



Vol. 6 No. 12

(Published Fortnightly)

June, 1972

## No more negotiations on settlement terms says Prime Minister

In a statement to the Nation on the publication of the Pearce Commission findings, the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said there would be no further negotiations on the settlement terms. It was difficult to see, he said, how the British Government could, in honour, be a party to the continuation of sanctions.

The Prime Minister said: "The report of the Pearce Commission shows that the overwhelming majority of Europeans, Asians and Coloureds in Rhodesia supported the settlement. So did a considerable number of Africans who realized the benefits that would flow from the agreement. Regrettably, however, Lord Pearce and his colleagues formed the opinion that a majority of Africans were opposed to the settlement and from this they have concluded that the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not accept the proposals.

"The report is a comprehensive document, covering over 200 pages, and it takes time to study it carefully and thoroughly. I would not have credited that any report could contain so many misinterpretations and misconstructions of the true position.

### Examples

"Let me give you a few examples: "On page 62, in dealing with African teachers, the report states, 'in general, the more senior they were, particularly those teaching at secondary schools, the more disposed they were to accept the proposals'. Dealing with traders and storekeepers, the report states that of those who gave evidence 'the more prosperous tended to favour the proposals'. In the case of African civil servants, 'like the teachers, the more senior, including District Commissioners' staff, tended to accept, whilst the lower paid rejected'. However, on the other hand, the report states 'of the other groups with influence in the Trust Lands, the ex-detainees were lead-

ing spokesman for rejection. A group which invariably rejected the proposals were the unemployed school leavers'.



**"When the Commission weighed these in the balance, it came down on the side of the ex-detainees and unemployed school leavers.**

"On page 80, the report states 'Mistrust of the intentions and motives of the Government transcended all other considerations. One witness summed it up in saying: "We do not reject the proposals, we reject the Government".'

"This was said to be the dominant motivation of African rejection at all levels and in all areas. One is forced to ask why the Commissioners did not explain to those Africans that the question before them did not involve confidence in the Rhodesian Government, and that whether the ultimate answer was 'Yes' or 'No', there would be no change of Government.

"Dealing with the question of intimidation, all the teams of Commissioners reported that there was intimidation. Two of these teams stated that they were unable accurately to assess the position because of the considerable intimidation. Moreover, the Rhodesian Attorney General presented to the

**The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, making his statement to the Nation.**

Commission a formidable case history of the serious intimidation which had taken place since the agreement was made. However, in the face of all this evidence, the report states that the Commissioners were unable to accept that opinions were influenced by intimidation.

"As a final example, let us look at the statistics quoted in the report. Out of slightly more than 100 000 Europeans, 98 634 said 'Yes', 1 790 said 'No'. In other words, more than 98 per cent. said 'Yes'. In the case of the Coloured people 391 said 'Yes', while only 10 said 'No'—in excess of 97 per cent. in favour. Dealing with the Asian community, 624 said 'Yes', 21 'No'. More than 96 per cent. in favour. Dealing with the Africans, the report concedes that the Commissioners saw less than six per cent. of the adult African population. Accepting that the majority of these were opposed to the terms, however specious the reason, what about the other 94 per cent. of African opinion?

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# No more negotiations says Prime Minister

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## One conclusion

"When all this is added up (and there is much more similar evidence), I submit that there is only one conclusion: the Pearce Commission had the wool pulled over its eyes.

"When one reads this report, in spite of its naivety and ineptness, the only responsible conclusion that one can come to is that the answer should have been 'Yes'. However, in view of the fact that the Commissioners were unable to assess African opinion, and that they were able to make contact with less than six per cent. of the African adult population, the only other logical answer, apart from an affirmative, is that it was impossible to assess the opinion of the African people, and, therefore, the two Governments concerned should face up to their responsibility.

"Tragically, after all we have been through, culminating in an agreement, signed by the two governments, the whole thing has landed up on the rocks, through their bungling of the test on which the United Kingdom Government insisted, against our advice. To make things worse, they spurned the help of all our experts when it came to planning and preparing the exercise.

"We have had many different inquiries and reports during our history; I believe this one will go down as the most irresponsible of them all.

## The future

"As far as I and my colleagues in Government are concerned, we did our best to ensure the success of this operation — we dedicated ourselves to obtaining a 'Yes' answer. However, all of this is in the past and we must now look to the future.

"My intention this evening is therefore to dispel any doubts that you may have in this regard.

"Firstly, I have informed the British Government that we are fully prepared to implement the agreement if they will do so. There will, however, be no question of any part of the proposals being implemented unilaterally by the Rhodesian Government.

"Secondly, it is generally acknowledged that in reaching agreement last November, both the

British and Rhodesian Governments went to the limits of negotiation in terms of political reality. Sir Alec Douglas Home and I have both stated, on a number of occasions, that if these terms were rejected there would be no further negotiations. Some chose to disbelieve this statement and for their benefit I now repeat that there will be no negotiations with a view to changing any of the terms of the settlement.

"Thirdly, if the British Government are not prepared to implement the agreement, it follows that we shall continue to govern Rhodesia in terms of our existing Constitution. I give you my assurance that we shall govern firmly and that we shall not tolerate any attempt to disturb the peace and harmony to which, in very large measure, the country has returned since the departure of the Pearce Commission.

"I believe that when you read this report you will share my disbelief that a British Commission could reach a conclusion which is so unrealistic, contrary to the evidence in their own report, and so palpably against the interests of all Rhodesians and particularly of the Africans. We should, therefore, not blame the ordinary decent African; he, after all, is the biggest loser. And, I reiterate, less than six per cent. of the Africans felt it worthwhile to express an opinion to the Commission.

"I know that the great majority of you will be as disappointed as I am at the outcome of this unnecessary exercise, but there is, of course, a brighter side to it. There has been, since last November, an increasing rate of erosion of the economic sanctions against us.

"This in no way implies that we should lower our guard. On the contrary, security of economic information remains of paramount importance, but because of the high quality of many of our products more and more countries are prepared to trade quietly and unobtrusively with us.

## Advantage

"In the political field we have gained considerable advantage from the agreement we reached with the British Government last November. No longer can the charge of intransigence or unreasonableness be levelled at us, for the agreement was

## No white backlash says Mr. Smith

"There are those who have predicted that a rejection of the proposals by the Africans would be followed by a white backlash — a surge of anger that for the second time the Africans have apparently spurned our offer of political, economic and social advance.

"I do not believe that this will happen. I have no doubt that white Rhodesians are too mature and too sensible to allow their emotions to get the better of them."

commended to the Rhodesian people by the British Government and was stated by Sir Alec Douglas Home in the House of Commons to be fully in accord with the five principles which Britain had laid down. Since the declared purpose of sanctions was to bring us to the negotiating table with a view to reaching just such an agreement, it is difficult to see how the British Government could, in honour, be a party to the continuation of sanctions.

"Furthermore, it was Sir Alec Douglas Home himself who said in the House of Commons, as recently as 1st December, 1971, that 'it is unhappily the Africans who are the witness (or victim) to any success that sanctions have had'. Surely the British Government will not wish to punish the Africans for rejecting the proposals by continuing sanctions against them.

"So in the end, this is a disappointment for us. However, many worse things have happened to Rhodesia, and I have a feeling that much good, at present unseen, will flow from this experience which we have been through. For some time now it has been your Government's assessment, that whatever the outcome of the Pearce Commission, Rhodesia's progress and success are assured.

"Finally, let me take this opportunity to thank you, the people of Rhodesia, for the great strength which you have shown, and the support which you have given to your Government, during this frustrating and tiresome period. You have played your part well, and it is my prediction that because of your responsible behaviour, great benefit will accrue to Rhodesia in the years which lie ahead".

## Pearce Report conclusions do not carry conviction says Government

Certain aspects of the Pearce Commission Report are unsatisfactory and certain conclusions do not carry conviction, according to the Rhodesian Government.

In a statement made on the day the Pearce Commission findings were published, it is said the Commission concluded that while European, Asian and Coloured opinion was in favour of the proposals, the majority of African opinion was not.

The statement makes the following points on the latter contention.

The Commission itself decided that African agricultural workers in the European area were probably in favour of the proposals. These number  $\frac{1}{4}$  million excluding wives.

The Commission was unable to obtain the views of domestic servants. These number 116 000 — a large and important sector of the African adult population.

The Commission estimates that it saw 6 per cent. of the adult population in the Tribal Trust Lands. These totalled 114 000 of which the vast majority of 100 000 expressed their views at massed meetings.

### Not ascertained

This means, says the statement, that the views of 94 per cent. of the adult population in the Tribal Trust Lands was not ascertained.

Two of the teams of Commissioners who tested opinion in the provinces of Matabeleland North and Victoria, were unable to determine whether or not Africans accepted the proposals because of intimidation and the lack of comprehension of the proposals.

All of the other teams said there was intimidation but that it was not sufficient to invalidate the expression of opinion because it was intimidation of the minority by the majority.

Dealing with the Commission's findings that the majority of tribesmen understood the proposals, the statement says this finding is open to serious doubt.

The Commission's report says the dominant motivation of African rejection was that they rejected the Government, not the proposals. This indicates the proposals were not understood and the probabilities, says the statement, support their views.

There is the basic improbability



that unlettered African tribesmen understand complex constitutional matters.

The Commission do admit the difficulty of assessing the level of comprehension among those attending mass meetings. However the report says that Commissioners agreed that there was a reasonable level of comprehension among the politically motivated and better-educated Africans. But, says the Government, most tribesmen who attended the mass meetings would not fall into this class.

The Commission's report say that all Commissioners, except one, concluded that a majority of the Africans whom they met, comprehended the proposals. But, says the statement, it was impossible for the Commissioners to have met more than a few, in relation to the numbers at meetings, for, in all, 100 000 attended such meetings.

The aim of the test, says the statement, was to determine whether or not the proposals were acceptable. But the Commission did not reject those "No" votes given by those who said they were voting against the Government policies or because they mistrusted it.

### Not convincing

The statement says the manner in which the majority of the Commission dealt with the question of intimidation and the related assessments made, are not convincing.

While two of the Commission teams considered there was con-

Sir Denis Greenhill, Permanent Under-Secretary at the British Foreign Office, arriving in Salisbury with the Pearce Commission Report. He was met by the Rhodesian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Stan O'Donnell (left) and Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. J. F. Gaylard (right).

siderable intimidation at public meetings, the Commission states that the meetings must be recognized as giving an indication of the view formed by large sections of the population because of the atmosphere, the consistency of the response and the solidarity shown.

But, says the statement, these three factors could have been induced by intimidation organized by small groups moving just ahead of, or with the Commissioners. The time and place of the public meetings were well publicized.

The Commission's report finds there were cases of serious intimidation in the riots and disorders in the urban centres. However, it concluded that as the tension did not last for long, it did not have a lasting effect.

But, says the statement, these disorders continued until January 21 and the Commission left only seven weeks later, so that it is difficult to accept that the effects of the rioting and intimidation was not felt for this short period of time.

The Commission's report found the Government's case on individual

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# Government says certain aspects of Pearce Report unsatisfactory

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threats of intimidation weak on investigation. But, says the statement, the Special Commissioners received the dossiers from the Government on February 22 and, left on March 11 which left little time for investigations.

## Not accepted

In fact the Government's offer to make every person who had made a sworn statement or report, available for questioning was not accepted. In the light of this offer it is not clear, says the statement, why it is said, in relation to the police reports, that "other than taking them at their face value, there was no means of deciding on their authenticity".

The statement says the Commission bases its conclusion on intimidation on the ground that it found it improbable, if not impossible, that "with such a tight security system as that which existed in Rhodesia for several years, a minority could dominate a majority by intimidation in a few weeks".

It is not clear what is meant by "a tight security system", says the statement. The Commissioners' reports reflect the freedom of movement and political activities. Thus, for example, the Mashonaland South Team of Commissioners reports that: "Throughout their tour, however, no restrictions were placed on the movement of persons wishing to attend public meetings, a feature of some of which was the appearance of busloads of opponents often from a considerable distance".

The Matabeleland North Team of Commissioners says that the ANC "managed to engender widespread opposition with skill and success but often by playing on fears and grievances that had little to do with the Proposals themselves" and that "large crowds well organized and drilled, were dominated by a few politically active cheerleaders". These reports are hardly consistent with the reference to "a tight security system".

Secondly, if the Commission had had experience of the disorders in the 1960s they would not have found it improbable that in a politically tense situation a minority could dominate a majority by intimidation in a few weeks. When the Pearce Commission arrived the persons who



**The two Senior British Government officials, Sir Denis Greenhill, (right) and Mr. Miles Hudson, arrive at the Prime Minister's office for talks with Mr. Ian Smith on the Pearce Report.**

had organized the reign of terror in the early 1960s, resumed their activities. The result was that in a short space of time the minority had dominated the majority.

The Special Commissioners could not accept that the mass of opinions were intimidated by a small minority. Their reasons were that the number of cases of intimidation were small, considering the five million African inhabitants and the size of the country.

But, says the statement, the Government dossier and reports of the other Commissioners clearly indicate the widespread incidents of intimidation. In addition fear of intimidation was as powerful a factor as intimidation itself.

It was difficult to see, says the statement, what relevance there is in the size of the country, as cases of intimidation were proved in all provinces.

In addition the Special Commissioners take the African population to be five million, whereas the other Commissioners, for the purpose of assessing the proportion of the population they saw, referred only to adult Africans and the figure is given as just over two million.

There are indications in the Report, says the statement, that the Commissioners have underestimated the viciousness and dangers inherent in intimidation among Africans in Rhodesia.

In conclusion, says the statement, the Report itself clearly shows that the views of the overwhelming majority of African adults were not obtained.

Two of the teams of Commissioners were satisfied that amongst Africans the intimidation was on such a large scale and the level of comprehension of the Proposals was so low, that it was not possible to assess the views of Africans.

The reasons given by the remaining Commissioners for concluding that the intimidation was not by a minority against the majority and that there was an adequate degree of comprehension of the Proposals amongst Africans, are unconvincing.

It was unreasonable not to discount the weight of the votes of those who were not rejecting the Proposals but were expressing disapproval of Government policies or distrust of Government's intentions.

For these reasons Government is unable to accept as being correct the conclusions reached by the Pearce Commission.

## Best student for 1971

A Rhodesian, Mr. A. B. Stewart, has been awarded the City of Cape Town's Corporation Gold Medal for the best student of 1971. He graduated from the University of Cape Town with a first class honours degree in Electrical Engineering and now lectures at the University.

## Local cotton growers have an advantage

Rhodesian cotton growers were in a much better position to keep costs down than growers in the United States, said United States Congressman, W. R. "Bob" Poage, when he opened the Cotton Congress in Salisbury recently.

The real problem facing cotton production today, he said, was how the fibre could remain competitive with synthetics.

Price was not the only factor. Synthetics sometimes produced a better product. In the great bulk of transactions, however, the decision which to use would depend on costs.

In the United States they foresaw many years of keen competition in textile prices and manufacturers were going to seek to make the producer bear the largest share of the inevitable losses.

"Although it is contrary to present world trends, I believe we will see a substantial increase in protective trade devices. I can hardly see how producers of any nation can expect to maintain their domestic markets without trade barriers.

"I think the better course would be to subsidize producers to a point where they are earning a fair return. But the indications are that textile prices will be maintained by trade barriers throughout the world. This will tend to result in higher prices for domestic cotton growers, but whether cotton can remain competitive with synthetics under such circumstances is the most serious question," he said.

If Rhodesia could produce cotton in competition with synthetics it would be a long step forward.

The Farming Oscar for 1972 being presented to Mr. C. G. Tracey (left), former president of the Rhodesian Cotton Growers' Association and present chairman of the Cotton Marketing Board, at the Cotton Congress held in Salisbury. The presentation was made by Mr. W. R. "Bob" Poage, United States Congressman, who opened the Congress.



## Rhodesian cotton among the best in the world

According to the past president of the Rhodesian Cotton Growers' Association, Mr. Mike Butler, Rhodesian cotton is now among the best in the world and is being sold successfully in spite of fierce competition.

Between 800 and 1 000 farmers are now producing the crop and acre yields had increased to 726 kg

The Cotton Congress held in Salisbury recently attracted a large crowd as this picture, taken during a tea break, shows.

from 159 kg in the 1950s. This yield was higher than that of most countries.

African growers in the purchase areas alone earn R.\$4 million a year from cotton and European growers employ more than 200 000 seasonal and permanent labourers while their estimated annual wage bill is R.\$5.5 million, he said.

Dealing with the labour shortage he said Rhodesia enjoyed a high reputation for quality hand-picked cotton but it seemed that a larger proportion of the crop would have to be picked by machine. The association had already established a picking unit of seven machines which were now working in the lowveld.

### Big increase in value

The value of goods produced by Rhodesia's factories has gone up by 87 per cent. since UDI, the executive officer of the Association of Rhodesian Industries, Mr. John Graylin, said in Salisbury on Friday.



## Urban problems require searching attention says Minister

If present trends continued, by the year 2000 the Rhodesian urban population would require an additional 395 000 houses for Africans and over 212 000 for Europeans, Asians and Coloureds, the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr. Mark Partridge, said at the Local Government Association conference recently.

On the health side, he said, in order to maintain present standards, provision must be made for a further 33 000 hospital beds, representing over 275 new hospitals and requiring 1 500 more doctors. In industry, unemployment could become a much more serious factor, while the demand for electricity will increase by almost six times.

It was essential to prepare the ground now, breaking down current backlogs as quickly as possible, introducing proper planning procedures and containing future annual growth timeously, he said.

This rapid expansion of the urban population will introduce many problems in the social field which required urgent and searching attention, he said.

Failure to meet the challenges in the physical field, could result in slums in which people lived in extreme poverty, with inadequate health and educational facilities.

From this unhappy environment would stem lawlessness and a lack of respect for authority and private property.

Labour drawn from such a background could only be inefficient and unreliable. The economic and political implications are self-evident, he said.

Even if the physical challenges could be met, fundamental problems arising from the creation of these new urban societies would remain.

The behaviour patterns of a country's population determine its exploitation, and the fundamental truth governing the behaviour pattern of our population was that

our people were composed of two societies with different customs and habits, and differing concepts of what was a desirable end objective for the individual.

The African coming to live in the towns moved into a world of new concepts.

"If we leave him to drift, taking no interest in the consequences that must inevitably flow from this changed environment, all the social evils which flow from a lack of proper physical development will also become apparent and become a norm in a disorientated Rhodesian urban society of the future."

There was a need for European local authorities to become involved in helping to solve the social problems of the African.

"I would stress the need to impart to the African urban people a confidence in the stability of their future, a hope for its betterment and a belief in their personal dignity. They must be challenged to rise to the occasion and to act as civilized Rhodesians, and not barbarians."

This could not be achieved within a society that had no built-in disciplines imposed by a common acceptance of common ideals and ends, and in the disintegrating media of a new urban environment it is essential that this discipline and direction was fostered by Government and the local authorities.

**More killed by burns:** Deaths caused by domestic and wild animals including bees and snakes totalled 25 in Rhodesia in 1971. Deaths from burns by fire, scalding and chemicals totalled 113.

## CAPITAL NEEDED FOR DEVELOPMENT

The logical short-term answer to the country's employment problem, said Mr. Alwyn Calder, President of ACCOR, lies in rapid development of agriculture not only in the European but also in the African Purchase Areas and the Tribal Trust Lands.

"Agriculture, with its ability to create a large number of jobs for a moderate capital investment, is, unfortunately, one of the sectors most

hard hit by present conditions, while also having to cope with the vagaries of the weather.

"It does, however, provide one of the most exciting prospects for the future.

"Development capital from outside our borders is essential if Rhodesia is to utilize to the full the opportunities for development and employment which exist in agriculture and other sectors."

## More money must be devoted to African areas

More of the country's spending power must gradually be diverted and channelled back into the African areas said the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, when he opened the Local Government Association annual conference recently.

He said the annual spending power of the African would probably reach R.\$300 million by 1982. Talking in round figures there were 400 000 Africans employed in the European areas. Their annual spending power was about R.\$150 million.

It was well-earned money of Africans contributing to the national economy and playing their part in helping to develop Rhodesia.

"Under the present set-up," he said, "the bulk of this money is being spent in and poured back into, the European sector of the economy, thus aggravating the lopsided imbalance which we are seeking to remedy."

This had created an unhealthy position and unless the country tried energetically and with dedication to bring about a more equitable spread of its wealth, the position would become uncontrollable.

## Call for town planners

The use of town planning consultants on a large scale was urged recently by Mr. Alwyn Calder, president of ACCOR, who said Rhodesia cannot afford to pay the penalty of outmoded town planning.

"I believe that in the years ahead our towns and cities will have to accept the inevitable and plan for expansion upwards rather than outwards," he said.

"The cost of servicing housing and industrial areas on the basis of the present spread of our cities is already prohibitive and uneconomic, and the trend must be reversed. We just cannot afford to sprawl our towns and cities".

**Family hotel:** Work has begun on a \$750 000 family hotel at Victoria Falls. It will be known as A 'Zambesi River Lodge and should be open by Easter 1973.



### *Rhodesian dancing team selected*

The Amateur Dancers' Association of Rhodesia recently held a competition to pick a Rhodesian team to dance in the international team match to be held in Johannesburg in August.

At this event the Rhodesian team will dance against teams from West Germany and South Africa.

It is as yet undecided whether the team will consist of four couples or six, but six couples were selected at the competition in the following order:

Mr. and Mrs. W. Logan; Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Campbell; Mr. C. Pace and Miss A. Klockie; Mr. and Mrs. R. Evans; Mr. and Mrs. T. Watson; Mr. B. Kelly and partner.

The first three couples selected are shown above from left to right.

Other pictures on the page show couples dancing while the competition was in progress.





When a South African Airways Boeing 727, hijacked on a flight from Salisbury to Johannesburg, returned to Salisbury, some of the passengers were released. In the picture on the left they are seen entering the terminal building after being brought from the aircraft by bus. On the right a passenger from Pretoria, Mr. J. M. Naude, tells the Rhodesian Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism, Mr. P. K. van der Byl, his experiences.



## Awards presented to two Africans

Two Africans who have distinguished themselves in services to health education in Rhodesia's tribal areas have been awarded the Rhodesia Badge of Honour. They are Mr. Nason Mtakwa, a teacher of trainee-health assistants at Domboshawa Training Centre, and Mr. Peter Chitiga, a medical assistant at the Inyanga District Hospital. Here the awards, made by the President, are being presented by the Minister of Health, Mr. Ian McLean.



**New African hotel:** Private African interests are building a \$500 000 hotel in Salisbury's Kambuzuma Township. The first phase costing \$100 000 is expected to be completed by October 1.

**Killed by lightning:** Lightning killed 88 people in Rhodesia in 1971 compared to 87 in 1970. Of the deaths only one was a European.

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**A group of New Zealanders recently visited Rhodesia and met the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith. Here they are seen with the Prime Minister.**

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Published by the Rhodesian Ministry of Information, Immigration and Tourism, P.O. Box 8232, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia, for distribution at home and abroad. Printed by the Government Printer, P.O. Box 8062, Causeway.

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