

A. J. LEVIN'S



# confidential news report

February 18,  
1963.

Dr. the Hon. H.K. Banda,  
Prime Minister of Nyasaland,  
ZOMBA.

Dear Dr Banda,

I am enclosing - with my compliments - a copy of my  
weekly "Confidential News Report".

I hope you find it of some interest.

As you can imagine there is particular interest in  
Nyasaland at the present moment. My British, German  
and American susbscribers, and also some of my Italian  
subscribers, are asking for greater coverage of your  
country.

If you would be so kind as to grant me an interview,  
at any time convenient to yourself, I would consider  
it a privelege to present myself at your office at  
that time time.

I look forward to your reply to this request.

Yours truly,

A.J. LEVIN.

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Dr. the Hon. H.K. Banda,  
Prime Minister of Nyasaland,  
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Dear Mr Banda,

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Main Points in this Letter are:-

BANDA AND BLACKWOOD. WELENSKY'S TROUBLES WITH HIS PARTY.

BOYCOTT BY NR OF NEW REFINERY? KAUNDA AND FIELD. SR AFRICAN

MP's COURTIED. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION TO BE FORMED?

BARROW ANSWERS A QUESTION. SR PARLIAMENT. TOBACCO TROUBLES.

SR NATIONALISTS DISAGREE.

### BANDA AND BLACKWOOD

The prophets of Nyasaland's economic doom continue to prophesy. But they are likely to be false prophets. Nyasaland, despite Federal assistance in money matters, is still an "Imperial slum". The standard of living of the greater majority of the people (about 85%) is the lowest in the Federation. And if Nyasaland continues in the Federation, she can look to little raising of that standard. It is true that the standard may (probably will) drop when Nyasaland secedes. But to the bulk of the population this may be only apparent in the health services. And Banda will move heaven and earth to keep these services running smoothly. For the rest, roads may deteriorate, the telephones may not work so smoothly, postal deliveries may be slower, but by and large this will make little impact on the majority of the population. Unless Banda is a complete fool, and not even his worse enemies suggest this, he has certain hopes that he will, almost immediately, be able to obtain sufficient money to keep government services running smoothly. And he has every reason to think that he will be able to raise the standard of living in his country.

Meanwhile, there are UFP circles saying that the Federal Government - when the next budget is presented - must allocate little or nothing to Nyasaland. These circles advance the reason that,

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as Nyasaland is seceding from the Federation, it "would be unfair to tax Northern and Southern Rhodesia" for the benefit of Nyasaland. This is not an argument that will, for the present, win much support from the governments of either Northern & Southern Rhodesia. It will also infuriate Butler, who has made no secret of his hope that the Federal Government will be "generous" to Nyasaland.

If this policy is carried through, at least two of Nyasaland's federal MP's will, they have told CNR, resign from the Federal Assembly. And the Government of Southern Rhodesia may break off all relations, other than purely formal ones, with the Federal Government.

But if this does happen, it will only delay Banda's plans, not prevent them. On the cards are that within the next year Blantyre will have a direct air link with Europe, several new factories, a vastly expanded educational system, and a reasonable health system. Money may even be spent to improve rail services, although it is a pipe dream - which CNR does not think Banda indulges in - that there will be a rail link between Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, at any rate for the foreseeable future.

All this depends, of course, on Banda's remaining in tight control of Malawi politicians. And there is nothing to suggest that this will not be the case. In London, when Butler discussed with the Nyasalanders the question of secession, one of Banda's lieutenants made a somewhat heated (and foolish speech). Banda immediately asked Butler to adjourn the session. And when the delegates re-assembled it was quite obvious that the foolish lieutenant had been put in his place. Banda is a superlative politician. He can turn his rages on and off to suit the occasion. His ability can be judged from the way he has carried out his promise to his people to take them out of the Federation. He has made the British Government go back on its pledged word to the authors of the Federal constitution. And he bears no political grudges. But if he does lose control of his "wild men", Nyasaland's future will be a bleak one, indeed.

Banda's opposite number, Opposition Leader Blackwood, has a difficult task ahead of him. The United Federal Party have accused him of not "opposing vigorously enough". But as the United Federal Party will probably cease to exist in Nyasaland during the course of this week, this will not worry Blackwood over much. Blackwood is considered by both Conservative and Labour party politicians in Britain, and by considerable numbers of Europeans in the Federation to be taking a completely realistic attitude towards Nyasaland's secession. He will be the only voice those who do not support Banda will now have. And although the MCP's hotheads would like to see him removed from the Nyasaland scene, Banda recognises that Blackwood has an important part to play in Nyasaland's future. Blackwood has, and does, oppose Banda's party in the Nyasaland parliament. But his is a completely responsible opposition.

#### WELENSKY'S TROUBLES WITH HIS PARTY

As if Sir Roy Welensky has not sufficient troubles in coping with a British Government which appears to have every intention of making black seem white, his own party is giving him trouble.

Starting on Wednesday there is a congress of the UFP in Nyasaland. Purpose of the congress is to end the party in Nyasaland. What takes it place will be no concern of the United Federal Party.

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Then there are members of his Government who are anxious to stop all financial assistance to Nyasaland immediately. Welensky knows that to do this means it will be almost impossible for any sort of economic association to be worked out between Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias if this occurs.

Then there are Northern Rhodesia members of his (parliamentary) party who are not bothering to hide the fact that at the next caucus meeting (which should be tomorrow) they will urge that the two Rhodesias be kept together, by force if necessary. Welensky will reject that proposition, it is expected.

In Southern Rhodesia the parliamentary leadership, as well as the party leadership, is very weak. It is doubtful if Sawyer could win a vote of confidence as party chairman, if a congress was held of the UFP in the near future. Whitehead is being blamed as the man responsible for the UFP's defeat (there is an unconfirmed rumour that he will retire before the next session of Parliament, and that Sawyer will fight his seat in the next by-election. Sawyer told CNP that he knew nothing of any such plan). Yet the party bosses in Southern Rhodesia refuse to call a congress of the party before August. Welensky is well aware that if the UFP does not take action now, by August the party may easily have disintegrated. Already a decision was taken (last Friday) to cease the publication of "Federal Outlook" the party newspaper.

Welensky also knows there is a strong move (which he does not welcome) to draft him as party leader in Southern Rhodesia. He has made no secret of his wish to end this move.

#### BOYCOTT OF NEW REFINERY BY NR?

From the Copperbelt CNR hears that PAFMECSA "experts" are drawing up plans for Northern Rhodesia to boycott the oil refinery to be built in Umtali, when NR becomes independent.

This the PAFMECSA "experts" believe would hasten the end of "white domination" in Southern Rhodesia. There is some talk of Northern Rhodesia gaining its own refinery, but this is rather vague. According to this plan, NR would draw her oil supplies from the refinery at Tanganyika, via Lourenco Marques. And if for any reason Southern Rhodesia would refuse to allow the transport of this oil over the lines of Rhodesia Railways, then the oil supplies would come via Lobito, but not from Tanganyika.

#### KAUNDA AND FIELD

Kaunda has refused to meet Field, up to now. But in the near future, CNR expects that such a meeting will take place. Kaunda has already said he considers Field's approach to matters "realistic". During the next few days Kaunda will be urged to reconsider his previous decision. Kaunda will, in all probability, do this.

#### SR AFRICAN MP's COURTIED

Never have fourteen politicians been courtied as the African members of the UFP are. The party bosses live in a continual sweat of terror that these MP's will defect from the party. On February 8th, this Letter pointed out that there was a possibility that "THE FOURTEEN" (in the minds of the UFP the African MP's are always spelled in capital letters)

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might up and away behind Aaron Palley. For the time being Whitehead and Abrahamson (who are staying at the same hotel - the Ambassador - where the African MP's are) are averting this possibility. But for how long they can do this is a moot point. Already 1 of the MP's has told CNR that he has been 'guaranteed' his seat in parliament for the next 15 years if he resigns from the UFP and sits (for the time being) as an independent. The guarantor? the nationalists.

The MP's (or some of them) are being subjected to an enormous amount of pressure. Whitehead's motion (which most political observers agree is a very weak one) that there should be no racial discrimination against African MP's, has brought about a large number of jokes freely told in the townships. Most popular of these stories is that Whitehead considers it essential that a man should be elected to parliament before he is allowed to urinate in Southern Rhodesia.

The United Federal Party cannot make up its parliamentary mind whether it wishes to be a liberal party, or not. And while it is making up its mind, half of its parliamentary strength may disappear.

#### NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION TO BE FORMED?

Careful re-reading of the SR "Speech from the Throne", plus a few enquiries to RF supporters, leads CNR to the belief that the SR Government intends, if the SR Parliament accepts the Phillips Report, to set up a Development Corporation to implement that part of the Report, with which the Government agrees.

Field is known to support the most of the suggestions in the Report. A notable point of difference is the recommendation the Report makes on multi-racial schools. The Rhodesia Front will not "buy" that idea.

The Report is due to be debated early in March. It would be in keeping with Field's viewpoint if the implementing of the Recommendations of the Report, (or at least that part which the RF accepts) was carried out by a completely non-political body, such as a National Development Corporation.

#### BUTLER WARNS

According to one very well-informed source, First Secretary Butler has warned the Federal and the SR Government that if an agreement for an economic association with Northern Rhodesia is to be reached, it will have to be by the end of July of this year. After that, according to this source, Butler believes Kaunda will not be interested in coming to any agreement with Southern Rhodesia. Were it not for the possibility (or is it probability?) of the fertiliser factory being built at Livingstone, and that factory having to depend on Wankie coal, it is doubtful whether Kaunda would be greatly interested at all in an economic association with Southern Rhodesia.

#### BARROW ANSWERS A QUESTION

On February 12, CNR interviewed Sir Malcolm Barrow, and asked questions about the development of the Sabi Valley. CNR had heard that the Federal Government was contemplating, subject to certain legislation being passed by the Territorial government, building a railway line into the valley. CNR had also heard that the government had obtained a loan for this purpose. The Federal deputy prime minister told CNR that he knew of no scheme to build a railway, and knew nothing of any loan for this purpose. Two days later, at Fort Victoria, Sir Roy Welensky announced that his govern-

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ment had just completed the examination of a plan to build a railway line into the Sabi Valley. Obviously there would be little point in such a plan being examined, except as an academic exercise, unless there was finance to build the line.

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA PARLIAMENT

Distribution of Hansard for Southern Rhodesia seems to have gone awash. Subscribers have yet to receive the first copy of Hansard, dealing with this session. But MP's are receiving uncorrected copies in the House.

By far and away the best speech of the session (to date) has been delivered by Mrs Maureen Watson. Well-delivered, and packed with information, Mrs Watson held the attention of the House.

Best maiden speech (also to date) has been delivered by V. Brelsford, who obviously spent considerable time in preparing his speech. Brelsford outshone both government and opposition maiden speakers. Best maiden speech on the government side came from Minister Jack Howman.

Best maiden speech from an African came from (the member for Mangwendi district) Hlazo.

The African members are rattling government speakers. Visibly shaken, after being subjected to interruptions from African members was (former leader of the opposition) Carey.

By and large the presence of African members, and their determination to express their point of view, has tended to make RF members think more carefully before speaking. It has also curbed some of the statements they might probably have made had the African MP's not been in the House.

#### TOBACCO TROUBLE

Whether, or not, Mr Mennen Williams sees the representatives of the tobacco industry (not to mention the chrome ore miners) the Rhodesian tobacco industry is in for a thin time, unless there is a complete change in U.S. government policy in this matter. The United States Information Services in Salisbury issued a somewhat specious explanation of what the USA is doing, but this explanation is as much value as the White Paper the British Government has just issued on its pledges re Federation.

Both explanations are vaguely and remotely connected with the truth.

Because it is difficult for a cigarette manufacturer to change the tobacco he uses immediately (because of the blend) the full effects of the American export subsidy will not (or may not) be felt at the first auctions of this year. But inevitably there will be repercussions. And tobacco growers may as well resign themselves to seeing their highly profitable farms being changed over to another type of farming, unless the US Government changes its mind, and its determination to break the Rhodesian tobacco growing industry.

#### CATTLE FOR SALE

When the present rainy season comes to an end, there will be a record number of cattle for sale, in Southern Rhodesia. Farmers, fearful of arson during the dry season, will be rushing to offer their cattle for sale. Two cattle farmers (on Saturday) confirmed this opinion to CNR.

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SR NATIONALISTS DISAGREE

For the first time in months there has been serious disagreement in the ranks of the nationalists.

From one of Southern Rhodesia's leading nationalists CNR has received news of the agreement reached between the "moderates" and the "extremists" that petrol bombing should end for a period of three months, from the date of the release of the restrictees.

Meanwhile, Mugabe agreed to Chinamono writing the constitution of (and for) a new party, provided this constitution met with Mugabe's approval.

But when the restrictees arrived in Salisbury, they vetoed any suggestion for a new party, as they felt that such a party (which would not have Nkomo as a leader) was an act of treachery against Nkomo.


Nkomo wanting to see Field, was prevented from doing so. Nkomo also suggested that the nationalists struggle should be carried on (for the time being at any rate) without violence, and without burnings. Nkomo felt confident he could get the ban on ZAPU lifted.

According to the same source on the day following Nkomo's arrest at Rusape, the extremists considered this an excellent opportunity for calling a strike, as a means of protest. Leaflets were hurriedly prepared, and they were being distributed while Nkomo was actually on the way to Salisbury, after being released on bail. Nkomo was involved in a tremendous argument in Salisbury regarding the calling of the strike. The strike orders were finally countermanded, and nationalist youth were hastily despatched to inform all and sundry that there would be no strike on the following day. They were also instructed to collect the leaflets which had been distributed earlier in the evening.

This is the first time that the nationalists have disagreed on tactics. Usually, what Robert Mugabe decides should be done, is done.

Yours truly,

A.J. LEVIN.



FOR CONFIDENTIAL NEWS REPORT.