-year-old Lunda chief, and a civil brother of the Prime Minister; M. Boniface Mwepu, a civil servant who was at one time provincial secretary in Katanga and was the first mayor of Elisabethville; and M. Cyrille Nzao, a member of the staff of President Kasavubu. The board has also appointed M. Nguza, a counsellor in the Congolese Embassy in Brussels and a nephew of Mr. Tshombe, to be a commissaire of the company.

The railway union in Kenya has resolved on immediate withdrawal from the Kenya Federation of Labour.

Shareholders of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation have accepted the Government's take-over offer, which was based on an independent valuation.

In the first 12 weeks of this season's auctions in Salisbury about 95½m. lb. of flue-cured leaf were sold for £14.1m., an average of 35.46d. per lb. In the corresponding period last year just under 107m. lb. were sold for £12.6m., an average of 28.34d.

Tanganyika Diamond and Gold Development Co., Ltd., has dissolved its London committee, permission to deal in the company's shares having recently been cancelled by the London Stock Exchange. Dealings continue on the Johannesburg exchange.

Agrimach Tractors, Ltd., Uganda, a new company jointly sponsored by the Mehta and Madhvani groups, is to build a factory at Njeru to manufacture tractors under licence from a West German company. The enterprise is to be developed in three stages over five years, and will then have cost more than £1m.

Kakuzi Fibrelands, Ltd., Kenya, reports profits to February 28 of £209,782 before allowing for tax of £55,840. A final dividend of 5% on capital enabled by a scrip issue equals 10% for the year, against 17½%, the reduction being due to the heavy fall in sisal prices and the expectation of a substantially reduced coffee crop owing to drought.



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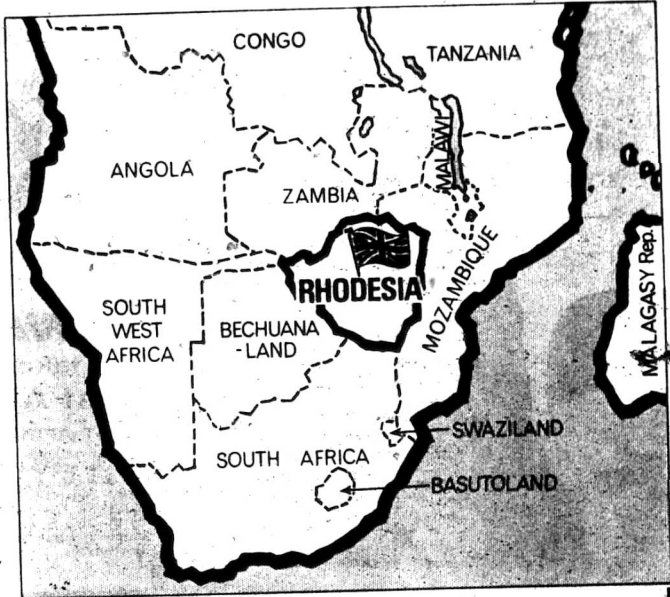
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Mr. Ian Smith,
Prime Minister,
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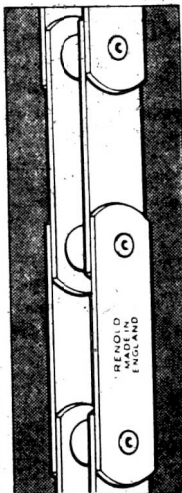
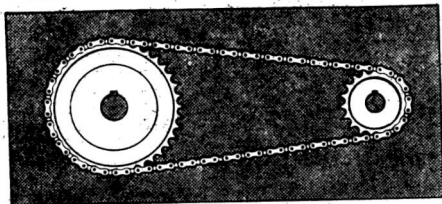
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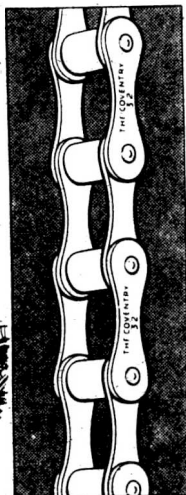
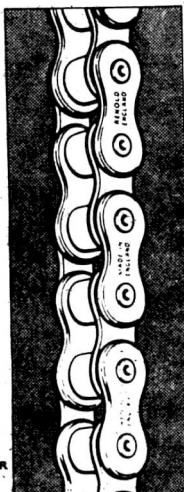
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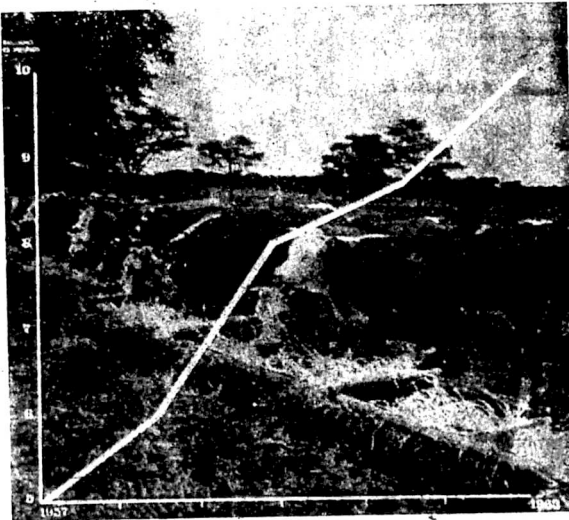
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

NO REALIST can think that the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers has contributed anything useful to the solution of the difficult problem of independence for Rhodesia. An imprudent, impracticable, and in part impertinent *communiqué* will have angered responsible Rhodesians, who have one more proof that the Afro-Asian *bloc* of seventeen members in a Commonwealth of twenty-one nations is determined to focus world attention on the alleged shortcomings of the only multi-racial State in British Africa in order to divert notice from the conditions in those East and Central African territories upon which foolish and faithless Ministers in the Macmillan Government thrust so-called independence many years too soon. What has happened in those territories, and the disunity which characterizes the farcically named Organization of African Unity, must be masked by the pretence that all is well in newly independent Africa and that it offers a model of emulation by Rhodesia. Fantasy and theory usurped the place of fact and experience at the conference, which added more emotion and equivocation to a situation which required calm assessment and studious avoidance of any kind of ambiguity, which did so much to wreck the Federation and consequently to disgust Rhodesia.

Conference Fails On Rhodesia.

As her Prime Minister has remarked, he is not much concerned with what has been said in London during the past fortnight, apart, of course, from the statements of the United Kingdom spokesmen. He had the right to expect more prudence from them. A few weeks ago, after the Lord Chancellor and the Commonwealth Secretary had visited Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson was driven to the conclusion that it would be pointless to convene a constitutional conference. Why has the Government so suddenly

Mr. Wilson's Ambiguity.

changed its mind? The *communiqué* does not even indicate that that considered view was conveyed to the conference, though there has certainly been no change in the circumstances to warrant a switch in opinion. Yet Mr. Wilson has now undertaken to "promote" a conference if he does not succeed in direct negotiations with Mr. Smith "in a reasonably speedy time". Those last five words must have caused Rhodesians to ask one another "How long is a piece of string?" And will someone tell us how a conference is to be "promoted" if the Rhodesian Cabinet declines to send delegates and to release African politicians under detention on charges of subversion and the like? Many of the detainees have engaged in activities which no black Government would tolerate. Yet the Commonwealth has naively called for their release.

Did a single delegate suggest the release of the African trade unionists under detention on Tanzania? Was there a whisper about detainees in other East and Central African territories under black Governments? Of course not. Those who shriek about racial discrimination when it suits them must not be challenged when they discriminate to the disadvantage of people, black or white, in their own lands. Prating of democracy, they practise dictatorship. A time limit of three months has been proposed for negotiations with Mr. Smith — though Mr. Murumbi, the able leader of the Kenya delegation, considers six months more reasonable, and that there would be no justification for African dissatisfaction if twice that time were needed to get Britain and Rhodesia to the conference table. Nobody at Marlborough House, we wager, recalled that independence for Kenya was rushed in consideration of a promise that she would

Questions Which Should Have Been Asked.

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federate with Tanganyika and Uganda in less than three months. At the time we wrote that it was a false promise which would not be kept. Almost two years have since passed without its fulfilment; and there is even less prospect of an East African Federation now than in 1963. Was that delay mentioned to East African advocates of a short time-limit for Rhodesia?

Very understandably, the *communiqué* avoids reference to the basic fact that nearly all the delegates want the East and Central African pattern of political change to be followed by Rhodesia, and that that is precisely what

No Pattern For Rhodesia.

Rhodesians decline to contemplate. Their case is unfortunately weakened by public forgetfulness and indifference. Not one politician, one daily newspaper, or one television or radio programme in Britain, bothered to recall that in the past eighteen months there have been army mutinies in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, rebellions in Zanzibar, Zambia, and Malawi (to say nothing of the Congo), and such subversive activities just below the surface in territory after territory that their Presidents or Prime Ministers have found it necessary to denounce in public African politicians and trade union leaders who have accepted large sums of money from foreign States and acted as their agents for purposes which threaten the peace and stability of their own countries. Only the other day Dr. Obote, of Uganda, declared such activities to be Africa's greatest danger. Is it likely that Rhodesians will accept the disastrous Macmillanism which so quickly produced mutinies, rebellions, and treachery?

London newspapers were regaled day after day with suggestions that Kenya's multi-racialism had given way so successfully to black government that Rhodesia should take comfort from

Confidence and No Quislings.

Kenya's experience. No Rhodesian in his senses will accept the idea. For one thing, the circumstances of the two countries differ diametrically. There are five times as many whites in Rhodesia as ever there were in Kenya; and almost all are permanent residents, which was not the case in Kenya. Secondary industry is far, far more developed and balanced in Rhodesia, where the prospects of an enduring multi-racial State are much better—not least because the country is governed by its own citizens, not by a reckless and ruthless Macmillan or Macleod thousands of miles away. Moreover, there are no Quislings, of whom Kenya

had all too many. Rhodesia, furthermore, has that confidence in itself which Kenya so tragically lacked when the test came. Since the dissolution of the Federation that confidence has been remarkably demonstrated in the economic and administrative fields; and politically no less emphatically by Mr. Smith during the past fifteen months. It would be evidenced militarily if African hot-heads were to persuade the O.A.U. Liberation Committee to attempt to disturb the peace. What three or four hundred white volunteers have done to crush large-scale rebellion over vast areas of the Congo would be done again by Rhodesians if they were driven to it.

But it is to be hoped that that will never happen, and that wiser counsels among African political leaders in East and Central Africa in the next few crucial months will

Africans Taught By Experience.

brighten the prospects of escape from a dilemma which has been largely caused by hastiness in expectation and speech. The usual manifestations of grossly exaggerated expectancy were paraded day by day during the conference, for a main fear of African political propagandists is that they should be thought to be moderate, or even to have moderated earlier excitement. Such tendencies must be heavily disguised. Even those who are opposed to extremism in word and deed are seldom as sensible in public as they are in private. Dozens of off-the-record talks in the past fortnight with African delegates to the Commonwealth Conference, most of whom we have known for years, have left upon us the impression that recognition is widening among them of the weight of the tasks which they have now to perform, of the unreadiness for such responsibilities of many of their African ministerial and official colleagues of all grades, and consequently of the indispensability of the co-operation of Europeans, not merely for a short period, but indefinitely. Because this realization is the product of their own experience in office, their references to Rhodesia in confidential conversations had little resemblance to their public declamations.

A hint of this change in attitude appeared in connexion with the question of a time-limit for a Rhodesian constitutional conference. At first everyone insisted that the talks must

An Opportunity To Be Grasped.

be "immediate". Then the demand was for "early" discussions. A day or two later the formula was "within three months"; and

though that period is tentatively mentioned in the *communiqué*, some of the signatories spoke next day of "six months or so", and one (Mr. Murumbi) said in a television interview that he would not complain unless the delay exceeded a year. It is thus apparent that, despite all the dialectic, gradualism is not in fact excluded by the more sensible Africans. It may be similarly concluded, we do not doubt, that African leaders in States to the north of Rhodesia will come to accept the principle of phased political advancement in that country — whose present Constitution expressly provides for

such a programme. Had the two African political parties in Rhodesia not so foolishly decided to boycott all elections, their leaders would now have gained considerable Parliamentary experience, for the lack of which the pace of change must be slower than it might otherwise have been. Mr. Ian Smith's continuing imperturbability under provocation, has unquestionably had a great educational influence upon political leaders in Britain and in Africa. Tactful negotiations in strict privacy while the present mood persists might, we believe, dramatically change the outlook, greatly to Rhodesia's advantage.

Commonwealth Conference's Statement on Rhodesia

Demands for Release of Detainees and Early Constitutional Conference

THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA was uppermost in the minds and discussions of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London which ended on Friday, but the Rhodesian section of the report was placed in the second half of the long *communiqué*.

It read:—

"The Commonwealth Secretary informed the meeting of the attempts which the British Government had made in recent months to resolve the problem of the further constitutional development of Rhodesia. He explained the considerations by which they were, and would continue to be, guided in their approach to the question of Rhodesian independence, and emphasized that central to these was the necessity to provide guarantees that future constitutional development should conform to the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule, together with an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population and the progressive elimination of racial discrimination.

Basis Must Be Acceptable To All

"As they had repeatedly made clear, the British Government would only recommend to Parliament the grant of independence to Rhodesia if they were satisfied that this was on a basis acceptable to the people of the country taken as a whole.

"He emphasized the dangers of the use of force or unconstitutional methods by any party; and he reaffirmed in this connexion the policies of the British Government as indicated in their statements of October 27, 1964, and April 29, 1965.

"The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth took note of the Commonwealth Secretary's statement. They reaffirmed their previous statement that they were irrevocably opposed to any unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Rhodesia, and further reaffirmed their insistence on the principle of majority rule.

"While the Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining Colonies, including Rhodesia, must continue to rest with Britain, they also reaffirmed that the question of membership of the Commonwealth by an independent Rhodesia, or by any other newly independent territory, would be a matter for collective Commonwealth decision.

"The British Prime Minister was urged by other Prime Ministers to convene a constitutional conference at an early date, say, within three months, which all the political leaders in Rhodesia should be free to

attend. They reaffirmed that the object of such a conference should be to seek agreement on the steps by which Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable date on a basis of majority rule.

One-Man-One-Vote Principle

"In this connexion they welcomed the statement of the British Government that the principle of 'one man one vote' was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia.

"An appeal was made for the immediate release of all the detained or restricted African leaders as a first step to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for a constitutional conference.

"A further appeal was made that the death sentences passed on persons now awaiting execution for offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act should be respited.

"It was further urged that, should the Rhodesian Government refuse to attend such a conference and to release the detainees, the British Government should introduce legislation to suspend the 1961 Constitution and appoint an interim Government, which should repeal oppressive and discriminatory laws and prepare the way for free elections.

"The British Government said that they were actively engaged in discussions with the Government of Rhodesia; and they undertook to take full account, in relation to these discussions, of all the views which had been expressed during the meeting.

Britain Would "Promote" Conference

"In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step. If the discussions did not develop satisfactorily in this direction in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government, having regard to the principle enunciated by the Commonwealth Secretary of unimpeded progress towards majority rule, would be ready to consider promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"The Prime Ministers renewed their call to all leaders and their supporters in Rhodesia to abstain from violence and to co-operate in the work of fostering tolerance and justice, as the basis of a society in which all the inhabitants would be assured that their interests would be protected."

Earlier in the statement there had been three short paragraphs under the heading "Africa." They said:—

"The meeting took note of the widely expressed regret at the failure of the Portuguese Government to give due recognition to the legitimate political aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese territories in Africa.

"The meeting expressed support for the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea.

"The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and unanimously called upon South Africa to bring the practice to an end."

A section of the *communiqué* dealing with dependent territories said (in part):—

"Britain made the following statement about the progress of British Colonial Dependencies towards independence.

"The independent members of the Commonwealth now amounted to no less than 21, including a population of more than 750 million; Britain had 31 remaining Dependencies with only 10 million inhabitants, of whom over half were in Hong Kong and the South Arabian Federation. Nineteen of these Dependencies contained less than 100,000 people and six less than 10,000.

Independence for Other Colonies

"It was hoped that many of these remaining Dependencies would reach independence in the next three years, including Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Swaziland, and the South Arabian Federation; and also some or all of the territories in the East Caribbean, whether in a federation or separately.

"The Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries noted, with approval the further progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth since their last meeting. They welcomed the assurance of the Prime Minister of Britain that it remained the objective of his Government to lead to independence, on the basis of democratic government and the principal of universal adult suffrage, such of the remaining territories as desired it and could sustain it; and that the British Government would continue to seek to devise the most appropriate alternative arrangements for such smaller territories as were unable, or unwilling, to proceed to full independence.

"In relation to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland the view was expressed that such economic assistance and guarantees of territorial integrity as were necessary to maintain the territories as independent States should be given."

Elsewhere it was stated:—

"The Prime Ministers recognized that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association, is opposed to discrimination on grounds of race or colour; and they took the opportunity of their meeting to reaffirm the declaration in their *communiqué* of 1964 that for all Commonwealth Governments it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens."

United Nations

"The Prime Ministers noted with concern that, despite the efforts of many countries to promote peace and stability throughout the world, dangerous conflict, or the threat of conflict, persists in several areas. They expressed their conviction that in these circumstances all possible steps should be taken to reinforce the authority of the United Nations Organization; and they discussed in this context the question of China's representation in the organization.

"They reaffirmed their belief in the importance of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations; and they renewed their support for the efforts now being made by a committee of the United Nations to establish just and equitable principles for authorizing, organizing, and financing peace-keeping operations.

"They considered it essential that the General Assembly, when it reconvened, should be able to function normally.

"They welcomed the voluntary and unconditional contributions which had been made to the United Nations in order to help towards relieving it of its financial difficulties; and they expressed the hope that, as a result of these and other actions, the United Nations would be able to discharge its functions. The Prime Ministers pledged their loyalty to the United Nations, the success of which they considered to be essential to the maintenance of world peace.

"The Prime Ministers recognized that economic and social development constitute a long-term co-operative enterprise in which all countries can work together. The importance of economic planning in relation to development would call

for an increased supply of experts; and concerted measures would therefore be required in order to enlarge and mobilize resources of this kind by means of adequate facilities for education and training.

"They endorsed the concept of co-operative forward planning of development aid which would apply not only to matching the assistance provided by the developed countries with the needs of the developing countries but also to the supply of personnel for schemes of technical assistance, to which they agreed that high priority should be given.

"They welcomed the establishment of the British Ministry of Overseas Development, together with the decision of the British Government to provide loans free of interest in appropriate cases; they also expressed their appreciation of the similar loans already provided by the Government of Canada and of the fact that the Government of Australia makes its aid available wholly on the basis of grants.

"It was suggested that, in those cases where financial assistance would remain unused, or give rise to serious internal problems, because of the inability of some recipient countries to finance local costs, donor countries should consider making financial contributions to cover a proportion of such costs.

"The Prime Ministers recognized the importance of the flow of direct investment to developing countries and expressed the hope that, in so far as economic circumstances permit, the minimum restriction would be placed in its way.

"The Prime Ministers recorded their satisfaction at the constructive outcome of the third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa last August; they looked forward to an equally successful result for the Commonwealth Medical Conference to be held in Edinburgh in October.

"The Prime Ministers agreed that effective development is promoted not only by aid but even more by trade. Moreover, they were convinced that an expanding exchange of goods and services, by emphasizing the interdependence of the countries of the world, was one of the most effective ways of promoting the growth of international understanding and the elimination of the causes of friction.

"Emphasis was laid on the importance to the economies both of Britain and of certain other Commonwealth countries of emigration to Britain from those countries. The Prime Ministers recognized that the extent of immigration into Britain was entirely a matter for the British Government to determine.

Immigration and Trade

"The hope was expressed that in operating such immigration controls as they might think necessary, the British Government would continue to give preferential treatment to Commonwealth citizens; and they welcomed the assurance of the British Prime Minister that there would be no differentiation in any restrictions on account of colour or creed.

"The Prime Ministers stressed the importance to the development of the economies of member countries of the Commonwealth of the prices obtained for their primary commodities, particularly where the prices of primary produce fell in relation to prices of manufactured goods. The Prime Ministers endorsed the need for consideration of the strengthening of existing international commodity agreements, where appropriate, and stressed the urgent need of negotiating further agreements of this kind.

"They agreed on the desirability of exploring means by which Commonwealth trade might be encouraged and expanded. One possibility would be to enable Commonwealth Governments, in planning their economic development, to take into account each other's plans. An exchange of information of this kind might enable production to be more effectively matched to requirements in the Commonwealth and thus increase trade between Commonwealth countries.

"The Prime Ministers accordingly agreed on the following measures designed to further these objectives, while at the same time reaffirming their support for the 'Kennedy round' of tariff negotiations now proceeding at Geneva, which these measures will not affect. They agreed to arrange discussions between officials of Commonwealth Governments in the first instance, with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat, in order to examine these issues further and to prepare for an early meeting of Commonwealth trade Ministers.

"These official discussions could also pay special attention to problems of individual commodities of particular interest to Commonwealth countries, in order to see how far policies could be co-ordinated within the Commonwealth with a view to appropriate further action, whether on a Commonwealth or international scale.

"In addition the Commonwealth Secretariat will examine the possibility of arranging for the results of research to be shared more widely among Commonwealth countries."

Commonwealth Secretariat.—At their 1964 meeting Prime Ministers saw a Commonwealth Secretariat as being a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth and instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth Secretariat. At their present meeting the Prime Ministers had before them a report

by officials which they approved and an agreed memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Secretariat is attached. They have unanimously approved the appointment of Mr. Arnold Smith as the first Secretary-General."

Commonwealth Foundation.—"At their meeting in 1964 the Prime Ministers considered that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields; officials were instructed to consider this proposal in greater detail. At their present meeting the Prime Ministers approved a report by officials and an agreed memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Foundation."

Tanzania, Zambia, Pakistan and Ghana were represented by their Presidents.

Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Malawi, Malta, and Gambia were represented by their Prime Ministers.

Jamaica was represented by the Acting Prime Minister; Ceylon by the Minister of Justice; Cyprus and Kenya by the Ministers of External Affairs.

This was the first meeting at which Malta, Zambia, and the Gambia were represented as members of the Commonwealth.

President Nyerere's Candour on Controversial Questions

Statements on Freedom Fighters, Zanzibar, and the Copperbelt Railway

Special Interview with EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

FREEDOM FIGHTERS, raids into Mozambique, the state of Zanzibar, and the case for extension of the railway to the frontier with Zambia were among the subjects which MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanzania, discussed in the course of an exceptionally frank interview with the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, who had been invited to select the topics on which he felt clarification to be desirable.

President Nyerere was especially emphatic in correcting the prevalent impression that the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, the headquarters of which are in Dar es Salaam, is training "freedom fighters" from volunteers who are nationals of East African member States, with the intention of engaging them in armed activity against Mozambique, Angola, or any other country.

Training Restricted to Refugees

"We are certainly training 'freedom fighters' in Tanzania", he said, "but they are all refugees from countries which are still under colonial rule. We are not training, and do not intend to train, Africans who are nationals of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, or any other O.A.U. State. There can be no question of an East African volunteer army being raised and given military or other instruction in Tanzania for action elsewhere.

"African refugees from Mozambique are the only men who have been helped with money, clothing, food and equipment for activities against that Portuguese colony—which the Portuguese Government ridiculously declares to be part of Portugal itself. These refugees, of whom thousands have crossed the Ruvuma into Southern Tanzania, are organised by the Mozambique liberation movement Frelimo, which has sent a number of armed parties back across the river.

"As you say, there is very marked discrepancy between the reports issued by Frelimo and the authorities in Mozambique. I am not personally aware of the detailed facts, and cannot therefore comment on the Portuguese denials of most of the statements issued by Frelimo. It alone assesses the news sent back by the raiding parties and makes announcements. None come from the O.A.U. Committee of Nine or from the Tanzanian Government.

"None of us in Tanzania or in O.A.U. want war with the Portuguese, but if Portugal refuses to recognise Africa's urgent needs we must finance and organise pressure against her. So long as her Government rejects the obvious fact that Mozambique is a colony, we must act as we are doing. If Portugal would recognise the colonial status of her East African territory we could begin discussions with her from the standpoint that all colonies are anachronistic, and that what has to be decided is the period within which colonial status shall

give way to democratic independence. We cannot talk about that while Portugal clings to the absurd idea that her territories in Africa are part of Portugal itself, part of Europe.

"While we have been in London for the Commonwealth Conference some of us have again asked Western Powers to press Portugal to accept the facts of life in the modern world. That is the way to ensure peace in Mozambique."

No Czechs or Algerians

Reports that Algerians and Czechs had helped to train freedom fighters in Tanzania were quite inaccurate, said Mwalimu Nyerere. No Algerian and no Czech had given anyone any military or similar instruction in mainland Tanzania, in Zanzibar or in Pemba, and no Algerians or Czechs had been associated in any way with the work of the Liberation Committee or of Frelimo.

Russians and Chinese continued to instruct the forces raised in Zanzibar by the Revolutionary Command, which at the outset had scarcely any men experienced in military affairs or even in discipline. It had been necessary to shape a force from enthusiastic revolutionaries, who, from lack of knowledge of the world, had innocently imagined that all problems could be solved by getting rid of the men previously in charge and the measures previously in force. It was now understood in responsible circles in Zanzibar that changes must be made to a carefully prepared plan and without undue haste. Revolutionary fervour would be channelled in the right directions.

Situation in Zanzibar

All land had been declared public land—without compensation—but it had not yet been redistributed. In due course redistribution would take place and individuals would be granted their own holdings, bringing the situation into line with the system which had always operated in places like Kilimanjaro on the mainland.

A number of private houses and business premises in Zanzibar had been seized without compensation, and sometimes, no doubt, for no special reason except that the eagerness for change of a young revolutionary had impelled his little group to act without higher authority under a decree which made it legal to appropriate a dwelling-place or a business.

It had also to be admitted that businesses had not always been listed for expropriation according to a considered plan. Some quite small shops with trivial turnover had been taken over by young revolutionaries; but that stage was over. Indeed, anyone who had not heard of the revolution but had known Zanzibar years ago and returned today would see surprisingly little change. In every case in which a business had been

nationalized the manager had been given the opportunity of continuing his work.

What kind of association between Tanganyika and Zanzibar should be developed had presented obvious difficulty when the matter was first seriously considered. Whereas one partner was a great land mass with 10 million people, the other had only two small islands with a joint population of about 300,000.

Integrating Zanzibar with Tanganyika

It would have been possible, of course, to have one Government in Zanzibar, another in Tanganyika, and a Federal Government over both. That notion was discarded because it would have wasted men and money; and there was most serious shortage of both.

Secondly, a complete union would at that time—though that may not always be so—have made it appear that Tanganyika was absorbing Zanzibar, treating the two islands as a province of Tanganyika with its own regional commissioner. That would have been unsatisfactory because Zanzibar's naturally wanted evidence that their national identity would be preserved and their special interests safeguarded.

A United Republic of Tanzania was for these reasons the right solution, with certain functions such as External Affairs, foreign trade, defence and internal security and currency, etc., entrusted to a Tanzanian Government containing a number of Ministers from Zanzibar and with a Government in Zanzibar itself to handle important local matters. The Tanzanian Cabinet now had a Minister for Union Affairs, with a special task of easing relations and progressively dealing with questions which had still not been settled.

One, of particular difficulty, was that of the integration of the Zanzibar forces with those on the Tanzanian mainland. Zanzibar had an understandable pride in its small young army, which, having almost created

itself, had been trained entirely by Russian and Chinese instructors, who were still at the job.

Railway Link With Zambia

Asked about the extension of the Tanzanian railway system to join with a proposed line from the Copperbelt of Zambia, President Nyerere said that the project was right and sound but that finance was the great difficulty. There was economic justification for the southward prolongation of the branch from the Central Line through the Kilombero Valley, and construction beyond the present railhead would be undertaken as necessary for development and as economically warrantable. Indeed, on economic grounds alone, and without any question of the copper traffic from Zambia, a good case could be argued for extension of the railway to a place quite near the border with Zambia.

"From Tanzania's own standpoint it is perhaps unfortunate that all the emphasis has been on the importance of the mineral traffic to be expected from our neighbour. That has diverted the attention of financial circles throughout the world from our conviction that we should need such a line even if there were no prospect of large revenues from the Copperbelt. If that great mineral complex did not exist, it would still be necessary to link East Africa by rail with Zambia for political and general development reasons.

"Incidentally, a short spur line from the Kilombero extension could tap our rich coal and iron ore reserves when the time comes to exploit them.

"The Zambia-Tanzania railway must be built; but I cannot say when. Reports that Japan would finance our section of the new construction are not accurate. We have had no offers of money from Japan, but Japanese business interests would be glad to tender for construction of the line if the necessary finance can be found. So, of course, would civil engineering contractors in many other parts of the world."

Zambian Government's Attitude to Rhodesia

Violence is Imminent, President Kaunda Declares

VIOLENCE IS IMMINENT in Rhodesia, PRESIDENT KAUNDA told a large Royal Commonwealth Society meeting in London last Thursday.

Conscience was, he emphasized, the great force leading to political change except where the hearts of the men in power could not be touched. Then force provided the only solution.

Rhodesia now constituted the chief potential threat to world peace.

Dr. Kaunda said (in part):—

"I do not consider it possible for the Commonwealth to be of optimum value if it is made up of rich and poor members showing too little concern for each other's welfare. Development of the poorer sections is an essential condition for the strengthening of the Commonwealth. The wide gap separating the standards of living in the richer and poorer members must be closed.

"I have favoured peaceful means of protest and the use of public opinion to bring about desired change. In Zambia this method succeeded, and we achieved freedom and independence with a minimum of violence; but we did not at any time compromise with evil, and stood ready to fight, and did fight, when the occasion demanded it and the alternative was compromising our principles.

"The Commonwealth group has used similar means, always appealing to humane instincts to bring about changes in the world. Members of the Commonwealth have had notable success in moderating tensions, for instance, Canada's rôle

through the United Nations in the Suez crisis; Nigeria's efforts to moderate disputes in Africa; the attempt by Commonwealth members to bring about reconciliation of warring factions in the Congo; and the rôle which the Commonwealth has played in easing East-West tensions at crucial times and in bringing Russia and the United States together when the peace of the world seemed in jeopardy. The initiative on Vietnam may prove to be a **crucial** point.

"The moderating influence of the Commonwealth is something to which we in Zambia are prepared to give full-hearted support. It fits in with our own philosophy.

Power of the Voice of Conscience

"Peaceful protest is the most valuable way of fighting unjust systems because it makes a direct appeal to the humane instincts of those who are in power, and their conscience is the real weapon against injustice.

"Inability of those in power to still the voices of their own consciences is the great force leading to desired changes; and this great force leaves the protesting people unmarked and unscarred by brutality. Peaceful protest concentrates hatred on the unjust system which is being reformed, and it does not lead to a hatred of man.

"This type of approach to reform will succeed only if the people in power have a conscience and are responsive to humanitarian appeals. Herein lies the only weakness of peaceful protest. When oppressed people cannot touch the hearts of those in power, force appears the only solution.

"This will prove to be the crucial difference between British colonial power and Portuguese colonial power.

"An oppressive system, whether it is economic exploitation, denying political freedom, or refusing to accept the rule of law, has a tendency to brutalize the people in power; and the longer the system continues and the more oppressive it is, the more brutalizing it is for those who control it. This is the lesson of Hitler's movement, of penitentiaries and

workhouses in the 18th century, of insane asylums in the 19th century, and of all organizations which have not accepted the principles of human rights.

"Through the operation of all these brutal, hateful systems the operators themselves become less than men. I profoundly believe that the softening influence of the conscience becomes weaker and is erased with prolonged periods of approving inhuman practices.

"There have been cases in which protests have failed because the inhumanity of the system had put the people in power outside the reach of normal humanitarian appeals. When this happened, as in the Second World War, all civilized nations turned to force to fight injustice. Whenever the brutalizing influence of a system on oppressed and oppressor together becomes greater than the brutalizing consequences of utilizing force, mankind is justified in turning to force in the interests of man.

"We in Zambia are emphasizing the human relations aspect. That is why we have established a chair in our new university to carry out studies of these important but relatively neglected areas of human relations.

"Unholy Alliance" Will Destroy Peace

"This emphasis on human relations brings me to the question of Southern Rhodesia, because if there is one place in the world where human relationships hold the key to a successful solution of a dangerous situation, it is Southern Rhodesia, which poses the greatest potential threat to world peace today. If things go on an unholy alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia will in the future destroy the peace of Africa.

"I am an implacable foe of imperialism, colonialism, Fascism, and any inhuman treatment of God's creatures. All these things which I hate are to be found in Southern Rhodesia. Exploitation of one group by another is no more acceptable within a country than between countries. Arguing that some ~~who are created~~ in the image of God are sub-human is blasphemy. Minority control and the belief in a superior race is Fascism.

"The Commonwealth is largely the result of the evolution to independent status of previous members of the British Empire. Rhodesia is a British colony which has not evolved to independence. Rhodesia must be considered a minor in the world of men, with an adult, Britain, responsible for its control, its developments, and its actions.

"Make no mistake: former British Colonies and the rest of the world will turn their backs on Britain if, through her weakness or refusal to face her responsibilities, she allows another South Africa to emerge in Southern Rhodesia. You who have not seen the situation in Rhodesia—pass laws, special hatches at which non-whites are served, occupational restrictions on Africans, the brutality of the so-called 'forces of law and order'—cannot be expected to know how close to South Africa Southern Rhodesia now is. You have not seen how fear—the main tool of Fascism—permeates the whole atmosphere and makes violence an ever-present danger.

"I sympathize with the British people and the British Government in the difficulties which lie ahead; but Britain made the decision to become a Colonial Power and burdened herself with these problems. If a nation chooses to become a Colonial Power, she must accept responsibility for ensuring the rights, the interests, and the future of the people of her Colonies.

"South Africa is a blot on the world landscape; and it has not been erased by putting South Africa out of the Commonwealth. South Africa remains a testament to the failure of a Colonial Power to follow enlightened and humanitarian policies.

Britain's Future in the Balance

"The day of decision for Rhodesia is at hand, and the future of Britain and the Commonwealth is in the balance. The European minority, some quarter of a million, are fighting a battle to retain control over four million Africans. All the coercive powers of the State are being used to destroy the nationalist parties—illegal arrests, imprisonment without trial, suppression of newspapers, harsh and unjust sentences, refusing legal advice, and so on. Every week of doing nothing consolidates the position of the minority Government.

"A quarter of a million whites are practising racial discrimination against four million blacks. A quarter of a million whites are preaching and holding to a doctrine of racial superiority. We know too the consequences of not ensuring that such things are brought to an end at once.

"Time is against democracy in Rhodesia because the democratic forces are under constant attack by the Government. Violence is imminent. Do not expect sympathy from newly independent countries for any view that deals cannot

be made with those who practise violence.

"Without even consulting us, against our wishes, the economy of Zambia was tied to an economy, Southern Rhodesia, controlled by a group of people whose every attitude is utterly opposed by my Government and people. As a result of decisions taken by others, Zambia is now liable to damage and disruption by actions of the Government of Rhodesia.

"But whose Government would do this to Zambia? Is it a democratically elected Government representing the people? No. It is another sovereign State? No. Who poses this threat? A minority Government for whom the British Government is ultimately responsible.

"Let it be crystal clear that should a rebellious Colony of Britain or an illegal Government in a British Colony interfere in any way with Zambia's international rights and obligations, or in the pursuit of peace and prosperity in Zambia, all the world, and certainly we in Zambia, will hold the British Government and people responsible.

"It would be one of the tragedies of the 20th Century if the Commonwealth, which we all hold important, was weakened or destroyed at this time. The future of the Commonwealth rests squarely on the shoulders of the British Government and the British People."

Independence Thrust on Zanzibar

Monday Club Criticizes Tory Action

A MONDAY CLUB pamphlet, entitled "The Role of Subversion in Foreign Affairs," criticizes the last Conservative Government for thrusting upon Zanzibar the premature independence which opened the way for the Communist take-over.

"They forced a premature independence on Zanzibar as part of a deliberate policy of relinquishing African responsibilities; they left a Westminster-style Constitution in the hands of people who had not been educated to appreciate it and for whom it was unsuitable. As a result, democracy was never more than a word, and the Communists had no trouble in ousting it.

"Something could have been done to avoid this disastrous tactical defeat. With a modicum of perseverance and courage the loss could have been avoided. . . . The major mistake of the British Government was to be unaware that Communism might overtake the island at all."

Of the failure to restore freedom after the rising, the pamphlet says: "In the same way as British troops were able to quell the riots in Tanganyika, they could have enforced Nyerere's authority in Zanzibar and brought some kind of justice to the island."

The pamphlet is the product of an independent group of Conservatives.

U.N.I.P. in Barotseland

A BAROTSELAND PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE of the United National Independence Party of Zambia has denounced "any sections in Barotseland which plan to advance secessionism or regionalism", reaffirmed the determination of the people to "fight to the bitter end for the preservation of unity and an integral form of government of the Republic of Zambia", and "vehemently refuted rumours of recent weeks that there was an open branch between the Central Government and the local authority in Barotseland". The resolutions had been drafted by a five-member committee consisting of two Cabinet Ministers, two executive members of the Barotse Government, and the party's regional secretary.

"The Government of Tanzania is going to be very tough indeed with a few backward businessmen who do not do what the can to help build this country"—Mr. Babu, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives, in a broadcast talk.

PERSONALIA

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIÉ has been invited to visit Malawi.

MR. B. D. GOLDBERG has arrived in London from Rhodesia.

MR. J. S. MUKUKA has succeeded Mr. A. D. FIGOV as Mayor of Luanshya, Zambia.

MR. P. P. DUNKLEY, has been appointed a managing director of Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd.

SIR RONALD PRAIN arrived back in London last week. He will leave for Zambia this month.

THE REV. WILFRED CURTIS has been appointed home secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

MR. J. H. MCINTOSH, for 28 years town clerk of Que Que, has become its first honorary freeman.

MR. JIM REDMAN, the Rhodesian motor cyclist, has won the Dutch grand prix with a record speed of 88.17 m.p.h.

DR. T. R. BATTEN is visiting Rhodesia for six weeks to advise the Government on community development policy.

MRS. KAWAWA, wife of the Second Vice-President of Tanzania, is leading a delegation of five women to Peking.

SIR EDWARD MUTESA, President of Uganda, has just paid a short visit to Kenya. He stayed with PRESIDENT KENYATTA.

THE REV. R. S. HUNTER, librarian of Pusey House, Oxford, is to go to Zambia as a lecturer at St. John's Seminary, Lusaka.

MR. HAROLD ROXBEE-COX has taken the title of BARON KINGS NORTON of Wotton Underwood in the county of Buckingham.

MR. W. J. BALL is now the British Council representative in Uganda, MR. PETER MARAH having been transferred to Nigeria.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, Tory M.P. for Lancaster, and MRS. JEGER, Labour M.P., for Holborn and St. Pancras, are to visit Seychelles.

THE DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER for RHODESIA and MRS. HEATHCOTE gave a party on Tuesday evening for the Rhodesian Bisley team.

MR. R. H. CHRISTIE, Q.C., a Rhodesian advocate, is to be the first head of the new Law Department of the University College of Rhodesia.

SIR PETER FAWCUS, Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland, has arrived in Britain with LADY FAWCUS on leave pending retirement.

LORD RENNELL is now deputy chairman of the re-constituted board of Sun Life Assurance, of which MR. C. H. VILLIERS is one of the directors.

MR. W. A. DU BUISSON, who has had East African and business interests for many years, is the new chairman of the West India Committee.

MR. MUNONGO, Congolese Minister of the Interior, and one of MR. TSHOMBE's closest colleagues, was on Monday elected Governor of East Katanga.

LORD BUTLER, formerly MR. R. A. BUTLER, has joined the board of Governments Stock and Other Securities Investment Co., Ltd., of which MR. HARLEY DRAYTON is chairman.

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, Foreign Minister of Kenya, left London on Monday evening for Nairobi. The visit, which he had intended to pay to Kuwait has been postponed.

DR. KAMUZU BANDA said in a radio talk when he was recently in West Berlin that Germans, like Scots, either like or dislike a man. He and his party had been very well received, and Malawi nurses studying in Western Germany had told him that they were well treated.

DR. KARANJA, High Commissioner for Kenya, held a reception last week for MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, leader of the Kenya delegation to the Commonwealth Conference.

MR. PÉTER KENYATTA, son of the PRESIDENT OF KENYA, received an economics degree at Cambridge on Friday. He is to join the Ministry of Economic Development in Nairobi.

MR. DODDS-PARKER, Conservative M.P. for Cheltenham, and MR. MAURICE EDELMAN, Labour M.P. for Coventry North, are to visit Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands.

SIR COLIN ANDERSON has been elected fourth warden, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE fifth warden, and the MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE sixth and tenth warden of the Fishmongers' Company.

SIR EDWARD WINDLEY, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya, has been elected a director of Yuills, Ltd. and chairman of its subsidiary, Exchange Travel Agency, Ltd.

COLONEL and MRS. CHARLES KNAGGS, who farmed in Kenya for many years and now live in South Africa, have arrived in this country for a stay of six weeks. They have left London for Scotland.

MR. H. D. BANDA, Minister of Transport and Works, and MR. W. S. KENNEDY, Director of Civil Aviation in Zambia, represent that State at a council meeting in Montreal of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

MR. J. H. COLLIER-WRIGHT, who was for many years on the staff of East African Railways and Harbours, is now chief commercial manager of the British Transport Docks Board. He had been acting in that capacity for some months.

MR. COULIBALY, chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism, said before that body left Tanzania that it was legitimate for States to give every form of aid to nationalist movements in Portuguese Africa.

MR. RONALD NGALA said in the Kenya Parliament a few days ago that there was real danger in the infiltration of foreign ideologies into the country's politics. He attacked Communism as promoting exploitation, teaching laziness, and depriving the people of freedom of expression.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia dined one evening last week with the Commonwealth Press Union in Fishmonger's Hall. On the previous day he had been modelled for the Tussaud exhibition. H.M. Government has presented the President with a portrait of himself painted by MR. EDWARD HALLIDAY.

THE RT. REV. KENNETH SKELTON, Bishop of Matabeleland, flew back to Rhodesia from London last week after spending four and a half months in the United States in connexion with the plan for links between dioceses in Central Africa and North America. His see is to be linked with California, that of Mashonaland with Oregon, and that of Zambia with Spokane.

MR. COLIN BLAND, the 28-year-old Rhodesian and Springbok cricketer, is the only player in Africa who has been invited to be a member of the Rest of the World XII to play two matches against England early in September. He is the only cricketer to have scored 1,000 runs in first-class matches in a season in Southern Africa. In 17 Test innings for South Africa he has made 1,351 runs.

PROFESSOR KENNETH ROBINSON, Professor of Commonwealth Affairs in the University of London, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong. On leaving Hertford College, Oxford, he joined the Colonial Office, from which he resigned in 1948 to become Reader in Commonwealth Government at Oxford. He has held his London University appointment since 1957.

Rhodesia Will Resist Interference

No Dictation from "Miserable Fa lures"

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told a meeting in Salisbury on Saturday night that he was "not the least bit interested" in what anybody had said at the Commonwealth Conference in London, which had ended the previous day. He was dealing with Britain and asked only to be allowed to work things out without interference.

"I have been chosen to roar for Rhodesia", he said when accepting an award as "Man of the Year" from the Rhodesian Lions' Club. "I am not the least bit interested in what anyone elsewhere might think about Rhodesia". He continued lightheartedly: —

"I have heard a rumour that there has been a conference of Prime Ministers in London over the last week or so. I wondered why I was not getting on with my negotiations with the British Government. I heard much said about a Prime Minister who had his back to a wall. I haven't shed a tear. While there has been gnashing of teeth over there while a certain gentleman has had his back to a wall, I am enjoying myself.

"I have not yet seen the final *communiqué*. It will take its place when I have time from more important affairs of Rhodesia to take a look at it.

Would Have to Live with "A Mess"

"We shall not allow other countries to interfere in Rhodesian affairs. They are trying to. But if things blow up here and we make a mess of it because we take their advice, they will not have to do what we should have to do—live with that mess. They will flit back to their homes 6,000 miles away".

If anyone else had shown that they could solve the problem which now faced African countries they might be in a position to ask Rhodesia to follow their line. "But others have failed miserably. We should be mad if we were to change our line and take theirs".

On the previous evening, when publication of the *communiqué* was due, Mr. and Mrs. Smith and Mr. Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Mrs. Dupont went to a circus in Salisbury.

Mr. William Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs, said on Saturday when opening a church fête at Marandellas that talk of military intervention in Rhodesia by Commonwealth Prime Ministers attending the London conference was "poppycock" and talk of settling dates was a game at which two could play. Considering what a few hundred mercenaries had done in the Congo, Rhodesians need have no fear of talk of war against them.

Mr. Smith was trying to negotiate independence with Britain without regard to threats or fears. "If in the long run it appears that it is not possible to negotiate, we shall have to look to other alternatives".

"Rhodesia, says President Kaunda of Zambia, is the greatest potential threat to world peace. I cannot remember whether Mussolini in 1935 described Abyssinia as the greatest potential threat to world peace, but I should not be surprised. Rhodesia has obviously no intention of attacking anybody, but a large number of other countries daily threaten to attack Rhodesia. If their power for war were equal to their ill-will, they would attack tomorrow. Dr. Kaunda is usually described as a wise and moderate African statesman. If a man who can delightedly and publicly stand facts on their heads is wise and moderate, what meaning can still lie in words at all?" — "Peter Simple", in the *Daily Telegraph*.

"I cannot understand people in countries thousands of miles away popping their heads into our affairs when they have bags of trouble of their own, troubles which do not prevail in Rhodesia. We in Rhodesia must thrash out our own problems by ourselves". — Mr. P. Chigogo, Independent M.P. for Gokwe,

Comments on Conference Communiqué

Why President Nyerere Did Not Sign

PRESIDENT NYERERE told journalists at the week-end before leaving for Paris for talks with President de Gaulle that he had wanted six words inserted after "independence" in the section of the *communiqué* which read: "In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step".

His purpose had been to commit Britain as the administering Power to the grant of majority rule to the people of Rhodesia before power was transferred. He had been surprised to be strongly resisted on the point by Mr. Wilson, who, as chairman, had rejected the proposed addition.

He (President Nyerere) would not be at all satisfied if independence were granted to the present minority Government in exchange for a promise of majority rule at some future date.

Dr. Obote, of Uganda, Mr. Murumbi, of Kenya, and Dr. Nkrumah, of Ghana, had supported his arguments, but had afterwards decided to sign the *communiqué*. President Nyerere had declined to do so.

In a B.B.C. Television interview on Sunday Mr. Murumbi was asked if he thought the suggested period of three months long enough for negotiations with Rhodesia. He replied that six months would be more reasonable, and that he thought most of the African leaders would be satisfied if a conference met within a year.

Africans Would Provoke War in Rhodesia

"Rhodesian Dangers" was the heading to a *Times* leader last week which said, *inter alia*: —

"The African Commonwealth leaders are broadly at one in their main demands, which closely follow those made by Mr. Nkomo's lieutenants abroad. They want Britain committed to call a constitutional conference — and (unlike last year) within a short time limit — which would work out a new Constitution to provide for African rule. If Mr. Smith will not come or let Mr. Nkomo come, the conference, they argue, should still be held. Then the new Constitution, agreed between Britain and Mr. Nkomo's representatives, should be imposed.

"African views about this Constitution differ. Some insist that after British-pollled elections had put in an African Government in power Rhodesia should become independent at once. The Nigerians take the more realistic view that there must be a considerable transition while the Africans learn the business of government, safeguards are worked out for the white population, and while both races learn to live together. The Nigerians advocate multi-racialism, so dead elsewhere in Africa.

"It is, however, painfully obvious that while the British Parliament may technically have the power to abrogate the present Rhodesian Constitution, any exercise of that power would breach all the conventions. It would almost certainly produce an immediate Rhodesian declaration of independence.

"What the Africans, wittingly or unwittingly, are demanding is early action that would provoke the Rhodesians into rebellion, to be followed by a British military invasion to put down the rebellion and install — immediately or later — African rule. In short, war. What they find hard to see is that such a course is politically impracticable for Britain. Even if it were not, it is probably militarily impracticable".

On the same day the *Guardian* said in the course of a leading article: —

"The Rhodesian dilemma must be one of the sharpest ever to confront a British Prime Minister.

"If he follows the advice of the African members of the Commonwealth and fixes a date for a conference to unseat the Rhodesian Government (for that is what a constitutional conference would amount to), he risks a war in Central Africa between British and Rhodesian troops.

"If he does not follow that advice, he risks serious damage to the Commonwealth and the appearance of condoning a regime which is anathema to the Labour Party and anyone who values personal freedom."

"Britain could make it clear to Mr. Smith that unless he releases his political prisoners by a certain date Britain will no longer be prepared to withstand demands for an immediate constitutional conference. This would be necessary, it could be pointed out, to protect Britain's international position, which is being made intolerable by irresponsible government in Rhodesia."

The Commonwealth Conference could either make Rhodesia an international outlaw or offer to start again on the process of achieving a just independence, an earlier leading article had said.

It concluded:—

"The only hope at present is that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers might come up with practical proposals towards settling a practical problem. An emotional display will help nobody. In any case there is no one against whom to make it: we are all on the same side."

Bases for Negotiations

"If the African members could give some solemn assurance to the white Rhodesians that their skills are needed and welcome on the African continent—in Government as well as on the farm—and that victimization would be frowned upon; if the white members could again offer the money needed to get a sensible African education programme going and provide assisted passages for unwilling whites; if the Commonwealth as a whole could treat Rhodesia as a sick rather than an errant child, there is some chance that negotiations leading to eventual majority rule might get somewhere. "Of course the Africans are impatient. But they have been impatient since 1959, and in 1965 they are in prison. This Commonwealth conference can either make Rhodesia an international outlaw or offer to start again on the process of achieving a just independence."

Earlier the leader had said:—

"In recent years the office of British Prime Minister has carried with it the irksome duty to act as whipping-boy for the white Rhodesians. Somebody has to bear the blame for what they do. Since they are not sovereign, but only a British Colony, the blame is laid on the head of the British Government. But because they are self-governing there is not much he can do to prevent them misbehaving."

"He could advise the Queen to suspend the Constitution, but, in the letter at least, the Constitution has not been transgressed. To upset a Constitution which Britain helped to devise, and which its present opponents at first accepted, would not be a good way of ensuring Rhodesian respect for the rule of law. It would hurt Zambia, although Zambia would no doubt welcome the sacrifice. It would make the Rhodesians appear the aggrieved parties in a dispute with Britain which would almost certainly involve military action. It is a war in Central Africa desirable, and should Britain start it? We think the answer to both questions is 'No'."

Less Likelihood of U.D.I.

"At the other extreme is the possibility, not now being canvassed as strongly as it was, that the Rhodesian Government will declare independence unilaterally. It has been warned, not only by Britain and other Commonwealth countries but by realistic citizens of its own, of the grave consequences to its economy which would follow."

"For the time being, having won his landslide victory in elections to the National Assembly, Mr. Smith is content to go on talking. He hopes to gain independence on terms which are equally acceptable to Britain and Rhodesia. Unlikely though this result appears, both sides have a duty to go as far by negotiation as they can. Mr. Wilson will be accused of dragging his feet. Mr. Smith's more purple-faced supporters will say the same about him. But it will not do for Commonwealth countries which demand negotiations instead of war in Vietnam to demand war instead of negotiations in Rhodesia."

"Mr. Smith may well have decided after weighing the chances of British military intervention, that U.D.I. would be a short cut to majority rule. He may have recalled the Opposition party's argument during the election that all would be well for the whites (at least for a decade or so) if they left the Constitution untouched. It is this prospect which naturally worries the Africans in Rhodesia and outside."

"Dr. Kenneth Kaunda recently pointed out that between the African demands for universal suffrage and Mr. Smith's campaign for independence with virtually no African safeguards the present state of affairs was made to look like a satisfactory compromise. It is, of course, nothing of the sort. The calm which is apparent is achieved by repressive laws

and massive preventive detention. Politically the Africans' chances are nil. The Smith Government is making no effort to work the Constitution in the spirit in which it was framed (nor, for that matter, are the nationalists) and is seeking ways to reduce what little African representation there is. A short cut is tempting, but if it is not taken, what remains?"

Possession Nine-Tenths of the Law

"Squatters' Rights" was the heading to a comment in the *Economist* which said, *inter alia*:—

"Possession is nine-tenths of the law. The great strength of Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, is that his Government is in control of its country and its armed forces. How many divisions has the Commonwealth? As a collective abstract entity, none. Hence the African and Asian pressure on Mr. Wilson to use Britain's troops to effect the African revolution in Salisbury."

"Mr. Wilson will not use troops, in spite of the kind offer by the Presidents of Tanzania and Zambia for staging facilities in their countries."

"The one strong card that Britain has is that it could strangle Rhodesia's economy, the Commonwealth was told again this week that if Mr. Smith chooses to declare his country independent without Westminster's permission then strangulation will begin. This is a negative weapon, but it seems fair to argue that Mr. Smith is now unlikely to grab independence, or that if he does that will be the end of his regime anyway."

"This weakness of Salisbury is about the only strength Britain is willing to use; hence Mr. Wilson's earnest attempts to persuade the Commonwealth this week that negotiation is likely to produce results were not well received."

"The fact that it is now becoming generally recognized that Mr. Smith can move no further towards his cherished goal of independence without either tripping himself up or doing a constitutional deal with Britain is at any rate a straw. The trouble, from the dark Commonwealth's point of view, is that it is not of straws that revolutions are made, still less of pious declarations of intent by precariously-balanced British Prime Ministers."

Afro-Asian Terms Unacceptable

A special correspondent of the *Statist* in Rhodesia wrote:—

"It is difficult for Rhodesians to see where this conference has got them. It becomes almost impossible to sustain the argument that Rhodesia can negotiate independence on terms acceptable to the Commonwealth. No Rhodesian Government elected on the present franchise could manage this. To paint Mr. Smith as a right-wing ogre in this context is pure nonsense. The Commonwealth, or Afro-Asian Commonwealth, terms are unacceptable, the more so because they emanate from countries which have speedily destroyed the British system of government which Rhodesians would retain."

"Mr. Smith is faced with the task of steering his Cabinet and caucus away from immediate demands for independence. Should the Commonwealth seek to set a date for a full-dress constitutional conference, the pressures on Mr. Smith to declare independence unilaterally because of unconstitutional interference in Rhodesia's affairs will mount again. They will be the more difficult to counter as time goes on and impatience increases."

"Rhodesians may take heart from the old maxim that 'sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me'. Indeed, the more words that issue from Ghana or Tanzania the more likely it is that the Western world will take a favourable view of Rhodesia."

"There seems to have been a fair amount of playing to the world gallery at this week's conference—perhaps none more so than President Kaunda's demand that British forces should intervene and impose a settlement. It is hard to believe that he means what he says. It is easier to believe that he is saying it because he fears that if he does not he will be replaced by someone who both says it and means it."

"Should the Commonwealth seek to impose a constitutional conference on Rhodesia and hasten majority rule it may help to destroy peace and prosperity in one part of Africa which enjoys them."

The Commonwealth contribution seeks to impose a constitutional conference on Rhodesia and hasten majority rule—it may help to destroy peace and prosperity in one part of Africa which enjoys them."

Spokesmen in London for the two proscribed Rhodesian African political parties, Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., said at the week-end that they were "deeply disappointed and dissatisfied with the communiqué". Z.A.N.U. described the British position as "utter treachery and betrayal of Rhodesia's four million Africans".

Economic Consequences of U.D.I.

Assessment of a Rhodesian

U.D.I.—a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia—has been shelved except as a slogan, according to a special correspondent of the *Economist* in that country.

But white Rhodesians, he is convinced, will not agree to African majority rule, however severe the privations if they resist the pressure upon them to accept the one-man-one-vote system.

The view of the journal is that other Commonwealth African leaders will not help British Ministers in the task of persuading the African nationalists in Rhodesia that they must abandon their hopes of attaining immediate power and accept step-by-step progress.

Analyzing the probable economic consequences of U.D.I., the correspondent suggests that Rhodesia's now almost exact balance of payments might become a deficit of £50m.; that the currency would lose 25% of its value in foreign markets; that exports might be halved to about £60m.; and that industrial output might fall by as much as 40%.

Bank credit would be throttled, and there would be many bankruptcies, much unemployment, and inevitable increases in prices. Gross national product might fall by at least 20%.

Burdens on the Economy

A third of last year's total export earnings of £120m. came from the tobacco industry, whose trade association has estimated that a unilateral declaration of independence would cost the growers not less than 62% of their present export market.

Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth account for 48% of the tobacco purchases. Britain's preferential price for Rhodesian leaf averaged 36d. per lb. last year, while other buyers paid only 20d. If all the crop had been sold at the lower price it would have realized £27m., instead of £35m. If a third of the output could not be sold, as leaders of the industry suggest, proceeds on the 20d. basis would be about £18m. If there were also a 25% devaluation, the fall would be to about £13m.

Sugar, now the second agricultural export, might lose 86% of its export market if Britain, Canada, the U.S.A., and African States imposed embargoes. Export earnings, expected to be not less than £6m. this year, might drop to £3m., or even £2m.

Worst hit would be secondary industries, for more than a third of the output is already exported—about 66% of the exports going to Zambia and 22% to Malawi and Britain. All such sales would promptly cease. Industrial output would therefore quickly drop by at least a third from last year's figure of £125m. Exports would fall from £45m. to less than £10m. Serious unemployment of Europeans and Africans would be unavoidable.

All in all, it is suggested that export earnings, which totalled £120m. last year, would be halved.

The point is made that well over half of the whites in Rhodesia were born outside the country and that they would be the first to leave for South Africa in the event of a recession.

Inherent Strength

If patience be exercised by the British and Rhodesian Governments, however, so that the political problem may be solved over a period, the inherent strength of the Rhodesian economy points to a good future for the country, for there is a steadily expanding demand for her main exports and good prospects of expanding markets for them within the country and elsewhere in Africa.

Emphasis is laid by the correspondent on the arresting developments in the Lowveld, where sugar production has jumped within a decade from 2,000 to 300,000 tons a year, with the prospect of a 500,000 output three years hence.

An investment of at least £200m. over the next 25 years is planned by the Government in order to foster the growing of cotton, barley, tobacco, soya beans, fruits, and fibre crops, and large-scale cattle ranching. Much of the requisite capital would have to be raised abroad, and it would be obtainable only if potential lenders were assured of political peace.

Loyal Britons in Rhodesia Will Face Boston Tea-Party

PROFESSOR W. M. MACMILLAN wrote in a letter to *The Times* :—

"African leaders in London for the Commonwealth Conference have been proclaiming as staunchly as ever their strict adherence to the principle, unqualified, of majority rule.

"The responsibility for something of a log-jam is, I fear, very largely British: the few words addressed from here to the white Rhodesians have been lacking in sympathy, being chiefly warnings against the danger of courting economic disaster. The leaders of the new African States clearly, as always, look confidently to Britain to champion their cause and their claims and, having rightly or wrongly taken this cue, stand pat where they have long stood.

"The Rhodesian situation is a leading example of a genus peculiarly difficult to cope with. Radicals used to claim that the measure of freedom in any State is the effective security enjoyed by its minorities; and in the new African States minorities, even of African race, are not notably secure. In Rhodesia of course the interests to be reconciled are those of a very large but originally desperately weak African majority and a small but strong or even powerful white minority.

"African leaders need to play a more mature part. The African majority, once alone in its weakness, is now strongly backed by world-wide sympathy and support. Its leaders, naturally eager to seize the opportunity to be free of any dependence on outside Powers, are at the same time disregarding of the root cause of their long years of weakness.

"They plead for the consideration due to under-developed countries; but they neglect the fact that in Rhodesia as nowhere else—decidedly not even in nearby Zambia—the necessary economic foundations already exist of a strongly developing viable State. It is supremely in the interests of the African people that these foundations be conserved and built upon; but development can hardly continue unless its promoters are free to carry on in reasonably stable conditions. Sudden change brought about by violence may well prove catastrophic.

"Several short but intensive visits to Rhodesia have left me in no possible doubt that the white minority as a whole stands resolved not to hand over power unconditionally. These Rhodesians have after all had a closer view than most of us of total collapse in States near their own border, and are determined this shall not come about in their sphere if they can help it.

"Loyal Britons, men who would normally rank as a-political, stand ready to face even a Boston tea-party if they see that as their only way out. This white minority are sometimes looked upon as merely troublesomely fractious. Yet it is not unreasonable of them to stand out for the continuance of such stable and efficient administration as the African majority cannot as yet provide without white co-operation.

"Compromise is thus a necessity and could be reached, it has often been suggested, if only the Rhodesians of all races were left to make their own settlement.

"It is the root of the trouble that fellow Africans and less excusably outsiders—including many in Britain—persist in seeing white Rhodesians not as they are—a minority entitled to security in their own right—but as a close vested interest. The truth is that the real interests of black and white are in this instance inextricably bound up together—are in effect one and the same thing."

Colonial Service Retirements

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS 7,049 members of the Colonial Service retired prematurely because of constitutional changes in the territory to which they had been posted. It was in 1960 that the Macmillan-MacLeod scuttle from Africa started, and in that year 394 retired. In 1961 the number was 716, and in 1962 it was almost trebled at 2,062. In the next year there was a slight drop to 1,736; and last year 2,151 British officials were prematurely deprived of their careers. The Minister could not state the average amount of compensation received because in some cases the British Government had made no contributions.

Hostages Slaughtered by Congo Rebels Priests Tortured and Murdered at Buta

MISS MARGARET HAYES, a London-born missionary in the Congo for the past eight years, was set free on Saturday by a patrol near Buta which also rescued 14 Belgian nuns, a Dutch nun, and two young children. They were flown to Leopoldville.

Speaking to journalists at the British Embassy, Miss Hayes, who had been a prisoner of the rebels for 11 months, said:—

"On November 23 I was given a pass to travel throughout the rebel area and was on the last truck out of Banalia, about 60 miles north of Stanleyville, which fell next day. I got the pass because my people from Boeppe had asked the simbas (rebel fighters) to let me go back to work in the village. This saved my life, as I surely would have been killed with the others at Banalia, where all the whites, including five British children, were slaughtered at the ferry on November 24.

"Two days later one of the simbas who was at Banalia arrived at the little village where I was being held and said all the whites there had been killed and now they were looking for me. The chief of the village hid me, but the simbas kept coming to the village and making trouble. This continued for about one month, with the simbas making trouble and me being hidden in different places. After two villagers had been killed and eight wounded by simbas looking for me, I decided to give myself up.

Ready to Die for Africans

"On Christmas Eve morning I decided that it was better for me to die than for this to go on. I went to the simba chief and told him: 'If you want to kill me I am ready'. I was astounded when he replied: 'We don't want to kill you. We want you to work for us.' They gave me food and a place to sleep and were very kind.

"I was eventually taken to Bengamissa, 35 miles north of Stanleyville. There I worked in a dispensary. They gave me every due respect. In late February I went with the simba chief to Buta to get supplies, but he ran into difficulty there and was later killed. I was in Buta about three months. There we had European-type food.

"On May 29 all of us were arrested about 6.30 p.m. by a mob carrying spears, knives, guns and sticks. There were 31 priests, 15 sisters, a Belgian woman, Mme. Legros, her two small daughters, and myself. We were led into a room where 15 Catholic fathers were sitting on the mud floor. Everything was taken from our pockets. The nuns were forced to give up their crucifixes and rings. I lost my watch and glasses.

"Then we were marched toward the town office two by two, and had what the rebels called an 'inspection.' Then we were put into a filthy room with no chairs for the 50 of us. At about 11 p.m. another inspection started. The fathers were stripped naked. Then we, all the women, had to do likewise in front of everybody. Afterwards we were returned to the small little room with the fathers and stayed there the whole night without water.

"At about 9 a.m. on Sunday the women and children were given water, but not the fathers. It was scorching hot. At about 11 o'clock mobs with sticks and clubs came and took the fathers out and kept beating them until about 4 p.m. When one bunch of simbas got tired another group would start hitting the fathers.

Missionaries Thrown to Crocodiles

"Then the fathers' arms and legs were tied behind their backs and the ropes tightened. This was the only time we heard them scream and cry. Then they were untied and marched to the river, where they were slashed with knives and machetes and thrown into the river. Later a simba came to us with the leg of one of the fathers, dripping with blood. He made us hold it—even the children. We were told we were next.

"We were then marched out of the town for about three miles into the forest. In the morning we were brought back and stayed there. In the afternoon a plane flew overhead and terrified the simbas. They claimed we could speak to the plane and had brought it there. Because of this we were given one half-hour to live and told our throats would be cut, with the exception of the first one, whose head would be cut off and all of us would have to handle it. But the plane flew overhead again and the simbas who told us we were to be killed fled.

"Next morning we were marched into the forest just before the army arrived. For three or four days we walked, even the elderly nun, as the simbas chopped the trees carrying behind to stop us from being followed. We finally stopped behind the town of Basali and stayed there, until one day an

army patrol came within three miles of our spot and again we were taken deeper into the bush. We lived there on African food in small huts with beds of bark trees, without covers, and no change of clothes. We lived like the simbas who had nothing either.

"On Saturday afternoon an argument broke out among the simbas over what to do. We were in a small valley, and, without their knowing it, the Government troops had encircled us behind the hills. Suddenly, as in films about the 1914-18 war, the troops came running over the hills. It was all over in five minutes and we were free. One rebel was killed and I think three wounded as the rebels quickly ran off."

Miss Hayes said she believed the rebels had a policy not to kill women unless provoked, and because five of them were trained nurses and could be useful.

She said that she would return to London to see her parents in Islington and would then rest. "Then, if my missionary says so, I shall be prepared to return to the Congo."

Tusks weighing 116lb. and 92lb., a record for Rhodesia, have been found on a dead elephant.

Twelve officer cadets from the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar are to spend a year in Canada on a cadet course.

The United Kingdom Government has promised capital assistance to the African Development Bank now in course of formation.

Nine more game reserves have been created in Uganda, bringing the total to 13. They were formerly parts of controlled hunting areas.

Two Khartoum newspapers *Elsafa* and *Alakhabar*, which were closed by order of the last Government, have now been allowed to resume publication.

Tanzania has declined further military assistance from Israel and refused to receive a visit from an Israeli Military Academy Mission now touring Africa.

Malawi's new five-year development plan provides for expenditure of £44.6m., most of which is expected to be covered by grants and loans from other countries.

A Christian Council of Southern Rhodesia has been formed. At the inaugural meeting 13 denominations were represented, half the delegates being African and about one-third laymen.

The U.S. Agency for International Development has given Kenya 30 motor cycles for use by co-operative inspectors. The Netherlands Bank had previously given seven for the same purpose.

Western Germany has promised Somalia D.M.22m. for road construction and a textile factory, D.M.16m. towards the cost of the country's technical programme, and D.M.7m. for increases in the police force.

Despite the breach in diplomatic relations, H.M. Government is offering 11 scholarships a year to candidates from the Somali Republic. The Somali Government has suggested that they should be used for the benefit of Somalis in Britain.

Final year medical students at Birmingham University may exchange with similar undergraduates from the University College of Rhodesia. It is hoped that the first men from Birmingham will go to Salisbury in October next year for about six months.

The census of Africans in Southern Rhodesia taken two years ago showed the total at 3,618,150 according to the final report, which is only now available. The rate of population increase is put at 3.5%, whereas in most African countries it has been taken as between 2% and 2.5%.

The Government of Canada has granted two-year training awards at the Institute of Mining, Haileybury, Ontario, to nine Tanganyika Africans, and two scholarships for a nine-month course at Coady International Institute, Nova Scotia, to two African community development assistants.

Luapula Area Blind Board has presented a small poultry, vegetable and fruit farm to a blind African in the Fort Rosebery area who had completed two years' training at Kambowa Blind Training Centre. He is the first man to be placed on a farm under Zambia's rehabilitation scheme for the blind.

Parliamentary elections throughout Ethiopia opened last week, but the names of successful candidates for the Lower House will not be announced until September. There are 2,300 candidates for 250 seats. Names on the electoral rolls totalled nearly five million from a population of about 27 million.

David Kaunda Secondary Technical School is the new name of Hodgson Technical College, which has provided training for Africans in various crafts, including carpentry, plumbing, decorating, electrical installation, leatherwork, brickwork, and tailoring. Because Africans are more attracted by academic types of education, the enrolment this year has fallen to 262 students, whereas there is accommodation for 450. It was therefore decided that the college should become a secondary technical school with emphasis on mathematics and science. The new name honours Dr. Kaunda's father.

Kenya Bans Trade Union Meetings Government Warns Union Leaders

PRESIDENT KENYATTA gave the following warning last week to trade unionists in Kenya: —

"Since the attainment of independence the Government has kept under constant review all aspects of trade unionism. The Government recognizes the important rôle played by the workers in the course of our struggle for independence. It is well aware of the great sacrifice made by thousands of workers in Kenya so that we may be able to live in a free society wherein all citizens would be entitled to a decent standard of life.

"The Government has always therefore believed that the workers must have a proper voice and influence in our new society. They must be protected against exploitation by employers and be given opportunity for maximum contribution to the growth and development of Kenya and for self-improvement. There is no conflict between the Government and the trade unions. This is a people's Government, and its programme is a people's programme.

"The second important factor is that the K.A.N.U. party was elected by the people. In its manifesto a very prominent place was given to the trade unions. The relevant clauses said: —

"The Labour movement has been in the vanguard of our struggle against colonialism. We welcome its continued co-operation in the inspiring task of nation-building. We believe that in its representation of the working people of Kenya it will in the future as in the past put national needs before narrow sectional interests.

"The Marxist theory of class warfare has no relevance to Kenya's situation. Attitudes which were appropriate when we were fighting for independence have to be revised. An all-out war by the unions now could only be waged against their own Government and fellow-citizens.

"We have clearly stated our belief in a high-wage economy and the steps we intend to take to improve the lot

of the workers. Naturally the unions will support these aims, and we trust they in turn will instil in their members the need for hard work at the job they are doing. Remember that whatever your task, you are working for the prosperity of Kenya.

"We are confident that the unions will constantly press employers to train their workers to the peak of their abilities. The basis for the settlement of disputes has been laid down both in legislation and in the industrial charter. Both sides of industry must use the proper procedures. The guarantees for the preservation of the rights of trade unions lie in their recognition of the responsible rôle they have to play in building a prosperous Kenya.

"The Constitution of Kenya guarantees freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining. The Government's outlook and reactions have been conditioned by these factors. In this spirit we have taken trade unions into our full confidence at every point.

"In 1963, even before independence we introduced the Industrial Relations Charter. This was a unique demonstration of faith on the part of the Government. It was left to the union leaders to return their expression of confidence and accept the challenge requiring responsible leadership. Some union leaders rose to the occasion. Others abused this confidence. Such leaders misunderstood the Government's overtures as a sign of weakness or lack of resolution. Such leaders created grave doubts in the minds of the Kenya people as to the amount of trust that could be left with the union leaders.

"But we did not lose faith. We felt that perhaps these were the problems of transition. The Government then introduced certain legislation requested by the unions, including the check-off system, removal of the '10s. war', and the setting up of the permanent industrial court. The aim was to afford the unions a basis for greater internal stability. Instead, internal squabbles continued and even increased.

"Unlike other countries, the Government left it largely to the unions to determine their own structure, to create greater unity of the movement, and to settle the question of international affiliation. It is true that the trade unions decided on disaffiliation, but we are aware that certain contacts with groups outside Kenya have continued. These cannot but lead to confusion and continued division.

"This external influence and interference cannot permit a healthy trade union movement committed unreservedly to our own national policies.

One Union Only

"The Government has also been aware of the negative attitude some union leaders have shown towards the industrial court, as well as continued disregard for negotiated agreements. It is also true that trade union leaders have failed to bring about unity in the movement.

"In 1964 the Government was encouraged by the positive decision by all trade union leaders in support of the tripartite agreement. Unfortunately, some of the leaders did not take too long in seeking to undermine this agreement by threatening and organizing strikes during the life of the agreement. The agreement specifically banned all strikes.

"I reaffirm that the Government is completely committed to the protection of the workers' interests and rights. But these interests can exist only within a viable and stable community. The country as a whole looks to the workers to perform their rôle as an instrument for development. But this hope is not possible when union leaders decide and publicly announce that their first priority is a struggle for personal power and leadership. Nor can workers expect their interests to be effectively represented when the central organizations tend to transform themselves into political parties.

"Having regard to these developments, I have come to the conclusion that the Government should now review the trade union situation and take appropriate action to protect the workers and advance the interests of the nation. The time has also come for the Government to implement fully the policy outlined in Sessional Paper No. 10. Under recommendation No. 53 it was agreed that in future we should have only one trade union central organization.

"In order to facilitate this review I have decided (1) to appoint a committee under the chairmanship of the Minister for Labour, and including the Attorney-General, the Minister for Finance, the Minister for Economic Planning and Development, the Minister for Local Government, and the Assistant Minister in the President's Office, and (2) that no further public meetings or any form of demonstration shall be allowed for either the K.F.I. or the K.A.W.C. in order to end public bickering and the recent quasi-political activities and statements by the leaders of these organizations.

"Each day we read of threats of strikes and even threats against the Government itself, and some of the leaders who should be concerned with promoting the workers' interests spend all their time and the workers' trade union contributions for non-trade union activities."

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Parliamentary Flattery of Dr. Banda

"Civil Servants Can Be Bought"

AFTER DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, had given his Parliament his version of what he called "Chipembere's rebellion", a couple of days were occupied in speeches from Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, and other Members, who added few facts but indulged in much obsequious flattery of their leader.

Mr. J. S. Mvulaatera protested that "neither the Creator in Heaven nor Lucifer in Hell will accept Chipembere's gang to rule us here".

Mr. M. M. Lungu declared: "The Government under Ngwazi is legitimate in the eyes of democracy, in the eyes of the masses of Malawi, in the eyes of the true God, the Heavenly Father. If this Government were the Government of Satan, these rebels would have succeeded. Because it is a godly Government brought in by His son, the Ngwazi, it is certainly very, very firm indeed".

Mr. A. S. Chimphanje, having expressed pleasure that the Prime Minister would not allow the people to "make a tough hunt for Chipembere", said: "I can see the one that betrayed Lord Jesus was an elder man who used to sit near him. Chipembere is going to face him".

Mr. M.-L. Y. Kwengwere, who said that in his constituency the Young Leaguers had prepared their knobkerries in readiness to hunt the rebels and their fellow gangsters, believed that "as God will never allow Satan to share Heaven with him, so Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda will never allow Henry Chifisi [Hyena, i.e., Chipembere] and his gangsters to come and destroy the freedom that has been achieved".

Mr. J. W. Chikwita asserted that the people in the villages recognized only one leader, "their beloved Prime Minister, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, the Ngwazi, whom we can call Moses or Jesus, one leader".

Must Check Ministers by Day and Night

Mr. J. D. Gunda called Chipembere "a hyena walking by night, a lizard, a blue lizard, remaining under a rock". Later he said: "Chipembere has created a dog, Silombere, and others who are in the bush today. They are not people, but cats". To bring to his side civil servants, teachers, students, and others, Chipembere had for a long time organized parties. He (Mr. Gunda) had been threatened with death because he would not attend them and support Chipembere.

Mr. H. B. C. Kanchiputu warned the Prime Minister that he "must check anybody and everybody in this House, chiefly the Ministers, checking them day and night; he must check every Minister, chiefly those who are highly educated".

Mr. A. J. K. Sendeza, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources, alleged that Chipembere had intended to form a Government with 100 Ministers, "because he promised most of the civil servants that he would make them Ministers".

Mr. K. C. Musopole, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Community and Social Development, suggested that the best way to deal with Chipembere was not to arrest him but to leave him in the bush to meet his death.

"Let him remain wherever he is to starve to death. He has to have regular meals, regular treatment for his disease of sugar diabetes, and regular insulin injections. He has not got all this and the diet recommended by physicians. He is going to die. So we should not waste time with Henry Chifisi".

During the Nairobi conference in February of the Organization of African Unity Chiume had, he said, sent a telegram on behalf of "all the traitors, the ex-Ministers, except Lady Macbeth, I mean Rose Chibambo; I compare her to Lady Macbeth, the ambitious woman who had a very, very meek husband and yet managed to influence him to murder King Duncan".

The Rev. T. J. S. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, was certain that Chipembere and his friends had long been distoyal at heart and that their attempt to overthrow the Government by force had been premeditated. They had planned to assassinate the Prime Minister and other Ministers and their faithful followers. For that reasonable course they would have the remorse of conscience and the condemnation of history.

Mr. E. Z. K. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, said: "Sometimes we have dirty leaders like Chipembere, Chiume, Chirwa, and other gangsters. When they were praised by the Ngwazi they thought they were big. Praises to fools are very dangerous, but to clean people praises are very encouraging because they work much better and with courage".

Self-Examination Recommended to Ministers

Mr. J. Z. U. Tembo, Minister of Finance, thought that the rebellion had started by way of bribery and competition for position.

"Therefore it is up to us who are on the front bench today to think deeply. Sometimes we must withdraw from public and retreat in order to look back on our deeds and our thoughts. The moment a Minister starts suspecting his friends he must check on himself. If as useless for us Ministers to believe all the time that when your friend has succeeded in a particular thing he is doing that in order to overshadow you. When you start thinking: 'Oh, Aleke Banda did not write about me in the newspaper; he is no good', you must check yourself before you start. It is very difficult to know when something is going wrong, but I mention this as part of the symptoms that indicate something going wrong".

Mr. J. D. Msonthi, Minister of Education, said of Mr. Chiume: "That man does not like anybody at all. He doesn't even like his wife. How can he be a Prime Minister if he cannot even love his own wife?"

Mr. R. B. Chidzanja, Minister of Home Affairs, said that until Dr. Banda had returned to the country Kanyama Chiume had not known how to comb his own hair or dress. "He came here in a sweater. He didn't have a jacket. Look at the smart people here now. Who taught us this? Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda".

Speaking of the attachment of the people to Dr. Banda, Mr. Chidzanja quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel: "These people draw nigh unto me with their mouth and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men".

In a long reply the Prime Minister remarked that he could speak for from five to 10 hours without food.

At the end of 1955 Manoah Chirwa—who had not then thought of Chiume and Chipembere—wrote to him in Ghana saying that he wanted him to be the first African in the new Legislative Council.

"I wrote a furious letter to Manoah. I said: 'You are insulting me. Do you think I could enter the new Legislative Council under Armitage and Welensky? Don't insult me. I will be in the Legislative Council after freeing the country from the skunk Federation'. It was after that that Manoah Chirwa decided on these two stooges of his. He was buying them with money before they went to the Legislative Council.

"I would have been here in 1956 in this House if I had wanted, but I was not going to be bought by a Chief Secretary, by Armitage—or Welensky would have persuaded Armitage to bribe me to enter the Executive Council so that I could be silenced and not talk against the stupid Federation. So I refused and waited my time. Now I am here through the will of the people, not of clerks who are bought by tea, if not whisky or wine.

Ready to Detain 100,000

"My first duty in this country is to maintain political stability, efficient administration, and if to do that I have to detain 10,000 or 100,000 I will do it. An hon. Member said that if it becomes necessary to put so many people in detention that does not mean that the people are behind me. I don't agree with that! We have a population here of four million. Some of these people, Chiume and Chipembere, can get money from China and Russia and buy 10,000. If 10,000 people have been bought by Chipembere because of money from China, because of money from Russia, I have to send them to detention.

"Fortunately for this country, I do not think that even with all the money from Russia, with all the money from China, they can buy as many as 10,000. They can't! We haven't got 10,000 clerks, and it's only the civil servants, and the educated ones, that can be bought. The ordinary people in the villages cannot be bought. The ordinary people are behind me. We need not worry. But those third-class clerks, third-class businessmen, who allow themselves to be bought by tea parties, by whisky, even money, are going to rot because Chipembere is never coming here to form a Government".

On July 6, when the first anniversary of independence would be celebrated, no outsiders would be invited. "This is my people's show. They will be the guests of honour this time".

British and Commonwealth Shipping Co.

THE BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO., LTD., owners of the Union-Castle and Clan lines, which had 76 vessels afloat at the end of last year and another six building, reports profits after tax for 1964, excluding the benefit of investment allowances, at £1,787,000, compared with £1,367,000, £991,000, and £992,000 in the three previous years. Including investment allowance benefit, the profits for the last three years were £3.5m., £1.5m., and £2.6m. Trading profits before depreciation were £8.3m., £7.6m., and £6.7m. The depreciation charge last year was £5.7m.

Net income from investments increased by £369,000 to £656,000. Taxation at £1.4m. was equivalent to 8s. 9d. in the £ of profit.

Shareholders receive 12%, compared with 10.7% in the previous year, the dividend being covered 1.4 times by profits and 2.9 times if the benefit of the investment allowances is taken into account.

Sir Nicholas Cayzer is the chairman, and Lord Rotherwick, Mr. Bernard G. S. Cayzer, and the Hon. Anthony Cayzer are deputy chairmen. The other members of the board are Sir George Erskine and Messrs. John S. Bevan, Rupert Munton, James A. Thomson, and W. Laurence Woof. The secretary is Mr. Andrew Irving.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., a group with large East African electrical interests, will shortly issue £24m. of stock.

Buret Tea Co., Ltd., Kenya, announces profits before tax for the year to March 31 at 120,896 (£78,456). The dividend is 40 cents per unit.

Rhodesian Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., proposes to spend nearly £300,000 on expansion of its Redcliff works near Que Que in order to meet increased demands for steel from Rhodesia, Zambia, and South Africa.

Inruan-Uganda Development Agency, Ltd., Delhi, is to spend about £10m. on four sugar factories in Uganda, they will produce 100,000 tons of sugar annually.

The Rhodesia Tobacco Growers' Association has decided to make a gift to tobacco growers in Zambia in order to enable them to start their own association and hail insurance scheme.

Rootes (Central Africa), Ltd., are to assemble in their Salisbury factory commercial vehicles for the Chrysler group of the U.S.A. In the first year it is expected that about 90 vehicles, representing a turnover of £100,000, will be handled.

When asked in the House of Commons to estimate the dollar costs of replacing supplies of tobacco from Rhodesia, a Government spokesman said that "the additional import cost of buying tobacco from dollar sources would be relatively small".

A West German group is to take a 50% interest in a new graphite industry in the Karoi district of Rhodesia. The balance of the shares will be held by the Industrial Development Corporation of Southern Rhodesia, Ltd., and Rhodesian Graphite (Pvt.), Ltd.

The David Whitehead group has placed orders with Platt Bros., Oldham, for cotton spinning plant for their Gatooma factory in Rhodesia to a value of about £400,000. This will increase productive capacity by 110,000 lb. of carded and combed yarn per week.

In the first four months of this year 40 companies registered in Rhodesia increased their capital by £16.1m. In the same period of last year 81 companies made increases aggregating £6.5m. Since January this year 273 new companies have been registered with total nominal capital of £3.7m.

A cashew nut processing plant is to be erected in Mtwara, Tanzania, by an Italian company, which will build a second factory in Lindi or Masasi, each with an initial capacity of at least 12,000 tons, which will be quickly raised to 30,000 tons. The two factories should within a couple of years be able to handle the Southern Region's annual production of 60,000 tons of nuts.

So that the Netherlands Overseas Finance Company may subscribe £500,000 to the Tanganyika Development Finance Co., Ltd., the capital is to be raised from £1.5m. to £2m. Tanzania (through its National Development Corporation), Britain (through the C.D.C.) and West Germany (through its Overseas Development Agency) have been equal partners. Commitments in 15 projects at present amount to £946,000.

Tanzania's National Development Corporation, which controls Lake Manyara Hotel, is to form a company in partnership with two international organizations with wide experience in the hotel industry. N.D.C. will subscribe £120,000 of the share capital and the partners will provide loan finance of £150,000. It is planned to build a game lodge with 100 beds at Seronera, in the Serengeti National Park. Another game lodge of the same size will be built at the Ngorongoro Crater, and Lake Manyara Hotel will be expanded from 100 beds to 150 beds.

Tanzania's Development Corporation

TANZANIA has now a National Development Corporation, in which the Tanganyika Development Corporation and the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation are merged, and to which the Government's investments in Williamson Diamond Mines, Ltd., Tanganyika Packers, Ltd., and Nyanza Salt Mines, Ltd., have been transferred. The chairman of the new body is Mr. Amir Jamal, Minister of State in the President's Office, and Mr. Paul Bomani, the Finance Minister, is deputy chairman. The other directors are Mr. Kasambala, Minister for Industries, Mineral Resources and Power; Mr. Abdulrahman Babu, Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives; Mr. Saidi Maswanya, Minister for Agriculture, Forests and Wildlife; Mr. Idris Abdulla, Minister for Information and Tourism, and Messrs. H. R. Msefya, Abdul Karim, Y. A. Karimjee, K. E. Svensen, and J. T. Lupembe. The general manager is Mr. J. Faudon, hitherto the Government's director of planning.

Continental Interest in Kenya

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT has offered to send to Kenya at its own cost three doctors, three veterinary surgeons, three agricultural scientists, two irrigation experts, and a computer expert, and Kenya African students are to receive technical training in Italian institutions.

This news was given in Nairobi by Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, on his return from visits to Italy and France.

Italian consultants have just arrived in Nairobi to examine projects in which Italian business groups might co-operate. A rice milling factory at Mwea Tabere, a cashew nut factory on the coast, and a machine tool factory in Nairobi are under consideration.

Italy may also buy large quantities of Kenya beef and dairy produce.

France has been asked to send planning officers, a market research specialist, and teachers of French in secondary schools and teacher training centres. Some Kenya African teachers are to take degree courses at French universities, and some African girls from that republic are to take language and secretarial courses in France, since the Kenya Government urgently needs French-speaking secretaries.

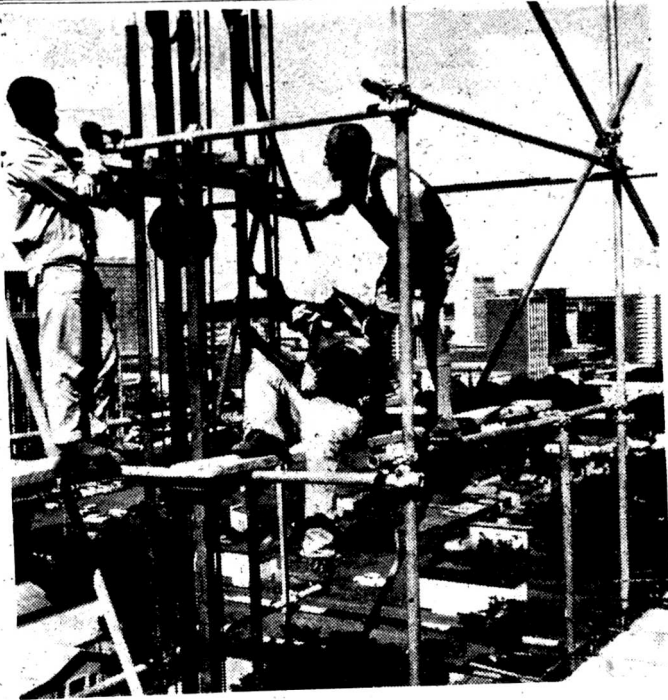
Appalling Display

MR. G. SULLIVAN has written from Ntare School, Mbarara, to the *Guardian*: "The ambitious Uganda Trade Fair was conspicuous for the appalling display on the British stand, which consisted largely of a child's bicycle and a pair of leather gloves. One would have thought that, with the pressing need to discover new export outlets to offset Britain's perennial balance-of-payments crisis, the expanding market of a developing country would have ordered an attractive incentive for manufacturers to display a vast range of goods from agricultural machinery to consumer durables. The Italian prize-winning stand presented a comprehensive array of manufactured products. Israel showed elaborate air-conditioning equipment, a refrigerator, and other domestic goods. The Japanese took the opportunity to air their new cars at very competitive prices".

Sudan Party Leader Arrested

SAYED ALI ABDEL RAHMAN, leader of the Sudan People's Democratic Party, was arrested in Khartoum at the week-end when he returned from Egypt. He is charged with abetting murder as a result of clashes which caused the death of 13 people after his party had called in April for violent opposition to the elections for the Sudan Constituent Assembly.

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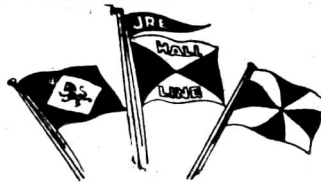
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. IAN SMITH has warned the British Cabinet that his Government would regard any attempt by the United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia as interference in its internal affairs—and

Britain Again Warned Against Interference.

he added when telling Parliament of his message in that sense to Mr. Wilson: "I hope no one has any false illusions as to what that would mean". A direct warning of that nature was to be expected, as British Ministers must have recognized. What may well have surprised them, and still more Rhodesians, is that the first non-Rhodesian to voice approval of Mr. Smith's stand should have been Dr. Banda, than whom few prominent Africans can have made more uncomplimentary remarks about Rhodesia. Nevertheless, as he passed through Salisbury Airport last week on his way back to Malawi from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference he volunteered the helpful statement that "I would have done the same thing as Mr. Smith if I had been in his position", adding for good measure that Parliament would never allow a British politician to use the armed forces to solve the Rhodesian problem, and that any British Prime Minister who proposed such action would be "thrown out", since an attempt to use troops would certainly cause them to mutiny. A few days earlier President Kaunda of Zambia, Dr. Banda's neighbour, had offered H.M. Government the use of military and air facilities in his republic from which to make war on Rhodesia. Dr. Banda marked his arrival in Blantyre with an assurance that no similar help would be provided by Malawi. That demonstrated once more the unreliability of the much vaunted African unity. It puts Dr. Banda at open enmity with both President Kaunda and President Nyerere.

A number of the newly independent Commonwealth African States (which he did not name) were denounced in contemptuous terms by Mr. Smith in a speech which is recorded elsewhere in this issue. He de-

Commonwealth Split From Top to Bottom.

scribed the Commonwealth as split from top to bottom, and said that some of the African territories to which independence had been prematurely granted by Britain were on their way back to barbarism. If the Commonwealth foundered, it would, the Prime Minister emphasized, be the consequence of Britain's departure from her old standards, her old convictions of right and wrong, and her resort to appeasement of countries which had rejected the accepted British standards. There was "conclusive proof", for instance, that three countries to the north of Rhodesia, fellow members of the British Commonwealth, were "aiding and abetting the training of saboteurs against Rhodesia by Chinese Communists", and some of those saboteurs had been caught, tried and convicted. Yet countries which acted in that way, and in which Africans murdered one another by hundreds each year, were allowed great influence at Commonwealth Conferences which had once symbolized the highest standards of civilization ever known in the world. Such words, addressed to Rhodesians, will find an echo in the minds of many men elsewhere in the Commonwealth, and not least in Britain, where there is, we believe, a widening realization of the calamitous consequences of the faithlessness and folly of the Macmillan-Macleod-Wilson-Brockway school of politicians—for in African affairs there is, of course, nothing to choose between these men of opposing parties and their submissive dupes.

IT WAS NO ACCIDENT, we may be sure, that such great publicity has been given in the past few days to the alleged urgency of building a railway from Zambia to Tanzania and to the prospect of a triumphant *coup* by Communist China if the Western Powers did not promptly promise to furnish finance, experts, and all the necessary equipment (for the so-called independent African States can of course provide none of these services for themselves). As was assuredly expected by those who arranged that the story of Chinese willingness to foot the bill and build the line should break at the close of the Commonwealth Conference, some commentators in the United Kingdom immediately demanded that Britain and the United States should offer to undertake the task. They naïvely assumed that China could find the money and the material, when it is extremely unlikely that she could supply either. Her interest is obviously to introduce hundreds of technicians, and probably thousands of others, into East and Central Africa and use them for the purposes of propaganda and subversion.

Presidents Nyerere and Kuanda, to name the two African leaders particularly concerned, must recognize that risk, and the danger which it would involve to their own positions and States. Is it not reasonable

Real Risks Involved. to think that they are more willing to use the Chinese initiative as a means of stirring up competitive interest in Europe and America than they would be to have a great number of Chinese at large in indifferently administered areas of their countries? These indoctrinated fanatics would cause irremediable trouble, not least by introducing many more agencies for the bribery and corruption of Africans willing to accept foreign money and serve foreign masters—and such men have been described by the Prime Minister of Uganda as Africa's greatest danger. Dr. Obote will therefore certainly not favour a great influx of Chinese. Neither will President Kenyatta. The emotionalists who have shown such agitation might take these factors into account, relax, and wait.

It would then be seen whether the Chinese offer is for propaganda or practical purposes. They are of course not to be blamed for seeking to exploit their opportunities of whichever

Susceptible to Corrupt Influences. type — opportunities which opened for them with the revolution in Zanzibar, which was the direct result of the stupid policy of appeasing any clamorous nationalistic group in Africa.

That nostrum of the Macmillan-Macleod regime was accepted by a feeble Cabinet and a supine Conservative Party in Parliament, warmly endorsed by almost all the Socialists and Liberals in public life, and spared objective examination and thorough criticism in the United Kingdom Press and on the radio and television channels. How could a public so deliberately and consistently deprived of the knowledge of the real facts and of leadership express its instinctive resentment for reckless disregard of Britain's dual trusteeship in Africa—for the African peoples under her administration and for the interests of the Commonwealth and the free world, interests which ultimately coincide? This betrayal of the true interests of Africans in the mass has thrust power upon African politicians who, with all too few exceptions, are by nature dictatorial, not democratic; careerist, not idealistic; brash, not competent; exhibitionist, not experienced; and for these and other reasons easily susceptible to corrupt influences. That this is not just the harsh judgment of a white man is proved by the constant public strictures by African Cabinet Ministers of those politicians and trade union leaders of their own race who eagerly accept bribes and in return render the services required by their foreign paymasters. Cabinets already frightened by this trend will presumably be much more cautious about Chinese plans than almost all the commentators in the British Press have shown themselves to be.

Statements Worth Noting

"Parliament's combination of idealism and pragmatism has never been more needed than to-day".—Her Majesty the Queen.

"The authoritarian Government now shaping in Malawi disturbs me".—Mr. D. Rubadiri, former Malawi Ambassador in the United States.

"If I had to choose between African majority rule for Rhodesia or independence led by Mr. Smith under the present Constitution, I should choose the latter. I will not accept orders to 'declare war on Rhodesia'".—Sir Gerald Nabarro.

"Britain is the running dog of United States imperialism in its war of aggression in Vietnam. Britain is culprit No. 1 in the burning issue of Southern Rhodesia, which may lead to horrific bloodshed in Africa".—From a talk from Radio Dar es Salaam while the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was meeting in London.

"Mischief-makers in Kenya are trying to poison the good relations which Mzee Kenyatta had established with our brothers in other parts of Africa. They attack Heads of State and Government in, for example, Tanzania, Ghana, and Uganda. These imperialist agents want to build a circle of hostile States around Kenya".—Mr. P. J. Ngei, Minister for Co-operatives and Marketing in Kenya, speaking in Meru.

Notes By The Way

Sir Charles Ponsonby

THE MOST DELIGHTFUL short book which I have read for a long time is Sir Charles Ponsonby's all-too-brief autobiography, "Ponsonby Remembers." Like the man himself, it is exceptionally modest and friendly. In his long life (he is now 86) he can think of no more than half a dozen people whom he has disliked or distrusted—not, of course, because all the others were always trustworthy, but because his own obvious good faith put them on their mettle. Having had the real pleasure of knowing and seeing much of him for 40 years, I can testify to his sense of public duty, his faithful and imperturbable discharge of any responsibility which he undertakes, his devotion to all sorts of good causes, his gifts as a conciliator, the catholicity of his friendships, and, above all his other interests outside his family, that in the Commonwealth in general and Africa in particular. For four decades I have known him as a good man in any company and any circumstances.

Life Epitomized

HAD THE BOOK been three or four times as long—as his friends would assuredly have wished—he would have been able to develop at adequate length reminiscences of and ideas about Africa to which he has made only passing reference or none at all; for his purpose has merely been "to let my descendants know how I spent and enjoyed my 80-odd years." They will sense the quality of their ancestor from his laconic epitome of his life (of just under two pages for every year of it), and share the regret of his present friends that one who has lived his life so sincerely, happily, successfully, and yet unpretentiously, compiled no fuller record. Repeatedly in reading the little volume I felt that those who read the typescript should have persuaded him to expand his story. It could have added so much more to the archives of a family which has given great service to the State.

Modest Chronicler

HIS FOREBEARS were politicians, soldiers, squires, cricketers, and countrymen on one side and merchant venturers and philanthropists on the other, "kindly, good people, doing a fine job of work in the state of life to which they were called." Those words are strictly applicable to the author, who on his penultimate page writes that his memory always drifts back to country scenes, to the smell of the saddle and feel of the horse, to rides with the family, and to friends and acquaintances. He is so modest that he tells posterity that the Tory committee in Sevenoaks selected him as prospective candidate only by 103 votes to 100; that his maiden speech in the Commons was poor and that he committed the offence of straying into the gangway; that he was "no good" when serving on standing committees of the House; and that Mr. Eden, then Secretary of State for War, whom he scarcely knew, selected him as his P.P.S. only because he was too old to be taken off for some other war job. Parliamentary colleagues would tell the story differently. Some may remember, incidentally, that he once made 68 runs for the Lords and Commons at the Oval; he had occasionally played cricket for Oxfordshire, and as an Eton Rambler had a hat-trick to his credit.

Guiding Principles

A CHANCE WORD, a chance meeting, changed the direction of his life on important occasions. If he had not gone to Madrid in 1921 he would, he says, not have been asked to interest himself in Nyasaland, thus beginning an association with Africa which has lasted well over 40 years; and if at a luncheon he had not been placed beside a fellow officer in the Yeomanry he would not have become an M.P. Such characteristic self-effacement will not do: these two decisive steps were taken because the other man recognized him to possess the character, experience, and qualifications likely to justify the new responsibilities. Later came much travel all over the world, active involvement in the direction of great public bodies, and contacts with men of all classes in many races. Through it all Sir Charles Ponsonby has remained his true self, as can be testified by many people in and connected with Central and East Africa. A guiding principle, he confesses, has been to "keep innocency, and so shall it bring a man peace at last." On the same page he wrote: "I have not worried if a man is a fundamentalist or a member of Moral Rearmament so long as he has contributed something to the good order and friendliness of society. I read the Bible, and I still say the prayers which my mother wrote out for me. I still go to church, with a decided preference for my own church at Wootton, but am quite happy with a little wayside church in Scotland, a cathedral in Salisbury, Rhodesia, or a Baptist church in Boston, Mass."

Murder Incorporated

PRESIDENT KAUNDA had a large and enthusiastic audience when he spoke to the Royal Commonwealth Society on the rôle of the Commonwealth in world affairs. Zambia, he claimed, had achieved "freedom and independence with a minimum of violence". Who could possibly understand from such a statement that the violence of his political party was so serious that the Governor of the day once publicly denounced it as "Murder Incorporated"? Had there been more time for questions, one of the several men present who knew the facts might have contrasted them with the impression widespread in Britain that Northern Rhodesia moved to self-government in peace and harmony. The truth is that at one period more than 2,000 adherents of the Kaunda party had been jailed for committing crimes of violence, ranging from murder, maiming, arson of churches, schools, dormitories and dispensaries, to attempts to wreck trains, dynamite buildings, and otherwise demonstrate a disposition to thuggery.

Dodged the Question

THESE CRIMES were extenuated by the party as "political offences"—as pan-African politicians today excuse as "political" the outrages for which violent men in Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. have been condemned by the Rhodesian courts. The British Government and the British people are asked to consider "political" crimes unimportant. Responsible Rhodesians, black no less than white will not make such excuse for deliberate subverters of law and order. I asked President Kaunda, who had admitted that it was right to use force against Hitlerism, why it should be less right for the Government of Rhodesia to use force against the Hitler-typeegansterism of Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. I could not catch his reply, but friends in the front seats told me that he dodged the question.

Rhodesian Prime Minister's Reply to Commonwealth

Britain Warned Against Interference in Rhodesia's Internal Affairs

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, made a very firm reply in Parliament last Thursday to statements about his country made by other Commonwealth Prime Ministers during their recent conference in London.

He warned the British Government that any attempt to convene a Rhodesian constitutional conference would represent interference in its internal affairs, and that the consequences would be grave.

Mr. Smith said, however, that he was continuing his negotiations with Mr. Wilson in regard to independence. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has received the following full telegraphic report of the speech.

"The days from June 17 to 25 were good days for Rhodesia, quiet, peaceful days, with no trouble and no disturbances of any consequence. They were days which showed a marked upward trend in confidence in our country as indicated by the highest intake of immigrants we have had since the beginning of 1960 and the investment of very large capital sums, such as £7m. for the expansion of our iron and steel industry.

"In other words, Rhodesia has gone quietly along minding its own business, following its course in preserving its civilization and improving the economic level of all its inhabitants.

Immoral Behaviour

"During this period there has been a Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Certain of those Prime Ministers attacked Rhodesia, accusing us of committing certain acts. They sat in judgment on their own accusations, and condemned us without even granting us the right to be heard, thus denying us the most fundamental of all the rights of justice; rights which, incidentally, we inherited from Britain and brought with us from Britain when we brought civilization to this part of the world, rights and standards which we intend to maintain even if other members of the Commonwealth are prepared to throw them overboard.

"Moreover, certain of these Prime Ministers—I underline the word 'certain' because there were some who were not party to this immoral behaviour—tried to force the British Government to suspend our Constitution and convene a conference to determine a new Constitution for Rhodesia, in spite of the fact that the British Government have given us a solemn pledge that they will never do such a thing.

"Personally, I do not think that the British Government would descend to such action, although I must express my disappointment that they acceded to this matter of a conference being mentioned in the *communiqué*."

Negotiation Still Possible

"Within the last few days I have written to the British Prime Minister warning him that if the British Government should attempt to convene such a conference we would regard this as interference in our internal affairs. I hope no one has any false illusions as to what that would mean.

"There are many Rhodesians who hope and pray that such a thing will happen, believing that it will give us the opportunity which we are looking for. However, I believe that negotiation is still possible. So I do not fall into the category just mentioned—not yet.

"It is interesting to note the line-up as it took place at this Prime Ministers' Conference. On the one hand, there were those who refrained from accusing us in our absence and who accepted that they had no right to

interfere in our internal affairs. These were in the main the older and more mature members of the Commonwealth, who still believe in maintaining standards of morality, decency, fair play, and civilization.

"On the other hand, the attack upon us was led by certain countries in Africa to the north of us who in their short history of independence have jettisoned many of those standards of civilization which they inherited from the Mother Country.

Guilty of Heinous Crimes

"If we pause for a few moments to look at their records we find that they leave a lot to be desired. We find among their ranks, for example, a Government which was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of its people simply because of their religious beliefs. Another leading member created a cult which was responsible for—and I now quote words which I heard spoken by a senior British Minister of the Crown at a conference I attended some years ago—'perpetrating the most heinous crimes we have seen in this world in this century—even worse than those committed by Nazi Germany'.

"Then we have another Government which has forcibly suppressed all freedom of speech and opposition to itself and moreover has had no compunction in removing a Chief Justice from his office because his decisions did not suit the Government in power.

"My fourth and final example is a Government which recently carried out a successful revolution—unfortunately not bloodless—and is today without any shadow of doubt under the control of the Chinese Communists.

"In view of the behaviour of these people at the Prime Ministers' Conference, and bearing in mind the types which I just referred to, I believe that most Rhodesians will agree when I say that we will disregard anything that emanated from this conference, in fact, we will treat it with the contempt it deserves.

Lowered Standards

"I believe that if the Commonwealth founders it will not be so much because new members have lowered the standards and deviated from past ideals, but rather because the older members, those who were supposed to lead, have allowed themselves to be deviated from their past standards and accepted code, and have willingly acquiesced in filling the position of follower and not of leader.

"Two main constitutional questions face us at the moment: independence, and secondly, within or without the Commonwealth. The first issue is clear and decisive. We will have our independence; the only question to be determined is when. The second point is very much in the balance, and depends on which faction in the Commonwealth gains controlling influence.

"If it is those nations I mentioned earlier who believe in maintaining standards and principles, then I believe Rhodesia will wish to retain its links. On the other hand, if it is those other nations who have rejected all those things that we believe in, then I feel that we shall have nothing in common with the Commonwealth, and accordingly it would be dishonest and hypocritical for us to retain our association with them. This is a question upon which we here in Rhodesia are awaiting clarification.

"Let me make it clear that this is no attempt to persuade these Commonwealth countries to accept one particular policy or another, be it democracy or be it dictatorship—that is a matter for them to resolve with

their own consciences. This is simply an appeal for them to come clean and let everyone know precisely what the new Commonwealth stands for. Are the old, high standards going to reassert themselves, or are the new low standards going to be accepted as the new code?

"I believe that Britain, more than any other country, and as leader of the Commonwealth, must take stock of her position. Here is a country which not long ago was accepted by all as being one of the greatest countries in the world, and when it gave leadership and courage both moral and physical it held the most respected position in all the world. But is it still the case today? Is Britain leading the Commonwealth today, or is she being led against her better judgment by some of the newly-independent members?"

"Is it not the fact that Britain is no longer regarded as the leading nation in Western Europe, but that France now holds that privileged position? And is this not because France for some time now has been led by a man who has had the courage of his convictions, right or wrong, and is not prepared to vacillate or appease? In other words, we all know what France stands for, and therefore where we stand with France.

Commonwealth Split from Top to Bottom

"Is it not pertinent to ask why the Commonwealth is prepared to resort to appeasement and to allow itself to be deviated from what had been proved to be the right road? Is this assisting towards world peace and harmony? It is doing the very opposite.

"Those countries which were responsible for creating most of the trouble at the Conference are the self-same countries which have deviated most from what were the accepted British standards. Some are now practising dictatorship, and some have openly espoused the cause of Communism. In other words, they have a foot in both camps, and so have placed themselves in the most favourable position—that whichever camp eventually wins they will be in that camp. Incredible though it may be, this is something which they practise overtly and which other members of the Commonwealth are prepared to accept.

"If some members of the Commonwealth can get away with this most privileged position, in which they cannot lose whatever happens, why should not others do likewise?—except, of course, those whose moral principles will not permit them so to do. Is it not the fact that today the Commonwealth is split from top to bottom along the lines I have indicated?—that, for example, as far as certain top secrets are concerned, certain members of the Commonwealth are sufficiently trustworthy to be consulted, while others are not? Is this not the sort of thing which is bringing the Commonwealth into disrepute in the eyes of the rest of the free world?"

"I recall listening to one of my predecessors in office, who had been to many Prime Ministers' Conferences in London, and hearing him say what a wonderful experience it was to attend this gathering of leaders of the free world, men who came together to see what they could contribute to the common cause; what a tremendous feeling of security it gave, knowing that they all without exception followed a common ideal, and that if ever any single one was in need of help it would be there simply for the asking. How times have changed!

Saboteurs Trained by Chinese Communists

"Today there are some members—fortunately only a few—who I believe will remain members only so long as it pays them to be members. As for a common ideal, some members today practise the very thing which caused Britain to lead the Commonwealth into the world war in 1939.

"Last, but not least, let me refer to the help which was always there from fellow members for the asking. We have conclusive proof that three countries to the north of us, fellow members of the British Commonwealth, are aiding and abetting the training by Chinese Communists of saboteurs against Rhodesia, some of whom have already arrived and put into practise their diabolical learning.

"Leaders of these three countries were leading the attack against Rhodesia at the Conference last week. One thing they attacked us for was that we had caught, tried, and convicted some of the saboteurs who had been trained under their auspices. I repeat, how times have changed! How standards have fallen!

"In spite of the fact that we have been provoked, and in spite of the fact that we regard with considerable disgust

certain happenings in London last week, it is our intention to continue our negotiations with Britain. I believe that the British disapproved of many things which took place at the conference. Indeed, if the truth were known, I believe that the British Prime Minister would readily concede that over the period of this Conference he found himself in the company of strange bed-fellows—fellows who urged him to send British troops to Rhodesia and thereby promote conditions in which Britishers would kill Britishers. Brother would be killing brother, and even sons killing their fathers.

"Perhaps this is not all that surprising, coming as it does from countries which recently emerged from barbarism under the guidance of Britain; and now with independence and without the civilizing influence of Britain they are on their way back again to barbarism. In these countries they murder one another by the hundred and by the year. This is not going back in history; I am referring to last year, and can produce evidence to substantiate what I am saying.

"Perhaps the line followed by these people is not surprising when we understand their background. What is surprising, however, is that these people have such influence on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, a conference which in its heyday symbolized the greatest bastion of democracy in the world and the highest standards of civilization which have ever been known in the world.

"Can the present Commonwealth honestly say that they have complete trust in one another, and that they still believe in a common ideal and have a common aim? Does it still represent these high standards, or is the new Commonwealth declining in the eyes of the civilized world? These are questions which we and many other people are asking. When we know the answers we shall make up our minds on our future association with the Commonwealth."

Statements in House of Commons

P.M. Pressed for Clarification

MR. HAROLD WILSON said in Parliament last week in a statement on the Commonwealth Conference:—

"On Rhodesia the Prime Ministers expressed their views very fully. Equally, they accepted that the responsibility for leading Rhodesia, and indeed, all Britain's remaining territories to independence, must continue to rest with Britain.

"I informed them of the principles guiding us in our current discussions with Mr. Smith; but I thought it right to undertake that, if these discussions did not develop satisfactorily in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government would be ready to consider promoting a constitutional conference in order to ensure progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"This was a meeting in which the Commonwealth Prime Ministers showed their determination to make the best use of the particular characteristics of this family of nations. The Commonwealth represents the entire world—apart from the Communist sector—in miniature. If the major problems that lie ahead are those of race and poverty, then the Commonwealth, bridging as it does the gulfs between white and non-white, rich and poor, has a vital rôle to play in neutralizing the tensions of race and overcoming the divisions of wealth.

"Though there are difficulties ahead, and although no one wishes to suggest that in the Commonwealth we all think alike—indeed, I regard that as a source of strength rather than weakness—I am sure that the House will agree with many of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers that this meeting has given the Commonwealth a new sense of direction, a new sense of purpose, and a new sense of unity in diversity."

MR. WALL: "While accepting that the Commonwealth has a great part to play in future, may I ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the *communiqué* is more ambiguous than usual? Does he agree that to call a constitutional conference without the agreement of the Rhodesian Government would itself be an unconstitutional act?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "When there are 21 fully independent countries—we had once or twice to remind them that we

were independent too—each of which has a veto on any particular sentiment appearing in the *communiqué*, inevitably the *communiqué* is not always so clearly drafted as any of the 21 might wish.

"On Rhodesia, all that I would say is that the discussions will be resumed again with Mr Smith, and I hope that they will lead to independence on a basis which all of us can support".

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "It is very important that there should not be ambiguity in one respect in relation to Rhodesia. Could the Prime Minister make it quite clear that in considering the possibility of calling a constitutional conference in certain circumstances this will not infringe the pledge which the Commonwealth Secretary gave the House only a few weeks ago—that the convention that we do not legislate without the agreement of the Government of Rhodesia still stands? It is very important that that should be said now by the Prime Minister".

Hypothetical

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The whole possibility of a constitutional conference at this moment is hypothetical. If the negotiations in which we are engaged proceed satisfactorily, as I hope they will, then, as the *communiqué* said, a conference to prepare a Constitution—the terms of independence—would presumably be an automatic and agreed measure and there would be no problems on the lines that the rt. hon. gentleman has indicated. If not, we have said that we are prepared to consider promoting a constitutional conference of that kind. The Leader of the Opposition is going a very long way ahead in the negotiations.

"The important thing is to try to get these negotiations advanced and not start looking at things which may not arise for six months or 12 months, and which may not arise at all. I think that we are more concerned to get a satisfactory solution of this problem, which the rt. hon. gentleman—I do not complain—left for his successor to deal with. He had to face the same problem at the conference. He was right not to rush it, and we shall not rush it; and we will not be pushed around in these negotiations by hon. Members opposite".

MR. SANDYS: "In pursuing the point about Rhodesia, naturally I do not wish to make the negotiations any more

difficult, but to make sure that the negotiations go forward in a proper atmosphere. May I ask the Prime Minister to reaffirm the assurance given by the Commonwealth Secretary that the British Government will recognize and adhere to the convention that the Parliament here in Westminster does not legislate on matters which are within the legislative competence of the Parliament of Rhodesia? That is absolutely essential to start the negotiations on a proper footing".

No Departure from Convention

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We have certainly no intention whatever of departing from the convention. We intend to go forward with the negotiations and discussions, and I hope that no question will arise in which there could be a clash or a difficulty of this kind.

"None of us can foresee the future, and none of us can foresee in this situation the growth of tensions and the actions that will have to be taken. We are negotiating genuinely to get an agreed solution based on continued and unimpeded progress to majority rule. It is on that basis that we are negotiating. I think everyone will agree that the situation cannot be left in Rhodesia where it is. We want to deal with it by negotiation".

MR. TURTON: "Is the Prime Minister aware that his use of words to the effect that if negotiations with Rhodesia are not concluded speedily might be interpreted as a time-limit on the negotiations, and that, if so, this would impair the negotiations? Will he make it clear that he is not thinking in terms of a time-limit?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I think that all of us agree that the negotiations must be given full time to see whether we can reach agreement. That has been the basis, and over the past year we have shown this in the negotiations by the attitude of the previous Government and of the present Government.

"At the same time it will be realized that events and the pressures in the situation will not allow of a situation in which nothing at all is done. I think that Mr. Smith and the African leaders would agree with that. Therefore, nobody, I think, would want—neither the British Government, the Rhodesian Government, nor anyone else—to pursue dilatory methods in these negotiations. We must make progress. We intend to give ample time to see that progress can be made".

Rhodesia Has Already Paid the Price for Independence

"We Shall Not Pay Twice," Says Mr. Ian Smith

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said on Saturday that the Commonwealth had become an "unholy alliance", with its older members willing to tolerate spokesmen from newer member countries who criticized what was happening in Rhodesia. The older Commonwealth statesmen should make up their minds and say for what they stood.

Rhodesia was a member of the family of nations only because it had believed that the others stood for the things in which Rhodesia believed—that one member would assist another and that all would spread the gospel of the British way of life. Now they seemed to be going in opposite directions.

"So long as we have the backing of this country it is our intention to continue along the road on which we are going; and that means a place here for the Europeans for all time; and that would be the greatest service which could be given to Africans".

Will Make No Fundamental Concessions

On the previous day the Prime Minister had told the resident correspondent of the *Daily Mail* that he would make no fundamental concessions in negotiations with Britain in order to gain independence.

"We made our concessions when we accepted the present Constitution in a conference with Britain in 1961. We lowered our standards then to bring in the 15 B roll seats which Africans now have in Parliament. It was understood then that that was the price we were going to pay for our independence.

"So far as we are concerned it remains the price we are prepared to pay, and no more. We are not going to lower standards any further. Some people now seem to expect us to pay twice for our independence by conceding further representation in Parliament.

"It is ironical when you consider that, if we were negotiating today on the basis of the old, pre-1961 Constitution and offered five or 10 seats for Africans in return for our independence, we should be praised for making a generous concession.

"Well, we made an even more substantial concession than that, the only difference being that we made it four years ago. We have therefore paid for our independence. We won't pay for it a second time.

"I think that in a month from now we shall have cleared the ground sufficiently by correspondence to judge whether it is worth while to have a meeting with the British Government. I should welcome such a meeting here in Salisbury".

His attack on the Commonwealth on the previous day did not mean that he had given up all hope for it.

"I believe the Commonwealth will last a long, long time, but if it maintains its great standards and principles of the past some members are going to leave it. On the other hand, those members may have to be ousted for failing to measure up to the high standards—if they are maintained".

The Rhodesian United People's Party, formed by the Parliamentary Opposition, has issued a statement of principles which expresses the hope of independence within the Commonwealth by negotiation "on terms acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the country and with adequate safeguards for the rights of all".

The party, led by Mr. Josiah Gondo, was formed when the multi-racial Rhodesia Party collapsed after the defeat of all its candidates in the recent general election. Among the U.P.P. members are 10 of the 14 African M.P.s.

It hopes for a happy, prosperous Rhodesia, in which all sections of the community can live together "in harmony, free from fear and racial prejudice".

President Kuanda said in Lusaka on his arrival from the Commonwealth Conference in London: "Europeans in Rhodesia still have an opportunity to save their country from an otherwise certain blood-bath. If they behave sensibly future generations will have reason to be grateful to them".

Dr Banda Supports Rhodesia's Stand

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, said as he passed through Salisbury Airport—where he was greeted by Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister—that he agreed with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia that any attempt by Britain to call a constitutional conference would amount to interference in Rhodesia's internal affairs, which the Rhodesian Government would be right to resist, as he would do in similar case.

Any British Prime Minister who proposed to use military force against Rhodesia would be defeated in Parliament, and if any attempt were made to use force the British Army would mutiny, for the troops would not kill their brothers, cousins, or friends in Rhodesia.

The Rhodesian problem could be solved by Mr. Smith and the African nationalist leaders in Rhodesia meeting and talking. "They won't agree at first, but once they get to know each other things will happen".

When Dr. Banda reached Blantyre he said that the Malawi Government had no plans to make military bases available to Britain for use against Rhodesia. It was not realistic or human to expect British troops to fight against their fathers' friends in Rhodesia, and no British Parliament would authorize military intervention.

The Rhodesian problem would not be solved by force, and he was now much more optimistic that a solution would be found. But if it came to the push he would recognize a nationalist government-in-exile.

The coup in Algiers had proved even to people friendly

to Peking that China was not so friendly after all. "She just uses you. When you are no longer useful she ditches you".

In Dar es Salaam President Nyerere again referred to his conviction that the purpose of the present negotiations between British and Rhodesian Governments was to achieve independence "on the basis of minority rule, with appropriate safeguards for the majority". That was "a perfectly ridiculous idea", and the reason why he had tried to get the Commonwealth to insert in its *communiqué* the condition that independence should be negotiated only on the basis of majority rule. He had not succeeded in that matter.

He wanted future meetings of the Commonwealth Conference to be held elsewhere than in London, away from the "fusty Victorian atmosphere of Marlborough House." He objected that Britain exploited the Commonwealth for her own ends, and still regarded as her Empire what had become an instrument of international understanding. The 13 Afro-Asian members were to blame for the fact that the Commonwealth was still too Western.

Though in certain matters he was more British than Queen Victoria, he was thought in some quarters to be aligned with the Chinese because of his stand against the mission to Vietnam and his suit, which had been called mandarin-style. It would be a very long time before some people understood non-alignment.

In Lusaka Mr. Jason Moyo, treasurer of the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, criticized Dr. Banda for having denounced the idea of British military intervention in Rhodesia. He described Dr. Banda's statement as in line with the help and co-operation he had obtained from Mr. Smith, Dr. Salazar, and Britain.

The London *Sun* published a report alleging that President Kuanda had been told in London by Mr. Wayne Fredericks, a senior official of the United States State Department, that he could rely on a massive American air-lift of essential supplies if Mr. Smith tried to cripple the country by refusing transport facilities and cutting off power from Kariba.

There had been reports in many quarters that Mr. Fredericks had flown to London from Washington for a day in order to discuss the proposed railway from the Copperbelt to Tanzania. The *Sun* insisted that the sole purpose had been to discuss the "rescue operation".

Duke of Edinburgh's Plea for Patience

Spin Out the Process of Solving the Rhodesian Problem

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, speaking to some 300 students at Edinburgh University on Friday on Commonwealth questions, said that for obvious reasons he would say nothing about Rhodesia except that:—

"I recognize, as I think we all recognize, the impressions of many Africans about the situation in Rhodesia. I think that in the long run it is better to spin out the process of the solution of these difficulties with patience, and therefore with a bit of luck to get a peaceful result, than to risk a blood-bath and many other unpredictable results by forcing the pace at this moment.

"I think everybody recognizes that the ultimate result is inevitable; but I think a few years here and there do not matter if we can achieve this result peacefully and quietly".

Need for Sympathetic Understanding

African countries, he continued, were going through their formative years, and the first 10 or 15 years were the most important.

"This period is going to depend entirely upon the personalities of their leaders. The prestige and importance of the leaders of newly-independent countries are far greater than that of their successors will be, or that of the leaders of established States. They need all our sympathy and understanding at a moment when they are caught up in a fierce propaganda battle".

Journalists who made inquiries from Buckingham Palace about this statement of a current Common-

wealth question were told that the Duke had spoken off the cuff and in his personal capacity.

It was explained that speeches of the Queen are submitted to the Prime Minister when the Sovereign intends to mention any subject which may have political implications and so involve the Government, but that those of the Duke of Edinburgh would be referred to the Prime Minister only when he represented the Queen, as for instance, at ceremonies in countries attaining independence. Otherwise his statements were made in his private capacity.

Mr. Hugh Jenkins, left-wing Socialist M.P. for Putney, quickly announced that he would seek to table a motion in the House of Commons stating that a condition of constitutional monarchy was that royalty should not give public expression to contentious political opinions.

Lord Brockway, chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, expressed surprise that the Duke should have touched on the controversial subject of Rhodesia, and commented that his suggestion that delay of a few years did not matter ignored the Africans' sense of urgency, which had caused them to appeal at the Commonwealth conference for a constitutional conference within three months. The Duke had unhappily given encouragement to Mr. Ian Smith, whose whole strategy was to seek delay.

"Meanwhile 1,800 African leaders at national and local level are restricted, and 24 Africans are under sentence of death in Rhodesia. That cannot go on

(Continued on page 718)

PERSONALIA

MR. C. W. GUILLEBAUD was 75 last Friday. SIR MARK YOUNG, a former Governor of Tanganyika, was 79 last week.

LORD ALPORT has joined the board of Quahitex Yarns, Ltd., Burnley.

GENERAL COSTA ALMEIDA, Governor-General of Mozambique, is to visit Rhodesia next month.

MR. N. BERLIS, Canadian High Commissioner in East Africa, has left on transfer to another post.

DR. FARRER-BROWN, director of the Nuffield Foundation until last year, has received the honorary D.Sc. of Keele University.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA is to visit Chile next year. His Minister of Mines, MR. A. G. ZULU, will do so in September.

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, is to visit Yugoslavia, Russia, and China during the rest of this month. He left London on Monday.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., has been elected chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board. LORD COLYTON had held the office for five years.

DR. ALASTAIR HERON, who has been appointed Professor of Psychology in the University of Zambia, will become director of its African Studies Centre.

THE REV. L. G. FISHER, home secretary of the Church Missionary Society, has been appointed Archdeacon of Chester and Canon Residentiary of Chester Cathedral.

MR. FRANCIS THEAKSTON, for 34 years a director of Robert Hudson, Ltd., has retired from the board. He has been closely connected with East and Central African business.

MR. OKELLO-ODONGO, Deputy Finance Minister in Kenya, has said in the National Assembly that the national spirit of the country was under attack by the bogey of Communism.

MR. RONALD HERMAN HEUFF, works superintendent of the Chilanga cement factory near Lusaka, has been notified that he is to be deprived of Zambia citizenship. He has a right of appeal.

MR. F. MULLEY, Defence Minister for the Army, spent a day in Addis Ababa last week while on his way to Singapore. He met the EMPEROR and the Ethiopian Defence Minister.

MR. M. NALLUNGWE, Minister of Commerce and Industry, is leading the Zambian delegation to the current session in Geneva of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

BRIGADIER ANDREW DUNLOP, M.P. for Que Que, has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Road Traffic in Rhodesia, where he has ratched since 1949.

COMMANDER V. A. DE MAUNY has been elected chairman of Rosehaugh Tea (Holdings), Ltd., a company interested in tea growing in Malawi. MR. WILLIAM LATIMER has retired from the board.

Some 600 paintings by MISS BEATRICE DREWE, of Broadhembury, Devon, of indigenous Rhodesian flowering plants, which have been shown in London this week, are to be sold and the proceeds given to the Cancer Association of Rhodesia. The artist first visited that country in 1951, and has since returned each year.

MR. ROY W. WRIGHT has been appointed a deputy chairman and deputy chief executive of the Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, of which MR. VAL DUNCAN is chairman and chief executive, and MR. GERALD COKE a deputy chairman. MR. R. C. ATHERTON and MR. M. I. FREEMAN have been appointed managing directors. SIR GEORGE BOLTON has retired from the board.

CORPORAL KIPCHOGE KEINO, of the Kenya Police, finished second in the 5,000 metres race in the World Games in Helsinki last week. He ran splendidly, keeping close to the French winner, MICHAEL JAZY. KEINO'S time was 13 minutes 28.2 seconds.

MR. MAULIDI SUWEDI MTAMILA, who recently obtained an M.A. degree in chemistry at Trinity College, Dublin, where he has spent the last eight years, has been appointed lecturer in organic chemistry at University College, Dar es Salaam.

MISS MARGARET HAYES, the missionary nursing sister who survived two massacres by Congolese rebels during her 11 months in their hands, has received a special citation from the Congolese Government in recognition of her work and courage.

PRINCESS NAKATINDI, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Development in Zambia, is visiting France, Britain and Ireland in connexion with educational courses for African women from Zambia, especially the wives of male students.

MR. L. CHANGUFU, Minister of Information in Zambia, and MR. DONALD LIGHTFOOT, director of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation, are visiting West Germany in connexion with the possible supply of television, broadcasting, and printing equipment.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Second Vice-President of Tanzania, is president of the newly formed Tanzania National Children's Society, of which DR. C. V. MTAWALI is chairman. The joint honorary organizing secretaries are MR. J. M. BYALUGABA and MR. G. H. ROCKEY.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, sometime Governor-General of the Nigerian Federation, previously Civil Secretary in the Sudan, and now chairman of the governors of the Commonwealth Institute, has been appointed a Knight of the Thistle. He was at one period a director of the Uganda Company.

SIR KEITH ACUTT has been appointed chairman of Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., on the resignation of MR. H. H. TAYLOR, who has gone to Australia for the Anglo-American Corporation. MR. P. H. A. BROWNRIFF has resigned from the Wankie board, to which SIR HENRY McDOWELL and MR. G. W. H. RELLY have been elected.

DR. DOUGLAS G. ANGLIN, who has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia, now in process of creation, is a Canadian who served in the Royal Canadian Navy during the last war. As a Rhodes scholar at Oxford he obtained first class honours in P.P.E. He taught political science at the University of Manitoba until he became Professor of Political Science at Carleton University, Ottawa, in 1958.

Obituary

Mr. Robert Ruark

MR. ROBERT RUARK, an American author and journalist, who has died in a London hospital at the age of 49, wrote "Something of Value", a book about Kenya which was so repulsive that EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA declined to review it. It became a best-seller in America and elsewhere, and was followed by "Uhuru", a story of post-Mau Mau conditions in Kenya, for the publication of which he was declared a prohibited immigrant. He left the country just before he would have been arrested on a warrant in respect of a libel action issued by a well-known African politician. These books and a film made from the first of them reputedly made him a dollar millionaire.

DR. E. PARRY-JONES, who has died in hospital in Cambridge, had for many years worked on pest control in the Sudan, East Africa, and Rhodesia.

East African Dinner in London

Viscount Boyd the Chief Guest

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON was the principal guest of the East Africa Dinner Club last week at its annual gathering in London.

Sir Arthur Kirby, this year's president, said that among his predecessors in the office there had been former governors, chairmen of great banking, shipping, and other corporations, and other men of like stature. Now the club had selected a doer, beside whom was an ex-Secretary of State for the Colonies who had become a brewer of international repute.

"Brewers and dockers have the common purpose to pour things down the hatch. We dockers do it by fork-lift trucks and stout chaps. He does it by elbow lifts and chaps' stout!

"As Secretary of State for the Colonies, Alan Lennox-Boyd, as he then was, brought such charm, liveliness, and vigour to a difficult assignment that he gained the lasting respect and affection of all with whom he had to work or negotiate. We are all delighted to see Lord Boyd here tonight.

"Despite the political and economic uncertainties in East Africa, we steadily continue with this annual dinner. Once again we have in strength representatives of those great shipping companies who would have us believe that their ships conscientiously carry cargoes at conferentially conceded concession rates; of bankers who go bonkers about bullion; and of finance houses who suffer continuously the 90-day itch. These bankers live lives of ever-changing interest—9% today and 10% tomorrow, and always ready to accommodate; and all around see the overdrawn look of those who have been accommodated.

Contributors to Prosperity

"We are pleased, too, to see so many representatives of the trading and merchanting houses generically known as entrepreneurs—entering everywhere from ministerial sanctums to remote up-country dukas, and preneuring everything from pills to ploughs and cloves to coffee. They gossip about futures, develop fibrositis about ropey sisal prices, get baled up over cotton, tiddle over tea auctions, and try to bust the robusta market. They are the breath of life to the shipping companies, whose vessels they fill with freight; they give the bankers something to bonker about; and they create the trade which the finance houses lubricate with their 90-day wonder treatment.

"These are the people who have contributed so greatly to the economic prosperity of East Africa. They are the stimulators of trade. The pity of it is that for them as overseas trading companies the present outlook might be forecast as becoming 'Kaldor' and 'Kaldor'.

"It is 18 months since I was last in East Africa and getting on for three years since I had any active participation in the affairs of East Africa. Most people here tonight are better informed on immediate affairs than I. All sorts of conflicting accounts reach me about the situation in East Africa: some from people who love retailing alarm and dependency; some from people for whom the wind of change has brought distress and hardship; and some from those who bring good and hopeful reports.

"It is all too easy to be doleful when events do not conform to our own pattern of perfection, but we should not expect the East Africans to be wiser and more sophisticated than we would be in similar circumstances; and we certainly should not criticize them for not achieving standards of behaviour and government from which we ourselves fall short.

"We can take credit for having left a good basis of economic services in East Africa. We set and left a high standard of commercial morality, and, though rather late in the day, we fostered the political training from which the East African countries are now benefiting. Evidence of this is in the wisdom, erudition, and clarity on political and economic affairs which we see in the speeches of leading East African politicians—speeches which, in content and composition, many of our own politicians might try to emulate.

"East Africa could not be what it is today except for

what we did there—and it would have precious little today in terms of modern economics and national government if we hadn't been there. This is just a fact of history, and nothing to be self-congratulatory about. The sad part is that many of those who contributed so much now appear to be getting the worst end of the stick.

"The new countries have to face great and inescapable problems in the task of imposing 20th Century economy, techniques, and social order on traditional societies. We can assist by a practical understanding of their problems, but we cannot expect any spectacular increases in gross domestic product in countries with limited financial resources. The climb from £25 per head of national income to even £50 is going to be a tough and long haul.

"The destiny of any country rests in the quality of its people, and it is on this score that I am optimistic. I have faith in the capacity of the African people, and in proposing the toast of 'East Africa' I know that you would wish me to say how pleased we are to have with us this evening the High Commissioner for Uganda and the representative of the High Commissioner for Kenya. We ask them to convey our respects to their Governments. I regret the absence of Tanzania."

Lord Boyd's Reply

Lord Boyd thanked the chairman for his free advertisement for a product which he had once heard mentioned slightly in a sermon by the deputy for a bishop who preached in a cathedral in an African territory which he visited as Secretary of State—and he was proud to have held that office longer than anyone since Joseph Chamberlain. From his seat in the front pew he heard the parson deprecate much modern advertising and cite as an unhappy example the assertion on the hoardings that "Guinness Is Good for You".

If Sir Arthur Kirby had become chairman of the British Transport Docks Board via West Africa, Palestine, and East Africa, he had gone the other way round—from Minister of Transport to Colonial Secretary, a very welcome transfer.

Just before that change occurred he was speeding to London when a policeman on a motor-cycle pulled alongside and asked his name. "I am the Minister of Transport", he was told. "I asked your name, not your address" was the reply. Fortunately a sergeant appeared and intervened with a promise "not to say a word until you lose your job"—"which I was on the point of doing", Lord Boyd remarked.

"All your guests tonight have a common interest in East Africa. Some have always lived there, like the High Commissioner for Uganda, Mr. Timothy Bazarrubusa, and his daughter; Mr. Ilako, representing the High Commissioner for Kenya, and those from the royal houses of Toro and Ankole, whose families have added so much to the history, glamour, and stability of life in Uganda. Others, of my own race, some now third generation East Africans, can look back with pride on their contributions.

"It is only 107 years, since Speke and Burton first saw Lake Tanganyika, aided by the courage, persistence, and faithfulness of the African caravan porters who helped them, and of whom it was said that 'they bore the future of East Africa on their heads as day after weary day they trudged through bush and swamps to serve purposes beyond their comprehension'.

"It is still less than 50 years since Winston Churchill, seeing so much power running to waste at the Ripon Falls, had a vision of the Nile beginning its long beneficent journey to the sea by leaping through a turbine.

Race Irrelevant

"Never once while Sir Winston was Prime Minister and I his Secretary of State for the Colonies did a question of race arise in any discussion."

"It needed no wind of change to recall Britain's purpose in becoming a colonizing Power—to accept the obligations implicit in the fact that the Almighty had placed our hands to the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrows the nations of the future were germinating and taking shape.

"All of us treasure our own memories of East Africa, this immense and lovely area of the world—of Mount Kenya, of Kilimanjaro, of much else that is beautiful and impressive, and, above all, of charming, generous, happy people. Such memories we shall treasure for life. They will be paralleled, I hope, by those of our young people now on Voluntary Service Overseas, of whom there are at this moment 14 in Tanzania, 42 in Uganda, and 51 in Kenya.

"I recall also the demonstrators who were paraded to impress a Secretary of State when he visited any part of Africa. I shall always remember the small boy in Uganda who had been given a placard too large for him to carry. So he cut it in half, put pieces of string through both

sections, and wore in front—there was nothing else—a piece of cardboard saying 'We Are Fed' and on his back the other piece saying 'Up with British Rule'.

"It is now six years since I had responsibilities in East Africa, but I keep my contacts green. Only last week I read in a Kenya paper that 'the problems of East Africa are notoriously repetitive, and now we are back to a situation similar to that of 35 years ago'.

"I doubt whether history's judgment on British achievements in East Africa will be, as is sometimes charged, that we divided in order to rule, but rather that we did our best to unite. Much nonsense is talked about our Colonial rule. Often local jealousies and local prejudices were the cause of difficulties.

"I remember that at a dinner of this club in this room my predecessor as Secretary of State, Lord Chandos, spoke of closer union in East Africa. Many of you will recall the furor which his words evoked. I was always conscious of the need for the territories to move forward together and in harmony in constitutional and other matters as far as possible; but it was not always possible.

"All of us welcomed the declaration of June 1963 of the Heads of Government in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya pledging themselves to do their utmost to achieve federation of the three territories by the end of that year. Instead of federating they have drifted further apart. Now we are to have three separate currencies and the problems of exchange control, and pessimists say, I hope not truly, that our hopes of federation in East Africa will be put off to the Greek kalends.

"But if there are many difficulties ahead, there are immense opportunities, for East Africa has great human and material riches, and in economic affairs much wisdom is being shown in certain ministerial circles in East Africa."

Sir Ronald German proposed the toast of the president, and thanked Miss Young, the honorary secretary of the club, for all her work in organizing the dinner.

Blows at Federation

MR. KALULE-SETTALA, Finance Minister of Uganda, and Acting Prime Minister during Dr. Obote's absence, told a large rally near Kampala on Sunday that Uganda would be the loser if the East African territories rushed into political federation, and that "it serves no purpose to us to federate before we are united at home". A few days previously Mr. Gichuru, Finance Minister in Kenya, had said in a television interview that the prospects of federation were now very remote, and that present trends threatened to destroy the East African Common Services Organization.

The autobiography of Sir Charles Ponsonby, mentioned in Notes By The Way, in this issue, is published at 2s. by the Alden Press, Oxford.

During the 16th auction week in Salisbury 10.4m. lb. of leaf tobacco were sold for £1,557,000, averaging 35.80d. By that time more than 133m. lb. of leaf tobacco had been sold this season for £19,877,000, an average of 35.79d.

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THE STANDARD BANK, LTD., reports group profits to March 31 at £2,333,267 (compared with just over £1.9m. in the previous year), of which £344,097 has been retained in the accounts of subsidiaries. An interim dividend of 7½% less tax, cost £535,172, and a 10% final distribution takes £895,940. The reserve fund receives another £400,000, and the carry-forward is £637,196, compared with £531,638 brought in.

The issued capital is £11,650,000. In the consolidated balance-sheet current assets stand at £70.7m., U.K. and other Government Treasury bills at £5.2m., other investments at £55.9m., advances to customers at £322.8m., trade and other bills at £55.6m., and remittances in transit at £46.8m. Under fixed assets bank premises stand at £20.7m., and trade investments at £3.3m., and liabilities of customers for forward exchange contracts, etc., at £21m. The reserve fund exceeds £13.5m. and the capital reserve amounts to £5.6m.

Sir Cyril Hawker is the chairman, Mr. C. R. P. Hamilton the deputy chairman, and Sir Frederick Leith-Ross the vice-chairman. The other members of the board are Earl De La Warr, Sir George Harvie-Watt, Sir Robert Taylor, and Messrs. W. A. Acton, H. C. Drayton, G. H. R. Edmunds, C. R. Hill, A. A. Lawrie, L. A. Martin, B. C. J. Richards, W. M. Robson, C. H. Villiers, and W. D. Wilson.

Mr. R. E. Williams is the general manager, Mr. H. D. Roberts the deputy general manager, and Messrs. H. D. M. Turner, A. G. G. O'Brien, and R. W. Brown are assistant general managers. The secretary is Mr. L. W. Cole.

The East African board consists of Mr. A. A. Lawrie (chairman), Sir Donald Macgillivray (deputy chairman), and Messrs. I. S. Ednie, J. L. Riddoch, R. G. Ridley, G. B. Shields, and J. T. Simpson. The general manager in East Africa is Mr. N. W. Smith.

Mr. Evan Campbell is chairman of the Rhodesian board, whose other members are Lord Acton, Lord Malvern, Sir Charles Cumings, Sir Albert Robinson, and Messrs. R. C. Bucquet, D. G. Nicholson, and L. Tucker.

Mr. Dion Guy Nicholson is chairman of the Zambian board, whose other members are Messrs. J. W. Cross, M. Gersh, J. E. M. Landless, and W. L. Lewis.

There is a two-member board in Malawi, consisting of Mr. George William Dunlop (chairman), and Mr. Graham Wynn Hill.

Mr. R. H. Reed is general manager for Central Africa.

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Tanzania Would Accept Communist Arms

President Nyerere Outlines His Policy

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT in Tanzania is still a nationalist movement; it has not changed its character or its objectives. "The difference between the present position and that in 1954 when T.A.N.U. was formed, is that we now have the opportunity and the responsibility to try and bring those objectives into being", President Nyerere told the Foreign Press Association while he was in London.

"We stand for democracy. With our new one-party Constitution we are trying to make this a practical reality for every one of our citizens without destroying the unity which is our nation's greatest development asset. We stand for equality. The discrimination which for so long disfigured my country is now considerably less than it was. In some respects it has disappeared.

"We stand for unity in Africa. In particular, we urgently desire an East African Federation. If Mzee Kenyatta today says he is ready, Kenya and Tanzania will federate tomorrow.

"We stand on the principle of national freedom. We do not believe that we ourselves can be secure in our freedom while our neighbours continue under colonial rule.

"We stand for the economic and social betterment of the people. The five-year development plan and the efforts the people are making to implement this plan are eloquent evidence of our determination and our progress in this respect.

"I am provoked into saying these things because of the overseas reaction to certain decisions made by my country.

Relations with China

"Towards the end of last year independent Tanzania invited seven Chinese technicians to train our re-organized Army in the use of weapons we were getting from that country. There has been an exchange of State visits between my country and the People's Republic of China; I addressed a mass rally in Peking, and Premier Chou En-Lai addressed a public meeting in Dar es Salaam. Also, I am pleased to say, China has given us a grant of £1m. and made credits available to us totalling more than £10m.

"Ever since these events began to take place large sections of the Western Press and some Western politicians have been examining us through microscopes to see whether we have been contaminated by these contacts. Even the suits I wear have been adduced as evidence of pernicious Chinese influence.

"I find this anxiety about the health of Tanzania sometimes funny, sometimes irritating, and always odd.

"When I spoke to the United Nations General Assembly immediately after Tanganyika's independence in December, 1961, I made it clear that our foreign policy would be based on the principles of non-alignment, that we wanted to be friends with all nations on the basis of national equality and sovereignty and mutual respect.

"Until that date Tanganyika had not been non-aligned. It had been administered by Britain, and was therefore obviously and clearly part of the Western bloc. We are still part of the Western bloc. There cannot be many international organizations which are more Western or under greater Western influence than the Commonwealth.

"To be non-aligned we have to make friends with Eastern bloc countries. We knew, and after independence were friendly with, the British, the Americans, the Germans, and many other Western peoples who had visited our country, sent missionaries, businessmen, and so on. But people from the Eastern bloc were strangers to us. They did not visit us or we them; they did not trade with us; all our news of them come through the words of those who opposed their whole philosophy.

"What is so strange, therefore, about our new contacts with Communist countries? Are we capitalist because we trade with Britain and America? Are we capitalist because the bulk of our overseas experts come from this country or other Western Powers? If not, why do we become Communist when we begin to trade with China and Russia and begin to use the services of their experts?

"Sometimes I wonder whether the Western countries are not rapidly developing an inferiority complex towards the Eastern countries, and China in particular.

"Even if we in Tanzania had, people from Communist countries in the same proportion as we have people from the West, why should that make the West so concerned about our

'independence'? For years we have been reminding the world that one-third of Africa does not have any independence or democracy. This does not seem to worry the Western Press or Western politicians very much. It worries us.

"The continuation of colonialism and racialism in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia, and South Africa is a daily affront to all the principles of democracy, equality, national freedom, and African unity on which we stand. It ought to be worrying the West very much indeed, because these are the matters which will really affect the relations of the West with Africa—not a handful of army technicians and a few factories and farms run by Communist experts.

Colonialism Must Go

"We in Tanzania, and the people of Africa as a whole, are determined that colonialism shall go. We are as determined about this as Britain was that Hitler's forces should be pushed out of Holland, Belgium, France, and the other war-time occupied countries. The continued occupation of Africa angers us as much as the German occupation of those countries worried you. You would be making a very big mistake to let our present weakness deceive you on this.

"Is freedom for the rest of Africa to be obtained peacefully or by violence? Are the peoples of Mozambique, Rhodesia and the rest to be helped through a short transitional period in which power is transferred with co-operation, or do they first have to spill their blood and that of the imperialists? The West has to answer that question, and upon that answer will really depend Africa's future relations with the West.

"Africa is determined that Africa shall be governed by Africa. If the Western Powers accept the democracy they claim to uphold, all of them must logically accept Africa's position, not only as a fact to be taken into account but also as a just cause. They have no alternative but to help Africa achieve its objective peacefully and with the minimum of disorganization.

"If the West is not willing to do this, then the Western countries will be fighting against Africa, for how can they be neutral? You are not being neutral if you sell arms and economic weapons to Portugal on the grounds that she is a member of N.A.T.O. while Portugal uses her arms and such economic strength as she has to retain control of her colonies. Such a policy would be recognized by Africa as hostile to Africa. Our reaction would have to be to get arms ourselves. As we do not make them, we should have to get them from those who were willing to supply them—which would be Communist countries.

"The West would then 'discover' that Portugal was fighting an 'anti-Communist war', and, in the spirit of a crusader, would come to her assistance. The result would be that the nationalist forces of Africa would be fighting the West—not because Africa wanted to, but because it wants freedom, and because the West is opposing that freedom or failing to take the steps necessary to help Africa achieve it without risk of war.

"I do not believe that the fears I outline would come to pass because the other Western countries are unable to influence Portugal and the other Powers concerned. They may have to shake themselves a little, but that's all.

"Does anyone believe that little, decadent Portugal, and minority Governments in Rhodesia and South Africa could stand out against determined pressure from the other Powers of the Western bloc?

"My fear is that these things will come to pass because the West is not willing to do something—because, perhaps, they spend so much time wondering about how willing Africa's leaders are to pay a price to obtain Africa's independence from the West."

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Zambia—Tanzania Railway

Communist China Offers Help

"I DON'T CARE whether I get Communist or Western money. I want this railway link and I am not going to be stopped", said President Nyerere in Dar es Salaam last week on his return from London.

He admitted having had talks in London with Britons, Americans, and West Germans about the proposed line from Tanzania to the Copperbelt of Zambia. All, he said, had been more interested in asking about the Chinese offer to finance the line than in the railroad itself.

Great prominence had been given in United Kingdom newspapers to reports that the Prime Minister of Communist China, Mr. Chou En-Lai, had offered the Governments of Tanzania and Zambia aid of between £75m. and £150m. to meet all the costs of a line which would give the Copperbelt access to the Indian Ocean. According to some reports, tentative proposals were first made to President Nyerere when he was recently in China; according to others a firm offer was made to the President through the Chinese Ambassador about a month ago.

Last year the World Bank reported that such a railway would be uneconomic, and that it would be far wiser to spend about £8m. on roads rather than £58m. or so on rail connexion. The World Bank traffic estimate for 1975 of about 200,000 tons was considered by the Zambian Government to be much too low.

A United Nations examination of the project was in general agreement with that of the World Bank.

Some weeks ago the Governments of Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda decided on joint study of the proposal, for provision of a rail link is now regarded by them as an integral part of a development programme for all the territories. Tanzania and Zambia were to proceed independently to canvas possible sources of capital.

President Kaunda's Statement

When President Kaunda was asked in London about Chinese financial help, he said that no approach had been made to Zambia by Communist China, which had, however, offered to survey the Tanzanian part of the proposed railway. President Nyerere had given him to understand that the Peking Government would be interested in following up the matter after the survey. China was apparently disposed to meet the main cost of construction.

The four East African territories concerned in the matter were prepared to accept suitable aid for the project from any source.

President Kaunda also issued the following statement:—

"The proposed connexion has been the subject of a great deal of comment and speculation. One aspect which needs special emphasis is that the proposed rail link is an integral part of the long-term development programmes of the countries of East and Central Africa, and is not connected with the present difficulties in Rhodesia.

"Improved transport facilities are of particular importance for sub-regional planning and the integration of industrial development in the area. The expansion of trade between the countries of East and Central Africa is important to balanced development in all the countries. Zambia's land-locked position gives us a special interest in the rail link to the Indian Ocean. It is always wise to have a number of systems by which imports and exports move.

"The results of Colonial policies in our area has been that Zambia's major outlets are in South Africa and Mozambique. This makes it difficult for Zambia to implement U.N. resolutions on South Africa. It also creates an embarrassing position because the only alternative to South Africa is the Portuguese territories. Zambia does not accept the Portuguese view that Mozambique and Angola are extensions of Portugal, and our position necessitates Zambia finding alternative ports.

"The position of Rhodesia is very similar to that of Zam-

bia. Rhodesia is also land-locked and dependent on South Africa and Portuguese territories. The proposed railway is in no sense an attempt to by-pass Rhodesia, but instead will provide a service to Rhodesia when it is completed. Not only will the railway assist Rhodesia, but it will be absolutely essential when majority rule is established in Rhodesia.

"During the meetings of Heads of States in London the rail link was a matter of discussion. Meetings were held with British Ministers at which President Nyerere and his Ministers participated. There were also discussions with other Governments concerning the proposed rail link.

"Many countries showed interest in the proposed rail link and the general strategy behind the proposal to build a railway. We naturally discussed the extent to which other Governments could assist us in meeting the cost of the necessary survey to establish the engineering and economic feasibility of the railroad, and, secondly, the provision of funds for the actual construction.

"There has been no overall comprehensive engineering and economic survey of the rail link, and the first step towards construction must necessarily be such a survey. In this connexion we welcomed the British offer to meet half the cost of a survey, the estimated cost of which would be £150,000. It will be the joint responsibility of the Governments of Zambia and the East African countries to find the other half of the costs of the survey. Naturally, we are anxious to receive assistance towards this cost, and there have been some sympathetic indications from other countries.

"But the only firm offer that we have received for the comprehensive survey of the whole line from Zambia to the coast is the British offer. Discussion between Zambia and the East African territories will start immediately upon our return with a view to mounting the survey as quickly as possible."

In Lusaka Vice-President Kamanga said that China had made no offer to Zambia and that the committee of Ministers from Zambia and Tanzania appointed to promote the scheme had not yet met.

A Japanese mission of engineering and mining experts was due in Lusaka a few days later to examine development projects, one of which was believed to be the railway.

American spokesmen said that the matter had been under discussion for months, and that, at President Kaunda's request, Mr. Wayne Fredericks, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the State Department, had flown to London for talks on a number of problems.

Mr. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, said as he left London: "We have had absolutely no approach from China. There were rumours about this in April, but I then said, and it is true now, that there was no question, certainly at this stage, of any offer from China."

International Consortium Proposed

One suggestion made at that stage from Zambian sources was that, in order to emphasize the "non-aligned" nature of aid from foreign sources Western countries, China, Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia should all participate.

President Nyerere had already told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in the interview published last week that the Japanese were interested in the possibilities of building the railway, which would, he hoped, proceed to the Tanzanian border from a southwards extension of the present Kilombero line.

That would require rather more than 400 miles of railway extension in Tanzania and approximately 600 miles of new construction in Zambia. It would provide access to the Indian Ocean at Dar es Salaam, where harbour facilities would require large-scale development.

Whereas the present railway in Zambia is of 3ft. 6in. gauge, that in Tanzania is of metre gauge. One proposal has therefore been that the new railway should not follow the Kilombero route but pass to the north of Lake Nyasa and reach the sea at the modern port of Mtwara, which was built for groundnut traffic which never came and is therefore largely unused. This route is not approved by the Tanzanian Government.

Mr. Dawson Mwanjumba, Minister of Works and Communications in Kenya, and chairman of the Ministerial Communications Committee of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, told the Central Legislative Assembly in mid-June that "the building of the proposed East and Central African rail link is a truly enormous undertaking, calling for close on 1,050 miles of new railway construction". It was one of the largest development projects ever to be tackled in Africa.

If the lines were built Rhodesia Railways would have to be paid more than £2.5m. annually as compensation for diversion of traffic.

The latest suggestion is that international finance, if it can be attracted, should be provided through and supervised by the new African Development Bank. Formed under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, it is supported by 37 independent African States.

Conference Communique Criticized

Dangerous Ambiguity About Rhodesia

MR. F. S. JOHNSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, wrote to *The Times* (which did not publish the letter, or, indeed, any other correspondence on the subject):—

"Ambiguity and impracticability are the distinguishing characteristics of the statement about Rhodesia in the Commonwealth Conference *communiqué*. Yet the British Prime Minister should have insisted on avoiding ambiguity, for he has had abundant proof that earlier evasiveness and equivocation by United Kingdom Ministers are the root of Rhodesian mistrust, anxiety, and determination. The correspondence between the British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers has continued for months simply because Mr. Smith refuses, surely with good reason, to engage in verbal negotiations until he has received written definition of past statements by British politicians in office which have caused confusion and detriment to Rhodesia:

"African delegations declared throughout the Commonwealth Conference that their leaders would not sign the *communiqué* unless it specified exactly what H.M. Government would do about Rhodesia. All but one of them signed, though the statement is ambivalent. Perhaps the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Rhodesia did well to take their wives to a circus in Salisbury instead of waiting in their offices for the product of a political circus in London.

Already A Scrap of Paper

"Only three months ago, after the Lord Chancellor and the Commonwealth Secretary had visited Rhodesia, H.M. Government made clear its recognition that a constitutional conference could not be held in present circumstances. There is no suggestion in the *communiqué* that that opinion was communicated to the conference. If it was, why is the fact omitted? If not, why not? Is that recent decision already a scrap of paper?

"The Commonwealth was told that Britain stands for (1) unimpeded progress to majority rule in Rhodesia on the one-man-one-vote principle; (2) immediate improvement in the political status of Africans; and (3) independence on a basis 'acceptable to the people of the country as a whole'.

"As to (1), the 1961 Constitution was deliberately negotiated by H.M. Government on the basis of a qualified franchise, which makes the right to vote dependent upon educational or other qualifications. If that principle was deemed right by H.M. Government so very recently, why should Rhodesians now be expected to scrap it because of pressure by newly independent African Governments?—many of which have made a farce of one-man-one-vote 'democracy' by quickly substituting one-party dictatorships.

"As to (2), the 1961 Constitution provided for the immediate and progressive improvement of the political status of Africans, whose leaders expressed their agreement and pleasure but almost immediately went back on their signatures and ordered their followers to boycott all elections. They have themselves to blame for the opportunities lost through their obduracy.

Nonsensical and Irresponsible

"Point 3 is that independence must be 'acceptable to the people of the country as a whole'. Those words make no sense in the context of Rhodesia, whose African political parties had to be banned because of their ruthless use of intimidation and violence against Africans who would not submit to them. Is it surprising in such circumstances that the traditional tribal leaders side with the Smith Government in its insistence on independence under the present Constitution?

"It was irresponsible of the conference to demand the immediate release of all detainees in Rhodesia, who have been repeatedly told that they may engage in politics so long as they obey the law. Presumably because they could see no other way to obtain mass support, the parties now proscribed engaged in wholesale thuggery, seeking to terrorise their

fellow Africans into submission. Why should four million Africans (who so easily submit to threats, especially when coupled with witchcraft) be thus deprived of their peace of mind, freedom and action, and personal and family safety?

"It is outrageous that Britain should join in a call to 'all leaders and their supporters in Rhodesia to abstain from violence', for that phraseology can obviously be read to include the white leaders, as was doubtless intended. That Mr. Smith and his colleagues should thus be coupled with those African politicians who have incited or condoned hundreds of cases of murder, maiming, arson, and other grave crimes is unforgivable.

How Is "Promotion" to Proceed?

"If discussions with Rhodesia do not develop satisfactorily in 'a reasonably speedy time' (whatever that may mean), H.M. Government has undertaken to 'promote' a conference designed to ensure Rhodesian progress to independence on the 'impossible basis of being 'acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole'. How is the 'promotion' to proceed if the Rhodesian Government says, as it certainly would, that such sophistry offers no prospect of success for a conference?

"For these reasons, among others, the *communiqué* contributes nothing to the solution of the difficult and delicate Rhodesian problem. It recommends haste when one of the essentials, is time—time for that further development of investment resumed; time for that further development of secondary industry which would add many more Africans to the electoral rolls; time for the misguided political leaders to recognize that they and their followers must operate within the law; time for many more Africans to gain experience for new responsibilities of all kinds; time, indeed, for newly independent African States to learn by experience that nothing could be more foolish than for Africans in Rhodesia to be encouraged to destroy or desperately damage the immense and indispensable contribution made by white men to all aspects of Rhodesia's life".

Mr. J. M. Foxley Norris wrote:—

"I cannot understand the difficulty between Mr. Smith and his attackers. Surely all he has to do in order to satisfy everyone is to follow their admirable example; and, as head of the party in power, declare that henceforward, in the name of democratic Socialism, there will be one-party rule in Rhodesia. There will then be only the one slate of candidates at future elections, and everyone of all shades of colour, ability, etc., will be entitled to vote for them".

Dr. Banda's View of the Conference

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said before leaving London last Thursday that he regarded the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference as having been tremendously successful; the Commonwealth was growing stronger, and by its flexibility cementing former Colonial territories to Britain.

He had not got all he wanted in regard to Rhodesia, but he was satisfied with the compromise reached, for H.M. Government had gone further than a year ago. Over the years he had noticed the steady growth in British readiness to accept that Rhodesia was a direct British responsibility. That had not been the case 15 or 20 years ago.

He claimed that it had been on the joint initiative of himself and President Nkrumah that the Afro-Asian Prime Ministers had called for postponement of the Algiers Conference after the *coup* against Mr. Ben Bella, the basis of their agreement being a refusal to recognize a change of Government through violent methods. It was highly significant that some Heads of Government who had supported revolutionary methods had been the firmest in refusing to show approval of the *coup* by going to Algiers.

That meant a new alignment in African politics, and full acceptance of those parts of the O.A.U. Charter which prohibit interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Mr. N. W. Mbekeani, Malawi High Commissioner in London, had previously complained that information detrimental to Malawi had been "deliberately leaked" from the Commonwealth Conference by British sources, contrary to the convention that the talks should remain private. He said that Dr. Banda had been the first Prime Minister to call for a constitutional conference on Rhodesia.

Explaining Dr. Banda's refusal of an invitation to Chequers, he said that the Prime Minister had told Mr. Wilson before leaving Malawi that he wished to visit a niece in Exeter that week-end.

To mark the first anniversary of Malawi independence 1,596 prisoners were amnestied on Saturday.

Duke of Edinburgh's Statement

(Continued from page 711)

without inciting the blood-bath which the Duke wishes to avoid."

Mr. Patrick Wall, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice, said that in the state of indignation from the extreme left it should be remembered that the Duke had called for patience and understanding in considering Rhodesia's future.

"The British Government has no power to coerce the Rhodesian Government, and the grant of one-man-one-vote has not been outstandingly successful in other parts of Africa, where it increasingly means one vote for a one-party Government. Surely even our most anti-white enthusiasts must realize that the Rhodesian problem can be solved only by patience and understanding."

Mr. William Harper, Minister of Internal Affairs in Rhodesia, commented that statements by people normally considered to be beyond the realm of politics sometimes gave comfort to the Government of Rhodesia, "but comfort will not achieve the objectives which our Government has in mind."

Mr. MURUMBI, Foreign Minister of Kenya, caused the High Commission in London to issue a protest on Monday which said that "Prince Philip's apparent support for the dangerous strategy of Prime Minister Smith lays him open to attack from the proponents of freedom and justice, among whom is the Government of Kenya. It is hard to imagine how the Duke, who has never been exposed to the harsh realities of colonialism, could speak authoritatively on Rhodesia."

"We have just emerged from a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at which Kenya put a strong case for independence for Rhodesia under African majority rule. We expect the British Government to translate this democratic principle into reality without further delay. Any attempt to soft-pedal the issue by counselling 'patience' is bound to fail at this very moment when the African people's determination aims at restoring their freedom and creating their own modern sovereign State."

Political Minefield

A leading article entitled "Political Minefield" in the *Scotsman*, said:—

"In themselves the Duke of Edinburgh's remarks about Rhodesia were sensible and conciliatory. Most people in Britain would agree that African majority rule there is inevitable, but that it would be wise to make haste slowly if that result can be peacefully achieved. The British Government could assent to that view. Neither they nor their predecessors are anxious to precipitate a head-on collision."

"But comments are not judged by their intrinsic merits. A good deal depends on who makes them and when. As the Sovereign's consort the Duke of Edinburgh's observations are treated as more significant than those of a private person, and the future of Rhodesia is political dynamite."

"Protests in the name of constitutional propriety have already been made. It may be irksome for an intelligent and public-spirited man like the Duke to limit himself to industrial relations, preservation of the countryside, scientific progress, and similar non-controversial subjects on which he has often made lively, stimulating speeches. Yet the reception of an innocuous appeal for patience and good-will shows the danger of crossing the political borderline and the wisdom of the convention that members of the Royal Family should steer clear of the political minefield."

"Rhodesia is an explosive subject. But it is improbable that the Duke's remarks will help or hinder the search for a settlement. Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Premier, knows well enough that the British Government have no responsibility for what the Duke said, and he is not so simple as to take it as encouragement or delay."

"The African Prime Ministers would like the British Government to act with greater urgency, but, having discussed the subject so fully in London, they are not likely to attach any special significance to the Duke's passing reference. Only those who are determined to read more into the Duke's speech than it contained will try to make political capital out of it."

A white policeman in Rhodesia has been committed for trial on a charge of murdering an African in a police cell in Salisbury in January. At a previous hearing medical evidence was given that an African had suffered serious internal bleeding, apparently from blows from an instrument like a police baton.

Rhodesia's Emphasis on Exports Main Feature of the New Budget

EXPORT INCENTIVES are a distinguishing feature of the Rhodesian budget presented to Parliament last Thursday by Mr. John Wrathall, the finance Minister.

There are to be no new customs or excise duties, and no changes in income tax, the maximum rate remaining at 7s. 3d. in the £. There is to be a slight reduction in super tax, but undistributed profits tax will be somewhat increased.

In order to encourage businesses to spend money on promoting their export trade, 125% of export promotion expenditure will be allowable as a deduction for tax purposes.

Investment allowances on industrial buildings, including licensed hotels, and for farm improvements, including fencing, will be raised from 5% to 15%, and the special initial allowances are to be increased from 10% to 30%. The general net effect, Mr. Wrathall said, was that an investor should recoup the cost of his investment out of tax rebates within about 11 years.

All persons and companies liable to super tax will now pay 1s. 6d. in the £ on the first £1,000, 3s. on the second £1,000, and thereafter at 4s. 6d., abatements remained at £4,500 in the case of family taxpayers and £2,250 for single persons and companies. The previous rates were 3s. in the £ for family taxpayers and 2s. for single persons and companies on the first £1,000, 4s. 3d. and 3s. respectively on the second £1,000, and thereafter 4s. 3d.

Stamp duties on most categories of marketable securities are to be increased to 24% from 3d. per £50.

Restriction on purchases of foreign securities by Rhodesian resident individuals is to be introduced, initially with a quota of £500 per annum per person, subject to certain provisions for relief.

Finance Minister's Objectives

Mr. Wrathall said that his objectives were (a) to give further stimulus to the economy consistent with financial prudence, and in particular to help exports; (b) to provide from revenue the optimum assistance towards financing the capital development programme in the public sector; (c) to help reduction of external debt in the years 1968-72; and (d) to continue the process of reducing the costs and improving the efficiency of Government administration.

A three-year development plan envisages capital expenditure in the public sector of £82.8m., of which 89% will be on economic services, with major emphasis on agricultural development.

Capital expenditure during the next year is estimated at £22.3m., compared with £17.3m. in the year just ended. Water development, mainly dam building, will take about £3m., road building £2.1m., and African housing £1.25m.

Of recurrent expenditure of £73.75m., health will take 14%, agriculture 8%, posts and telegraphs 7.5%, African education 6%, police 5% and defence 3%.

Rhodesia's favourable trade balance was £34m. in the first four months of this year, compared with only £300,000 in the comparable period of 1964. A favourable balance for the whole year of about £40m. is expected, and a surplus of £10m., net of invisibles, is forecast for 1965 current account as a whole.

Gross national product at market prices totalled £331.7m. in 1964, compared with £316.2m. and £309.6m. in the two previous years, the increase last year being 4.9%. In real terms the gross national product per head declined from £61.9 to £61 owing to population increase and deteriorating terms of trade.

European immigration is rising again, there having been a net increase of 784 in the first five months of this year.

For the first four months the mining output had a value of £10,246m., compared with £8,497m. in the same period of last year, a rise of 20%. Sales of the principal agricultural products in that period rose 7% to £14,344m. Manufacturing output was 9.3% above the 1961 datum figure.

At the end of December there were 617,000 Africans in paid employment, a 1.7% increase in the year. Other employees numbered 87,600, a decrease of 100.

Company Report

The Standard Bank Limited

Widening of Area of Operations in Africa

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE STANDARD BANK LIMITED will be held on 28 July at the head office, 10, Clements Lane, London, E.C.4.

The following is an extract from the statement by the chairman, SIR CYRIL HAWKER, which has been circulated with the report and accounts:

In the past year we have made a further move to broaden the base of our activities. Our merger with the Bank of West Africa will give the Standard Bank assets of £700 million and important support from three London clearing banks and from the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York through its subsidiary Chase Manhattan Overseas Banking Corporation. The enlarged organization, with more than 1,100 branches, will provide banking services widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara.

With the new combination of British and American capital we shall be better able to stimulate and finance trade, to channel to the new African countries international resources for their development, and to prove our faith in the future of Africa.

THE ACCOUNTS

Current, deposit and other accounts have risen during the year by some £80 million. On the assets side investments are lower by £8 million, and trade and other bills are higher by over £31 million. Advances to customers and other accounts have risen by £65 million.

The profit of the Group (which does not, of course, include any contribution from the Bank of West Africa) has again risen this year. The figure of £2,333,267 is £426,620 higher than last year, an increase of some 22 per cent.

The profit to be dealt with in the accounts of The Standard Bank Limited (including dividends received from subsidiary companies) amounted to £1,989,170. Your directors propose to allocate £400,000 to the reserve fund to bring this up to £12,400,000.

An interim dividend of 7½ per cent. was paid in January last and your directors recommend that a final dividend of 10 per cent. be paid, making the total rate of distribution 17½ per cent. (less tax) for the year. This will leave a balance of £637,196 to be carried forward to the next account.

TAX CHANGES

Many of you may be wondering what will be the effect on your Bank's position of the proposed new legislation on company taxation. On the basis of the past year's results it appears that we should have been somewhat worse off with a corporation tax of 40 per cent. than under the existing system. We might, however, suffer seriously in future if the level of company taxation was raised significantly in the countries in which we operate overseas.

Apart from the direct impact on our profits of the new measures, an institution such as ours may be hurt by the discouragement to overseas investment in general. One of our functions is to help to finance British enterprise overseas and also British exports, which are often most effectively promoted through

subsidiary manufacturing or assembly plants abroad. To the extent that these activities are diminished our own business will suffer.

Investment in Africa

We have received many inquiries about the probable effect in Africa of the new controls on private investment. We do not know how it will work out. The Standard Bank's activities in Africa are at present almost wholly in the sterling area. British operations there, as far as we can see, will not be affected by the new measures relating to capital and dividends which are to be put into effect through exchange control. Although scrutiny of new investment in the sterling area by the Capital Issues Committee may in future be more strict; the incidence of corporation tax is likely to be the more direct discouragement to investment in those African countries where local taxation of foreign enterprise is heavy.

I am deeply concerned about the attitude to private overseas investment which the proposed new legislation seems to express. It appears that too little weight has been attached to the effect which the Government's proposals will have on developing countries in Africa and elsewhere.

It is the experienced management and technical skills which private enterprise can provide, as well as capital, that are especially needed by a developing country. If the richer Western countries withhold these essential tools from former colonial territories they will invite a growing estrangement.

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

The Bank's results in East Africa up to 31st March, 1965 showed some improvement over the previous year. There is a continuing demand for advances as new business and development expand, and our ratio of advances to deposits in this area is particularly high.

The profits of your Bank in Central Africa were affected by the expenses necessarily incurred in establishing the separate local Boards and administrative offices to which I referred last year. We were also much occupied with the process of adjustment to three new currencies and three central banks. This transition has been achieved in an orderly and responsible manner. It is to be hoped that new exchange controls will be moderate and flexible and will permit funds to flow with some freedom between the territories.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Standard Bank of South Africa enjoyed its full share of profitable business. In the course of the year a wholly-owned subsidiary was launched—the Standard Bank Development Corporation of South Africa. The new institution is intended to be a source of medium-term finance and will in due course be actively assisting in the provision of capital for development projects. With this new subsidiary, and with its interests in the City Merchant Bank and the National Industrial Credit Corporation, the Standard Bank of South Africa is equipped to assist in the financing of commercial operations of almost any type.

Company Report

The Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Company Limited

Results Show Marked Improvement

Mr. G. F. TAYLOR'S STATEMENT

THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE FORESTAL LAND, TIMBER & RAILWAYS COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on June 30 in London.

Mr. G. F. Taylor, C.B.E., Chairman and managing director, presided.

In his review circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1964, Mr. Taylor said:

Group's Very Good Year

The consolidated profit and loss account shows that the Group profit for the year before tax amounted to £1,635,446, an increase of £842,273 or 106.2 per cent. over the results shown for 1963. The consolidated net profit for the year attributable to the Forestal Company is £869,932, representing an increase of £447,682 over the previous year.

Even taking into account the extent to which the dividend from Argentina was exceptional, it is clear that the Group has had a very good year, showing a marked improvement over 1963 in the results obtained from virtually all its activities.

On the tanning extract side the Group has benefited, along with the rest of the industry, from the substantial completion at the beginning of last year of the rationalization and stabilization programmes.

Restoration of Confidence

Writing at this time last year, I was able to tell you that the restoration of confidence within the industry had resulted at the end of March in a general price increase throughout the world of approximately U.S. \$20 per ton. The results for 1964 accordingly reflect the actual benefit received from this increase during the latter half of the year.

The total market, as reflected in shipments of quebracho, mimosa and chestnut extract and bark, was 353,015 metric tons in 1964 as compared with 332,376 metric tons in 1963; and the Forestal Group held securely its normal share of this increased total.

Profits from Group activities independent of the tanning industry improved substantially in every field—Africa, Argentina and the United Kingdom—reflecting generally the steady advance towards maturity of projects undertaken in the various countries in which we operate as part of our programme of diversification.

Prospects

In 1964 the Group profit before tax has returned to the level of the prosperous years of the fifties and is more soundly based upon improved results over a much wider range of activities. Reviewing the outlook for 1965 at a moment almost midway through the year, it is possible again to express confidence in a satisfactory outcome.

So far as we have been able to form an opinion, it appears that the proposed new tax system in the United Kingdom will not have any major impact on the Forestal Group. In the circumstances your board have felt justified in recommending a final dividend of 7 per cent., making a total of 10 per cent. for the year; and in expressing their confidence that it should be possible to maintain this rate of distribution in respect of the year 1965.

As regards the longer-term prospects of the company, I would like to reaffirm the view I expressed in my review last year that the outlook for the company has in the last two years changed materially for the better and can now be regarded as reasonably favourable for as far ahead as it is practical to predict.

A new weekly Comet service between Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Salisbury has been inaugurated by East African Airways, which will shortly increase its weekly flights to London from eight to nine.

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

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The RHODESIA NATIONAL TOURIST BOARD will be happy to provide further details from its office at 21 Cork St., Mayfair, London, W.1. REGent 6400



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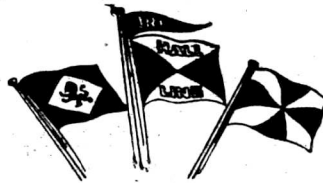
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