

# POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL SITUATION IN RHODESIA

BY

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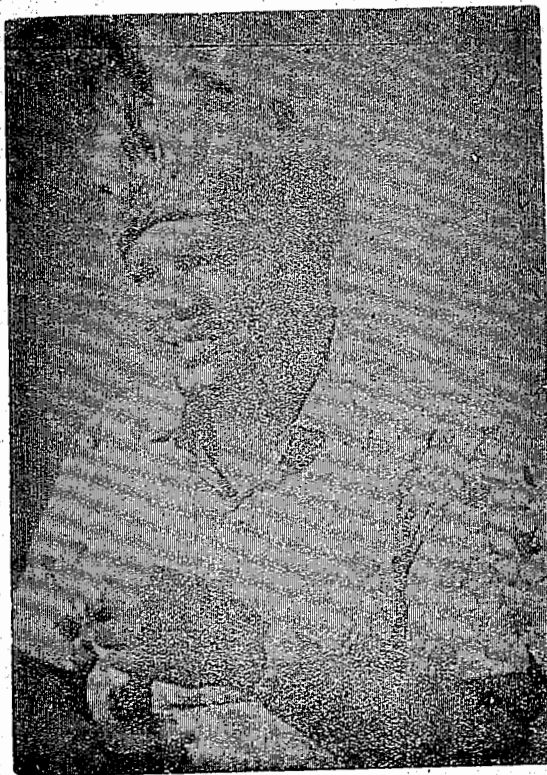
ON September 9, 1964, conversations concerning independence for Southern Rhodesia under exclusive Settler Minority rule were concluded between the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith.

These conversations were embodied in a communique released for publication to the Press on the 11th September, 1964. The text of this communique, which was the subject of some considerable haggling between the two Prime Ministers, is as follows: —

“There was a full discussion of all aspects of the problem of independence for Southern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia expanded his case for the grant of independence on the basis of the Present Constitution. The British Prime Minister restated and explained the position of the British Government as already stated in Parliament.”

“The British Prime Minister conveyed to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia the views expressed at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in July as set out in their Final Communique; The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for his part made it clear that he did not feel bound by any of the statements made at the Prime Ministers Meeting to which he had not been invited.” “The British Prime Minister told the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that the British Government looked forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia would take her place as an independent So-

*Memorandum submitted to the  
British Prime Minister by the  
Zimbabwe African People's  
Union (ZAPU)*



*Joshua Nkomo, detained nationalist leader of Zimbabwe.*

vereign State within the Commonwealth."

"For their part they were anxious that this should come about as soon as practicable."

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it was proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole."

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accepted that independence must be based on general consent and stated that he was convinced that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise. The British Prime Minister took note of the Statement but said that the British Government had as yet no evidence that this was the case. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia recognised that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this and said that he would consider how best it could be demonstrated so that independence could be granted."

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the population on the issues involved; but he must take it plain that the British Government reserved their position."

Certain very obvious conditions emerge as fundamental pre-requisites of the Referendum in terms of this Communique.

(1) Independence can be granted only on the basis of acceptance by the country as a whole.

(2) The majority of the population has to be consulted.

(3) The consultation of the majority of the population should be conducted in conditions and circumstances which permit of freedom of expression, freedom of communication and movement.

(4) The British Government had as yet no evidence in support of Mr. Ian Smith's claim that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise.

(5) Mr. Ian Smith recognised that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this claim. In other words evidence must be forthcoming that the majority, i.e. Africans support the Rhodesia Government's request for independence on the basis of the Present Constitution, that the referendum was conducted in such manner and in such circumstances that the Africans, the majority, were given a free and untrammelled opportunity to say, and to record their "Ayes" or "Noes".

(6) That when the referendum is over, and Mr. Smith presents his results to the British Government, the British Government reserves its position.

### BRITAIN'S DUTY

It is perfectly reasonable to postulate that it is necessarily inherent in the nature of this reservation that should the British Government be not satisfied that the majority of the population were not properly consulted, i.e. that the referendum was a fake, elementary justice would require that the British Government turn down Mr. Smith's request for independence. Not only that, Mr. Smith's Government would have proved to employ cheating practices, in order to achieve its declared objectives; the perpetual maintenance of a system of serfdom over the majority of the indigenous population by a minority foreign settler regime.

### Chapter II

Let us now examine how and the circumstances in which the referendum was conducted.

A resume of the background to the referendum will assist to put the matter in clearer perspective. We cannot take it for granted that the world knows about the Southern Rhodesia problem. But no doubt informed people will be aware that it is one of the most agitated Colonial political issues of the contemporary era, and, indeed up to now the highest world Council, the U.N. stands seized of this issue. It will be recalled that the matter of South-

ern Rhodesia is presently under the consideration of the U.N. Committee on Colonialism.

### CONSTITUTION REJECTED

1. The 1961 Southern Rhodesia Constitution was overwhelmingly rejected by the African people of Southern Rhodesia almost to a man. It is not unusual that in the circumstances of a popular national movement, a few quislings can be found ready and willing to co-operate with the oppressor. Most countries do, and have experienced this. But in Southern Rhodesia it would be quite fair to say that that forlorn class of people however well intentioned they might be in co-operating with the oppressor to work the 1961 Constitution, constitute the exception that proves the rule, i.e. the 1961 Constitution was overwhelmingly rejected.

The reasons for its rejections are basically these:

(a) Out of a total of 65 seats in the Legislative Assembly the European minority has 50 seats.

(b) The Europeans are elected on one Roll the A Roll, the Africans on a separate Roll, the B Roll.

The franchise is based on income and property qualification, the qualifications for the 'A' Roll being very high, the maximum requirement being income £720 p.a., or, immovable property valued £1,500 plus literacy.

The qualifications for the 'B' Roll maximum being income of not less than £240 p.a., or, ownership of immovable property valued at £450.

There are other pettifogging details of the franchise qualifications, but the principle of the system is to exclude Africans in any effective numbers from the 'A' Roll and to retain the majority of the Europeans on that roll.

It was estimated that in 1962 only 564 Africans qualified for the 'A' Roll whereas the Europeans were 87,000. The natural order of things is thus reversed and an absurdly oppressive situation obtains in which

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# RHODESIA

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the minority becomes the majority. Moreover, the fact that these qualifications are enacted by reference to income and property and that there is an accompanying provisions whereby the income and property qualifications can be raised without reference to the people by decree makes the franchise arrangements a durable instrument of oppression, freely at the disposal of the Southern Rhodesia Government. As a matter of fact, the history of the denial of political rights to the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia, is the history of the raising of the franchise property qualifications.

The average annual earnings of Africans in Southern Rhodesia are £114; whereas the average annual earning of Europeans is £1,217.

In fact these income and property qualifications were raised recently in September, this year, a subject which shall be dealt with later in its proper place.

(b) The Constitution contains a Bill of Rights which in terms of the actual operation of this Constitution, is now proved to be illusory. While it purports to declare and confer rights on the one hand, life, liberty, security of the person, the enjoyment of property and the protection of the law, freedom of expression, of assembly and association, freedom of conscience, respect for private and family life, on the other hand, these purported rights can be taken away at any time, should the government consider it necessary to do so in the interests of the so-called defence, public safety or public order.

Our own experience of the application of this purported Bill of Rights is that insofar as the powers of Government are exclusively in the hands of a minority and the majority is for effective and practical purposes virtually disenfranchised, the provisions relating to the interests of defence, public safety, public order, have been used as means to choke the popular

national movement, by banishments, proscriptions and detentions.

Concentration Camps, Whawha and Gona Kudzingwa have been erected to which nationalists have been rusticated.

It is perfectly true to say at no other time in the history of this country and directly as a result of this constitution (with its Bill of Rights!) has there been a greater number of political prisoners, opponents of the minority regime, in gaols and concentration camps.

There are innumerable examples, two of which we give as typical, graphic, yet melancholy refutations of any claim that this Constitution protects or guarantees any of the rights that is supposed to confer.

In terms of this Constitution, a Constitutional Council exists which is charged specifically with the task of watchdog of the Bill of Rights and to make adverse reports to the Government of the day on legislation which is inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

Among the chief proprs for the deprivation of the African population of land and reduction to serfdom is a piece of legislation entitled the Land Apportionment. This nomenclature is a misnomer because in actual fact the purpose of the measure is to deprive African of land and to assign such land for European settlement. It was passed in 1930 and considerable tracts of land were taken over the years from Africans.

To mention only a few specific instances of ejection of Africans from their traditional homes and the settlement of Europeans therein: Rhodesdale Estate, Lancashire Estates and Matopos. In 1960 the Southern Rhodesia Government was bound to make a shameful admission of the results of this Act in these words:

"The division of land under the Act is completely unfair to Africans in that 42 million acres are reserved for 2½ million Africans, whereas 48 million acres are reserved for about 200,000 Europeans."

(Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly second report of the

Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives, 1960, page 49.)

The land both urban and farmland, is zoned completely into separate European and African areas.

In March, 1964, the Constitutional Council examined this Legislation and made its adverse report to the Government of the day to the effect that the measure is inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

As the Act is a cornerstone of the Government's principles and policies, its reply to the Constitutional Council's Report, was to the effect that the Land Apportionment will remain as intact as ever before.

The provision regarding freedom of speech was made a complete mockery of when the only paper in the Colony which, up to a point, catered for the views of the African National Movement was banned "in the interests of public security or safety."

Thus in the name of this very Bill of Rights, the majority of the population in Southern Rhodesia today are without a political party, without a public vehicle of opinion, and all political leaders incarcerated in gaols and concentration camps.

Past British Governments vaunted

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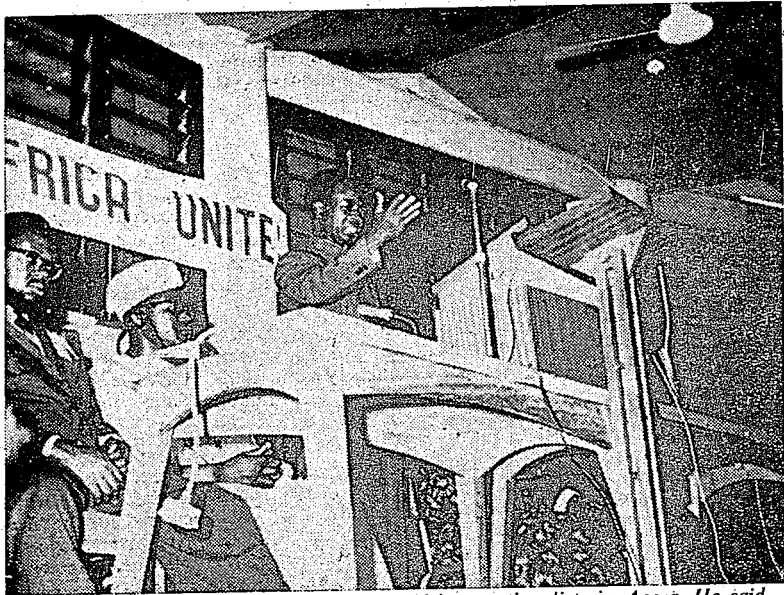
## NON - ALIGNED NATIONS

*(Continued from previous page)*

scientific and technological achievement. It is thus the duty of all nations big or small, weak or powerful, rich or poor, developed or developing, to assist in ensuring to man peace with himself and the world.

All our efforts should contribute to the general cause of maintaining world peace against wars of aggression, against imperialism, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The world is watching us, as we grapple with these problems. Let us accept the challenge honestly, incorruptibly, boldly and fearlessly.



*President Nkrumah of Ghana addresses African nationalists in Accra. He said recently; "neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle"*

this Constitution as the solvent of a multi-racial society in Southern Rhodesia. The greater majority of the African population rejected it for what it truly is in substance—an instrument for the perpetuation of serfdom. We have no more rights and liberties under this constitution than serfs had in the baronial society of the middle ages.

It is clear from our perilous experience that the harshness of the Southern Rhodesia political system indicates the old established maxim that the true support for Constitutional guarantees and rights is universal adult suffrage, the only way of ensuring that Government rests on the consent of the governed. The future security of the minority settlers lies in an honourable transference of power now instead of prolonging a foundation on which they are bound to crash with irretrievable losses in correspondence to the prolongation.

It is no wonder that the Ian Smith Government of Southern Rhodesia desire independence on the basis of this Constitution.

As is public knowledge the rejection of this Constitution was followed by a sustained campaign at the United Nations. Only as recently as 25 April, 1964, Mr. G. Nyandoro, General Secretary, Z.A.P.U., urging the rejection of this Constitution recommended to the Committee of 24 at U.N. as follows:

1. Obtain immediately from the U.K. Government the release of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and all the Nationalist political prisoners.
2. Demand from Britain the repeal of the present constitution.
3. Demand from Britain the implementation of all the past U.N. resolutions calling for an immediate constitutional conference with the specific purpose of transferring power to the majority under one man, one vote.
4. Call for a convention of the Security Council to implement the resolutions of the U.N.

In response to a series of resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, which established the responsibility of Great Britain in and over Southern Rhodesia and urging Great Britain as the sovereign power to take steps to effect constitutional arrangements acceptable to the majority of the population, previous British Governments not only offered tenacious resistances, but took the position that Britain cannot intervene in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia, thus indicating to the latter that they had complete licence to deal with the Africans as they liked.

The issue was seriously canvassed in the capitals of Commonwealth countries, and as a result, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in July 1964, the problem was discussed.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers were concerned to find ways and means to hasten constitutional progress within Southern Rhodesia toward majority rule. They recognised that responsibility for the Constitutional progress towards

independence of Southern Rhodesia must remain with Great Britain and the grant of independence would not be made before Southern Rhodesia had achieved majority rule.

They recommended that constitutional progress should be worked out by early agreement between representatives of the various political parties in Southern Rhodesia which would naturally include the African party. They were also concerned that the Southern Rhodesia Government might try to avoid a solution of its internal problems by making a unilateral declaration of independence.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister was not invited to the Conference. This was properly so, because the majority of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers objected to his presence.

The Conference is a Conference of heads of sovereign states. And as they recognised that Great Britain as the sovereign power has the ultimate responsibility for constitutional matters in and over the Colony and as the Southern Rhodesia Government by their treasonable utterances of a unilateral declaration of independence were not in a frame of mind to contribute anything constructive at this Conference, we think it was only right that Mr. Ian Smith should be put in his proper place inasmuch for example as the head of a local authority would be presumptuously arrogant by threatening not to cooperate with the sovereign authority in order to achieve illegal objectives. It is rather ironical that a man whose Government rests on the very negation of consent and consultation of the majority should be heard to complain that he was not invited to put his views at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. Perhaps we might be excused for expressing what we consider in all the circumstances to be perfectly fair comment that it is in the habit of people who have long been exercised in the arts of tyranny to think that only their views matter, and to act that way.

Subsequent to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, Mr.

Ian Smith was invited to go to London in order that the British Government might communicate its views to Mr. Smith as leader of the local settlers.

Having sketched this background the Referendum falls to be seen in its clear though sordid perspective. Firstly, it will have been evident from the foregoing that insofar as Mr. Smith's claim that the majority of the population desire independence under the present Constitution, we cannot be accused of using unduly intemperate language if we dismiss this claim as we do now without any further repetition in the most appropriate words—a fantastic lie.

Secondly, the Southern Rhodesia Government repudiated any suggestion of consulting the majority of the population.

In the very constitution under which his government is seeking independence, there is a provision, Section 108, which specifically provides for the participation of Africans in a referendum in circumstances in which it is sought to bring about fundamental changes in the constitution.

On October 8, 1964, the Southern Rhodesia Government initiated a measure, the Referendum Bill, which specified that only those who were enrolled on the A and B Rolls would be entitled to vote in this referendum.

Prior to this, in the week ending September 12, 1964, the income qualifications for the franchise were raised. The minimum qualifications for the A Roll are now £330 per annum for an individual with 4 years secondary schooling. For the B Roll a minimum of £132 per annum plus two years secondary schooling. The average annual wage of the Africans is £114 and the Europeans £1,217. Even the *Rhodesia Herald*, itself the powerful votary of Settler Minority interests was moved to comment thus:

"Both increases are more than 10 per cent by which the means qualifications for the vote have been raised. There, is however,

one difference. The average European wage is still above, and the average African wage still below, the minimum needed to qualify for the vote on either roll." In rather euphemistic undertones the paper went on:

"Mr. Smith has pledged that he would not try to 'pull a fast one.' Naturally not: The Prime Minister could not lend himself to any constitutional fraud, and in any case he is content to have observers."

When it is realised that (1) only a handful of Africans are registered voters (2) the referendum Bill barred the rest of the African majority from participating in the referendum, by whatever words you describe it, the Southern Rhodesia Government's method of conducting the referendum revealed itself for what it substantially was—A Constitutional Fraud.

In the course of enacting the Referendum Bill which became an Act on 15th October, 1964, Dr. Arhn Pally one of the European independents in this Legislature had this to say during one of the debates on this measure:

"Under no circumstances did the Government wish the true and effective opinion of the African people to be known."

Even Mr. C. Hlabangana, one of the African M.P.'s of the White-Head-Welensky party (a well-known supporter of White Minority rule) decried the moves of the present Government in no uncertain terms:

"No African will support independence under the present Constitution."

Thirdly, Having excluded the majority from the normal referendum machinery, how did the Southern Rhodesia Government go about the task of testing their opinion?

(a) Mr. Smith declared that he would test African opinion through Chiefs and he would seek the opinions of anthropologists.

As regards the Chiefs:

The Chiefs, whichever way you look at their position, are in effect

an arm of the civil service. By the provisions of the Native Affairs Act, they come directly under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are confirmed in office by the Governor in Council, and may be dismissed by the same. (There are several instances of Chiefs who were dismissed from office for refusing to be pliable instruments of the Government in the implementation of its oppressive measures of which the most gallant is Chief Mangwende. Because of their refusal to cooperate Chiefs Musana, Makope and Mangwende were deposed and placed under restriction at Gona-kudzingwa.

### PUPPET CHIEFS

Their salaries are paid directly by Government.

From May, 1964, the Southern Rhodesia Government began to lay emphasis on the policy of currying favour with the Chiefs. A selected group was sent on a world tour, ostensibly to study agricultural methods. In Southern Rhodesia the Chiefs have little or nothing to do with the administration of Agriculture which in fact in African areas comes under the day to day supervision of Land Development Officers. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to draw the inference that this "agricultural study tour" was planned by the Government in the light of anticipation of the referendum scheme from their exchange of correspondence with the British Government.

Clearly enough, the Chiefs were being prepared in advance. The tour having been finished and upon Mr. Smith's return from London, their basic wage was increased from £16 to £60 per month with not inconsiderable perks in the bargain, a land rover, petrol allowance, and the use and enjoyment of proceeds from fines in the Chiefs Court.

Were this ordinary corruption one would condemn it by analogy perhaps to the "rotten borough system" in England in the 18th and 19th Centuries. But, this is only part of a vast sinister system to deprive permanently four million people of the prospects ever of attaining majority rule.

In any case, do the Chiefs represent the majority of the people? The anthropologists whom Mr. Smith had declared he would consult—a declaration which it now appears was made without prior consultation with them—promptly answered him. Headed by Professor J. C. Mitchell, a group of anthropologists and sociologists and lecturers of the University College at Salisbury issued the following statement as reported in the press: *Northern News* 22/9/64.

"In their professional opinion, the only way to test the African viewpoint on the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence was to give every man the oppor-

tunity to express his own views by vote. No other method could give valid results."

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith had said he hoped to consult anthropologists and other experts as to how African opinion on the independence issue can be tested."

"In African Society—of the past as well as the present—decisions have been, and are made by processes which involve all adult members of the community.

"In Southern Rhodesia, Africans are no longer organised solely on a basis of a tribal system. Therefore African opinion on the national issue of independence cannot be tested within the framework of this system.

"Approximately half of the adult men in the population live and work outside tribal areas at any one time. Most of these do not qualify for the B Roll vote and it appears that the full expression of their opinion is to be ignored.

"Furthermore, on this issue, no one individual can pretend to speak for all members of his community as he may be mistaken, misguided or self-interested.

"It is therefore our professional opinion as sociologists and so-

cial anthropologists that the only way to test the African viewpoint on this issue is to give at least every man the opportunity to express his view by vote. No other method can give valid results.

"We are utterly opposed to the idea that there is something peculiar to Africans which makes it impossible to test their opinions by other than normal procedures."

The expression of this view led to quite a curious episode. Its publication on the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Station—a Government controlled organ—was banned on the direction of Mr. J. M. Helliwell, Chairman of the Broadcasting Station. In consequence top men of the Station news department resigned (*Sunday Mail*, September 27, 1964).

### ANTHROPOLOGISTS

The Southern Rhodesia Government planned to use Chiefs and Chiefs only as the means of testing African opinion. They set up a Committee comprising the Government and opposition members (i.e. Edgar Whitehead's Party). This Committee was charged with the task of meeting Chiefs and persuading them to accept the Government's proposals of independence on the basis of the present Constitution.

Speaking in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament on the move to set up this Committee, Mr. Ian Smith said:

"We believe we should tell the Chiefs and headmen to consult their people in the traditional manner. We know there are different systems among tribes. There is no universal pattern."

**Fourthly:** What of the Communiqué's requirement that the opinions must be freely expressed?

It is vital to appreciate that the basic principle of Southern Rhodesia Security Legislation as it is em-

embodied in the Law and Order Maintenance Act and, the Preventive Detention Act, is to suppress the African Nationalist Movement. Z.A.P.U. is banned, its leader Joshua Nkomo languishes in Gwelo gaol. The result is that the entire African population is without their normal political party. The banning was followed by wholesale imprisonment of individual members of the banned political party.

Following the declaration of states of emergency in Highfield in August, 1964 and Harari in September, 1964, thousands of men, women and juveniles were ruthlessly herded into gaols.

The Concentration Camps at Whawha, Gonakudzingwa, and the Gwanda gaols at Gwelo, Bulawayo, Nkai, Marandellas and Sinoia hold between them six thousand political prisoners.

### ARRESTS

We say little about the deleterious social effects of mass imprisonments which leave children and women bereft of their breadwinners. The hideous cruelty with which the arrests and imprisonments were carried out has become a by-word among the African population. We narrate briefly the experience of a member of Z.A.P.U. who escaped from police arrest in Mrewba District.

Having been arrested by the police for being a member of Z.A.P.U. he was buried in the ground being covered by earth up to the shoulders. While in that position, he was subjected to several hard smacks in the face, dug out and then asked to recant and to say where other wanted members were hiding.

At the time of organising the so-called referendum, the whole colony was crawling with armed police and heavily equipped troops to round up the African population.

In the process of interrogation, the African population was subjected to brutal and severe intimidation. People's cattle, goats chickens were wantonly destroyed

Police and the army helped themselves of the loot. We have it on record that the Army said this was better food than the rations they got from the Government.

### IMPRISONMENT

Nothing could be more evident than the fact that in the given legal system of Southern Rhodesia, the banning of the African political party, the wholesale imprisonment of members of this party, the resort by the Government to cheating in order to ram its own propaganda down the throats of the people, it is a cardinal travesty of the truth to talk of "African views freely expressed."

How remote the situation in Southern Rhodesia is from the elementary requirements of freedom of expression and freedom of consent is starkly revealed in the evidence of Miss Judith Carfield Todd. Miss Todd, a daughter of the famous former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was charged and convicted before the Courts under one of the many encompassing provisions of the draconic Law and Order, Maintenance Act. On the 14th October, 1964, appearing before Salisbury Magistrate, E. J. Hamilton, she said:—

"I demonstrated not to embarrass or disobey the police, but as a protest against the system of Government which we are under. I demonstrated because the parties I support have all in turn been banned, because the people I recognise as my political leaders have been restricted or imprisoned, and because the only newspaper in this country that was courageous enough to effectively oppose the Government has been silenced.

"My wish was to protest peacefully and in silence. I was denied this right. For the Government finds any form of opposition increasingly intolerable. Even justice which a citizen might expect to find in these Courts has been governed by the legislature and my friends are restricted or imprisoned without trial."

Miss Todd is a member of the African Nationalist Movement.

The reverberations of the Nazi system are still echoing and have not yet died down. Surely, is not the system in Southern Rhodesia reminiscent of what the Nazi system was, and is it the same as the South African system?

In view of the overwhelming evidence that the Rhodesia Government departed diametrically from the terms of the Communique to which they were party, pronouncements of momentous significance were made by the British Government.

### NEW APPROACH

In the last week of October the British Government rejected the method of consulting Africans through Chiefs. They refused to send observers to the Indaba which was staged at Domboshawa. In the refusal to send observers, the British Government was followed by the United States Government.

On October, 27, 1964, the British Government issued a public warning as to the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence.

In the face of these two developments the Southern Rhodesia Government proceeded with the so-called referendum. We do not think the referendum exercise having been rejected by the British Government scarcely deserves to be considered as worthwhile to put forward to the British Government as a standpoint by the Rhodesia Government in any future discussions on new Constitutional developments.

But no doubt the referendum exercise can be considered only as frightful evidence of the fraudulent designs of the Southern Rhodesia Government.

With due respect to the British Labour Government, we note the stand they have taken by these pronouncements. But this stand does not take the matter any further. Assuming that Mr. Smith will heed the warning on the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence, the stand now taken by

the British Government merely brings the position to rest at the very situation which is the source of unrest, the 1961 Constitution. The British Government might be prevailed upon that they have made their point, the Rhodesia Government has obeyed and matters should be left at that. We consider that nothing could be more dangerous than to leave the position where it started.

In view of all the circumstances, the case could not be stronger for calling a Constitutional Conference SOON. Mr. Ian Smith has indicated he would not be prepared to sit at a round table conference with the African nationalists.

Any such objections by the Rhodesia Government ought in right, and in view of the seriousness of the situation, to be rejected as subterfuges and pettifogging.

Z.A.P.U. demands the presence of Mr. Joshua Nkomo at any Constitutional Conference. We therefore demand from the British Government to convene immediately a Constitutional Conference in Britain of major parties concerned for the purpose of working out a Constitution to provide for majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) based on one man one vote.

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