

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. WILSON'S CONCERN about the copious supplies of oil to Rhodesia was proved twice last week, first when the British Ambassador in South Africa was instructed to fly from Cape Town to Pretoria to protest to the Minister of External Affairs at the traffic in petrol and lubricants *via* Beitbridge, and shortly afterwards when he summoned the South African Ambassador in London to 10 Downing Street. Just before Christmas the Prime Minister had told the House of Commons that he was satisfied that there would be no leakage from South Africa—a characteristic piece of optimism which only showed his bad judgment, for anyone with any knowledge of that country could have told him that hundreds of thousands of its white inhabitants would make strenuous efforts to help Rhodesia, partly from sentiments of kinship, friendship, and associations of all kinds throughout the three-quarters of a century since Rhodesia was founded, and partly because South Africans know that their country is the real target of the pan-Africanists and their Communist inciters, for whom Rhodesia represents merely an outpost, admittedly recognized to be formidable by the more sensible African leaders, and by Dr. Banda in particular, but regarded by those of the Kambona/Kapwepwe school as conquerable by propaganda. The walls of Jericho fell to the sound of trumpets, not because of the stridency of the instruments, but because of the faithful obedience of a people dedicated to a righteous cause. By no stretch of the imagination, however, can the predatory designs of the Dar es Salaam-based terrorist organization which miscalls itself a Liberation Committee be considered a moral imperative. Rhodesia will not succumb to the propaganda of Mr. Wilson and his submissive henchmen or of the so-called Organization of African Unity—the distinguishing characteristic of which is the disunity of its membership.

President Kaunda of Zambia, most prominently from his own standpoint, and more distant Heads of African States prefer to see Britain committed to military action in Rhodesia. Instead of telling such mischievous meddlers to refrain from interference in a matter which concerns only Britain and Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson has not merely tolerated but actively invited their intrusion. By consenting to attend the half-Commonwealth Conference in Lagos last month—when the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand had wisely announced that they would not do so—and by recklessly accepting its pressure, including an implication that military force would be used if financial and economic sanctions had not brought down the Smith Government by July, the politician who had repeatedly declared that there would be no resort to arms (though always inserting a convenient escape clause) provided Rhodesians with another good reason for mistrust. In word and deed he has been consistent only in his inconsistency. At first he pledged himself that sanctions would be neither punitive nor vindictive. Those which he has imposed have been harsh and spiteful. Having repeatedly professed a wish for reconciliation, he made nonsense of his assurance by accusing Mr. Smith and his Cabinet of treason, falsehood, semi-Fascism, and terrorism. No reasonable person could expect conciliation to be the fruit of such insults.

* * *

Though the behaviour of Mr. Wilson, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and the Attorney-General in particular has made reconciliation much more difficult than it need have been, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the only Privy Counsellor from either side of the House of Commons to visit Rhodesia since the declara-

Negotiate Now, Says Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.

tion of independence, has returned to London convinced that negotiations should begin at the earliest possible moment, and that, given prudent handling, they offer hope of escape from a situation which everybody recognizes to be tragic. In the three and a half months in which the British Government has piled measure upon measure in the futile expectation of quickly "toppling" the Rhodesian Government, there has, unfortunately, been scarcely a word of acknowledgment of the share of blame which rests upon present and past Ministers in this country, Socialists and Conservatives alike. Yet the simple truth is that the stubborn folly and repeated faithlessness of British Ministers were the root cause of Rhodesian resentment, resistance, and finally rebellion—rebellion in the legalistic sense, for old loyalty to the Crown remains. The wish for continuance of the closest relations with the British people is likewise but little damaged,

and could still be restored by a prompt and generous settlement; but the longer the delay from London, the greater will be the damage from the British standpoint. Rhodesia will not be brought down by sanctions, which, as some Members of Parliament are beginning to emphasize, will become less and less effective as time passes, because more and more individuals and nations, foreseeing their failure, will be ready to exploit their opportunities. That numerous foreign buyers should already have flown to Salisbury for the tobacco auctions which are due to start in mid-March indicates the invalidity of the Order-in-Council which purports to make any transactions in tobacco a criminal offence punishable by two years' imprisonment. Growers in Rhodesia will obviously not be restrained from selling their leaf by this ukase from London. The Wilsonian miscalculation about oil will assuredly be repeated in the case of tobacco.

Sanctions Have Failed: Conciliate Now, Say M.Ps.

Points from Speeches in House of Commons Debate on Rhodesia

THE NEED FOR CONCILIATION with Rhodesia was emphasized by a number of speakers when the House of Commons debated the Southern Rhodesia (Prohibited Exports and Imports) Order dated January 20.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL emphasized that it made illegal any purchase of tobacco in Rhodesia if it was intended to sell it outside that country.

MR. PAGET: "But if it is intended for storing and not for sale outside Rhodesia, surely that is legal?"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "The speculator against whom the order is aimed would not obtain a title to the tobacco, and if he paid any money in respect of it he would lose his money as well. Unhappily, this order will cause loss and perhaps hardship to Rhodesians, many of whom are loyal British subjects.

"But it is not the farmers and small tradesmen of Rhodesia at whom this order is directed. The sole purpose is to hasten the restoration of a lawful Government in Rhodesia. To achieve this we must bring the greatest possible pressure to bear on the illegal rebel authorities. It was hoped that the earlier sanctions would have had the necessary effect. That has proved not to be the case. So that enforcement of further sanctions has been necessary to achieve the objective of the Government."

Opposition Demands Conciliation

MR. ANTHONY BARBER said for the Opposition that the tragic situation in Rhodesia could eventually be solved only by conciliation. Nevertheless, in his speech of January 25 the Prime Minister had demanded unconditional surrender.

"But unless Rhodesia is to slide as a result of economic sanctions into chaos, the policy of sanctions must be accompanied by a realistic attempt at conciliation. Unless a policy of economic sanctions and a genuine and realistic attempt at conciliation go hand in hand, there is a real danger that further sanctions may drive the Rhodesian to extremes rather than bring them to moderation."

MR. ERIC HEFFER thought it "a scandal" that the rt. hon. and learned Member for Wirral (Mr. Selwyn Lloyd) had visited Rhodesia.

MR. JULIAN AMERY considered the Order-in-Council an admission of the failure of the policy of sanctions.

"I have recently been in Rhodesia. With or without these orders there will not be what the Government's advisers, in their horrid phrase, call a 'quick kill' of Rhodesia. There was a time when the Prime Minister spoke about sanctions being effective in weeks rather than months. The Commonwealth Secretary last week gave the impression that it would be months rather than weeks.

Sanctions Policy Will Collapse

"Even with the addition of these sanctions I think that the whole policy will collapse, because delay must be fatal to the policy. Other countries will support it only if there is to be a 'quick kill'. If there is no sign of a quick kill international support will become frayed at the edges.

"I was never in any doubt myself, though others, on both sides of the House, may have thought the Government were introducing sanctions to bring Mr. Smith to the conference table once again. Any such beliefs must have been rudely shattered by the Prime Minister's statement on the day we reassembled after the Christmas recess. The object of these sanctions, he made perfectly clear, is to establish first of all a period of direct rule, and to bring about majority rule a good deal sooner than it would have come about under the 1961 Constitution. After the recent events in Nigeria each of us can have his own opinion whether this is right or wrong.

"The last time we discussed these matters some of my hon. friends voted with the Government. I do not want to exacerbate any conflict that there may be between consistency and constituency. My rt. hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition is also in some difficulty. It is always a bit awkward to sit on a barbed wire fence and very difficult to come down from it with dignity and without damage.

"Winging back from Africa comes my rt. hon. and learned friend the Member for Wirral (Mr. Selwyn Lloyd). I hope and believe that he will come to very much the same conclusion as I have from my recent visit. I hope and believe that when he has given his opinion we can all line up on the same side of the barricade."

VISCOUNT LAMBERTON: "If these orders succeed no better than the other sanctions, the sole effect will be further to solidify the opposition of Mr. Smith and further sever the chance of eventual settlement and compromise.

"Is it sensible to try to drive even further away from possible co-operation a Government already firmly settled in power? One cannot believe that hon. gentlemen opposite believe that these further sanctions will have a positive effect. It is nonsensical to believe that they can. One must look on them in the light of them being part of an eventual programme of H.M. Government towards the eventual use of force."

Socialist Critic of the Government

MR. R. J. PAGET, Socialist M.P. for Northampton, said that in so far as the orders were designed to deal with speculators, they were misconceived and ill-drafted.

"The speculator hoping to make a killing when the emergency comes to an end does not buy tobacco with the intention of exporting it. He does not make or carry out any contract for exportation or importation. He intends to hold the tobacco in store, probably on the farms, maybe in warehouses, and when the emergency comes to an end send it to the auctions in the ordinary way. Nothing in this order makes that illegal.

"One of the first rules in dealing with criminal legislation is not to make crimes when we are not in a position to enforce the criminal law we are making. Here we are making a crime for Rhodesian citizens of something which we are not in a position to enforce, and which we very well know will not be observed. Nobody in Rhodesia, who is exporting or importing will pay the slightest attention to this provision.

"If there is a respectable object for sanctions it is to bring people to the negotiating table, to bring them to the mood in which they will concede those points which one wishes them to concede. Does one do that by making the people whom we are trying to negotiate with criminals?

"We began by talking about treason. In my view, and I expressed it at the time, treason as a peace-time offence has been obsolete for 250 years. Having talked about treason, now the Prime Minister is willing to deal with Mr. Smith who is the arch traitor. This is the sort of nonsense we get into when we create fictitious and imaginary criminal offences when we know perfectly well that we cannot enforce the law; and no one will seriously imagine that it will be enforced against people in Rhodesia. Why, therefore, stick this sort of nonsense into an order of this description?

"This is a very, very serious matter, a tragedy in Rhodesia—[AN HON. MEMBER: 'Who is responsible?'] I happen to think there are faults on both sides. There are very few quarrels in human affairs in which there are not faults on both sides. Our object should be to bring it to an end. Does this creating of artificial crimes, wholly unnecessary for the alleged purposes of the order, really contribute to bringing this tragedy to an end?"

Prime Minister's "Most Foolish Statement"

MR. EVELYN KING: "The Attorney-General referred to sanctions: I would rather refer to 'punishment', because that is the honest meaning of the word 'sanctions'. We are seeking to impose on Rhodesia, and to impose indiscriminately, punishment by means of poverty, unemployment, and distress.

"Let us acknowledge that that is a horrible thing to have to do. From the tone of speeches in this House, that has too seldom been acknowledged.

"These orders are expressed to be carried out in economic terms, but the problem is not economic; it is psychological. The Government have set out to punish a small nation. Usually in history the punishment of small nations has not been successful.

"The Rhodesians are charming, their country is delightful, and their problems are insoluble. Let no hon. gentleman think that by this order or any other means we shall in the foreseeable future—months or years—solve their problems. We shall not. But there is one diplomatic exercise in which we ought to engage.

"I have recently been to Rhodesia. I was most interested to talk to those who are commonly called 'liberals'—Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Sir Hugh Beadle, Sir Robert Treadgold, Evan Campbell, the editor of the *Rhodesian Herald* and a number of others of that type. If the Government are to have any hope of solving this problem, that is the group of people, and the only possible group of people, to whom these measures must appeal.

"I condemn the measure because I am utterly convinced, not that Mr. Smith's opinion of it is of any consequence, but that it will make it more difficult, and indeed may make it impossible, to deal with the only other section of European opinion with which ultimately H.M. Government must deal. That is the true nature of the criticism against this measure.

"An additional punishment of this kind is a wrongful

diplomatic exercise. Indeed, the Prime Minister's statement of January 25 was the most foolish statement which could have been made. In so far as the effect of this order is to humiliate a nation, the Government may defeat the purpose which they have set out to achieve."

SIR HARRY LEGGE-BOURKE said that the order meant a complete black-out of trade with Rhodesia.

"Was the Government's policy to be gentle in the beginning in the hope that those in Rhodesia would see the light; then intensify that with oil sanctions; and then finally complete the picture when they found that oil sanctions were not working as well as they had expected? Was that the plan? There has always been a case for saying, whether it be military or economic action, that the best chance is to do one's damndest right at the beginning. Many wars would have been greatly shortened if nations had adopted that policy. Why was the full force of sanctions not made abundantly clear at the start?

"If we are not careful we shall make it possible for some British companies to change their agent in South Africa so that goods can be shipped through by a person not covered by Article 1(4). There are all sorts of loopholes in the order.

"It is no good saying at one moment that we want reconciliation and at the next that we want to bring Mr. Smith to his knees. There must be consistency. At the moment there seems to be a drift, if not a reversal, of policy."

Foreign Negotiators Active

MR. JEREMY THORPE thought that the Government's contingency planning had been wholly inadequate.

"This order will cause one British firm, which is at this moment trying to negotiate to buy ferro-chrome through the medium of a Luxembourg firm to pause and think again, because it may be committing an offence.

"It may also cause a gentleman in South Africa outside the jurisdiction of this order who is hoping to buy tobacco at a knock-down price and sell it on the Dutch market before the Dutch Parliament bring in the necessary legislation to pause and think before he involves other people in what may constitute a criminal offence.

"It may also cause the State Corporation of Hungary to pause before it tries to buy ferro-chrome through a third party.

"We do not know whether these considerations will affect Angola, which is at present seeping oil over the border."

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW: "And Zambia. Oil seeping over the boundary from Zambia to Rhodesia in return for coal."

MR. THORPE: "The hon. Member makes a very grave charge if he is suggesting that the Government of Zambia, or agents acting with the knowledge of the Government of Zambia, are responsible for the export of oil, from whatever source, to assist the Rhodesian economy. I concede at once that there may well be black marketeers."

MR. GOODHEW: "I was suggesting in particular that it was unfortunate that when Great Britain is trying apparently to prevent oil from getting into Rhodesia, oil which is sent from this country at great expense to the taxpayer through Zambia should find its way to Rhodesia."

MR. CHARLES DOUGHTY said: "I know of a British subject resident in Rhodesia, and I believe married to a Rhodesian, who has come here and is unable to live on her own money, properly paid in dividends, but blocked in this country. As a result we are paying her £9 9s. 10d. a week National Assistance, not a penny of which would she require if she could use her own money for her own purposes in this country. That is the type of thing that we have come to by passing this type of order. If that is not nonsense, what is?"

Sanctions Will Not Work

"Those who have drafted the order must be totally unaware of the way trade is done. Certainly people will not trade directly with Rhodesia. If people wish to buy wheat or whatever it is, they send to trading firms abroad. They do not ask where it comes from. They ask about the quality, the price, and matters of that sort; and that is not covered by this order.

"If these sanctions last for too long, other countries will not enforce them for us. These sanctions are unenforceable except and in so far as they relate to trade between this country and Rhodesia. They will not be supported for very long by other countries. Sanctions never work in peace time, and other countries are not interested in supporting them for long. We trade with Cuba, although the Americans ask us not to do so.

"The sooner we get negotiations going and settlement of this whole unfortunate matter, the better. I support this order not for the purpose of bringing Rhodesia down to a state of chaos—I do not want that, but many hon. Members

opposite seem to—but so that when the negotiations take place the Rhodesians may be in a more negotiable frame of mind, and so that we may bring to an end what is a most unfortunate, a most distressing, and very sad state of affairs within the British Commonwealth.

"When we negotiate points have to be given away on both sides, not on one side only. I hope that negotiations will soon take place, and that this and other orders may be scraps of paper within a very short time."

Rhodesia Ready to Negotiate

MR. PETER BESSELL, who recently visited Rhodesia, said:—

"The impression I gained from conversations with members of the illegal régime, with leaders of commerce and trade unionists, with African nationalist leaders, with those opposed to the régime, with Government officials, with the Governor, with Sir Hugh Beadle, and with people in all walks of life, was that the effect of sanctions thus far had been marginal, and that the important sanction on oil had had no decisive effect at that stage—and there is no evidence to suggest that it has had a decisive effect yet.

"History has shown that sanctions by themselves have never worked. While I was in Salisbury the mood of the Smith Government was one in which they were ready and anxious to negotiate with H.M. Government, and that may well have been the result of the sanctions which had been imposed up to that time. The Smith régime is anxious to bring an end to this impasse.

"It is not possible for H.M. Government to negotiate direct with the illegal régime. That would be unconstitutional. It is not possible for Mr. Smith to negotiate through the Governor. But there could be an intermediary. If the order creates further bitterness, if it makes the climate more difficult in Rhodesia and here, and if it does not have the support of the other countries of the world, it will not only weaken our position but will make ultimate negotiations more difficult for us and for the illegal régime. I therefore ask for a pause.

"If sanctions do not work H.M. Government will be placed in an extremely difficult position. If the order is ineffective they will have to decide whether or not to use force, and that will be a terrible decision to make."

MR. IAN LLOYD, who also visited Rhodesia last month, said:—

"I confirm from my own experience every word said by my hon. friend the Member for Dorset South (Mr. King). A most extraordinary thing about this order is that it creates

a form of occupational discrimination at the deliberate intent of the Government. The Prime Minister told us that it was the duty of soldiers, civil servants, and others in similar occupations to carry on with their routine as best they might; but this order states that those whose livelihood depends on economic activities—not the soldiers or the civil servants—are not to carry on with their livelihood as best they may. They are to lie down and commit economic suicide. What is the basis of this occupational discrimination? Are H.M. Government concerned with one class of citizens in Rhodesia and not with the others?

"This order creates a new class of criminal—known to historians as patriots."

Prime Minister and Attorney-General Criticized

SIR KNOX CUNNINGHAM, having said that he had never been to Rhodesia, knew no one in Rhodesia, and had no direct financial interest in Rhodesia, continued:—

"This order is taking us one step further into an Alice-in-Wonderland world. Expressions which the Attorney-General has used about Rhodesia on other occasions, 'the dogs of rebellion' and 'illegal, rebellious treason', are extraordinarily unfortunate. In future he may regret that he used those terms. These are the rebels with whom hon. Members on both sides of the House have discussed matters when they have gone to Rhodesia. Yet this is treason which is being condemned here.

"The Prime Minister said in an earlier stage of sanctions that they would not be vindictive. What can be more vindictive than this order?"

"At the end of the road we shall have to talk with the authorities in Rhodesia. At present there is no one to talk to except Mr. Smith. I ask the Government: is that not the advice they are getting from the Governor? I am sorry that the Secretary of State is not in his place. He has said that he could not negotiate with Mr. Smith. Therefore I say that we should accept the resignation of the Secretary of State."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL replied that the Government's aim was to get all countries to stop importing from Rhodesia or selling to her.

"I am satisfied that the machinery and provisions of the order are essential for the purpose which the Government have resolutely in mind—to bring this rebellion in Rhodesia to an end as soon as possible and restore decency and constitutional rule to that country."

Government's Rhodesian Policy Attacked in House of Lords

Continental and Americans Seeking the Business Rejected by Britain

SHARP CRITICISMS were made last week in the House of Lords of the measures taken by the Government to make it a criminal offence to buy tobacco from the new Rhodesian crop.

Americans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians were, Lord Coleraine declared, 'swarming into Salisbury to do the business which Britain had rejected.

The Government, Lord Shepherd said, was very heartened and gratified at the reports received from various friends. The United States had asked importers to fall in line, and the large importers, particularly of tobacco, had prohibited imports of that commodity.

The new Order-in-Council strengthened the existing sanctions and made it a criminal offence to export or import specified commodities from or to Rhodesia; to make or carry out a contract for such imports or exports, even through a third party; to promote such a contract.

"Some individuals may think this an opportunity to buy tobacco at low prices, so:ore it in Rhodesia or some other country, and when the Smith régime falls and the normal trade in tobacco starts again a very substantial profit would be made by the speculator. The Government have taken power to ensure that contracts will be void, and will see that any speculator buying any of these commodities will do so at his peril."

LORD DILHORNE asked why, if the order were necessary, it had been so long delayed.

The Prime Minister stressed last November the importance of the ban on tobacco then imposed. He repeated that it was perhaps the most important measure taken to bring Rhodesia back to constitutional and lawful government. Yet until February 7 there has been this loophole. A person has been free to contract to export tobacco from Rhodesia.

"On November 12 the Prime Minister said, with regard to the measures he announced: 'It is our view that these measures will be effective, and we have no other measures in contemplation.' It is better for the action to be effective quickly than for it to be lingering and involve great and prolonged hardship."

Prime Minister's Inconsistency

"On November 16 seven orders were made. On December 1 the Prime Minister announced an embargo on the export from Rhodesia of various commodities, including chromium. On January 20 chrome was declared a specified product, which it was made a criminal offence to export from Rhodesia.

"Two days later we had the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia Order. On December 10 the Prime Minister said, with regard to the economic measures taken: 'These measures are harsh. They will involve hardship. But the Government consider that quick and effective measures will involve less suffering than a long-drawn-out agony.' We had the oil embargo on December 17. Now we have this order making it a criminal offence to do anything with regard to the import or export of a specified product.

"The stronger the case for this order, the less excusable the delay since November. Many orders have been made since the Prime Minister said that the Government had no other measures in contemplation.

"The policy of sanctions was intended to induce the people

of Rhodesia to return to constitutional rule. Is it having that effect or is it consolidating support for the illegal régime? According to some reports sanctions are solidifying support for Mr. Smith. Are there any signs of people emerging who wish to return to constitutional government?

"Quick and effective action" were the Prime Minister's words. Is the action being effective? It does not seem to me to be so very quick.

"It is difficult for us to learn what is happening in Rhodesia. How difficult must it be for the people in Rhodesia to know what is happening here and of the laws which we make here! How are the people in Rhodesia to learn of the terms of this order?"

"Every United Kingdom citizen, every British-protected person ordinarily resident in this country, every citizen in Rhodesia, every United Kingdom and Rhodesian company is made liable to conviction of a crime if he makes or carries out one of these prohibited contracts.

"It is often said that ignorance of the law is no excuse. But ignorance of the law, when there is no means of knowing what the law is, would rob the infliction of heavy penalties on business men in Rhodesia of any appearance of justice. It is therefore of the utmost importance to know what steps are being taken by the Government to ensure that the terms of this order are known in Rhodesia.

"Suppose that three years ago a contract for the export of tobacco was carried out and the tobacco was delivered, and a dispute arose as to whether the quality of the tobacco was up to that stipulated, and that litigation is pending, the result of which will depend on the terms of the contract. As a result of this order that contract is made void. The parties to the contract will be deprived of their rights. Will that help to restore the rule of law in Rhodesia?"

"Suppose that a product is imported into Rhodesia from this country, and after it has been imported and before it has been paid for, it becomes a specified product. If that happens the contract is void. Is not the consequence that the person here is deprived of his right to recover the money for the goods from the importer in Rhodesia? Is that going to help to restore the rule of law in Rhodesia?"

Salisbury Swarming with Foreign Businessmen

LORD COLERAINE said that he would not seek to divide the House about an order which seemed to him unimportant and ineffective. It would not lead to one pound of tobacco or one ton of chrome being withheld from the market.

Salisbury was swarming with businessmen from Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and even from the United States who were picking up the threads of the business which Britain had rejected. They would not be affected by the order.

"What is the effect likely to be on Rhodesians? We embark on a policy to starve them into subjection. They take steps to avoid starvation. We then tell them that in doing so they are guilty of criminal acts and will be liable to heavy penalties. The only conceivable result can be to stiffen their resistance.

"This order indicates that the Government have learned nothing at all by the experience of the last three months. Every calculation on which its policy has been based has been proved wrong.

"The only justification for a policy of economic sanctions is that it should be effective immediately. That is the only way in which you can get a change of heart. If it is long-drawn-out, going on week after week, you do not get a change of heart; you get a hardening of heart. You do not diminish resistance; you augment resistance.

"Is our objective to return Rhodesia to the paths of constitutional Government? Is it to ensure a future for the inhabitants of Rhodesia, black as well as white? If our purpose is to ensure some kind of future for the people of Rhodesia of all races, then it is surely clear that this policy, long-drawn-out and ineffective as it has been, can only deny them a future.

"We have reached the stage in which not only has the policy failed but it is inconceivable that it can succeed. I do not mean that it is inconceivable that Mr. Smith and his Government may be brought down; that may happen. But it is evident now that they can be brought down only at a price that is going to be far too high for us to pay: a price that we will have to pay with damage to our own economy; a price that we will have to pay through the collapse of Zambia and the collapse of the Copperbelt mines—the price we will have to pay ultimately by war unless we check this crazy policy.

"If over the Irish Treaty Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Austen Chamberlain had taken the same view of the sanctity of any given Constitution at any given moment as the Government

take of the sanctity of the 1961 Constitution of Rhodesia, the treaty would have been impossible and the Black and Tans would still have been roaming all-over Southern Ireland. They realized that a Constitution is not something absolute: it is relative, relative to time, relative to conditions, relative to the people who are working it. If you stake your whole policy on the sanctity of a given Constitution you find yourself in an impasse from which you simply cannot escape.

"If it is impossible to persuade the Government, I hope we shall be able to persuade the people of this country that the only alternative to ruin for the whole of Southern Africa—probably the only alternative to war—is negotiation with the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia, to reach a settlement which will ensure the future, not just of the white Rhodesians but of all Rhodesians, whatever their race and colour."

Vindictive Vendetta the Negation of Statesmanship

LORD MILVERTON viewed with distaste and apprehension that further proof of the unbending attitude of the Government in Rhodesian affairs.

"Their apparent indifference to the risks involved appals me. It is the negation of statesmanship to pursue a vindictive vendetta against a country which would make any negotiation extremely difficult to start.

"The measures taken by the Government are already leading to unemployment and poverty for those whose interests it is designed to further, and ultimately, if successful, will lead to the breakdown of law and order, to civil war, famine, violence and, incidentally, the collapse of Zambia.

"Can the architects of chaos sit complacently on the Government front bench and review the results of this work to date with any satisfaction? We started with the idea of inducing in the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia a frame of mind favourable to negotiation. I still believe that negotiations in the right frame of mind would achieve a compromise acceptable both to Parliament and to the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia.

"The right frame of mind is probably present in Rhodesia to-day, but not, it seems, in the mind of the Prime Minister. The preliminary insistence upon a humiliating surrender, with their fate entirely in the hands of this Government, would make a mockery of the word 'negotiation'; nor could the subsequent imposition of terms upon a helpless community be so misnamed.

"If sanctions fail to produce the chaos now envisaged, there still emerges the ugly threat of force—an even surer way of achieving tragic results. The policy of the Prime Minister is leading us straight down the path which leads to war. It is very wrong that the people of this country should not have it clearly stated to them where it may all end if we go on as at present.

"The motion could not commend itself to me without some assurance from the Government that they are taking steps to initiate negotiation with the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia—and now."

Sanctions Can Boomerang

LORD AMPHILL said that for the last few weeks American and other merchants had been pouring through London on their way to Salisbury.

"Representatives of the American merchants were summoned before the State Department on January 29 and asked to co-operate with the American Government, who have no powers to forbid them to buy Rhodesian tobacco if they so feel inclined. There were about 60 of these merchant firms in America. It was very important that this order should have come out as early as possible so that these foreign buyers should have known the position of H.M. Government.

"I suspect that British manufacturers' packing factories will be commanded by the Smith régime to house and pack the tobacco which they hope to sell.

"I think this order a necessary part of tobacco sanctions. I do not like sanctions. They are blunt instruments and they can act as boomerangs, which they have done in this case."

Five Uganda Ministers Arrested

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, had five of his Ministers arrested as they left a Cabinet meeting in Entebbe on Tuesday. They were taken to a detention camp. No names have been revealed when this issue closed for press. Dr. Obote announced that he had assumed "All the powers of the Government".

British Government Anxious About Oil Supplies to Rhodesia

Whitehall's Persistent Endeavours to Refute Reports from On-the-Spot Observers

BRITISH GOVERNMENT ANXIETY about petrol, oil and other supplies from South Africa reaching Rhodesia was made evident on Wednesday of last week when Sir Hugh Stephenson, the British Ambassador, flew from Cape Town to Pretoria to make representations to Dr. Muller, the Foreign Minister. Though no information about the discussion was made available in South Africa, a Foreign Office spokesman said in London:—

"Sir Hugh Stephenson expressed concern over the reports of the increased movement of petroleum products from South Africa into Rhodesia. There will be further contacts between us and the South African Government on this question. We have no indication of any change in the attitude of the South Africans to the oil embargo."

For some days members of the staffs of the British Embassy and of the British Consulate-General in Johannesburg had kept day and night watch at Beitbridge. The Foreign Office admitted that close watch was being kept "on all possible points of entry of oil products into Rhodesia."

The official Whitehall view was that not more than 8,000 gallons of petrol a day were reaching Rhodesia, and that the average might be no more than 4,000 gallons—whereas Rhodesia's consumption even under rationing is about 125,000 gallons daily.

35,000 Gallons A Day Crossing the Border

Both South African and Rhodesian newspapers, however, declared on the same day that 35,000 gallons were crossing the frontier daily at Beitbridge, and one Johannesburg newspaper asserted that about the same quantity was reaching Rhodesia regularly from Mozambique.

Correspondents in Rhodesia of London newspapers cabled that petrol storage facilities in Salisbury, Bulawayo, and other major centres had almost reached the overflow point, and that there was therefore a likelihood of early relaxation in the petrol rationing.

A leader of the oil industry in Salisbury confirmed last Thursday that more than 250,000 gallons of refined fuel had entered Rhodesia in the previous fortnight in addition to gift consignments from South Africa.

Journalists who went to Beitbridge last week agreed that the daily supply was about 35,000 gallons, and that one South African transport company alone was carrying 60,000 gallons of fuel a week in drums to Beitbridge.

Most of the petrol has crossed the border in tankers, many of them unmarked Rhodesian vehicles to which South African tankers transfer their cargoes. Seven 25-ton tankers from Boksburg, near Johannesburg, have been making almost continuous journeys to the frontier, the drivers working 100 hours a week and snatching a little sleep while the tankers are re-fuelled.

At the time of such reports from numerous sources the Commonwealth Relations Office continued to declare that no significant quantities of petrol were reaching Rhodesia either from South Africa or Mozambique.

The denial coincided with the disclosure in Johannesburg that petrol and lubricants were being carried to Beitbridge not only in road tankers and heavy lorries, but also in furniture pantechnicons, and that at least five large tankers were making daily runs with 5,000 gallons each.

Rhodesian Government buyers, working through an agency called Genta, were said to have no difficulty in finding sources of supply. A private enterprise company in Rhodesia was also known to have sent tankers to South Africa.

Many Rhodesian farmers were stated to be crossing the border and bringing back up to a dozen 44-gallon drums of petrol at a time.

Sasol, the South African Government's oil-from-coal plant,

denied a report that it had been approached by buyers for Rhodesia.

At the week-end official spokesmen in Whitehall were still describing the reports from Beitbridge as grossly exaggerated.

Lord Graham, Minister of Defence, last week received a gift of 1,400 gallons of petrol from the townspeople and Caudour League in Stellenbosch. The fuel would, he said, be added to the stocks of the defence forces.

Paraffin and lubricants are also reaching Rhodesia in larger quantities from South Africa.

At an inaugural meeting in Melbourne last week of the Australian League of Rights, £300 was collected for a petrol fund for Rhodesia.

A public demonstration in Sydney against British policy in Rhodesia carried a resolution that the British Trade Commissioner should be informed that a nationwide boycott of British goods in Australia would be organized and maintained until financial and economic sanctions against Rhodesia were discontinued. In Perth, Western Australia, a motor cavalcade displayed pro-Rhodesian stickers.

Train-Loads of Oil

The *Daily Mail*—which has been very anti-Rhodesia and pro-Wilson—gave prominence on Monday to an article which emphasized that Rhodesia is not likely to go short of oil.

It reported that a train of 17 tankers, carrying a total of 127,500 gallons of petrol, reached Bulawayo a week ago having travelled from South Africa through Mozambique. The tankers had been uncoupled 30 miles inland from Lourenço Marques and switched to the new railway which enters Rhodesia at the isolated border post of Malvernina, where they had been shunted into sidings until a full train could be assembled.

Fuel in drums was stated to have been discharged at Beira by freighters, mainly Greek, for on-carriage to Rhodesia.

A trader in Salisbury who obtains supplies in South Africa is offering minimum deliveries of 2,800 gallons of petrol by road and of 7,500 gallons by rail.

A dealer in lubricants in Bulawayo is stated to be obtaining 600 drums, each of 44 gallons, of petrol a week.

Half a mile across the border near Umtali petrol pumps have been set up to supply Rhodesian buyers.

A milk tanker with the slogan "Drink Pinta Milka Day" recently crossed into Rhodesia bearing a freshly painted sign: "No smoking near this vehicle."

The investigators concluded: "That oil companies will limit supplies to South Africa to prevent any excess being syphoned off to Rhodesia cannot be taken seriously. Rhodesia's normal consumption is only 4% of South Africa's, and 4% is too fine a margin to gauge accurately. South Africa could keep Rhodesia totally supplied from its oil-from-coal plant at Sasolburg and buy its own needs abroad. Any move to force a total embargo on South Africa and the Portuguese territories are unlikely to succeed."

At the week-end the *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, estimated that of about 250,000 gallons of petrol sent to Rhodesia in the past fortnight 174,000 gallons had been sent through Bulawayo. Recent deliveries by road of about 35,000 gallons a day represented only 1% of South Africa's own daily consumption, an amount which it would be difficult to trace or check.

Mr. Marais Steyn, leader of the (Opposition) United Party in the Transvaal, said at Wolmaransstad at the week-end that South Africa must take bigger risks to ensure that Rhodesia did not collapse, since in that event South Africa would be the next victim of the Afro-Asians.

On Friday Mr. Wilson asked the South African Ambassador to call on him to discuss the oil question.

On Tuesday the Ambassador in South Africa saw Dr. Muller again.

A Hertfordshire branch of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society was formed at a meeting held in Tring on Sunday. Sixty persons attended. Mr. J. G. Crawford was elected chairman of the branch, for which his son, Mr. R. J. Crawford, agreed to act as hon. secretary.

Settlement Can Be Reached, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd Reports

Recommends Prompt Negotiations Without Prior Conditions

A SETTLEMENT CAN BE REACHED, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, said on his return to London after spending nine days in Rhodesia and making short halts in Zambia and Kenya on his way back.

There must be talks with the Rhodesians, who accepted the principles that the declaration of independence had been wrong, that a small white minority could not for ever rule a large African majority, and that the problems of racial discrimination must be tackled.

It was wrong to argue about how and with whom negotiations should take place. In the past Britain had often negotiated with illegal régimes. The problem must be carefully handled, "but there is a great possibility of reaching a settlement".

He would say no more until he had seen his leader, Mr. Heath, and other colleagues and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

Mr. Smith Firmly in Control

On Monday evening Mr. Lloyd recommended to the Shadow Cabinet that it should press for talks with the Rhodesians without any prior conditions: while the Rhodesian Government should not insist on Britain recognizing the declaration of independence before talks were started, Britain should not insist on withdrawal of the declaration. The two countries had got themselves into an impasse, and the important thing was to abandon that rigid position.

Any idea of an alternative Government emerging in Rhodesia was "nonsense". Neither side could win by continuance of the present situation. Prolonged resistance by Rhodesia would mean a very bleak future for the country, and capitulation after a long struggle would inflict great harm on the British economy and cause deep hostility against Britain throughout Southern Africa.

Mr. Lloyd was emphatic that Mr. Smith is firmly in control in Rhodesia, and that white opinion has been consolidated behind him by the actions of the British Government.

Mr. Lloyd called on the Commonwealth Relations Secretary on Tuesday.

Talks in Rhodesia

After Mr. Lloyd had seen Mr. Ian Smith, both declined to disclose the subjects discussed, the Prime Minister saying merely: "We have gone over the whole range of things in a confidential way, and I intend to keep it confidential". Mr. Lloyd used almost the same phraseology, but added that he hoped that the meeting had brought nearer talks with Britain.

The same day he saw Mr. Rudland, Minister of Agriculture, a delegation led by Mr. Gondo, leader of the African Parliamentary Opposition, and several leading businessmen.

Speaking at a luncheon of the Rhodesian branch of the Institute of Directors, he said: "There must be a negotiated settlement, and the sooner people get down to the practical task involved in that, the better".

Lord Watkinson, a former Conservative Minister of Defence, who had arrived in Salisbury on the previous day, was also a guest. He said that Rhodesia could endure sanctions indefinitely if she was ready to fall back to an agricultural subsistence level, "but I do not see how the sophisticated industrial economy which you have built up, and the enormous progress you have made, can survive without major damage if the present situation goes on".

As Mr. Lloyd had arranged to dine that evening with

the staff of the British High Commission, he excused himself for attendance at a party given by Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government. He arranged, however, to lunch with Mr. Dupont on Saturday. Invitations to the party were stated to have been refused by the eight judges.

Mr. Lloyd flew to Bulawayo on the Thursday, where he met, among others, African nationalist leaders whose names were not disclosed.

Before leaving Rhodesia Mr. Lloyd had told reporters that his view was that it would be difficult but not impossible to find a solution to the crisis—a settlement which would enable Rhodesia to go forward as a prosperous, developing, multi-racial, constitutional State.

In his talks with several hundred people he had stressed that U.D.I. was wrong, that a white minority could not for ever rule an African majority, and that there must be a movement towards the development of multi-racial partnership. His talks with the Prime Minister—and he used that title for Mr. Smith—and the Governor having been confidential, he could not comment upon them.

Strain on Race Relations

He was leaving with a sense of admiration for what had been built up in Rhodesia, in which he was convinced that there was a widespread desire to end the present situation. "Almost all Europeans and Africans realize that they have to live together." The present situation is putting a strain on race relations.

The middle course of gradual evolution had never been properly considered, and Rhodesians had felt that their choice was between African rule and U.D.I. There was much moderate opinion in the country.

His request to see Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, the leaders of the two rival nationalist parties, had been refused, mainly for security reasons. It had been pointed out to him that Mr. Wilson had seen both men and talked to them for hours in November. Mr. Lloyd had talked to about 60 Africans.

Not having visited Rhodesia in order to negotiate, he had not negotiated, but he had "certain ideas which I think could form a basis for negotiation". It was for Mr. Smith to say whether or not he agreed with them, "but I think there is a genuine desire for a settlement".

Nothing that he had seen suggested that Rhodesia was a police State, but the imposition of Press censorship by any Government was unfortunate.

He had found no traces of the alleged "Shadow Cabinet" of dissident political leaders, and no strong feeling in favour of a republic.

To use force to resolve the dispute would be absolutely wrong. Mr. Smith and he shared the view that there should be no pre-conditions for talks between Rhodesia and Britain.

Mr. Lloyd broke his return journey in Zambia to see President Kaunda, the British High Commissioner, Vice-President Kamanga, Mr. Kapwepwe, local business leaders, Mr. John Roberts (the leader of the minority National Progress Party), and Rhodesian African nationalists of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union, both of which are proscribed in Rhodesia.

His arrival in Nairobi coincided with a meeting of the East African Common Services Organization Authority, which consists of the three Heads of State, and he was therefore able to see President Kenyatta, President Nyerere, and Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda.

In the House of Commons the Prime Minister referred to Mr. Lloyd's visit to Africa in the course of exchanges in reply to Mr. Evelyn King, who asked if the Prime Minister would now arrange for an all-party group of Privy Counsellors to visit Rhodesia.

Mr. Wilson: "I do not think this is the right time".
Mr. King: "Was this not the Prime Minister's own suggestion? Will he accept that a negative policy of imposing hardship and unemployment on four million helpless Rhodesians is arousing growing distaste, and will he seek to do something constructive?"

(Concluded on page 488)

PERSONALIA Obituary

LORD MILVERTON was 81 on Monday. Coronation day of the OMUKAMA OF TORO is to be March 2.

SIR WILLIAM GORELL BARNES has joined the board of Limmer and Trinidad Co., Ltd.

MR. HAROLD SOREF is due back in London in a few days from an extended visit to Rhodesia.

MR. M. H. H. PARTRIDGE has been sworn in as Minister of Local Government and Housing in Rhodesia.

MR. TIMOTHY BAZARRABUSA, Uganda's High Commissioner in London, is in Uganda for a period of leave. He returned *via* Germany and Israel.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Britain's Special Representative in East and Central Africa, flew to Malawi at the week-end for talks with DR. BANDA.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE, chairman of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, has left to spend three weeks in Nigeria. LADY HOWICK is with him.

AL-HAJJ ABD ar-RAHMAN al-MAHDI, the Sudanese religious leader and head of the Umma Party, is visiting Ethiopia for a week at the invitation of the EMPEROR.

MR. HENRIK BLOMSTEDT, Finland's Ambassador to Kenya, has presented his credentials. From headquarters in Addis Ababa he is accredited to Ethiopia and also to Tanzania.

MR. PAUL WILLIAMS, chairman of the Monday Club, and former Tory M.P. for Sunderland, has joined the board of Mount Charlotte Investments, Ltd., as an executive director and has been elected chairman.

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister in Zambia, and MR. G. ZULU, Minister of Mines and Co-operatives, are members of a trade mission to the United Arab Republic, Italy, Western Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the Scandinavian countries.

Yesterday afternoon MRS. MARGARET LEGUM, a former secretary of the Commonwealth Bureau of the Fabian Society, spoke on African Socialism generally, and DR. J. N. KARANJA, Kenya's High Commissioner, on its application in Kenya at a meeting of the Africa Centre in London.

MISS MARY BENSON, who has dual British and South African citizenship, and was secretary of the Africa Bureau in London from its establishment in 1952, was last week ordered under the South African Suppression of Communism Act to attend no meetings during the next five years. She may not leave the house of a friend in Johannesburg with whom she is staying between dusk and dawn. Her book "The African Patriot" dealt with the activities of the proscribed African National Congress of South Africa.

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Lord Hobson

LORD HOBSON, a life peer since December 1963, who died in the Middlesex Hospital on Thursday at the age of 62 from a heart complaint, had been keenly interested in East and Central African affairs since he paid a private visit to Kenya in 1951 and a further visit in 1953 with Mr. George Brown on behalf of the Labour Party. He had been vice-chairman of the Joint East African Board from 1955 to 1958 and again in 1964-65.

Charles Ryder Hobson was born in Leeds and attended a local elementary school. Afterwards he studied at a technical college in Belfast, and later became an engineer in a power station at Neasden, Middlesex. In 1940 he was appointed to the London Region War Production Committee as a full-time member. He had meantime become a councillor in Willesden, where he lived, and was for 10 years chairman of the electricity committee.

Becoming Labour M.P. for North Wembley in the post-war election of 1945, he held the seat for five years, and then represented Keighley, Yorkshire, until 1959, when he was defeated by 170 votes. He had been Assistant Postmaster-General from 1947 to 1951.

Opposed Party on African Policy

Hobson was one of the few Socialists who courageously and steadfastly opposed his party's policy towards the Central African Federation. He argued that freedom was a by-product of prosperity, that union of the three territories was the only guarantee of balanced prosperity and progress, and that collective and individual prosperity and freedom would come through federation, "in precisely the same way as the federation of England, Scotland and Wales brought prosperity to each of those three countries."

Nor did he object to the imposition of federation. All colonial government was, he said, an imposition, though benevolent and for the benefit of the peoples concerned: if it was wrong to impose in Central Africa measures good in themselves for the union of the territories, then the trusteeship for all British colonial territories ought to be renounced. Since he was convinced that Africans derived great benefits from British colonial rule, that surrender would, he insisted, represent betrayal.

He kept the closest contacts with East and Central African affairs, and in private remained a strong critic of the policies towards those territories of Conservative and Socialist Governments in Britain since the end of 1959.

"I am a Chandos-Boyd man, and shall so remain," he said to the writer quite recently. "I disagree absolutely with Macmillan, Macleod, Wilson, Bottomley, and the rest on Africa, and agree entirely with the policy which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has consistently advocated."

Having been appointed a lord-in-waiting (whip) in the Upper House by the present Labour Government, he could take no part in public discussion of such issues.

Like his great friend Mr. Stanley Evans, who shared his views about British policy, in Africa and in consequence lost his seat in the Commons, Hobson refused to disguise his opinions in party or other circles. He was a direct and persuasive extemporary speaker, who staunchly opposed the Socialist left wing and advocated middle-of-the-road policies of co-operation between black and white in Africa.

He leaves a widow and a daughter.

Britain Has Gone Back on Its Word Accused by Rhodesian Minister of Finance

Col. Hoare Says Rhodesians Will Fight "I Shudder At the Prospect"

MR. JOHN WRATHALL, Minister of Finance, told the Rhodesian Parliament on Thursday that the British Government had gone back on its word over the payment of pensions, and had refused to permit the transfer of funds to the pension agency in Salisbury, which could therefore not discharge obligations imposed upon it by British law. The consequence must be hardship for persons whose claims to payment from the fund arose from the British action in dissolving the Central African Federation.

Because it seemed inconceivable that the British Government would go back on its undertaking it had been asked for an explanation. As no reply had come in 10 days it must be assumed that the British policy was not to pay.

"Is it surprising that we cannot trust the present British Government?" Mr. Wrathall asked. "Here we have an agreement, freely subscribed to by Britain, with the object of protecting the rights of certain individuals, but as soon as this agreement interferes with the attainment of their political objectives they do not regard it as binding. How can anyone expect us to come to terms with a Government whose word counts for so little, which shrugs off its moral and legal obligations so lightly? Who is likely to be deceived a moment longer by their pretence of loyalty?"

"To the British Government I say: 'Refute if you dare the fact that Britain has gone back on her word. The British people have a right to know how their representatives are maintaining the old maxim that an Englishman's word is his bond'".

The messages exchanged with the British Government and the Crown Agents about all categories of pensions would be published as a White Paper.

Other Protests

Sir Roy Welensky expressed "contempt" for the Wilson Government's attitude and hoped that Socialist and Conservative M.P.s. would not allow it to get away with this latest move. None of the Governments involved had the right to deny former Federal civil servants the pensions they had earned.

Sir Athol Evans, who was Secretary for Home Affairs in the Federal Government, said that he might sue the British Government in a British court "not only for my pension but also for damages for a dishonourable act".

The Federal Pensioners' Association said: "We are shattered at the statement of the British Government that they no longer consider themselves bound by the trust deed". It bound the four Governments involved in the dissolution of the Federation not to hinder the transfer of any assets of the pension fund from Britain to any of the territories or between the territories.

Sir Cornelius Greenfield, who signed the trust deed for the Rhodesian Government, said: "The whole purpose was to ensure that former Federal civil servants should get their pensions whatever political developments took place".

About 2,500 pensioners are involved. Some live in Britain and South Africa, but most are in Rhodesia. Many families are entirely dependent on the pensions.

On Monday Mr. Wrathall announced that the Rhodesian Government would provide funds for former Federal pensioners anywhere who on retirement had chosen payment in Rhodesian currency.

Later that day the Crown Agents stated that Federal pensions were payable in Rhodesian, Zambian, and Malawi currencies. Calls on the pension fund having substantially exceeded its income, the trustees had asked the Governments to buy in some of their own stock—and there was £1.3m. of Federal local stock apportioned among them—or to make loans to the trustees. Zambia had bought £1m. of Zambian stock, and Malawi had offered a loan. Rhodesia had not yet followed their example, but had proposed that the trustees should remit to Salisbury for the payment of Rhodesian pensioners money received from the sale of Zambian stock.

"Even in a newly-independent State in Africa many Europeans still seem only to remember the good which their fellow-countrymen may rightly claim to have done there in the past, and to look with rather nauseating tolerance and patronage at the inevitable fumbblings and corruptions of those who until a few years ago were denied all real responsibility". — The Bishop of Accra.

RHODESIANS WILL FIGHT if their country is invaded, Lieut.-Colonel Mike Hoare, lately commander of the mercenary forces in the Congo, has said in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*. He wrote:—

"Rhodesia can only be put down by armed force if Britain's present attitude to the unilateral declaration of independence is to continue. Every sane, thinking person is agreed that this would be a disaster of the first magnitude, but is it generally known that the armed forces of Rhodesia will fight to a man and that a large proportion of the civilian population will take up arms to defend their way of life and their country regardless of the nature or nationality of the attacker?"

"I have just spent a week in Salisbury privately, and the mood of the people is the same mood as that which prevailed in Britain when, after Dunkirk, we were prepared to fight them on the beaches and never give in."

"I appeal to you, sir, to use all your influence to try to alter the collision course on which the two countries are presently set—the course which must inevitably result in the use of force by Britain under one pretext or another, or, even worse, by the United Nations influenced by the Organization of African Unity in the mistaken impression that the use of vastly superior forces could overwhelm Rhodesia in a matter of hours."

"As one who witnessed the terror of armed conflict in the Congo during the last 18 months I shudder at the prospect of a clash in Rhodesia. Even at this late hour the politicians must find a way. Force can never be the answer."

"Official aid and private investment in developing countries amounted to 1.1% of our gross national product in 1964".—Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P.

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Tighter Censorship of the Press Regulations Defied by Rhodesian Editors

RHODESIAN NEWSPAPERS continue to refuse to obey new censorship regulations which prohibit blank spaces to show that material has been cut, require the omission of any indication that matter printed has been subject to censorship, and authorize censors to instruct editors to "alter" material, including headlines, and change the position of an item from one page or column to another.

The Director of Information may prohibit distribution or order the destruction of any publication printed in contravention of the regulations.

Rhodesia's leading newspapers, owned by a Rhodesian subsidiary of the Argus publishing group in South Africa, are the *Rhodesia Herald* and *Sunday Mail* in Salisbury, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* and *Sunday News* in Bulawayo, and the *Umtali Post*. Mr. L. E. A. Slater, joint managing director of the South African group, flew to Salisbury when the new regulations were issued.

Warnings Disregarded

Day after day the papers appeared without removal of the notice that they had been subject to censorship and still showing blank spaces.

After a day's grace, Mr. Van der Byl, Deputy Minister of Information, went to the *Herald* office and inspected page proofs of the next day's issue. Seeing that white spaces had still been left to show that items had been censored, he said: "If these are not closed up we shall stop publication". They were not removed, but distribution was not stopped. The experience of the *Chronicle* was similar. At the time of Mr. Van der Byl's visit overseas correspondents and television teams were on the spot. He ordered an American T.V. team to cease photographing censors at work.

Under the "Control of Publications Order" infringement of the regulations makes an editor liable to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £500.

Mr. Malcolm Smith is the editor of the *Herald* and Mr. Sidney Swadell of the *Chronicle*. The chief censor is Mr. Philip Denby.

A back-bencher on the Government side of the House suggested in Parliament recently that the Press should be brought under official control. Mr. Van der Byl restated the censorship policy and added that if facts were presented in an unbiased manner and if there were separate organs of the Press—the allusion being to the monopoly position held by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company—the need for censorship would disappear.

Five Principles of Censorship

MR. JOHN HOWMAN, Minister of Information, has told the Rhodesian Parliament that newspaper material is censored if in the opinion of the censors it is likely (1) to undermine the actions of the Government; (2) create alarm and despondency; (3) lead to contraventions of the law or a breach of law and order; (4) divulge any industrial, commercial or financial dealings or undertakings with other countries which the régime for obvious reasons wished to keep confidential; (5) endanger the security of the State.

Newspapers have continued to defy the regulations by printing an announcement that all material has been subjected to censorship and by leaving blank spaces.

Mr. R. H. James, a Government back-bencher, has criticized the extent of the powers with which Mr. Van der Byl, the Deputy Information Minister, has been invested.

Mr. Gavin Astor, chairman of the Commonwealth Press Union, said in London last week that his brother, Mr. Hugh Astor, was on his way to Rhodesia to represent the council in discussions with local newspapers, and that he would fly to Africa if necessary.

The union opposed restriction of journalistic freedom before publication; after publication journalists must accept full legal liability for any wrong which publication might have done to the State or to an individual. Within the limits of national security the job of the Press in a free society was to inquire, inform, and expose.

Mr. Anthony Hawkins has reported from Salisbury to the *Statist*:—

"The Rhodesian man in the street has been convinced that the Argus Press slants and distorts the news and takes instructions from the parent company in South Africa. The task of discrediting the Press has been made easier because the newspapers have stood for the non-racial society and taken a more sympathetic line on African advancement than the country's white population have been prepared to support.

"Most white Rhodesians would say that Press censorship is justified when the country is 'at war'. In many minds the Press has been identified as an 'enemy', and in the war for survival no enemy can be treated too harshly.

"Does Mr. Van der Byl really believe that Rhodesian morale is being adversely affected by newspaper headings, or is he merely pandering to party pressure to gag the Press altogether? His latest moves give the impression that he is still frightened of an already half-muzzled Press".

Independence Constitution Ratified

RHODESIA'S CONSTITUTION RATIFICATION BILL, which confirms the 1965 Independence Constitution, was given its third reading last Thursday and passed by 48 votes to two, those of Dr. Ahrn Palley, the only European representing an African constituency, and Mr. B. Govan, the only Asian in the House. All the Africans withdrew before the vote was taken.

With the passing of the Bill the Officer Administering the Government, Mr. Dupont, becomes "His Excellency".

The Prime Minister had said that the Parliamentary system left room for the creation of a Senate, which might include the functions now entrusted to the Constitutional Council, but this was not the time to contemplate serious changes in the responsibilities of that body.

Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, Minister of Transport and Power, told Parliament that if the rail link to South Africa through Bechuanaland were cut, carefully-made plans could be implemented immediately.

No decision had been made as to which of two routes might be selected for a direct railway link with South Africa, and there would be no decision until a full appraisal of the economic, technical, financial and strategic factors had been completed, and that study would take about five months.

Pipeline from Dar es Salaam to Ndola

A £20M. OIL PIPELINE from Dar es Salaam to Zambia and a refinery are under consideration, and the Lonrho group, which took the initiative for the building of the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia, has been asked by the Industrial Development Corporation of Zambia to make an immediate survey of the route.

Portugal having refused permission for the R.A.F. to use air bases at Beira and Nacala, Mozambique, for an oil lift to Zambia, it is now intended to increase supplies to railhead in Malawi. The Portuguese were prepared to allow chartered civil aircraft to operate an airlift, but none could be found available.

At the cost of the United States Information Service, three Uganda journalists were flown to Zambia to acquaint themselves with the arrangements for deliveries of oil by air.

On his return to London from visits to Central Africa, Mr. A. H. Smith, chairman of the Africa Committee of the British National Export Council, emphasized that Zambia would in future not be anything like as dependent upon Rhodesia economically as in the past and that there was consequently a market for British manufacturers. He said that he had found bitter criticism of U.K. business apathy. Of Zambia's £80 m. of imports Britain had supplied 17 per cent. direct and about another 10 per cent. through Rhodesia. He expected the value of the imports to reach £150 m. within five years.

Leyland Motor Corporation have built 200 road petrol tankers and 20 heavy lorries for Zambia at high speed. By spreading construction between Leyland plants in Britain, Denmark, Holland, France, Nigeria and the U.S.A., the order, worth £1,125,000, was completed within seven weeks.

The Vauxhall Company received an order in December for 160 seven-ton lorries for Zambia. They are now ready for shipment.

The trade mission sent from Zambia to Japan has reported "enormous interest" by Japanese manufacturers and exporters. Japanese interests may build a fertilizer factory at Livingstone costing between £6 m. and £8 m.

"Freedom-Fighting" in Mozambique Claims Made by Frelimo's Vice-President

"FREEDOM-FIGHTERS" are alleged by the Rev. Uria Timoteo-Simango, vice-president of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), to have killed about 2,000 Portuguese troops in Mozambique in the last 18 months, and to have established their own administration throughout the two northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Nyasa, in which Portuguese administration is claimed to have been destroyed.

These statements were made last Thursday at a Press conference held in a committee room of the House of Commons.

Mr David Ennals, M.P., who presided, constantly referred to the speaker as Dr. Simango—though he holds no doctorate, or indeed any degree, of any university.

Mr. Simango said that fighting was constant in four provinces. Two could be said to have been liberated. In the other two the situation was less "stabilized". Frelimo had in Mozambique "thousands" of armed volunteers, some of whom had been trained in Algeria.

Intimidation Denied

He denied that there had been any intimidation of the local population, or that the "liberation forces" had put pressure on young men to join them. Their relations with the African population were excellent.

Finance for the movement came mainly from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. Simango was emphatic that military committees in Lisbon concerned with the defence of Mozambique were advised by the United States and the West German Republic.

Sixty Canadian aircraft sold last year to Western Germany had, he said, been transferred to Portugal, which had sent some to Angola and some to Mozambique, where they were engaged in bombing "liberation forces".

The following signed statement was distributed:—

"My visit to this country at this moment, when the situation in Southern Africa is deteriorating, will produce effect in favour of our struggle in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, San Tomé, and Príncipe.

"My people in Mozambique and the people of these other countries have suffered untold oppression, exploitation, and all sorts of humiliation under the Fascist rule of Portugal for over 400 years, and have been continually denied the right to achieve independence. At the United Nations Portugal has claimed that these countries are overseas provinces in which the outside world has no right to interfere.

"We have had no alternative but to resort to force. The great majority of the seven million Africans in Mozambique support our movement. In the two northern provinces of Nyasa and Cabo Delgado Frelimo has set up administrations, and we have liberated substantial areas of the country.

"About 40,000 Portuguese soldiers are in Mozambique. They are undisciplined and cause great suffering to the African population—killing them and burning their houses from one village to another. African villages have also been bombed. Portugal's aim is to intimidate our people so that they do not join the liberation movements and army; but they will not succeed.

"Portugal, a very poor country, could not conduct wars against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea if she were not receiving arms through N.A.T.O. and loans and investment from West Germany, Belgium, U.S.A., and Britain.

"We call on the British people and their allies in the West to stop these supplies. Until this has been done they are involved in the war against us. We ask for moral and material support from all peace and freedom-loving countries and from progressive organizations and individuals—both to relieve suffering and to assist Frelimo's educational programme. There are already 20,000 Mozambique refugees in the neighbouring countries of Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia.

"The British people should demand that their Government adopts a favourable policy towards the oppressed people of the Portuguese colonies. The people of Angola, Guinea and Cabo Verde, San Tomé and Príncipe, and Mozambique are bound to win their just struggle."

The Portuguese Commander-in-Chief in Mozambique announced last week that the terrorists had suffered more than 100 casualties and lost a large amount of war material in the first fortnight of this month. In one operation in the Nyasa province 11 were killed and 32 captured. In a surprise attack on a terrorist camp elsewhere 19 were killed and many wounded. In another area 30 who had infiltrated from Tanzania were captured.

Other terrorists who had crossed from Tanzania had killed 10 Africans and wounded 20, among them women and children.

Mozambique's Fine Development Scheme

MR. HUGH KAY, who recently visited Mozambique and Angola for the *Catholic Herald*, wrote in the course of articles which have now been reprinted in pamphlet form:—

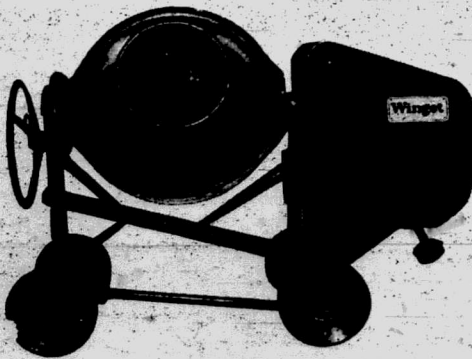
"In Mozambique I visited one of the finest development schemes in the world. Six years ago the Limpopo Valley was a swamp. Today it takes you hours, driving in a fast car, to get round the new settlements, the irrigated plots, and the beautiful new houses where African and white settler live together. There are two white families to every black one—but it is not an easy task to persuade the African to give up the old ways and try a new life.

"Some 1,200 families are now settled in 14 villages, each with its own church and school. About 77,500 acres are under irrigation, and there are 500,000 acres set aside for grazing.

"Helped by a team of Government agronomists, every family has its house and plot, with tools, equipment, furniture and animals provided by the Government. A farmers' co-operative lends tractors and other machinery. All forms of welfare service are provided."

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Rhodesian Brevities

MR. JUSTICE BROOME, former Judge President of Natal, said on Radio South Africa a few days ago:—

"Lord North is remembered as the Prime Minister who presided over the dismemberment of the first British Empire because his Government handled the revolt of the American Colonies as lawyers, not as statesmen. Burke's advice to him to act with humanity, reason and justice and to restore tranquility is equally apt in regard to the Rhodesian situation—which is not a legal problem for lawyers but one to be dealt with by statesmen with humanity, reason, and justice.

"If the Rhodesians continue to be regarded as rebels to be brought to heel by sanctions and the ultimate threat of armed force, history may accord to Harold Wilson the melancholy fame of being the Prime Minister who presided over the final dissolution of the British Commonwealth."

Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin said: "Rhodesians have done nothing to deserve opprobrium. For the British Prime Ministry to fly to America and ask the United Nations to strangle and starve, if not shoot, Rhodesians is a horrible spectre—of the whole world falling upon a small people who are trying to civilize a country. Fifty countries are boycotting Rhodesia, not because they know exactly why, but because they see England and America doing it. The Rhodesians were forced to do what they are doing because they had no alternative."

Mr. Reginald Paget, Socialist M.P. for Northampton, who had been interviewed in London, was quoted as saying: "I do not believe that Rhodesia would surrender its independence unless it had to submit to military defeat. Rhodesia would not be prepared to negotiate about independence."

Oil Strike in Mozambique

Mr. A. Hitchings, a large oil producer in Texas, said on arrival in Rhodesia from Mozambique that he had no doubt that there was a large oil base in the Pande district of that country, and there might be an unprecedented boom if the Portuguese Government were to open the territory to independent operators.

Lord Fraser of Lonsdale said in Bloemfontein last week that he did not believe that Britain's partial blockade of Rhodesia could succeed. If even partly successful it would encourage Afro-Asians to attempt to blockade South Africa, but to make such a plan effective would require a navy as large as that of Russia or the United States.

Sir Roy Welensky said that Rhodesia could survive economic sanctions by accepting considerable unemployment.

Dr. Marten Van Den Bergh, chairman of the Suid Afrikaanse Handels Instituut, an organization of Afrikaans-speaking manufacturers and merchants in South Africa, said in a radio interview in Rhodesia a few days ago that he had been very surprised to find a business-as-usual atmosphere. The petrol position was better than he had expected; indeed, it was still quite a problem to get parking space in the city during business hours. After talks with businessmen in Salisbury he believed that the country had a very good chance of beating the sanctions imposed by Britain and other countries.

Congressman John Ashbrook, who recently visited Rhodesia with Dr. Max Yergan, said on his return to Washington that he believed the Smith régime would survive all external efforts to crush it. He hoped that a Congressional delegation might be sent to Rhodesia, and deplored the State Department's discouragement of visits by Americans.

Mr. Diefenbaker, Leader of the Opposition in Canada, said in Parliament that the Canadian sanctions

against Rhodesia were unconstitutional and unacceptable. No Commonwealth country had the right to tell another what was right or wrong.

Rhodesian Office in U.S.A.

The Rhodesian Government has opened a publicity and information office in Washington. Mr. John Hooper, who is in charge, was on the Rhodesian diplomatic staff in the British Embassy until independence was declared in November.

A spokesman in Johannesburg for the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation, which is backed by the South Africa Government, said that requests for insurance cover on South African deals with Rhodesia had increased considerably since U.D.I. The corporation carried the trading element of risk in such deals, but the Government bore the political risk, and was thus providing Rhodesia with a useful bolster. Most of the business represented an increase in "normal trade".

Mr. Fred Barnard, former private secretary to Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, who is operating the "Help Rhodesia" campaign from offices in Pretoria, said last week that the organization was swamped by requests for coupons for its "Petrol for Rhodesia" plan.

At a large meeting in Johannesburg of the Friends of Rhodesia Association on the same day there were angry protests that regular deliveries of petrol to Rhodesia had not been more quickly started.

A Friends of Rhodesia movement has also been started in South West Africa. The first donation received was of £250.

Mr. N. T. van der Wal, vice-president of the Friends of Rhodesia Association, said in Cape Town on Sunday that some contributions had been received from Britain and a few dollars from the United States. More than £3,000 had been collected and much more promised in South Africa.

A Friends of Rhodesia Committee has been formed in Porterville, Cape Province.

Seventy garages in Port Elisabeth are all selling four-shilling books of petrol coupons for Rhodesia.

Two women in Stellenbosch, near Cape Town, collected enough to buy 30 drums of petrol, each of 44 gallons, for Rhodesia. Before the gifts left last week in a lorry driven by three volunteers, Mr. John Gaunt, Rhodesia's diplomatic representative in South Africa, thanked the organizers and a large crowd for their help and good wishes.

On the same day 1,300 gallons of petrol, the gift of local farmers, left the Orange Free State town of Bethlehem.

Import Restrictions Relaxed

Rhodesian currency allocations for the third import quota period are likely to be increased by between 10% and 15%. Mr. B. Mussett, Minister of Commerce and Industry, said last week.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia told members that luxury consumer goods excluded from import since November which were likely to be admitted from April 1 would include wines, spirits, refrigerators, washing-machines, bicycles and expensive garments.

Mr. C. J. Hughes, the president, said that the new regulations would influence many companies in the distributive trades which had been thinking of short-time working or even discontinuance of business.

Mr. F. A. Newton, mayor of Que Que, spoke of plans to use any idle machinery or empty factory premises for the manufacture of articles hitherto imported. He counted on the establishment of new industries, but in the national interest preferred to give no details.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry has signed a five-year reinsurance agreement with the newly-formed Export Credit Insurance Corporation of Rhodesia, which is sponsored by a consortium of commercial banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions, including the Industrial Development Corporation. It will have technical help from the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of South Africa, which has operated the export credit insurance scheme in that country since 1958.

The Confederation of British Industries announced last week that its president, Sir Maurice Laing, and the director-general, Mr. John Davies, had protested to the Commonwealth Relations Secretary at the new regulations which would "turn into criminals" nearly 3,000 farmers in Rhodesia whose livelihood depended on selling their tobacco.

In Washington the State Department announced that the new British Order-in-Council banning tobacco exports from Rhodesia would be discussed with American companies concerned. The Press had suggested that about 60 importers in the United States had plans to buy Rhodesian tobacco at knock-down prices and store it in bulk until the crisis had passed.

Union Carbide, Inc., whose purchases of asbestos from its Rhodesian subsidiary have represented 80% of U.S. imports from Rhodesia, is to comply with the American Government's request not to continue to buy from Rhodesia.

French importers of Rhodesian chrome and asbestos have been asked by their Government to seek alternative sources of supply.

A convoy of Japanese station wagons railed from Beira to Umtali which then took the road for Zambia was ordered back at Umtali in accordance with the regulation that no vehicles destined for sale in another country may traverse Rhodesia by road.

The Assistant Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya has stated that two-way trade with Rhodesia in 1964 had a value of only £578,000.

Abnormal sales of Rhodesian postage stamps to philatelic dealers have yielded about £500,000 in the past three months. Until U.D.I. such sales of a normal commemorative issue ran at about £10,000, and a definitive issue of 14 stamps produced only between £35,000 and £40,000. The 2s. 6d. Independence stamp, however, brought demands from dealers totalling £80,000, and orders for the Independence overprints about £220,000. For the new definitive issue which went on sale on February 9 the demand from dealers is estimated at £200,000.

Mr. Harper, Minister of the Public Service, has told Parliament that since the declaration of independence nine permanent and 50 temporary civil servants have been discharged. There had been one case of abolition of office, two of misconduct, two of ill-health, nine of redundancy, and 35 of unsuitability.

The three British airmen who left their unit at Ndola, Zambia, made their way south, and crossed into Rhodesia, have joined the technical staff of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force.

The Rhodesian Front has disclaimed responsibility for the "I Hate Harold" stickers now being used by Rhodesians on their cars and trucks.

Mr. Wilson's Degrading Bicker Sir Alan Herbert's Caustic Protest

MR. WILSON'S "DEGRADING BICKER" with Rhodesia has been denounced by Sir Alan Herbert in the London *Evening Standard*. Under the title "Let Mr. Wilson Drop All This Colonialism"; he wrote, *inter alia*—

"By the genius and pertinacity of Mr. Wilson we have the whole lot of Afro-Asians massed about one small country in Africa and baying like maddened hounds:

'We know better how to govern your country than you do'. And if you don't agree we will 'topple' you, 'squeeze' you, 'bring you to your knees', 'make you toe the line', 'strip your crops and your cars, strip, shivel, and, if necessary, starve you'.

"If that is not colonialism of the nastiest kind, I do not know anything about words.

"Rhodesia has governed herself well for 40 years, growing always in population and prosperity. The coloured folk, they keep telling us, are about four million. But 40 years ago they were 400,000; and many of the blacks are immigrants. Does this look like an intolerable European tyranny? How many of them would like to emigrate to Ghana or the Congo?

"Rhodesia distrusted us. There are precedents. William Pitt, in a certain colonial affair of 1766, quoted Prior: 'Be to her faults a little blind: Be to her virtues very kind'.

"If Mr. Wilson wins this degrading bicker he will have set some dangerous precedents. Like a dog with Rhodesia in its mouth, he dashed about inviting all to chase him. Yelling 'It's mine!' he rushed off to the United Nations and brought everybody in.

"Still crying 'Leave this to me!', he encouraged by his presence the Lagos Juke Box Jury, at which for the first time two members of the Commonwealth were put on trial before the teenage nations. At the suggestion of Canada, if you please, two vigilante committees were appointed to keep an eye on us during the next six months.

"God help Canada and Australia if Mr. Wilson has a

free week-end after his Rhodesian triumph! He'll have them before the United Nations before they have time to pad their behinds. Canada cannot change her Constitution without our permission; but technically, we could change it without hers. Fancy that! Sauce for Rhodesia could be sauce for Canada."

"Australia has her White Australia policy. Technically, at the bidding of the blacks, we could stop that too. No wonder wise Menzies stayed away from Lagos. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lester Pearson set a bad example.

"Stop looking at Mr. Smith as if he were drunk in charge of a Crown Colony. Drop all the legalistic stuff about 'treason' and all the un-Christian stuff about 'toppling' and 'squeezing'. Remember that Rhodesia is a grown-up country with a long history of freedom. Recognize her right to self-determination. Recognize her *de facto* Government—as we should at this stage in any other country. Then, in a civilized manner discuss the future, so far as it concerns us.

"This would not be 'legalizing the swag', as Mr. Wilson gracefully put it. It would be sense. Let Rhodesia rule Rhodesia.

"Mr. Wilson might lose face—but Britain would not. The Afro-Asians may squeal. Let them. They have had too much attention."

Imputation Against M.P. Withdrawn

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS has compelled the Parliamentary Socialist Party to abandon an intention to apply the whip in a division following a debate on a motion criticizing the speech made by Mr. Sandys which was published at length in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

Fifty Socialist M.P.s had signed a motion which read: "Aiding the Rebels: That this House deplores the speech of the rt. hon. Member for Streatham (Mr. Duncan Sandys) on January 31, designed, it would seem, to offer comfort to the rebel régime of Mr. Smith, insult African Commonwealth countries, and delay the return to constitutional rule in Rhodesia."

Regarding that as a reflection on his honour and his patriotism, Mr. Sandys sought the Speaker's permission to make a personal statement, but was told that as his statement could scarcely be other than controversial, the issue could not suitably be raised in that way. He consequently asked for the motion to be debated.

When Mr. Bowden, Leader of the House, hesitated, the Conservative leader strongly supported his front-bench colleague. Later, when it became known that the whip was to be applied, Mr. Sandys asked: "Does the Leader of the House really mean that, having arranged a debate because my honour has been impugned, his party is to tell their supporters how they vote even before they have heard what I have to say?"

Mr. Bowden: "The motion is not concerned directly with the rt. hon. gentleman's honour. It may arise out of it. The issue is whether or not his words in his speech gave comfort to the rebel régime. During the debate he cannot help being completely censorious of the Government's attitude and action in Rhodesia."

Mr. Sandys: "The question before the House will not be whether my words gave comfort to Mr. Smith's régime, but whether they were designed to give comfort—quite a different thing, which implies that it was my intention to do something which would be regarded as reasonable. If that is not a matter of honour I do not know what is."

Mr. Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, said that the issue was surely for the House as a whole, not for the party whips, and Mr. Heath emphasized that the intention was not to carry a motion of censure but to discuss an accusation which was quite separate from the issue of Government policy.

Later in the evening it became known that the Prime Minister had summoned some of the sponsors of the motion and that they had then withdrawn their motion, substituting one which merely "deplored" the remarks made by Mr. Sandys, who said: "I am very glad that as a result of pressure from all parties the irresponsible motion impugning my honour has now been withdrawn."

One member of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society has obtained more than 1,000 signatures to its petition in favour of negotiations between the British and Rhodesian Governments.

Unwise to Humiliate Rhodesia

THE WILSON POLICY has been sharply criticized by Mr. Evelyn King, Conservative M.P. for Dorset South, and Mr. Peter Bessell, Liberal M.P. for Bodmin, who said in a letter to *The Times*:—

"Many of us who did not initially oppose sanctions believed that their purpose was to induce in Mr. Smith a willingness to negotiate on terms which might be acceptable to Parliament.

"We, a Liberal and a liberal-minded Conservative, have recently seen the Governor, Mr. Smith, and other leaders in Rhodesia. We believe that, impressed both by the effect of sanctions and by world reaction, there now exists in Rhodesia a will to negotiate. It is our view that the *de facto* Government might now be willing to concede in order to promote constitutional advance all or more than all that Mr. Wilson himself sought before November 10.

"We were, therefore, saddened by Mr. Wilson's statement of January 25, which set out humiliating terms which in our view not only would not be acceptable to Mr. Smith but which will dismay almost equally that section of Liberal opinion in Rhodesia whose support we understood Mr. Wilson is trying so hard to obtain.

"And what is the alternative? To take, as Parliament has taken, legal responsibility for the government of Rhodesia and to use that responsibility to impose unemployment and poverty. It is a horrible thing to do!

"And there are other risks over the hill—the risk of civil war of forces of British origin fighting one another, or what might be nearly as bad, refusing to fight one another, of African insurrection, of Zambian collapse, of famine and violence and the chaos which total failure of transport could bring. Are these risks acceptable?

"If these are the risks, what is the gain? If we succeed in driving Mr. Smith into the ground, we serve no Liberal or British interest. Britain and Rhodesia alike will then be at the mercy of Ghana and Tanzania.

"In diplomacy it may be expedient to weaken an opponent, but it is seldom wise to humiliate a nation. This could not be the path of wisdom. Nor is it in the interest of the African. We have gone far enough. This is a time for reconciliation."

Prime Minister's Clumsiness

—That same day Mr. King also charged the Prime Minister with damaging British interests by his clumsy diplomacy and use of abusive language. He wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. David Ennals, M.P., questions the view I formed of the political atmosphere now to be found in Rhodesia. He is one of those Labour M.P.s, who, arriving in Rhodesia at a time of maximum political emotion, gave a provocative interview at the airport.

"It is reported that they at once advertised in a local paper that they would hold a public meeting, and that they were then assaulted by a rowdy element, subsequently received police protection and were ultimately asked to leave the country.

"The nature of the diplomatic approach made by any one of my Parliamentary colleagues is for him to decide, but it does appear to me to be possible that in these circumstances Mr. Smith and his colleagues did not fully open their minds to him.

"I was in Rhodesia with a Labour M.P., a Liberal M.P., and another Conservative M.P. Each of us saw Mr. Smith separately as well as other Ministers, and however individual our views as to the appropriate solution we were, I think, at one in our assessment of the Rhodesian will to negotiate. It is on balance improbable that each of us was mistaken.

"Mr. Ennals attributes to me—for the purpose of contradiction—views I never expressed. I never used the words 'interim Government', and, in common with Mr. Heath, can attach no precise meaning to the phrase. What I said and still believe is that Mr. Wilson blundered badly when on January 25 he set out terms involving unconditional surrender—which not only would not be acceptable to Mr. Smith but which would not be acceptable to any responsible Rhodesians.

"Mr. Smith was wrong to make a unilateral declaration of independence. Mr. Wilson has by use of abusive language, and by clumsy diplomacy committed British resources to a goal which—however it may suit his personal pride—no longer represents any British interests. It is for sensible people in the middle—among whom I hope I may include Mr. Ennals—to knock their heads together."

Appalled at Waste and Inefficiency

INCOMPETENCE BY H.M. GOVERNMENT in arranging for oil supplies to Zambia through Malawi has been described by the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in that country.

Eighty-three railway wagons shipped from Sierra Leone to Beira for the transport of oil from that port to Salima, Malawi, en route for Lusaka were, he cabled, totally unsuitable; they had arrived without doors and had to be taken down and re-assembled. Perhaps 25 might be made serviceable.

Because essential parts were missing, oil storage tanks costing £2,500 each and flown to Blantyre by chartered aircraft a month earlier at a cost of £16,000 each could not be erected. To supervise their assembly an expert had had to be flown out from Britain.

Without consultation with the transport authorities in Mozambique and Malawi, two English-built 14,000 h.p. diesel-electric locomotives intended for Nigeria had been diverted to Beira, where the railway management considered that vehicles of such weight were likely to damage the permanent way. Two similar locomotives were then in transit.

Because Japanese tenderers offered much earlier delivery, a £150,000 order for 30 railway tank wagons was placed in Japan—at the cost of British taxpayers.

The message ended: "Businessmen in Malawi and Beira have told me that they are appalled at the enormous waste of money by Britain through inefficient planning and lack of foresight."

The railway for the Malawi Ministry in Mozambique have now declared the 83 wagons to be unfit for use. They had been used in Sierra Leone for a long time for the carriage of ore, and are described as "in a very poor condition."

Mr. J. K. DOUGAL, general manager of Malawi Railways, has said that when he was offered the wagons by Britain he rejected them as sub-standard and unsuitable. They were, however, already on their way to Beira.

A spokesman for the Malawi Ministry of Transport said last week: "This is a complete waste of the British taxpayers' money."

Kenya Statutory Boards Disciplined

THE DISCOVERY that the West Kenya Marketing Board had by extravagance and incompetence run up a £100,000 debt within a year has brought from the Minister of Agriculture directives which provide that no non-executive chairman of a statutory body may be paid more than £1,500 a year or draw more than £250 in consolidated allowances. He may no longer be paid a house allowance or be provided with a car. Vice-chairmen will not normally be paid. Members of boards may not receive more than £5 a day in attendance allowances, with a maximum overnight payment of £3. Without the personal permission of the Minister there may be no increase in salaries or allowances to any member of any board. All vacancies for posts with salaries above £50 a month must henceforth be advertised.

Botswana

BECHUANALAND will on September 30 become the Republic of Botswana, with Dr. Seretse Khama as executive President, a Cabinet of eight Ministers, and a Senate in place of the present House of Chiefs. Dr. Khama, whose Democratic Party holds 28 of the 31 elected seats in the National Assembly, said after the Independence Conference ended in London on Monday that Botswana's rôle would be to bridge the gap between black and white in Southern Africa by persuasion. Rapid Africanization of the administration was not envisaged. Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, is to represent the Queen at the Independence ceremonies.

Parliament**Questions and Answers About Rhodesia**

THE COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS SECRETARY has told the House of Commons: "We do not, of course, accept that the so-called Parliament which was purported to be established by the Constitution promulgated by the illegal régime in Rhodesia has any legal status. The Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia which was established under the 1961 Constitution is still lawfully in being, but under Section 3 (1) of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution Order 1965 it is prohibited from making any laws or transacting any other business. Accordingly, whether the body now sitting in Salisbury is looked at as the Parliament under the rebel Constitution or as the Legislative Assembly under the valid 1961 Constitution, its transactions have no legal effect".

THE PRIME MINISTER, when asked what the attitude of H.M. Government would be to visits to England by members of the Rhodesian Parliament, replied: "Members of the Rhodesian Legislative Assembly would be treated under our immigration control in the same way as any other Rhodesian".

MR. EVELYN KING asked if the Prime Minister would now arrange for a group of Privy Councillors, selected from all parties, to visit Rhodesia.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I do not think this is the right time".

When he was asked whether he would make a broadcast to Rhodesia giving his programme for reconstruction and reconciliation following the end of Mr. Smith's illegal régime, he replied: "My statement to the House of January 25 has been made widely known in Rhodesia, but I will certainly bear this suggestion in mind".

Prosecution for Treason Suggested

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, who had been asked by Mr. Hugh Jenkins if he would take steps to prosecute the leaders of the Rhodesian rebellion for treason, replied: "The leaders of the rebellion are not at present within the jurisdiction, and the question therefore does not arise".

MR. JENKINS: "Does my rt. hon. and learned friend recall saying that rebellion was treasonable? Is not treason a crime and is not the place for the criminal the dock rather than the negotiating table?"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: "I recall both the matters, but do not think that I ought to be drawn into considering hypothetical cases. The question of prosecution will fall for determination when it arises".

MR. IAN LLOYD: "Will the rt. hon. and learned gentleman realize that it is precisely questions of this sort which make the reopening of negotiations almost impossible?"

In answer to a number of other questions the House was told that no estimate could be made of current trade or insurance losses to Britain by sanctions against Rhodesia.

Maximum liability of the Export Credits Guarantee Department in respect of goods which could not now be shipped to Rhodesia under insured contracts was £1.4m., but the eventual figure should be substantially less, since some of the articles could be resold and manufacture of others had not been completed.

In respect of past business there might be liabilities of about £5m., with payment over about five years.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the President of the Board of Trade what advice had been given British exporters who had lost or would lose their market in Rhodesia.

MR. MASON: "I would advise them to sell in other export markets. All the services of the Department are at their disposal to help them do this".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is not that a rather flippant answer? Having by their policy of sanctions at a time of grave economic trouble for Britain thrown away a preferential market of at least £30m. a year, have the Government no useful advice to offer whatever?"

MR. MASON: "The hon. gentleman is tending to exaggerate. We have received few, if any, requests for advice, and have had brought to our notice very few cases of hardship to exporters resulting from the sanctions. The best way to reduce any loss to British trade is to bring the rebellion to an end as quickly as possible, and this is what the Government's policy of sanctions is intended to do".

MR. BARBER: "Will the hon. gentleman say whether it is in order for British exporters to keep in touch with their old customers in the hope of restoring trade after the rebellion is over, or whether this is against the advice of the Board of Trade?"

MR. MASON: "The answer is 'Yes, sir'".
SIR H. HARRISON suggested that British insurance businesses had lost premiums of £4m. in Rhodesia.

Insurance Claims

Asked whether he was aware that the action taken to suspend payment of insurance claims from the United Kingdom to Rhodesia was arousing anxiety lest similar action might be taken in the event of a political dispute between H. M. Government and Governments of other countries, the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied: "There can be no foundation whatever for any such anxiety. The Government are fully conscious of the necessity of maintaining respect for the sanctity of insurance contracts. The present situation involving the United Kingdom and Rhodesia could not arise in respect of the U.K. and an independent sovereign State. In Rhodesia we are dealing not with a political dispute between sovereign Governments but with a rebellion by persons in a dependent territory against their lawful Government. The present stop on insurance remittances to Rhodesia is temporary. It will be lifted as soon as constitutional government is restored. British insurers will then be free to pay in full any outstanding claims due to Rhodesia".

MR. BOTTOMLEY disclosed that none of the High Commissioners in former Colonial Dependencies had been a member of the Colonial Service, the highest rank yet reached in the Diplomatic Service by a former member of the Colonial Service being that of first secretary or councillor. Of the six British High Commissioners now in Africa none had any British High Commission qualifications.

Thirty-eight Army and 35 R.A.F. officers and 29 Army and 91 R.A.F. non-commissioned officers and men had been seconded for service with the armed forces of Zambia since that country became independent.

The cost of assistance to Zambia up to January 27 in consequence of economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia had been approximately £1.2m.

The cost of British civil and R.A.F. airlifts to Zambia up to February 9 had been £1.28m., and British economic support to Zambia on account of the sanctions against Rhodesia had amounted to about £2m. up to February 9.

Another 11 Army officers and three non-commissioned officers were to be seconded to Zambia to help train her new forces, and requests for further R.A.F. personnel were under consideration.

R.A.F. Javelin aircraft now in Zambia were flying about 120 hours a month, consuming 120,000 gallons of petrol.

British troops in the neighbourhood of Francistown, Bechuanaland, numbered 120. The extra cost of keeping them there was about £1,000 a month.

U.K. Censorship of Mail Denied

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL denied the statement by the Postmaster-General of Rhodesia that the use of a stereo-microscope had revealed that about one air letter in 10 recently received from Britain had been opened (and that some correspondence had been re-sealed in London with "foreign" gum).

MR. BENN told the House of Commons: "There is no censorship in this country of mail to and from Rhodesia, but, in common with overseas mail generally, mail from Rhodesia is liable to be examined for customs purposes and also to ensure that the proper postage has been paid. We keep no record of the proportion actually examined or of the staff time spent."

"Mail leaving the United Kingdom for Rhodesia or arriving in the U.K. from Rhodesia is not subject to any form of censorship in this country. Any statements or rumours to the contrary are completely without foundation."

MR. A. E. ORAM, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, said that developing countries seldom asked for the services of business experts to assist the private sector of their economies but endeavours would be made to meet any such requests. Only one volunteer had been assisted by the Ministry to help private business firms in a developing country.

When SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE pointed out that 30 former members of the Colonial Service who were living in retirement in Rhodesia had not received their Tanzanian pensions since October, MR. ORAM replied that representations had been made to Tanzania and that he was confident that payments would be resumed.

Anxieties of Copperbelt Mines Forecast of 2,000 Reduction in 2 Years

A DEEP SENSE OF INSECURITY among the white miners bedevils the copper mining industry in Zambia, according to Mr. John Bulloch, who has written in the course of a long despatch to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"The strikes by the 7,000 European miners of the Copperbelt are a symptom of the general malaise among expatriate workers. They know that their time in Zambia is limited. It is estimated that the working force of white miners will decrease by 2,000 in the next two years.

"The ordinary miner or artisan earns £150 a month, plus a large number of fringe benefits. Free passages for men and their families are provided and an average of 50 days a year paid leave. The Christmas bonus often amounts to well over £100. Bachelors can get full board in the mine messes for £15 monthly.

"The men can pay in up to 15% of their salaries to the pension funds and the companies make contributions of up to 7%. At the end of 20 years the average £150-a-month man could take out more than £5,000.

"But the men fear that the value of the Zambian currency, now on a par with sterling, will diminish. They foresee their accumulated capital being far less than its face value when they are finally allowed to remove it. The Government and the companies are trying to allay these fears, but nothing can eradicate the deep sense of insecurity now bedevilling the men."

Rhodesian Corporation Report

MR. C. J. BURNS, chairman of Rhodesian Corporation, Ltd., expresses the view in his annual statement that "many years may elapse before Rhodesia is once more able to enjoy settled conditions within an expanding economy". Consequently there can be no forecast of the effect upon the company's Rhodesian interests. Profits after tax to September 30 amounted to £80,222, against £69,162. A 5% dividend takes £31,751 (£66,203), and the carry-forward is £59,370 (£33,894). Issued capital is just above £1m. Fixed assets, and net current assets after payment of the dividend appear at £1,281,223. There are substantial investments outside Rhodesia, where the company has mining, farming, industrial and land interests.

The Uganda Coffee Marketing Board is building a central processing and storage plant in Kampala at a cost of about £1.5m.

Contracts worth over £3.2m, have been placed during the past year with Rhodesian manufacturers by Rhodesia Railways.

Imports carried by the Benguela Railway from Lobito to Zambia totalled 15,249 tons in 1965, almost three times the previous year's figure.

A second interim dividend of 10d. per share, less tax, has been declared by Charter Consolidated, Ltd., which paid a 10d. interim in December. Exchange control regulations forbid payment of dividends to shareholders in Rhodesia.

Copper production in Zambia in 1965 totalled 673,885 long tons, compared with 632,069 tons in the previous year. Total mineral output was valued at £181,493,008. In 1964 the value had been £148.7m.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers with large East African interests, report group profit after tax for 1965 at £125,430 (£105,374). A final 8% dividend makes 11% (the same), total £88,508. The carry-forward is £138,589 (£101,667).

A new Central Bank of Kenya is to have an authorized capital of £1.3m. and will cost about £600,000 to establish. It will control Kenya's share of the £66m. of currency in circulation in the three East African territories, and when the present common coinage is discontinued will issue a new Kenya shilling of the present par value.

About 60 European shift bosses and foremen failed to report for work at the Rhokana mine on Monday. It had been thought that the series of token strikes at one Copperbelt mine after another had ended. The white employees are dissatisfied at delay in negotiating contracts at substantially higher pay and also demand assurances that the pension funds will be free from currency control, and preferably held outside Zambia.

Trouble Over Soviet Aid for Kenya Some Proposals Abandoned and Others Postponed

MR. MBOYA, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, has issued a statement on the agreement made between Kenya and the Soviet Union in 1964, when the U.S.S.R. became the first foreign country with which Kenya signed an undertaking for economic co-operation.

There were to be seven loan projects and two gift projects, one for a technical college for 1,000 students and the other for a 200-bed hospital. It had since been arranged that there shall be two technical secondary schools each accommodating 500 students instead of the larger technical college, and that Soviet Russia shall provide increased teaching staffs for the schools.

The loan projects included bush clearing and irrigation on the shores of Lake Victoria (which is not now to be undertaken), provision of a 50kW. radio transmitter (now to be increased to 100kW.), a sugar factory, a cotton textile mill, a fish cannery, food and vegetable processing factories, and irrigation work on the Kano Plains (in connexion with which Soviet experts are to work out a report with Kenya officials).

Some of these projects have now been indefinitely postponed because the Russians had worked to raise money by selling their goods in Kenya. "Even supposing it possible to sell these goods in Kenya—and the Kenya Government could not undertake to do so as a matter of policy—the method would take too long, and people cannot be expected to wait indefinitely", said Mr. Mboya.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's Visit

(Concluded from page 479)

Mr. Wilson: "Distaste is feeling which affects some of us on other matters. We have had a Privy Councillor in Rhodesia this week, and hope to hear from him when he finally comes back. If Privy Councillors, when they go, are not allowed to see the people they ask to see it might diminish the value of the visit."

Mr. Snow: "Whereas a Parliamentary delegation will probably be desirable at the right moment, a visit of Privy Councillors will not meet with undiluted enthusiasm."

Mr. Wilson: "I am prepared to consider that. I proposed a mission of Privy Councillors to Mr. Smith as long ago as December, 1964. I would like to see more signs that Privy Councillors will be allowed to meet the people they want to, if we propose this."

Mr. Heath: "All the information which Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has been able to obtain in 10 days will be made available to the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary if they wish; but the cheap sneers which Mr. Wilson has just made do not give one any confidence that it is going to receive proper consideration."

Mr. Wilson: "The words I used were based on the assumption that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd would be desirous of reporting to everyone who is concerned with this Rhodesian problem. I am a little concerned to see—perhaps Mr. Heath will reassure me—whether Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has made quite clear, as the Leader of the Opposition said in a public statement in *Punch* that there could be no question of negotiating with Mr. Smith until he calls off illegal independence. I would like to know whether the Opposition stick to that in Rhodesia."

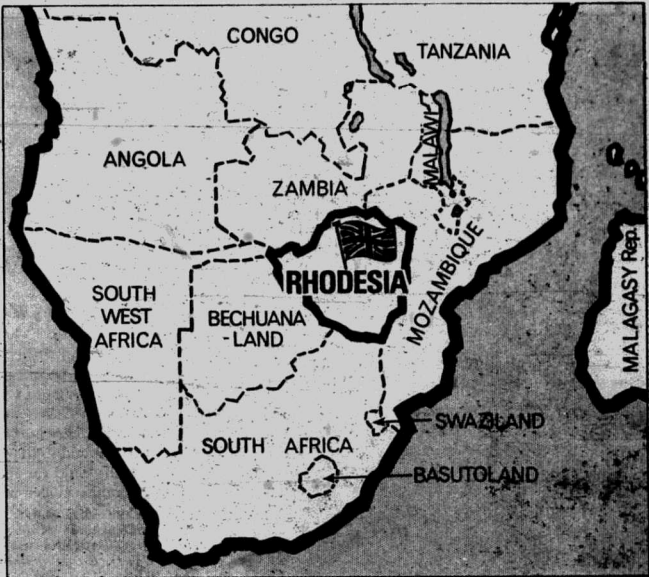
In the Rhodesian Parliament Mr. A. P. Smith, Minister of Education, refuted Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's suggestion that the Rhodesian electorate had not understood that there was a middle course. A middle course had been advocated by the supporters of federation and also by the Rhodesia Party in last year's general election in Rhodesia—when every candidate of that party had been defeated.

Commission on Corruption Charges

DR. OBOYE, Prime Minister of Uganda, has announced the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption made in the National Assembly against three named Cabinet Ministers by Mr. Daudi Ocheng, leader of the Kabaka Yekka Party. His charges against Colonel Idi Amin, Deputy Commander of the Uganda Army, are to be dealt with under the Armed Forces Act, under which the police were instructed to call upon Mr. Ocheng to substantiate his allegations by Saturday last. His statement, when recorded, was to be forwarded to the Minister of Justice and the Army, with the intention that the law should take its due course.

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

Mr. Ian Smith,
Prime Minister,
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

BLACK AFRICA forcefully but unconsciously argues the Rhodesian case each day by the antics of its politicians and the reactions of their sorely stricken victims. That very obvious fact is,

Black Africa Proves The Rhodesian Case.

however, still treated as inexistent by the ineffably foolhardy political misleaders in the West whose stubbornly doctrinaire attitude is basically responsible for the Rhodesian declaration of independence, as it had previously been for the establishment of the tyrannical régimes in Black Africa which are now undergoing the "toppling" process which they had fatuously declared to be the imminent fate of Mr. Smith and his Cabinet in Rhodesia. Last week's revolution in Ghana was the fourth in Africa within two months, and the eighth in nine months. In no continent at any time have there been so many collapses in so short a time. So shocking a series of proofs of the instability of allegedly "independent" States proves not only the incompetence of their African leaders, but also the puerility of the politicians in Europe who so recklessly surrendered the trusteeship for scores of millions of Africans which had been confided to their country. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was for years almost alone in rejecting the glib talk of the theorists in and out of Parliament, in the Press, in the universities, and elsewhere, who ceaselessly propagated the ridiculous idea of the immediate enfranchisement of all Africans, including the illiterate, and almost immediate self-rule for their territories, even though many of them had scarcely any Africans qualified to discharge the heavy responsibilities involved. Men in the Western world who would have scorned the idiotic notion of thrusting a white graduate in his early twenties from Oxford, Cambridge, Yale, or Harvard into a Cabinet, professed to see no incongruity in the sentimental senselessness of doing just that with a black graduate of similar age, often one from an unimpressive educational institution in the United States.

As was foreseen by men with wide experience of Africa—whose advice was deliberately and consistently ignored by the politicians of all the parties—most of the Governments thus created would have collapsed almost immediately.

Long Continued Political Folly.

but for the momentum which they had inherited from the Colonial régimes and the work behind the scenes of able Europeans devoted to Africa, most of whom soon retired because they could no longer tolerate the deceptions, corruption, and other calamities which replaced the high standards of the colonialism which tricky publicists have so shamefully traduced. Socialist left-wingers, eagerly aided by the London School of Economics and the *New Statesman* in particular, began decades ago to agitate for the destruction of the Colonial Empire, and found enthusiastic allies in the American commercial quarters which stood to gain greatly and in transatlantic cultural circles. It took some time for the rot (in all senses of the word) to spread to a Conservative Party in Britain which still called itself "the party of Empire", but just over six years ago Mr. Macmillan decided that, with the zealous co-operation of Mr. Macleod, he could and would whip up the wind of change to hurricane force. A submissive Cabinet and supine party accepted the policy of scuttle. The wreckage is today strewn all over East and Central Africa—except Rhodesia, which would not and will not accept demolition by *Diktat* from London.

* * *

Kenya, bluffed and bullied into submission to the "Macblundell" Constitution, had the experience of finding that document rejected by its African signatories before the ink was dry without a word of reproach from the British Government, let alone retaliatory action. Having got rid of the Kenya issue with totally unexpected ease, the

Macmillan Government proceeded to cast Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar into the discard, and then applied itself with equally cynical insolence and zest to the destruction of the Central African Federation, the most promising experiment in multi-racialism in all Africa; and, incidentally, the creation of its own party. The Federation, which had not been given time to establish itself, was to be sacrificed in order that independence might be thrust upon Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, two of the constituent territories — but denied to the third partner, Southern Rhodesia, despite the fact that she had been entirely self-governing in internal affairs since 1923. Though alerted by the unending evasions of their duty by the mismanagers of Britain's affairs in Africa, Rhodesia's leaders did not take sufficiently strong action to safeguard the future of their country, for they could still not bring themselves to believe that the plan was to sacrifice it to the claptrap clamour of and on behalf of the careerist politicians who had already plunged much of Africa into misery and bloodshed and were certain to spread calamity over other vast areas of the continent. Such names as Ghana, Congo, Kenya, Sudan, Zanzibar, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Malawi — and now unhappily also Nigeria, Zambia, and Uganda — have become symbolic of instability and insecurity at the least and in general also of debasement of all standards, corruption, violence erupting in frequent murders, and in some of the above countries in scores of thousands of killings. It is this pattern of "progress" which Rhodesians reject.

Despite these recent tragedies all over East, Central, and West Africa, British politicians have failed to support the sound Rhodesian principle that the advancement of Africans in politics, as in all other activities, should be earned by competence, experience, and proven trustworthiness. Details of constitutional change have been and are negotiable, but there will certainly be no surrender on that basic requirement. By its savagery the Wilson Government is rapidly driving the mass of South Africans and the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola to make common cause with Rhodesians in their resistance to dictatorship from Europe and to pressure from the Dis-united Nations, the farcically named Organization of African Unity (when disunity is its distinguishing characteristic), and the financial and other forces by which those bodies are influenced and incited. The Conservative Party in Britain most foolishly acquiesced in the many contradictions and changes of the Socialist

leaders, and it has needed the visit of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to Rhodesia to convince the Shadow Cabinet that the Smith Government will not be brought down by financial and economic sanctions and that there ought to be immediate discussions. Whether Rhodesia will become a prominent issue in the general election campaign which will rage throughout this month remains to be seen. Mr. Heath thinks not. We greatly hope that that judgment will be proved wrong, for large numbers of Britons are deeply disturbed at the calamitous state of Africa today, are convinced that Rhodesia has been most shabbily treated by Westminster and Whitehall, and would respond to appeals from Parliamentary candidates for support for a policy which would re-establish British honour. Is it not significant that politicians now speak almost always of "Britain", no longer of "Great Britain"? It is they who have deprived the country of its greatness by failing to give the required leadership. There has been no vision in public affairs; and where there is no vision the people perish.

Statements Worth Noting

"Britain is getting government by gimmick and by gobbet, and the gulf between promise and performance grows wider every day" — Mr. Peter Hordern, M.P.

"A European farmer in Kenya suffering from cancer was offered for his farm 45% of the price at which it had been valued by the Central Land Board" — Mr. R. Turton, M.P.

"Those who cannot rise above envy continue to speak as if independence meant the abolition of work and the demolition of other people's property" — President Kenyatta.

"The disturbing thing about local government is that very few councils see it as their responsibility to balance their budgets" — Mr. J. W. Lwamafa, Minister of Regional Administrations in Uganda.

"The British Government must realize that if the Smith Government is not stopped soon it will pay very heavy damage which will last at least 15 years" — Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia.

"Rhodesia has a very liberal archival policy. Access to public documents is allowed when they are only 30 years old. In England the rule is 50 years" — Mr. T. W. Baxter, director of the National Archives.

"Britain's presence in Aden enabled us in 1964 to suppress the mutinies in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. This may well have saved East Africa from becoming another Congo" — Mr. Julian Amery, M.P.

"I have agreed to launch an appeal to raise a least £20,000 in Uganda for the purchase of polio vaccine. The United Kingdom will contribute a similar amount as a direct result of the interest shown by Lord Snowdon during his visit to Uganda" — Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister.

"The removal of European power should have led to African unity; it has in fact led to Balkanization. The cutting of colonial bonds should have meant fast economic advance; it has in fact meant stagnation or worse" — Mr. William Clark, director of the Overseas Development Institute.

Conservatives Unite in Demanding Talks with Rhodesia

Critical Parliamentary Motion Ends Policy of Bipartisanship with Socialists

THE CONSERVATIVE SHADOW CABINET has tabled in the House of Commons an early-day motion reading:—

"RHODESIAN SITUATION: That this House, noting that the Prime Minister's approach of January 25 has proved abortive, calls upon H.M. Government to initiate talks with Mr. Smith and his colleagues with the aim of achieving a constitutional settlement in Rhodesia".

The signatories were Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Mr. Duncan Sandys, Mr. Christopher Soames, and Mr. Enoch Powell, who together lead the Commonwealth, foreign affairs, and defence groups of the Opposition.

Early-day motions are designed to attract support from members of a party. In a debate on Rhodesia just before the Christmas recess the Conservatives were split three ways. Though Mr. Heath asked them to refrain from voting, a considerable number of Tories voted against the Government and some with the Government on the issue of imposing an embargo on the supply of oil to Rhodesia.

Six days before the above motion was tabled, Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, had said in Birmingham that one of the tests which he would apply in deciding whether or not to have an early general election would be that of the ability of the Government "to speak clearly on behalf of Britain with overseas statesmen".

No Alternative Government

Previously in the Commons he had more than once challenged the Opposition to table a critical motion on Rhodesia, and had made it clear that he would regard it as a motion of censure.

Soon after the tabling of the motion Mr. Heath said when interviewed about Rhodesia in a television programme:—

"Talks should be begun with Mr. Smith. The results would depend greatly on who handled the talks and how. If I were Prime Minister I would arrange for such talks which I believe a very large number of people in this country want."

"I asked Mr. Selwyn Lloyd to go to Rhodesia. He talked to more than 300 people, of whom more than 60 were Africans. Everybody told him that there is no alternative Government to that of Mr. Smith, who is completely in control.

"Sanctions are having an effect, but it is most unlikely that sanctions, including the oil sanctions, will bring down the Rhodesian economy. What they have done has been to make everybody move into line behind Mr. Smith.

"There should be talks without prior conditions on either side. Mr. Smith should not make it a condition that the illegality of the declaration of independence should be recognized, and Mr. Wilson should not make unconditional surrender a condition. His so-called peace offer of January 25 amounted to a demand for unconditional surrender and is quite unacceptable to everybody in Rhodesia. We need talks in order to reach a constitutional settlement.

"Mr. Wilson is quite ready for negotiations with North Vietnam without any prior conditions. Why should he not be equally willing for unconditional talks with Rhodesia?"

Before the Tory leaders tabled their motion Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had addressed a largely attended private meeting of the Conservative Commonwealth Affairs Committee. It was said afterwards that among those

present were a number of the M.P.s. who had disregarded the advice of their leader and voted with the Government in favour of oil sanctions, but that none of them had dissented from the conclusions reached by Mr. Lloyd.

It was officially stated that the meeting had "unanimously endorsed the conclusions which Mr. Lloyd outlined—namely, that no time should now be lost in starting talks between Britain and Rhodesia with a view to finding a constitutional settlement, neither on the basis of the illegal U.D.I. on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, on Mr. Wilson's demand for unconditional surrender made in the House of Commons on January 25".

Sir Alec Douglas-Home had appealed for a united party policy on Rhodesia when he addressed a private meeting of the 1922 Committee of Conservative back-benchers.

Former Junior Minister Censured

Mr. Richard Hornby, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies in the last Conservative Government, who in December voted for oil sanctions against Rhodesia, is to face a vote of censure at the annual meeting of the Conservative Association of his constituency, Tonbridge, Kent. The honorary treasurer, Mr. Frank May, and his wife, also a member of the executive committee, have already resigned in protest. The resolution asks the association to select another candidate in place of Mr. Hornby.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., a vice-chairman of the Commonwealth Affairs Committee of the Conservative Parliamentary Party, said when addressing Newcastle University: "Rhodesia seems likely to win the economic war waged by Mr. Wilson.

"Salisbury and Bulawayo are thronged with foreigners who will sell Rhodesian goods at a price, part of that price being a share after sanctions of a market hitherto almost exclusively British. Mr. Wilson misjudged the patriotism and determination of men and women of British stock. He will have to talk or use force, either direct or through the United Nations. The Conservative Party are now united in demanding talks before lasting hatred is built up against Britain throughout Southern Africa.

"Talk or fight—these are the alternatives, however much Mr. Wilson tries to disguise the fact. By all means let us fight a general election on this issue".

Anglo-Rhodesian Society's Petition

INDIVIDUAL EFFORT by people deeply concerned for a fair settlement of the Rhodesian crisis has enabled scores of thousands of people to sign the petition forms issued by the Anglo-Rhodesian Society.

Mr. J. Gwynne-Evans, a London member, had by last week personally obtained more than 1,700 signatures, mainly at Underground stations, one of his friends had another 350, and Mrs. Mary de Mey, of Oxford, had secured upwards of 1,350 signatures.

Another lady, who would not even give her name, took to the office of the society forms bearing just over 1,300 names. Mrs. Haddon-Paton, of Tring, has also passed the 1,000 mark.

The petition calls for early negotiations with Mr. Smith and protests against the use of force.

Forms can still be obtained from 1 Dover Street, London, W.1.; but the society wants them to be returned by March 15 for collation and presentation to the Prime Minister.

British Policy of Sanctions Against Rhodesia Has Failed

Accumulating Evidence that Mr. Wilson Has Misled Himself and Those Who Accepted His Assurances

DR. VERWOERD, Prime Minister of South Africa, said on Monday that if Britain, an ally of the United States, could continue to trade with Cuba and North Vietnam, it was even more natural for South Africa to continue normal trading with her close neighbour Rhodesia.

The British Government having "expressed concern about certain developments", South Africa had replied by "expressing concern to Britain about certain events in the Republic"—an obvious reference to British Embassy officials having been sent to Beitbridge to report on road traffic with Rhodesia. Britain had been told of South Africa's determination "to adhere to her principle of non-interference and refusal to participate in any boycott against Rhodesia".

"Let it be perfectly clear", he said, "that quantities do not affect principles. We do not believe in sanctions; and if any commodity available in this country is traded with Rhodesia, whether it be groceries, steel, machinery, oil, or petrol, the Government would be taking part in a boycott if it were to impede such trade". An international petroleum consultant who was commissioned by the United Nations to assess the impact of the oil embargo on Rhodesia has reported that, excluding from consideration whatever new supplies may be obtained from South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola, there is enough oil in Rhodesia to meet its requirements under rationing until the middle of this year.

Rhodesia's economy would be "significantly affected", Mr. Walter Levy's report stated, but that "if the question were one of survival, the availability of oil in itself would certainly not be the decisive consideration during the next few months".

Petrol Arriving by Rail and Road

Press telegrams from Salisbury on Monday stated that 44 rail tankers, each holding about 7,000 gallons of petrol, had entered Rhodesia in four days by the line from Lourenço Marques.

Reports from Beitbridge state that the transport of petroleum products into Rhodesia from South Africa was maintained throughout last week at not less than the previous level of about 35,000 gallons daily, with the probability that the 40,000 gallon mark has been reached. At least 30,000 gallons a day are believed by Johannesburg newspapers to have been bought commercially by Genta, a company registered in Rhodesia to buy oil externally for the Government. Most of the transport is in Rhodesian-owned road tankers.

The Petrol for Rhodesia Fund of South Africa sent another 25,000 gallons of petrol at the week-end, and the chairman, Mr. J. Cuyler, said that "we expect to send another big consignment soon". The 25,000 gallons had cost about £5,000.

At the week-end it was reported that Mr. Geoffrey Ellman Brown, chairman of the Rhodesia Sugar Association, had negotiated a sale to Portugal of a "substantial" amount of the forthcoming sugar crop, which is estimated at about 300,000 tons, worth at least £7m. As Portugal produces cane sugar in Mozambique and Angola, buyers would be unaware of the origin of the sugar.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, has made a broadcast appeal to Rhodesians of all races to support a national savings campaign beginning this week which is designed to demonstrate to the world that "Rhodesians have no intention of allowing Mr. Wilson to damage Rhodesia's development plans". Hav-

ing political independence, the country must maintain its financial independence. The campaign is supported by the banks, building societies, and organized commercial and industrial bodies.

The recent Independence Bonds have raised about £400,000 within a month.

Mr. Jonathan Aitken, prospective Conservative candidate for Meriden, who accompanied Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on his visit to Rhodesia as his private secretary, said in Nether Whitacre last week that sanctions would not bring down Rhodesia in the foreseeable future.

Rhodesia Has Withstood Blitzkrieg

"Sanctions Have Failed" was the caption given by the *Sunday Times* to a cable from its correspondent in Rhodesia, Mr. Ronald Legge, who reported, *inter alia*—

"The blitzkrieg which Mr. Wilson was apparently advised would lead to the swift collapse of the 'rebel' Government in Rhodesia has been successfully withstood. Visitors are amazed to find, three months after sanctions were imposed, how little sign of hardship is apparent. Commerce is still thriving. Shortages of luxury items and constitute nothing more than minor irritations. Unemployment is much lower than had been anticipated.

"There is every reason to believe that the oil embargo has been circumvented. The 'trickle' of a few weeks ago across the South African border has become a steady stream and may well provide sufficient for the country's needs under rationing until crude oil flows again along the pipeline from Beira.

"Mr. Wilson's clampdown on Rhodesian trade with Zambia, costly though it will prove to Britain herself, may be too late. The whole political and economic pattern of Central and Southern Africa has been undergoing rapid change.

"Even Mr. Smith's political opponents of a few months ago are straining every sinew to help the régime defeat sanctions. Most whites see their country cast in the heroic mould of 'gallant little Belgium' in the 1914-18 war or Finland in her defiance of Russia before World War II."

Next day the *Guardian* gave prominence to a telegram from its Salisbury correspondent, whose cable said (in part):—

Mr. Wilson Hopelessly Wrong

"Successive time limits laid down in Whitehall have been hopelessly wrong. Mr. Wilson cannot hope to meet his July deadline for the Smith régime's collapse. Barring British military intervention, Mr. Smith and his Government have a sporting chance of pulling off their coup, but at the risk of a damaged economy.

"Without taking recent dramatic occurrences in West and East Africa into account—and they could not have been better timed for the white Rhodesians—what is the current credit account for Rhodesia? The British Government has always regarded oil and tobacco as keys to the sanctions onslaught. The denial of oil was intended to bring down the economy quickly and topple the régime.

"A big hole has been punched in the oil embargo with big quantities of petrol coming by road and rail from South Africa and Mozambique, and there are signs of the flow increasing. Other essential oil supplies such as diesel lubricants, are coming from South Africa.

"With tremendous popular support for Mr. Smith's cause boiling up in South Africa, it is likely that these beat-the-ban supplies will continue until crude oil in sufficient quantities start coming again to Beira for the Feruka refinery.

"Rhodesian and South African oil companies are in cahoots on this traffic, and British-based companies, such is the irony of this situation, are making the running.

"Confident estimates are that a fair proportion of the tobacco crop, the world's best Virginia tobacco, will be sold. The new Tobacco Corporation will buy in unsold tobacco, so that the 3,000 farmers will be able to maintain their incomes, pay their debts, and plant their next crops.

"Chrome, asbestos, and other minerals are being exported

in fairly big quantities. Exports are well maintained and imports are down, giving Rhodesia a satisfactory balance of payments.

"Businessmen are using a lot of ingenuity to beat sanctions. British and foreign firms doing business with Rhodesia are also using many ingenious and devious methods to maintain their links and to export and import goods through Ireland, South Africa, Portugal, and other countries.

"Politically Mr. Smith is stronger than ever. Britain can forget the 'Shadow Cabinet' myth. Many Rhodesians share the views of Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Sir Hugh Beadle, the Governor and Chief Justice, that the British Government should initiate talks with the Smith régime as a firmly-in-power *de facto* Government before the Rhodesian economy is gravely damaged, thus bringing into chaos the whole of the Central African economy on which millions depend.

"The Smith régime and its cause have been immeasurably strengthened by such events as the toppling of Nkrumah, the takeover in Nigeria, and the internal difficulties of other African Governments, which suggest that pressures on Rhodesia will be relaxed as African leaders realize that they must pay more attention to internal problems and less to ideological crusades against the white South. Another is the closing of the white laager with South Africa and Portugal, who are giving virtually open aid to Rhodesia.

"Is Britain to wage economic war against the whole of the white South? That seems to be the implication if the sanctions are to be effective. It all seems a terrifying prospect of escalation, and only Mr. Wilson knows if he can carry Britain with him. Mr. Smith's strongest card is the breakdown of the bipartisan approach by Britain's two main parties. It looks as though Mr. Smith's incredible rebellion might well succeed".

Increasing Pressure for Negotiations with Rhodesia

London Newspaper's Poll Shows 71.5 per cent. in Favour of Talks

LORD STAMP suggested at the beginning of this week that an all-party committee of Privy Counsellors should be formed to negotiate a settlement of the Rhodesian crisis, subject to Parliamentary approval. It was, he emphasized, a case of "now or never".

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME wrote in the *Sunday Express*—

"The sanctions designed by Mr. Wilson to crush Rhodesia's economy have united the whole country behind Mr. Smith. Mr. Wilson was warned that this would be so, but he persisted in this form of force and dropped vague hints that United Nations intervention might follow. Even with all the turmoil and violence in Africa, all the Socialist Government has concentrated upon is bringing Rhodesia to its knees.

"The only commonsense thing is to reopen talks now without any preconditions, the agreed goal to be a settlement within a constitutional framework. The effort must be made unless relentless tragedy is to take charge and engulf Europeans and Africans alike".

De facto Recognition Recommended

CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE, chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., who has frequently visited Rhodesia, said in Salisbury last week that the British Government should give Mr. Smith's Government *de facto* recognition as a basis for the resumption of negotiations, which he considered to be "quite essential".

MR. KENNETH LEWIS, M.P., wrote in *The Times*:—"Since the Prime Minister was prepared to discuss the railwaymen's pay claim with Mr. Sydney Greene under threat of strike action, and despite the fact that the N.U.R. had acted quite improperly in not following through the whole negotiating machinery, why can't Mr. Wilson talk to Mr. Smith on Rhodesia? Rhodesia is as important to Africa and this country as was the rail dispute for the incomes and economic policy".

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., said on Saturday that in considering the problem of Rhodesia the country should not ignore the establishment of dictatorships in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Zanzibar, and other places and the virtual disappearance of political opposition in other Commonwealth countries in Africa.

"To the five principles for a Rhodesian settlement about which Mr. Wilson speaks he should have given equal prominence to a sixth—that time would be needed to remove suspicions and fears and show that majority rule could be introduced without danger to the maintenance of essential human rights and the rule of law.

"He has said that 'the time required cannot be measured by clock or calendar but only by achievement'. Before the white population of Rhodesia can be expected to have confidence in black majority rule, they will need to see the

achievement of stability and freedom in other parts of Africa. The African leaders who press for 'one-man-one-vote' in Rhodesia can best accelerate this process by showing that the rule of law and human rights are effectively safeguarded in their own countries".

SIR FREDERICK BENNETT, M.P., said in Torquay:—

"Given the polite brush-off in Moscow, mocked by Peking, and repeatedly snubbed by North Vietnam, Wilson has the solace, at least until recently, of proudly flexing his muscles in a personal vendetta with Ian Smith. Now it seems likely that even in this contest he will earn only humiliation, unfortunately for this country as well as himself".

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS TUKER has said in the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in support of talks with the Rhodesian Government:

"It would be as well that we British should examine our own past behaviour and present sanctions in order to realize how far we ourselves have been responsible for U.D.I. and for this final alienation of our Rhodesians, before then 100% loyal friends. To begin with we might stop throwing verbal bricks at Mr. Ian Smith, who is after all the elected Prime Minister".

Immediate negotiations with Mr. Ian Smith "with a view to be a satisfactory solution to the Rhodesian problem" were favoured by 71.5% of people questioned by the *Daily Express* in a public opinion poll on major political matters. The Rhodesian issue was made on the first question.

"Rhodesia in No Difficulty"

On the day on which the results were announced the leader page of the paper had a dispatch cabled from Salisbury by Mr. George Gale to which six-column headings were given, reading: "Your Move, Mr. Wilson: 104 Days After U.D.I. I find Rhodesia in No Difficulty".

The Rhodesian Prime Minister was quoted as saying: "Wilson will have to concede defeat or talk his way around it. We will not concede defeat because we cannot be defeated".

The report stated, *inter alia*:—

"There are certain crude but effective ways of discovering quickly and easily whether a country is in serious trouble. You find out whether there is a black market in its currency; you see whether there are goods in the shops and the prices are stable; you look for police and troops in usual numbers; and you listen to the talk of business men. By these tests Rhodesia is in no trouble at all.

"In so far as sanctions have had any political effect, they have hardened opinion behind Smith and against Wilson.

"If Harold Wilson is sincere in his purpose to effect a change in the political structure of Rhodesia he will

find it easier to do so by recognizing the regime than by seeking uselessly and vindictively to destroy it by sanctions which are not working and cannot work.

"With the probability that by the end of next week the first of two oil tankers will arrive at Beira and crude oil will again be pumped through to Rhodesia's refinery at Feruka, and the probability too that Rhodesia will manage to sell its tobacco, it will become evident even to Mr. Wilson that his sanctions have failed substantially to damage the economy.

"Punitive sanctions make no economic sense whatsoever, and serve only the highly suspect political expedient of appeasing certain member States of the Organization of African Unity.

"It is arrant hypocrisy to continue to talk of Smith as a 'rebel' and his Government as 'illegal'. Against whom does Smith rebel? Apparently against Britain—which has declined to exercise any effective authority in Rhodesia since 1923.

"In what respect is Smith's Government illegal? I do not know how any Government in evident control over its territory and administering law and maintaining order can be held to be illegal.

"The only lawful authority in Rhodesia is that exercised by Mr. Smith, which commands a Parliament duly elected and achieved under a British-approved Constitution.

"The initiative lies with Harold Wilson. 'We are prepared to talk', says Smith. 'We are in the ridiculous position that the British Government are not prepared for talks'."

Rhodesians Defiant and Optimistic

"Rhodesians Defiant and Optimistic" was the caption given that same day to a leader-page article in *The Times* from a special correspondent who had returned to London only a few days previously.

Starting with the statement that "a spirit of defiant optimism prevails in Rhodesia today as it enters its fourth month after the assumption of independence", the writer concluded:—

"Whatever the outcome may be of the Rhodesian crisis, the white population appears anxious to demonstrate its self-efficiency. Many people will admit that a greater degree of multi-racialism is inevitable and some are consciously preparing for it. The rest are content to leave the timing to Mr. Smith."

Talk of military intervention or of cutting off the Zambian market seemed likely only to strengthen the determination to resist.

"A leading tobacco farmer, a prominent member of the Rhodesian Front, spoke for many when he described the feeling to me: 'Right is on the side of Rhodesia, and there is no price too high for us to pay to support our just and true cause'."

The special correspondent found that even Mr. Smith's opponents agreed that he had the support of 90% of the non-African population.

While in the Umtali district he crossed into Mozambique at the Forbes border post, and 200 yards inside Portuguese territory filled up his tanks with petrol at 3s. 9d. a gallon for top grade, 1s. below the price ruling in Rhodesia. Many cars bearing the "Forward Rhodesia" sticker were following his example.

Commonwealth Reform Part of the Rhodesian Problem

MR. PHILIP WILLS, of Kits Close, Fawley, Henley-on-Thames, wrote in *The Times*:—

"I have just returned from a visit to Rhodesia, which I have known well for many years, during which I met prominent industrial, commercial, and political leaders, including Mr. Ian Smith. I am quite certain that the Rhodesian crisis is but the most painful instance of the current centrifugal disintegration of the British Commonwealth.

"I believe that there is no prospect of an acceptable solution unless the reason for this disintegration is isolated and corrective action is taken. This reason, I submit, is that the Commonwealth is an unprincipled association—that is, it has no accepted rules (or standards) to which its members must conform. Even a golf club must have rules to hold it together; how much more an international club of sovereign States.

"The rules must obviously be drawn up with care. They might include such things as freedom of speech, of assembly, and possibly of the Press: full diplomatic recognition; and

the maintenance of peace between all members. They must not include 'one man, one vote', a formula which has been debauched to introduce and maintain dictatorship in many countries; on the other hand, provisions must be made to ensure there is a road to the top for all citizens irrespective of colour. Any member not conforming to these rules as from some date to be agreed would be automatically excluded from all benefits.

"Such an association would regain its discipline and self-respect. In the case of Rhodesia, she would be given the opportunity to rejoin, in the knowledge that should she do so she could trust us—which she does not at present.

"We shall not solve the Rhodesian tragedy in weeks, months, or years in any way short of her destruction, a solution unacceptable to any Englishman, except by tackling its roots in this way. Commonwealth Reform is one of the great political issues of this decade. The people of this country are ready for it—indeed are longing for it. So, I have good reason to believe, would be the people of Rhodesia."

Rebels Against Betrayal

MR. ROBERT WELCH, a well-known American political analyst, has written in *American Opinion*: "The Rhodesians are the first former members of the British Empire to have the courage and sense to rebel against being betrayed into Communist hands. Their step is of extreme importance to the free world. If they can stand up under the incredible pressures being turned loose upon them, their brave and judicious action might mark a decisive turning point in the history of our time."

MR. ERIC BUTLER, national director of the Australian League of Rights, has written: "On November 11 Prime Minister Ian Smith and a handful of Europeans in Rhodesia, determined to uphold civilized bastions and discharge their responsibilities to their African brothers, struck a massive blow against the forces of world revolution. By their courageous stand the Rhodesians have precipitated an international campaign which reveals the nature of the conspiracy against civilization.

"While Western leaders in London and Washington are allegedly directing a campaign of resistance against the Communist criminals in Moscow and Peking, they are in fact uniting with those same criminals in the threat of the common objective of destroying the Smith Government. Socialist Prime Minister Wilson in Britain calls for the destruction of a civilized Government in Rhodesia while advocating peaceful co-existence with the criminals of the Kremlin."

Peace-Makers

THUS SPAKE THE FUEHRER: Here we stand,
The Friends of Peace in the Fatherland!
Sieg heil! — But should you try
To interfere with the Master-Race
When getting a lot more living-space,
I shan't stand idly by!

The whole wide world once felt the glow
Of brotherly love from Uncle Joe
(The Left adored the guy);
But those who sought to co-exist
Soon felt his ideological fist.
He didn't stand idly by!

And now there's Wilson flushed and hoarse
From deprecating the use of force
In deals with U.D.I.
But double-talk from Downing Street
Is a busted flush with the black élite:
Kaunda's boots are on his seat,
And he can't stand idly by.

LEWIS HASTINGS

Rhodesians Qualified to Control Their Own Destiny

Removal of Intimidation Has Greatly Increased Racial Harmony

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT said in a nation-wide radio and television talk after he had signed the Bill ratifying Rhodesia's 1965 Constitution:—

"This is our instrument of independence, the foundation on which the sovereign State of Rhodesia is based. It represents the endorsement and acceptance by the people of Rhodesia of my Government's action in cutting the final strings that bound us to Britain.

"Rhodesia has been slandered and exposed to the hatred and envy of Communist-inspired evildoers, and despite this, or rather perhaps because of it, we feel all the more assured of the justness and correctness of our decision; and, by reason of our firm stand, we are not alone in this hostile world. The people of the world, if not their Governments, are no longer prepared to accept the lowering of the standards of civilization which must result in the degradation of morals, in loss of faith in the sanctity of contracts, and in the written and spoken word.

British Government's Duplicity and Spitefulness

"As each day brings with it fresh evidence of duplicity and spitefulness on the part of those now governing Britain, it is evident that the majority of the people of Britain are disenchanted with the attitude of their Government and its handling of the Rhodesian situation. There is tangible evidence of sympathy and support not only in South Africa but in other countries, such as America, New Zealand, Australia and France, where many thousands of people are now beginning to recognize the justice of the stand we have taken in Africa. Our struggle is at last being seen in its true perspective. This is growing, and will grow, until its final conclusion of world recognition of independent Rhodesia and world acceptance of its Government, not only as the *de facto* but also as the *de jure* political administration of the people of this country.

"Many of us have been a little sad at the rancour which has been developing against Britain in this country. Some harsh and bitter things have been said of the British Government, and with good reason, but I know that Rhodesians will continue to conduct their personal relations with the British people without hatred or acrimony. Besides being our friends, they are in many cases our relatives.

Growing Confidence

"A mere three months ago the Government of Britain took the first step leading to what they confidently believed would be the destruction of Rhodesia. They savoured, albeit prematurely, the economic annihilation of the infant Rhodesian State. Happily, however, the same spirit which activated a handful of pioneers of British and Afrikaans stock to win a civilization from barbarism, called a halt to the headlong plunge of those who would have had Rhodesia resort to its previous state.

"Unfortunately, the trials and tribulations were increased by the most disastrous drought in living memory. For a time nature seemed to conspire with British politicians to bring about the downfall of Rhodesia. Let us thank God that this has now passed; and the portents are that we shall achieve the realization of our goal—a proud and prosperous Rhodesia taking its place alongside the civilized nations of the world.

"We are aware of the growing confidence among our commercial, industrial and agricultural communities. Things are on the move again. But do not let us view

the future with complacency, as we do not know what further plans our enemies have in store. Let us rather take stock, consolidate, and plan for the future.

"In three short months Rhodesians have demonstrated to the whole world that we have attained maturity, and, in the midst of a strife-torn, blood-soaked world, that we are as qualified as any people anywhere to take control of our own destiny. In the very short time since November 11, 1965, this fair land has enjoyed standards of law and order which must without doubt be the envy of the world.

Africans Support the Government

"With the removal of the root cause of intimidation among the African people, racial harmony here is greater today than it has been in the last 20 years. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the African people, individually and through the tribal authorities, have demonstrated their support for my Government's action, and their tremendous relief at having escaped the horrors of rabid and brutal black nationalism.

"The Africans of Rhodesia are a conservative people, and, like their European compatriots, seek only progress and advancement for themselves and their country in an atmosphere of tolerance and fair play. Surely, if the world seeks further proof of the desire for independence in this country, it can be found in this unanimity of purpose which today exists among Rhodesians of all colours.

"In spite of sanctions and the consequent difficult financial problems, my Government is ploughing back increasingly large sums of money into the tribal areas for development schemes and projects designed to uplift and benefit the African in the fields of education, health, agriculture, commerce, and industry. They do not intend to allow even a vicious economic war to interfere with the plans for the development of our country in all its spheres for the benefit of all; and Rhodesia has every right to be proud of its record in this respect during the last three months.

Tribute to Rhodesian Women

"Rhodesia owes a special debt of gratitude to its womenfolk, who have put up with shortages and inconvenience and in some cases lost employment to their men. Their determination, and above all their sense of humour, have been magnificent in responding to all the demands made on them. And if the large volume of personal mail which I receive daily, the telephone calls, and personal approaches from the women of Rhodesia can be regarded as criteria, then there is nothing to fear. The future of any country is assured by its womenfolk. I am content in the knowledge that in this respect Rhodesia's future is well endowed indeed.

"Through fate and the destinies of history, but certainly not through our own choice, this new nation, our Rhodesia, finds itself in the forefront of the battle against the forces of evil and oppression in Africa. We have many enemies, but the number of our friends is growing. To these our friends I would say: 'Trust us; we will not let you down'. To our enemies I would say: 'You may perhaps attempt to destroy us, but you will never obtain our surrender'."

"By 1970 Kenya should have tarmac from Mombasa to Kisumu and from Tororo to Namanga"—Mr. D. Mwanyumba, Minister for Works in Kenya.

PERSONALIA *Obituary*

PRESIDENT LUEBKE of Western Germany has been visiting East Africa.

PRESIDENT MOPUTU and PRIME MINISTER MULAMBA have been touring the Kivu and Orientale provinces of the Congo.

SIR EDWARD PECK, British High Commissioner-designate in Kenya, left London by air yesterday with LADY PECK to take up his appointment in Nairobi.

MR. MARIO CARDOSO, the new Congolese Ambassador in London in succession to MR. JOSEPH KABEMBA, studied for five years at Louvain University, Belgium. His father was Portuguese.

MR. J. F. PRIDEAUX, chairman of Arbuthnot Lathan & Co., Ltd., says in his annual statement that "the introduction of exchange control between East Africa and this country is an unwelcome new feature".

MR. DAVID RODNEY DOIG, eldest son of COLONEL and MRS. ALEC DOIG, of Karundas, Kiganjo, Kenya, and LADY IMELDA CLARE FEILDING, daughter of the EARL and COUNTESS OF DENBIGH, were married in Nyeri, Kenya, on Saturday.

CAPTAIN C. R. S. PITMAN, who established the Game Department in Uganda and had charge of it for 27 years, is re-visiting East Africa. One of his books, "A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda", is now so scarce as to be valued at about £80.

MR. HAROLD SOREF returned to London on Monday after spending two months in South Africa and then two months in Rhodesia. Within a few hours of his arrival he addressed the annual meeting of the Monday Club. He is chairman of its Africa Group.

LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN, who has large East African interests, and his family trust, are to acquire a half-interest in N. Burston & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers in London, whose name will be changed to Burston, Howard de Walden & Co., Ltd. LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN is to be deputy chairman.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL, the British Ambassador in Ethiopia, was not invited to the opening in Addis Ababa on Monday of the sixth session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers, which other ambassadors attended. A number of the African delegations had threatened to walk out if the British representative were present.

MR. JOHN CHADWICK has this week entered on his appointment as director of the Commonwealth Foundation, with offices in Marlborough House. The function of the new body is to increase professional interchanges within the Commonwealth. The chairman is an Australian, SIR MACFARLANE BURNET. The only Commonwealth Government which has declined to subscribe is Kenya.

"E. A. & R." For Your Friends

Far the best coverage of Rhodesian affairs is given by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

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Remittances should be sent to

Africana, Ltd., 26 Bloomsbury Way,
London, W.C.1.

Canon B. J. ("Uncle") Harper

CANON BERTIE JAMES HARPER, who has died in a nursing home in London at the age of 83, had given more than half his life to the service of the Sudan, since he went to Khartoum in 1920 as chaplain after service as an Army padre. He had graduated from King's College, London, and spent seven years after ordination as an assistant curate in the Stepney and Turnham Green districts of London.

A splendid mixer, he interested himself so deeply in the affairs of others that he was soon known throughout the whole country as "Uncle", for the men in the administrative and other services of the Sudan Government to whom he showed real friendship when they were in the capital carried news of him everywhere. If one of them was brought to hospital, he could be sure of a visit from "Uncle", probably within the day, and at the supper club which he started in the Cathedral Clergy House old friendships were kept alive and new friendships formed. In the early years he drew much of his inspiration from the remarkable and redoubtable Bishop Gwynne, who was both his bishop and hero. One of their joint memorials is the Unity High School for Girls of all races and religions.

Since his retirement to England 10 years ago "Uncle" had been hon. secretary of the Sudan Church Association, on behalf of which he travelled the country; and it must have been an unusual journey on which he did not go out of his way to visit an old friend or acquaintance from Sudan days.

In Freemasonry he was Grand Chaplain of the United Lodge of England.

A memoir in the *Church Times* referred to him as "this merry old bachelor, a veritable Peter Pan". It was a true description, not merely a generous vaudeville.

Tribute to Lord Hobson

MR. STANLEY EVANS—who was mentioned in last week's memoir of Lord Hobson, has written of him in *The Times*—

"Capable, fearless, and utterly dependable, Charles Hobson was as good a man to go tiger hunting with as Westminster has known. To the conduct of the nation's business he brought a warm heart and a cool head, and his vigorous advocacy, especially behind the scenes, turned many a hard-fought struggle.

"The House of Commons is getting to be more and more like the scoreboard at Edgbaston. It records for history through *Hansard* policies that have already been decided at meetings held behind closed doors and away from public scrutiny. Here, where trends and causes take shape, and battles rage hot and strong, Charles served with clarity and courage the ideals which inspired his life.

"I knew him well. He was a constant visitor, and on the road from Bangor to Betws-y-Coed past the mountains he loved so well, many's the time that Charles and I have put the world to rights. The world wasn't always listening, but that didn't worry us."

Lord Hobson had served on the London Committee of the Voice of Kenya during the Mau Mau emergency.

MR. CHARLES WILLIAM HURST, who has died suddenly in Crowborough, had farmed in the Soy district of Kenya.

THE REV. REGINALD JAMES DYBALL, vicar of Alderley and Tresham with Hillesley, Gloucestershire, whose death is reported, had at one period served in Africa with the U.M.C.A.

MR. WILLIAM MARSHALL CLARK, who died suddenly at his home in Johannesburg on Saturday, was an executive director of the Anglo American Corporation and a former general manager of South African Railways.

SAVE RHODESIA FUND

BELIEVES that majority rule in Rhodesia in the near future would be disastrous for all Rhodesians, black and white alike, and that this can come only by achievement.

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

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

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

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

SUGGESTS that the British people should now use their opportunity (1) to censure the Government for threatening to reduce Rhodesia to economic chaos by persistence in vindictive sanctions, and (2) to declare their support for negotiations with the de facto Government, with a view to finding a common basis for granting Rhodesia independence within the Commonwealth.

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

IF YOU have not already contributed, and would like to further our aims, please send your contribution payable to SAVE RHODESIA FUND, 42 Kelso Place, London, W.8.

Marketing the Tobacco Crop

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. G. W. Rudland, told Parliament a few days ago that every bale of tobacco would be independently classified by two classifiers and that their findings would then be checked by a senior grader, and that none of them would know the identity of the grower. Growers would for security reasons not be allowed to attend the sales, but would be represented by a few senior members of the Rhodesian Tobacco Association.

Speaking of the recent Order in Council promulgated in London the Minister said:—

"If this had any validity it would make criminals of every grower who sells his tobacco; the entire staffs of our auction floors, buying companies and tobacco packers; the people who sell twine, paper, and packing materials; road transport operators, shipping and forwarding agents, and so on. Very few of us would be innocent.

"This is, of course, ludicrous, but indicative of the warped thinking of the British Government. This and similar documents are valueless and meaningless. The Government here governs this country; and this is impertinence on the part of the British Government. It is, however, part of their propaganda war to undermine confidence here and in other countries, and I feel it necessary to make clear beyond all doubt that their orders have no force or effect in Rhodesia. This is, of course, made clear in our Constitution, but, as the British Government has seen fit to purport to legislate in respect of our tobacco, I intend to make it clear to all concerned that their orders do not apply in Rhodesia and my proposed amendment will do just that.

"I would like to stress, to our overseas buyers in particular, our determination to overcome the punitive and vindictive actions taken by the British Government under Mr. Wilson.

"Tobacco is probably the largest single employer of African labour in Rhodesia, and those supporting Wilson's vindictiveness are in fact hitting at those very people whom he says he is trying to help—namely, 250,000 Africans in good employment. He will surely go down in history as the most hypocritical and destructive leader any nation has had to date."

American Exports Now Licensed

The Department of Commerce of the United States announced at the week-end that licences would henceforth be required for "virtually all" American exports to Rhodesia, apart from medicines and other "humanitarian" items. Officials in Washington suggested that Rhodesia would be in "dire straits" from sanctions by the middle of the year, perhaps in April.

The Rhodesian Government has withdrawn authority for special fares by some airlines between Rhodesia and Britain. Rhodesia, now being independent, insists that all fares shall be those agreed by the International Air Transport Association.

Mr. William Harris, chairman and majority shareholder of Lawson Piggott Motors, Ltd., Umtali, has told the *Daily Telegraph* that he has dismissed the entire staff of 36 of that Rhodesian car distributing company because it has sold only one vehicle in the last two months, was losing about £1,700 monthly, and since its formation in 1960 had lost nearly £60,000 of a capital of £100,000 provided by 12 English shareholders. Mr. Frank Jeffs, the resident director, said in Rhodesia that he hoped the dismissals would be prevented by the Government under the emergency regulations.

Mr. D. A. Morse, director-general of the International Labour Organization, has recommended that "as soon as constitutional government has been established in Rhodesia the I.L.O. should be prepared to give every assistance within its power in the training of Rhodesians of all races for the assumption of responsibilities in administration, industry, and industrial relations."

Beware Assassins, Says Dr. Banda

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said in Blantyre last week that four Malawi rebels, whom he named, had recently arrived in Dar es Salaam after completing military training in Algeria, and that three others, whom he also named, were in Tanzania after undergoing similar instruction in China. The intention, he declared, was to send them to Malawi to assassinate him and other members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Malawi Congress Party. He hoped that they would be arrested by the people, who should kill them if they resisted while being seized.

Friends of Rhodesia National Trust

A FRIENDS OF RHODESIA NATIONAL TRUST has been started under the auspices of the Government of Rhodesia, with Sir Charles Meredith and Mr. R. H. Cornell as trustees.

Mr. J. H. Howman, the Minister of Information, said in Salisbury a few days ago:—

"The Government is deeply grateful to the people of South Africa for their warm-hearted support of the people of Rhodesia. Not a day passes without further evidence of their generosity. Even in remote towns and villages societies have mushroomed overnight, and all manner of private persons have contributed generously to meet the difficulties imposed by the vicious sanctions of the British Government.

"In South Africa the response has been of a magnitude unknown since the war years, and a target-in-aid of £5m. is not beyond the bounds of possibility, so fierce is the determination of so many in South Africa to come to our assistance.

"In order to forestall the possibility of confusion in the arrangements for the reception and disposal of this aid, Government has decided to take the initiative in setting up the Friends of Rhodesia National Trust.

"Two prominent Rhodesians, Sir Charles Meredith and Mr. R. H. Cornell, have agreed to serve on this trust on behalf of the people of Rhodesia; it may well prove desirable to appoint other trustees at a later date. The trust will maintain close liaison with organizations and individuals concerned in South Africa and other places, as well as with the Government of Rhodesia.

"Societies and organizations in South Africa which have been organized with the object of giving financial and material assistance to Rhodesia are advised to contact the trust if they require any information in regard to importation of materials into Rhodesia and advice regarding their disposal of gifts. The Friends of Rhodesia National Trust will operate for the present at the offices of the Ministry of Information (External Services) in Ambassador House, Union Avenue, the postal address being Bag 711, Causeway, Salisbury."

East African Airways now operate a weekly Comet service between Kenya and Malawi.

Russian-built armoured cars, Russian and Chinese weapons, and East German drills were exhibited during the second anniversary celebration of the Zanzibar revolution.

The Government of Kenya has declared Mr. Albert Mayer, a reporter of *U.S. News and World Report*, to be a prohibited immigrant, and has forbidden the entry of future issues of the magazine.

A Southern Sudanese rebel leader, Mahmoud Reehan, has been captured, and is officially stated to have "revealed details of foreign intervention". Modern Chinese weapons have been recovered in recent actions against the rebels.

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Rhodesian Brevities

MR. BERNARD MUSSETT, Minister for Commerce and Industry, said in Salisbury last week: "The day our first tanker arrives—and arrive it will—Rhodesia will have won this economic war".

At the time it was being said in Beira and reported in South African newspapers that Mr. Aristotle Onassis was sending two tankers of 20,000 tons to Beira with oil for Rhodesia, but the statements were emphatically denied in Monte Carlo, the headquarters of his shipping group. A spokesman dismissed the reports as "a load of rubbish".

In Pretoria, Cadco (Pty.), Ltd., a South African company, applied to the Supreme Court for an order on B.P. Southern Africa, Ltd., to compel it to deliver 2.4m. gallons of diesel fuel for which a contract has been signed. Hearing of the case was postponed until March 9 in order to allow the defence time to file a reply.

A new depot with storage capacity for some 60,000 gallons of petrol was reported to be near completion on the outskirts of the township of Messina in the northern Transvaal, not far from the border with Rhodesia. Though designed to supply fuel in bulk to farmers in the district, it is expected to become a source of supply for Rhodesia.

Some British Exports to Rhodesia

Having forbidden all exports to Rhodesia, the British Government has found it necessary to authorize some temporary exceptions to its own regulations. The Board of Trade announced last week:—

"Representations have been made by certain manufacturers regarding goods specially designed for the Rhodesian market and already manufactured or at an advanced stage of manufacture at the time of the announcement of the general export embargo on January 30, 1966, which cannot be shipped because they were not at the time at the docks or in transit thereto.

"It would be inconsistent with the aims of the embargo to allow further exemptions in respect of goods essential to the needs of the Rhodesian economy. Exceptionally, however, and where this consideration does not arise, the Board of Trade are prepared to consider applications for licences in respect of individual orders for goods already specially manufactured or in an advanced state of manufacture for the Rhodesian market on January 30 and where payment has been received or arranged in accordance with the Exchange Control regulations.

"Applications for licences must be made by March 7, and must be supported by a statement showing particulars of the order in question, the state of manufacture on January 30, the degree of 'specialness' for the Rhodesian market, the purpose for which the goods are required, and the payment arrangements. Any licences issued exceptionally under these arrangements would permit shipment only until March 26".

According to the *Sunday Express*, "forbidden trade links with Rhodesia are being maintained in defiance of sanction orders by British businessmen who fly to Paris to confer with Rhodesian executives. Tobacco merchants are believed to be among those making regular flights. Engineering and motor accessory firms are also striving to retain close contact with Rhodesian traders".

Sanctions Committee Rejects British Chairman

The Commonwealth Committee on Sanctions, created at the Lagos Conference, decided at its second meeting, held last week in London, that Mr. Lionel Chevrier, the Canadian High Commissioner, should preside at that and future gatherings. Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, who had taken the chair at the first meeting, did not attend last week, when the British delegation was led by Mr. Cledwyn Hughes. Acknowledging a "seepage" of oil into Rhodesia from South Africa, he emphasized that Britain had made strong representations to the South African Government, and maintained that sanctions would soon cause a breakdown in Rhodesia's economy.

African members told journalists that they had objected to a British chairman because the job of the committee was to evaluate the effects of the British Government's policy of using financial and economic measures "to bring down the rebel régime".

A Scot, aged 48, whose name has not been given, has arrived in England, saying that he was one of the censors appointed to the *Bulawayo Chronicle* but has defected because of his disagreement with the censorship policy. He had approved the original regulations, which seemed to him reasonable at the time of U.D.I., but not subsequent measures,

which, he considered, deny Rhodesians news and comment which they have a right to read.

The Rev. Hugh Bishop, superior of the Community of the Resurrection, of Mirfield, Yorkshire, who preached in Salisbury Cathedral on Sunday from the text "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do", was interrupted by about 30 members of the congregation rising and walking out. They complained that they had been "disgusted" by a sermon "heavy with politics". Mr. Bishop left by air that night for London.

Provincial Interest in Rhodesian Issue

The Cornish Branch of the Anglo Rhodesian Society, which held a public meeting in Truro last week under the chairmanship of Captain Rex Lomax, resolved by 167 votes to three to urge H.M. Government "to enter into immediate negotiations with the Rhodesian authorities to settle the dispute between Britain and Rhodesia". One of the three dissenters stated that he had opposed the resolution because it was too moderate. The speakers were Judge Gerald Sparrow, Mr. Edward Danby and Mr. T. D. Lardner-Burke.

A public meeting organized by the Anglo Rhodesian Society was held in Perth last Thursday.

There is to be a meeting in Salisbury on March 18, at which the chairman of the Wiltshire branch, Lord Cranborne, will preside. On March 26 the Brighton branch will hold a public meeting in Hove.

The council of the Commonwealth Press Union has placed on record its "grave concern" at the restrictions on the Press in Rhodesia, and its "warm admiration for the courage and resolution of those Rhodesian editors who under threat of heavy penalties have defied the most tyrannical of the censorship regulations; it assures those editors and their staffs of all the support in its power for their continued resistance".

Opening of the tobacco auctions in Salisbury has been postponed from March 15 to March 29 because continuing rain makes a period of sunshine necessary to ripen the leaf.

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Dr. Obote Assumes All Powers Five Ministers Arrested and Detained

Five Ministers in Uganda were arrested during a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday of last week, and taken to a detention camp. The orders had been given personally by the Prime Minister, who issued the following statement:—

"In the interests of national stability and public security and tranquillity, I have today, the 22nd day of February of 1966, taken over all powers of the Government of Uganda. I shall henceforth be advised by a Council whose members I shall name later. I have taken this course of action independently because of my understanding of the wishes of the people of this country for peace, order, and prosperity. Five former Ministers have today been put under detention pending investigations into their activities.

"I call upon the judges and magistrates, civil servants both Ugandans and expatriates, members of the security forces and the general public to carry on with their normal business. I take this opportunity to assure everybody that the whole situation is under control".

The names of the Ministers arrested were not disclosed, but it quickly became known that they were Mr. Grace Ibingira, Minister of State, and secretary-general of Dr. Obote's Uganda People's Congress; Mr. M. M. Ngobi, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. G. B. K. Magezi, Minister of Housing and Labour; Mr. B. K. Kirya, Minister of Water and Mineral Resources; and Dr. E. B. S. Lumu, Minister of Health. All belong to the so-called Bantu group, which has lately challenged Dr. Obote.

Charges of Loot and Corruption

He is a northerner, and was touring the Northern Region when tension developed quickly after Mr. Daudi Ocheng, the Opposition Chief Whip, had alleged in the National Assembly that Dr. Obote and two other Ministers had shared loot from the Congo worth about £250,000. He also made charges of corruption against Colonel Idi Amin, second in command of the armed forces, whose suspension pending an inquiry was agreed by the Assembly. Mr. Ocheng alleged that Colonel Amin had conspired with some members of the Government to overthrow the Constitution.

When Dr. Obote returned to the capital he described the charges as false and a "frame-up" and said that there was no reason to be concerned about the security situation.

Mr. A. Nekyon, Minister of Planning and Community Development, and Mr. Felix Onama, Minister of Defence, against whom allegations of corruption had been made, likewise denied them.

Before the arrest of the Ministers troops had been posted at strategic points in Kampala, but there were no manifestations of unrest.

On the Wednesday eight Ministers were reported to have resigned in protest against the *coup* by Dr. Obote.

On Thursday evening the Prime Minister announced that he had suspended the Constitution in order to ensure "stability and unity in the country". He said:—

"During my tour in the Northern Region early this month an attempt was made to overthrow the Government by foreign troops. Some foreign missions stationed in Uganda were requested by persons who hold positions in the Government under the Constitution of Uganda. These requests were made outside the provisions of the Constitution, and were for massive military assistance, consisting of foreign soldiers and arms. In effect, this was an invitation to foreign Governments to come and invade our country, because of the selfish interests of a few individuals in high places".

Mr. Ocheng had that day appealed to the people of Uganda to uphold the Constitution, saying that the Prime Minister could dismiss and appoint Ministers

only by the constitutional course of submitting their names for approval to the President. He was acting unconstitutionally and defying Parliament.

On Thursday night armed Buganda demonstrators gathered near the palace of the President, Sir Edward Mutesa, who is also Kabaka of Buganda. They were told that he was safe and protected by military guard and were asked to remain calm and peaceful.

In Buganda villages drum-beating brought people together. In some areas they were told to be ready to go to the aid of the Kabaka.

Sir Clement de Lestang, a member of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, Mr. Justice E. Millar, of the Supreme Court of Kenya, and Mr. Justice Augustine Saidi, of the High Court of Tanzania, were on Saturday appointed a judicial commission to investigate allegations of corruption and an alleged attempt to overthrow the Uganda Government.

Army Commander Pledges His Loyalty

Brigadier Opoloto, the Army Commander, that day declared his loyalty to the Prime Minister, saying that he had no intention of using troops loyal to him to overthrow Dr. Obote, who had offered him the new post of Chief of Defence Staff to make way for Colonel Amin to become Army-Chief of Staff. He had not made a decision, "because there is a danger that I would be promoted out of power". He added: "Whether I accept the post or resign, there is no chance of an armed *coup* in Uganda. If I leave I shall go peacefully". That afternoon Brigadier Opoloto had visited the President "to confer about the security situation".

"It became known at the week-end that during the Cabinet meeting on Tuesday about a dozen police had rushed into the conference room, carried out the five Ministers struggling and shouting, and bundled them into cars, in which they had been taken to Gulu, some 300 miles away.

Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were crowded on Sunday, which had been proclaimed a national day of prayer.

On Tuesday the Parliament of Buganda passed unanimously a resolution condemning Dr. Obote's suspension of the Constitution of Uganda and demanding its reinstatement.

Kenya Minister Suspended

MR. PAUL NGEI, Minister of Housing and Social Services since December, and previously Minister for Co-operatives and Marketing in Kenya, has been suspended by President Kenyatta, who has given no reason. Mr. Ngei had been under criticism in connexion with his chairmanship of the Maize Board, witnesses at an inquiry having alleged that he had borrowed about £1,500 from the board and that it had supplied maize to his wife, a trader in the Machakos district, when it was denied to other dealers. After Mr. Ngei had told journalists that there was no ground for such suggestions, the Senate, in which he had frequently been attacked, demanded his suspension until the conclusion of the investigations into maize marketing last year.

A delegation of businessmen from Zambia arrived in Bonn last week to seek supplies of West German goods. The West German Ministry of Economics announced that a delegation would soon be sent to Zambia to negotiate an agreement of guarantees against any expropriation of German investments.

A mission led by Mr. W. Harrington, a retailer in Zambia, arrived in Japan simultaneously to arrange for increased imports from that country.

In Lusaka it was announced that the petrol ration for private motorists was to be increased from 10 to 12 gallons a month.

The Government-controlled *Times of Zambia* reported that 240,000 gallons of fuel had reached Rhodesia in the first fortnight of February, and that a million-gallon target had been set for early March.

Two British vessels which reached Dar es Salaam last week discharged 65 British-built road petrol tankers for the carriage of oil from Tanzania to Zambia. It was stated that another 200 similar vehicles would arrive during March. Their capacity ranges between 2,000 and 6,000 gallons.

Zambia has applied to the World Bank for a loan of 3.7m. dollars for the improvement of the main roads to the borders with Tanzania and Malawi, and tenders have been called for tar surfacing of 120 miles of the Great North Road from Kapiri Mposhi to Serenje and for 220 miles of the Great East Road.

President Warns Trouble-Makers Eight Errant Union Leaders Threatened

PRESIDENT KAUNDA gave sharp warnings to trouble-makers in the trade unions when he addressed a large rally at Chingola.

He said in the course of a long speech:—

"Who is that stupid idiot, that lunatic, who is going round telling people that Kaunda doesn't like trade unions? Unions do a very good job for my people. How can I forsake my own people? These idiots who are telling the people, my people, that I am against them, what evidence have they to prove that I am against unions? To prove I am against my people? To prove that this party and Government do not like unions? Why do you follow them? Do you accept that I, having gone to jail for my people, can now turn round?"

"If I went to Kabompo jail for freedom, I am going to make sure that some people go to Kabompo for ever. If I went to Kabompo in defence of freedom, those who mislead people by telling lies are going to be arrested one good morning. I will arrest them during the day to show them that they have no support. They are telling lies, idiots.

Wonderful Things Have Happened

"This is a workers' Government, elected by the workers. I am a worker and proud of that. How can I turn against my own people? Since we took over this Government only one year ago wonderful things have happened. The wives of the workers no longer pay maternity fees at Government hospitals, because this is a people's Government; Government pays £70,000 every year for milk. You were paying 9½d. a pint; now you pay 6d. in high density areas. I can't stomach this any longer, I tell you that.

"From the security reports I know what each one of these people has been doing for a long time. It is not a question of all Zambia Mineworkers' Union leaders. There is only a handful. The rest are very good U.N.I.P. members. It is not a question of all Zambia Mineworkers' Union leaders or indeed other union leaders being against the Government.

"A certain group, however, some from the Mineworkers' Union and some from other unions, have been holding talks with the representatives of Smith and Verwoerd here in Zambia. I know them; and I am going to take action both against the blacks and whites. When I speak of Kabompo it is not only for blacks, but for whites too, who misbehave. The majority of the Mineworkers' Union leaders are very good people. But there is a small clique whose activities I have been following very closely. I repeat that these people have been holding meetings with representatives of Ian Smith, representatives of Verwoerd, to try and disrupt Zambia.

"I cannot sit down because of what is called democracy and allow these people to continue to disrupt the economy of the country and undermine the authority of Government and party. In the name of the Republic I swear solemnly that I am not going to touch anybody who is not guilty. I am not going to touch anybody simply because he is a union leader. My fight is intended to teach only those who have been organizing against the Government and the party. I intend to act.

Who Is Deceiving the People?

"The type of person I am going to deal with is that Zambia Mineworkers' Union leader who meets with people like Peter Chibuye of M.O.S.S.A. You all know that Peter Chibuye was U.F.P. here. I mention him to warn those Mineworkers' Union people whom Peter Chibuye has been meeting—an agent of foreign Powers here. Since when has Peter Chibuye changed? A leopard does not change its spots. I speak as President of the Republic of Zambia. Do you think I would tell you lies? I speak fearing God. Let Peter Chibuye and other idiots come and say something here in the name of God and the people of Zambia.

"Why do you allow yourselves to be deceived? What has happened, Zambians? What has gone wrong? Who is deceiving God's people here in Zambia? These white racialists from Rhodesia, these white racialists in Verwoerd's country, Peter Chibuye follows those as he followed Welensky; and today, the Zambia Mineworkers' Union follow him. He comes to tell the Mineworkers' Union; 'I am going to work with you to crush this party and Government.' What power has he to crush Government? He is banking on Smith, on Verwoerd; but here—at least as far as I know—Zambia is intact.

"I have allowed Peter Chibuye and all other idiots sufficient latitude, hoping and praying they were going to stop this nonsense. They haven't, and I have to act now in defence of the people of Zambia. They tell you the Government is preventing the mining companies giving you more money—after they have failed to negotiate with the companies. Then some white people in the mining companies tell you the Government has agreed with the Hadow Report; they want more money for the white people and less for the Zambians. These are the lies they tell you; and you believe.

Same Pay for White and Black Zambians

"Zambian policy is that there is to be a basic wage for everybody; but there is going to be an expatriate allowance. Those who come from outside for a few years will be given a little more; but the basic wage is the same. These people tell you that the Government is stopping mining companies from paying you more. Where is the evidence? These idiots!

"This is stretching democracy too far. People are too free. That is why these things are happening. I do not want to create here a dictatorship. I want a free country. But there must be freedom within the law. To tell lies against the Government and the party and against me—innocent human beings—is a crime, not only against Zambia but against God. If you criticize me on the truth I won't quarrel with you.

"Some white people born here, and therefore Zambians, get the same training as black Zambians and are given more money than black Zambians. Why? By 'expatriate' we mean someone who has come from outside Zambia. If a white man was born in Zambia he is a Zambian, and must get the same pay as any other Zambian, according to the training of that person. If a white Zambian born here and a black Zambian born here go to the same secondary school here and the same mining school and get the same qualifications; their pay must be the same.

"At the last National Council of the party in Lusaka I said that in the past there had been no direct participation in politics by the Mineworkers' Union and other workers. Now we have a committee consisting of John Mwanakatwe, the Minister of Education, the Attorney-General, and Frank Chitambala, Junior Minister of Home Affairs. These three young men are sitting now to plan how much the Mineworkers' Union and other unions perhaps through the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions could come together and participate in political decision in Lusaka. We are doing this to bring you within the fold of the party directly. Is this hating you and working against your interests? Union leaders plus co-operative leaders must now come together with the party and form one whole political decision-making body. Yet they tell you Kaunda and his Government are working against you.

"Some of these white racialists from Rhodesia and South Africa hold very high positions. They go round and influence your thinking. They are your enemies, not your friends.

"Leave Chibuye to Me"

"I have no time for the colour of a person. If a person is working for the good of Zambia, he can be blue, green, pink, anything. So long as he has a stomach in front like mine, a head like mine, a human being in short, I welcome him here. But whether they are black or white, whether they come from the Congo, Tanzania or Malawi or Rhodesia, if they try to create trouble there I will give them twice as much. I am capable of doing that.

"Do not touch Chibuye, I'll handle him. Don't talk to him, don't beat him. Leave him to me. If you beat him he's going to be a hero. So leave him to me. Don't touch those who work with him in the Zambia Mineworkers' Union. I am going to handle them. I know them all. In the whole of the Zambia Mineworkers' Union there are only eight people that have gone astray. If they should repent I am quite happy to receive them and shake hands with them, but Peter Chibuye I can't shake his hand."

Vice-President Kamanga said in a television broadcast that the first orders for heavy fuel oil had been placed for the copper mines, which have considered the use of oil for smelting if coal supplies from Rhodesia should be interrupted. Mr. Richard Hallett, governor of the Bank of Zambia, stated that its gold and foreign exchange reserves had risen to well over £70m. by the end of February, whereas they had amounted to only £67m. when Rhodesia declared independence on November 11. He described Zambia's economy as still buoyant despite economic and political difficulties, and gave a warning that foreign companies which deferred plans for expansion because of the political situation might later find that they had missed the bus.

More Mine Strikes in Zambia President's Stern Warning Disregarded

STRIKES BY MINERS IN ZAMBIA were on Monday declared by the Government to be an offence. That day some 260 white miners of the 1,300 employed at the Nchanga mine, the largest in the country, and about 100 at the Broken Hill mine, had gone on strike in defiance of a warning from President Kaunda that he would take strong action if miners absented themselves from work.

The strikers, incensed by the banishment of the chairman of the Mufulira branch of the Mineworkers' Society, had rejected the appeals of their leaders to remain at work.

On Tuesday 96 at the Bancroft mines and 46 at the Nkana stayed away, and the Mineworkers' Society called on its members to work to rule. That could reduce output by about one-third.

Mr. Frank Rzechorzek, the Polish-born chairman of the Mufulira branch of the all-white Mineworkers' Society of Zambia, was arrested on Saturday and sent to Mporokoso for an indefinite period of restriction, "for deliberately fostering a course of action harmful to the economy". Never before had a European been restricted since Zambia became independent.

Announcing the restriction order, President Kaunda said in a broadcast that under special emergency regulations the Mufulira mine had been scheduled "a necessary service", which meant that workers absented themselves would be committing a legal offence. That had been done because the country could not put the economy at risk from a handful of self-seeking individuals who have not the interests of Zambia at heart.

More than 700 white miners at Mufulira decided on Saturday to strike, on Monday despite the President's warning of Government intervention and the knowledge that troops had standby orders. Mr. Andrew Leslie,

general secretary of the Mineworkers' Society, said: "If the Mufulira meeting is any indication of the way feelings are running we are in for a rough time".

Branch meetings of the society were held elsewhere on the Copperbelt on Sunday, when the president of the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association, Mr. L. Jackots, said that his union had instructed branch officials to urge its members not to strike. While the association represents senior workers, the Mineworkers' Society, with about 5,000 members, represents mainly artisans.

On Friday 99 white miners had failed to report for duty at Mufulira, at which about 1,400 Europeans are employed.

At Luanshya a meeting decided on Sunday to support men at Mufulira if another stoppage occurred.

A Zambian battalion had then been moved to the Copperbelt, to which units of the police mobile reserve had also been sent.

President Kaunda's Broadcast

President Kaunda had previously said in a broadcast:

"I am compelled to speak to you this evening on a matter of gravest importance. This is because the most serious situation has arisen in our mining industry, and there is a real danger that industrial chaos will come to our country.

"A year ago my Government brought into law new legislation that it hoped would make industrial strikes and walk-outs in Zambia a thing of the past. But now some sections of our labour force in Zambia seem to be flouting the law, and instead are taking direct industrial action without recourse to the legislation. Our system of industrial relations in Zambia is founded upon good faith and voluntary co-operation between employers, employees and the Government. Such a system cannot work effectively if the trade unions who represent the employees or certain members of trade unions deliberately choose to flout and bypass it.

"My Government has all along wished for negotiations between employers and employees to be conducted and brought to success by the parties themselves, without the Government interfering. But if in practice the economy, in fact the life-blood of our beloved country, is going to be imperilled by Government standing aside, then I would feel myself bound to make use of any powers at my disposal to bring the situation under control.

"The wages and conditions of service in many industries in Zambia are much better by far than those offered in other countries on this continent. More than that, they compare favourably with the wages and conditions granted to employees in the bigger industrialized countries throughout the whole world. People who work must look at their wages and conditions of service with a clear and reasonable mind. If these wages and conditions of service are not acceptable to a person, then he should negotiate through his trade union for better wages and conditions. Such negotiations should be carried out directly with the employer. But if agreement is not reached in that way, then recourse should be had to the machinery which the Government provides under the law for the settlement of industrial disputes.

"In the long run, if improved conditions are not acceptable to an employee, he is not bound to stay in the industry in which he works. He is perfectly free to seek better opportunities elsewhere. But if the dissatisfaction of a number of people with their wages and conditions of service develops into a resolution to hold the economy of the whole country to ransom, that is not a good thing.

"I will say now therefore that the Government of this Republic of Zambia will not tolerate the situation whereby unreasonable concessions are demanded by the bringing about of industrial chaos. A certain cause of dissatisfaction to one section of employees in the mining industry was brought to my Government's attention recently and action was taken. But my Government is not prepared to try and meet unreasonable demands forced upon us in an unreasonable way. The Government has a good stock of patience, but there comes a point in any situation where patience is exhausted because it appears that certain people are trying to push the Government hard against the wall.

"It is for these reasons that I am speaking to you this evening, and taking this opportunity to give a general warning that unless people follow the usual channels of industrial democracy and make proper use of the machinery for settling labour disputes without disrupting the country, then my Government will feel bound to bring the situation back to normal by all possible means at its disposal.

"The copper mining industry is the life-blood of our country and nation. My Government cannot tolerate it being interfered with. If this interference is carried out, I do not care by whom, my Government will be forced to intervene in a strong and decisive fashion.

"The present chaotic situation which is being brought on the Copperbelt is giving the clear impression that the people who are responsible for it are none other than the supporters of foreign interests."

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"In this difficult situation I pay warm tribute to the leaders of the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association, who during recent weeks have made the most strenuous efforts to get the difference between the employees and employers in the mining industry settled amicably and within the framework of the law. These gentlemen came recently to Lusaka and discussed their problems with my Minister responsible for labour affairs. All along they have done their best to be reasonable and conciliatory. I commend them for this. I sincerely hope they will continue with their vigorous efforts to control those whom they represent and to bring negotiations to a fruitful conclusion. I also thank warmly other sections of the huge labour force in the mining industry who have shown admirable self-restraint and control in a most difficult and provocative situation.

"I ask these large numbers of Zambians and white residents to continue as they have done in the past, and not to let any urge to lose their self-control to gain the upper hand before the situation is brought back to normal in the industry as a whole.

"My friends, let me emphasize to every one of you that no one individual is indispensable to Zambia. The Government is a very tolerant one, but I cannot say too often that any person who attempts to disrupt the policies and plans of the Government when they are aimed at benefiting the great mass of our people as a whole will be most severely dealt with. Therefore I ask each one of you to think of the best way in which we can serve and advance our nation, and do nothing that could harm it."

A correspondent of the *Scotsman* cabled from Ndola that "if British sanctions turned to military action against Rhodesia, the white miners in Zambia will almost certainly refuse to go down the mines as a sign of sympathy with their kith and kin. This could be a racial flashpoint in Zambia".

The same day Mr. Mainza Chona, Minister of Home Affairs, who was attending an O.A.U. meeting in Addis Ababa, said: "Pressure must be put on Britain to use force against Rhodesia right now".

Zambia has asked the United Nations to send a team of experts to make a survey of the mines, their production methods and marketing procedures, and to supply a specialist to direct a new metals and minerals development unit in the Ministry of Mines.

The Permanent Secretary of that Ministry, Mr. James Mapoma, has said that the unit would consider the purchase by the Government of that part of the production in excess of the present level, so that the Government might sell such copper on the free market at the current world price. Encouragement would be given to groups other than Anglo American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust to engage in mining, and the two big groups would be pressed to extend their interests in ancillary industries.

Zambianization of the Postal Services

MR. LEWIS CHANGWU, Minister of Information and Postal Service in Zambia, has said in reply to allegations of serious postal inefficiency as a result of the displacement of European staff by Africans:—

"A drop in efficiency cannot be attributed to Zambianization. It might be more accurate to attribute any such inefficiency to fear of Zambianization as opposed to actual Zambianization, since although Zambianization is on the way it has not taken place yet. What has been done so far has been to promote some Zambian postal workers to higher posts. These men are proving capable of carrying out their responsibilities in every way.

"Of 152 expatriate officers on general post office duties only five have tendered their resignations. Of 129 expatriates on the engineering side 12 are serving notices to resign during the next six months. A number of European women have had to leave with their husbands who were employed elsewhere. The 14 top posts in the G.P.O. are still held by the same expatriate officers who held the posts prior to independence.

"What critics of the postal services forget is that there has been a tremendous surge forward in economic development and that this country has been caught unready for this increase.

"With regard to allegations of increase in losses of money in the Post Office Savings Bank from Zambianization, the increased incidence of losses was due considerably to an increase in the volume of business transacted. A total of 17,000 accounts in the last year, resulting in an increase of savings of £500,000, bring the total savings in the Post Office Savings Bank to £3.1m. A loss of £591, representing 0.02%, cannot be considered abnormal."

Commercial Brevities

A Zambian trade delegation is visiting Czechoslovakia. The Bata Company is to build a footwear factory in Kampala.

An Italian trade delegation sent to Ethiopia has no fewer than 20 members.

Blantyre and East Africa, Ltd., are paying 12½% against 7½% profits before tax having risen from £32,248 to £60,069.

Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., has declared a second interim dividend of 1s. per share (10%) for the year to March 31 next.

The Kenya Coffee Marketing Board estimates that the crop in 1975 will be about 1.6m. bags, or almost double this year's output.

A record wheat yield for Africa, 840 bags to the acre, has been achieved in an irrigated winter wheat trial at the Henderson Research Station, Rhodesia.

Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., announces acceptances from ordinary shareholders for 2,714,218 shares at 10s. per 5s. share, equivalent to 96.9% of the shares available.

Tate and Lyle, Ltd., a group with large interests in Rhodesia and Zambia report pre-tax profits to September 30 at £8,661,511 (£8,720,825). A 10% dividend is repeated.

Booker Brothers McConnell Co., Ltd., who have large interests in Zambia and Malawi, have declared a second interim dividend of 8d. per 10s. share, making 1s. per share for 1965 (the same).

Charter and General, Ltd., are paying 11% and a bonus of 8% for 1965, against 6¼% and 4¼% respectively. Profits after tax totalled £75,318, compared with £58,369 for the previous seven months.

Inchcape & Co., Ltd., who have large East African interests, report profits before tax in the half-year to September 30 at £312,926, compared with £554,503 in the half-year in 1964. The full year's profit to March 31, 1965, was just over £1.1m. Distributions were then 2s. 3d. per share. An interim of 1s. 3d. per share has now been declared.

Benguela Railway's Expansion Plan

If adequate long-term contracts can be obtained from the mining companies in Zambia, Katanga, and Angola, the directors of Benguela Railways are prepared to spend up to £5m. on a plan to double freight capacity within two years, raising it from about 1.5m. tons to 3m. tons annually. Building of a new line would take about two years.

British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., report group profits after tax to September 30 at £1,693,035, against £967,018 in the previous year. An ordinary dividend of 10% takes £440,625, and the carry-forward is £937,851 (£525,153). Fixed assets exceed £28.2m., and interests in subsidiary companies £3.5m. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £816,317.

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., controlled by the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., which is now within the Lonrho group, report profits to September 30 of £9,129, compared with £307,418 for the previous 15 months. After tax of £12,628 and other adjustments, there is a net loss of £4,700, against a net profit of £164,352. There is to be no dividend. The carry-forward is £29,068.

Henderson's Transvaal Estates, Ltd., a group with substantial Rhodesian interests, report profits after tax to September 30 at £639,957 (£237,649), of which £280,714 (£84,818) are applicable to minority interests. Dividends totalling 1s. 7d. per 4s. share take £382,587. The carry-forward is £237,851. Issued capital is £998,117. Mr. A. H. Hall is chairman and joint managing director with Dr. R. W. Rowland.

Bandanga Holdings, Ltd., report net profits to September 30 at £15,367 (£9,068), subject to tax of £4,432. The general reserve receives £5,000, a 15% dividend requires £9,601, and £1,191 is carried forward in the accounts of the parent company and £390 in the books of Bandanga, Ltd. The issued capital is £64,004. Fixed assets stand at £103,202 and net current assets at £10,856. Mr. W. R. T. Picton-Warlow is the chairman.

Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., reports net profits after tax to September 30 at £351,736 (£381,751). Dividends of 6 cents per 25 cent share take £360,000, leaving a carry-forward of £109,082 (£117,346). Fixed assets stand at £2,536,335 and interests in subsidiaries at £389,583. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £129,777. Gold production from the mines in Rhodesia totalled 90,325 oz., equivalent to 16% of the country's output. Ore reserves are computed at 627,000 tons. Despite the imminent cessation of underground mining at the Kanyemba mine, it is expected that a working profit of £758,556 will be maintained for the current year. Mr. A. H. Hall is the chairman.

Parliament

Government Concerned at Oil Supplies

MR. BOTTOMLEY, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has now admitted in the House of Commons that petrol supplies to Rhodesia from South Africa "are causing the British Government concern".

Until last week the official attitude had been that all reports of supplies of petroleum products to Rhodesia were grossly exaggerated.

MR. HECTOR HUGHES, who had asked for a statement on the effectiveness of the trade sanctions against Rhodesia, was told:—

"This ban has been completely effective as regards crude oil. Refined petroleum is reaching Rhodesia from South Africa in quantities which are causing the British Government concern and representations are accordingly being made to the South African Government. The British Government have no plans at present to impose restrictions on the import of other goods into Rhodesia".

MR. EVELYN KING asked the Prime Minister whether the statement in the Lagos *communiqué* approved by him stating that the principle of one-man-one-vote should be applied to Rhodesia had been broadcast to the Rhodesian people.

MR. GEORGE BROWN: "I have been asked to reply. I am satisfied that the contents of the Lagos *communiqué*, including the principle to which the hon. Member refers, have received wide publicity in Rhodesia and are well known to the Rhodesian people".

MR. KING: "Was not this pledge written into the Lagos *communiqué* without any qualification, and does it not directly conflict with the pledge given both to this House and to Mr. Smith that the principle of one-man-one-vote was not immediately to be implemented? Does it not arouse mistrust if contradictory pledges are given to Europeans and Africans?"

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MR. BROWN: "The hon. gentleman is introducing quite a different question, which is the question of the timing of the one-man-one-vote principle. None of us has gone back on the principle. The question of timing is a different matter".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked if the Prime Minister would consider the discontinuation of British aid to African States giving facilities for the subversion of other African territories.

MR. GEORGE BROWN: "As my rt. hon. friend indicated on February, in general we consider it unprofitable to attach specific political conditions to our aid".

British Aid for Subverters of British Interests

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Do not the Government realize that British aid is in certain cases freeing financial resources in certain African States for the subversion of other African territories and British interests; and will H.M. Government think again on this issue?"

MR. BROWN: "Any attempt to link economic aid, which has to do with humanitarian conditions as well as necessary economic development, with political conditions would be a very great mistake".

MR. HEATH: "Is the First Secretary saying that when countries have broken off diplomatic relations with us, and continue to refuse to regain diplomatic relations, we should treat them in exactly the same way as friendly countries and other members of the Commonwealth with regard to aid?"

MR. BROWN: "I think that, at the moment, it is wise to go on as we are doing".

MR. IAN LLOYD asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he would exempt from the currency restrictions applying to Rhodesia any funds for institutions supporting multi-racial education.

MR. MACDERMOT: "No. Each case must be considered on its merits".

MR. LLOYD: "Will not the Financial Secretary concede, whatever other objectives might be thought to be either the desirable or inevitable consequences of the sanctions, that the obstruction of multi-racial education cannot be thought to be one of them?"

MR. MACDERMOT: "The primary objective is to bring about a return to constitutional government by making the sanctions effective. We do allow exemptions, and each one must be very carefully considered. We realise the value of multi-racial education, and some exemptions have been allowed".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is not the Financial Secretary aware that charitable funds intended for missionary schools for the education of Africans in Rhodesia are being held up because of the policy of H.M. Government? Does not everyone agree that education is the key to a proper future for Rhodesia?"

MR. MACDERMOT: "Generally speaking, charities have been appreciative and understanding of the Government's policy. The general rule is to allow remittances for current expenditure at the level of 75% of last year's remittances".

Open to Two Constructions

MR. PETER WALKER asked why the Chancellor had decided to discontinue the ban he had placed on the payment of private pensions to persons resident in Rhodesia.

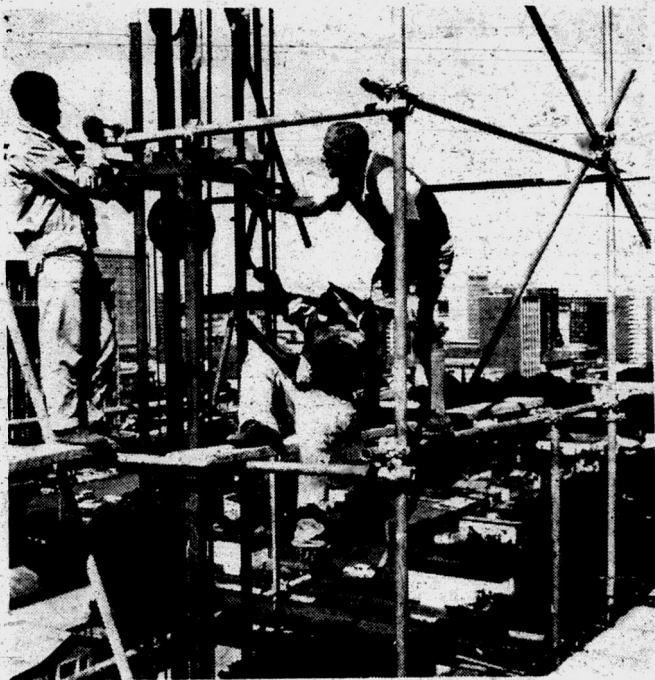
MR. CALLAGHAN: "In order to safeguard the interests of individual pensioners".

MR. WALKER: "Would the rt. hon. gentleman explain why on December 16 he firmly rejected the suggestion made by me that private pensioners should be included, that nothing further was said in the House, that a circular was sent out by the Bank of England in January, and that no explanation has been given to the House for him completely changing his mind on this subject?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I understand from some private exchanges that there is involved in the question the suggestion that I misled the hon. gentleman. I think my answer of December 16 was open to two constructions. [Interruption.] If an attempt at courtesy is to be met in this way, then I really will have to say to hon. gentlemen opposite that in my view my answer could bear only the construction which I put on it, and that the hon. gentleman drew a different conclusion. There has been no change in policy, and he was not misled".

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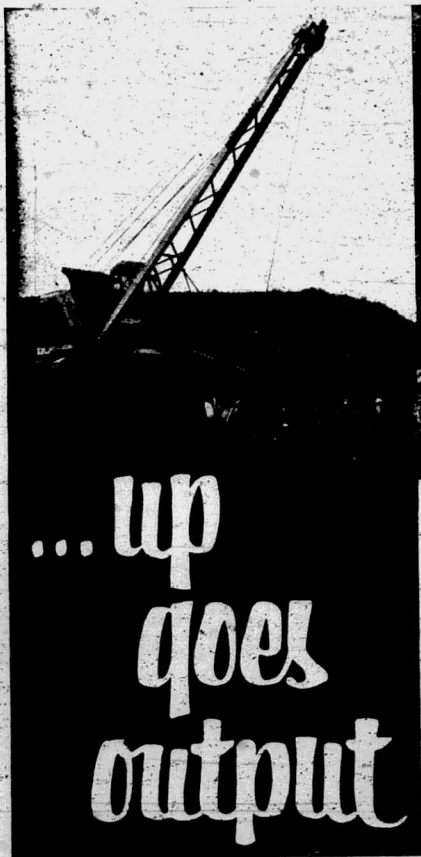
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Thursday, March 10, 1966

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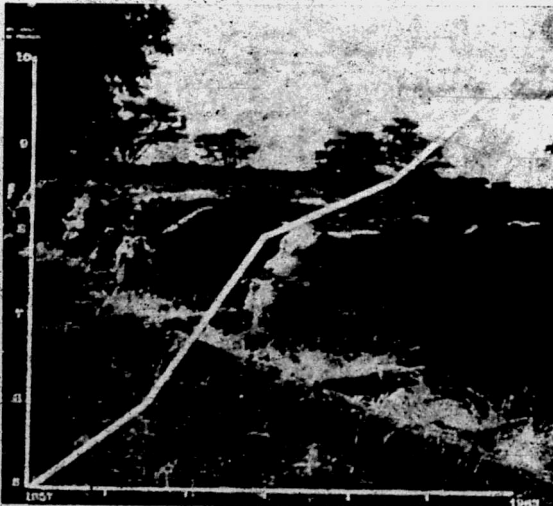
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1966

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

WILL YOU VOTE against any proposal to use British troops in Rhodesia? Will you undertake to press the British Government to use its veto in the Security Council if the

Questions for Candidates.

United Nations should consider military measures against Rhodesia? Will you urge the British Government, whatever party be in power after the election, to start discussions with the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia in search of a settlement? If your answer to any or all of the above questions is "Yes", will you pledge yourself, whether elected or not, to do everything in your power to procure action in that sense? Those four questions should, we suggest, be put repeatedly at their public meetings to all candidates in this month's general election in Britain; and, in order that there may be no doubt about the individual attitude, we further suggest that the answers given should be put on record by the questioners in letters sent for publication to the newspapers circulating in each constituency, each letter stating the party as well as the name of the candidate. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA would welcome carbon copies of such correspondence, from which we should compile and publish lists of those who give affirmative or negative replies. The lists would, moreover, provide a background against which to test the fidelity or infidelity on the Rhodesian issue of Members of the new House of Commons.

The most urgent task which the Anglo-Rhodesian Society could undertake would be that of organizing the interrogation of candidates. Among its members must now be one or more

Need to Record Their Answers.

electors in almost every area, and it should be possible to arrange within a few days for some of its adherents to attend the meetings which will be

held throughout the country in the next three weeks and question speakers on their opinions about the Rhodesian problem. Since many politicians are more glib in word than constant in practice, it would be something of a safeguard against equivocation if the scouts attended in pairs or larger parties; an aspirant for Parliament who might be tempted to recant would be less likely to challenge a letter to the Press bearing more than one signature. Where the Society has no active members in a constituency it could enlist the help of enthusiasts living in adjoining districts. That there is abundant sympathy for Rhodesia—because that country has been so outrageously treated in recent years by United Kingdom politicians of all parties—has been proved during the past month by those who have obtained many hundreds of signatures, in some cases thousands, to the petition against the use of force and in favour of the resumption of discussions with the Smith Government. People who have been willing to stand in the rain outside railway stations for hours night after night or to call in the depth of winter at almost every house in a sizeable village in order to secure evidence of the widespread dissatisfaction with the vindictive vendetta of the Wilson Government against Rhodesia will need no pressure to pursue the campaign into the halls in which protagonists of the three parties are about to utter their blandishments. That essential part of the operation can be best capitalized by reporting the results regularly to the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, the local Press, and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Undertakings given this month can then be checked against the future activity or inactivity, faithfulness or faithlessness, of the men and women who now seek the trust of the electorate.

This journal, though inevitably concerned with politics, is committed to no party, and ap-

plies the same tests to each of them. For more than forty years it has criticized, and less frequently commended, without regard to the party attachments of the public figures concerned. So far as we are aware, no other publication anywhere denounced so sharply and consistently the follies and betrayals in African affairs of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and their supine Conservative colleagues; and the passage of time has justified every criticism and prophecy then made in these columns. On the other hand we gave general but by no means uncritical support to Mr. Creech Jones, a Socialist Secretary of State, because he proved himself an honest and painstaking Minister who tried earnestly to check his party conceptions and misconceptions against the facts as he came to know them, and took the honourable course of preferring the demonstrable truth to comfortable fiction; and for his probity, he was driven into the wilderness by the party which he had served so selflessly and so long. That remembrance is recalled lest a new generation of regular leaders should be misled into the assumption that our advocacy or dispraise is influenced by the colour of the rosette worn by a candidate, a Member or a Minister. There are life-long Socialists (the late Lord Hobson was one) whom we have held in higher respect than all-too-many so-called Conservatives in Parliament (some of whom ought to be on the Labour left wing).

For his own very obvious reasons the Prime Minister has sought a bi-party policy towards Rhodesia since that State declared its independence four months ago. Most incautiously, the Tories followed his lead until Mr. Selwyn Lloyd recently visited Rhodesia.

Ludicrous Assumption.

What he reported to his colleagues in the Shadow Cabinet was no more and no less than what this journal had stated week by week. The visit was timely, for it has brought the party to declare in its election manifesto that one of its objectives is to "break the deadlock in Rhodesia by initiating talks with Mr. Smith and his colleagues for the purpose of obtaining a constitutional settlement without any prior conditions on either side". That sensible promise contrasts fundamentally with Mr. Wilson's statement of January 25, which stupidly demanded unconditional surrender. The Prime Minister should have known that there is not the slightest prospect that Rhodesians would confide the future of their country to politicians in Britain, for almost all Rhodesians regard nearly all of them as untrustworthy in judgment about Africa.

How could they think otherwise when they see Africa soaked with blood and strewn with wreckage as a direct consequence of the obsessions, conceit, frivolity, spinelessness, recklessness, and faithlessness of Conservative and Socialist Governments? Nothing is more ludicrous than the assumption that men who have somehow gained a seat in the House of Commons are thereby better entitled than Rhodesians to know how Rhodesia should be governed. The shocking state of Africa today represents a resounding vote of no-confidence in the political busybodies of the West—who persistently and heinously rejected the advice of reliable, experienced and conscientious compatriots who had given their lives to Africa. Rhodesians will not be sacrificed for some new formula which its British authors will regard as almost instantly expendable. These truths should be driven into the public mind in Britain during the next three weeks.

Statements Worth Noting

"Nkrumah's fall is about; the only piece of unalloyed good news to come out of Africa since Alamein"—Mr. Robert Pitman.

"Matabeland ranchers can produce prime beef at least equal to that from the Argentine, if not better"—Mr. J. H. BEATTIE, of Gatooma.

"President Kasavubu told me during our last meeting in Accra that more than a million and a half people had been killed in the Congo"—President Sekou Touré of Guinea.

"Dr. Nkrumah's State House cost Ghana more than £8m. His private army, whose duty it was to secure his own personal safety, cost the country more than £500,000 a year"—Lieut.-General Ankra, now Head of State in Ghana.

"There have been a number of disciplinary actions by school boys. Discipline must be maintained in all schools. Stern measures will be taken against indiscipline. Badly behaved youths will be a danger to the nation"—Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, Minister for Education in Kenya.

"At Westminster Mr. Wilson continues to be seen by many Ministers, by all Shadow Ministers, and by most back-benchers as cynical and calculating. With one possible exception, no politician of modern times has been called so many rude names. But in the country he is seen as the serious-minded and patient and patriotic national leader"—Mr. Alan Watkins, in the *Spectator*.

"Should not the assistance of the Ministry of Education be sought either to make it a condition that every upper primary school-leaver should take part in mass literacy campaigns before going on to secondary education or to solicit active participation by teachers on a voluntary basis?"—Mr. Grey Zulu, Minister of Mines and Co-operatives in Zambia, addressing the Staff Training College in Lusaka.

"Harold Wilson loves being Prime Minister—not from any sense of mission or a knowledge that he can lead his country to greater and happier horizons. He can hardly think he is doing that. But the newspaper headlines, the TV posturing, the expensive world tours, the V.I.P. treatment, and the lush living are meat and drink to the little man who for purely electoral purposes once boasted that he had to go to school without any shoes"—The Conservative Party's weekly newsletter.

Rhodesia Made An Issue in the General Election

Socialists Can Neither Conciliate Nor Negotiate, Says Sir Alec Douglas-Home

RHODESIA was made a general election issue by SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME last week, when in an address to Lancaster University Association he said that to vote Conservative was the only way to a just settlement. In the course of his speech Sir Alec said:—

"The Socialist Government has gravely mishandled overseas affairs. Rhodesia is one example. Of course, the situation is difficult, but it is then that statesmanship is put to the test. In this case it has failed.

"Britain has an obligation to ensure in any Independence Constitution that Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia can qualify to take part in the administration and government of their country. Equal opportunity is right, and the goal is a multi-racial society. To impose one-man-one-vote within a time-table does not justify the British Government in crushing a prosperous country.

"African nationalists like Dr. Nkrumah have clamoured for it, and, having got it, have used democracy for a ruthless demonstration of power at the expense of values vital to the civilized and free way of life. It is no part of Britain's duty to assist the extremists, black or white, to dictatorship. But that is exactly the choice which Mr. Wilson's policy of sanctions is certain to bring about.

"Either the extremists in Mr. Smith's Government would win out completely, or black African nationalism would take charge in a very few years—unless a middle constitutional way be chosen by which Africans can graduate to responsible government.

All Expediency and No Conviction

"But Mr. Wilson can not now conciliate or negotiate. The British elector can cast a vote which would lead to a settlement just to all races, a settlement which will restore partnership between Britain and Rhodesia. That way lies with the Conservatives alone."

In 16 months the Socialists had weakened the foundations of British influence overseas. They had revealed that they did not understand that a nation, like an individual, could be at its best only if it had a purpose outside itself. The Socialist decisions on defence would wreck any chance of an effective British foreign policy because there would be no strength on which to base it.

The Wilson policy was all expediency and no conviction. The Prime Minister had debased political currency and devalued democracy.

On the previous day Sir Alec had said when speaking in Keith, Scotland, that there could be little moral justification for the use of sanctions which aimed at destroying a nation, and that Mr. Wilson was making a serious mistake in trying to destroy Rhodesia's economy.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, said when addressing Ulster Unionist Council that the Prime Minister, having done more than enough damage already, ought to keep out of further discussion of the Rhodesian situation. There ought to be talks with Rhodesia in search of a constitutional settlement so that Rhodesia might proceed to lawful independence. While there was no question of recognizing U.D.I. before the talks began, it would be foolish to expect U.D.I. to be withdrawn as a condition of discussion. The general election should not be used by the Government as an excuse for postponement.

Mr. Michael Foot, Socialist M.P. for Ebbw Vale, said in Liverpool that Sir Alec Douglas-Home was trying to help the Smith régime impose a Fascist or neo-Fascist

system, though he had not voted against any of the sanctions when they came before Parliament, and though by their votes or their silence the Conservatives had approved all except one or two of the sanctions. Now Sir Alec was encouraging Mr. Smith to resist them. "He is trying to encourage a rebellion, trying to assist the Smith Government in imposing a Fascist or neo-Fascist system."

Rhodesia Mentioned in Queen's Speech

When the Queen opened a new session of the Jamaican Parliament on Thursday, Her Majesty, in her rôle as Queen of Jamaica, read a reference to Rhodesia which had been drafted by the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Donald Sangster, and his Cabinet. It said:—

"My Government in Jamaica fully supports the United Nations and the principles in its Charter. It deplors the actions of those Governments which deny the fundamental principles of human rights to their people and is totally opposed to all forms of racial discrimination. It supports all measures which may be used to put an end to the illegal Government."

Earlier in her Caribbean tour the Queen had opened the Parliament of Trinidad. The speech drafted by that Government made no reference to Rhodesia.

LORD SHAWCROSS, who was at one period Attorney-General in a Socialist Government, said in a speech in Auckland, New Zealand, that he opposed the sanctions against Rhodesia. The only sanctions which would be justifiable would be those which would persuade Rhodesia to return to liberal constitutional rule.

Mr. S. Green, mayor of Dargaville, has been elected president of the New Zealand-Rhodesia Society, whose headquarters are in Auckland. A branch has been formed in Christchurch on the initiative of Mr. J. Collins, a leading local architect. Other branches are in the process of formation.

Prime Minister Accused by Sir Archibald James

SIR ARCHIBALD JAMES told Worthing Conservative Association a few days ago that in a conversation with him in Rhodesia on December 5 Mr. Ian Smith offered to negotiate with the British Government. He returned to London next day and told the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and Sir Alec Douglas-Home that the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, the Governor, and the Chief Justice all advised the immediate resumption of talks.

"I became uneasy when I heard nothing further, and about December 10 telephoned to Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., and told him of my anxiety. In the House of Commons he asked Mr. Wilson if he had received verbal messages from the Governor and Mr. Smith clearly indicating that negotiations could and should begin.

"Mr. Wilson replied: 'The hon. gentleman would always be given in this House the authority which his standing deserves; which is a good deal less than the authority that he is given in Rhodesia. It is not true that the Governor has this week communicated either with the Commonwealth Relations Office or myself saying that negotiations are possible. It is true that a little earlier Mr. Smith indicated that he would be prepared to call off U.D.I. if we would give independence on the same terms as those on which U.D.I. was declared. This is unacceptable.'"

The *Daily Express* quoted Sir Archibald James as continuing: "I say that Wilson was lying, and must have known that he was lying, because it is inconceivable that before a debate on Rhodesia he would not have had a word with the Commonwealth Relations Secretary or the Minister of State at the C.R.O. and asked if anything new had cropped up."

The report was given the prominence of a two-column heading by the *Express*.

Six peers—Lords Salisbury, Salter, Swinton, Chandos, Grenfell, and Coleraine—have sent a joint letter to *The Times* saying:—

"You list among the benefits to be expected from a general election the ability of a new Government 'to deal firmly with the next stage of the Rhodesian crisis'. This is a phrase somewhat lacking in precision, but if it means what it might be taken to mean—that economic sanctions against Rhodesia having failed, the next stage must be their extension to cover Portugal and South Africa, or military intervention, or both—then many of your readers, we are sure, will wish like ourselves to express the most emphatic disagreement."

Rhodesian Situation Consistently Misreported

Mr. Evelyn King, M.P., has said in a letter to the *Guardian*:—

"I congratulate you on publishing John Worrall's report from Rhodesia suggesting that (1) Mr. Smith is politically stronger than ever; (2) the estimates laid down by Whitehall were hopelessly wrong; (3) Mr. Smith's rebellion is likely to succeed. These views are now shared by almost every impartial observer.

"With, I am sure, the best of motives, reporters from almost all British papers and especially the B.B.C. have over many months consistently misreported the situation.

"A similar charge can fairly be brought against Commonwealth Relations Office officials, whose prejudice I find frightening. The fact is that the American Mission in Salisbury is much better informed than the British, and anyone who talked to them soon became aware of it. The British Government is also at fault in not checking the information with which they were fed.

"Great harm has been done, and not only in England. Nothing has caused more justifiable bitterness in Rhodesia, or done more to help Mr. Smith, than Rhodesian reading of reports in the English Press making statements which Rhodesians from their own observations knew to be false. This has gone on over a period of years.

"I respect and listen with attention to those whose views on an appropriate Rhodesian policy differ from my own. My regret is that so many of them have been supplied with misleading data."

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., said at a Birmingham "teach-in" on Rhodesia:—

"The Selwyn Lloyd mission and the achievement of a united Conservative demand for talks with Mr. Smith have vindicated the Monday Club's consistent lead. No one who knew Rhodesians, particularly in war, doubted that sanctions and spite would strengthen Mr. Smith. Mr. Wilson has become a prime asset of the Rhodesian Front.

"If British trade and influence are to be rescued, and a ceiling set to the high cost of buttressing Zambia against the disruption which Mr. Wilson's petty policy has caused, a settlement must be sought before mounting Rhodesian bitterness against Britain chokes the voice of reason.

Orderly Evolution or Racialist Revolution

"In justice we cannot ask more than the 1961 Constitution, which opened the road to majority rule. Elsewhere in Africa one-man-one-vote has installed 'one man, one party'. It has meant the Congo cruelties and chaos; genocide and mass torture in Zanzibar and Sudan; half a dozen revolutions; in as many weeks; corrupt demagogues ousted by military dictators; Sir Abubakar Balewa butchered in show-piece Nigeria; Ghana redeemed from her Redeemer by armed conspiracy.

"The issue in Rhodesia is not primarily racial. What is at stake is whether there should be orderly evolution or racialist revolution—whether vital Southern Africa should be kept safe and peaceful for all its peoples or surrendered to subversion by the enemies of the West."

"The Prime Minister sees his political policy collapsing about him", says the current *Spectator*. "During the election campaign his refrain is going to be that by advocating talks with Mr. Smith the Tories are giving aid and comfort to the rebels and thus sabotaging the task of the British Government."

The writer of the comment, the editor, continues:—
 "What surprises me is the number of normally Lib-Lab commentators who have fallen for this fundamentally anti-democratic line. Suppose (which is by no means certain) that the charge is valid. Are the Tories to suppress what they believe to be right? If you want a free society you have to be prepared to pay the price. I believe it's worth it. Does Mr. Wilson? Do those who support him on Rhodesia?"

PRESIDENT KENYATTA said at a luncheon in Nairobi in honour of the President of the West German Republic: "We in Kenya are watching closely the stand being taken by your Government against the illegal régime in Rhodesia. We hope that this stand will be intensified to the end that majority rule can be realized in that unhappy country."

American Critics of American Policy

In the U.S. Congress, Mr. H. R. Gross, a Republican, has bitterly attacked the President for supporting the British boycott of Rhodesia, saying that the banning of exports to that friendly country violated the American Constitution. "To those who now pander to the British, I ask, in view of their dealings with Communist China, Communist Vietnam, and Communist Cuba, whether this Government is operated on a standard of double, triple, or quadruple morals."

In the American Senate Mr. James Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, said that the United States should refuse to support economic sanctions against Rhodesia unless Britain ceased trading with North Vietnam. He regretted that through an unreasoning fear of world opinion America had been led to recognize every black group which formed an alleged government and declared itself independent; those unstable countries were then immediately admitted to the United Nations, where each was given a voting strength equal to that of America. Yet when Rhodesia declared her independence there had been a "vast cry" for the use of force to restore British control.

In evidence before a Congressional committee, the president of a United States mining company accused the State Department of acting harmfully towards the country by forbidding the import of chrome from Rhodesia, since that involved the U.S.A. in buying additional supplies from Russia. "Why", he asked, "should the United States slap anti-Communist Rhodesia in the face and support the Soviet Union?"

Rhodesian affairs are now being handled in the State Department by Mr. Thomas Man, a Texan friend of President Johnson. Rhodesia had previously been the concern of Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. He is now expected to become a candidate for the Senate.

A South African company of motor distributors has presented the Rhodesian Prime Minister with a large American car. Mr. Smith has given it to the Rhodesian Government.

Meatless Days Proposed

Colonel G. H. Hartley, M.P. for Victoria, and Mr. D. C. Smith, M.P. for Marandellas, have suggested that Rhodesians should go without meat on two days a week in order that more beef may be available for export.

The Minister of Law and Order told Parliament that there were now 57 people in detention in Rhodesia, nine of them African women.

M. Jean-Pierre Maïre, secretary of the French-Rhodesian Society, said in a broadcast interview in Salisbury a few days ago that it already had some 600 members and that on his return he would give publicity to the Rhodesian case. Similar movements had, he knew, been started in Switzerland, Italy, Norway and Germany, and French Canadians had already been in touch with his society, saying that they wanted to do something for Rhodesia.

Miss Antonia Caccia, the 19-year-old daughter of Lord Caccia, lately head of the Diplomatic Service, and now Provost of Eton, was asked to leave Rhodesia on Monday, her visitor's permit having expired on February 25. She had been working for about a month for Amnesty International.

Mr. Aidan Foster-Carter, also a member of the Amnesty International team, has had his permit extended until March 15. He has relatives in Rhodesia.

Rhodesia Seeks National Song

RHODESIAN RESIDENTS or former residents have been invited by the Ministry of Information to enter a competition for a Rhodesian National Song (it is not called a National Anthem). Since the Prime Minister recently referred to the need, scores of manuscripts have been submitted. Many patriotic songs had been received previously by Rhodesia TeleVision in a "write-a-tune" contest. All have been passed to the Ministry, which will consider other entries up to March 31. The first and second prizes are of £100 and £50.

Is A Greek Oil Tanker Making For Beira ?

Mozambique Will Not Join In Oil Sanctions Against Rhodesia

PORTUGAL, despite strong and reiterated protests from the British Government, will not join in oil sanctions against Rhodesia. That was emphasized by an official spokesman in Lisbon last week after Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, had asked the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires in London to call on him, and after the British Ambassador had again made representations to the Portuguese Foreign Minister.

Reports of the erection of oil storage tanks at Beira and of Rhodesian expectations of crude oil deliveries through that port caused Mr. Stewart to ask the Chargé d'Affaires to tell his Government that these matters were viewed with great seriousness by the British Government. On the same day Sir Archibald Ross was instructed to protest vigorously in Lisbon.

British Government's Futile Protests

In London the Press was promptly informed of the measures taken by the Government in consequence of information from various sources that a number of prefabricated tanks were being erected at Beira, where there were preparations for a special link with the pipeline to the Rhodesian refinery at Feruka, near Umtali. It was believed that some storage would have become available by the end of last week, and that all the new tanks would be ready within about a fortnight.

The new storage is being provided because the tanks hitherto used for the pumping of oil to Feruka are owned by international companies which are forbidden by their Governments to supply oil to Rhodesia.

There were simultaneous reports that complete trains of rail tankers carrying petroleum products had been sent to Rhodesia from South Africa via Mozambique. Shell-B.P. told journalists in London that they were not involved in supplying oil to Rhodesia.

Farmers in the Cathcart district of the Cape Province have sent 86 drums of diesel oil as a gift to Rhodesian farmers, with a request that half should be distributed in the Macheke area. The other 43 drums have been allocated to Umsweswe, which has suffered very severely from the drought.

According to a Johannesburg source, 10 rail tankers, each carrying 7,000 gallons of petroleum products, are now engaged in a daily shuttle service into Rhodesia via Mozambique from South Africa.

The intake by road appears to have been stabilized at between 30,000 and 40,000 gallons a day.

Yet Mr. Goldberg, United States representative at the United Nations, said in London on the same day: "By and large, oil sanctions against Rhodesia are working; the amount of oil slipping into Rhodesia will by no means maintain the economy".

Greek Tanker from Angola

A Greek tanker carrying some 18,000 tons of oil from Angola was due in Beira on the high tide on Tuesday night, an official of the Mozambique Government told journalists in Beira on Monday. The cargo, he continued, would be piped to the refinery in Rhodesia from storage tanks under construction at Beira for a Portuguese company called Mozambique Investments, which was backed by Rhodesian money but whose directors were Portuguese. In order to expedite construction of the tanks, men had been switched from priority work at Beira airport.

By the week-end spokesmen in London had shown concern at the possibility of tankers reaching Beira. British warships were admitted to be watching for two ships, one of

which had left Lobito with Angolan crude oil, which is heavier than that from the Persian Gulf.

Portugal admitted that a "tank farm" was being built at Beira, but insisted that oil which would shortly be pumped into the tanks was not necessarily destined for Rhodesia, and that in any event the destination was not a Portuguese responsibility, the official policy being to maintain free communications between Mozambique and all her land-locked neighbours, Rhodesia, Malawi, and Zambia.

President Kaunda was stated to have emphasized to the British and United States Governments that if private tankers reached Beira the oil blockade would have become virtually non-existent.

Pressure on Lonrho

There were reports of renewed pressure by H.M. Government on Lonrho, Ltd., a London-based company which holds 62% of the Portuguese-registered Pipeline Company of Mozambique (C.P.M.R.), owners of the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia. On Friday Mr. A. H. Ball, the chairman of Lonrho, arrived in Salisbury. Next day he flew back to London, accompanied by Mr. R. W. Rowland, the joint managing director, for talks with British Government representatives before going to Lisbon for a C.P.M.R. board meeting today.

Mr. Ball said on arrival in London: "The pipeline is in Portuguese territory. What happens is up to the Portuguese. They have control of the position on the ground. I would rather not say more at this stage. I am to have talks with the British Government, and it would be embarrassing to anticipate the discussions".

On Tuesday four of the Lonrho directors called at the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The Greek Government announced on Saturday that ships flying the Greek flag had been forbidden to carry cargoes of oil or arms for Rhodesia.

After a New York newspaper had reported an alleged agreement between the British Government and international oil companies that supplies of petroleum products to South Africa should be limited to not more than 10% above the total sold to that country in 1964, Socony Mobil denied that there had been any agreement to restrict sales of oil to South Africa in order to circumvent the embargo on oil for Rhodesia.

A Ministry of Commerce statement issued in Salisbury on Saturday said that the full story of oil supplies could be told only when the state of emergency had ended. Meantime, the less said about the procurement of petroleum products, the better. Whereas members of the staffs of some oil companies operating in Rhodesia had refrained from replying to adverse comments, others had felt compelled to disclose information in defence of their position. Only when the whole story could be disclosed would it be possible to assess the contribution made by individual companies to the solution of Rhodesia's temporary shortage.

Trains of Tanker Wagons

On Friday it was reported from Salisbury that several trains of tanker wagons had arrived during the week by the line from Lourenço Marques, that oil deliveries by rail and road had lately met consumption under rationing, and that the oil companies there and in Bulawayo were hard pressed for storage space.

The Ministry of Commerce announced that Rhodesians with holiday bookings at Rhodesian hotels of at least a week who could not easily travel by air or rail would receive enough additional petrol for the return journey, and that Rhodesians with holiday bookings outside the country of at least three weeks' duration would be granted enough petrol to enable them to travel to the border. On the previous day the currency allowance for Rhodesians visiting South Africa had been raised from £100 to £150 per person.

While telegrams from Rhodesia and South Africa stated that by the end of the week oil deliveries by rail and road had reached a level sufficient to meet Rhodesia's current daily needs, officials in London continued to assert that only about one-fifth of current consumption was being met. At that time the traffic through Beitbridge was reported to be at least double that of a fortnight earlier, and to have averaged between 60,000 and 70,000 gallons a day over the week. Petrol, paraffin, diesel fuel, and lubricants are all being sent in by road.

Private gifts from South African citizens now account for about 10,000 gallons daily.

Italians living in Johannesburg have contributed £1,000 for the purchase of petrol for Rhodesia.

Rhodesia Winning the War of Sanctions and Confidence

British Newspapers Now Euphazise Mr. Harold Wilson's Miscalculations

MR. IAN SMITH said in an interview with the Sunday *Tribune*, South Africa, that "pretty soon" he hoped to be able to tell the Rhodesian people that "we have ridden out the storm". Though the full effect of sanctions had still to be felt, "I think we are getting very near to the point where I can report that we are over the hump."

"We are going to face greater hardships. Our people will have to tighten their belts still further, but I hope they won't have to tighten them too far. I hope it won't be too long before we hit rock bottom. I would guess the latter part of this year. Then we will wavel out, run along for a while, and then start climbing again."

He had laid down no pre-conditions for the re-opening of talks with Britain. "I don't want to be unkind, but the only thing now standing in the way of open talks is the obstinate attitude of the British Prime Minister himself. He appears to be the only man in the world who doesn't want to talk to me; and if he won't talk we won't get much further in Salisbury Anglo-Rhodesian relationships."

Asked what he thought of the economy 114 days after U.D.I., Mr. Smith replied: "Everybody told us that by now we would be on our knees. Well, we are not on our knees. Sanctions never have worked. As each day goes by we find ways and means of circumventing them. The British may not want to trade with us, but there are many who do."

Answering a question about the sufficiency of help from South Africa, the Prime Minister said: "If Rhodesia has any better friends than the South Africans I'd like to know who they are. Our two nations have always been close. Since U.D.I. we have moved even closer. There is nothing official. I want to make that clear. It comes from the people themselves. The South African Government has been absolutely impecuniate in its conduct. What they have done has been precisely right. Nobody could implicate them."

Hope that All Tobacco Will Be Sold

Great prominence was given by the *Daily Mail* on Monday to a report under the six-column caption "Smith May Have Sold His Tobacco: Wilson's Nightmare". It suggested that the whole of the current tobacco crop was likely to be sold.

The report said, *inter alia*—

"Some men in secret in Salisbury have it in their pockets to do great damage to Mr. Harold Wilson and Labour's election chances this month. By buying Rhodesia's tobacco the merchant could make a fiasco of the trade embargo; provide the Smith régime with £20m. to £30m. of badly-needed foreign exchange and give Mr. Smith another victory in his war of confidence."

"Sale of the tobacco crop, the sustaining trickle of oil which may soon become larger, and the disappointing results of the credit squeeze on Rhodesia could mean not only that Mr. Wilson's sanctions policy has failed but that it would be seen to have failed."

"Intelligent businessmen newly back from Johannesburg think that Rhodesia will sell the whole of the tobacco crop this month and that the Smith régime hopes to announce the fact smack in the middle of the election campaign, to cause Mr. Wilson as much embarrassment as possible."

"South African, Portuguese, Swiss, German, French and Italian tobacco merchants have all been reported in Salisbury looking for business, and in Johannesburg looking for credit. The Germans are the favourites; particularly among British experts, but the Dutch have been displaying a lot of interest."

"Whoever the buyers are, Mr. Smith and his men will do everything to smooth their way. The buyers will have to pay cash, which will enable Rhodesia to pay for vital imports though the buyers may think it politic to leave the actual tobacco in Rhodesia for a while. The tobacco will probably fetch only about four-fifths of what it would have normally."

"Mr. Wilson looks like having an awful lot of explaining to do."

Tobacco trade circles in Rhodesia are pleased at the new regulations against disclosure of the identity of any purchaser of tobacco, the penalty for breach being a fine up to £500 and imprisonment up to two years. No one may now enter the tobacco floors unless in possession of a permit issued by the Secretary for Agriculture. To disclose information about the sales has been made an offence. It is considered that the new

Rhodesian legislation will nullify the British Order in Council purporting to make anyone who deals in Rhodesian tobacco a criminal.

Government's Expectations

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. G. W. Rudland, told the Rhodesian Parliament a few days ago that the Government knew that the tobacco auctions starting on March 29 would be attended by people who intended to purchase "a very good percentage of the crop".

When speaking on the Tobacco Corporation Bill, Mr. C. I. H. Stuart, M.P. for Mazoe, said that tobacco growers realized that they were engaged in fighting "an economic war in which the enemy is using all the viciousness, guile, cunning, distortion, and untruths at its disposal to bring this country to its knees".

It was impudent of Mr. Wilson, the leader of a one-man band in Britain, to think that Rhodesian farmers would jump to his tune. His actions might in fact prove a blessing in disguise to Rhodesian tobacco growers, for countries which had never bought their product would now discover its good quality and learn that it could be bought at about 20d. per lb. under the United States price.

Mr. B. H. Mussett, Minister of Commerce and Industry, told the House that Australia, New Zealand, and other countries would trade with Rhodesia if they were not under pressure from Britain. It would be wrong to penalize them by revealing their identity even by giving tariff preference to their goods.

After the present emergency had passed import control would need to be continued to safeguard the interests of industrialists, who, knowing that that was intended, could proceed meantime with schemes of development with the assurance that action taken now would be jeopardized by cheap imports later.

Rhodesia Escaping from the Credit Squeeze

That Rhodesia is winning the "crucial war of confidence" and escaping from the credit squeeze upon her by Britain has been emphasized by *The Times*.

Under the heading "Rhodesia Escaping from the Credit Squeeze", an article on one of its financial pages stated:—

"The Rhodesian economy is slipping through the credit squeeze which financial sanctions were supposed to fasten on it. By now overdrafts were meant to be unobtainable and tobacco farmers crying out for credit. This has not happened, although the commercial banks are still tightly stretched and a crisis of confidence and a run on deposits in Rhodesia could plunge them into serious trouble at any time."

"It seems as though demand for credit was already high in Rhodesia before U.D.I. and in spite of the commercial banks' reluctance to bring in funds from London a certain amount of British funds were injected, and are now."

"The amount of money needed to meet the seasonal credit requirements was probably less than £10m. Part of this would be met by the lowering of bank liquidity requirements soon after U.D.I. was declared. Part would come from funds diverted from financing imports as import quotas took effect. Some may well have come from credits established outside Rhodesia, most probably in South Africa. The reduction in consumer spending inside Rhodesia would be enough to shrink demand to meet the remaining resources available."

"It is increasingly clear that the main hope of bruising the Smith régime, let alone crushing it, is the tobacco embargo. If the crop cannot be sold to outside financiers for hard currency—and for anyone to buy it remains an enormous risk—the régime will have to find some £20m.—£30m. to pay off the growers sufficiently to cover their costs."

No Danger of Breakdown of Financial Machinery

"The £5m. Development Loan just issued will help to put up some of the funds, but the rest will have to come from elsewhere. It is likely that much will come from foreign currency earnings — since these must be fully committed to pay for the increased allocation of import quotas which the régime announced recently with considerable bravado.

"The commercial banks are completely in the power of the Smith régime and can no longer respond to their head offices in London. A show of resistance would merely invite the appointment of a Government controller.

"So there is no danger yet of the financial machinery in Rhodesia breaking down, and nothing to stop the Smith régime from printing an extra £20m. and putting it into circulation if required. This would increase the internal note circulation by a considerable amount and touch off the inflationary spiral which London sources have long predicted. But this would postpone the economic crisis still further.

"The South African *Financial Mail* last week suggested that the cost to Britain would be at least £50m. in a full year — and possibly £100m. The calculation includes about £35m. in frustrated British exports which would not be sold elsewhere, £7m. in lost visible earnings, several millions in the higher cost of tobacco and chrome imports, £8m. in higher copper prices touched off by the Rhodesian situation, and £9m. to help cushion the Zambian economy with oil and other necessities.

"With the Zambian trade embargo on Rhodesia failing to materialize, Mr. Smith has won the latest round of the crucial war of confidence.

"If Mr. Wilson cannot show that sanctions are working and that his economic assessment was correct he will have to answer to British businessmen as well as to the voting public and to Commonwealth leaders."

Record Imports

The Board of Trade announced on the same day that imports from Rhodesia into the United Kingdom in January reached the record figure of £3,814,000. In January last year the total had been £2.1m.

Tobacco imports were up from £557,000 to £2,460,000 in the month, and those of asbestos from £112,000 to £717,000. Under the embargo regulations such shipments were admissible if entered by the end of January.

It was also officially announced that about 9,000 tons of high-grade chrome ore, for which payment had been made on December 6, and which were at Beira awaiting shipment when the ban came into force, had been admitted, perfectly legally, since January 20. The United States had similarly taken upwards of 15,000 tons of chrome which was outside Rhodesia when the embargo began.

U.K. exports to Rhodesia in January at £453,000 compared with shipments worth £2,720,000 in the same month last year.

MR. ANTHONY HAWKINS, a Rhodesian journalist who is the correspondent in Salisbury of the *Statist*, is reported in the current issue of that journal to be in London for "talks to members of the Government and the Conservative Opposition". In the course of an article headed "No Let-Up for Smith" he has written:

"Whichever way Mr. Wilson turns he will find his way blocked. The Lagos line, expecting a Rhodesian collapse within weeks rather than months, is discredited. The oil embargo has been seriously breached. No speedy end of the Rhodesian crisis is in sight unless there are to be renewed talks. Yet talks at this stage would probably break down over the same issues as those last year.

"The British Prime Minister is reluctant to face the essential fact that economic pressures will not topple Mr. Smith. Force is out — for political and logistic reasons. Yet Mr. Wilson at Lagos committed himself to ending the Rhodesian U.D.I. before July.

"Since Mr. Lloyd's visit pressure in Britain has been building up for renewed talks, Mr. Wilson refuses to negotiate until Mr. Smith's position is seriously weakened. But the signs are that Mr. Smith's position will not be eroded by economic pressures.

"Mr. Wilson and his official advisers in Whitehall must take the bulk of the blame for this state of affairs. As an economist don he ought to have known that economic sanctions, if they work at all, do not work overnight. Yet he

believed that a Rhodesian collapse could be expected by mid-March.

"Mr. Wilson and his Whitehall advisers are reluctant to accept the distinction between damaging the Rhodesian economy and toppling Mr. Smith. The economic sanctions are going to do enormous damage to the Rhodesian economy. But what has always been difficult to understand is just how Mr. Wilson thought these economic forces would be translated into political action.

Key to Unemployment Problem

"The tobacco sales over the next few weeks hold the key to the unemployment problem. If Rhodesia does not find markets for her leaf a further sharp reduction in imports will be necessary and retailers will feel the impact of a sharp decline in purchasing power. If the sales go even moderately well further significant unemployment may be avoided. If President Kaunda goes ahead with the plan to sever virtually all trading links with Rhodesia, the impact on Rhodesia's balance of payments could be extremely serious.

"There is a grave danger that during the general election campaign Mr. Wilson will find himself pushed into an extreme position by his own left wing — or by the Tory right wing. The less that is heard of Rhodesia in the campaign the better for Rhodesia. Whatever the Tory right wing may promise during the campaign, faced with the realities of power (should there be a Conservative victory) the party would not be able to offer terms acceptable to the Rhodesian Front right wing. Thinking Rhodesians will not expect much from the Tories anyway, as the memories of Macmillan, Macleod and Sandys are still vividly held.

"It is easy to be critical of Mr. Wilson's policy, but the Conservatives have not suggested any feasible alternative. Mr. Heath would talk now, though with little prospect of making any real headway. Mr. Wilson would prefer to wait to see if the sanctions do soften the Rhodesian line."

Mr. Garfield Weston's £250,000 Investment

After recently spending a week in Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Weston decided to acquire control of Wightman & Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., a large milling and maize manufacturing company, and to interest himself in the beef and cotton industries. "Our meat-packing organization in Australia processes and exports 300,000 cattle a year", he said; "Rhodesia is so much closer to our markets". His 80 major and 400 subsidiary companies in many countries make him the largest food seller in the world.

Speaking of his new £250,000 investment, Mr. Weston said: "I have sufficient faith in Rhodesia to invest now, sanctions or no sanctions. As a businessman I am very anxious that there should be good, stable government in this country. As a Canadian I regret that Canada is participating in sanctions against a country of which she knows so very little."

He considered Rhodesia "a great country with a united, great-hearted people". Since his previous visit 15 years ago the changes in Rhodesia had been "terrific".

It was announced last week that a large office block costing more than £1m. was soon to be built in Salisbury to house the Southampton Insurance Company, a subsidiary of the Schlesinger group of South Africa. It is expected to be the most expensive building ever erected in the Rhodesian capital.

"In the underdeveloped world as a whole the yearly addition of some 50 million people to the population may eat up half the gain in production in a single year". — Mr. George D. Woods, president of the World Bank.

"When I go to the United Kenya Club evening discussion groups I find only half a dozen Africans present as against scores of Europeans and Asians. Does this mean that the educated Africans think they have nothing more to learn, that they have no sense of intellectual inquiry? It is not that our people cannot afford it. Thousands of Africans now earn the salaries which Europeans used to earn". — Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development in Kenya.

PERSONALIA

LORD LLOYD has visited Ethiopia.

SIR PERCY HUNTING was 81 on Sunday.

DR. ZIMMERER, mayor of Wurzberg, Germany, has visited Uganda.

KING FAISAL OF SAUDI ARABIA is paying a nine-day State visit to the Sudan.

DAME MARGERY PERHAM is to receive the hon. D. Litt. of Cambridge University.

MR. P. O'NEIL-DUNNE, a director of Rothmans of Pall Mall, Ltd., has visited Kenya.

MR. and MRS. S. F. BRICE are holding a reception at Rhodesia House, London, this evening.

MR. JUSTICE NEWBOLD has been appointed President of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

MR. C. M. GAUNT, commercial manager of Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., has been appointed to the board.

MR. RUPIYA BANDA, Zambia's Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, has recently visited France and Algeria.

MR. J. A. C. OWENS has been appointed manager of the new Export Credit Insurance Corporation of Rhodesia.

MR. G. E. BANES, former assistant manager in Liverpool of the Hall Line, has been appointed a director of the company.

THE RT. REV. CECIL ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, has recently celebrated the 40th anniversary of his ordination.

THE REV. W. P. VAN ZYL, for the past two and a half years an assistant priest in Umtali, Rhodesia, has joined the Samaritan organisation in London.

MR. RONALD NGALA has been appointed chairman of Kenya's new Maize and Produce Board. He was chairman of the recently disbanded Maize Marketing Board.

DR. J. M. KARANJA, Kenya's High Commissioner in London, was the guest at a luncheon last week of the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

MR. C. G. C. RAWLINS, formerly of the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia, has been appointed by the Zoological Society of London to be director of its London and Whipnade zoos.

DR. JOHN ARCHIBALD TAYLOR, sometime of the Colonial Medical Service in Uganda and Zanzibar, who had lived at Upton Grey, Huntingdonshire, left £60,437, on which duty of £20,154 has been paid.

MR. J. PARRY, director-general of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, will shortly retire on medical advice. He first went to Rhodesia in 1931 and has been engaged in broadcasting for 25 years.

DR. G. R. DAVIS, resident mining consultant in Zambia of Charter Consolidated, Ltd., will on October 1 become Professor of Mining Geology at the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London University.

MR. D. G. M. MACLACHLAN, for the past two years the representative of Rhodesian Railways in Lourenço Marques, has just retired. He has been succeeded by MR. W. D. SUFFELL, lately an assistant traffic officer in Zambia.

DR. ELWYN PARRY JONES, lately chairman and managing director of Fisons Pest Control, Ltd., who had previously managed subsidiaries in the Sudan and East and Central Africa, left £29,669, on which duty of £13,913 has been paid.

SIR THOMAS PILKINGTON, a director of Thos. and Jas. Harrison, Ltd., has joined the board of Charente Steamship Co., Ltd., and MR. P. S. WILSON has become vice-chairman of T. & J. Harrison, from the board of which MR. J. K. HARRISON has retired.

PRINCE PATRICK KAMBOYO, aged 20, who was at Sherborne School, Dorset, until a few weeks ago, was last week crowned OMUKAMA (KING) OF TORO, Western Uganda, in succession to his late father, SIR GEORGE RUKIDI. The ceremonies included nine enthronements.

PRESIDENT MOBUTU said in Elisabethville a few days ago: "European racists in the Congo can pack their bags and go to South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portuguese Africa. We want hotels, clubs and shops to be open to everybody. Anybody who does not conform will be expelled without trial or formality."

DR. LORENTZ H. ADOLFSON, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, MR. HAROLD MCCARTY, director of radio and television at that university, and DR. W. J. HARLEY, president of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in the United States, have arrived in Uganda to study the use of television and radio in education.

DR. DAVID BELL, Administrator of the United States Aid Programme, DR. ROBERT GARDINER, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and DR. PAUL PREBISCH, secretary-general of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, were among the leaders of an international seminar on aid and development held last week at Rhodes House, Oxford.

THE REV. AUGUSTINO OBOMA, a Roman Catholic priest in Juba, is on trial for the capital offence of "waging war against the Government of Sudan", the allegation being that he had attempted to smuggle 300 rounds of ammunition and some military uniforms to the Anya Nya rebels. His defence is that the contraband was placed in his motor lorry when he stayed overnight at a police post while on his way to a seminary in the country.

LORD CAMPBELL (formerly SIR JOCK CAMPBELL), who has sat with the Independent peers in the House of Lords since he was made a life baron in the New Year Honours List, has joined the Labour Party, with which he has long sympathized, being a director of the company publishing the *New Statesman*. He is chairman of Booker Brothers McConnell & Co., Ltd., and a member of the council of the Overseas Development Institute and of the executive committee of the Africa Bureau.

SIR CORNELIUS GREENFIELD, Secretary to the Rhodesian Treasury since 1954, will shortly retire and be succeeded by MR. DAVID YOUNG. SIR CORNELIUS, who was born in the Transvaal, was taken to Rhodesia by his parents at the age of three in 1909. After leaving Milton High School, Bulawayo, he joined the Native Affairs Department, and transferred to the Treasury four years later. After the declaration of independence last November he was appointed Chief Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister.

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"Calumny" Against Independent Africa Dangerous Ignorance of British Ministers

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—If the need arose to select some superlatively fatuous comment on the Rhodesian situation one would never require to look farther than the speeches of Mr. Arthur Bottomley. Take, for instance, his remark to the Foreign Press Association just after the news had been received of the bloody revolt in Nigeria; this, he said, would be used by the Rhodesian rebels "to further their campaign of calumny against independent Africa".

Calumny! In what sort of ivory tower does Mr. Bottomley live? Can he still believe that violence in these new one-party States, the slaughter of Africans by Africans, the growth of brutal intolerance and contempt for civilized standards, the Byzantine extravagance and corruption at the top levels—that all these things are not relevant to the Rhodesian case?

If the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, with all his opportunities, can remain oblivious of this Kafka-like nightmare north of the Zambezi, what chance have the broad masses whose information comes almost exclusively from television? We are sickeningly familiar by now with the way this thing works in regard to Rhodesia.

First, of course, there is the endless projection of the Prime Ministerial "image". Silver-haired, statesman-like, dignified, paternal, Mr. Wilson presents a moving picture of himself dealing justly but mercifully with a bunch of colonial juvenile delinquents. After a dozen repeats of this performance it is difficult to believe that the same man is capable of a cobra-like jet of abuse in the House of Commons in which Rhodesians are branded as "frightened little men", Fascists, racists, traitors, rebels, and objects of contempt.

The B.B.C. is consistent and deadly on its own account, never missing a trick. Its line has been to denigrate the Rhodesians, picturing them as white supremacists wallowing in their own kind of *dolce vita* and concerned only with conserving their private swimming-baths, tennis courts, and dance clubs. Naturally the campaign has had the hearty support of the detribalized Left, compulsively anti-British in any case.

This massive misrepresentation occludes the real, crucial nature of the conflict of opinion between the white Rhodesians and the British Government. Nevertheless, nothing that Government apologists are now saying, or the last-moment gimmick by Mr. Wilson on the eve of W.D.I., should be allowed to conceal the basic fact that the Rhodesians have been under constant and unremitting pressure, even fiercer since the Labour Government came into power, to hasten the advance of majority rule.

Wilson's celebrated five principles mean exactly that, and there is nothing in recent qualifying statements by some of his followers to convince one that there has been a radical change in the objective, or that the British Prime Minister is less the captive of the O.A.U. than he has been during the year-long controversy.

"The problem facing the white Rhodesians is not one of preserving their private swimming-baths, but one of literally of life or death. If they now surrender to Whitehall, it will be Whitehall that will determine exactly when they shall hand over to some local black African their entire administration, their Army, their Air Force, and their Police.

And should that be done, without the slightest doubt, following the precedent set by all the 29 new territories to the north, a republic would be declared, the Union Jack would be pulled down, the Queen's authority would be disowned, and the new State of Zimbabwe declared non-aligned between Communism and the West. The formal tearing-up of the Constitution and

the creation of the one-party State might be delayed for a month or two.

But it is extremely doubtful that Mr. Wilson would find occasion to repeat his hysterical cries of treason and rebellion. These are reserved for white dissidents.

Gloriously obvious as is Mr. Wilson's ignorance of Africa, one wonders who his expert advisers are, or if he listens to any. Consider the tragic farce of the Lagos Commonwealth Conference, which was so wisely ignored by Mr. Menzies and his colleague of New Zealand. Mr. Wilson emerged from that shambles jauntily proclaiming that what had happened had left the Commonwealth "stronger than ever"—this when the carnage was already spreading throughout the Western Region of Nigeria, when the distinguished African chairman of the conference was soon to be found dead in a ditch with his eyes gouged out, and when the flames of revolt were rising in Ghana and Uganda!

Did no one warn him? Before he frisked over to Lagos did nobody tell him of that most significant general strike more than a year before which not only revealed the shocking weakness of the Government but revealed the root causes of nation-wide disaffection?

Perhaps he is now being told that all is for the best. Amurath to Amurath succeeds, and No. 2 is sure to be better. But that view is based on the assumption that the troubles of the new African States are due to the personal defects of those who first managed to seize power. Certainly there is little doubt that the sudden change from say, dish-washing, to unlimited power and wealth, and the means to jostle on equal terms with the great in Washington, Paris, Peking, London, etc., was a traumatic experience which had to be alleviated or compensated by wild extravagance, self-deification, statues, palaces, and Cadillacs.

What every one of the new leaders aimed at, from the first joyful day of "liberation", was a permanent unifying principle, and that surely was Nationalism, symbolized by brand-new flags, anthems, and so on. But Nationalism was still-born. It never became a real principle of unity. For there were no Nations. Not one of these 29 new States, with the doubtful exception of Sudan, has any historical, geographical, or ethnological claim to nationhood. The old tribal loyalties remain, and are even fortified, but for obvious reasons their impact on events is in most cases divisive and fissiparous.

So where is the real principle of unity to be found? Not in the confines of one State, but in all Africa—and here is the danger. Inspired by the ambitions of individuals like Nkrumah, by movements like *négritude*, aided by plenty of money from Moscow and Peking, together with far more cunning propaganda than formerly, everywhere the appeal is being made to extreme black racialism. The whole continent must be black, must be Africanized. The white man must be driven out. The first objective lies across the Zambezi, and the second across the Limpopo.

To recognize this danger is half-way towards neutralizing it. But surely nothing could be more futile than to go on pretending that our Western form of democracy must prevail, and that one-man-one-vote is anything but a Gadarene slogan that leads to the precipice.

Mr. Duncan Sandys has just said—what you and I have been saying for years—that before the white population of Rhodesia could be expected to have confidence in majority rule they will need to see the achievement of stability and freedom in other parts of Africa.

If the Government here, whatever it may turn out to be, has regard to this condition, all might still be well. For neither this country, nor Africa itself, nor the West in general, can afford to throw Rhodesia to the wolves in order to gratify the *amour propre* or save the face of anyone, however exalted.

Yours faithfully,

Beckington Abbey, Bath.

LEWIS HASTINGS.

Obituary

Sir David Edwards Former Chief Justice of Uganda

SIR DAVID EDWARDS, who was Chief Justice of Uganda from 1947 to 1953, has died in London, aged 74. The son of a solicitor in Aberdeen, he was educated at the local grammar school and university, of which he became M.A. in 1912 and LL.B. two years later. Immediately on the outbreak of war in 1914 he joined the Royal Artillery, with which he served in India, Mesopotamia and German East Africa (with a mounted battery).

He qualified as a solicitor in Scotland in 1921, joined the Colonial Administrative Service in Kenya in the same year, and three years later was called to the Scottish Bar. In 1928 he transferred to the Colonial Legal Service, and was at different times resident magistrate in Eldoret, Nakuru, and Nairobi. In 1935 he went to Palestine as a judge, and acted as Chief Justice on two occasions towards the end of British administration. Then he became Chief Justice in Uganda, where he was president of the local branches of the British Legion and the Caledonian Society and chairman of the King George V Jubilee Trust. In 1959 he went to Cyprus as senior judge of a special court. Since 1960 he had lived mainly in London, where he was a regular attendant at meetings concerned with East and Central Africa.

A keen Freemason, he was a member of the East and Central Africa Lodge in London. In Palestine he had been promoted to district grand rank.

Colonel A. A. Baerlein

LIEUT.-COLONEL ARTHUR ADOLF BAERLEIN, C.B.E., who had practised as a barrister in Uganda for almost 40 years, has died at his home in Jinja. Born in Manchester in 1886, he was educated at Sedbergh, called to the Bar in 1913, and served throughout the 1914-18 war with the Royal Field Artillery in Gallipoli, Serbia and France.

He went to Uganda in 1927, and 11 years later was appointed to the Legislative Council. As soon as war broke out in 1939 he rejoined the forces; in 1941 he was appointed Legal Adviser to the British Military Administration in Eritrea, and held the post for four years. On demobilization he returned to Uganda, where he served on a number of public bodies, including the Immigration Board, the Traffic Control Board, and the Advisory Boards for European and Town and Country Planning, before re-entering the Legislative Council in 1952.

He held district grand rank in Freemasonry, and was ever ready to help any good cause, one of his special interests being work for the blind. He was made C.B.E. in 1959. He had been an occasional correspondent of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

A memorial service for SIR SYDNEY PHILLIPSON is to be held in St. Paul's Cathedral at noon on Wednesday, March 16.

JUDGE NILS ASCHAN, who has died in Stockholm at the age of 95, was the father of Mr. CARL ASCHAN, who is well known to many sisal growers in East Africa.

MR. TESSAMA KABADE, secretary-general of the Ethiopian Liberation Movement, who had just returned to Sudan after a visit to East Africa, has been found dead. His body, which had been buried, had been burned.

Denial of Independence Wrong The Rev. Arthur Lewis's Candid Summary

AN ANGLICAN PRIEST IN RHODESIA, the Rev. Arthur Lewis, of St. Peter's Mission, Mandaia, in the Umtali district, has written in a circular letter to supporters of the mission:—

"Reading the British papers and listening to the B.B.C. makes one despair of ever getting a true picture across. A fine furor of emotion was worked up by talking of illegality, rebellion, and treason, and reasonable discussion has practically been ruled out.

"Yet is it unchristian for a Christian people, faced with a grievous wrong, to offer passive, non-violent resistance? Cannot the famous English sense of fair play admit that there is another point of view honestly held by people on the spot—people who are neither stupid nor wicked? God was not on the side of the big guns (ecclesiastical or secular) on Good Friday. Are we sure He is now?"

"There are all sorts of opinions in Rhodesia, and folks can and do berate the Government. But most Rhodesians are convinced that the denial of independence to Rhodesia after 42 years of internal self-government was a monstrous wrong.

Africans Not Opposed to Government

"Africans here have a higher standard of living than in most African countries, and access to the vote on the same terms as other races. Tribal Africans express themselves through their tribal leaders. The African people (as President Kaunda of Zambia has pointed out with chagrin) are not opposing the Government to any appreciable extent.

"Many of us, black and white, think the ruling party is far too conservative. I have never voted for it. But it would not be in power at all if Britain had not broken up our multi-racial Federation.

"We are not a police State. The tiny police post which serves us here is further from Mandaia than Brighton is from London: and all we see of it is the odd African constable on a bicycle!

"Yet this peaceful and prosperous country, striving to build a Christian civilization in Africa, is now—if the British Government has its way—to be starved out, broken, and brought to its knees by those who did not turn a hair at the bloody revolution in Zanzibar: with the full blessing of the ecclesiastical establishment.

"The unilateral declaration of independence and the crisis before it had made no difference at all at Mandaia, and precious little anywhere else in Rhodesia. Ordinary African people are as friendly as ever, and there have been few incidents.

"Talk of restoring law and order is absurd: it would be disturbed only by incitement from outside. Yet I have just read a report of a sermon in Westminster Abbey which called on Britain and the United Nations to end violence in Rhodesia! Another report is of English people collecting money, not for the victims of petrol bombs, but for the defence of the petrol bombers!

"Do write about Rhodesia to the Press and to your M.P."

Hypocrisy About Rhodesia

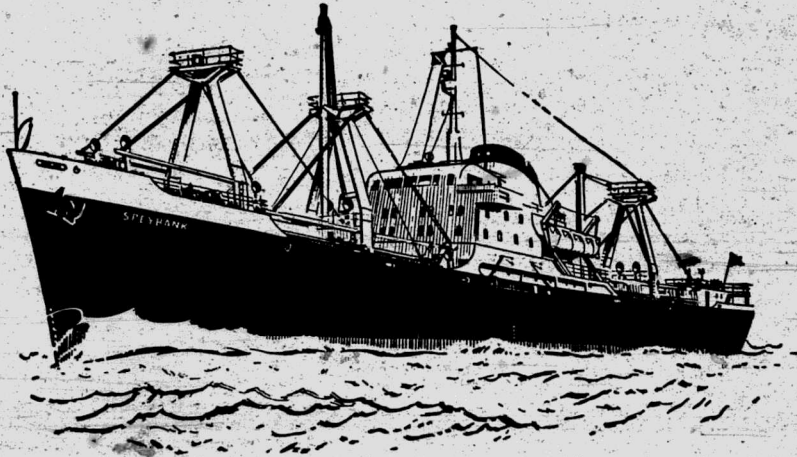
MR. R. A. BROOME has written from Poole, Dorset, to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Much of the moral attitude about Rhodesia is sheer hypocrisy. Many of the loudest talkers inhabit glass houses of the utmost fragility. We would do well to show less concern for the black politician and more for the millions whose need is law and order, with the prospect of continuing improvement.

"The eventual objective in Rhodesia of responsible majority rule can be achieved only gradually with good will. Far better to come to some compromise with Mr. Smith than to give way to black extremists, with the inevitable consequence of a life-time of chaos and destruction. At the moment there is no possibility of responsible black rule. Apart from anything else, the two black leaders are enemies and refuse to co-operate with each other, let alone with whites.

"Mr. Wilson was 'surprised' to discover this fact on his recent visit. It is small wonder that Rhodesians distrust such arm-chair leadership from the safety of Britain."

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President and Vice-President Dismissed Prime Minister's Charge Against Kabaka

DR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, announced in the middle of last week that the duties, powers and other functions hitherto exercised by the President and Vice-President had been vested in him as Prime Minister. He would act in accord with the advice and consent of his Cabinet.

Sir Edward Mutesa, Kabaka of Buganda, who had been President of Uganda since the country became independent, had protested against the suspension of the Constitution as illegal and against the arrest of five Cabinet Ministers.

Dr. Obote alleged next day that the President had summoned foreign ambassadors and had made "firm requests for military assistance", thus showing that "the Constitution has been used by certain individuals to suit their own ends". If he as Prime Minister had not taken drastic action, "this country would have been plunged into grave danger, finding itself invaded by foreign troops".

In dismissing the President and Vice-President and arresting five Ministers he had not been motivated by hatred or malice; he had acted in the interests of order and good government.

In another reference to an alleged attempt by the President to overthrow the Government while the Prime Minister was in the north of the country, Dr. Obote said that a senior official from Buganda, the President's kingdom, "is now away on the same mission, for military assistance".

Which Embassies Were Approached?

It became known that Sir Wilberforce Nadioppe, the Vice-President, and his wife had left the country by car earlier in the week for Nairobi, which they left quickly for an unknown destination.

Mr. Daudi Ocheng, Opposition Chief Whip in the National Assembly, and secretary-general of the Kabaka Yekka Party, also left for Nairobi. His accusations in Parliament against Dr. Obote and two other Ministers of receiving gold, ivory and other loot from the Congo worth about £250,000 started the political crisis. In Nairobi he told journalists that after flying to London he would visit Brussels and Leopoldville, and be back in Uganda in about a fortnight.

On Saturday Dr. Obote challenged Sir Edward Mutesa to name the foreign embassies which he had approached for military assistance.

Sir Edward's private secretary replied that the President had not negotiated for military aid for the invasion of the country, but for its protection. It having been stated in the Uganda Parliament that men were being

trained in secret with the aim of overthrowing the Constitution, precautionary requests had to be made lest the situation should get out of hand; but the President had not invited troops to invade the country.

In addition to their present portfolios, five Ministers have been charged with the responsibilities of those of their colleagues now under arrest. Mr. Odaka takes the additional duty of Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister; Mr. B. K. Bataringaya that of Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives; Mr. W. W. Kalema, Health; Mr. C. J. Obwangor, Housing and Labour; and Mr. A. A. Ojera, Mineral and Water Resources.

Police Chief Denounces Politicians

The Inspector-General of Police has said in a television broadcast that some politicians had sought to interfere with the work of the security services, even entering barracks, trying to pump politics into the heads of men of the army, police and prison personnel, and offering them money to join their political parties. The security forces would exert themselves to remove "this mess and corruption, for corruption is the worst disease in the world".

Lady Listowel, who is revisiting East Africa, has written in the *Statist*:—

"The general impression is that Dr. Obote struck at his opponents before they were able to strike at him.

"Obote is in the hands of the army", many friends have told me; "it remains to be seen whether the army will remain loyal to him". This is also the view of people who have no idea of the struggle for leadership inside the Uganda Congress Party or of the issues dividing sophisticated southerners from less progressive northerners, two problems forming the background to the present crisis.

"There is a feeling that the crisis has only just begun. Accusations and counter-accusations of corruption and Communism, which Obote and his followers and the five arrested Ministers have been flinging at each other, are not taken seriously".

Eight States Quit from O.A.U. Meeting Algeria Favoured Promotion of Armed Rising

AFTER AN ALL-NIGHT SESSION, a six-day meeting in Addis Ababa of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity ended at dawn on Sunday—after eight of the delegations from 36 member States had withdrawn, some because they considered the decision on Rhodesia too mild, and others in protest against the admission of representatives of the new régime in Ghana.

Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Guinea, Mali, and Congo Brazzaville were those which withdrew.

The Sudan Government instructed its delegation to "discontinue discussion in the political organs" but to contrive to attend other meetings.

Representatives of Somalia and Algeria said specifically that they had walked out in protest against the Council's acceptance of an unduly weak resolution on Rhodesia drafted by its political committee.

Algeria had called upon O.A.U. to work for an armed rising by Africans in Rhodesia.

Spokesmen for the delegations which withdrew told journalists that it did not mean that their countries would quit O.A.U.

Before dispersing the Ministers, under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, adopted a resolution urging all countries to intensify their economic blockade of Rhodesia. Britain was called upon to apply sufficient measures, including the use of force, to cause the immediate downfall of the Smith régime.

A five-nation committee was set up to seek technical and economic assistance for Zambia.

The final plenary session is believed to have adopted a budget of about £700,000 for the year from June next, which is about one-third of the budget agreed a year ago.

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ISLE OF MAN

Pearl of the British Isles

Use Force, President Kaunda Says Again Kenya Senate on Communism and China

PRESIDENT KAUNDA told the National Assembly on Monday that the use of force to bring down the Rhodesian Government might become inevitable.

"The British Government has no moral or political right to keep down the majority of the people in Aden by force and yet allow a band of unprincipled and racially minded men to get away with it in Rhodesia".

Vice-President Kamanga said last week that Zambia had enough aviation fuel for the next three months. The present shortage of petroleum gas was due to lack of containers for bulk transport.

Heavy Penalties for Petrol Offences

Anyone convicted of selling petrol on the black market in Zambia will receive a mandatory sentence of not less than three years' imprisonment, and will be liable to imprisonment for up to 15 years if he has exported any petroleum product in breach of the regulations.

To be found in possession of unauthorized petrol will involve up to five years' imprisonment. A sentence of at least one year must be imposed on anyone convicted of having 100 gallons or more of petrol without authority.

Some 8,000 drums of fuel, each of 44 gallons, have now been hauled by road to Lusaka from Salima, the point in Malawi to which it had been railed from Beira. The road is stated to be in good condition as far as Fort Jameson, but bad thereafter.

The five storage tanks, each of 90,000 gallons capacity, which were flown to Malawi from Britain weeks ago, still lack essential parts and are not expected to be erected at Salima for several weeks.

Most of Zambia's tobacco crop, estimated at about 20m. lb., is to be packed in Malawi, whose own crop is likely to be 38m. lb. There are three processing plants in Limbe.

At the request of the Ghana High Commission in Lusaka, a police guard was placed on the premises on Sunday. Zambia has so far declined to recognize the new régime in Ghana.

Half-Promise to Zambia Miners

Asked to Make Proposals About Pensions

THE STRIKES AND GO-SLOW MOVEMENT in the mining industry of Zambia appear to have petered out. By last Thursday work-to-rule had been discontinued except at the Mulfulira mine.

Mr. John Mwanakatwe, Minister of Education, who has been Acting Minister of Mines also, invited leaders of the two mineworkers' organizations, the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association and the Mineworkers' Society, to see him in Lusaka at his invitation. According to a Government statement:

"The leaders told the Minister that their members were in a mood of uncertainty about the position that would arise when their term of work in the industry as expatriates ended and they left to go elsewhere. In particular, they were most anxious that they should be allowed to take with them at the time of their departure the full pensions they had earned, as well as any compensation, savings, and such like that had accrued to them. Their worries about the situation had led to spontaneous stoppages at different mine properties, although the leaders of M.O.S.S.A. had done all they could to dissuade those concerned from taking any action.

"Mr. Mwanakatwe pointed out that under the Zambian Constitution a person's earnings and property were his own. He could not be deprived of them. He appreciated that it was not laid down in the relevant financial regulations that a person could take all his assets with him at the time when he left Zambia. However, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Arthur Wina, said he would be quite happy if detailed submissions on the matter could be put forward to the two Ministries for careful consideration.

"Mr. Mwanakatwe asked the leaders to do all they could to bring to an end the present disturbed situation on the Copperbelt. They agreed to do their best to assist".

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA has been warmly approved by the Kenya Senate, in which Senator Kebaso moved "That this Senate, noting with great concern the destructive statement by the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, that Africa is ripe for revolution, and further noting with regret that since that statement was made a number of *coups d'état*, crises, and assassinations have actually taken place in some African States, culminating in the recent ruthless torture of the Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, one of the most outstanding African leaders, urgently calls upon the President and Government of Kenya to avoid further crises, *coups*, and massacres of African Heads of State, but also to find ways and means of discouraging ideological and cold war in the developing countries of Africa". At the suggestion of Dr. Mungai, the Defence Minister, the reference to China was removed and condemnation addressed to "any foreign Government found participating in such activities in Africa". The amended motion was unanimously adopted after a heated debate. Senator Kebaso had sharply denounced Communism in general and the Chinese Government in particular.

Warning to African Sisal Growers

WIGGLESWORTH & CO., LTD., sound a warning to sisal growers in a circular letter which says, *inter alia*:

"The very high price of £148 for East African No. 1 sisal continued until the middle of last year, but for some months previously sales had sharply declined, and it became apparent that the probable consumption of sisal twine for agricultural purposes had been much over-estimated. Twine stocks at the end of the 1964 harvest were substantially greater than normal, and spinners proved understandably reluctant to commit themselves to buying more sisal. Hence during the summer months demand for sisal fibre almost came to a standstill, with a resulting severe fall in prices. Although the autumn saw some recovery, demand is still below normal, while production continues to rise. Probably in the long run the lower price level will prove beneficial to the sisal industry, and may indeed provide some protection against competition from the synthetics.

"Synthetic fibre developments continue to be the most uncertain and potentially dangerous factor affecting all the natural fibres. Development of synthetic agricultural twine is going ahead rapidly, and it is now virtually certain that it will begin to come into competition with sisal twine within a comparatively short time. It is still impossible to assess at what price synthetic twines may be produced some years hence, but it is sure that technical and other improvements will be made in their manufacture so that their competitive position is likely to strengthen.

"The importance to the sisal industry of reducing costs by improved cultivation, high-yielding plant varieties, fertilizers, and economy in the use of labour is beyond doubt, and a great deal will have to be done in the producing countries to this end. It is equally essential that the other principal factors affecting production costs, including wages, taxes, import duties, fuel and power, and food, should be held in check, since increases here could nullify economies and improvements in productivity on the estates.

"Increasingly, natural fibres, including sisal, Manila hemp, jute and flax, will be faced with a situation comparable to that of the natural rubber industry after World War II, which inevitably had to face synthetic rubber competition. It will undoubtedly require great efforts on the part of the producing countries, but it should not be beyond their capacity. It is vitally important, in the case of countries whose economy depends greatly on natural fibres, that no time should be lost in making their industries fully competitive in all respects".

In the first 10 months of 1964 sisal output in Tanzania totalled 193,561 tons, an increase of 11,550 tons on the comparable period of the previous year, but in Kenya and Uganda there was a fall of 3,016 tons to 56,465 tons.

Parliament

No Authority to Intercept Tankers

Prime Minister's Statement in Commons

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Prime Minister what authority had been given for the interception by H.M. ships and aircraft of oil tankers or other vessels approaching the Portuguese province of Mozambique; what vessels had been intercepted, and with what result; and what diplomatic action followed.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The answer to the three parts of the question is 'None, sir, none, sir, and none sir'."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is this not a surprising answer if the Prime Minister is serious about oil sanctions? Is not the dangerous logic of this dangerous policy the extension of oil sanctions to South Africa and Portuguese territory? Will the Prime Minister resist any temptation to internationalize this conflict, contrary to British interests and those of world peace?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I am very glad that the hon. gentleman is beginning to realize the dangers of this being internationalized. He does not appear to have realized it up to now. He will remember that when this was debated just before Christmas I made it plain that we had no intention or idea of trying to settle these matters by force. If he quarrels with the sanctions policy he should remember that it has been supported throughout by the leader and the front bench of his party."

Dependent on African Achievement

MR. WISE asked what form of majority government, responsible to what sort of electorate, and sufficiently qualified in education and knowledge of affairs, H.M. Government wished to bring about in Rhodesia; and what guarantees were proposed to avoid the risks of such a Government falling by revolution or being taken over by one-party caucus or military rule.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have repeatedly said that majority rule in Rhodesia is dependent upon African advancement and achievement. In considering the course of constitutional development in Rhodesia the problems mentioned by the hon. Member will of course be borne in mind. No one will wish to see a repetition of recent events in Rhodesia, whereby a party caucus, without any legal or electoral authority, usurped the powers of government."

SIR JOSEPH LUCAS asked the Prime Minister, in view of the fact that H.M. Government permitted British companies to trade with Cuba despite protests from the United States Government, if he would now rescind his request to that Government to ban the purchase of Rhodesian chrome, tobacco, etc.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No."

MR. IAN LLOYD asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what steps H.M. Government proposed to take to give protection and compensation to those directors, managers, secretaries, and other officers who, in obedience to the orders of the *de facto* Government of Rhodesia or to their local managements, arranged the export or import of goods; and what criteria H.M. Government proposed to adopt in future, as between the different classes of persons affected to decide whether compensation should be paid.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "H.M. Government have no such proposal in mind."

MR. WALL asked the Postmaster-General whether the proportion of mail from Rhodesia being opened or examined by the General Post Office had increased since the declaration of independence; and how many complaints he had received about letters or parcels from Rhodesia being opened.

MR. BENN: "We keep no statistics of the proportions of items examined. Letters and parcels from Rhodesia are opened here only for customs purposes. We have no record of any complaints being made to us on this score."

MR. WALL asked the Minister of Overseas Development if he was aware that the action of the Tanzanian Government in stopping the payment of pensions to Tanganyika pensioners resident in Rhodesia was a breach of the Public Officers' Agreement signed by H.M. Government and the Tanzanian Government.

MR. ORAM: "I understand that the Tanzanian Government is prepared to pay pensions due to residents in Rhodesia into blocked accounts in Dar es Salaam. Arrangements have been made to pay loan advances to these pensioners from United Kingdom funds to meet arrears and current pension entitlements for as long as remittances are interrupted."

Lord Beswick, Parliamentary Secretary for Commonwealth Relations in the Commons, said in the House of Lords that the cost of British civil and R.A.F. air lifts to Zambia to February 9 had been £1.28m., that being the cost of transport only, not of the oil.

Emergency Powers Extended

O.A.U. Merely A "Paper Tiger"

EXTENDED EMERGENCY POWERS sought by the Government of Rhodesia were criticized in the Assembly last week by Dr. Ahm Palley, the only white member of the Opposition, with which he sits as an Independent. He objected to rule by emergency and decree as depriving the House of control of the Government, which would have power to destroy almost any legislation which had been passed by Parliament, for the Bill gave authority to suspend, amend, or apply any law in any way.

If the Government expected to use the new regulations, the situation must be "terribly serious"; if it did not expect to have to use them, "then this is the most reckless abuse of power".

Referring to suggestions of external aggression, Dr. Palley dismissed O.A.U. as "merely a paper tiger". If the Government view was that Britain would use force, "then they have a duty to re-open negotiations to settle the problem peacefully".

Mr. Lardner-Burke, Minister of Justice, had said in moving the second reading that the logical outcome of the British Government's present policies would be the use of force, and that there were known to be 500 trained African saboteurs in Zambia in a camp near Livingstone. Those two threats justified the new powers which the Government wanted.

Regulations authorizing the Government to take over industries arose from Orders in Council in Britain which required certain undertakings in Rhodesia to cease their activities. Unless counter-measures were taken by Rhodesia, parent companies in Britain might feel bound to obey orders from Westminster.

Mr. Gondro, leader of the Opposition, suggested that the Smith régime might be heading for a possible coup.

The second reading was carried by 36 votes to 13.

Control of man-power in the tobacco industry, imposed "as a direct consequence of the British Government's action in placing a prohibition on the handling of tobacco grown in Rhodesia", has been exercised in order to "assure managements and employees of their freedom to carry on their normal work".

Lonrho Doing Well in Africa

DESCRIBING the 5s. shares of Lonrho, Ltd., as something of an investment enigma, the *Financial Times* has written:—

"The group's rapid expansion and diversification in Rhodesia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia has covered a bewildering variety of interests ranging from mining to 'Mankovo', a delicious nutritious health-giving drink designed to warm the hearts of African families.

"As others chary of Central African politics have moved out, Lonrho has moved in and has done so on favourable terms. The question, of course, is whether this bold venture will pay off. A partial answer has come this week with the news that gross profits for the year to the end of this month are expected to be approximately £2.15m., compared with £1.3m. in 1963-4.

"Accompanying this estimate and an increased interim is the forecast that the total dividend for 1964-65 will be 1s. 1½d. against 11d. previously. On this basis, the shares at 10s. 6d. return 10.8%; and it is a measure of the hopes pinned to this company that they are standing on their highest since 1957".

Company Meeting**Liebig's year of progress****"I am reasonably confident of better Group Profits"****MR. K. R. M. CARLISLE, CHAIRMAN**

GROUP PROFIT AFTER TAXATION for the year ended August 31st, 1965, rose sharply to £1,987,000. Group sales to third parties at £34,300,000 were slightly up on the previous year.

Pre-tax group profit was down from £3,091,000 to £2,880,000 after benefiting from only £18,000 on respect of exceptional profits, compared with £347,000 for the previous year.

In the transitional period following the Finance Act 1965 the taxation charge, after crediting £120,000 released from tax equalization account, was £893,000, as compared with £1,872,000 for the previous year. We have provided for Corporation Tax at 35 per cent. The rate applicable has still to be determined. Each additional 1 per cent in the rate of tax would cost about £33,000.

The Accounts

The amount brought into the accounts of the parent company is £1,745,000, leaving £1,464,000 for disposal after payment of preference and interim ordinary dividends and transfer of £66,000 to capital reserve.

The directors recommend the transfer of £1,000,000 to general reserve and payment of a final ordinary dividend of 10 per cent less income tax, leaving £67,000 to be added to the balance carried forward on profit and loss account.

In view of the transitional effects of the Finance Act 1965 the directors also recommend payment to ordinary stockholders of a capital bonus of 1 per cent, not subject to U.K. income tax, out of capital profits realized in the past.

Oxo Limited profits up again.—Oxo Limited profits again increased. Giving a meal "man-appeal" is now a national habit and turnover in *Oxo Cubes* was again high. The initial test marketing of a *Golden Cube* is most promising. Sales of *Fray Bentos* corned beef have recovered. Other *Fray Bentos* products also sold well.

East Africa.—Following a relapse in 1963, the 1964 calendar year profits of Tanganyika Packers, Limited, included in these accounts, were only slightly short of the peak figure reached in 1962. At the beginning of 1965 the Government of Tanzania, our partners in this enterprise, transferred their shareholding to the National Development Corporation, whose representatives we welcome to the board of Tanganyika Packers. Throughput of the Tangombe plant in 1965 exceeded 100,000 head for the first time, and this, allied to firm prices for its exported production, resulted in new record profits for the year.

Our East African sales company based in Kenya had a busy and prosperous year in 1964 and continued to flourish throughout 1965.

We have continued to market the corned beef produced by the Kenya Meat Commission and to assist the Commission in the running of its cannery.

Rhodesia.—The profits for the calendar year 1964 included in respect of our Rhodesian interests were lower than those for the previous year, which, in turn, were significantly below those for 1962. In 1965 the volume of beef for canning supplied to our West Nicholson factory by the Cold Storage Commission again declined but firm export prices reversed the 1963 and 1964 trend of lower profits. This recovery will be reflected in next year's group accounts.

The profits in Rhodesia for 1965 were further improved by rapid results from re-organization both of the Sunrho vegetable and fruit processing factory and of the local selling activities, now transferred to Liebig's (Rhodesia), Ltd. On the other hand, severe drought for the second year in succession again hampered ranching operations. The disruption would certainly have been greater had it not been for the massive development of watering facilities in recent years, and in the event the modest profit earned by the ranch in 1964 was creditably maintained in 1965.

Republic of South Africa.—Sales and profits in 1964 of Oxo (South Africa) Ltd. were up on the previous year and 1965 saw a continuance of the unbroken advance recorded since 1962.

Looking ahead.—The year to date has shown a general advance in Group turn-over. I have, however, some specific comments to make on certain of our interests overseas. I hope our re-equipped Argentine plant will obtain at economic prices the meat necessary for its first year of freezing and chilling, but canning is likely to be restricted.

The Rhodesian political situation is of grave concern to us. We have an important stake in Rhodesia, with our ranching, industrial, and commercial activities. United Kingdom imports of canned meats and beef extracts from our West Nicholson factory are now banned.

With African profits for 1965 already known, and looking at our prospects in the United Kingdom, Europe and South America, I am reasonably confident that our accounts to August 31st, 1966, will show improved Group profits.

Copies of the full report are available from: The Secretary, Liebig's Extract of Meat Co. Ltd., Thames House, Queen Street Place, London, E.C.A.

Company Meeting**FALCON MINES****Mr. F. L. Wigley's Statement**

THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF FALCON MINES LIMITED, will be held on March 22 in Bulawayo.

The following is an extract from the statement of the Chairman, MR. F. L. WIGLEY, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended 30th September, 1965:—

In my last review I stated that the effects of the decision to reduce the milling rate would be counteracted by an increase in gold recovery and that the level of profits was unlikely to be affected thereby. This has proved to be the case, and the year's results are very close to those of 1964.

The net profit for the year, after providing £30,461 for taxation, was £302,245, as compared with last year's profit of £293,273. The sum of £117,072 has been appropriated for expenditure on fixed assets and mine stores, and dividends Nos. 23 and 24 totalling 2s. per share (40 per cent.) absorbed £199,718.

Mine Development

Capital expenditure for the year, less recoupments, totalled £116,054. This was higher than was forecast last year, due mainly to the decision taken later in the year to accelerate the sinking and equipping of the new main shaft at Arlandzer. Capital expenditure for the current year is estimated at £68,000.

The total development footage accomplished at 16,936 feet was 1,104 feet less than that of the previous year. Payable footage decreased from 7,510 feet (68 per cent.) to 5,600 feet (57 per cent.) and the average value was 9.83 dwt. over 47 inches compared with 13.49 dwt. over 47 inches for 1964.

In conformity with the policy I outlined last year of matching development with the tonnage potential of each section of the mine, development footage at Dalhy was considerably reduced. Work was concentrated on opening up 20 level and on developing 18 and 19 levels laterally to the west. The results in all areas were according to expectations. The 19 level drive is at present being pushed through the most westerly dyke.

At Arlandzer the advancing of the shaft-sinking programme had an adverse effect on the rate of development and the footage accomplished was well below the target figure. Even so, the payable footage was double that of the previous year, and the percentage payability improved from 52 per cent to 65 per cent with satisfactory values over a greater width.

Ore Reserves

The ore reserves at 30th September, 1965, was estimated at 809,600 tons valued at 6.92 dwt. over a width of 77 inches.

On the metallurgical side much useful work was accomplished. The electrostatic precipitator was commissioned in August, 1965, and gold recovery from this unit is exceeding expectations. Tests run on the flotation tailings gave encouraging results and the study of milling operations was continued.

All these matters bearing on gold recovery, as well as the lower ore reserve value, have been taken into account

in determining the tonnage and yield figures for the new financial year. As from 1st October, 1965, the mill tonnage has been raised by 500 tons to 22,000 tons per month. Gold recovery is expected to average 5.49 dwt. until the cyaniding of the flotation tailings commences, when an increase in recovery of about 0.14 dwt. per ton can be anticipated.

The shaft-sinking programme at Arlandzer has been executed rapidly and efficiently. By the end of the financial year a depth of 855 feet had been reached, and the shaft was completed to its planned depth of 1,100 feet during January, 1966. Once the 9 level reef crosscut from the shaft has been put in and holings effected between 7 and 9 levels, development on these levels as well as on 8 level will proceed at a high rate. This should lead to a considerable increase in the ore reserves of this section.

Uganda Company's Report

THE UGANDA CO., LTD., and its subsidiaries report group profits after tax to August 31 at £283,100 (£282,773), of which £155,301 falls to the parent company and £127,799 to subsidiaries. Dividends totalling 12½ take £181,283, leaving group carry-forward at £965,094 (£866,017). The issued capital is just under £2.5m. in 10s. shares. Fixed assets are just short of £3.8m. and net current assets £522,529. Outstanding debentures total £626,150. Earl De La Warr is the chairman. The other directors are Sir James Robertson, Sir Arthur Hope-Jones, and Messrs. S. Bolster, J. K. Dick, and E. H. Morland. The chairman's statement will appear next week.

Lonrho Profits Rise 73%

LONRHO, LTD., a group with interests spread widely in Central and East Africa, report pre-tax group profits to September 30 at £1,794,000, as against £1,032,637 in the previous 12 months. Profit after tax is £1,075,000, against £588,549. The dividend is raised from 11½ to 12½, taking £189,037. Lonrho have a 62% holding in the oil pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia and large sisal, tea, mining, and other interests.

Falcon Mines

FALCON MINES, LTD., report profits to September 30 at £332,706 (£328,507) subject to tax of £30,451 (£35,234). Two dividends each of 20% required £199,718, leaving a carry-forward of £146,846. The issued capital is £499,293. Fixed assets exceed £1.7m. and net current assets £155,465. Extracts from the review of the chairman, Mr. F. W. Wigley, appear in this issue.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., will pay an interim 7%, less tax on March 25.

About 18 tons of equipment were flown to Ndola last week from Britain for the conversion of the Mufulira mine smelter from coal to oil burning.

Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, sold 281,983 tons of coal and 17,012 of coke in February. The January figures were 279,225 and 19,954 tons respectively.

Harland and Wolff, Ltd., Belfast, who have built many of the Union-Castle liners, do not expect to build any more large liners. Dr. Denis Rebbeck, the managing director, said a few days ago. The yard's future lay in tankers and bulk carriers.

British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., made a record pre-tax of nearly £91.3m. for the year to September 30, 1965, compared with £76.9m. and £75.2m. in the two previous years. The dividend is raised from 35.4% to 40%. The company has large interests in East Africa.

Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., a South African company with large Central African interests, is paying an interim 25 cents, equivalent to 1s. 8.8d. per share to U.K. holders after deduction of U.K. income tax and South African non-resident tax.

Willoughby's Consolidated, Ltd., are repeating a 10% interim dividend for the year to September 30 from group net profit of £61,566 (£117,748) after tax of £4,837. The previous year's profits had been largely due to abnormal realizations of quoted investments by subsidiaries.

Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., a group with large interests in Kenya, report that in the last six months of 1965 turnover amounted to £144.6m., compared with £150.7m. for the same period of the previous year, and that pre-tax profits were down from £1.8m. to £1.4m., largely in consequence of drought in Queensland and New South Wales. An interim dividend of 5% has been declared, and the directors hope to pay another 7%, less tax. Last year's total was 10% tax-free.



RHODESIA BIDS YOU WELCOME

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

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



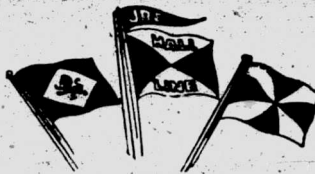
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