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Thursday, September 27, 1962

Vol. 39 No. 1981

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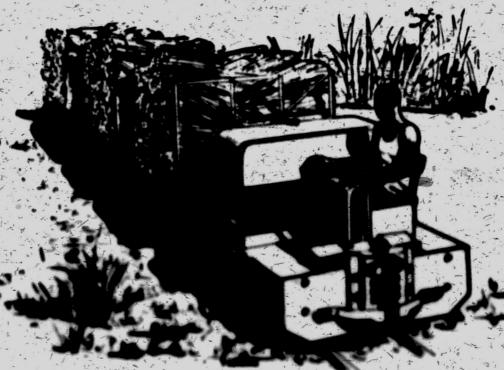
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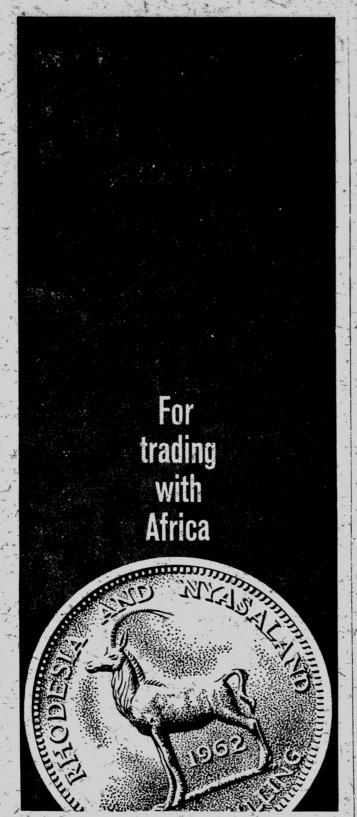
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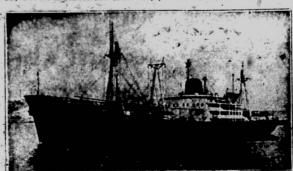
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Founder and Edit	tor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1962

Vol. 39

No. 1981

42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

PAN-AFRICAN EXTREMISTS will quickly discover that there is a world of difference between the action taken by the Government of Southern Rhodesia against the Zimbabwe African Peoples World of Difference.

Union and its terrorism and the half-hearted measures employed in similar circumstances

in the past by Governments in Africa under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, a major preoccupation of whose political head has been to avoid a running fire of awkward Parliamentary questions, even though most of them were certain to be the product of misinformation, misjudgment, emotion, or sheer hysteria. In an era in which such fundamental invalidity is regularly disregarded by the propagandists who mislead the country by their newspaper, radio, and television comments, an era in which all sorts of people have reacted to a breeze of change as if it were a hurricane, the Conservative leaders have conspicuously failed to tell the public the truth about intimidation in many parts of Africa and the consequent decline of law and order. The chief reason for their reticence has been that they have not had the resolution to do their duty as trustees and provide normal protection for the commun-

They have shown neither faith in the declared policy nor firmness in its execution; and their tragic weakness has inevitably been recognized and exploited by the apolo-

gists for excesses of all kinds in Africa. One of Perversities of Modern Politics. the strange perversities of modern politics in

Britain is that many men who would shrink from personal involvement in violence are quite ready to admit to their company men of their own and other races who openly

preach violence and either practise it themselves or condone its constant use by bands of thugs attached to their parties, often as youth wings. All the violent African political movements have been defended, comforted, and helped by left-wing groups in Europe and the United States of America, even when it has been obvious to all that their strength was founded on intimidation and ruthless pressure, which often took the form of assault and torture and sometimes of murder. Yet African organizations which perpetrated such iniquities for political and personal ends knew that they could nevertheless count on the good offices of white men to provide a cloak of respectability.

Though the first duty of a civilized Government is to see justice done to all citizens, and though that duty was admirably discharged for decades by Colonial Govern-

Principles : Abandoned. ments in Africa, there has been in the recent past a cynical abandonment of the

essential principles in favour of what was momentarily expedient. Sedition-mongers have been appeased, and even made Ministers, while staunch lovalists have been denied protection and shown that their only hope of safety for themselves and their families lay in suppressing their genuine feelings and reaching an accommodation with the African extremists whom they distrusted for their ill will, their ill deeds, and their evil intentions. Betrayal of loyalists as a policy has been one of the ugliest features of post-war experience in British Africa, from whose civil services many fine men have resigned because they would have no part in so dishonourable a course. With few exceptions, they have been those who laboured in the field, not senior functionaries

do the bidding of a Secretary of State whom he knew to be wrong—and some, but un-happily far too few, did resist—there were always careerists eager for the vacancy and The effect of unprincipled dictatorship from Whitehall upon civil service morate in Africa has of course been catastrophic. Moreover, it has inevitably weakened confidence among Europeans and the mass of Africans.

In the case of Southern Rhodesia there will be no truckling to a transient but temporarily all-powerful Secretary of State, able to ruin the careers of officials devoted to their-

task but disinclined to do his bidding to Africa's Rhodesians Will Not Panic. detriment (and able even

country, as the stubborn recklessness of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Blundell has done to Kenya). The Ministers and officials who serve Southern Rhodesia are Rhodesians, as closely attached to the country and concerned for its future as its farmers, merchants, and manufacturers. Many of them have been born in the Colony, and almost all intend to live and die there. Very naturally, therefore, their view of outrages organized for political purposes and of threatened revolution differs drastically from that of many officials in, say, Kenya who had always counted on living elsewhere when the time came to retire. Incidentally, that has been one continuing cause of friction between them and the body of white settlers. White Rhodesians consider them. selves as permanently rooted as do New Zealanders or Australians, and they are consequently resolved that the future of their country shall not be jeopardized either by the antics of African agitators of little or no achievement, competence, or standing, or by the follies of distant critics who are seldom disinterested, frequently ignorant, and only very occasionally helpful. Cliques composed of such folk nevertheless find it all too easy to unnerve politicians in office in the Unit Kingdom, whose inclination is to retreat from almost any position which comes under fire from a few sharp-shooters. In Rhodesia there will be no panic withdrawal merely be cause noisy denunciations are organized in London, Washington or New York.

Z.A.P.U.—which is nothing if a ppears to contemp in Dar es Salaam of a "Gover

at headquarters. When a Governor refused to ile"; and if that charade be not staged, the

Government make the Tanganyika capital its headquarters, not least because it would have at its In Exile.

a "K", whatever the attached opprobrium disposal for the dissemination of vicious propaganda a State broadcasting system which has already served Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda and is obsessed with hatred of the Federation. That interference by one Commonwealth Government in the affairs of neighbouring Commonwealth countries has been repeatedly denounced by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and studiously ignored by practically every other publication in Great Britain. Perhaps the Press will awaken to the iniquity of the proceedings if the Nyerere-Kawawa Government—a mild dictatorship, soon to become a republic—should permit the formation in its territory of a so-called "Government in exile" by Z.A.P.U., which is known to be financed from quarters which would do anything in their power to destroy the practical multi-racial partnership which the Governments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia are developing with all reasonable speed. That, indeed, is why Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Kaunda, and the still worse extremists in their entourage are so anxious to disturb inter-racial trust and co-operation now, for they recognize that within a few years many thousands of Africans in the Rhodesias will be reaping such rich harvests from present planning that they will then have no tolerance for subversion of the established order.

> While speed and chaos are eir paymas

strance from Rhodesia, which is in no mood ment has made adequate justification for its to accept gratuitous interference from a actions promptly available to the United Government in Britain which has handled its own domestic affairs so unsatisfactorily and its African responsibilities with unforgiveable and irremediable vacillation, pusillanimity, and incompetence—thereby causing serious repercussions in Rhodesia. On this occasion, fortunately, the Southern Rhodesia Govern-

Kingdom Press, the main organs of which received the full text of Sir Edgar Whitehead's broadcast to the nation and copies of the White Paper early on the day on which Z.A.P.U. was proscribed. Having reliable facts on which to base a judgment, most responsible newspapers commented sensibly.

Notes By The Way

Mr. Mboya's Irresponsibility

HAVING EXPRESSED his "thorough disgust" at the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to provide another £51m. for Kenya, Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Labour in that Colony, told journalists in London last week in reply to a question that £16m, had been received from Britain during the past two years, but added that most of that money had gone to compensate British expatriate civil servants "instead of feeding starving Africans". The facts are that for Kenya's existing development schemes United Kingdom taxpayers will provide £9.7m. in 1962-63 (£4.3m. as an outright grant and the balance as a loan), and that last year they gave or lent £6.8m., this £164m, in the two year they gave or lent £6.8m., this £16½m. in the two years being in addition (1) to Exchequer loans, (2) to £6½m. promised for the current year to meet expenses of administration, famine relief, payment of the forces, and assistance under the Overseas Services Aid Scheme. id (3) to the many millions expected to be provided for a purchase of European-owned lands in the Highlands re-eattlement by Africans. On development account the Ecoys has been given or lent nearly £221m. by M. Government in the last three years.

pensation-not "most" of £16m., as twice alleged by Mr. Mboya. Anyone hearing his words or reading a report of them and not knowing the approximate facts would have been justified in assuming that "most" of £16m. meant at least £9m, or £10m. Taking the lower figure, Mr. Mboya will be seen to have multiplied the true total of compensation liability by no less than fifteen times. Not satisfied with that inexcusable misrepresentation, he blamed Kenya's unemployment problems on Britain, giving no indication, of course, that the fundamental cause was Mau Mau, the foul rebellion which cost Kenya all her accumulated reserves and United Kingdom taxpayers about fifty million pounds, plus a continuing drain which may easily double that figure. Mr. Mboya is "disgusted", forsooth!

"Reasonably Peacefully"

MISREPRESENTATION by innuendo to the detriment of British Africa occurs all too frequently in United Kingdom newspapers. Last Sunday's Observer, for instance, had several paragraphs of comment on the banning of Z.A.P.U. which were notable examples distortion. Opening with the suggestion that there have been abortive endeavours to pin a "massacre plot" on Dr. Banda and to accuse Mr. Kaunda of "master-minding a murder incorporated organization", the criticism evaded the fact that Africans in the Banda organization had discussed the idea of murdering many Europeans and that a bady of which her control of the control of which her control of the control of t that a body of which Mr. Kaunda was president had committed so many outrages that the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia branded it "Murder Incorporated". peacefully in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia".

casonably peacefully, indeed!—when more than two

cousand officials and members of the Kaunda organizain Northern Rhodesia were sentenced by the last year for crimes including murder and attended murder, sometimes by petrol bombs; setting mitories slight while children and dynamite huildings. attempts to derail trains and dynamite buildings; struction of churches, hospitals, and schools; smalls on men, women and children; and wide-

y Aid the Enemy?

activations of the Government of Southern is that Z.A.P.U. is "neo-Communist" and fos-cutrome racialism are dismissed as "wild alle-which H.M. Government ought not to endorse United Nations. What our contemporary ignores

is the certainty that the Government of the Colony has far more evidence than it discloses in the White Paper, especially concerning the Communist and neo-Communist connexions of Z.A.P.U. It has almost cert inly been receiving substantial funds from Comn sist sources, which are always willing to finance extremist African bodies which appear likely to whip up racial antagonism and so contribute to that spread of suspicion and discontent which is likely to lead to the ultimate chaos through which Communism flourishes. the channels through which the authorities know that funds have reached Z.A.P.U. were named the information might help the Communists, but certainly not Rhodesia. It is therefore quite rightly not published.

Intimidation

To send police to every Z.A.P.U. meeting and pass Draconian laws to debar political leaders from public life are acts of intimidation, said the Observer. But no-body whose speech is not subversive need fear the presence of police at his meetings; and Sir Roy Welensky referred recently to their presence at his meetings. Nor need any political leader be concerned about the recent amendments to the laws of Southern Rhodesia unless he intends to preach sedition in one form or another. It is extremists in and associated with Z.A.P.U. who have denied freedom of action and freedom of speech to those who will not accept its dictation, and the removal of its pressure is very much to the advantage of Africans in the mass. Britain, says the Sunday paper, has a duty to the African majority no less than to the white minority, and it defines that duty as "not to acquiesce in the policies of Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky". That is topsy-turvydom. The policies of the two Prime Ministers are under assault by the Afro-Asian bloc and left-wing fanatics in many countries because they serve the welfare of the African majority, not the ambitions of the tiny minority of irresponsible African politicians who can be sure of the support of clamourers for pan-Africanism and antagonists of multi-racialism.

Kenya Bans American Writer

MR. NGALA, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, and a senior Minister in the Government of Kenya, said the other day in the United States that Mr. Robert Ruark, the American journalist and novelist, would not be allowed to re-enter Kenya, and he was last week officially declared to be a prohibited immigrant. Government spokesmen declined to give any reason for the ban, but there has been much criticism, some of it in the Legislative Council, of the damaging picture of the Colony which he had drawn in his two novels and in articles for United States publications.

Many other writers have carried their criticisms of Kenya to extreme lengths, but I do not recall any previous case in which this kind of retaliation was applied.

Ugly Novels

CAN IT BE that Mr. Ruark's exposure of the foulness of Mau Mau in his latest book has so angered the Kikuyu politicians who have been given so much power as a result of Macblundellism that they had both the will and the means to demonstrate their resentment in this way? That appears a likely explanation. Another cause of anger is that an African prominent in Kenya who is mentioned in the novel recently instructed lawyers to issue a writ for criminal libel, but had the chagrin of hearing that Mr. Ruark had left the country before process could be served upon him. I am no

apologist for an author whose two books about Kenya are among the ugliest on that country that I know. They must have given large numbers of readers in many parts of the world a deplorably bad impression, especially of the white men and women of Kenya; and I should say that the European community has far stronger grounds for complaint than Africans in the mass. Of some Africans his portraits are sympathetic.

Apostrophe or Not?

AFRICAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS often select a title in which the last word is "Union" and the penultimate word a variant of "People". During the past week newspapers all over the world have published reports about the proscription by the Southern Rhodesian Government of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. Though the notepaper of its London office has the word Peoples" without an apostrophe, some of the statements which it has circulated in the past to newspapers in the United Kingdom have used the form "People's".

A third version, "Peoples'", plural and possessive, was preferred by Rhodesia House, London, when it issued the text of Sir Edgar Whitehead's broadcast to the nation, but the White Paper published by Sir Edgar's Government stuck to "Peoples" without any apostrophe. Because that rendering has been used by the Government of the Colony and by the party (at least on its London letter-head), it will be followed in these columns—unless evidence is provided that "People's" or "Peoples'" was at some time officially chosen by Z.A.P.U. and has not been changed. The same point arises in connexion with "People's (or Peoples') Congress? in Uganda and elsewhere. Can the president or secretary of any such body say what consideration was given to the point when the name was chosen or at a later date, and why the version selected was preferred?

No European

No European is among the 34 people from East and Central Africa whose names are to be found among the 400 students from the overseas Commonwealth who are to receive teacher training in this country during the next year at the cost of the British Government. Nineteen of the bursaries go to Kenya, 12 to Nyasaland, two to Zanzibar, and one to Southern Rhodesia. Nobody in Uganda, Tanganyika, or Northern Rhodesia has been selected by his own Government for the year's course, Tuition fees and living expenses are paid by the British taxpayer. Only one of the 34 is to study in London, the others going to various institutions of higher education in the provinces and Scotland. Eight of Kenya's bursars are women, six of them married;

Genius

"IF WE HAVE ANY GENIUS as a people, it is for , says the latest Bow Group pamphlet. With very few exceptions indeed, Britons in East and Central Africa would dismiss that statement as absurd, for in the last few years the politicians of all parties in the United Kingdom, far from showing talent in dealing with the problems of those territories, have revealed almost incredible incapacity. It is fantastic, for instance, to use the word "genius" in connexion with the calamitous lurching from folly to folly and crisis to crisis, which characterized the Macmillan-Macleod attitude to the Federation and Kenya in particular, Lord Salisbury, one of the most trusted men in the Conservative Party chose "unscrupulous" as his one-word description. Itwas as accurate as it was damning.

Z.A.P.U. Proscribed by S. Rhodesian Government

Used Intimidation to Gain Members and Violence to "Crush" Opponents

THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION." was declared an unlawful organization in Southern Rhodesia in the early morning of last Thursday, when Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, broadcast a proclamation issued by the office of the Governor and explained the reasons for the action taken. Sir Edgar

"On the last occasion when I had to read a proclamation of this nature to you it was hoped that certain leaders would learn their lesson and realize that a political party must be conducted in accordance with the law of the land. Unhappily, those responsible for the conduct of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union

do not appear to have learned the lesson.

"At the last sitting of Parliament section 3 of the Unlawful Organizations Act was amended so as to make it quite clear that if a party were banned the Government could prevent its re-forming under the old leaders merely by changing its name. We have every intention of enforcing the new law should it become necessary.

Record of Violence

"Those who have in turn led the African National Congress, the National Democratic Party, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union into ways of violence will not be permitted in the future to become leaders of any new political party without its being immediately

"They have had every opportunity of organizing their party on democratic lines, but on each occasion they have allowed their followers to use intimidation as a major means of enrolling members, and they have endeavoured to crush any organization which disagreed with them. The Government is to-day publishing a White Paper setting out in considerable detail the record of the past few months.

"The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union has not even contented itself with unlawful attacks on its political opponents, whether they be moderate parties or rival extremist parties like the Zimbabwe National Party. It has also attacked reputable trade union leaders and their unions merely because they were not prepared to accept the domination of a political restriction.

cal party.

Fascist-Type Terrorist Organization

"The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union has built up through its Youth League a terrorist organization typical of the worst days of Fascism, and in its short life of only nine

the worst days of Fascism, and in its short life of only nine months it has done its best to destroy political liberty and cause deliberate injury to the economy of the country and the prosperity of all its inhabitants.

"It should be remembered that it is not the policy of the Government to proceed against parties or persons for their political opinions.

"Full and concrete evidence of the misdemeanours of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union was collated and considered before the extreme step of banning the party was taken.

"In conjunction with the Federal Government, the security forces have been mobilized and deployed to put an end to the recent wave of arson, sabotage, and intimidation. These forces will remain mobilized until such time as incidents have ceased and perpetrators of recent crimes have been brought to justice.

ceased and perpetrators of recent crimes have been brought to justice:

"There is no reason to doubt that the security forces are sufficient for this purpose. I pointed out to you in the statement issued to the Press last Monday that the length of time the security forces will take to effect their purpose will be greatly influenced by the degree of co-operation they receive from the public. The public can help by reporting to the police or other security forces any suspicious characters or events, and by readiness to denounce immediately and to apprehend if possible any hooligan who endeavours to intimidate them.

"The evil which we are now seeking to eradicate injures all

"The evil which we are now seeking to eradicate injures all the people of the country. For some time attacks were almost

exclusively limited to the persons and property of Africans of moderate views. More recently the attacks have been extended to affect people of all races, and also to the destruction of amenities enjoyed by the African people—schools and churches, dip tanks, houses, stores, and other objectives. There have also been attempts to destroy national assets, particularly in respect of communications essential to the welfare of all.

Menace to Country's Prosperity

"I appeal to all citizens of every race to rally round and give support to the security forces, who are also composed of people of every race, and help to stamp out the evil activities which are a menace to the prosperity of all the people of Southern Rhodesia.

"The Government is determined to bring the new Consti-tution into full force and effect on the due date, and the public must realize that this is anathema to many pan-Africanists outside our borders and to the Communist world. The building of a powerful and truly non-racial State in Southern Rhodesia will prove the strongest bulwark against the infiltration of Communist ideologies which it is possible to imagine.

There are certain States which are prepared to do every thing in their power to support African racialist parties in Southern Rhodesia purely for their own political reasons, although they know perfectly well that by so doing they are prejudicing the prosperity and happiness of all the people in Southern Rhodesia, including the African people.

"The time has come when all Rhodesians must combine together to fight these hostile elements. In unity we can certainly defeat them; but the battle is going to be hard, and we cannot guarantee that the forces of evil will not be able to inflict some damage before they are finally conquered.

Genuine Equality of Opportunity

Our objectives are clear: we are determined to establish in this country genuine equality of opportunity for all Rhodesians and to develop rapidly our natural resources so that all our people can enjoy a better life. Our opponents often make the boast that they want to destroy industry, knowing it will impoverish all the people. They try to conduct the affairs of the country on purely racial lines. There is no doubt whatever where the right lies, but we shall have to fight hard to make sure that it prevails.

"I give you my assurance that the Government will not be deflected from its purpose either by disorderly elements within the country or by our enemies from without. We are certain of ultimate victory in our struggle, and I ask you all to take your full part in defeating those who are trying to rob you of your liberty, and help us to make Southern Rhodesia once again a country that enjoys freedom from fear".

Text of Proclamation

The proclamation issued by the Officer Administer-

ing the Government read:

"Whereas by subsection (1) of section 3 of the Unlawful Organizations Act, 1959, as amended, it is provided that the Governor may by proclamation in the Gazette declare any organization to be an unlawful organization if it appears to the Governor that the activities of such organization or any of the members of such organization are likely to endanger public safety, to disturb or interfere with public order, or to prejudice the tranquillity or security of the Colony, or are dangerous or prejudicial to peace, good order or constitutional government, or are likely to raise disaffection among the inhabitants of the Colony or to promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between or with different races of the population in the Colony.

hostility between or with different races of the population in the Colony.

"And whereas it appears to me that the activities of the organization known as the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union or of members of such organization are likely to endanger public safety, to disturb or interfere with public order, or to prejudice the tranquillity or security of the Colony, or are dangerous or prejudicial to peace, good order or constitutional government, or are likely to raise disaffection among the inhabitants of the Colony or to promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between or with different races of the population in the Colony.

the Colony.

"Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vasted in me as aforesaid, I do hereby declare the organization known as the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union to be an unlawful organization".

White Paper Lists Outrages by Z.A.P.U.

Official Record of Crimes By Nkomo Organization

A 20-PAGE WHITE PAPER was issued last Thursday by the Government of Southern Rhodesia en-titled "Report on the Zimbabwe African Peoples"

Union " It said:

Almost immediately after the National Democratic Party was banned for subversive activities in November, 1961, its leader, Mr. J. Nkomo, formed a new African nationalist party called the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (Z.A.P.U.). This was the old party with a new

"Mr. Nkomo told a Press conference in Salisbury on December 8, 1961, that the new party, Z.A.P.U., was not concerned with the old party, N.D.P. 'All we are concerned with', he said, 'is the formation of a new

concerned with , he said, is the formation of a new political party and the support for it.

"Z.A.P.U.'s published aims were:

"To fight for the immediate and total liquidation of imperialism and colonialism, direct or indirect, and to co-operate with any international forces as are engaged in this struggle. To establish a democratic State with a Government based on one man, one vote and in which democratic liberties thrive. To foster the spirit of pan-Africanism in Zimbabwe-(Southern Rhodesia) and the maintenance of firm links with pan-African movements all over Africa.

movements all over Africa.

"'To maintain peaceful and friendly relations with such nations as are friendly towards them. To eliminate economic exploitation of people and to struggle for economic prosperity in order to achieve the greatest happiness of the greatest number. To foster the best in African culture and thereby develop the basis of a desirable social order'.

Neo-Communist Manifesto

"In brief, its manifesto was neo-Communist and pan-African in character and it fostered extreme racialism.

"The Z.A.P.U. organization in Southern Rhodesia was based on well-known lines. The national executive at party headquarters was certainly not elected on the basis of one man one vote.

"It is virtually impossible for the man in the street to ascertain from those who claim to hold the future of the people of Southern Rhodesia in their hands what their policy is on important subjects such as education,

agriculture, and social security.

"Regional secretaries were charged with the forma-tion of branches. These have developed on a cell system so familiar in certain other countries where freedom is but a word little understood by the masses. From these cells have developed other cadres—the Youth League so similar to the Komsomol, who deal suitably with deviationists, the agent provocateur intent on subversion in other groups and organizations.

"The rapid and unorganized development of cells, loosely called branches, resulted in a break-down of party discipline, and the situation developed where small local leaders acted, as has been admitted by party leaders themselves, without their authority.

"The nature of the political party behind the recent United Nations resolution which condemned Southern Physical party Constitution is clearly shown in the fol-

Rhodesia's new Constitution is clearly shown in the following pages. Mr. Nkomo greeted the resolution as 'a landmark in the history of the struggling masses of our country'. He went on to say: 'On the strength of this support I call on the British Government to convene a

new Constitutional Conference immediately.

"Mr. Nkomo added: May I make it clear to Britain and to the settler element in Southern Rhodesia that our object is the immediate emergence of Southern Rhodesia into a free and independent African State, where all men shall be equal and whose Government shall be based on the principle of one man one vote. This could be achieved either by negotiation, by

bringing about a complete economic breakdown, or by

bloody revolution.

"In these circumstances, during August, 1962, the party leaders, in expectation that the Z.A.P.U. party would be proscribed, hurriedly went into the rural areas to instruct some of their cells in a programme of action to be introduced in the event of the party being banned. It should be remembered that Mr. Nkomo, on July 29, 1962, emphasized to Z.A.P.U. executives that if they wished to cultivate the support of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations it was necessary to create an early crisis in Southern Rhodesia'

It is, however, the law-abiding African who has suf-

fered most from Z.A.P.U. terror tactics.

Wild Allegations at United Nations

"On the following pages is a list of incidents attributable to Z.A.P.U.-inspired action and a longer calendar of incidents not classifiable as normal crime, obviously the work of uncontrolled hooligan youth. It will be noted how these incidents have intensified since August 1, 1962. It would appear that the precipitation of unrest and violence in Southern Rhodesia which increased after Mr. Nkomo's return to the country was engineered to justify the wild allegations made at the United Nations and overseas. Nations and overseas.

CRIMINAL OFFENCES IN 1962 DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PROPLES UNION AND INCIDENTS IDENTIFIED WITH THE MOVEMENT.

"MARCH: Stoning of Church.—Two Africans, both members of Z.A.P.U. (one was wearing a cardboard Z.A.P.U. lapel badge at time of arrest) were sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour each at Salisbury for malicious injury to property. The case arose from the stoning of a church in Salisbury just after the break-up of a Z.A.P.U. meeting. There was a service in progress in the church at the time, attended by men, women and children. Nine window panes were broken and there were numerous chips in the walls near the windows.

were broken and there were numerous chips in the walls near the windows.

"Threatening life of Government official.—On March 16 the Native Commissioner at Concession received a letter signed 'General Hokoyo of Z.A.P.U., Highfields Branch, Salisbury which threatened his life, his family, and other named persons who were pro-Government. Hokoyo means danger.

"Intimidation.—Two Z.A.P.U. Youth Front members were convicted in June of entering a school which was being used as a church and threatening the preacher and congregation in order to make them attend a Z.A.P.U. meeting being held that same day.

same day.

"APRIL: Proposing violence.—A vice-secretary of the Z.A.P.U. Youth Front was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour in the magistrate's court, Harare, for incitement to commit the crime of malicious injury to property. Two African members of the Build'a-Nation campaign were travelling in a car. He suggested to a crowd in the vicinity that they should turn over the vehicle.

Church and School Burnt Down

"MAY: Arson.—Three Africans, all self-confessed members of Z.A.P.U.'s Yorth Front, were sentenced to a total of 44 years' imprisonment with hard labour each on three counts of arson at the magistrate's court, Salisbury. The case arose from the burning of a church, school, and hide shed. Two days prior to the burnings an organizing secretary for Z.A.P.U. had sent the following telegram to Z.A.P.U. headquarters: Z.A.P.U. people rejoice at boycott of the Imperial Agent Butler and are ready to crush the settler regime at a minute's notice. Damn their concessions.

"Proposed violence.—Two leading Z.A.P.U. members were sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour at the magistrate's court, Salisbury, for an offence under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. The charge arose from an incident when a known Z.A.P.U. member was heard to say that "Public violence.—An African member of Z.A.P.U. was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of public violence. The case arose from an incident when the African was one of a mob of Africans who surrounded an African Police Reserve patrol. He picked up a stone and threw it at the patrol.

"Proposing violence.—At the magistrate's court, Harare, a known Z.A.P.U. member was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour for saying that all 'self-outs' and police reserves' should be killed. The offence occurred in a beer-hall.

"JUNE: Arson.—On a night in June the house of an African Government servant in a reserve in the Eastern Districts was destroyed by fire. The African and his family, who were in the house at the time, escaped unscathed. A further structure in the vicinity of the house was also fired at the same time. Four Africans, all self-admitted members of Z.A.P.U., have been committed for trial'in connexion with these burnings.

"Threatening violence.—A leader of the Z.A.P.U. Youth Front was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for an offence under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. The case resulted from an incident when this leader suggested to a gathering of Africans that they should set fire to a nearby store the owner of which had refused to join Z.A.P.U.

"Preparation for arson and violence.—When the quarters of two Z.A.P.U. Youth Front members were searched follow-

Z.A.P.U.

"Preparation for arson and violence.—When the quarters of two Z.A.P.U. Youth Front members were searched following their arrest for assaulting two S.R.T.U.C. officials the following documents were found: (a) an oath of allegiance to carry out all instructions of the leader regardless of consequences; (b) constitution of the Action Group; (c) a list of apparatus required for the manufacture of petrol bombs, "August: Malicious damage.—Following disturbances at Sinoia, in the course of which a beer-hall was completely smashed and another damaged, two members of the Sinoia branch of the Z.A.P.U. Youth Front were convicted of malicious injury to property at the Sinoia magistrate's court and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour each.

Attacked at Funeral

"Assault, malicious injury to property, arson.—Mr. Reuben Jamela, president of the S.R.T.U.C., and Mr. Daniel Masawi, a S.R.T.U.C. official, were severely assaulted by a gang of Z.A.P.U. youths at the funeral of the late Dr. Parerenyatwa at Mrewa on August 18. The car in which they had travelled to the funeral was overturned and later set on fire. National executive members of Z.A.P.U. present at the funeral made no

attempt to prevent the assaults, with the exception of Mr. Sithole who made a rather half-hearted unsuccessful attempt

Sithole who made a rather half-hearted unsuccessful attempt.
"Malicious injury to property.—Five grass fires were deliberately started on a European-owned farm in the Eastern Districts. When the farmer returned to his homestead after extinguishing the fires he found the letters 'Z.A.P.U.' scrawled in charcoal on a gate-post.
"September: Arson—An African hut at a kraal in the Eastern Districts was completely destroyed by fire on a night early in September. Two Africans, who admit being members of Z.A.P.U., have been arrested for the burning. They say that they fired the hut because the owner had repeatedly refused to join Z.A.P.U.

"Assault.—An African constable in uniform was storned by

join Z.A.P.U.

"Assault.—An African constable in uniform was stopped by five Africans in Harare and asked to produce a Z.A.P.U. membership card. On being unable to do so he was assaulted after which his assailants absconded.

"Arson and attempted use of explosives.—Hesketh Park Store and Butchery at Kariba was destroyed by fire during the early hours of September 6. Two lengths of fuse attached to two detonators were found in an unburnt lavatory at the back of the store, and the word Z.A.P.U. was found to have been marked in charcoal on the walls of the store".

Many Attacks with Petrol Bombs

Then follows a calendar of incidents in Southern Rhodesia between January 1 and September 15, including 33 petrol bomb attacks, mainly against Africans and their

Eighteen African schools in rural areas were burnt.

Eleven churches were burnt (in a number of cases petrol was used) or damaged.

Railway track, roads, and power and telephone lines

were damaged.

Police and police reservists, European and African, were attacked on 11 occasions.

Many buildings providing services for Africans were

destroyed or damaged.

There were attacks on trade union organizations and officials, and on European-owned property.

Political Vacuum Must Be Quickly Filled

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Second Broadcast to Nation

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD said in the course of a

broadcast on Sunday evening:

"The first stage of the operation to put an end to intimidation, terror and fear has been most successful owing to the efficiency of all the security forces, and this week-end the people in our major towns have been able to enjoy their religious services, their sporting events, and other forms of recreation without the fear of physical assault if they tried to attend political meetings. They have been able to sleep peacefully without fear of attack on their houses

"I wish to thank the police, the Federal uniformed forces, the Territorials, the Royal Rhodesian Air Force Reserve, the Police Reserve of both races whose turnout has been 100%, and the special constables.

Why Z.A.P.U. Was Banned

"As I warned you on Thursday, it was almost certain that hooligan youths would be able to inflict some physical damage before the security forces could round them up. Damage has in fact, been caused mainly in the Melsetter/Chipinga district, in parts of Lomagundi, and in the Borrowdale area. But the extent of the damage is relatively small, and the security forces in these areas have been reinforced and are dealing with the situation. The time it will take to put an end to these activities will depend upon the readiness of the people to give information to the police, the army, or their own chiefs and headmen as to who has been responsible over the last few weeks for intimidation or destruction in their own town or district.

"The reason for banning Z.A.P.U. was nothin to do with the opinions they hold. It has been to the fact that they have not been prepared to a laws of the land or to suffer anybody to disagree

I have always intensely disliked cruelty, and the has been inflicted in the last year on many Africal held different opinions from Z.A.P.U. is quite Why should not people of moderate means opinions be allowed to hold any opinions they should they have to be crushed into a single "I have been listening this evening to the Ministers who during this difficult time have Matabeleland and the Midlands and situation on the spot for themselves, as I have Salisbury area, and their reports have made a substituation on the spot for themselves, as I have Salisbury area, and their reports have made a substitution which must be filled by positive setting good will of all races. We have to work our co-operation which will get the constitution of all races. We have to work our co-operation which will get the constitution in a combined sitest to see a solitor our effects to see a solitor ou

PERSONALI

MR. A. PALLEY, M.P., has arrived from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. G. A. SKIPPER has been promoted a provincial

commissioner in Kenya.

MR. DOUGLAS WHITING has been selected as director

Voluntary Service Overseas.

MR. W. B. HAVELOCK arrived back in Nairobi last Friday from his visit to London.

MR. and MRS. J. G.-FRENCH-SMITH are in this coun-

try from Umtali, Southern Rhodesia.

M. JACQUES VIDELIER has been appointed Consuladjoint of France in the Federation.

MR. I. V. DAVIES-MERLYN is now Commissioner for

Co-operative Development in Kenya.

MR. J. W. Howard, chairman of the Land Develop-ment Board of Kenya, has arrived in London.

MR. ALEXANDER IRVINE is acting as Secretary to the Federal Treasury while Mr. HENRY McDowell is on

Dr. I. MacDONALD, director of the Tobacco Research Board of Southern Rhodesia, is at present in the United

MR. C. R. C. DONALD, Secretary to the Treasury in Uganda, will return from leave in the United Kingdom

in a few days. in honour of Mr. A. MILTON QUOTE, Prime A dinner in honour or Mr. A. M. London last week by mister of Uganda, was given in London last week by

fr. and Mrs. W. A. Gontonton will sail on Octoin the PRETORIA CASTLE on their way back to

A. WELLINGIN, Permanent Secretary in the of Social Services, has been appointed super-

n of many companies in a group has joined the

MR. MICHAEL LAMB, Deputy High Commissioner in London for the Federation, has been acting for a few days as High Commissioner during the absence on the Continent of SIR ALBERT ROBINSON.

After spending two nights on Mount Kenya with a broken thigh, FLIGHT-LIEUT. ROGER SWEATMAN, of the Royal Air Force, was picked up by a helicopter at the week-end at about 15,500 feet and flown to Nairobi.

MR. J. P. G. DUNCAN, Federal Minister of Education, has assumed the portfolio for the Public Service following the appointment of Mr. J. M. CALDICOTT as Minister of Finance in succession to SIR DONALD MACINTYRE.

MR. GUY SHIPP, secretary of the Overseas Employers' Federation, left London on Monday to visit the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, and the Republic of Cameroon. He is due back on Novem-

MR. SAIDI MASWANYA, Minister without Portfolio in Tanganyika, accompanied by MR. A. B. C. DANIELI, will represent Tanganyika this week at the three-day celebrations in Usumbura of the Independence of the Kingdom of Burundi.

MR. DEREK H. GLOVER, for the past five years general manager of the southern routes of B.O.A.C. will on October 1 take up the appointment of financial comptroller of the corporation. He was for several years assistant to the managing director.

LIEUT.-COLONEL S. P. FEARON, who has left Kenya after seven years as agricultural research secretary to the E.A. High Commission and E.A.C.S.O., had spent the previous seven years in Somaliland. MRS. FEARON is the authoress of three "thrillers" set in an East African background.

MR. SERGEI NEMTCHINA has presented his credentials so the Central Congolese Government as the first Soviet Ambassador there since the Communists were expelled two years ago. The Russian Embassy is already the largest in Leopoldville, extra staff having ar-

rived in recent weeks.

Six Roy and Lady Welensky left London on Saturday for a short Continental holiday. They will spend a few days each in Paris, Vienna, Venice, Rome, and Athens, and then fly back to Salisbury. They are accompanied by Ma. STEWART PARKER, Sir Roy's prin-

companied by MR. STEWART FAMILIANS COMPANIES STEWART FAMILIANS COMPANIES STEWART FAMILIANS COMPANIES STEWART FAMILIANS FOR VISITS TO THE United States have been awarded to MR. MATTHEW DAGS, a soil conversationist with E.A.A.F.R.O. in Keeya, Mr. G. D. HAZELDINE, chief librarian of the McMillan Memorial Library in Nairobi, and MR. H. L. Sharts, registrar of the University College, Dar es Sharts, registrar of the University College, Dar es

ROBALD NGALA, Minister of State in Kenya for stitutional Affairs, arrived for talks with the Colon

THE VERY REV. C. S. SERGEL, Dean of Bulawayo, will leave Southern Rhodesia in October to become Rector of St. Martin's in-the-Veld, Johannesburg,

MR. A. A. LATIM has suggested in the National Assembly of Uganda that the Sudan would offer a ready market for three times Uganda's current sugar produc-

MR. M. KANJO, of the Labour Ministry, is the first Nyasa civil servant to be selected for a course at the London School of Economics, where he will study industrial relations for a year. Mr. T. SAUKILA and Mr. C. GONGWE, also with the same Ministry, are to study labour management at Ruskin College, Oxford

MR. ALI SAIDI MTAKI, area commissioner for Singida. Tanganyika, and Messrs. A. T. A. JOHN KIWELE and HUSSEIN R. SHEKILANGO, field officers with the Ministry of Agriculture, are attending a three-months seminar on rural and agricultural development in Denmark sponsored by the Danish Government and the Ford Founda-

MR. GAVIN E. WYATT, general manager of the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, will arrive in Kenya in November to succeed Mr. A. J. Don SMALL, who is retiring, as managing director of the East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd. Until he went to Nigeria in 1958 Mr. WYATT had been with E.A.P. and L. from 1939, at one time as manager of the Tanganyika Electric Co., Ltd.

MISS CATHERINE HESTER JACK, of Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, who died domiciled in England, left estate in Great Britain valued at £29,926 net (duty paid, £6,606). After other bequests, she left £200 to Umtali Women's Institute and half of the residue of her property to the Friends of the Poor and Gentlefolks Help, Ebury Street, London, S.W., and the other half to the Forum Club, London.

UGANDA'S INDEPENDENCE

A Special Number of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA will be published in connexion with Uganda's Independence.

Profusely illustrated

The price will be 5s. 6d. post free. Orders should be placed immediately with EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

MR. BERNARD MATE, Minister for Social Services in Kenya, has been remanded until October 15 after pleading not guilty to charges of being drunk and disorderly and assaulting two Africans.

SIR ROGER STEVENS, leader of the advisers on Central Africa to Mr. BUTLER, and two of the group's members, SIR RALPH HONE and PROFESSOR ARTHUR BROWN, have returned to London and saw MR. BUTLER on Tuesday.

Obituary

Lieut.-Colonel E. M. Wilson

LIEUT.-COLONEL E. M. WILSON, C.B.E., E.D., J.P., who died recently in Salisbury at the age of 78, was chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Electricity Board and of Atlas Copco Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd. He was a former member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Coun-

A qualified engineer, he reached Bulawayo from England in 1909, and was one of the original members of the staff of Duly & Co., Ltd., whom he left to begin mining in the Belingwe district,

Shortly before the 1914-18 war he joined a Cape-to-Cairo motor expedition which ended tragically when the leader was mauled by a leopard in Northern Rhodesia and died later. Wilson then took a job in Broken Hill.

Immediately on the outbreak of war he returned to England and rejoined the Buckinghamshire Yeomanry. in which he had served before emigrating. While serving in the Middle East he was wounded and mentioned in dispatches.

Some years after being demobilized he went back to Bulawayo, joined Fraser & Chalmers, Ltd., and took charge of their branch in Ndola, where he lived for 20 years until his retirement. On the outbreak of war in 1939 he joined the Forces in Northern Rhodesia, where he commanded African troops. He entered politics on returning to civil life.

He is survived by Mrs. Wilson and two sons.

Mr. R. C. Mayall

MR. ROBERT CECIL ("NED") MAYALL, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C., who died last week at the age of 69, was in the Sudan Civil Service from 1920 to 1940 and then for ten years Sudan Agent in London and afterwards for five years public relations consultant to the Sudan Government

The son of the Rev. S. B. Mayall, vicar of St. Paul's, Finchley, London, N.3, he was educated at St. Law-rence College, Ramsgate, and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took second class honours in history in 1914. On the outbreak of war a few weeks later he enlisted in the 19th Royal Fusiliers and was soon commissioned in the 11th Bn. the Northumberland Fusiliers, with which he served this country, Belgium, France, and Italy, before going to the 11th Brigade in Egypt. He was awarded the D.S.O. and the M.C. and bar, and was mentioned in dispatches.

Going to the Sudan soon after demobilization, he was

in the provincial administration for 13 years before becoming Deputy Civil Secretary in Khartoum. Later he was for four years Governor of the Gezira Province.

After his retirement he was elected to the council of

the Royal African Society.
In 1929 he married Rhoda Anne Stote, who died five years ago. There were a son and a daughter of the marriage.

Obituary

Sir Leonard Rogers

MAJOR GENERAL SIR LEONARD ROGERS, K.C.S.I. C.I.E., F.R.S., who has died in Cornwall at the age of 94, was one of the great pioneers of tropical medicine. After initial work on snake venom and kala-azar, in 1912 he discovered the curative action of emetine in amoebic dysentery, and almost simultaneously he found means of drastically reducing mortality in cholera epi-

Then he turned his attention to leprosy, on which he became an outstanding authority. Formation of the Leprosy Relief Association was Empire

primarily due to him.

After many years in India, he returned in 1926 to become physician to the Hospital for Tropical Diseases and a lecturer at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. He was president of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene from 1933 to 1935. He continued to write on tropical medical matters almost to the end of his life.

Sir Charlton Lane

SIR CHARLTON ADELBERT GUSTAVUS LANE, who has died in England at the age of 72, had been in the Colo-

nial Service in East Africa for 25 years.

The son of the Rev. C. G. Lane, rector of Little Gaddesden, Hertfordshire, he was educated at Winchester College and University College, Oxford, on leaving which he went to Canada and was for a short

time a journalist in Montreal.

In 1913 he went to the East Africa Protectorate (now Kenya) as an assistant district commissioner. Ten years later he was transferred to Zanzibar, and in 1925 to Tanganyika. He was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1928 and was then appointed a resident magistrate in Kenya, where he served until 1938.

Promoted a puisne judge, he served in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast until 1943, when he went to Mauritius as Chief Justice. He was knighted in 1945 and retired in 1949, but six years later accepted a temporary appointment as judge of the High Court of Somaliland. Two years earlier he had been Master of the Mercers'

In 1920 he had married Millicent, daughter of Lieut. General Sir Henry Newdigate. They had a son and a

daughter.

Captain Wilfrid Miles

CAPTAIN WILFRID MILES, a well-known military historian, died recently. A friend has written of him in the

Miles it was who, when in all good faith one of the public asked us at the War Office whether it was true that our forces employed the fierce wild bees of East Africa against the enemy, pointed out that we must not say in our reply (we nearly did) that these insects 'stung the combatants on both sides impartially'. We must say 'of', not 'on', he observed. He it was too who then delighted us with half a dozen alternative, but, alas! less usable suggested answers.

For the officer who drew a map illustrating the most humiliating defeat in all our military history, at the out-set of the East Africa campaign in 1914, showing the troops in a perhaps old-fashioned and too conventional style Miles's comment when he saw the map remains immortal: 'Ah, yes—Malplaquet'".

THE REV. W. A. NORTON, who has died in Bulawayo at the age of 92 as the result of a motor accident, was in 1920 the first Professor of Bantu Philology in the University of Cape Town. Born in Exeter, he graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, went to East Africa as a missionary, and later to South Africa, which he left in 1925 for Mauritius to become principal of St. Paul's Theological College. He soon went back to the Union, where he continued parochial work and duty as a hospital chaplain until he was 80.

SIR NORMAN WARWICK, K.C.V.O., O.B.E., who has died at his home in Kent at the age of 69, began farming in Kenya in 1912 after leaving Trinity College, Oxford, served in the East Africa campaign of the 1914-18 war, and at the end of it became an assistant politi-cal officer in Tanganyika. Soon afterwards, however, he was appointed to the staff of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was private secretary to 19 chancellors between 1922 and 1945, and was then clerk of its council for seven years.

LADY EVELYN MALCOLM, widow of Sir Douglas Malcolm and daughter of the fifth Earl of Donoughmore, has died in Madeira at the age of 84. Her first marriage was to Lieut-Colonel Francis Douglas Farquhar, D.S.O. who was killed in action in 1915. From 1920 to 1922 she was lady-in-waiting to Princess Arthur of Connaught, and in 1923 she married Sir Dougal Mal-colm, president of the Chartered Company when he died in 1955.

MR. HERBERT HARRY PEET, who has died in his 80th year, began farming in Kenya in 1920 after being three times severely wounded in France in the 1914-18 war. He farmed for many years in the Solai district and became well known as a cattle breeder, coffee grower, poultry keeper, and as chairman of the local agricultural production committee. He is survived by MRS. PEET and a married daughter.

MR. AUGUST SCHOENBERGER, aged 49, of the Amboni sisal estate in Tanganyika, died at London Airport on Friday a few minutes after arriving from Tanga for emergency treatment after he had received hundreds of bee stings on the neck and head a week earlier when rescuing an African boy who had disturbed a nest of

MR. ROBERT BRIAN SHERRIFF, who has died in England, joined the Colonial Veterinary Service in Tanganyika soon after the end of the last war, but resigned a few years later in order to begin private practice in Kenya, where he became very well known for his professional skill and his personal qualities.

MR. HERBERT CHARLES EDWARDS, who has died at the age of 93, was batman to Field Marshal Lord Kitchener in the Sudan campaign and took part in the battle of Omdurman in 1898. There is now only one known survivor of that battle, SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.

DR. KENNETH WILLIAM LUCKHURST, director of the Royal Society of Arts, who has died at the age of 58, had previously been its secretary and assistant secretary for 31 years.

LIEUT-COLONEL JOHN ROY GORDON COWAN, of Kaguru Farm, Kitale, has died suddenly in Kenya. He is survived by MRS. Cowan and two sons.

CHIEF KGRARI SECHELE, of the Bakwena tribe in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, died last week convalescing in Swaziland.

LADY CAINE, wife of SIR SYDNEY CAINE, has died in England.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference Communique

Overseas Governments Still Anxious About Common Market Negotiations

THE COMMUNIQUE issued at the end of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference contained

the following passages: -

This was the first occasion on which Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago have been represented as independent countries at a Commonwealth meeting and the presence of their Prime Ministers, together representing 15 million people who have achieved independence since the last Commonwealth meeting in 1961, was welcomed by the other Commonwealth Governments.

"The Prime Ministers were informed that Uganda,

with a population of nearly seven million, will attain independence in October, 1962, and they agreed that Uganda should then be admitted to membership of the

Commonwealth.

"They were informed that Tanganyika would adopt a republican form of Constitution in December, 1962, and they agreed that Tanganyika should thereafter remain a member of the Commonwealth as a republic.

"The Prime Ministers took note of the proposals relating to the Congo recently put forward by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and expressed

the hope that these would prove to be the basis for a speedy and constructive settlement.

"The primary object was to review the progress made in the negotiations in Brussels about the conditions on which Britain might join the European Economic Community, and the greater part of the meeting has been devoted to discussion of this complex question. Although this discussion disclosed many uncer-

tainties, all the exchanges have been conducted in the frank and friendly atmosphere which characterizes Commonwealth meetings. This has reaffirmed the common determination to strengthen the links between the countries of the Commonwealth. "The Prime Ministers declared that in all the countries of

the Commonwealth the constant objective of policy is to promote peace and economic progress throughout the world and thus to help to create conditions in which mankind can flourish in freedom unfettered by poverty, ignorance or

flourish in freedom untettered by poverty, tentralice of disease.

"In furtherance of this purpose all Commonwealth Governments are resolved to do their utmost to foster the harmonious development and steady expansion of world trade.

"They note with concern that trade and industry in the developing countries, as well as in some of the more developed countries which are large producers of primary products for export, have been adversely affected by widely fluctuating commodity prices and a progressive worsening of the terms of trade.

trade.

"They see this as a problem which calls for progressive policies in relation to international trade and finance so that demand for the products of those countries can be sustained and increased and larger and more dependable trade outlets

assured to them.

Trade Before Aid

"To meet the needs of the developing countries they will support policies designed to raise the living standards of the peoples of these countries and to help them to achieve the economic, social and cultural progress to which they aspire. To this end they consider that improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial

aid.
"They recognize the need for the developing countries of easier access to outside markets for the products of their industries as they become established and the desirability of this being reflected in the policies of the more developed

"To meet the needs of the producers of agricultural commodities, Commonwealth Governments will support policies and initiatives designed to maintain and expand world trade in these commodities and to improve the organization of the world market in a manner fair alike to producers and consumers. sumers

"They will support a fresh and vigorous approach to the negotiation of international commodity agreements to this end. In any such approach, principles of price, production and trade access would need to be applied on a commodity-by-commodity basis, so as to encourage maximum consumption without over-stimulating production and to offer to efficient producing countries adequate access and stable prices at a fair and reasonable level.

and reasonable level.

"They believe that in their disposal of any surplus of agricultural products opportunity should be taken to the fullest extent compatible with the legitimate interests of traditional suppliers to meet the needs of those peoples of the world who

Special Commonwealth Needs

Special Commonwealth Needs

"The Prime Ministers expressed the readiness of their Governments to join in comprehensive international efforts by all available means to expand world trade in both primary products and manufactures. They recognized the important contribution which the European Economic Community and other regional groups could make in such efforts.

"They hoped that the general objectives set out above would be shared by the members of the European Economic Community. They also took note in this connexion that legislation was at present before the United States Congress which could materially assist in this aim.

"The Prime Ministers were informed of and considered the stage reached in Britain's negotiations with the European Economic Community and discussed the arrangements which might be made to meet the special needs of other Commonwealth countries if Britain joined the Community.

"British Ministers set out the broad political and economic considerations which had led the British Government to initiate the negotiations in Brussels. They emphasized that, in the view of the British Government, Britain's accession to the Community on satisfactory terms would have the result of strengthening the position of Britain, of the Commonwealth and of Europe.

"They explained in detail the position so far reached in and of Europe.

They explained in detail the position so far reached in



the negotiations in Brussels and emphasized the principal points among the many provisional arrangements been worked out.

"In the first place, an offer of association on advantageous economic terms was open to Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Caribbean and the majority of British dependent territories. Should certain of the countries not become associated, the provisional agreement reached in Brussels offered further discussion in the course of the possible conclusion of other agreements. other arrangements.

"As regards temperate products, the enlarged Community would make at the time of British accession two important

declarations.

"One would express their intention to initiate discussions on international commodity agreements for temperate foodstuffs on a world-wide basis. It would recognize the greatly increased responsibilities of the enlarged Community by reason

of its predominant position among world importers.

"The second declaration would relate to the price policy of the Community. While taking appropriate measures to raise the Community. While taking appropriate measures to raise the individual earnings of those engaged in agriculture in the Community, the Community would do their utmost to contribute to a harmonious development of world trade, providing for a satisfactory level of trade between the Community and third countries, including Commonwealth countries. British Ministers considered that the policy which the enlarged Community intended to pursue would offer reasonable opportunities in their markets for exports of temperate agricultural products. cultural products.

Must Not Weaken Commonwealth Cohesion

"The representatives of other Commonwealth Governments took note of the considerations which had influenced the British Government in deciding to accede to the E.E.C. if satisfactory terms could be secured. They recognized that, after full and continuing consultation with the other countries of the Commonwealth and in the light of the further negotiations to be held with the members of the Commonwealth, the responsibility for the final decision would rest with the British

Government.
"The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries freely acknowledge the strenuous efforts which the British Government have made to ensure on the part of the Six a full understanding of the safeguards required if Britain's entry into the Common Market is not to be on such terms and conditions as to impair their vital interests. They expressed their hope that the members of the E.E.C. will wish to preserve and encourage a strong and growing Commonwealth in further-ance of their own ideals of an expanding and peaceful world

order.

"At the same time, the representatives of the various Commonwealth Governments expressed anxieties about the possible effects of Britain's entry into the European Economic

They trusted that should there be closer association between

They trusted that should there be closer association between the retain and Europe, it would not be allowed, as it developed, to weaken the cohesion of the Commonwealth or its influence for peace and progress in the world.

"They drew attention to the difficulties to which these developments could give rise in relations to their trade, both with Britain and with other countries. They explained economic relations to their respective countries and mic points of special concern to their respective countries and the extent to which their interests had not so far been met in the Brussels negotiations.

Federation Would Accept Association

"Some independent African countries considered that the association with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome would not be acceptable to them. On the other hand, the Government of Sierra Leone wished to consider further their attitude towards association after consultation with other African territories which are not members of the Common-

wealth.

"In the Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago will be willing to accept association, and Jamaica will wish to consider their attitude further.

"The Prime Ministers were informed that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are willing to accept association, and they were also informed that after appropriate consultation, it seemed likely that the majority of the British dependent territories eligible for association would accept.

"Importance was attached to the need for securing adequate safeguards to protect the essential interests of Commonwealth producers of temperate foodstuffs and other agricultural products, including tropical products as well as certain raw materials for which zero tariffs had been requested. The importance for some Commonwealth countries of trade in a broad range of manufactured and processed goods was also empharange of manufactured and processed goods was also empha-

The Prime Ministers too noted that the negotiations in Brussels were incomplete and that a number of important

questions had still to be negotiated. Only when the full terms were known would it be possible to form a final judgment.

"It was agreed that, when the negotiations were resumed, British Ministers would take full account of the views, both general and particular, which had been expressed on behalf of other Commonwealth Governments at this meeting and would continue their efforts. continue their efforts to safeguard essential Commonwealth interests.

The British Government undertook to continue to arrange for the closest consultation with other Commonwealth Governments during the remainder of their negotiations with the European Economic Community".

Southern Rhodesian Cabinet Changes

MR. REGINALD KNIGHT, Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs in Southern Rhodesia, has resigned on his appointment as a judge. His portfolio has been entrusted to Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, who is also Minister of Roads. Mr. Ralph Cleveland has resigned His portfolio has been because of ill-health, and his place as Minister of Local Government and Native Education has been taken by Mr. B. V. Ewing with the changed title of Minister of Native Affairs and District Administration and Minister of Local Government.

Mr. C. J. Hatty has relinquished the post of Minister

of the Treasury to become Minister of African Education and Public Services while retaining the portfolio for Mines. He is replaced at the Treasury by Mr. Geoffrey Ellman-Brown, who also takes over the Ministry of Irrigation. He is not at present a Member

of Parliament.

Mr. H. J. Quinton, lately responsible for Native Affairs, has become Minister of Agriculture, Lands and Natural Resources. Mr. A. E. Abrahamson remains Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Housing.

Police Guard for Nyasaland Journalists

Two European journalists on the staff of the Nyasaland Times had to seek police protection last week.

Mr. John Westoby was locked for an hour in a room at Malawi Congress Party headquarters in Blantyre and threatened with a beating by three officials, who told him that Dr. Banda would "fix" him. He shouted through a window to an African passer by, who called the police. A party official alleged later that Mr. Westoby had "thrown his weight around" when he entered the office.

Mr. Alan Hart was stoned by Africans after attending a Press conference at which Dr. Banda denounce him for two of his articles. A European policement helped him to break through the crowd to his car, for which a police detachment had to clear the way.

Police guards have been mounted at the homes of

both men.

Congo Skirmishes

ONE MAN WAS KILLED when a Swedish re plane of the United Nations with 10 m was shot down last week by unidentified Kamunzu, 50 miles from Kabongo is north A Katangese Government communique sta Congolese National Army soldiers had been two Katangese soldiers wounded in one of the by the former group with Baluba tribe Kabango. Congolese troops were reported to southwards from Manono, and another Kasai. On Monday two U.N. Indian soldiers and four injured after exploding a mine while Katangese lines near Elisabethville airport.

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Broadcast

(Continued from page 93)

Government. How can we tolerate any political party which in order to obtain office think that the right approach is to harm the ordinary man in his employment or his home?

"The European, with his skill, knowledge, and education, built up the industries of the country. They built our agriculture to one of the highest standards in the world. Surely the right approach is to extend that so that the African people can have the advantage of all that is being done here by the European, can become wealthier and find better education for his children by all of us working together.

"We have proceeded against Z.A.P.U. because they denied co-operation and refused it. They said 'either you hand over the Government to us this year'—sometimes December 9 was mentioned, sometimes May next year—or we shall turn the country into chaos'. Every Rhodesian who cares about the future of his children must reject such a doctrine.

"We are immediately calling the Chiefs' Provincial Councils. They have to be consulted. We want the African people to come into the planning stage of the great future to which we look forward. We believe in the new concept of communal development. The time is passed when all this can come from above. The people must agree amongst themselves what they want the future to hold.

"I pay tribute to the women's clubs, the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and all the other bodies who have been working in this direction for many years, and to those who have sponsored the Courtesy Campaign. We have to work along these lines.

"I'd like to quote a letter I saw in the Sunday Mail today. It was about a Mr. Gondo, who told the Press all about the troubles he had, the racial discrimination he met from the European and bitter enmity from a section of the African people because he was working for racial co-operation, I am very proud this letter has been published, and I congratulate those citizens of Fort Victoria.

Thoughtful Giant of His Race

Thoughtful Glant of His Race

"Let us acknowledge genuine merit of a man not by his colour but by his character and attainments. The attack on Mr. Gondo's home and shop was carried out by hooligans who consessed less courage in their whole bodies than this gentle and admirable man possesses in his little finger. Mr. Gondo, rejected by his white compatriots because he is black, is reviled by some of his black compatriots because he advocates peace, sanity and reason between black and white, and rejects the theory of racial domination by black or white. Surely it is time for us as a community blassed with the leadership and sconomic power in the country to join men like Mr. Gondo, the thoughtful giants of his race, in advocating the same reason, peace and co-operation that he advocated for years to his own eventual peril;

"That is the path to the future of Southern Rhodesis. I ask you all to join with me is supporting those like Mr. Gondo who at grave personal risk and grave personal sacrifice has had the courage to stand up against thugs and hooligans.

tary, Mr. Robert Mugabe. Another stock was discovered in a kraal in the Nkai Reserve near Bulawayo owned by another official, Mr. Ronald Sibanda. Messrs. Mugabe and Sibanda were detained, as were the "external affairs" officer of the party, Mr. Leopold Takawira, and two central executive members, Messrs. Silandika and M. Malianga.

Two European lecturers at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, Dr. Terence Ranger and Mr. John Reed, both officials of the party's branch there, have been restricted for three months.

Dr. Ranger said that he and Mr. Reed were "glad, without mock heroics, to have been included in the Government reprisals. There were perhaps 20 white members of Z.A.P.U. in Salisbury alone, and our being raided and restricted makes it clear that Z.A.P.U. was in fact a non-racial party. It had a wide range of members, including Indian merchants. Probably the formation of hard and fast economic policies might have alienated some members".

No Alternative

Asked how an avowedly pan-African party could build a nation in a multi-racial society, he said that it was absurd to try building a nation without the nationalists, and that it was a mistake to assume that pan-Africanism was purely black racialism. "In this context I see myself as a voluntary African. The mass of Africans here are still ill-treated, and the main enemy of liberty is still the White Establishment".

Mr. Reed said that he felt a deep repugnance for white society in Southern Rhodesia as a whole. Whatever dangers might lie in a change, the country would be better off under a majority Government. He had been chairman of the Salisbury branch of Z.A.P.U., which had a predominantly-African membership.

salisbury branch of Z.A.P.U., which had a production membership.

The Pederal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said in London: "Sir Edgar Whitehead had no alternative than to act in the way he has done. The preservation of law and order is the first duty of every Government, and my colleagues in the Pederal Government and I fully support the action which Sir Edgar has been forced to take".

His deputy in Salisbury, Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Defence, announced that he had ordered precautionary troop dispositions at the Southern Rhodesian Government's request. "I take this opportunity to reaffirm my Government's request. "I take this opportunity to reaffirm my Government's full support of the Southern Rhodesian Government in its determination to put a stop to violence and intimidation". Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said that the Government had refused to negotiate in the past and now had to face "massive resistance". The

ment representative in Salisbury, Mr. James Biddulph, stated that there was "an awful lot of varied opinion" there on whether Sir Edgar Whitehead's action had been "absolutely necessary". It was felt "very strongly" that there was no scope left now for any African nationalist party, whether violent or non-violent, and many people were very worried about just what form future African nationalist activity would take, as the ban on Z.A.P.U. was "corking the bottle down rather tightly".

He thought it possible that more Africans would register as voters for next year's elections, as Z.A.P.U. had conducted a "very, very strong campaign" to stop their fegistration, and had used intimidation to enforce its instructions.

Asked which party an African would now vote for, he said that he would probably refrain from voting unless he wanted to support the United Federal Party led by Sir Edgar Whitehead or the extreme right wing, unless some new party came along which could manage to be African nationalist without incurring Government displeasure at the same time. That would be extremely difficult. ment representative in Salisbury, Mr. James Biddulph, stated

Mr. Nkomo's "Failure"?

On Monday the police reported that there had been petrol bombings and other arson in various districts, which were not mentioned. Thousands of leaflets which called for the killing of all Europeans and for a strike, were distributed clandestinely in Highfield and Harare townships on the outskirts of Salisbury. Some Africans stayed away from work, but, as the strike had been intended to mark Mr. Nkomo's expected restriction, it was cancelled when he failed to return

but, as the strike had been intended to mark Mr. Nkomo's expected restriction, it was cancelled when he failed to return Two of his African opponents in Salisbury criticized his journey to Tanganyika. Mr. Reuben Jamela, president of the Trades Union Congress (whose supporters have been involved in fraces with Z.A.P.U. men), said that Mr. Nkomo should return as soon as possible to face the struggle with his countrymen. "If he does not, many Africans will despise him. I do not know whether he is running away or whether his visit to Tanganyika is for some very important reason. At his visit to Tanganyika is for some very important reason. At the moment he must be given the benefit of the doubt, but

the moment he must be given the benefit of the doubt, but he will lose face if he stays away".

Mr. Thompson Gonese, publicity secretary of the recently formed Pan-African Socialist Union, suggested that Mr. Nkomo's "perpetual absence confirms our opinion that he is afraid to come back to face the ban. We think he is in league with the Prime Minister, who tips him off when there is to be a ban so that he can get out of the country". [When the two immediate predecessors of Z.A.P.U. were banned, Mr. Nkomo, their leader, was out of Southern Rhodesia on each occasion.]

Among Z.A.P.U. papers and cards seized in a student's rooms at the University College, police found a membership card recently made out in the name of Miss Judy Todd, 19-year-old daughter of Mr. Garfield Todd.

Restriction orders are so far known to have been served on 191 people, and 1,094 arrests have been made.

Mr. Nkomo's Statements and Movements

Coming to Britain and United Nations

Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, was in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, when he heard that the party had been banned by the Southern Rhodesian Government early last Thursday. He told a Press conference that the ban was a good thing, as it meant the beginning of the end for Sir Edgar Whitehead and the beginning of the end for the white man in Southern Rhodesia. My party will never he down Rhodesia. My party will never lie down the ban". According to another report, he ban as "most savage behaviour; they not even got the decency to let me get home".

colled his booking for a flight to Salisbury that mying that he would take an evening flight.

Then he disappeared.

It day he issued a statement calling on the British to "suppress the Southern Rhodesian Gov.

suppress the Southern Rhodesian Gov-forthwith and to send in troops temporarily democratic" Constitution was prepared. "This way to save our country from disaster", he british fails to do this she must accept full lity for our people's blood".

The party's determination to ignore the Life "Z.A.P.U. continues. I realize that with

the brutality of the Welensky-Whitehead forces this will mean untold hardship, and torture for my people. They should be under no illusions that this will entail a longdrawn-out struggle, bringing bitterness and hatred in its train. We shall not give in

He suggested that Sir Edgar Whitehead "knew within himself" that Z.A.P.U. was in no way connected with outrages in the Colony. The Prime Minister's "true motive" in banning the party was to remove opposition against "his white-supremacy Constitution, which aims at turning the country into another South Africa. Let me assure my people in this dark hour that, whatever happens, no elections shall be held under the Whitehead Government as long as we live."

He would remain in Northern Rhodesia another four days

He would remain in Northern Rhodesia another four days for discussions with party branch leaders and the leader of the United National Independence Party, Mr. Kaunda, who a few days previously had said that when his party had won the general election next month he would support Z.A.P.U.

financially.

U.N.I.P.'s publicity secretary, Mr. Sikota Wina, issued a statement calling for the replacement of Federal troops by British-soldiers in Southern Rhodesia, failing which the United Nations should assume direct control until a "democratic" Constitution was introduced. That should be done to prevent civil war.

New Headquarters in Tanganyika

Mr. Nkomo said that he would return to Southern Rhodesia "to lift the morale of the masses", even though restriction orders would be served on him. But on Sunday evening he was reported to have arrived at Mbeya, in

Southern Tanganyika.

Tanganyika's Prime Minister, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, had said on Friday evening soon after returning from London that his Government was "shocked" at the ban, and that it was time that those responsible for the Government of Southern Rhodesia thought of "radical changes" in the interests of all. Asked if he would grant political asylum to Mr. Nkomo and his supporters, he replied: "Have we ever rejected anyone? We accept political refugees from any part of Africa unless they have a criminal record against our country—though I do not call them political refugees, but; rather, freedom fighters".

On Saturday, however, while ctill in Vivilla.

rather, freedom fighters".

On Saturday, however, while still in Lusaka, Mr. Nkomo had stated yet again that he would return to Salisbury, this time on Monday, "to join my colleagues in detention for several years." He had no plans for a campaign. It would be for the people to decide on passive resistance measures.

He had decided not to go to Tanganyika, but instead had appointed nine Z.A.P.U. members living outside Southern Rhodesia to run the organization from Dar es Salaam under the national chairman, the Rev. Ndabingi Sithole, who was in Greece at the time. He denied that that group would constitute a "Government in exile." though it would be empowered to do anything considered necessary to further Z.A.P.U.'s interests and would be expected to strengthen the party's offices in Gairo, Ghana, London, and New York.

Party branches in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would co-operate with the officials in Tanganyika to carry on the struggle to "free Zimbabwe". He added: "Come what may, the Constitution must go. We shall fight it in our graves "Speaking as this year's chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa, Mr. Kaunda promised full support for Z.A.P.U., and said that he would enlist the aid of all member countries. Once in power in Northern Rhodesia he would spare no effort to influence Britain to act in Southern Rhodesia

would enlist the aid of all member countries. Once in power in Northern Rhodesia he would spare no effort to influence Britain to act in Southern Rhodesia.

On Sunday he said that Mr. Nkomo had left "suddenly" for Tanganyika because there was a Government plot to have him assassinated. He would remain in Dar es Salaam organizing Z.A.P.U.'s new headquarters until it was safe to return to Salisbury.

Send in British Troops

Mr. Nkomo arrived in Dar es Salaam on Tresday and said that he intended flying to Britain soon to "demand" the posting of British troops to Southern Rhodesia; suspension of the Constitution and the Government; the assumption of administrative control by Britain; lifting of the ban on Z.A.P.U.; the release of all "political" prisoners; and that a conference be convened to draft a new constitution. He would then go to the United Nations.

the United Nations.

He would return to Southern Rhodesia in good time, but saw no point in sitting in prison "to let Whitehead kill me, as they killed Parerenyatwa. I am in no hurry to go back to face Edgar Whitehead's Hitler-type concentration camps".

He told the correspondent of The Times that "imperialist agents" labelled him as a Communist. "I am not, I am a Christian gentleman. Politics are one thing, revolution another. I am still in politics".

Comment from Many Quarters **Lord Colyton Blames United Nations**

MODERATE AFRICANS in Southern Rhodesia would greet the banning of Z.A.P.U. with a sigh of relief, said LORD COLYTON in a letter to The Times which read:

"The reckless and unconstitutional action of the United Nations General Assembly in interfering in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia in now beginning

to show the expected results.

The long list of acts of violence perpetrated by members of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, starting almost immediately after the party's formation on the banning of the National Democratic Party last November, at once increased when the United Nations invited the Committee of Seventeen to investigate Rhodesia.

These acts of terrorism were at first mainly directed against moderate Africans, their homes, churches, schools, and public buildings. In the last two months subversive attacks have been again stepped up, no doubt in anticipation of the new session of the General Assembly.

External Pressure on Mr. Nkomo

"It is all too simple to ascribe these crimes which have now led to the banning of Z.A.P.U. by the Southern Rhodesia Government to genuine African grievances or political frustration. The fact is that for the past two years there have been immense developments in Southern Rhodesia in the economic and social fields and in particular in the rapid abolition of discrimination on grounds of colour.

"On the political side, the new Constitution on which the elections will be fought next spring, was at first accepted by Mr. Nkomo on behalf of the N.D.P., and it was only under external pressure from pan-African circles that he later turned it down:

it down:
What is not so generally known is that the campaign of

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misrepresentation against the Government of Southern Rho desia and the attacks on the new Constitution are directly inspired not only by extreme elements in the Afro-Asian block but by the numerous Communist organizations created in Africa by the Soviet Union, the satellite countries, and Communist China in the past four years, together with the sinister Communist 'front organizations' which have succeeded in penetrating the trade unions, the professional bodies, and the youth movements throughout Africa.

It is no coincidence that two of the attacks perpetrated by It is no coincidence that two of the attacks perpetrated by Z.A.P.U. members have been against Mr. Reuben Jamela, president of the Southern Rhodesia Trades Union Congress, who, with his delegation at the Dakar Conference in January, successfully resisted Communist attempts to disaffiliate from the I.C.F.T.U. the African unions belonging to the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Trade Union Federation.

"Sir Edgar Whitehead's action in banning and taking energetic measures to put an end to the present subversive activities will be greeted with a sigh of relief by all moderate Africans in Southern Rhodesia. It should also be welcomed by all sections of opinion in this country who are anxious to see the emergence of a genuine democratic system in Southern Rhodesia in a non-racial community, capable of resisting the inroads of international Communism".

Socialist Spokesman's View

MR. DENIS HEALEY, M.P. Opposition spokesman on Commonwealth Affairs in the House of Commons,

"By banning Z.A.P.U. Sir Edgar Whitehead has barred the last legal road open to the great African majority in Southern Rhodesia. The territory thus stands on the brink of an Algerian tragedy, with ruinous prospects for European and African alike, subjecting the Commonwealth in Africa and Asia to intolerable strains and threatening great damage to Britain's reputation in the world.

"What can Mr. Butler do even at this hour to avert disaster? His constitutional powers are real but limited—though some of these limitations were self-imposed less than a year ago. But Britain still has the power to grant or refuse independence, and her financial influence could be decisive, particularly now that Sir Edgar's conduct has destroyed the chance of keeping any economic link between Southern Rhodesia and her rich northern neighbour.

"Unfortunately, instead of using this bargaining power to dissuade Sir Edgar from his fatal course, Mr. Butler chose to lend him £3\frac{1}{2}m. last month—just after Sir Edgar had introduced legislation which, as the former Chief Justice stated, confirmed Southern Rhodesia as a police State. Sir Edgar drew the natural conclusion: 'I regard this loan as an expression of complete confidence in my Government and itspolicies'.

"Perhaps this was not Mr. Butler's intention of some policies

policies."

"Perhaps this was not Mr. Butler's intention. If so, he should now take the steps which the Opposition urged on him in July. He should declare that Britain will make no further surrender of her constitutional rights in Southern Rhodesia until it has achieved representative government, and that future economic or financial assistance will depend on rapid progress to that goal. And he should contrive an opportunity for restoring contact between Sir Edgar and Mr. Nkomo so that no chance of reconciliation, however small, is missed.

"Whether at this stage such action will suffice no one can say. But at least it would help to restore the confidence of Africa and the world in Britain's own intentions and integrity".

"Britain Will Share the Guilt"

The Movement for Colonial Freedom of which the chairman and vice-chairman are Mr. Fenner Brockway M.P., and Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. - protested

against the ban on Z.A.P.U. in a statement reading:

"Sir Edgar Whitehead says this action has been 'taken because Z.A.P.U. was operating in a Fascist manner'. It is those who deny democracy who are Fascists; Z.A.P.U. has considered the considering collection of democracy in Southern

The British Government must bear a heavy responsibility for the situation there, due to its failure to act on the resolution of the United Nations Special Commission on Southern Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead has ignored the call of the Churches for the holding of discussions between the political parties with a view to a stable settlement of the problem.

"We believe that very serious discontent among the Africans of Southern Rhodesia is inevitable unless the British Government takes decisive action to reverse the dangerous and undemocratic policies of the Southern Rhodesian Government. It still has the power to do so; if it fails to use it, it will share the guilt for the crisis which will follow."

The International Confederation of Free Trade

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions issued the following statement:—

"I.C.F.T.U. have repeatedly demanded constitutional advance for Southern Rhodesia which would enable the African majority of the population to elect a majority of representatives in the legislature, and we have made clear our view that the present proposals to give only limited representation to the Africans are totally inadequate.

"We strongly protest therefore against the fact that, instead of paying heed to the legitimate demands of the African population, the Southern Rhodesian Government has allowed a situation to develop in which violence has become widespread, and has reacted to this first by introducing repressive legislation in the form of amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and the Unlawful Organizations Act and then by using the latter act to ban Z.A.P.U.

"We deplore the violence which has occurred, but we insist that the primary responsibility is on the Southern Rhodesian Government to remove the causes of African discontent. We call upon it to rescind its repressive measures and to bring the leaders of African opinion into consultation without delay with a view to revising the Constitution".

Z.A.P.U's. London Office

A Press statement issued by the London office of Z.A.P.U. said that the party would not respect the ban.

"Only that Government that is freely elected by the majority of the people can impose a ban on the people. Whitehead represents 250,000 settlers, some of whom are our supporters; he cannot therefore impose his will on the 4m. Africans. An opposition party of people who are excluded from effective political participation cannot dance to the tune of a minority Government".

Under the heading "Whitehead's Record", the statement continued:

continued:-

continued:—

"African National Congress banned February 26, 1959. Five hundred leaders detained and six now four years in detention. National Democratic Party banned December 9, 1961; Zimbabwe African Peoples Union banned September 20, 1962. All leaders detained. Thousands restricted; more than 100 Africans shot and killed by Whitehead's police.

"To keep in power, and thus to keep Africans under ruthless oppressive laws, Whitehead passed the Law and Order (Maintenance) and the Unlawful Organizations Amendment Bills introducing a complete police State and abolishing African political freedom.

"With regard to the 1961 Constitution, Africans reject 15 seats out of 65 and are prepared to resist the introduction of this Constitution.

this Constitution.

this Constitution.

"The Zimbabwe Liberation Army formed recently is a result of Whitehead's and Mr. Butler's desire to perpetuate white supremacy and the fact that Africans are tired of politicians' methods of settling disputes.

"Africans in Zimbabwe cannot be kept down while their kith and kin in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are advancing politically. Whitehead's administration is no longer capable of governing a majority owing no allegiance to it. The impact of African Governments in the northern territories will be the greatest inspiration to Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The fight will go on until majority rule is won for the Africans. Z.A.P.U. will go on.

"Its External Mission will be geared to shaping the future Zimbabwe Administration and will function as usual but with more increased responsibility".

Hope of Negotiations Lost

The Africa Bureau in London complained that the Southern Rhodesian Government had "excluded experi-

Southern Rhodesian Government had "excluded experienced politicians from leadership and destroyed any hope of a negotiated settlement", and continued:

"The British Government should intervene because it is ultimately responsible for Southern Rhodesia, and must answer for the Government's policies at the United Nations, and because the Southern Rhodesian Government has acted contrary to the spirit of the declaration of rights which is to be part of the Constitution agreed between the British and Rhodesian Governments last year.

"This wholesale removal of the experienced African leaders from politics could not have taken place as it has done if the Constitutional Council had been established and the courts empowered, as the second stage of the Constitution provides,

to ensure an individual's rights on major questions of civil liberties. Apart from moral considerations, common sense and experience show that to remove from the majority of the people and their leaders the constitutional means of expressing their political hopes and fears inevitably leads to disaster."

THE REV. T. A. BEETHAM quoted a moderate African

as having recently said to him in Southern Rhodesia : "We do not agree with these burnings. Can you tell us about Gandhi's methods so that by peaceful nonco-operation we can make clear our determination to rule ourselves?"

His letter continued: -

"Whereas for many years there have been individual Africans with a live political sense, the Mashona and Matabele have in recent days corporately recovered from the shock of the defeat of their fathers and the European occupation of the deteat of their lathers and the European occupation of their country. They have now decided, by one of those spontaneous convictions that overnight fuse the wills of a whole people, that their three millions will no longer accept the rule of 225,000 Europeans. This resolution is as deeply rooted in the reserves as in the towns; I have been told of strong-willed old grandmothers travelling miles to attend party meetings.

Extremists and Moderates At One

"This sense of a people's self-knowledge has accerterated every month since the detentions of 1959. The acceleration has overtaken the laboured though for many Europeans courageous moves towards desegregation which have become irrelevant. This is the situation with which Europeans have to come to terms.

"Many Africans are looking to the United Kingdom Government to use its influence to help ease the friction of the impending change. If the above analysis is correct, an essential prerequisite for constructive action is the recognition by Her Majesty's advisers of the fact that the African people of Southern Rhodesia 'extremists' and 'moderates' alike, are at one in their determination to effect immediate and radical change."

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, blamed not Z.A.P.U. but Sir Edgar Whitehead for "what may prove to be a mortal blow to the cause of multi-racial co-operation in Central Africa".

He wrote:

"There is little doubt that the leaders of Z.A.P.U. have engaged in conspiracy, subversion, and violence. This is the inevitable consequence of the denial of adequate constitutional means for opposition. As President Nkrumah is discovering in Ghana, bombs are the alternative to free access to the ballot-box.

"The problems of Southern Rhodesia will not be cured by suppression. Each time the African nationalist party has been outlawed it successor has proved to be more extreme. The situation will not be resolved until the reasons for the unrest have been examined and dealt with.

"In my view, the new Southern Rhodesia Constitution must be amended to secure greater and more equitable representation for the Africans. It is impossible to defend a Constitution which restricts the African franchise on the lower roll to 1% of the population when in the nearby territory of Tanganyika there is one man one vote, and when even in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland African representation is considerably more generous.

Cannot Win

"Sir Edgar Whitehead must also rid himself of the pathetic fallacy that if the extremists are locked up moderate leaders will emerge. This has been disproved in Ireland, India, Ghana, Cyprus and Nyasaland. By his savagely repressive legislation and his decision to ban the African nationalist party Sir Edgar has dealt what may prove to be the mortal blow to the cause of multi-racial co-operation in Central Africa. He has also engaged in a battle which he cannot win. "Since Chapter VI of the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution has not yet taken effect, it is constitutionally possible for Mr. Butler to disallow the amendments to the Unlawful Organizations Act, 1959, and the Law and Order Maintenance Act, 1960, which have been passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. This I believe he should do, since these measures could not have been validly enacted once the Declaration of Rights embodied in Chapter VI of the new Constitution had come into effect.

Rights embodied in Chapter VI of the new Constitution had come into effect.

"The British Government has always taken the view that it cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia. I cannot accept this supine attitude towards a territory which remains a British Colony. What is urgently needed is for a new round of talks between the Southern Rhodesian Government and the African nationalists. Mr. Butler should immediately offer to act as mediator in order that new talks may begin".

"Fantastic Assertion" Denounced

KENYATTA, president of the Kenya African National Union, has been sharply criticized by the Convention of Associations of Kenya in a statement reading:

The suggestions made at the meeting addressed by Mr. Kenyatta at Elburgon that Europeans are bribing Africans to take oaths and make guns are utterly fan-tastic. Convention has noticed a deplorable tendency among Africans to dodge awkward issues with their own people by putting the blame on Europeans. While this may go down well with certain audiences, it nullifies the effect of any denunciation of violence by stirring up anti-European feeling.

"Europeans in Kenya may well ask what the posi-tion of the community will be after independence if it is now accused of responsibility for every form of Afri-

can subversion.

Europeans welcome denunciations of violence as such, but have no belief in their effectiveness especially when coupled with accusations of this sort. Only active steps by the present Government against the Land Freedom Army will convince them that it is willing and capable of dealing effectively with subversion".

Mr. Muliro Disagrees With Mr. Kawawa Case for Association with Common Market

MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, and vice-president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, made it clear when he addressed a meeting of Nakuru and District Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture last week that he does not share the opinion explained to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London by Mr. Kawawa, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, that the East African territories ought on no account to accept association with the European Economic Community if the United Kingdom should decide to join it.

"About three-quarters of Kenya's export trade is with the United Kingdom and the Six, and if the United Kingdom joins all that trade will have to be with the new Common Market", said Mr. Muliro.

products; some of our temperate zone items are in competition with Australia, New Zealand or Canada. For some of these items (such as beef, for instance) an economic association with the Common Market might be very useful. For the tropical items economic association could be very important indeed. "Not all our trade is in the officially-recognized tropical

"Moreover, a purely economic association could give us access to capital and development resources not otherwise open to us. If we remain outside these arrangements the open to us. If we remain outside these arra effects could in the long run be very damaging.

Instead of staying clear of the politics of Europe and

avoiding siding with the West, it could even be that eventually sheer poverty would drive us into the clutches of the opposite camp. This would be the worst possible thing that could happen "Earlier the Minister had said:

"Despite all our political troubles, this is a basically good and healthy country, and the people, especially businessmen like yourselves, have a tremendous amount of experience and ability which is quite invaluable. We want a lot more small fraders and small industrialists. In some countries this would present almost impossible problems. But in Kenya the interest and small learn from the experienced man and the countries of the same learn from the experienced man and the countries of the same learn from the experienced man and the countries of the same learn from the experienced man and the same learn from the xperienced trader can learn from the experienced man and

the small industrialist from the large industrialist:

"None of you will think that these new men are rivals to be pushed out of the way. Indeed, some of you have already done much to help. You know that if Kenya is to survive and progress we must expand our activities as far as possible; we must introduce as many of our our people as possible to better standards of living, better consumer goods, better ways of doing things; in fact, better lives all round.

"I am a Christian, and very proud of it, and I know that if we are to be really better people we must first attack poverty, misery, disease, and ignorance.

Fragmentation a Threat

"For industrial development to get ahead our agricultural industry must be based on sound economics so that all that which has been built up in Kenya by the European farmer in the field of mixed farming is not destroyed. To destroy the basis of our present agricultural economics by any type of experimentation would eventually be most disastrous to Kenya. "I view small fragmentations of settlement schemes as a definite threat to the economy of Kenya. I am all out to see that we increase our agricultural productivity in order to raise our national income. We can do this either through co-operatives or through companies entered into by Africans, Europeans and Asians, rather than by smallholdings which are eventually going to reproduce conditions now prevalent in African land units.

"Settlement schemes are of importance but as a result of

"Settlement schemes are of importance, but as a result of political agitation by African politicians the time has now come to rectify. We must assess the economic consequences fully before we plunge the country into chaos".

Salisbury Tobacco Sales Exceed £33.6m.

THREE WEEKS EARLIER than last year, this season's tobacco auctions in Salisbury have ended with the sale of 230,796,093 lb. of leaf for £33,623,602, giving an average price per lb. for the season of 34.96d. Britain was some 8m. lb. short of her quota at 93,543,212 lb. (40.68%), apparently because the tobacco was not up to British requirements. Other export markets accounted for 124,752,389 lb. (54.26%), leaving the local market with 5,527,764 lb. (2.40%). Australia took 3,921,222 lb. (1.7%), and the Republic of South Africa 2,184,163 lb. (0.95%). The crop was lower than had been estimated. Tokacco worth about 62m been estimated. Tobacco worth about £3m. was lost because of premature ripening and an insufficiency of curing barns. The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. J. C. Graylin, has stated that he will try to obtain money in order that farmers may build 3,000 new barns for the next season.

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News Items in Brief

The Arab Secondary School in Mombasa, Kenya, is to be-

The Arab Secondary School in Mombasa, Kenya, is to become multi-racial next year.

Southern Rhodesia now has 211 African women's clubs, with a membership of 4,794.

Three two-year scholarships for Tanganyika have been offered by the Government of India.

A pan-African co-operative alliance conference is planned for November in Moshi, Tanganyika.

A former slave market in Milkindani, southern Tanganyika, has been converted into a produce market.

The Mikumi Kidatu rail extension in Tanganyika will be partly financed by a German loan of £800,000.

The largest consignment to date of Rhodesian chilled beef, 300 tons, will be discharged in Britain next week.

Salishury City Council will get £535,000 for African housing from the British £31m. loan to Southern Rhodesia.

There are now 95 adult literacy classes in the Rungwe area of Tanganyika, where about 13,000 people are seceiving instruction.

struction.

Ethlopia has denied that a man arrested in Hargeisa in the Somali Republic with a supply of Italian hand-grenades is an

Somali Republic with a supply of Italian hand-grenades is an Ethiopian apy.

Stockbrokers in Rhodesia report that there has been more local buying of Northern Rhodesian copper shares recently than for several years.

Two African employees of the Uganda Electricity Board are spending some months in England for training with leading electrical manufacturing companies.

Union Corporation, Ltd., which has substantial Rhodesian interests, has ceased to be resident in the United Kingdom and has transferred its registered office to South Africa.

A company under the chairmanship of Mr. H. C. Drayton, who is chairman of the Mitchell Cotts Group, is offering £2.8m. for Earl's Court, the London exhibition centre.

Wessen's erganizations in Tanganyika are to meet in November under the agis of the Ministry of Community Development to form an overall National Council of Tanganyika Women.

American Ald Cut

to every district in Tanganyika encept the Lake Regions, which will be so staffed in



Road-making by self-help in the Kibati district of Tanganyika has saved the Government about £13,000.

Two communal farms totalling 325 acres in the Ulanga district of Tanganyika are being worked by 127 Africans. One
is to increase its cotton acreage from 20 to 100 acres.

The Uganda National Assembly passed last week legislation which prescribes imprisonment for up to two years for
anyone bringing the country's flag into contempt or ridicule.

The Uganda National Assembly passed last week legislation which prescribes imprisonment for up to two years for anyone bringing the country's flag into contempt or ridicule.

Building societies in Southern Rhodesia—which reported assets of £44,472,000 at the end of the June quarter—are to resume making loans "on a modest scale." for residential property. Lending ceased in November, 1960.

The appeal launched this week by the Bishop of London for a £100,000 multi-racial educational programme in Kenya is to be known as the Kenya Schools' Appeal, not the Bishop of London's Appeal, as originally announced by the World Council of Churches.

Tanganyika's University College to be built on Observation Hill, Dar es Salaam, will cost £1,300,000 in the first building phase, to be completed in 1965, with contributions of £500,000 from the Government, £350,000 from Britain, and £300,000 from the Ford Foundation.

Tanganyika Extract Company, Ltd., formed by the Mitchell Cotts Group to produce extract from pyrethrum flowers in Tanganyika, is to receive a sterling lean of £60,000 from the Colonial Development Corporation, which will also subscribe £5,000 of the £65,000 capital.

Mayo, Edder & Company, City solicitors with East African connexions, are about to amalgament with W. R. J. Hickman & Randall, of 3 South Place, E.C.2, from which address the combined practice will be continued under the style of Hickman, Randall & Mayo Elder.

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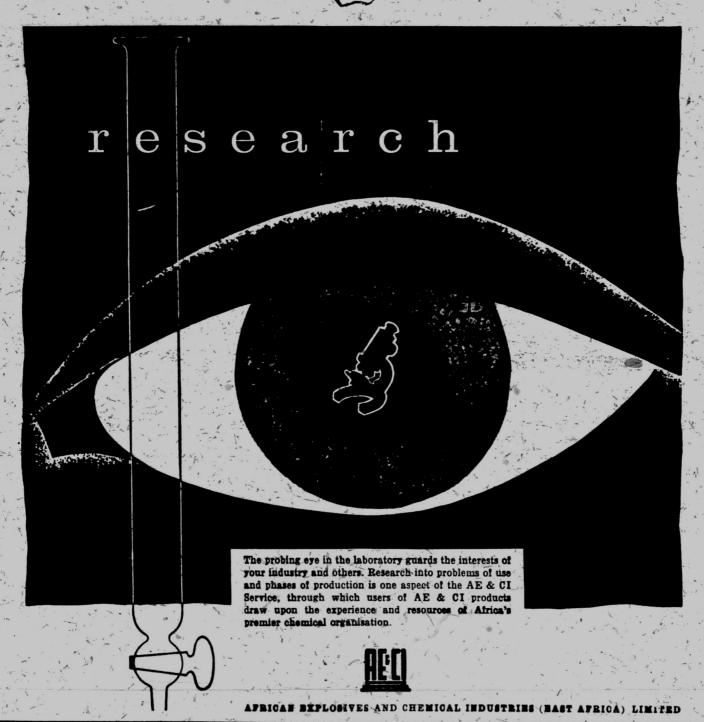
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Labour Party Dissatisfied with Common Market Terms

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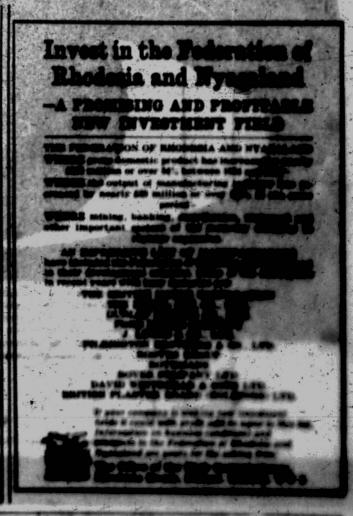
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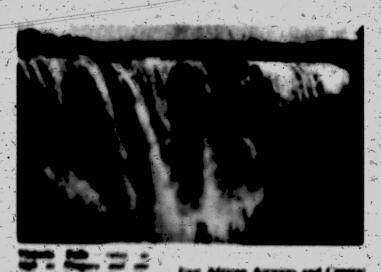


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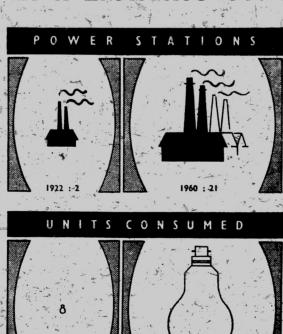
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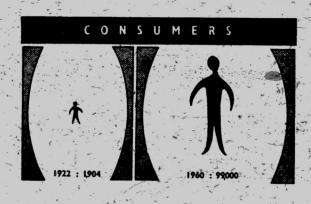


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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1962

Vol. 39

No. 1982

42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

LEFT-WING PUBLICATIONS in the which extracts were published in last week's United Kingdom, including the journals of opinion, are, of course, openly sympathetic to the proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples

Union of Southern Rho-Sympathy desia and critical of the For Z.A.P.U. Government of that Colony. which is depicted, not as com-

posed of Ministers drawn from and responsible to the majority party in Parliament, but as the personal instrument of a dictatorial Prime Minister who is accountable to nobody and motivated by antediluvian misconceptions. The current Spectator is especially offensive, commenting editorially that "one of the few charges that cannot fairly be laid at Sir Edgar Whitehead's door is infirmity of purpose", and permitting Mr. T. R. M. Creighton, a frequent contributor, to accuse him of "the immoral use of intimidation and arbitrary force", to refer to his "obstinate and isolated temperament, reinforced by his distressing but symbolic misfortunes of nearblindness and near-deafness", and to allege that he is "completely misinformed about the temper and aspirations of Southern Rhodesia's Africans, about the nature and quality of Z.A.P.U., and of the whole situation he is working in". In one paragraph Mr. Creighton declares that "Z.A.P.U. is not a party of violence", but in the next he asserts that "violence, instability, bitterness and injustice are bound to prevail" unless an immediate extension of the franchise gives Africans at least parity with Europeans in the next Government. Those words can mean only that violence will come from an allegedly non-violent party. Any writer who can deny Z.A.P.U.'s implication in violence is unreliable, for that party, and especially its Youth Wing, has in recent months organized crimes of all kinds, has been established beyond doubt by the White Paper from

issue of East Africa and Rhodesia.

The New Statesman — which customarily takes a most charitable view of organizers of political or industrial trouble, and generally assumes the white man to be in the wrong and

the African in the right in Pan-African any controversy - almost admitted Z.A.P.U.'s guilt by Pressure.

referring to Mr. Nkomo's failure to organize a general strike last year (that industrial action being attempted for essentially political purposes) and adding that "there are certainly more violent leaders waiting to step into Nkomo's shoes". It is a noteworthy admission from that quarter, and one which even Mr. Creighton could scarcely deny. But the Socialist journal denies that Z.A.P.U. extremists "destroyed the last chance of peaceful inter-racial evolution" blaming the Prime Minister for closing the door to constitutional negotiations between white and black. The truth is that when further talks were recently suggested by Church leaders in Salisbury, Mr. Nkomo de-clined to meet Sir Edgar Whitehead except to discuss abandonment of the Constitution to which he (Nkomo) had agreed in London only a few months earlier. External pressure from pan-African quarters quickly caused him to go back on his signature, and since then he has denounced as unsatisfactory what he had accepted in London as a fair (and many people considered a generous) next step in his country's constitutional evolution. What the nationalist leader deemed fair is, however, now denounced by London publications, including the New Statesman, as "oppressive". And at their annual conferences the Labour and Liberal parties have shown themselves equally unrealistic.

Making Life Unbearable. ten by an African headmaster selves as possible substitutes for Ministers in Southern Rhodesia which contained these who had blundered. words: "There is to be a house-to-house check on Z.A.P.U. membership cards in October, and woe betide anyone who is found without one. Already someone has called twice in my absence asking to see the cards. I don't belong to any political party. With petrol bombs all over the place it is difficult to have sound sleep. One has to congratulate oneself on being alive in the morning" But these elementary matters of personal security and freedom seem never to weigh with the United Kingdom writers and speakers who refer so glibly to political advancement in Africa. They shrug off intimidation and violence by African thugs as of little or no importance. That they should treat considered, well-documented, and convincing statements by Governments and Ministers as of no account is perhaps still worse.

WHY HAS IT BEEN NECESSARY to rush a Preventive Detention Bill through the National Assembly of Tanganyika under a certificate of urgency if conditions and pros-

pects in that territory bear any Preventive resemblance to the happy pic-Detention. tures drawn by the leading

African politicians who have travelled so widely in Europe, America and Asia in the last few months? Dr. Nyerere, founder and leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, and about to be elected the first executive President of his country as it becomes a republic, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, his loyal colleague and successor as Prime Minister, Mr. Bomani, the Finance Minister, and other leading members of the Cabinet have vied with one another in their enthusiastic assurances of universal satisfaction with the development of a one-party State, which is, they unite in declaring, a manifestation, not of a tendency to party dictatorship, but of genuine African democracy. It is difficult to reconcile such protestations of general contentment with the sudden enactment as an emergency matter of a law which authorizes the indefinite detention of anyone who is considered by the Minister of Home Affairs to have conducted himself in a manner dangerous to the peace and good order of Tanganyika or prejudicial to its security, reckless decision was taken to turn those especially as appeals against detention may scoundrels loose upon society, Mr. Blundell

The basic fact is that Z.A.P.U. had to be not be made to the courts, but only to an outlawed in order to protect the mass of advisory committee whose recommendations ordinary, law-abiding, and non-political may be rejected by the Minister. There is Africans, for whom a tiny minority of extre-therefore now no protection left for the indimists were making life un- vidual if the Government should wish to bearable. Only a few days whisk away those who might draw attention ago we received a letter writ- to its failings and perhaps commend them-

> The Government must have known that the outside world would automatically and quite reasonably comment: "Another step along the Ghana road"—a road which is

> now seen even by many African political extremists to Along the Ghana Road. have been disastrous from every standpoint, for Ghana's

African leadership, though obsessed with the idea of representing itself to the world as the embodiment of the "African personality", has undermined internal and external confidence, threatened the economy, and denied the most elementary freedoms not merely to Africans in the mass (a development which African politicians in many countries unconcernedly accept as inevitable) but to any Minister or party official who is thought to be insufficiently subservient to the will and the whims of the head of the one-party State; in plain English, not to have truckled enough to satisfy the all-powerful dictator-who, like many other dictators in history, has soon reached the point of being scared to leave his palace and of distrusting some of those who have been his closest companions for years. Whether or not Tanganyika's African Government has deliberately modelled its preventive detention legislation in that of Ghana, there is no material difference; and that is an ill augury for Tanganyikans. It will be interesting to see what references, if any, to this unhappy development are made in the General Assembly or other organs of the United Nations by the Afro-Asian, Communist, or European or American busy-bodies who have so often pilloried British African Governments for far less oppressive measures introduced to meet some temporary and obvious difficulty.

SIR MICHAEL BLUNDELL said in Nairobi last week that subversion in the Rift Valley had been caused primarily by a few irreconcilable Mau Mau veterans, and that

many such anti-social Kikuyu should never have Why Did He Not Resign? been released from detention. When the grossly

reckless decision was taken to turn those

(as he then was) was an extremely influential member of the Council of Ministers. If he did not then recognize the iniquity of the plan, he was less sensitive to the evil inherent in it than practically every member of the European community. If he did understand the moral and material implications, why did he not make it immediately plain to Mr. Jain Macleod, the disastrous Secretary of State with whom he had collaborated so closely and misguidedly, that he would resign his portfolio rather than be a party to an intention which outraged European opinion in general in the country, jeopardized the lives of many Africans who had had the courage to oppose Mau Mau, and constituted a breach of pled-ges repeatedly given on behalf of the Government that the Mau Mau leaders and thugs would never be allowed to return?

Nobody was in a better position than Mr. Blundell to avert the threatened folly and

danger, for if he had stood staunchly against that atrocious plan for the appeasement of

evil men, the Colonial Secretary would have had to abandon his Kenva's unprincipled manœuvre. With Tragedy.

Mr. Macleod's prior approval, the Governor of the Colony, Sir Patrick Renison, had twice referred publicly to Kenyatta, whom the courts had condemned for managing Mau Mau, as the "African leader to darkness and death". That was presumably also Mr. Blundell's opinion at the time. Neither, however, was prepared to indicate his determination to resign in the hope that notification of that decision would restrain a foolish, stubborn, and conceited Minister and so spare Kenya from another calamity of incalculable gravity. The weakness of Mr. Blundell and the Governor at a crucial period have been important contributory factors in Kenya's tragedy.

Britain Should Demand Better Common Market Terms'

Labour Party's Criticisms of Entry on Conditions so far Negotiated

THE LABOUR PARTY regards the European Community as a great and imaginative conception.

It believes that the coming together of the six nations which have in the past so often been torn by war and economic rivalry is, in the context of Western Europe, a step of great significance. It is aware that the influence of this Community on the world will grow and that it will be able to play—for good or ill—a far larger part in the shaping of events in the 1960s and the 1970s than its individual member States could hope to play

It is these considerations—together with the influence that Britain as a member could exercise upon it-and not the uncertain balance of economic advantage—that constitute the real case for Britain's entry.

National Authority Will Wither Away

The Labour Party, however, is also aware that membership of the Common Market would involve commit-ments to the nations of the Six which in their scope and depth go far beyond our relationship with any other group of nations, for the central purpose of the Common Market is not just the removal of trade barriers between its member States but the conscious merging of their separate economies into a single unit.

Within this single Community the power of national

Governments over commercial, industrial, financial, agricultural, fiscal and social policies will progressively wither away. In their place common policies, arrived

at by major decisions, will emerge. Moreover, the Rome Treaty is itself one expression of the will of the Six to closer political unity. The aim

is to build on the foundations of the Common Market a

single political Community with a common Parliament and eventually a common Government. Powerful and ardent voices have indeed long urged the creation of a West European Federal State.

For Britain such wide commitments present special and serious difficulties. Full membership of the Common Market is limited to European States. Although there is provision for associated status for some territories, many important members of the Commonwealth will be totally excluded. Moreover, our situation is not the same as that of the other countries of the Community.

Decisive Change in World Relation

While our histories have certainly overlapped, they have also diverged, and this has shaped our separate institutions and policies. Our connexions and interests, both political and economic, lie as much outside Europe as within it.

Membership of the Common Market could therefore decisively change our political and economic relations with the rest of the world. Unlike the Six, Britain is the centre and founder-member of a much larger and still more important group, the Commonswealth. As such we have access to the largest single trading area in the world, and political influence within a world-wide, multi-racial association of 700 million people.

within a world-wide, multi-racial association of the missing people.

Finally, although the unification of Western Burope is itself a great historic objective, it has to be considered a light of the effect it has on the two transcendent issues of times—the cold war, with its immense threat of stobal truction, and the ever-increasing division of the world into affluent nations of Europe and North America and the power stricken nations elsewhere.

If by joining the Common Market we could seed the conomic resources of Europe to help the underdevelocations of the world and to promote the cause of by ensuring more creative and liberal policies in Europe to help the underdevelope in the case would indeed be strong.

If, on the other hand, our membership were to commonwealth and the trade of the underdevelope influence that Britain could exert in world state.

The Labour Party has always looked upon Britain's entry into the Common Market as a matter to be judged in the light of the long-term interests.

^{*}The Labour Party has this week issued a long statement on its policy in connexion with the European Economic Community. The above passages are taken from that document. Cross-headings have been inserted editorially.

We could not take the view that whatever the circumstances, whatever the conditions, we should enter. Nor could we take the view that whatever the circumstances, whatever the condi-

tions, we should stay out.

It was for these reasons that the National Executive Committee at the 1961 annual conference of the Labour Party refused to pass judgment on the abstract question of whether Britain should join the Common Market. Instead, it insisted that judgment should be deferred until the actual terms of entry were reasonably clear.

For it is the terms that really matter. At the 1961 annual conference, following a long debate, the committee accepted a resolution in these terms: "This conference does not approve Britain's entry into the Common Market unless guarantees protecting the position of British agriculture and horticulture, the Efta (European Free Trade Association) countries, and the Commonwealth are obtained and Britain retains the power of using public economic ownership and planning as measures to ensure social progress within the United Kingdom.

At the same time the National Executive Committee made it clear that we would support Britain's entry if these terms were met.

were met.

As Hugh Gaitskell put it in his broadcast on May 8, 1962:

"To go in on good terms would, I believe, be the best solution to this difficult problem. And let's hope we can get them. Not to go in would be a pity, but it would not be a catastrophe. To go in on bad terms, which really meant the end of the Commonwealth, would be a step which I think we would regret all our lives and for which history would not forgive us."

Indiagemenble Conditions

While deliberately refraining from hobbling the Brussels negotiations by laying down in advance a series of rigid and detailed terms, the Labour Party clearly stated the five broad conditions that would be required:—

(1) Strong and binding safeguards for the trade and other interests of our friends and partners in the Commonwealth;

(2) Freedom as at present to pursue our own foreign policy;

(3) Fulfilment of the Government's pledge to our associates in the European Free Trade Area;;

(4) The right to plan our own economy;

(5) Guarantees to safeguard the position of British; agriculture.

today bind the Commonwealth, and a drastic weakening of

today bind the Commonwealth, and a drastic weakening of its political cohesion.

In economic and social policies the Rome Treaty already allows for a substantial amount of supranational decision-making through the instrument of the Commission and the machinery of qualified majority voting. We should be unwise to disregard the very real likelihood that in the attempt to achieve "lesser political union" this system will be extended to foreign policy and defence.

No Socialist will cling to national sovereignty for its own sake. But Britain has special relations with many countries outside Europe — particularly in the Commonwealth. These relations would be imperilled if we were to accept majority decisions taken within the European Community in this field. For these reasons we believe that it is right to insist that Britain must retain full freedom on action in foreign policy.

Three years ago, when the negotiations for a wider European trade association broke down. Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Austria joined Britain in forming the European Free Trade Area.

Before applying for entry to the Common Market the United Kienders Common market a solemn alledes to its Efta part.

Before applying for entry to the Common Market the United Kingdom Government made a solemn pledge to its Efta partners that it would maintain its association "until satisfactory arrangements have been worked out to meet the various legitimate interest of all members of Efta and thus enable them all to participate from the same date in an integrated European

This piedge must be honoured. In particular, we cannot accept that Sweden, Switzerland and Austria should be denied associate membership on account of their neutrality. Indeed, we regard their membership as a vital British interest.

The prosperity of Britain rests far more on our ability to make intelligent use of our economic forces than it does on securing tariff-free access to the Six.

Some features of economic planning cannot be easily combined with membership of the Common Market. This is due in part to the laisser faire assumptions underlying the Rome Treaty, in part to its basic aim of creating a single and competitive market.

Complete free trade with the Six and the free movement of capital out of Britain could well—and in the short run almost certainly will—intensify our balance of payment, difficulties. If the power of the British Government to take corrective measures is limited, this could have grave consequences for full employment, the strength of the currency, and our future prosperity. We must be sure that we can pursue policies necessary to secure full employment and the maintenance and improvement of our social services.

Political Puppets Manipulated from Outside Southern Rhodesia

Minister of Labour Denounces Z.A.P.U. Incitement to Race Hatred

MR. A. E. ABRAHAMSON, M.F., Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Housing in Southern Rhodesia; said in Marandellas before the banning of Z.A.P.U. that the cold war against the Colony would be intensified in September.

His address, given to a United Federal Party public meeting, contained the following forthright passages:

"During the past four years the Government has faced an immensity of problems, a mass of difficulties never before experienced in the history of Southern Rhodesia, unequalled not only in their complexity but in their number and in their critical implications. These problems have arisen from within the country alone.

Post-war nationalism has been on the rampage through Asia and Africa, and has not yet spent itself. Modern international morality has adopted the expedient rather than just solution of many problems, playing often into the hands of those who wish to destroy established government and substitute for it tyranny

and one-party government.

Tyranny and One-Party Government

"In Africa some of the newly independent States are perfect examples of this. Others contend against it. Nigerian trade unions are much under attack from Ghana as is the Southern Rhodesian Trades Union Congress. In the former French Colonies there are leaders who are trying desperately to resist the influence of the Casablanca bloc, whose main strength and support lies in Cairo and Accra—capitals of States with the shabbiest political records and ruled by dictators who presume to intrigue and meddle in the affairs of other countries while hundreds of thousands of their subjects sleep by night in the streets of their cities and towns.

"It is from such sources that certain of our local political leaders derive support and inspiration. States such as these form the spearhead of the attack on us at the United Nations. The conduct of affairs in States

such as these has virtually destroyed any form of new private investment in large-scale enterprise in Africa.

"It is the political effect of this continuing action in Africa and the economic effect of the continuing inaction of investors that we face in Southern Rhodesia today. Most certainly we are in the front line, facing political pressure and economic uncertainty.

Outrages As Window-Dressing

It was to be anticipated that in September 1962 the cold which has been waged against us might be intensified, for is the month in which the United Nations meet, and fore the month in which the many lies and slanders sated to the United Nations on the situation in Southern had to be justified in some way. What finer justified that to attempt to create a background of increasing throughout Southern Rhodesia?

We there they deny it or not, certain leaders of the African Peoples Union have uttered threats to our conomy. Although very well advised by their leaves that much of what they said was not actionate a sum total many of their speeches have been as the incitement of racial hatred. Through their Youth League they have tried to emulate the tyranny of the Convention Peoples' Party in

who have refused to be the stooges of persecuted continuously. Their wives and threatened; some have suffered assault—see of some prominent Z.A.P.U. leaders me prominent Z.A.P.U. leaders Members of parties other than

Z.A.P.J. have suffered stoning and petrol bombs and their wives and children have been insulted and humiliated—because they have exercised their right to disagree.

"This is the old familiar pattern designed to create chaos through which dictatorships arise in the name of the name.

through which dictatorships arise — in the name of the new 'freedom': that freedom which denies the rights of others to disagree, which attacks physically those who dare to differ, and seeks to desroy their property; which compels complete subservience to the State; which enslaves trade unions to be instruments of a political party.

Supine Leaders

"The Z.A.P.U. leaders, after having agreed to the new Constitution, have not had the guts to take their party along with them. The Z.A.P.U. leaders have not had the guts to condemn violence. They have not had the guts to pursue their policy within the rules of the game. It is not their relies but their actions in many respects and their lack of opinions but their actions in many respects, and their lack of action in others, their cowardice, their lack of moral fibre, that has earned the disgust of every decent Rhodesian.

"Nevertheless, these political puppets attached to strings which are manipulated from outside our country must not be

regarded by white Rhodesians as representative of the African people. That would be a fatal error—as indeed would be a people. That would be a fatal error—as indeed would be a swing in political opinion which sought a solution in white supremacy. In times like these this is the greatest danger. This is, in fact, one of the objectives of the incidents which have taken place recently. Nothing would be more calculated to play into the hands of the forces ranged against us than the adoption of a white supremacist policy in Southern

"I pay a particular tribute to those brave African men and women in the townships and in the rural areas who have stood by their belief in the need to work together with their fellow white Rhodesians in the face of threats to their lives and of physical attacks on themselves and their children. I say to them, as to you, that our country cannot make progress against a background on the one hand of a disregard for law and order and on the other of continuing discrimination. Both

and order and on the other of continuing discrimination. Both conditions are vile and vicious. They are cancerous. They must and will be cut out and destroyed.

"The battle that is upon us cannot be won unless there is mutual confidence and support between Rhodesians of all races, and unless we pursue jointly the objective of building a country in which every man, woman, and did will have the opportunity to progress towards a better life.

No Confidence Along the Z.A.P.U. Way:

"There can be no mutual trust and confidence along the Z.A.P.U. way. Nor can there be mutual trust and confidence based on the draft policy of the Rhodesian Front—a barren document which offers a suit of second-hand clothes, soiled already in the 'fities, for use in the 'sixties; a document which unashamedly seeks to find loopholes in the newly-accepted Constitution, accepted by the vast majority of the white electorate, so as to entrench white supremacy for its own sake. What trust, what confidence, can one expect from the African people in such a manifesto? It is still only a draft, but enough of a draft to give Southern Rhodesia a very bad cold!

"Rhodesians who think in terms of a closer association with South Africa are completely out of this world. Dr. Verwoerd has said categorically that a Southern Rhodesia with a partnership policy could not become part of South

Africa.

"Political pundits who speak glibly of joining South Africa should note that statement and realize that a condition precedent to joining South Africa is the adoption of a policy of segregation. In Southern Rhodesia, with 250,000 European and 31m. Africans, segregation would merely highlight European areast from the consideration whether such a pean isolation—apart from the consideration whether such a policy is morally right. I ask these political pundits to consider whether we have the man-power and the resources to impose such a solution—for imposed it would have to be and

maintained by force.

"South Africa has become a republic. Rhodesians often have their differences with the Government of Great Britain, but their loyalty and affection for Her Majesty the Queen

remains sincere and steadfast and will continue in the years ahead. In this loyalty we have been nurtured. This loyalty we intend to retain.

"If more white Rhodesians were to cast their eyes south-wards and keep on talking about ties with South Africa, more black Rhodesians would inevitably be increasingly tempted to cast their eyes in the opposite direction.

"The hard geographical facts of our existence make us seek

to maintain friendly relations and constant co-operation with all our neighbours, whether in Zomba or Pretoria, Lusaka or

"We have special links with the northern territories under the Federal Constitution, and it would be a tragedy if we sought to retreat behind the Zambezi without full examina-tion and discussion of how these links can best be maintained. tion and discussion of how these links can best be maintained. This investigation is proceeding at present, and it would be folly to over-simplify the complexities which attend it. In this age, when the more developed countries of the world have at long last learned the advantages of pooling their economic resources for the benefit of all their people, when Britain seeks to enter a wider association of economic opportunity, it is almost Gilbertian that in Africa politics should aim at breaking up associations without regard to the welfare of the mass of the people.

"It is not a question of what an association is called; the important thing is that an association should exist, and that the things which matter to all the three States of the Federation should be perpetuated by agreement in Central Africa.

Rhodesians Must Solve Rhodesia's Problems

"No matter what the most expert advisers from outside our borders may conceive, in the long run the problems of the Federation in the wider sense, and of Southern Rhodesia in the narrower, are going to be solved by the people of our country and by no one else. Just as in the external sense Central Africa as a whole stands to benefit by association with the Common Market, so does Southern Rhodesia stand to benefit by association with her sister States in the Federation.

"There will be need, however, for tremendous re-thinking, for re-allocation of responsibilities and of the revenue through which alone responsibilities can be discharged. Part of the difficulty under which we labour is a Federal Constitution which in its preamble proclaims partnership and yet in its detailed division of responsibilities accentuates racial

detailed division of responsibilities accentuates racial differences.

"This too has highlighted the responsibilities of the Southern Rhodesian Government as being directed mainly towards the day-to-day life of the African people and has caused some misunderstanding in the minds of members of the electorate, as well as in the utterances of some members of the Parliamentary Opposition. I am on record in a Hansard of many years ago as pointing to the difficulty of distinguishing between cattle in the sphere of European agriculture and cattle in the sphere of African agriculture—for after all cattle are cattle. "We shall not find a solution adequate for Southern Rhodesia by looking either to the north or to the south, for neither black supremacy on grounds of race alone nor white supremacy on similar grounds can hold out any future for all our people. We must fashion a unique solution—a truly Rhodesian solution fashioned for all Rhodesians, irrespective of race, colour, or creed, a national solution and way of life which will serve not only as a bridgehead in Africa but as an example to a world in great need of a new approach.

Equal Opportunities

"This is the only way whereby established standards can be maintained — whether in agriculture or manufacturing industry, in the skills of our labour or in any other sphere of the country's activity. Standards will not be maintained if we perpetuate vast differences based on race alone. In such exclusiveness exists the greatest threat to the well-being, happiness, and security of the European. When those who emerge from their poverty find barriers placed against them which make it impossible because of their colour to live at the standard of those who appear to be rich, we have a situation in which frustration and bitterness overcome any other consideration. sideration.

"There is no future for Rhodesians until all the remaining racial discriminations have gone—and until in their place true equal opportunity and human dignity are entrenched. This applies not only to legislation but to the thinking and attitudes of the great majority of our people. That is why it is necessary to continue with a labour policy that seeks to ensure that irrespective of race, all avenues of opportunity will be open to those who are capable.

But the African cannot be regarded in agriculture or in any other sphere as a worker. More and more Africans are becoming employers, thereby establishing a further identity of interest with their fellow white Rhodesians, which should run right through our country if we are to develop a national approach to our future. To this end it is necessary that they should work together in employers organizations as well as in trade unions. in trade unions.

Last Basic Discrimination Must Go

"The Land Apportionment Act is the remaining basic discrimination. In wishing to repeal it we do not seek to lower standards, to fragment land into uneconomic units, or to disstandards, to fragment land into uneconomic units, or to dis-turb the individual privacy of the home in town or country. These matters can be safeguarded. But with these safeguards we must sweep away an Act which has become the greatest nuisance and obstacle to a Rhodesian national approach. We stand for Rhodesia and all Rhodesians on a national policy of progress, in which European, African, Asian and Coloured

shodesians can all have a future.

Fundamental in this policy is respect for law and order, and the right of every person to hold and utter political opinions and associate freely for all lawful ends.

We recognize the need for private investors and their right to security and a fair return on their capital. We recognize the right of the workers to a fair return on their labour and their

right to organize as free trade unions.

We wish to build a Rhodesia free of discrimination, in We wish to build a Rhodesia free of discrimination, in which there will be equal opportunity for education, training, employment, and family life of the highest possible standard—a Rhodesia in which the unfortunate, the orphans, the aged, and the needy will be cared for; a Rhodesia in which Rhodesians of all races will participate in Government, in its administration, its legislature, and its executive, above all, a Rhodesia in which every citizen will belong and be able to say. This is the finest country in the world."

Z.A.P.U. Ban A Press Problem How to Describe Mr. Nkomo

SPORADIC OUTBREAKS of arson and sabotage are still reported from Southern Rhodesia.

A Native Department farm school at Tombo, a Salvation

A Native Department farm school at Tombo, a Salvation Army building in Zhumbili, a London Missionary School classroom at Gwitshi, a warehouse in Salisbury, and Chematandere Church at Wedza have been burnt down. Security patrols were stoned in Mzilikazi, Bulawayo. Railway signal cables were cut in one area. Arrests have been made. Df 199 restriction orders served, 55 are outstanding.

Ministers have begun a fortnight's campaign throughout the Colony to explain why Z.A.P.U. has been banned. An African headman, thanking the Prime Minister for the ban, sard: "We did not know where we stood and everybody was so frightened". Z.A.P.U. officials had threatened his family and his people, and huts and grain had been set on fire.

On Monday Sir Edgar Whitehead told the National Affairs Association in Bulawayo that far too many Europeans still did not think of planning for a future with Africans, among whom there was an enormous fund of good will to be utilized for the country's benefit. The feeling that a man was unacceptable because of his colour had to end. It was ridiculous that an African M.P. should be unable to enjoy any privilege of civilized life.

Rhodesian cournelists and foreign Press correspondent bows.

Rhodesian journalists and foreign Press correspondents have been advised that references to "Mr. Nkomo, leader of Z.A.P.U." might render them liable to up to two years' imprisonment, but when they asked the new Minister of Justice, Mr. A. R. W. Stumples, for a legal interpretation on how they might refer to Mr. Nkomo under the security laws, he said that it was, not the Government's duty to give free legal advice. The Federal Government's chief information officer, Mr. Colin Black, who is acting as liaison officer for Sir Edgar Whitehead, suggested that it would be safe to refer to "Mr. Nkomo, former leader of the banned Z.A.P.U."

A Federal Broadcasting Corporation's news report quoting Mr. Nkomo's announcement that he would fly from Dar es Salaam to Britain to ask for military intervention led to accusations of aiding and abetting Z.A.P.U.'s underground activities being made by the Prime Minister against the F.B.C. news editor, Mr. John Appleby, who was roused from bed to answer Sir Edgar's summons. Journalists were told that the broadcast story was actionable.

Television Interview with Sir Roy Welensky

Firm Support for Southern Rhodesian Action

REFORE HE LEFT LONDON after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, SIR Roy WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, was interviewed in an Independent Television programme on the banning of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union in Southern Rhodesia.

Asked by Mr. Brian McGee how he could support something so "anti-democratic", he replied:—

"If you knew the circumstances that exist in Southern Rhodesia, and the need for Sir Edgar Whitehead to take the action he did, you would have under-stood the position. It's easy enough for you who live in this country to talk about an action being anti-democratic. What was happening was that in fact people were not being allowed to exercise any rights at all, due to terrorism and intimidation. Whitehead's action was absolutely necessary if responsible government and freedom of action for the people to express their opinions were to continue".

"B.M.: "But hasn't there been intimidation from the

other side also? There have been armed police attending African meetings. I can think of six African leaders

who have been kept in detention for three years without trial. Isn't this intimidation?"

SIR ROY: "I suppose one could argue that every time you see a police officer standing at a street corner that that was intimidation. I have seen police officers at my meetings. They don't threaten me, and I don't believe that they are there to intimidate me. When I see a police officer I look upon him as the representative of law and order. I am not afraid of him

Nationalist Parties Outlawed

the African nationalists have been outlawed in Southern Rhodesia. Isn't it a bit like King Canute telling the tide to retreat?" B.M.: "But this is the third time in less than four years that

Sir Roy: "That is the opinion you can hold. But what Whitehead is trying to do—I think he deserves a great deal of credit for it—is to hurry along the advancement of the African people. But he is not being permitted to do this in a reasonable and responsible way. There is a great deal of interference from outside Southern Rhodesia, encouraged in particular by the Afro-Asian group.

"You feel that the present Constitution is being strongly objected to. In fact, for some 48 hours Mr. Nkomo accepted it, until pressures were exercised on him from outside. Then he rejected the new Constitution—which has not yet been given a chance to be brought into action".

Mr. Keith Kyle: "Did not Mr. Nkomo change his opinion under pressure from members of his party? And isn't that a democratic pressure?"

Sir Roy: "Not according to the information I have. The pressures are coming from outside. There is no secret that the present difficulties in Southern Rhodesia have been associated with the present meeting of the United Nations General

Assembly.

K.K.: "What is there in the reforms that Sir Edgar Whitehead has been putting through — doing away with the land segregation, making the colour bar in public places illegal, and so forth — that he could not have done seven or eight years ago? Or that Rhodesia could not have done then, and launched the policy of partnership with much more of an appeal to the Africans?"

Sir Roy: "It is very difficult to reply in a few short sentences to a question of that nature. Whitehead has made changes in the last three years in Southern Rhodesia that no one would have been willing to accept seven or eight years ago".

k.K.: "No one' meaning no white person?"

Sir Roy: "No. I would not say no white person, but the vast majority of the electorate; and to a large extent control of the electorate is in the hands of the European voter. White-head has brought about remarkable changes in the last three years, both in the field of discrimination and in the general advancement of the African people, and there has been a great deal of opprobrium poured on his head as a result of it".

K.K.: "As Sir Edgar explained it to me, he is hoping that

that they are white or black and will think of themselves as Rhodesians. They will divide into, say, an agriculturist party or a trade union party. With your long knowledge of Africa, do you really think that in 12 or 15 years people will have forgotten whether they are white or black in Rhodesia?"

Sir Roy: "It's a very short time in which to expect that kind of thing to happen, but if we continue as we are at the moment, with the pressures mounting from outside indicating to the African leaders that their best hope from their point of view now is naked power for themselves, and that they should not be prepared to support the multi-racial society, then there is little hope of achieving what Sir Edgar told you. We are anxious to achieve, if it is humanly possible, a society in which a man's colour and his race will not be what counts".

K.K.: "You had an African Minister in your Government

K.K.: "You had an African Minister in your Government, Jasper Savanhu, and I heard him defend your Government's policy from the front bench. Recently he resigned. He said that partnership was a piece of window-dressing and that the Federation was finished. What is your reaction to that?"

Pressures of Pan-Africanism

Sir. Roy: "Savanhu is suffering under great pressure, brought upon him by African nationalism, pan-Africanism, call it what you will. I had known for a considerable time that he intended to leave us. As a matter of fact, when he saw me at 12 olclock on the morning he resigned he told me he was not leaving the party. He had changed his mind by the time he made the announcement that evening. I have considerable sympathy for men like Savanhu. The pressures of pan-Africanism and African nationalism are very, very great".

B.M.: "Sir Roy, you keep talking about pressure from outside, and it is true that the U.N. have condemned the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia by an overwhelming majority. But it is also true that there is tremendous pressure from inside. Your own former Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, resigned in protest against this new law that is being invoked. The previous Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, has condemned what Sir Edgar has done in the strongest terms. What is your answer to this criticism from inside, from responsible people?"

Sir Roy: "I dislike dealing with the views of other individuals, but I will deal with the question of the former Chief Justice. Laws approaching those in Southern Rhodesia, if not exactly the same were introduced in Northern Rhodesia at the time of her difficulties 18 months or two years ago, and the Chief Justice then took no action whatever. Let's be realistic about it: the former Chief Justice of the Federation, for whom I have considerable admiration and respect, was anxious to return to politics; so I think it a little bit unfair to use his position as a former C.J. in a political argument".

B.M.: "Haven't you or the other members of the white Governments in the Federation and Southern Rhodesia got to come to terms sooner or later with the African nationalist leaders?" It depends what you mean by coming to terms'

leaders?"

Sir Roy: "It depends what you mean by 'coming to terms'. If you believe for a moment that I am going to stand back and see what has happened in the Congo, and what is going to happen in other parts of Africa, happen in the Federation, well, I'm not prepared to do it.

"We are trying to bring the African along with us as rapidly as we can. You don't mention that I have another African member in my Cabinet. I can appoint another tomorrow, and I am in the process of sorting out whom I will choose. These things are, of course, ignored. Savanhu, who had not attention for years, is of great consequence now because he has resigned. But I say that we are doing our best in very difficult circumstances.

Intolerance

"You talk about intolerance. May I remind you that no one has found a solution to that problem? When it comes to intolerance generally, who has found a solution to a religious intolerance? After 2,000 years of Christianity we still face it in the world today."

Mr. McGee had begun the interview by recalling that when he was in Salisbury in February "things seemed quiet on the surface, but behind a façade serious trouble was already brewing. I found Africans bitterly resentful that they were required to work in that besutiful city but forbidden to live in it. To them, that seemed to symbolize their status in their

(Continued on page 118)

PERSONALIA

DR. E. G. M ASHWORTH, of the Colonial Medical Service, has arrived from Nyasaland.

MR. R. H. STREETEN, a Crown counsel in Salisbury is in London from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. N. G. SECRETAN, a tea planter in the Cholo district of Nyasaland, and MRS. SECRETAN, are at present in London.

PROFESSOR N.-H. MACKENZIE, of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has arrived in the

United Kingdom.

When SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister, was in Vienna last week he met Dr. Gorbach, the Austrian Chancellor,

The EARL OF HOME, Foreign Secretary, has been appointed honorary President of the N.A.T.O. Council

for the coming year.

MR. D. R. N. BROWN, chairman of the Uganda Coffee Board and the Uganda Cotton Lint Marketing Board, is on holiday in England.

SIR DENYS and LADY LOWSON left London on Monday for Canada and the United States. They will be

away about three weeks.

SIR ERIC GRIFFITH-JONES, Deputy Governor of Kenya, will return to Nairobi next week after three months' leave in Britain.

MR. OMAR A. H. ADEEL of the Sudan has been elected chairman of the First (Political and Security) Commit-

tee of the U.N. General Assembly.

PRESIDENT GREGOIRE KAYIBANDA of Rwanda addressed the U.N. General Assembly last week on his country's admission to membership.

MR. A. C. NOBLE, London editor of Argus South African Newspapers, and Mrs. Noble are on their way

to the Cape in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

MAJOR-GENERAL I. H. FREELAND, now G.O.C. of the 54th (East Anglian) Division and District, will in April assume command of East Africa Command.

THE RT. REV. DONALD SEYMOUR ARDEN, Bishop of Nyasaland, was married at the week-end in Mlanje to MISS JANE RIDDELL, a schoolteacher in Blantyre.

LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS BERE FOLLETT, for many years a director of Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., left £86,363, on which duty of £39,008 has been paid.

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Southern Rho-desia, and LADY GIBBS will sail for the Cape today in the STIRLING CASTLE on their way back to Salisbury

LORD and LADY TWINING were the guests at luncheon last week of SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, chairman of the Royal Over-Seas League, and members of its cen-

DR. CHARLES HILL, lately Minister of Housing and local Government who paid a short visit to East Africa not long ago, has been co-opted to the board of Laporte Industries, Ltd.

MR. HAROLD WATKINSON, Minister of Defence until the recent Government changes, is to join the board of Schweppes, Ltd., a group with large East and Central

African interests.

V. JUDGES, chairman of the Com-PROFESSOR A. mission on Education in Southern Rhodesia, has returned to Britain to prepare its report. He will be joined shortly by the secretary, MR, D. GIBB.

SIR ANDREW COHEN, director-general of the Department of Technical Co-operation, is spending this week in Zanzibar and Tanganyika for Government talks before attending the Uganda independence celebrations with LADY COHEN on Monday next. After talks with the Kenya Government and E.A.C.S.O., he will return to Kampala before flying back to this country via the Lebanon.

MR. MUSA AMALEMBA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of State for Constitutional Affair and Administration in Kenya, is attending a UNESCO conference in Addis Ababa lasting from October 2 to 12.

MR. B. J. SHOEMANN, Transport Minister in the Republic of South Africa, has just ended a visit to Portugal to discuss increasing his country's recruitment of 100,000 Africans from Mozambique for work in the

gold mines.

DR. R. MILLARD, head of the tropical section of the Road Research Laboratory in the U.K., will be among the British delegates to the fourth world meeting of the International Road Federation. It will be held in Spain this month.

DR. L. H. FOSTER, President of Tuskegee University for Negroes in Alabama, U.S.A., will next week open the Nyatsime Commercial and Technical College for Africans in Seke, near Salisbury, which will cater for

350 boys and girls.

MR. ROBERT GEORGE RIDLEY, who was general manager in East Africa for the Standard Bank until recently, has been appointed to the East African Board of that bank and of Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation, Ltd.

MR. D. J. BANDA has been dismissed by Nkata Bay District Council, Nyasaland, from his teaching post at a White Fathers' Mission on the allegation that he is 'stooge" and had criticized the policies of the Minister

of Education, Mr. KANYAMA CHIUME.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, was host on behalf of the Government at a luncheon at Lancaster House on Monday in honour of MR. T. S. TEWA, Minister for Lands, Forests and Wild Life in Tanganyika.

MR. TEWA TEWA, Tanganyika Minister for Lands, Forests and Wildlife, arrived in London last week to visit forest plantations and timber mills and factories after a week in Germany, where he saw preservation and re-afforestation techniques in the Black Forest.

A Valiant jet bomber flew to Nairobi from Honington in Suffolk last Saturday to deliver a message from the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, president of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, to Mr. H. T. LLOYD, president of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya.

MRS. A. H. GURR, wife of a director of Clan Line Steamers, Ltd., named the new motor vessel CLAN MACGREGOR when she was launched at Greenock last week. A sister ship of the CLAN MACGILLIVRAY, she is the third vessel of the line to bear the Macgregor name.

SIR FRANK LEE has been made a Privy Councillor on his retirement from the post of Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in order to become Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He had much to do with the supervision of the groundnut scheme in Tanganyika.

U/THANT, Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations for the past year, was commended in the General Assembly last week by a number of Commonwealth speakers for its integrity and singleness of purpose in providing leadership which had restored his confidence in the world organization.

MR. GEORGE MoGHEE, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs in the United States, is spending 10 day in the Congo to inspect U.N. operations there. He will discuss reunification problems with Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. CYRILLE ADOULA, and the chief U.N. representative, Mr. ROBERT GARDINER.

MR. PATRICK MEDD, who has been selected to speak in the debate on Conservative principles and party organization at next week's annual conference of the party, served in the East African Division during the last war in East Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon, and Burma. He is a barrister, and contested Swindon in the general election of 1955.

WILLIAM ("TONY") KENNAWAY, aged 21, British ski-jump champion in 1960, was arrested in Kenya at the week-end on a charge of manslaughter after the hearing into the death of an African intruder who was killed in July in a struggle with MR. KENNAWAY at Muthaiga Club, Nairobil

MR. H. N. PARRY, Secretary to the Office of the Federal Prime Minister and the Ministry for External Affairs, who accompanied SIR ROY WELENSKY to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, sailed last Thursday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE for

Cape Town on his way back to Salisbury.

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and many other companies operating in South Africa and the Rhodesias, said when addressing the University of Cape Town recently that acceptance of the demands of the African nationalists would destroy democracy and create dictatorships, and that the only wise course was to advance Africans by limited franchises based on their education.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, leader of the majority Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, and Minister of Local Government, Surveys and Natural Resources, refused recently to meet the newly-appointed secretary-general of the Committee for Technical Co-Operation in Africa. DR. MAMADOU TOURE, because he had been invited to

the Federation by the Federal Government.

SIR THOMAS CREED, Principal of Queen Mary College, London, who was Chief Justice in the Sudan until 1941, and then Legal Secretary to the Sudan Government and a Member of the Governor-General's Council until 1947, has accepted an invitation to become chairman of the council of Oxford House, the pioneer social settlement in Bethnet Green, Fart London. settlement in Bethnal Green, East London

SIR KENNETH GRUBB, president of the Church Missionary Society, visited Persia last week to be present at celebrations in Isfahan marking the golden jubilee of the Anglican diocese of Iran. After a short visit to Jordan and Egypt, he is due in Uganda at the week-end to represent the C.M.S. at the independence celebrations. He is expected back in London on October 21.

MR. MARTIN SOUTHWOOD, headmaster of Blantyre Secondary School for African boys and girls, resigned last week after disagreements with Nyssaland's Education Minister. Mr. Kanyana Churche, over his "crash"

tion Minister, Mr. KANYAMA CHIUME, OM acational prog feel will drastically lower str with many of the girls we protest to the chairman of t WITHWOOD . An

namoron, First Lord o

Uganda

Becomes

Independent

This 72 - page profusely illustrated special number of East Africa and RHODESIA contains contributions from many present and past leaders of Uganda, including

The Governor, Skr Walter Coults

Tory Group's Criticisms of Tory Policy in Kenya

Monday Club's Pamphlet on Eve of Party Conference*

KENYA'S FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUA-TION is extremely serious. Despite massive loans from the British Government, amounting to £16m. in the last year, the country faces a budget deficit of some £4m., and unemployment has reached the figure of 80,000 in urban areas alone. The political situation and prolonged uncertainty have dried up most sources of new investment in the country and there has been a disastrous flight of capital.

If the stability of Kenya's economy is to be re-established, the European must be encouraged to stay, for the European population contributes as much as 80%' of the exportable commodifies of the country and half the Government's total revenues, whilst as many as 250,000 Africans are employed on European farms and

plantations.

Owing to the deterioration in the economic and security situations over the past two years, and with the value of their farms and land having fallen by 50% or more as compared with 1959, the majority of Europeans can foresee no future for themselves in Kenya. Consequently they do not feel inclined to invest in the development and improvement of their land, and increasing numbers are cutting their losses and leaving.

Last year 6,052 Europeans left the country for good, a figure approaching a tenth of the total European population. The number emigrating in the first quarter of this year was 2,060.

Complete Lack of Security

The British Government have so far refrained from tiving any general undertaking to pay compensation to Europeans in order not to encourage a general exodus. The purchase scheme announced this summer will cover only one million out of the "White Highlands" seven million acres and will take five years to implement.

to be expected to stay for the benefit of the ry, it is essential that the British Government takes to tighten up the maintenance of law and order. the atmosphere of complete lack of me urged them to stay the British Governot allow them and their African comment adult in a newly independent State is no real respect for the law, the rights

Sir Anthony Swann, Defence Minister, said in August that during the last five months another terrorist body, "The Land Freedom Army", had again become active in the Rift Valley Province and that it was believed that oathing ceremonies had

been held over a wide area of the province.

In Kiambu another illegal Kikuyu organization, known as "The Society of the Impoverished", has held about 50 oathing ceremonies. At least 250 people were involved, and it is thought that the real number is much higher.

There have been many oathing ceremonies in the Meru district in the last six months. Four gangs of survivors from the original Mau Mau organization are still at large in the

the original Mau Mau organization are still at large in the area, and last year were involved in mass oathing ceremonies in the Imenti Forest.

Many acres of European farm land have been occupied by squatters. Owners attempting to evict them have been threatened with violence. There are fears that the menace of the squatters may turn into a wholesale invasion of European-owned land if independence is granted before a solution is found to the land problem. There has been much deliberate maiming of European-owned farm livestock.

Intimidation, Violence and Extortion

The numerous offences of which members of the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing have been convicted range from illegal arrest and torture—including an attempt to burn an African youth to death by pouring petrol over him and setting him alight—down to the extortion and intimidation of shopkeepers. It is thought that this youth movement, which has a large membership, has been heavily infiltrated by ex-Mau Mau detainees.

There were 90 strikes in Kenya in the first six months of this year, mostly unjustified, and some accompanied by considerable violence. It has been said that money from Communist sources is being used to subvert the trade union movement.

These incidents are clearly hardly compatible with claims by British Government leaders that "in the Colonies we are achieving evolution without violence"; and they have been a major factor in deciding many Europeans to leave the country. Fears for the future are equally aroused by the disturbing double-talk of some African leaders; comforting re-assurances to European audiences have been offset by other statements to African audiences, such as the reported remarks of Mr. Mboya that "the Belgians were lucky they had Rhodesia and Uganda to go to, but the Europeans in Kenya II have only the sea", or those of Mr. John Konchella, who said in June: "Buropean settlers have not paid for the land they occupy and we will take it from them by force if necessary"; or the all too frequent outbursts of Mr. Kenyatta, who has spoken of helping the Europeans to pack.

Perhaps an even more worrying factor has been the intensification of inter-tribal rivalries between African political leaders which so clearly carries with it the threat of a new Congo with the advent of "Uhuru".

Would Drive Away Europeans

The British Government must ensure that all possible measures are taken to stamp out all forms of violence and intimidation. On no account must it be reluctant to take action for fear of offending any of the political parties in Kenya which may act in an unconstitutional manner or from fear of outside pressure, whether from the United Nations or any other source. If it does not take effective action or gives in to such pressures, then the risk of a breakdown in security is very great indeed.

A major breakdown in security would drive the European out of Kenya and greatly imperil those many Africans whose resistance to Mau Mau and whose loyal service to the administration has played such a major part in the development of their country.

Prompt measures must be taken to offset the shortage of arousen police inspectors, for they alone can hold the rank and lie of the police together. Such measures might include sploying small detachments of troops to back the local police press in dealing with outbreaks of violence and intimidation the re-establishment of the Kenya Police Reserve.

Once the new Government of Kenya has been elected the rittah Government should place a large degree of the responsibility for maintaining law and order in its hands. This would the new Government is really capable and sincerely tempting to carry out the responsibilities it has assumed.

The British Government should make it quite clear to the African parties that it will be their plain duty to prevent any outhreak of violence from the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing or any form of terrorist organization. If they should fail to do this, then the British Government must intervene and take the neces-

The ratio of experienced African farmers to the amount of land to be taken over from Europeans is extremely low. If the farms, are handed over to Africans with little or no exthe farms are handed over to Africans with little or no experience of modern farming methods, the economy will fall into complete chaos. What is worse, the land will quickly revert to desert and scrub if the Africans are allowed to use their traditional methods of farming on land where modern methods have been used hitherto, and the strains and quality of cattle and other livestock will deteriorate if they are tended by inexperienced hands without proper supervision. Last year £36m, worth of marketable produce was produced in the mainly European-owned scheduled areas:

Presence of British Troops...

Whatever the long-term future of the base, the continued presence of British troops in Kenya for at least the early years of independence is strongly desirable—not only as a stabilizing factor in the internal security of the country, but as a guarantee for the protection of its frontiers which may be threatened from more than one source and for the defence of which the locally-raised forces are at the moment quite

Those who will lead the Government of an independent Kenya might still be persuaded of the economic advantages that would accrue to the country by the continued presence of the British base in terms of the actual employment it would provide locally the "rent" that could be charged, and the greater political stability that it might engender, and thus the investment that would be attracted to a Kenya possessed of such stability.

In answering a question in Parliament Mr. Maudling stated that "we have a clear and solemn duty towards the lives of citizens in Kenya". The British Government must act with the courage of its own convictions, and on no account must it let itself be diverted by protests or threats of violence from nationalist extremists.

Eighteen of the 28 district education officers in Kenya are now Africans.

Detention Without Trial in Tanganyika "Democracy Defending Itself Against Traitors"

A PREVENTIVE DETENTION BILL passed as a matter of urgency in Tanganyika last week provides that any person considered to be a threat to the stability and security of the State may be detained indefinitely without trial:

The Bill empowers the Governor-General to make detention orders on the advice of the Minister of Home Affairs. Appeals may be made only to a special committee advisory to the Minister as chairman. Three members will be nominated by the Minister and two by the Governor-General. Recommendations of the com-

mittee may be disregarded by the Minister.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, who denied that Tanganyika was copying Ghana, claimed that the Bill should have been introduced long ago: "The masses know what they want: We do not want demo-cracy to be lost, and therefore democracy must defend

itself. Tanganyika is prepared to be condemned by the whole world in order to defend democracy'

Mr. Francis Masanja, a suspended chief who is a sup-porter of the new Tanganyika Peoples Democratic Party was the only member of the Assembly to oppose the "We are now in a state of emergency by having this law", he complained. "The country is no longer a democracy but a dictatorship Government. The Bill aims at detaining politicians

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Oscar Kambona, warned "those few elements who seek to overthrow the Government by force" that there was now machinery to

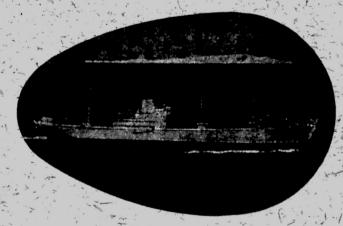
deal with them.

At a Press conference later the president of T.A.N.U. Dr. Julius Nyerere, said that the measures were aimed at possible "traitors" among the country's citizens. "We have other means of dealing with non-citizens", he added.

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Mr. Nkomo's Warning

(Continued from page 113)

own country. In the reservations, where the Africans have to live, they were already protesting against the proposed new Constitution, which would give 3m. of them only 15 seats in the Assembly, white giving 250,000 whites 50 seats. Their protests were in vain. Britain declined to intervene. In New York in June the issue reached the U.N., who usheld the African case. It was there that I asked the African leader Mr. Nkomo to state his precise objections to the Constitution". Mr. Nkomo: "It starts off by giving us, the African people, a secondary place. You cannot imagine us, 3m. people, having 15 seats, while white settlers, 240,000, have 50 seats which give them a two-thirds majority to change the Constitution without reference to us or Britain. This is the position in which South Africa was in 1910, and you know what has happened to South Africa".

B.M.: "Would you approve if the British Government imposed its policies on Southern Rhodesia by force, by sending troops?" own country. In the reservations, where the Africans have to

troops?"

J.N.: "Whatever Britain has got to use; she has got to use some force. I do not agree that there will be a necessity for using troops because if Britain makes a decision in Southern Rhodesia I venture to say that no settler will oppose Britain. This has been proved by Britain's move in the Federal sphere. Sir Roy Welensky was threatening all the time that if anything was done he would use force, but when Britain came out clearly that she was determined to change the Constitution of the Federal set-up, Sir Roy bowed to the British Government. So that to suggest that the settlers in Southern Rhodesia would take arms against Britain is being unrealistic".

B.M.: "But just suppose that the local Government digs its heels in and resists all changes, what could happen?"

J.N.: "If the local Government and Britain decide to dig their heels in, and no change, we on our part are willing to dig our heels in. Then you can imagine what will happen te that country".

Z.A.P.U. Unquestionably Guilty Brutality of Youth League Unchecked

EVIDENCE HAS MOUNTED UP since the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union was outlawed Southern Rhodesia a fortnight ago that, despite its former leaders' disclaimers, it was "unquestionably" at the bottom of the wave of violence and sabotage in the preceding months, SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, the Prime Minister, has said in an interview on Rhodesia Tele-

In reply to Mr. Humphrey Ellison, Sir Edgar did not accept the suggestion that his action had been too drastic and that only the party leaders should have been banned, not the whole organization. The worst and cruellest element in Z.A.P.U., he said, had been its Youth League. Some members of the party executive had not approved of the Youth League's brutality, but they had not been strong enough to oppose it. Merely to ban the party leaders would not therefore have

Recent legislation ensured that if a differently named party were to arise under former Z.A.P.U. leaders it would be immediately proscribed. "We cannot possibly allow the position of terror of any reasonable African to be reinstated. All the evidence will appear in due course in the courts that Z.A.P.U. was to blame for the violence. I've never met an African in the townships who had the slightest doubt where the violence was coming from. I've never met any African of my own party who hasn't had personal experience of it. I can't recollect offhand a solitary African who has not had practical and physical experience of this sort of treatment ".

Hard Core of Six Thousand

The Prime Minister thought that the "devoted" membership of Z.A.P.U. had been no more than 6,000. "But they had a very much larger number of "members", who were simply taking out a membership card as insurance. We had to make it illegal to demand membership cards because gangs of youths used on many occasions to demand to see them".

Mr. Ellison suggested that it was strange that 6,000 active and enthusiastic members of Z.A.P.U. should be able to give the impression overseas that they represented the entire African population of the country.

Sir Edgar replied: "People overseas have very vague ideas about Rhodesia. These African leaders are played up to a great extent when they appear on television before millions of viewers. They develop a technique and make these statements over and over again. Since the average viewer hasn't the remotest idea of what Southern Rhodesia is really like, it's very difficult to counter it. We did try to get some of the moderate Africans, who believe in a non-racial approach, to go overseas and try the same technique. But, of course, that moderation was so dull to the viewer, compared with the exciting things that were said by the extreme nationalists, that they weren't the same draw".

Asked about the effect of the ban on the forthcoming elec-

Asked about the effect of the ban on the forthcoming elec-tion, the Prime Minister pointed out that Z.A.P.U., instead of registering its supporters as voters and announcing its intention to contest the election, had said since January that it would not take part. So the ban did not alter the position in that respect. Were an African party to develop new and fight the election, that would be an improvement.

And I would like to rub it in that no other African party would have been permitted to emerge as long as Z.A.P.U. was following its methods of intimidation. There could have been no freedom of political thought amongst Africans unless Z.A.P.U. was banned."

Sir Edgar was not worried that Southern Rhodesia would receive yet greater criticism outside the country.

Unpardonable Offence

"The bitter opponents of Southern Rhodesiacommitted the unpardonable offence of having a white Government in a country where the majority of people are not white-will never relent in their criticism of us; and the one thing that would make it even fiercer is if we succeeded in producthat would make it even fiercer is if we succeeded in producing a genuinely non-racial Government in which the European and the African combined in a policy for the good of all, because they are dedicated to the pan-Africanist ideal, in which Africa is for the Africans. A genuinely non-racial Government would, of course, be far more dangerous to them than a white Government."

Asked if it might be a question of the "irresistible force of pan-Africanism meeting the immovable object of the cause of non-racialism in Southern Rhodesia", he denied that pan-Africanism was irresistible.

Africanism was irresistible.

To suggestions that the reaction from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland over the ban would be that it was the last straw

and Nyasaland over the ban would be that it was the last straw that would destroy the Federation, the best answer was that the Federal Government, of necessity the most concerned to preserve the Federation, had given the Southern Rhodesian Government its full support and wholehearted approval for the ban. The ban, however, was not a solution, but merely an executive act to preserve law and order.

"The lasting solution—and there is only one possible solution—is that all Rhodesians, quite regardless of their race or colour, come to regard themselves first and foremost as Rhodesians. When we reach that stage I expect politics to divide on economic lines. I expect the farmers of all races to cooperate together; the trade unionists of all races, the commercial people, and so on. Then we shall get into the normal state of any other country, where the political divisions are mainly economic, not racial".

Fruits of Intimidation and Violence

Situation in Southern Rhodesia

Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena, London representative of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union of Southern Rhodesia, said in a "World Today" programme in the General Overseas Service of the B.B.C. a few days ago that the party stood for independence without any traditional period for preparation.

He denied Z.A.P.U. responsibility for violence, saying: "It is because Africans are frustrated; they

see their fellow Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland moving towards self-government, while they are stationary, and they have become distrustful of the methods of African politicians, and have said they know the shortest way of getting independence. That is through violence, and the Zimbabwe Liberation Army criticizes Z.A.P.U. for that matter".

The editor of East Africa and Rhodesia was asked by Mr. Victor Funnell why he thought Z.A.P.U. had

been banned.

Mr. Joelson replied: "I'm sure that it comes back to the intimidation and violence which have been practised by Z.A.P.U., with the consequence that many Africans who were entitled to register as voters have been afraid to do so. It has interfered with the campaign for multi-racial co-operation—the so-called 'build a nation' campaign—and the Youth Wing of Z.A.P.U. has become more and more violent. I'm sure that the Cabinet felt that it was high time that they took strong steps to re-establish law and order

"Looking for the reasons, though, for these sort of incidents, don't you feel that there may be some cause for political frustration amongst educated Africans with about 15 out of 65 seats in the Legislative

"With regard to the 15 seats out of 65, the first thing to remember is that Mr. Nkomo himself accepted the 15 in London. He thought it a fair initial allocation. He went back to Southern Rhodesia and was immediately under pressure from local and external extremists, and it was only then that Mr. Nkomo thought that 15 was not a satisfactory start. As to frustration, I should say that educated and responsible Africans have been far more frustrated by the in-temperance of Z.A.P.U. than by the actions of the forces of law and order".

v.p.: "Getting away from politics and even the townships,

is there not perhaps a legitimate grievance that under the Native Land Husbandry Act Africans are limited as to the amount of land and cattle they may possess? Don't you think, in sheer human terms, this is a grievance?"

As Firmly Rooted As New Zealanders

As Firmly Rooted As New Zealanders

F.S.J.: "I agree entirely. So does the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, who has announced that after the next general election he intends as a first measure to amend the Land Apportionment Act. In Southern Rhodesia today the Opposition is a coalition of several parties, called the Rhodesian Front. They claim that the result of the general election will be a very, very near thing, so that the Prime Minister would immediately be accused of sharp practice if he amended the Act now and if in an election a few months hence he lost by one or two seats."

V.F.: "How do you think Sir Edgar Whitehead and his colleagues see their society developing?"

F.S.J.: "I'm sure that the basic fact, which is almost always ignored in this country by the critics, is that Rhodesians see themselves as quite as firmly rooted in their country as New Zealanders do. New Zealanders have reached an accommodation, a happy accommodation, with the Maoris, and Rhodesians believe that, given time, they can reach an accommodation with their African population".

V.F.: "How much time?"

F.S.J.: "The one thing that can be said in reply to

F.S.J.: "The one thing that can be said in reply to that question is that there can't be what Africans keep on calling a 'crash' programme. You can't take Africans of little education, most of them, and almost all of them without any experience, and 'crash' them into fitness for really responsible jobs"

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Socialists Condemn Southern Khodesia

A RESOLUTION strongly critical of the Government of Southern Rhodesia was passed by the Labour Party's annual conference in Brighton on Monday.

Moved for the national executive committee by Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., it condemned by unanimous vote the recent large-scale arrests in the Colony, and con-

tinued

"This conference believes that the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, together with the Unlawful Organizations Act banning the Zimbabwe African People's Union, prevents the organized expression of African opposition to the present Constitution. These Acts therefore lead directly to the outbreaks of violence and civil disturbances that they are intended to suppress, and will provide no solution-to the problems of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

"Conference urges the need for a new Constitution that will provide for a more equitable and realistic African franchise, the election of a representative Southern Rhodesian Legislature, and the restoration of political rights and

Conference calls on British Government to make clear to the Southern Rhodesian Government that Britain will make no further surrender of her constitutional rights until genuine representative government exists in the territory and that future economic and financial assistance by Britain will

future economic and financial assistance by Britain will depend on rapid progress to that end.

"Conference urges the British Government to initiate discussions with the Southern Rhodesian Government immediately, so that a new more acceptable Constitution may be brought into operation".

Miss Lee-said that Britain's good name was being tarnished. "In conspiracy with Mr. Macmillan", a strong white racialist minority in Southern Rhodesia was trying to implement a Constitution which could not work because more than three million Africans could not be expected to be satisfied with 15 seats in a Parliament in which a quarter of a million Europeans had 50 seats.

Moreover, the voting qualifications were so extraordinary as to be incredible. Only about 30,000 Africans would qualify, and so far fewer than 10,000 had registered. The party which expressed African aspirations had been declared illegal. Wherever constitutional redress was denied, men turned to violence. Public opinion in Britain must stand firm in order to prevent "any further massacre" in Southern Rhodesia.

Rhodesia.

Mr. Denis Healey, M.P., said that Rhodesia presented the last great problem of British colonialism, and would be the most tragic and bloody of them all unless a change could be forced in H.M. Government's policy.

How could Africans in Southern Rhodesia be denied "their "their natural birthright" when independence had been granted to the rest of the continent except South Africa and territories under Portuguese control? On top of the political arrests there had been every kind of petty victimization and provocation, and the lid of the pressure cooker had now been tightly screwed down that, "unless we do something about it", there was bound to be an explosion within the next few months which would sweep Africans and Europeans into another Algeria-type tragedy.

H.M. Government, he suggested, should by Order in Council take 10 seats in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament away from the Europeans and give them to Africans. That action might take the edge off the crisis.



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Mau Mau Should Not Have Been Released Sir Michael Blundell's Statement

MAU MAU HRRECONCILABLES who should never have been released from detention are responsible for Kikuyu subversion in the Rift Valley area of Kenya, the Legislative member for that locality, Sir Michael Blundell, said in Nairobi last week.

A clear and firm lead from Kenyatta and other leaders of the Kenya African National Union could, he declared, immensely improve the security situation, but it was no use for them to condemn oath-taking, violence, and subversion if their strictures were coupled with denigration of the immigrant communities because the speakers had not the courage to come out un-equivocally against subversion and felt that they had to make their announcements more palatable to their audiences by abusing Europeans, Asians, and other African tribes.

The Government could radically improve security in the Rift Valley whenever it liked by dealing firmly with the Land Freedom Army's activities. The offenders were Mau Mau veterans with records going back many years

Anti-Social Irreconcilable

"They are anti-social and have proved to be irreconcilable. We were always given to understand that they would not be allowed to return to society, but in the general desire of the Colonial Secretary before the last election to achieve the greatest possible release of detainees many were set at liberty. Many of them should never have been released from detention".

The situation should not be exaggerated, though; the actual number of really contaminated individuals was not unduly

large.
Sir Michael was opposed to the wholesale dismissal of Kikuyu labour by European farmers. Had that been done during the Mau Mau rebellion the situation would have been immeasurably worse. "We should not forget that hundreds of Kikuyu felt so strongly about Mau Mau that they laid

PLAYERS **PLAYER'S** please THE WORLD'S BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

foundations upon which the Government was able to defeat it. As then, so today, hundreds of sensible Kikuyu in the Rift Valley are assisting the agricultural industry ".

Kalenjin tribal leaders were reported at the week-end to have told the Government that unless all Kikuyu in the forests in the Rift Valley, who had no lawful excuse for being there, were moved out in four weeks "the Kalenjin warriors will see to it".

Editorial comment appears under Matters of

Moment.]

Lord Howick in East Africa Opening of Kilombero Sugar Factory

LORD HOWICK, chairman of the Colonial Development Corporaation, who as Sir Evelyn Baring was Governor of Kenya from 1952 to 1959, has left London for East Africa, where the C.D.C. is interested in projects with an approved capital of nearly £23m. They include tea, sisal, wattle and cocoa estates, mining, flour milling, soap and margarine manufacture, housing and hotels, electricity, and smallholder and re-settlement schemes.

Tomorrow Lord Howick will attend the formal opening of the Kilombero Sugar Company's factory at Msolwa, in the Ulanga district, by the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa. H.R.H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands will be among the guests. C.D.C. is the largest investor in this large new sugar enterprise, other shareholders including a Netherlands finance company, a Netherlands plantation company, the International Finance Corporation, and the Standard Bank.

Next week Lord Howick will attend the independence eelebrations in Uganda, where the corporation has a large interest in Kilembe Copper Mines, Ltd.

Agonizing Choice in Kenya

An agonizing choice faces the European farmer in Kenya—whether to continue in the country to which he has given so much or to abandon all that he and per-haps his father and grandfather have built up so splendidly, Field Marshal Lord Slim said last week when he

opened the Royal Show in Mitchell Park, Nairobi.
Without such farmers Kenya could not possibly become the self-reliant and prosperous independent State that everyone desired. The new African settlement schemes would make a fruitful contribution to the country's future economy, but the real basis of the national economy was the European farmer, and anything that was done either to destroy or seriously weaken his confidence and his productivity would be a

disaster for all Kenya.

When confronted by alternatives, with arguments evenly balanced for each, it was almost always right to

choose the bolder course.

eassination Plot Alles

FIVE ALLEGED AGENTS of the Ethiop

Northern Rhodesia's General Election Force, No Answer in the Congo U.F.P's. "Policy for Peace"

NEXT TUESDAY is nomination day for the Northern Rhodesian elections on October 30. Week-end meetings on the Copperbelt were reported to be quiet, but the police have reported a number of cases of threats of violence, and in Mufulira an African was attacked on Saturday night and had benzine poured over him and

Five African National Congress members have been imprisoned for a year, and 31 other Africans have

pleaded guilty to charges of unlawful assembly.

The United National Independence Party is to distribute 20,000 free issues of an election bulletin each week from next Tuesday. The party leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, will stand for the Luapula rural lower-roll seat, not for a national seat, as he had previously announced.

Radio Katanga is to broadcast in support of the A.N.C., and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation is assisting U.N.I.P.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, are expected in Lusaka. The United Federal Party manifestostates that the election will be fought on the central issue of whether "we are to have a Government of reasonable men working together—Europeans, Africans or Asians—or whether we are to be swamped by the race-ridden ideas of pan-African and the same of the sa

Pan-Africanism—"a savage fist pounding at the door"—would mean freedom to ruin the country and for a few to live like princes while others were free to pay, starve and die. If the link with Southern Rhodesia were broken, Northern Rhodesia would become the pawn of pan-Africanism to be pushed hither and thither until chaos and anarchy finally

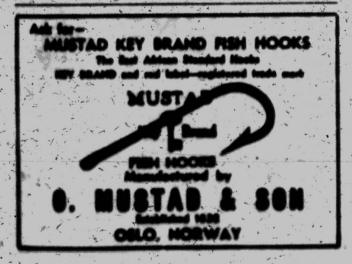
pushed hither and thither until chaos and anarchy finally engulfed her.

The U.F.P. "policy for peace", however, would bring a freedom in which personal rights were respected, dictatorship would be prevented, and the public's children, homes and jobs would be protected, giving them freedom from terror and the freedom to choose their own friends.

The party proposes increasing secondary school enrolments and training more teachers, particularly for secondary schools. The school entry age would be reduced to six years for boys and girls. Grants for adult education and assistance for promising children lacking money are envisaged.

A new Department of Community Development is proposed for rural areas. Farmers would be encouraged to become landowners. Existing registered titles would be preserved absolutely, and the rights of the Native authorities would be honoured. Chiefs would be expected to have a greater say in the central Government. The civil service would be open to all races, with merit as the only criterion for promotion.

ent agricultural officers in Kenys, 83 are Africal also 10 African agricultural officers. By the ar the respective figures are expected to be 348



Revengeful Prejudices of Aggressive Nationalism

IT WAS SURELY CRYSTAL-CLEAR that a settlement forced on the Congo would not last a day unless the United Nations was prepared to act as an occupying and administering Power for years, Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, told the General Assembly in New York last week.

A reconciliation of the interests of the provinces and the centre was required. The difficulties had been left unresolved because the loi fondamentale prepared at the time of the transfer of power from Belgium had never been ratified by the new Congolese Parliament. The conflicting views prevailing needed to be settled by the Congolese themselves, with the U.N. assisting the various factions to achieve that end.

The proposed federal Constitution should provide a basis for a settlement which would allow the U.N. to discard its military rôle and concentrate on economic and technical assistance activities.

assistance activities.

The Acting Secretary General, U Thant, and his representative in the Congo, Mr. Robert Gardiner, deserved gratitude for their exemplary patience; forbearance, and tact in handling this incredibly difficult problem.

In a reference to newly-independent countries Lord Home said that although they were entitled to ignore the cold war if they could, self-interest should at least induce them to consider its origins. It was far too dangerous to allow politico-religious crusading with arms in the 20th century; and that was more than ever true when emancipation from Colonial status had given a strong impetus to nationalism. One new country after another was laying claims against its neighbour with extraordinary and disheartening rapidity. There was a need for constant vigilance by the Governments concerned to see that the legitimate enthusiasm of patriotism did not overflow into aggressive nationalism, or that in revenge for what they conceived to have been white arrogance in the past the prejudices of race and colour should not be allowed free reign.

past the prejudices of race and constitute free reign.

The U.N. was not authorized to interfere in the domestic matters of a State. That was irksome to people who were keen to expand Colonial emancipation, but the authors of the Charter had embodied the rule because they recognized that if the U.N. did interfere in the internal politics of independent States it would create trouble rather than calm it down. If each thought about this rule in relation to his own country he would recognize its wisdom.

Emergency in South Kasai

AN EMERGENCY has been declared in South Kasai ing reports that a minority of gendarmes who support Mr. Albert Kalonji has revolted in Bakwanga, Kalonji escaped recently from a prison near Leopoldville, but declared himself to be loyal to the Central Government when he returned to Bakwanga.

Radio Bakwanga approach to delayers.

Two S. Rhodesian Ministers Resign Correspondence with the Prime Minister

AS ALREADY REPORTED, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has accepted the resignation of Mr. R. M. Cleveland, Minister of Eccal-Government and Minister of Native Education, and of Mr. R. Knight, Q.C., Minister of Justice and Internal

Mr. Ralph M. Cleveland wrote:

Mr. Kalph M. Cleveland wrote:

"My dear Prime Minister,—It is with some regret that I must ask you to accept my resignation as Minister of Local Government and Minister of Native Education. For a considerable time my doctor has been most insistent that I relax the tension of my daily life. Of course, this has been quite impossible as Minister, and, in fact, difficult during the 17 years in which I have been privileged to serve in local or central Government. central Government.

than I am at the moment, who can be found to replace me and to help you in your grave responsibilities. For this reason I consider it only fair to give you this opportunity.

"May I assure you of my entire loyalty to you personally, and of my continued prayers for your success as the prime mover in a policy which I believe to be the only sane one for our country."

for our country

Sir Edgar Whitehead replied:-

Dear Ralph,—Thank you for your letter telling me that you desire to resign as Minister of Local Government and Minister of Native Education.

"I regret very much personally your departure from the Government. I have always had your entire loyalty, and I know that you have not spared yourself at any time while a member of the Government in the two most difficult tasks that you have been called upon to carry out in the field of local government and in Native education. I have felt that the responsibilities of both these Ministries have been telling on

rour health over a long time.

The past four and a half years in which we have served rogether have been momentous in the history of the Colony, and I am sure that you will feel great satisfaction for what you have achieved personally for the advancement of African

"It is my sincere wish that you will continue to take an active part in public affairs, and I am particularly gratified to have your assurance of continued loyalty and support for the policy which we all know is the correct one for the country".

Mr. Reginald Knight's letter read:

"My dear Prime Minister.—Upon my appointment as a Water Court judge, I hereby tender my resignation as a member of your Cabinet with effect from midnight on Sunday, September 23. In doing so, I wish to acknowledge the strong lead you have given to the country, and to say that it has been a great pleasure to have worked under you in what has been a very interesting although very strenuous period. I now look forward to my return to the legal world, where I hope I can continue to serve the country to the best of my ability".

The Prime Minister wrote in reply:

The Prime Minister wrote in reply

"Dear Reg.,—I have received your letter tendering your resignation from the Cabiner upon your taking up appointment as a judge of the Water Court.

"I regret that you are leaving the Government after the momentous four and a half years that we have been colleagues together. I have enjoyed your fullest support and

loyalty, and I am indeed grateful to you for the work which you have done for the Government, both in the House and in carrying out the heavy responsibilities of the Ministry of lustice and Internal Affairs. I wish you every success on you return to the legal profession, and I hope that you will have many years of outstanding success on the Water Court Bench".

A new chamber of commerce is being formed in Soroti,

Uganda. rinal registrations of voters for the Tanganyika presidential elections have numbered 1,808,115.

Afro-Asian countries, with 57 seats, now constitute a majority in the United Nations General Assembly.

The penalty for bringing Uganda's flag into contempt or ridicule may be imprisonment for up to two years.

A central veterinary laboratory costing £80,000, financed mainly by C.D. & W. funds, has been opened at Temeke, near Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

Uganda Wild Life Development, Ltd., has conducted its first "package safari" for seven Americans at a cost of £450 each

"package safari" for seven Americans at a cost of £450 each for three weeks — with a bag of 80 trophies.

Kilimanjare, Mount Kenya, and Mount Ruwenzori have been scaled in 19 days by a six-man team from a mountainteering club at the Royal Air Force base at Waddington, Lincolnfor three weeks -

Incheape & Co., Ltd., report group profits after tax for the year to March 31 at £683,618 (£644,356). The dividend is raised from 11% to 15% on larger capital. The Earl of Inchcape is the chairman.

A charge of practising witchcraft has been brought against a 35-year-old African in Nyasaland, one Chikana. Many sick Africans are said to have died through lack of food while waiting for him to "cure" them.

Willoughby's (Investments) Ewell, Ltd., have paid £130,358 for 96% of the units of the Chicago-Garka Development Co., Ltd., not already owned by Willoughby's, and will acquire compulsorily the remaining 5,519 stock units.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., reports lower profits for the past year at £1,181,143, against just over £1 m. Tax takes £380,000 (£570,000), the general reserve is increased by £265,000 (£290,000), and after other adjustments the net balance is £576,143 (£707,373). £576,143 (£707,373).

Msango Fishing Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., and Rhodesia Lake Fisheries (Pvt.), Ltd., have been granted concessions by the Southern Rhodesian Government to catch up to 1,300 and 700 short tons (wet weight) of fish respectively a year for a decade on Lake Kariba.

For Land Freedom Army offences in Kenya and possessing 57 home-made guns and 74 rounds of ammunition, 14 Africans, including a woman, were last week gaoled in Nakuru for periods of from 15 months to three years. A 13-year-old girl described as "treasurer" to the terrorists was conditionally

described as "treasurer" to the terrorists was conditionally discharged.

British Petroleum Co., Ltd., which has great East and Central African interests, reports net income after tax for the half-year to June 30 at £32.7m., compared with £26.3m. in January-June of last year and £60.1m. for the whole of 1961. The interim dividend is 8d., tax free, per £1 unit on a capital increased by a one-for-five scrip issue. Last year's final dividend was 1s. 5d. tax free.

British United Airways and Central African Airways have placed orders respectively for 10 and two B.A.C. 111 twin-jet short-haul airliners, still on the drawing-board. Deliveries are expected early in 1965. Seating capacity will normally be 69, but those for C.A.A. will carry 74 passengers. C.A.A.'s expenditure, including spares, additional engines and a flight simulator for aircrew instruction, will be about £3m.



Socialists and Common Market

(Continued from page 110)

low-cost mass-produced goods. Firms would be able to achieve

all the economies of scale

all the economies of scale.

Second, in such a market it would be possible to have both very large firms, and competition between them. As a result a fresh wind would blow through British industry, bringing new ideas, accelerating change, encouraging a more competi-

new ideas, accelerating change, encouraging a more competitive and enterprising economy.

Third, trade between the members of the Common Market has grown very rapidly—more rapidly than in most other trade areas. If this continues in the years ahead Britain as a member would greatly benefit.

Fourthly, if we do not go in we shall find it not only more difficult to compete with the Six in their own market but would face stronger competition from them in world markets senerally. generally.

The counter arguments are no less strong.

First, less than a fifth of our exports go to the Common Market. Any benefit we get from tariff-free access to the Six must be weighed against the losses of trade preferences that we now possess in Commonwealth and Efta markets, which absorb more than half of our exports.

Second, keener competition may well lead to the further concentration of industry, to monopoly and cartel agreements.

Third, there is no evidence that a home market of 50 million consumers and a vast export market besides is incapable of providing our industries with all the advantages of large scale

Fourthly, it is wholly wrong to suggest that membership of the Common Market would transform Britain from a stagnant to a dynamic economy. The recent economic expansion of the Six owes little to the establishment of the market.

Finally, our balance of payments will be adversely affected by higher food prices, by more foreign competition in the British markets, and by unrestricted capital movements.

Entry into the Common Market will not offer in itself an

Entry into the Common Market will not offer in itself an easy escape from our economic difficulties.

The truth is that the growth of our economy and of our trade will owe far more to our own exertions, to the sensible planning of our economy, to reasonable restraints on incomes based on a fairer division of wealth, to our ability to put investment and exports before home consumption, than to any consequence of our entry or non-entry into the Common Market Market.

Pledges of Senior Ministers

In August, 1961, the Prime Minister, presenting his case to the House of Commonis, emphasized that the decision to apply was not a decision to join but rather, as the Government's motion put it, "to see if satisfactory arrangements can be made to meet the special interest of the United Kingdom, of the Commonwealth and of the European Free Trade Association". Further, he pledged himself not to make a firm agreement "until it had been approved by the House after full consultation with other Commonwealth countries".

These sentiments have been reiterated on a number of occasions, and every senior Minister, from the Prime Minister downwards, has pledged himself not to support arrangements that would injure the Commonwealth.

Only three months ago Mr. Duncan Sandys repeated in the House of Commons the solemn assurance that he had delivered at the 1961 Conservative ainmust conference: "We have promised our partners in the Commonwealth that we shall not join the European Economic Community unless we can make arrangements to safeguard their vital trading interests. We make that promise; we stand by that promise; it remains as it was, unqualified and unaltered".

Against these statements the proposals in the August White Paper, issued after Parliament had recessed, have come as a profound disappointment.

The contrast between the Government's solemn pledges and its proposals in the White Paper caused the explosion at the Commonwealth country was prepared to agree that the White Paper provided the necessary safeguards.

First, the Government has agreed to impose, on the manufactured goods of all Commonwealth countries—and this, is most serious for India; Pakistan, and other developing countries—the common external tariff of the Sig.

Thirdly, the Government has agreed to accept the Common Market's agricultural expansion of the community.

These changes are to be introduced in stages, beginning at

the point of entry and reaching completion in 1970. Thus by that year, if no new proposals are agreed, our present system of Commonwealth preference and agricultural protection will have been abolished and Britain will have accepted the policies of the Six instead.

In return for these major, precise, and most damaging British concessions the Government has gained only two specific concessions and a number of vague promises. The concessions are (f) the limited offer of overseas association to the African and Caribbean Commonwealth countries, and (2) the abolition of a few tariffs, of which the most important is on tea. While this will help preserve the United Kingdom markets for Indian tea exporters, it will have little effect on their trading opportunities in the Six, where tea consumption is discouraged by high

Apart from these, there are only the vague promises to take account of New Zealand's particular difficulties and to negotiate, but only after Britain has joined, "comprehensive trade agreements with India, Pakistan and Ceylon, world-wide or more limited agreements on the major temperate foodstuffs and to pursue a "reasonable" price policy towards their own agricultural producers.

Present Proposals Wholly Inadequate

These proposals are wholly inadequate.

The promise of a "reasonable" price policy for the agriculture of the Six gives no guarantee that Commonwealth farmers will be able to continue any substantial volume of exports to Britain or the community. There is no certainty that India and Pakistan will secure under the "comprehensive trade agreements" easier access to the Common Market to compensate them for the certain disadvantages that they will suffer.

agreements easier access to the Common Market to compensate them for the certain disadvantages that they will suffer.

Again, as the Commonwealth Conference made clear, many, if not all, of the African States will reject the offer of overseas association on the grounds that the political disadvantages of linking with the Six and the consequential division of Africa into associated and non-associated States would outweigh any

economic benefits that they might gain.

The failure to obtain anything more than these totally inade-

quate terms suggests three conclusions.

First, in pursuing its present course—with no mandate from the British people—the Government has succeeded in causing a major crisis in Commonwealth affairs. If this is allowed to continue it may well damage Commonwealth relations beyond

continue it may wen damage common continue it may wen damage commonwealth issue must make clear to the Six its desperate anxiety to join and that they for their part need make no further serious concessions to bring Britain in.

Thirdly, the apparent unwillingness of the Six themselves to pay any due regard to the economic problems of the hundreds of millions of desperately poor people in the Asian and African Commonwealth countries raises seriously the question of whether they are basically an inward-tooking or an outward-looking community.

of whether they are basically an inward-looking or an outward-looking community.

There can be no doubt where the Government's duty lies. Ministers ought now to return to Brussels and present these terms which alone are consistent with their own pledges and with the interests of Britain and the Commonwealth.

The negotiations for world commodity agreements, the proposed special arrangements for New Zealand, and the comprehensive trade agreements with India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, as well as new proposals to safeguard the trade of African and Caribbean Commonwealth countries, should be held not after Britain has joined but should commence now.

Until these negotiations have achieved satisfactory results the present system of Commonwealth preference should remain unimpaired.

the present system of Commonwealth presented should remain unimpaired.

These agreements should then be submitted by the other member States, to a further Commonwealth Conference.

Apart from the delay that would be involved, there can be no serious objection to such a step. If both the Government and the Six mean what they say about these agreements they could still be brought to a successful conclusion.

If Negotiations Fail

At the same time the Government must show, in relation to the other major issues that have still to be negetiated, that it has no intention of deserting its partners in Efta; that it will really insist on firm guarantees for British agriculture; that it will retain the right to pursue an independent British foreign policy; that that it means to retain for the British Government effective powers for safeguarding full employment and the balance of reavments.

effective powers for safeguarding full employment and the bal-ance of payments.

If these demands are met by the Six—as we still hope—then Britain should join the Common Market. But should they be rejected, then Britain should not enter and the present nego-tiations should be brought to a halt.

We do not doubt, however, that the future will bring, and bring soon, new opportunities for increasing our trade with the Six. Ner do we rule out the possibility of a Labour Goy-ernment conducting new and successful negotiations at a later stage.

In the event of breakdown, however, it will not be enough for the Government to leave things as they are. Britain must join the United States in their efforts to negotiate downwards the Common Market's external tariff and we must be ready to cut our own tariffs in return. Already this year a substantial (20%) cut has been agreed between Britain, the Common Market, and the United States. Now that President Kennedy has won Congressional support for his policy, further and sweeping tariff reductions—which will certainly include Britain—are at last in sight.

But more than this is needed. The challenge to traditional

But more than this is needed. The challenge to traditional assumptions that has been made in the course of this past year of negotiations has released creative as well as destructive forces. The Commonwealth trade system is in need of reform and the new atmosphere that has been engendered should make it much easier for new and radical proposals to be agreed. Across the Atlantic too the major re-examination of tariff-policy includes not only trade relations with other industrialized nations but, still more important, trade with the under-developed countries.

It can be expected too that the Brussels negotiations will have brought home to the Six more clearly than before the need for them to pursue a more liberal trade policy with other

need for them to pursue a more liberal trade policy with other continents.

As a first step, therefore, we should propose a conference of Commonwealth and Effa countries to consider measures to promote their trade and economic development. This should then be widened to cover the major problems of world trade.

A great effort must be made to ensure that agricultural surpluses in the developed countries should be used on an increasing scale to relieve hunger and to raise living standards in other parts of the world. Whether we join the Common Market or not, it is imperative to move forward to a new system of international trade, payments, economic aid, and world commodity agreements. If we look to the future we can get our priorities right.

The real dangers that confront us are not the old rivalries of France, Germany and other West European Powers, but those that arise from the continuing hostilities of the Communist and non-Communist world and from the terrible inequalities that separate the developed and the under-developed nations, the white and the coloured races.

Britain by herself cannot solve these problems, but, more than any other advanced country of the West, we have the greatest opportunity and the greatest incentive to tackle them, for the 700 million people of the Commonwealth with whom history has linked us form a truly international society, cutting across the deep and dangerous divisions of the modern world.

By its very nature the Commonwealth must think of

By its very nature the Commonwealth must think of global, not regional problems: of the interests of all races, not just of one: of the problems of old-age and poverty as well as those of new-found affluence: of noncommitment as well as of cold war.

If we are ever to win peace and prosperity for mankind, then the world community that must emerge will be comprised of precisely such diverse elements as exist in the Commonwealth today—pledged as we are to friendship and mutual aid. This is our vision of Britain's future and of the world's future—and it must not be allowed to fade.

Uganda Reserves E.E.C. Position

UGANDA HAS NOT MADE a final decision about the Common Market, the Prime Minister, Mr. A. M. Obote, said when he returned to Entebbe from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. Further discussions would be held with Tanganyika and Kenya

yika and Kenya.

He would not like Uganda to become an associate member because such a tie-would not be free from political implications. He hoped that the East African "common market" would be able to continue trading with the European Six under a special relationship such as that accorded to Libya and Morocco.

He did not think that Uganda's coffee exports would suffer, even if the Ivory Coast still received preferential treatment, for a reduction of the general tariff on coffee from 16% to 9% was being considered.

Commonwealth links were bound to weaken if Britain did join the Common Market, because she would become a "province of Europe".

Disagreement between the Uganda and Buganda Governments over the new Constitution had been amicably resolved. The "lost counties" issue had not been discussed while he was in London, for since Uganda was internally self-governing the dispute was "our own affair"

Anxieties of Conservatives Pointers from Conference Agenda

ANXIETY about Britain's entry into the European Common Market and about the situation in Kenya is expressed in many of the motions submitted by constituency organizations to the annual conference of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, which is to be held in Llandudno next week.

Sir John Howard, chairman of the National Union, is head of the family firm of public works engineers, which has undertaken substantial contracts in the

Among resolutions on the Commonwealth and the Colonies is one from the South Nottingham Conservative Association which calls upon H.M. Government "to continue unceasingly its efforts to strengthen the Commonwealth structure and ties". It will be debated at the Thursday afternoon session.

Other motions listed in that part of the programme

include the following:

include the following:

From the Gainsborough Association:

"That this conference believes that emphasis should be given to high standards and ideals as advantages of belonging to the Commonwealth and urges H.M. Government to invite members attending the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers (a) to consider the establishment of a Commonwealth High Court of Justice composed of leading judges from all Commonwealth countries; (b) to adopt a Charfer of Commonwealth Human Rights, to include (1) freedom of speech, (2) freedom of association, (3) freedom of religion, (4) a free Press, and (5) the right to a fair trial for any alleged offence and the right of final appeal to the Commonwealth High Court of Justice; and (c) to consider an invitation to all existing full member countries, as well as newly independent States, to subscribe voluntarily to this Commonwealth Charter as a freely accepted condition of Commonwealth membership?

From the Louth Association: "That this conference urges H.M. Government to take the initiative in establishing a Commonwealth Post-Graduate University, which should be financially supported by all members of the Commonwealth".

Fair Play for Kenya Settlers

From the North Hammersmith Conservative Association, London: "That this conference, while recognizing the justice and wisdom in bringing Ke., to independence under an African Government, urges H. Government to ensure that European farmers are given an effective guarantee that they will not suffer severe loss as a result of the fundamental constitutional changes which were not foreseen by H.M. Government when it was officially encouraging white settlers in Kenya".

Kenya"

From the Newcastle-under-Lyme Conservative and Unionist Association: "That this conference urges H.M. Government when dealing with the position of racial minorities in Central and East Africa, to bear in mind the recent examples of the effects of independence upon insufficiently advanced nations."

From the Horncastle Conservative Association: "That the Government should face the fact that its policy in Kenya has caused an exodus of white settlers, which is likely to continue, and should compensate those who leave by paying them the fair value of their property in Kenya".

From the Barons Court Association, London: "That this conference urges the Government to give special consideration to the problems of maintaining basic law and order and the rights of minorities when devising and initiating new Constitutions for the East and Central African territories at present under its care".

Major L. F. H. Hands is to move on behalf of the South West Hertfordshire Association: "That this conference note with concern the destructive and humiliating attacks in the United Nations on the Government's programme for the political evolution of certain of our Colonies and Dependencies, and urges the Government strongly to repudiate such attacks, stressing the contrast between the political progress and freedom in the British Commonwealth and the political and military oppression in Communist dominated countries"

Ethiopia has joined with India and Yugoelevis at the U.N. Beconomic and Social Council in moving that the more advanced countries should effectively reduce their military budgets in order to provide given percentages for the needs of developing countries.

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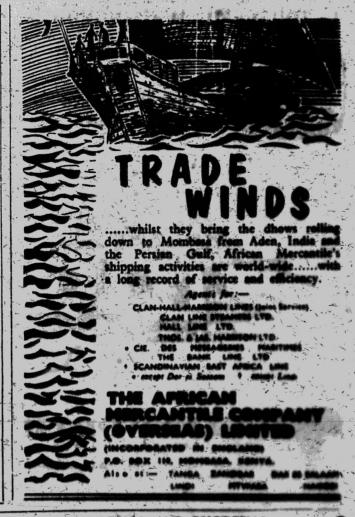
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