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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RHODESIAN PRESS
AND ITS ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY RHODESIAN
POLITICS AND SOCIETY

by

Marvin Moss

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Date: May 4, 1965

Dean of the School

Date: 5/20/65

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Rhodesian press has a history about as old as Rhodesia itself. Rhodesia is a young country as far as its European settlement is concerned—the pioneer column having entered the present boundaries in 1890. The press followed quickly in the pioneers' footsteps, publishing the first newspaper in Salisbury in 1891. Since then, this young country has been continuously served by an active, expanding press establishment.

In the year 1964, the Rhodesian press entered a new period in its history that may well be recorded in future analysis as a turning point in the story of the newspaper business and Rhodesian journalism. The election of December, 1962, brought into power a new government headed by Winston Field. This government bore a certain amount of latent animosity toward elements of the press. In April, 1964, a new Prime Minister, Ian D. Smith, was chosen by a Rhodesian Front party caucus, and an intensified attack against the press by the government began.

This paper will be concerned with the Rhodesian press from the break-up of the Federation on December 31, 1963, until December, 1964. By the nature of the paper and its central theme of the relationship of press and politics,
some historic background will be necessary, but history must remain peripheral to the core of the thesis which is contemporary.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the role the press plays in contemporary Rhodesian political life. The interaction of the press with the government, the loyal opposition, the various racial elements of the population, and the business community will be dealt with in detail.

This thesis is the culmination of research carried on in Southern Rhodesia at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, from September to December, 1964. During this period, events of great import in the history of Rhodesia occurred. Two bi-elections were held on October 1 in the affluent Salisbury suburbs of Avondale and Arundle, resulting in government victories in both constituencies and the strengthening of the position of the Rhodesian Front party. Later in October, an indaba or council of chiefs and headmen was held at Domboshawa to ascertain the feelings of the rural African populace toward Rhodesian independence. The fifth of November saw a nationwide referendum on the issue of independence. The Rhodesian press fully covered these events in its news articles and its editorials, giving the author further insight into the political situation in the country and the reaction of the press to political events.
Southern Rhodesia is in the strange position of being a self-governing colony under the nominal tutelage of Great Britain. Since 1923 and a referendum asking whether European Rhodesians wanted to join the Union of South Africa or to remain under Great Britain as a self-governing colony, Rhodesia has had its own government, owing ultimate allegiance to the crown and being subject to British review of its government's actions. The current crisis in Rhodesia is based on this 1923 decision. The two other former territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have gained their independence—Malawi in July, 1964, and Zambia in October, 1964. This leaves Rhodesia, probably the country best prepared for independence in an economic sense, still under nominal British control. This situation is exacerbated by the racial situation in Rhodesia and the drive by African nationalists to gain control of the reins of government. Britain is determined that Rhodesian independence will come only when majority rule is feasible. This British position has led the Rhodesian Front, the governing party, to brandish its threats of a unilateral declaration of independence.

The research for this paper was done completely in Rhodesia by the author. From the beginning, it was obvious that the best way to approach this subject was the interview as well as archival and background reading. Without the
interviews, this paper would have been impossible. It is difficult to obtain insight into the inner workings of any organization by reading its annual report or, in this case, its newspapers. These provide clues, but only the editors and managers can give the inside story about the running of a paper or a particular viewpoint of a government official. The very essence of this paper is these interviews.

There is little printed about the Rhodesian press, and this paper is, undoubtedly, the first attempt at its particular subject. There is William Gale's book, The Rhodesian Press, which is the history of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. It contains little of the controversy surrounding the press and is not current with the time frame covered in this paper. Clyde Sanger devotes an Appendix in his Central African Emergency to the Rhodesian press, but the author's interview with Sanger was much more important to the paper. Colin Leys refers to the Rhodesian press from time to time in European Politics in Southern Africa, but his conclusions are of mainly historical interest. It was, thus, necessary for the author to turn to the newspapers, Hansard, and contemporary statutes, as well as the journalists and bureaucrats involved with the press, to accomplish his purpose. The Rhodesian National Archives was an immense help and Rhodesia can be very proud of such a well-managed, well-designed archives.
One problem encountered was the unavailability of some people important to the paper. Willifred Brooks, editor of *Rhodesian Property and Finance*, was one of these, as was Malcolm Smith, editor of the *Rhodesia Herald*. Malcolm Smith appointed Henry Maasdorp, an assistant editor, to represent him, and he did a most articulate job in representing the *Herald*. Generally, the editors interviewed were most cooperative. It was also surprising to the author that government officials were so readily accessible to an investigation of such a topical subject.

A paper of this sort has never been attempted on the subject of Rhodesian press and politics. As the time limitations indicate, the paper is just about as current as is possible. This paper should be of great interest to scholars of Rhodesian politics because it lays bare the essential differences separating the various elements of the European population and the various races. The author has also had to analyze many current political issues in the course of writing this thesis. The press became, in 1964, the very center and focus of the political uncertainties and turmoil that made 1964 a year that will remain memorable to Rhodesians who are used to cliff-hanging political events. The year also saw a dramatic change in government-press relations that establishes the subject of this thesis as one of the great controversial issues in Rhodesia in 1964.
The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter II, titled "Introduction to the Rhodesian Press," gives an early and contemporary history of the press and introduces the reader to current papers, their circulation and methods of distribution. Chapter III is about the administration of the press and studies the capitalization and personnel problems of the press. Such questions as the control of the press from South Africa, the charge that the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company is a press monopoly, and managerial control of editorial policy are discussed. Also, the important topic of the editorial influence of the capital sources is delved into. The background and source of editors and journalists is analyzed as well as the functioning of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists. Another important topic covered in Chapter III is the sources of news, the wire services used, and cooperation in news gathering among the various newspapers. The position of the African reporter in race conscious Rhodesia is also discussed.

Chapter IV studies the editorial policies of the papers on current political issues; such as, independence, the role of current political parties both European and African, and the question of majority rule. The fifth chapter is the meat of the paper and discusses the interaction of the press, government, and society. The position of the press under Rhodesian law is studied, press-government
relations are analyzed (including radio and television), and relation of the press to the business community and the various ethnic groups, as well as the press as a creative force, are studied in detail. The last chapter summarizes and concludes the paper.

Only a few terms used in the paper need some clarification. Sometimes the word "press" is used to indicate the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers only. This is usually indicated in some way—the most common being to call it quite simply "the company press." It is also referred to, from time to time, as the Argus Group, a name used popularly in Rhodesia, although, in the strictest sense, it is an anachronism. European Rhodesians have the habit of saying Rhodesians and meaning only European Rhodesians to the exclusion of other races. The author has tried to overcome this by referring to Africans, European Rhodesians, and other racial groups by more specific titles. This should eliminate any confusion on this issue.
CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION TO THE RHODESIAN PRESS

Although this paper is not fundamentally a history, it is imperative that historical background be given. The Rhodesian press, as it exists today, is the outgrowth of an historic tradition and has been influenced and molded by this evolutionary process. An understanding of the policies and attitudes of the extant press hinges on knowing the tradition which lies at the root of any press establishment.

I. ORIGINS OF THE PRESS

Early History

William Ernest Fairbridge arrived at Fort Salisbury, Rhodesia, in early June, 1891, barely one year after the arrival of the pioneer column and the erection of the fort. Cecil John Rhodes' Chartered Company controlled Fort Salisbury and the area around it then called Mashonaland. Rhodes also happened to be the heaviest investor in a South African company, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, which published South Africa's two major papers, the Cape Argus and The Star of Johannesburg. William Fairbridge was to be the Argus representative in Mashonaland.

From the beginning, the Argus Group (a popular name for the Argus Printing and Publishing Company) had exclusive
rights to newspaper publishing in Salisbury. On May 25, 1891, the Chartered Company agreed to allow the Argus Group to publish and "to offer no facilities to any other firm." This established an historic precedent that still has ramifications today. One of the many charges leveled against the press in Rhodesia today is that the papers started by the Argus Group constitute a monopoly. The obvious conclusion is that Rhodes was doing the natural thing and feathering his own financial nest, but more detailed research into this incident would be required to support such a conclusion.

The first paper, The Mashonaland Herald, was published by Fairbridge on June 27, 1891. In September, 1961, the Herald found itself expressing opinions differing from those of the Chartered Company, and it became obvious that the paper was not simply to be an instrument of the Chartered Company. One year later, the paper changed its name to the Rhodesia Herald, the name it has had since; and today it is the leading daily of Rhodesia.

The Argus Group started the Bulawayo Chronicle in 1894 and bought the Umtali Advertiser in 1895 (now the Umtali Post). Competition was allowed in Salisbury in the form of the Rhodesian Times, a paper that was absorbed by the Argus

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Group in 1905. Because the *Rhodesian Times* had only ". . . the limited resources of a private syndicate. . . ."² it could not survive independently. The press suffered tremendously during the Boer War but managed to continue publishing despite many shortages, including newsprint.

In 1923, an event important in the history of Rhodesia and its press occurred. This was the famous union issue or referendum to choose the future course of Rhodesia. The question was whether Rhodesia should join the Union of South Africa or opt for responsible government under the British government. John Martin, new General Manager of the Argus Company, visited Rhodesia and supported joining the Union. The *Herald* and the *Chronicle* supported Martin's position. The vote was 8,774 for responsible government and 5,989 for Union; and for the first time, the country's major papers found themselves on the unpopular side of a political issue. The fact that the two Rhodesian dailies were owned from South Africa gave ground for suspicion after the option for responsible government.³ The position of the press on the union issue is, in many ways, analogous to the position of the press on current political issues.

With the later addition of two Sunday papers, the Argus Group has reached the limits of expansion in Rhodesia.

The recent history of the Rhodesian press has been the story of the Argus Group with the addition of some very important competitors.

Recent History

In 1953, with the advent of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the press consisted of the Argus papers under the management of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company of South Africa. A small African paper, the Bantu Mirror, published by African Newspapers, Ltd., a subsidiary of Lord Thompson's group of papers, was still active after seventeen years of publication. This paper was printed in Bulawayo under the editor, Mr. B. G. Paver from Johannesburg. The Bantu Mirror had no reporters and consisted of news clipped from other Rhodesian papers and translated into vernacular.

October, 1953, saw the founding of a newspaper that has been important in Rhodesian history since that year. In October, 1953, the Afrikaans dominated Confederate Party aided in starting The Citizen, a weekly paper. Within two years, the circulation had grown spectacularly to fifteen thousand copies per week. This venture had proved so successful that the Dominion Party (an outgrowth of the Confederate Party) gave $28,000 in 1956 to start a daily allied
The Evening News was a spectacular financial failure and lasted only three months. The Citizen was burdened with the debts of The Evening News for several years. 4

The Citizen was, in many ways, a reaction to the daily Rhodesian press which supported the government and its philosophy, in general. The Citizen, whose editor was a Greek Cypriote from South Africa, violated most journalistic traditions. The paper readily found a place in Rhodesia because it supported the opposition, attacked the governing establishment, and gave voice to a right-wing philosophy that was generally not articulated in the press.

Besides The Evening News, the year 1956 also produced the African Daily News, an outgrowth of Paver's Bantu Mirror. This paper became the national African newspaper with an almost continuously rising circulation. The Daily News endured under a series of different editors until August 26, 1964, when it was closed by the Rhodesian government under the terms of the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

The Central African Examiner, a monthly journal, was founded in 1957 by Sir Geoffrey Crowther, former editor of The Economist. Calling itself an "... adventure in

progressive journalism," the Examiner's destiny was to be guided by a distinguished Board of Trustees, including the Federal Chief Justice, the Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, and the Principal of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The purpose of this board was to safeguard the political independence of the editor from pressure groups and the Rhodesia Selection Trust, the copper company backing the journal, in particular. Francis Baughan, who had spent ten years with the Times of London, was the first editor.

The integrity of the Central African Examiner came into question in the 1958 Todd political crisis. David Cole, who was then both managing director and temporary editor, swung his policy from all-out support of Todd to advising Todd's supporters to join Sir Roy Welensky's party. This action was suspect because Cole was such a close personal friend of Welensky's. Clyde Sanger describes the Examiner, by March, 1959, as having "... retreated into embarrassing sycophancy..." The Board of Trustees resigned and, at least momentarily, the dream of the Central African Examiner was gone.

Dissent was first published on March 26, 1959. This was a small political tract (certainly it could not be

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5 Ibid., p. 333. 6 Ibid., p. 335.
classified as a newspaper) edited by two university lecturers, Terry Ranger and John Reed, and a Methodist minister, Reverend Whitfield Foy. It was the goal of Dissent to reflect adequately African and liberal criticism of the government, a role the editors felt the daily press filled inadequately. Dissent, a cyclostyled paper, was backed financially by contributions and sales.

During the 1958 Nyasaland crisis, only Dissent consistently spoke out and criticized government actions. Dissent published Clemens Micongwe's account of his detention at Kanjedza Camp in Nyasaland. This bold step caused the banning of Dissent in Nyasaland but led the Colonial Secretary to appoint a commission of inquiry into detention conditions.

Dissent, issued fortnightly and alternately with the Central African Examiner, died a more or less natural death with its twenty-fourth edition on March 2, 1961. According to John Reed, the editors felt that the Central African Examiner, recently taken over by Theodore Bull, would adequately fill Dissent's role. The paper then struggling as always for financial survival closed with the editors

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7 Ibid., p. 337.
8 John Reed, English lecturer, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and former co-editor of Dissent, personal interview with author, October 29, 1964, Salisbury.
knowing that their political persuasion had a public voice. Terry Ranger has since been deported from Rhodesia; Reverend Foy left; and John Reed, who still lectures at the university, is planning to leave shortly.

The last important national paper is Moto, a Catholic monthly published in Gwelo. The first issue came out in August, 1959, and the circulation still rises every month. In October, 1964, the total circulation was 22,000. This paper maintains high journalistic standards and is published in English and Shona. Father Traber, who is Swiss, is the managing editor. The press is owned by the Bishop of Gwelo, and the paper is supported by the church, and advertising and sale revenue. Moto seems to be filling the void left by the banning of the Daily News. Although Moto supports no political party, its policy is to support nationalist aspirations.

There were and are publications in Rhodesia other than the ones described, but the author has chosen the most important to his paper—those involved with politics in some way. Rhodesia has many professional and organizational publications but few, if any, relate to the broader problems of Rhodesian politics.

The important conclusion about the recent history of the Rhodesian press is that the new journals (new since 1953) generally came into being to fill what its backers and
editors felt were gaps or weaknesses in the daily press. There is also more than a small element of reaction in the establishment of the Citizen and Dissent against the middle-of-the-road position taken by the papers of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. These papers are the result of what Clyde Sanger calls both liberal and right-wing politicians' dissatisfaction with Argus backing and policy.9

II. CURRENT NEWSPAPERS

Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company owns two daily papers, The Rhodesia Herald, published in Salisbury, and The Chronicle, published in Bulawayo. These two papers constitute the principal dailies in Rhodesia. The Umtali Post is a tri-weekly paper, published in Umtali every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The Umtali Post is the main source of news for people in the eastern highlands of Rhodesia.

Also published by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company are the Sunday Mail from Salisbury and the Sunday News from Bulawayo. Both of these papers share quarters and presses with their daily counterparts but have separate editorial and reporting staffs. The Sunday Mail is designed to

9Sanger, op. cit., p. 330.
be a national paper with wide distribution; the Sunday News is edited as a Bulawayo paper only.

**Independent Papers**

With the demise of the Daily News on August 26, 1964, the only competition to the daily Rhodesia Herald and Chronicle was gone. There is no daily paper in Rhodesia other than those published by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company.

In the time frame covered by this paper, there were two papers of opposite political view which died in infancy. They will be discussed at length later on. The Zimbabwe Sun was the press organ of Joshua Nkomo's People's Caretaker Congress Party. This paper was rabidly African nationalist in tone and was banned after the twelfth edition. Willie Musarurwa was editor until the sixth edition, when he was restricted. Steve Lombard, a pro-nationalist university student, Nelson Samkangi and Enoch Dumbetshena ran the paper until its banning. Newsfront was a different paper altogether.

Newsfront was first published on July 12, 1963. It was published every other Friday and was as rabidly conservative as the Zimbabwe Sun was radical. Newsfront reflected the opinion of the governing party, the Rhodesian Front.

The Citizen is the principal weekly independent with rising circulation and advertising. It is still owned by the Theo family and represents right-wing thought if not necessarily government thought. The Central African Examiner publishes monthly but was recently changed in format and size to cut costs. A weekly published by African Newspapers Ltd., The Weekly Mirror, seeks an African audience but generally steers clear of political issues. Moto is gaining in stature and circulation as it more and more takes the place of the Daily News.

Rhodesian Property and Finance is a businessman's journal that is becoming increasingly important. Published monthly, this journal has entered the field of politics with a vengeance. There is very little straight political reporting but there is much editorial comment in the various columns of the paper.

Circulation and Distribution

There are definite quantitative limits to the size of any paper's circulation in Rhodesia. The largest factors are the small size of the European population and the large incidence of illiteracy among the Africans. With the African, there is another factor. Distribution of any paper
to rural African areas of Rhodesia is not organized and is difficult at best.

Most of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers have only recently evidenced interest in attracting African readership. These papers are distributed only to the main population centers where it appears the urban African is an enthusiastic reader. Moto must seek its own means of distribution, which are difficult and unreliable.

Table I gives a concise listing of all major papers and their circulations. This table illustrates several important points. Several independent papers have circulations as large as some of the Group papers. Only the Citizen, among European papers, can match the circulation of any Group paper and it is a weekly. Most of the Daily News readers were African as are Moto's readers. Thus, there is only really one paper in competition with the Group papers for the European market, and it does not publish daily.

Another important fact, partially illustrated by Table I, is the high percentage of the European population reading papers. The present European population is not known exactly due to the exodus of Europeans beginning in January, 1964, but a good estimate is around two hundred thousand. Many of this number are children. If 60 per cent of the Group readers are considered to be European,
## TABLE I

CIRCULATION OF RHODESIAN PAPERS
CURRENT TO OCTOBER, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group or Paper</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company</td>
<td>141,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rhodesia Herald</strong></td>
<td>37,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chronicle</strong></td>
<td>19,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Umtali Post</strong> (Monday, Wednesday, Friday)</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sunday Mail</strong> (Weekly)</td>
<td>65,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sunday News</strong> (Weekly)</td>
<td>17,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citizen</strong> (Weekly)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central African Examiner</strong> (Monthly)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moto</strong> (Monthly)</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daily News</strong></td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Part of this circulation goes to Zambia.

**At closing, August, 1964.
eighty-five thousand readers are European. This is a large percentage readership.  

The circulation of the Umtali Post, Rhodesia Herald, and Sunday News is fairly steady. The Chronicle and Sunday Mail have slowly rising circulations. It is in the field of independent papers that spectacular rises in circulation are occurring. The Citizen went from a circulation of twelve thousand to twenty thousand from the months of July—October, 1964. The Daily News circulation was rising swiftly at the time of its banning. Moto's circulation is going up precipitously each month. Only the Central African Examiner, among the independents, remains steady in its circulation. This is probably due to the political philosophy of the Examiner, its limited European audience in Rhodesia, and distribution difficulties in reaching the African readers.

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10 This is undoubtedly a conservative estimate. Figures given in the Rhodesia Herald and the Sunday Mail Survey of Urban African Readership indicate twelve thousand African readers (total) for the Herald and thirteen thousand for the Mail. This would put European readership of the Herald at 68 per cent and the Mail much higher.

11 John Theo, Managing Editor, the Citizen, personal interview with author, November 16, 1964, Salisbury.


13 Father Traber, Managing Editor, Moto, personal interview with author, November 20, 1964, Gwelo.
The above analysis brings to light another important fact in Rhodesian journalism: the circulation of the Group papers is remaining relatively stagnant when compared to the independent papers in the last year. The independent papers appeal to a specialized audience--Moto to Catholic Africans and the Citizen to conservative Europeans. Since these groups are among those that seem genuinely disenchanted with the Group press, it is obvious why the circulation of these publications is rising.

Newspaper distribution favors the Group papers and places the independents at a distinct disadvantage. Kingstons, an organization in which the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company owns stock, is the firm best suited to distribute newspapers. The Group papers are sold through Kingstons as well as other distributing agencies. Kingstons sells the independent papers at its newsstands, but national distribution is the problem of each independent paper. The Citizen is probably the most widely-distributed paper. The Theo family runs its own distribution organization by car, air, and bus and attempts to reach every Rhodesia village or dorp. Moto has a complicated selling system through schools and Catholic children. It is remarkable that national distribution of 22,000 papers is accomplished in this manner. The Daily News had its own distribution system because, as

\[14\] Theo, op. cit.
Eugene Wason, last editor of the Daily News, said "Kingstons made a mess of it."\(^{15}\) Eilleen Haddon, editor of the Central African Examiner reported that, when Kingstons ran out of her publication, they would forget to call and ask for more copies.\(^{16}\)

Distribution is important to the story of the Rhodesian press. The Group press has a well-established distribution system functioning for daily and weekly papers. One of the major reasons none of the independent papers is a daily is the problem of distribution. Because of the time element, it is much more difficult to distribute a daily than a weekly. Certainly, the Citizen could not cover the area it now covers in a week in a single day. The Citizen lacks the financial resources to set up such a vast complicated organization.

\(^{15}\) Wason, op. cit.

\(^{16}\) Eilleen Haddon, Editor, Central African Examiner, personal interview with author, October 12, 1964, Salisbury.
CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PRESS

The press is, of course, a private profit-making organization as well as a public institution. It is one of those peculiar Western institutions that demands a profit but seeks to honor a code of professional ethics. The interplay of these two important and disparate elements of the press is most significant as far as the product, the newspaper, is concerned.

The administration of the press is primarily concerned with efficiency and money making but also has a profound effect on the product itself and the philosophy of the press. The author realizes that a study of the structure of the Rhodesian press is a necessary element in fully understanding the motivations and impetus that make the Rhodesian press different from any other.

I. CAPITALIZATION

Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company

One charge constantly leveled against the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company and a charge well founded in history is that the company is controlled from South Africa by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company. At first, that may seem like a strange criticism coming from a
basically conservative element of Rhodesian society. It is not strange at all. The Argus Group is a lone-wolf type organization in South Africa. As Morris Broughton illustrates in his book, *Press and Politics in South Africa*, the English language press in South Africa (mainly Argus) is alienated from the mass of European South Africans by the anti-apartheid policy of the press.¹ It is this supposed liberal connection that most European Rhodesians dislike and not some mysterious xenophobia against South Africa that keeps criticism of the Rhodesian-Argus connection rampant. It seemed to the author that few on-the-street Rhodesians knew why they voiced the criticism—it was merely a time-worn phrase that everyone used.

The feeling of South African control is historic in nature and is accurate historically. The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company was probably created in 1958 to dispel talk of control from South Africa. The present financial situation would indicate autonomy from the Argus Company. Mr. John Hennessy, managing director of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, flatly declares that "South Africa does not control the Rhodesian press."² In


1958, when the Rhodesian Company became an associate company of the Argus Group, Argus took less than 50 per cent of the shares so that control would be in the hands of Rhodesians.

The Board of Directors of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company consists of seven members. The chairman, Mr. Slater, is a Rhodesian; two board members are South African; the remaining four members, including Mr. Hennessy, are Rhodesians. The composition of the board would also indicate a degree of autonomy from South African financial sources.

In several ways, the Rhodesian Company is still reliant upon South Africa. Mr. Hennessy stated that the Rhodesian Company must rely on the Argus Group for executives. This is a natural function of the Argus Group since the population of Rhodesia that is trained in business is quite small--especially in the business of running a press establishment. It is also true that some of the professional journalist staff have come from the Argus Groups. These connections with the Argus Group are necessary and straightforward; they may influence the Rhodesian press but certainly do not control it.

Another charge against the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company is that it constitutes a monopoly in the press field. The official reply to this would be William D. Gale's comment in his book, The Rhodesian Press.
In the absence of effective competition, the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company has been called a monopoly.

The reply to the accusation of monopoly is that there is nothing whatever to prevent any other organization from establishing competitive papers—nothing whatever except for one thing: hard economics. The possibilities have all been examined by experienced newspaper companies who wished to establish themselves in the Federation, and invariably, after a critical study of the facts, especially the economic facts, they have withdrawn.  

What Gale's comment actually amounts to is a statement that could be boiled down to this: "Yes, we want competition, but we are too big and too well established so that only we could feasibly publish another paper. In other words, whether we like it or not, we are sort of a benign monopoly."

Newspaper competition in Rhodesia has led to what psychiatrists call an approach-avoidance conflict in the minds of the executives and editors of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. Gale states in *The Rhodesian Press* that the company desires competition. Mr. Hennessy, the managing director, stated this, as did most of the editors interviewed. From the standpoint of professional press standards, there is little doubt that competition would be beneficial, that the daily press would be kept more active

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4Ibid.
and alert. From the purely professional point of view, the author believes that the company executives and editors did sincerely desire to have a competitive daily paper.

In actuality, when it appeared that a competitive paper might have been introduced in 1958, the hard realities of finance and business overcame the euphemisms of the professionals about the need for competition. The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company introduced the Evening Standard in 1958 and at least "... part of the reason" for the Evening Standard, according to Mr. Rhys Meier who was the editor, was to stop competition. The Evening Standard ran at a loss, was amalgamated with the Sunday Mail, and finally ceased publication on October 1, 1962.

According to Gale, "Publication [of the Evening Standard] is to be resumed when improved economic conditions in Southern Rhodesia make this possible." The main reason, it appears, that the Evening Standard closed was economic. Rhodesia was experiencing boom conditions at the time the Standard was first published, but very quickly the post-Federation boom ended and the Evening Standard which relied on local (Salisbury) advertising revenue became a money

5Rhys Meier, editor, Sunday Mail, personal interview with author, November 11, 1964, Salisbury.

loser. Rhys Meier stated that Salisbury is "... not big enough for a morning, evening, and Sunday paper."7

There are reasons other than simply lack of capital that prevent competitive newspapers entering the Rhodesian daily scene. Clyde Sanger indicates in Central African Emergency that it is estimated that an independent daily evening paper would require a reading population of 250,000 to survive.8 The size of the reading public in Salisbury is probably not much more than 100,000. The reason the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company could even think of publishing an evening paper was that the evening paper would be using the same presses as the Rhodesia Herald thus saving a tremendous investment in overhead.

The idea that competitive dailies would be welcome, undoubtedly, has a certain amount of philosophical veracity in it when spoken by editors and publishers. The actual event has proven otherwise. The facts are simply that "... the daily press is a monopoly of one organization."9 Emphasis must be placed on the word "daily" for it is in the field of dailies that the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing

7Meier, op. cit.
Company holds absolute sway and is, in fact, the only publisher of daily papers. Gale makes the most sensible and unemotional statement of fact when he stated "the RP&P is the only organization . . . with the necessary resources and the vitally necessary experience to produce modern newspapers on an economic basis." The effects of the almost unassailable position of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company in the realm of daily papers are profound and influence the very nature of the daily press. Since this chapter is covering economics and finance, these effects will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

Independent Papers

The papers and journals other than those owned by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company are owned by a variety of people and organizations. In many cases, the financial backing has had a direct influence on and, in some cases, exerted control over the weltansicht and content of the publication. It is strange that many of the independent publications which criticize the Group press for being controlled by management are really controlled by the sources of capitalization.

The Daily News was owned by the Thomson Group of

\[10\] Gale, op. cit., p. 217.
papers but was under a subsidiary called African Newspapers Ltd. The *Daily News* was designed to be an African newspaper and as such had to appeal to its designated readership. The very nature of the paper set its political philosophy. The nuances of this philosophy changed with its editors.

The Board of Directors of African Newspapers Ltd. consisted of five directors. Four of these directors were from Rhodesia and one, the chairman, was a director appointed by Lord Thomson. Two of the Rhodesian directors were Deryk James who was, and is, managing director, and Mr. Mbofона, ex-editor of the weekend edition of the *Daily News*. The make-up of this board made it clear that control of African Newspapers Ltd. was meant to reside in Rhodesia. This does not alter the fact that the capital was English and that the chairman must have been extraordinarily powerful.

The *Daily News* and African Newspapers had once been owned by the Cachalola Group composed of four large mining companies. It was at this time that the managing and editing were run by the Paver family which was unsympathetic to African nationalism. In 1956, the Westminster Provincial Press tried to buy African Newspapers. Sir Charles Cummings, resident director of the British South Africa Company, asked Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, if he had any objections to the sale. Welensky's reply was "... that British newspaper groups with a liberal reputation can only
be a menace in Rhodesia, giving African readers 'wrong ideas'. The Cachalola Group tried reorganizing African Newspapers after the rejection of Westminster, but the Paver family gradually reasserted its control. Later the mining companies sold to the Thomson Group.

The Citizen, as mentioned previously, was the creation of the Confederate Party in 1953. This is the party that, through many changes, has become the Rhodesian Front, the party of the present government. The Citizen is still owned by basically political sources, and these sources are Rhodesian Front. The managing of the paper is a remarkable family operation run by two members of the Theo family, one of whom, the elder Mr. Theo, is the paper's one and only reporter. The author was unable to obtain details about the present financial structure of the Citizen.

Sir Geoffrey Crowther sold the shares of the Central African Examiner that he had bought from the Rhodesia Selection Trust to Theodore Bull, an heir to the Beit fortune, in 1960. Bull appointed Jack Halpern, a South African liberal, as editor of the monthly journal. Theodore Bull is a liberal and has had an active hand in editing and molding the Central African Examiner. Because of the small circulation of the Examiner, its lack of advertising, and its almost complete

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11 Sanger, op. cit., p. 331.
dependence on the personal resources of Bull, the paper functions with a minimal staff and has cut down on the size and changed the format.

Moto is the creation of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia. The presses in Gwelo, among the most modern in Rhodesia, are owned by the Bishop of Gwelo. The people who edit the paper are Catholic laymen and fathers; the presses are run by Catholic sisters, who look strange in their long habits operating a Linotype machine. When the presses are not printing Moto, they are occupied producing religious tracts in vernacular and English for distribution throughout Rhodesia.

Influence of Financial Sources and Directors on Paper Policy

As Ivar Benson, information adviser to the Rhodesian government, has said, there are many ways a board of directors or manager can influence the policy of an editor and his paper. Benson goes so far as to say that "no one can control the press like the owner can."\footnote{Ivar Benson, Information Adviser to the Rhodesian Government, personal interview with author, November 17, 1964, Salisbury.} There are, of course, ways that management does influence the press and the attitude of the press. It is the purpose of this section to explore these influences on individual papers and groups of papers.
What are some of these means that can be used to sway an editor? The first and most obvious is in the appointment of the editor. A board of directors must be assumed to have a certain political outlook which they desire to have disseminated; it is natural that the board should pick an editor who is attuned to this way of thinking or, at least, is not diametrically opposed to it. The appointment of editors is an important means of influencing a corporation's papers. After the appointment of the editor, he must stamp his paper with his own brand and risks being replaced usually only after a breech of the unwritten code that existed and was understood between the editor and the board. Benson, whose ultra-conservative leanings are well known, states "I wouldn't have a chance [to be an editor] myself in the Argus Group." 13

The board of directors also puts out a broad statement of policy within which editors are free to interpolate and improvise. In the case of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, this statement of policy is succinct but broad in scope. Mr. John Hennessy, managing director, has put it this way:

The board lays down a general directive to the editor when he is appointed. In our case, this amounts to fostering the interests of Rhodesia and

13 Ibid.
Zambia, insuring that news is published without fear or bias, and insuring a fair deal for all races.\(^{14}\) Only the last of these three admonitions is in any way specific and "insuring a fair deal for all races," could certainly be interpreted in many different ways.

Other methods of influencing an editor are more subtle and more difficult to evaluate in any specific case. Benson has said that "a manager can influence an editor without letting the editor know it."\(^{15}\) This, of course, depends on the personal intuitiveness and perspicacity of the editor. Some editors are amenable when it comes to innuendo, others are not; some are swayed by the slightest coercion, others are not. These subtle influential means include social gatherings or informal meetings with the board or managing director, the transfer of personnel from under the editor—people generally who have a certain influence on the editor, and the use and disbursement of company funds. Of these, the personal relationship of the editor and manager is probably the most important.

How does all of this apply to the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers? Ivar Benson, who is generally critical of these newspapers, believes that the Group editors

\(^{14}\) Hennessy, op. cit.

\(^{15}\) Benson, op. cit.
are "... chosen for their opinions and then given a free hand." The testimony in an interview of the editors substantiates this idea. Mr. Rhys Meier, editor of the Sunday Mail, goes so far as to say that "management has no hand in the editorial policy." All editors interviewed stated that once appointed their policies were their own.

One line or chain of thinking that tends to prevail among conservative European Rhodesians is that the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company is controlled from South Africa by the Argus Group and that the Rhodesian company controls the editorial policies of its Rhodesian papers with an iron fist; *quod est demonstrandum* the policy of the Rhodesian papers is controlled by South African liberals connected with Argus. The author has already shown in this chapter the tenuous financial and management links between the two companies. This alone should dilute the myth. That the editors are not the mental slaves of the company management cannot be proven by any graphic or tangible means. Suffice it to say that the editors do not feel controlled, which is probably the most potent criterion for judgment anyway. The myth, which again has its basis in history, will probably die slowly, if at all.


17 *Meier, op. cit.*
To say that the Board of Directors of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company does not influence the policy of its editors and papers would be sheer folly. If the board does not try to influence the editors after appointment, at least the papers are influenced tremendously by the mere act of appointment. Surely, the act of appointment and the ability to dismiss are the most powerful board influences if not on the editors, then on the papers.

The independent papers and journals must be treated individually. The Central African Examiner is obviously the journal in which the closest connection between the management and the editor exists. Theodore Bull has been at times both owner and editor of the Examiner so that it has contained his thoughts. Mrs. Eileen Haddon, the present editor, is given free reign as far as her editorial policies are concerned. Since Mrs. Haddon is a well-known liberal and a friend of Bull's, her appointment as editor merely carries forward Bull's own philosophy. Mrs. Frank Clemens, the wife of the ex-Mayor of Salisbury, is Mrs. Haddon's assistant.

The influence of the owners of the Citizen on its policies is difficult to assess. John Theo, who runs the

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18 Eileen Haddon, Editor, Central African Examiner, personal interview with Author, October 12, 1964, Salisbury.
business side of the Citizen, made an interesting remark regarding stockholders. Theo said that the Citizen's relations with the Field government were worse than those with the Smith government because Winston Field owned stock in the Citizen. This would indicate that relations are not too close between the owners and the Theo family, and would tend to indicate that the Theos have attempted to mold their own policy independent of the owners. A careful reading of the Citizen backs this conclusion.

An analysis of the organization of the Citizen is difficult because of lack of information and the fact that the Theo family is both management and staff. The elder Mr. Theo is the sole correspondent and writer; young John Theo is manager, linotypist, subscription, distribution, circulation, and jack-of-all trades in an operation that is slightly unbelievable to see. The production of the Citizen is only one of several extraordinary things about this paper.

The managing editor of Moto, Father Traber, is free to establish the policy of his paper. The Bishop of Gwelo, who owns the presses, does not intervene with the editing of the paper. The overriding influence on Moto is, of course, the Catholic Church itself. Since the staff consists

19John Theo, Managing Editor, the Citizen, personal interview with author, November 16, 1964, Salisbury.
entirely of Catholic fathers and laymen, there is bound to be the influence, if not of the church organization itself, then certainly of the teachings of the Church.

The Daily News was closed because of its policy, or the policy the government thought it had. The broad policy that guided the editor of the Daily News was set forth by the Board of Directors of African Newspapers, Ltd. Eugene Wason, the last editor of the Daily News, has assured the author that the board policy was that of the local board dominated by Rhodesians and not that of Lord Thomson himself. Wason said that within the confines of the broad policy outline the editor was free to do as he pleased. There is a great deal of truth in this because the policy of the Daily News changed when the editors changed.

II. PERSONNEL

Editors

The source of Rhodesian editors is quite eclectic. There are Greeks, Swiss, South Africans, Scots, and Rhodesians. With few exceptions, the journalistic tradition known and followed by these editors is that of England and Fleet Street. Even those who started in the Argus Group in

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South Africa or were trained solely in Rhodesia have been raised in the traditions of English journalism. Some of the editors have no pretensions of being professional journalists. Other journals covered by this paper, such as the Central African Examiner, are not and do not claim to be newspapers or to follow newspaper traditions. But in the broadest sense of the word "press," these journals have a place in this study.

Many background stimuli mold an editor who is then the molder of a paper and its policy. To understand the Rhodesian press better, it is necessary to know more about the background and training of the men who lead the press establishment. An important aspect of this will be to ascertain how many editors of Group and independent newspapers have worked or been trained on other Rhodesian papers and what, if any, effect this has had on the editors and papers involved. This study is limited by the fact that several editors were not interviewed.

The editor of the Umtali Post, Mr. T. Mossenthall, was raised in South Africa where he worked for a bank before becoming a cadet reporter with the Argus Group. Rhys Meier, editor of the Sunday Mail, was trained in South Africa before coming to Rhodesia, becoming a Rhodesian citizen and working on several Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers. Henry Maasdorp, who is assistant editor of
the Rhodesia Herald was born in South Africa, moved to Rhodesia when he was four, trained on the Herald from 1935-1938, and returned to South Africa to work for the Cape Argus for eleven years. After returning to Rhodesia a second time, he worked on the Herald, the Chronicle, and the Umtali Post. Trained in Scotland, Sydney Swadel, editor of the Chronicle, came to Rhodesia in 1947 after six years with the Royal Air Force. He worked on the Herald and the Northern News of Ndola before going to Bulawayo as editor of the Chronicle.

The background of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company editors is predominantly South African with close connections to the Argus Group. Another obvious point is the great amount of training that has taken place in Rhodesia on the company's papers. Most of the editors have worked on at least one other company paper in Rhodesia and most have worked on two or more. This could account for the remarkable sameness in layout and format of the Rhodesian papers. The impact of this is immediate when one compares the company papers.

All of the editors of the company papers have been trained in the English tradition of journalism, although the method of exposure has varied from editor to editor. Most were trained in South Africa on Argus papers; Swadel was trained in Scotland. As far as the author can ascertain, the English-Argus-Rhodesian journalistic traditions are, if
not identical, at least very similar. The professional code, which is the essential element in the definition of a professional tradition, has been and is the code of English journalism.

The editors of the Rhodesian independent papers and journals spring from more diverse sources. Eugene Wason of the Daily News is English and worked in the newspaper field in England for ten years before going to South Africa and working five years for Argus. He later joined the Thomson Group and African Newspapers Ltd. The Theos of the Citizen have no professional journalistic training, and their weekly does not pretend to follow traditional writing practices. The Theos came to Rhodesia from South Africa. Mrs. Haddon, editor of the Central African Examiner, came from South Africa and is now a Rhodesian citizen. The Examiner is, of course, not a newspaper but a journal of political fact and opinion. Father Traber, who edits Moto, is Swiss by nationality, but has in his background professional training in journalism in New York.

One important conclusion drawn from the background of Rhodesia's editors is that the greatest number of truly professional editors is in the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. This is reflected in the newspapers. The company papers are thoroughly professional. The Daily News was also a professional paper. Moto is limited somewhat by its small
staff and its avowed aim. The Examiner is not a newspaper and does not pretend to be; the Citizen is not a newspaper in a purely technical sense but pretends it is.

Reporters

Most editors, managers, and journalists in Rhodesia agree that the breakdown of reporters by nation of origin would come up with almost equal distribution between Rhodesia, South Africa, and England. Reporters are also in the same position as many editors having worked on one, two or perhaps three other papers in Rhodesia. This, of course, is mainly true of the company reporters.

The size of the reporting staffs of the papers of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company is quite small. The Umtali Post gets along with an editor, sub-editor, and two reporters. One reporter is from South Africa and the other, Rhodesian. The Umtali Post is the smallest in volume and circulation of the five company papers.

The two Salisbury papers published by the company are the largest in the country in volume and circulation. The Rhodesia Herald is organized with an editor, two assistant editors, and fifteen reporters. Oddly enough, the Sunday Mail, the paper with the largest circulation in the country, has a comparatively small reporting staff. The Mail operates with an editor, a chief sub-editor, a sports editor,
and only two full-time reporters. The small size of the Mail's staff is attributable to the fact that the Mail uses the output of some of the Herald reporters since the Mail is published only once a week and occupies the same building and uses the same presses as the Herald.

The organization of the Chronicle is the same as that of the Herald except that the Chronicle has fewer reporters. Many of the Herald's reporters are specialist writers for which the Chronicle has less need. The size of the staff of the Sunday News is almost identical with that of the Sunday Mail, although the News is a smaller paper with a smaller circulation and distribution. Once again, although each paper has its own permanent staff, the two Bulawayo company papers share quarters, presses, and reporters.

The Daily News was organized with a managing editor at the top, a news editor, a chief sub-editor, and a small staff of reporters, all of whom were Africans. The Citizen has only one reporter, Mr. Theo. The Central African Examiner has only Mrs. Haddon and Mrs. Clemens. Moto is organized with a managing editor and an editor who is African. There is an American Catholic woman who is a trained journalist from California who assists Father Traber in editing and reporting.

A great deal of free lance reporting and writing is done in Rhodesia and the newspapers and journals rely
heavily on this source of news. Especially reliant on free lance reporting are the Central African Examiner and Moto. Mrs. Haddon receives articles each month from non-professional sources, as does Father Traber. Much of the material in each edition comes from these free lance writers.

The hiring and training of African reporters was a subject of special interest to the author by dint of the nature and tone of race relations in Rhodesia. Besides the Daily News, whose reporting staff was all African, the press has a very small number of African reporters. This situation is in flux though and some progress is being made in training new African reporters.

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company has a small but active program for training African reporters. At present, there are four Africans on company scholarships attending the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Some of these men have already worked on newspapers—both the Daily News and company papers. The Chronicle has one part-time African reporter and one who is at the university on scholarship and works during his vacations. Mr. Swadel, the Chronicle editor, said, "I'm always willing to interview any aspiring African reporter but he must show promise and ability." 21

21 Sydney Swadel, Editor, the Chronicle, personal interview with the author, November 19, 1964, Bulawayo.
The *Rhodesia Herald* has two African reporters, one of whom covers the courts regularly and one who reports events from the townships surrounding Salisbury. Both reporters are paid the same wages as their European contemporaries. Of the four Africans on scholarship at the university, three are connected with the *Herald*. Of these five African reporters associated with the *Herald*, several have come from the *Daily News* after its banning. The *Sunday Mail* and the *Sunday News*, as well as the *Umtali Post*, have no African reporters but seem to have no objections to taking on some.

The *Daily News* staff of African reporters had been trained over the years by the newspaper itself. At the time the paper was closed, cadet reporters were no longer taken on since there was no time to spend on training cadets.22 John Parker, president of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, believes that the *Daily News* trained its African reporters poorly. The Guild could not get raises for several African reporters on the *Daily News* because of their lack of proper training.23

The Guild of Journalists set up a training committee under Rhys Meier to develop a plan for training African

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22Wason, *op. cit.*

reporters. English National Union of Journalist standards were to be maintained in the training. After the plan was drawn up and adopted, it was never implemented. John Parker relates that the major problem was money. The Guild could not afford to implement the program, and the Argus and Thomson interests would not pay either.  

Of the independent papers, only one other than the Daily News has African reporters and is actively involved in training Africans. The staff of Moto, other than the managing editor and his American aide, is completely African. Father Traber believes that the selecting and testing phase of the search for Africans interested in journalistic training is most important. Two African students from the university work on Moto during their vacations and a total of four are usually in the training program at one time. Since early 1963, this training program has been in effect at Moto.  

The newspapers run into several weighty problems with African reporters. Two of these are keeping their trained reporters and utilizing them. One of the big problems is keeping well-qualified African reporters. When an outstanding African journalist has made a name for himself, it is

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24 Ibid.

25 Father Traber, Managing Editor, Moto, personal interview with author, November 20, 1964, Gwelo.
very likely that one of the large corporations, such as Anglo-American, will come along and offer him a salary much larger than the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company or Thomson Group is willing or capable of paying. This happened just recently to a well-known African reporter who accepted the new offer and is now lost to the Rhodesian press.

The second major problem with African reporters is utilizing them. As Henry Maasdorp, assistant editor of the Herald, says "the assignment of African reporters is a give and take proposition and a very sensitive field." Maasdorp feels that the mature reporter could be sent to cover any story but because of the racial situation in Rhodesia, it is better sometimes to send a European reporter to cover certain stories.26

The utilization of reporters, in general, within the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company allows for smaller reporting staffs. The papers share reporters and their stories. The author has already shown how the Sunday papers in Salisbury and Bulawayo share quarters and reporters. There is also a large share of inter-city cooperation and sharing. If an important event occurs in Umtali, the Umtali Post will assign a reporter to cover it, write the story,

26 Henry Maasdorp, Assistant Editor, Rhodesia Herald, personal interview with author, November 16, 1964, Salisbury.
and send it on to the other company papers for their possible use. This also goes for request articles. If the Herald desires an article on some aspect of Bulawayo life, a request will be made to the Chronicle to assign a reporter and write and forward the story. This allows for maximum efficient utilization of reporters, cuts down on the size of staff needed, and takes advantage of the available communications media. There seems to be little cooperation in this manner between the company and the independents.

Rhodesian Guild of Journalists

The Rhodesian Guild of Journalists with one hundred members is the only professional journalists' union in Rhodesia. The Guild is affiliated indirectly with the National Union of Journalists of Great Britain. This indirect relationship is necessary because Rhodesian law prevents union affiliation with international labor organizations. Since early 1962, the Guild has reluctantly taken on a slightly political nature but attempts to remain basically a professional organization.

The primary interests of the Guild are wages and work conditions of its members, as well as management-employee relations in general. The Guild maintains an active interest in the press establishment as a whole and the retention of the journalistic code and its standards. The Guild was one
of the few Rhodesian organizations to protest the closing of the **Daily News**.

John Parker, the Guild president, describes management-employee relations in the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company as "terrible." He attributes this lack of good relations to the tremendous turnover of personnel in the offices of the company.\(^{27}\) The author described earlier the number of editors and journalists who had worked on many of the different company newspapers. Very few journalists are transferred in from South Africa and these usually to fill a specific vacancy.

Most professional journalists in Rhodesia belong to the Guild. Some African reporters are not members because they cannot meet the training qualifications. The African staff of the **Daily News** thought the Guild was not doing enough for them and split off to form their own ephemeral Guild. The European staff of the **Daily News** belonged to the Guild. Most reporters and some editors of the company papers belong. Mrs. Haddon and Mrs. Clemens do not belong for financial reasons. Neither the Theos nor any of the staff of **Moto** are members of the Guild. Some of the company editors do not belong because they look on themselves as managers.

\(^{27}\) Parker, *op. cit.*
as well as journalists and fear their presence on the Guild could hamper management-employee relations.

III. NEWS SERVICES AND SOURCES

News reaches the Rhodesian papers through a variety of news services and sources which have a great influence on the newspapers and their coverage. Understanding the Rhodesian press would be impossible without knowing the way news is gathered from the rest of Africa and the world. The largest purveyor of news to the Rhodesian papers is an organization known as the Inter-African News Agency.

The Inter-African News Agency known and published as IANA has been functioning in Rhodesia since 1952. IANA is a private company registered in Rhodesia and is a subsidiary of the South African Press Association commonly known as SAPA. SAPA is an off-shoot of Reuters, the principal supplier of news to SAPA and IANA. IANA became a separate subsidiary company of SAPA's in July, 1964.

All of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers, as well as the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation and Rhodesian Television, are subscribers to IANA's news services. The news is supplied on a contract basis with the amount charged per year dependent on the circulation of the paper or the number of viewers or listeners in the case of television or radio. Subscribers cannot contract for
partial service but must take the entire package of services offered. Another subscriber is the Government's Rhodesian Information Service, which takes seventy to eighty thousand words per day for information only. IANA gives the Rhodesian Information Service specially favorable rates.

IANA gets its news from SAPA in Johannesburg. Most of SAPA's news is from Reuters or the Associated Press, but a special contract with The New York Times also brings in the New York Times News Service. International news makes up 90 per cent of the news provided by IANA to its subscribers, and only 10 per cent is domestic. SAPA is connected with the Argus Group and IANA's relation with SAPA adds fuel to the flames of the old story about control from South Africa.

SAPA is the major shareholder in IANA and, as such, is a power in the latter organization. The IANA Board of Directors is entirely Rhodesian with the exception of the managing director who is South African and also managing director of SAPA. Since SAPA–IANA provides mainly international news and papers other than company papers subscribe to its services, charges of control from South Africa, even if they were true, would lack realism and be relatively unimportant.

The news supplied by IANA is usually not by-line news but is marked as coming from IANA or Reuters or the Associated
Press at the end of articles. If a by-line is given, the decision is up to Mr. Claude Cook who is editor of the Inter-African News Agency. Cook's staff in Salisbury includes six full-time editorial staffers and six teletype operators. Throughout the three territories of the old Federation, IANA employs sixty part-time reporters and stringers. Most of those working in Rhodesia are members of the Guild of Journalists. Mr. Cook strives to have his organization present completely impartial news as much as possible. There is one African reporter working for IANA in Lusaka, Zambia, but none at present in Rhodesia. Mr. Cook reported "the quality of African reporter required is not available."²⁸

The reporting of Rhodesian news is a more complicated situation. The Inter-African News Agency provides the South African Press Association news from Rhodesia. SAPA, in turn, can release the IANA Rhodesian news to Reuters and the Associated Press for their use on their news services. The correspondents supplying IANA with the news are sometimes IANA reporters and sometimes reporters from Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers. The company papers have

a seventy-five mile radius around their cities for which they are responsible for reporting "spontaneous trunk news."²⁹

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company has contracted "lifting" rights from certain world papers. The two most often used are The New York Times and the Observer of London. Generally, the articles "lifted" are of an editorial or scientific-analytic nature that normal news wire services would not handle. These articles add a great deal to the Rhodesian papers using them and bring political analysis of a different point of view to the reading public.

The Rhodesian Herald and the Chronicle often give a credit at the bottom of articles, stating Herald African News Service or Chronicle African News Service. These are actually the same organization and could more properly be called the Argus African News Service. This service has London and New York representatives with editorial staffs, and items from these two sources are usually by-lined as "Our New York Correspondent" or "Our London Correspondent."

The Argus African News Service covers all of Africa with permanent quarters in Nairobi, a stringer in Cairo, and the rest working on mission-type reporting assignments wherever a story breaks. John Spicer is head of this organization. The Argus African News Service provides more interpretive

²⁹Maasdorp, op. cit.
news than is supplied by IANA and is called "complimentary" to IANA by Claude Cook.\(^{30}\)

Since 1957 and the rising tide of African independence, the company papers began to feel that this news coverage of the rest of Africa was inadequate. More often than not, Reuters would send stories on Africa to London where they failed to send the stories to SAPA or IANA, thus leaving an obvious void in African reporting. News of East Africa was minimal. In 1960, the Argus African News Service was set up with John Spicer in charge of the Salisbury office. Clyde Sanger criticizes the news service's selection of news because he says it stresses "racial incidents and the worst side of the Congo picture."\(^{31}\)

The independent newspapers and journals are more restricted in news gathering. Only the Daily News was an IANA subscriber. Moto relies on paid free-lance reporters, as does the Central African Examiner. The Examiner has a monthly column by the well-known English author, Patrick Keatley, who wrote the book, The Politics of Partnership, about Rhodesia. The only reason the Examiner has Keatley as a regular contributor is that he is a personal friend of the former editor, Jack Halpern. The Citizen

\(^{30}\)Cook, op. cit.

obviously has lifting rights from some scandal sheet or sheets, but the author does not know which ones. Colin Leys describes these articles in the Citizen as "themes of sex and violence."³²

The United States Information Service is active in Rhodesia and runs a press office in Salisbury, headed by a Rhodesian woman named Felicity Wood. Miss Wood worked on the women's page of the Rhodesia Herald before taking up her present position. USIS news and information arrives by teletype from Washington. In Salisbury, the news is typed and edited and sent to the papers of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company as well as the Citizen, Weekly Mirror, and Moto and radio and television. Miss Wood states that the Daily News gave USIS stories the best placements but that the successor Weekly Mirror seems reluctant to print USIS releases.³³ A publication called "News of the Week" is produced and sent to government offices, labor unions, welfare organizations, the university, schools, leading African politicians, and individuals requesting it. About one thousand "News of the Week" are produced each week and ninety-eight of these go to the government. The number of

³²Leys, op. cit.

press releases are quite small, averaging only six or seven each month.

Mrs. Judy Seymour-Ure is the press officer of the British Information Service, which is also active in Rhodesia. The copy is received by teletype from London three hours each night from the BIS central office. Most of the stories are features, and none are editorial reprints. The copy is edited in Salisbury by Mrs. Seymour-Ure and distributed to all papers except for specialized articles which go only to the papers or journals interested in that particular subject. Political topics are held to a minimum, but at the time the author interviewed Mrs. Seymour-Ure, news of Malawi and Zambia independence were being given large coverage.

Mrs. Seymour-Ure lists the Gwelo Times and the Umtali Post as the heaviest users of BIS material with the Sunday News and Chronicle somewhere in between those two and the Rhodesia Herald and Sunday Mail, both of which are fairly abstemious in their use of BIS copy. The Weekly Mirror is reluctant to use BIS material just as it was with USIS. Moto receives BIS distribution and uses some of it. A photo service is also used by distributing plastic plates that can

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be run off cheaply and efficiently. The BIS is much more active than the USIS in its relations with the press and often puts out thirty to forty releases each week. The normal distribution is forty to fifty copies of each release sent out.

The Rhodesian Information Service is the Rhodesian counterpart of the USIS and BIS. Mr. David Williams, Chief Press Officer of the RIS, has described the role of the RIS. "It is to present to the world a factual picture of Rhodesia—the purposes and intentions of the Government and to insure a balanced, effective picture of Rhodesia in the world press." Another objective is to capture the interest of the world press—something Rhodesia has done already, it appears to the author, without resorting to any promotional campaign. Internally, cinema vans tour the country, especially the African areas, with mobile movie units. Radio and television programs about Rhodesia are also produced. Most films are made to appeal to an African audience. Fact sheets and brochures on economic, social, and political topics are produced for local and international consumption in English and the two vernaculars.

The Minister for External Affairs, currently Mr.

35 David Williams, Chief Press Officer, Rhodesian Information Service, personal interview with author, November 17, 1964, Salisbury.
Clifford Dupont who is also Deputy Prime Minister, is the man in charge of the Rhodesian Information Service. Mr. P. K. Van der Byl, Parliamentary Secretary for Information, runs the RIS and is directly responsible for its operation to Mr. Dupont. There is some hope of having a permanent Minister of Information in the near future. The RIS has a staff of three permanent civil servants and eight journalists who are hired on contract. Most of the journalists are members of the Guild of Journalists, and Williams was a founding member of that organization.

The old Federation published a government newspaper, under the auspices of the Federal Information Service, which is now defunct. The **Rhodesian Digest** was formerly published by the RIS but had to be discontinued due to staff problems. The Digest was printed by the Daily News. According to Williams, the RIS is considering starting another government publication printed by the Government Printer. This, like the **Rhodesian Digest** would not really be a newspaper but a journal of information the government desires to get across. If Williams has his way, the new publication will be entirely in English.³⁶ This desire on the part of the RIS (and the RIS is a part of the government) to have an official newspaper setting out the government's views is tied in with

³⁶Ibid.
the general press picture in Rhodesia and will be discussed at length in a later chapter.

Other functions of the Rhodesian Information Service include dissemination of IANA news to government offices and the preparation of official government releases. The RIS presently has representatives in Washington and London, and is planning to establish offices at a later date in Lisbon and in Australia. The opinions of those journalists who work in the RIS are considered quite important by the author because they tend to reflect the general opinion of the government on press matters.
CHAPTER IV

POSITION AND ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS
ON CURRENT ISSUES

Rhodesia is in an unusual position politically. With its small but highly-developed European population, Rhodesia is potentially a stable, independent country—much more so than the two ex-territories of the Federation, Zambia and Malawi both of which became independent in 1964. It is ironic that the logical candidate for independence is the only country of the Federation still nominally under Great Britain; thus, independence remains the great issue of the day in Rhodesia.

The reason Great Britain has not given Rhodesia its independence is basically that of race. Great Britain is determined that Rhodesia should not be independent until the African has full political expression. The European Rhodesian fears only one thing more than African rule and that is communism; but, in the confused thinking of most Europeans, communism and African majority rule have become synonymous. The second great issue then in Rhodesia is that of race and the relations both socially and politically between the various races. Since the independence issue rides squarely on the race-political issue, it is difficult to classify independence or the race-political issue as one
being more important than the other. The two problems are inherently mixed.

There are other problems and issues in contemporary Rhodesia, but practically all of them stem from the two issues just discussed. The Rhodesian press must and does take a stand on these issues. The interplay of the press, the Government, and Rhodesian society, discussed in the next chapter, is directly affected by which papers take what stands and how they support these positions. It is difficult, if not impossible to understand the role of the press in a society and its important relations with politics and politicians unless one knows what the paper's editorial policy is on the great issues facing Rhodesia today. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify these editorial policies.

I. INDEPENDENCE

The man in the street, the politician, the farmer, the diplomat, all talk about independence, in Rhodesia. Everybody, including the informed African, conjectures what is happening in the mind of the Prime Minister, the collective caucus of the various parties, and in the chambers of Whitehall. The chief source of information, other than rumor which is quite often inaccurate in Rhodesia as it is anywhere, is the newspaper. And it is in the leaders of the
various papers that the editor's personal opinion of what is happening, its importance, and its implications come out. Since independence is the paramount subject in Rhodesia—especially to Europeans—and most Rhodesian papers are written for a European readership, the papers' reactions to the thrust and pull of the politics of independence is the first policy analyzed.

The problem most discussed, while the author was in Rhodesia, was that of a unilateral declaration of independence. In the month of November, 1964, many Rhodesians expected the government to declare its independence from England, but nothing has happened; and since then, the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence (commonly called and, hence, referred to as UDI) has dissipated. After the storm of November, Rhodesia seems to be in the doldrums awaiting further developments.

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers have a policy of opposing a UDI and favoring negotiation. Each of the papers differs slightly in its emphasis and the editors have evidenced nuances and shades of difference in their approaches to the threat of UDI. But the striking thing about the company papers is that the editors have interpreted the board of director's instructions "to foster the interests of Rhodesia." In the case of a UDI, they
obviously think that such a move would be against the fundamental interests of Rhodesia.

The Umtali Post is outspoken against a UDI. The Chronicle, in a leader on January 11, 1964, condemned Ian Smith's famous "three day wonder" speech in which Smith, then Minister of Finance, claimed that a UDI could be declared on Friday and because it was the weekend, it would hardly cause a ripple in London.\(^1\) Again on February 3, the Chronicle leader called the Rhodesian Front approach to a UDI a "red herring."\(^2\) Mr. Swadel, the Chronicle editor, deplored the "perennial independence crisis" in Rhodesia in an editorial of February 7.\(^3\)

The Chronicle emphasizes in its editorials that the problem of Rhodesian independence is a constitutional problem between Rhodesia and Britain and not between Rhodesia and the Commonwealth.\(^4\) The emphasis in the Chronicle is on negotiation with Great Britain and the idea that Rhodesia must solve its own internal problems. In an editorial on May 7, the editor even supported further English investment

\(^1\)Editorial in the Chronicle, January 11, 1964.
\(^2\)Ibid., February 3, 1964.
\(^3\)Ibid., February 7, 1964.
\(^4\)Ibid., May 3, 1964.
in African housing and, on January 18, insisted that the United Kingdom should help in restoring Rhodesia's economy.

The Rhodesia Herald is also anti-UDI. On October 22, 1964, a Herald editorial summed up the paper's policy toward independence:

The Prime Minister yesterday in Parliament gave another assurance that there will be no overnight declaration of independence. The reassurance is welcome, especially in view of his then bitter mood. But is not this the moment to face reality, to admit that the present road can lead nowhere, and to begin new discussions with the new British Government on some new line?

The Sunday Mail favors a negotiated independence and decries attempts at UDI. After condemning Smith's "three day wonder" speech on January 12, the Mail further raised Rhodesian Front ire by regretting the April government switch from Winston Field to Smith, and further stated that "a negotiated independence will now be more difficult." A leader of February 9 demands that acts designed to gain independence be legal. All of the company papers deplored the fact that Rhodesia was discussed at the July Prime Ministers' meeting without the presence of the Rhodesian Prime Minister.

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9 Ibid., April 12, 1964.
10 Ibid., February 9, 1964.
The *Sunday Mail*, in a leader of July 19, said that the Prime Ministers were wrong and that Smith must go to London to negotiate. This same editorial stressed the idea that Smith must tell Rhodesians the possible consequences of a UDI.\(^\text{11}\)

The *Sunday News* in its editorials and a political column called "Sub Rosa" follows the same basic line on independence as the other papers. In a February 9 leader, the editor said Winston Field had failed to satisfy the country, had failed to make clear Britain's insistence on one man-one vote, and had disregarded the willingness of Rhodesians to compromise on franchise amendments, thus leaving the question of independence in abeyance.\(^\text{12}\) "Sub Rosa" came out later with a flat statement condemning UDI and its possible consequences.\(^\text{13}\)

The independent papers very much follow the pattern that would be expected of them, based on their purposes and general philosophies. The *Citizen* is for; *Moto*, against; the *Central African Examiner*, against; *Newsfront*; when it existed, was very much for; the *Zimbabwe Sun*, against. The *Daily News* was very definitely against a UDI for the simple

\(^{11}\)Ibid., July 5, 1964.


\(^{13}\)"Sub Rosa" column in the *Sunday News*, March 1, 1964.
fact that, while Rhodesia was still a British colony, there
was some chance of peaceful advancement of the African.

The Citizen and the Daily News will be discussed in
detail here because, of the independents, these two are, or
were, probably the most influential and represent the most
diverse opinions. The Citizen of February 7, in an article
entitled "Grab Our Independence Now Says Gaunt," stated that
the United Kingdom government controls Rhodesian affairs,
which was intolerable. It goes on to say that a wait-and­
see attitude towards independence is fallacious and that
independence must be taken at once. \(^\text{14}\) Since Citizen arti­
cles are more often than not editorial in nature, feature
articles often contain more of the editor's opinion than the
editorials. A Theo signed article on February 28 urged
Field to take an immediate UDI. \(^\text{15}\) A March 20 lead article
assures Rhodesians that South Africa's military power is
behind Rhodesia in the event of a UDI. \(^\text{16}\)

The Daily News, in its final editorial in the August
26 banned edition, declared flatly that the paper had always


been against a UDI. This policy was so evident from the general policy of the newspaper that there are few references to it in editorials. The remaining independent papers were consistent in their attacks or support of UDI, depending on their individual outlook.

The chiefs' indaba and the November 5th independence referendum are irretrievably tied to the overall question of Rhodesian independence. The attitude of the papers toward these events as well as the Prime Minister's return from England in September indicates a great deal about paper policy generally. These three events are linked together—the indaba and the referendum being results of the Prime Minister's London communique. The Daily News was, of course, banned at this time, and the Weekly Mirror steered clear of commenting.

There was great confusion when Ian Smith returned from his London conference with Sir Alec Douglas Home and published their joint communique. It was obvious from careful reading of the communique that it said nothing new but merely said most of the old platitudes in a new way. Certainly, the idea that "independence must be based on general consent" and that Britain was "entitled to be satisfied" that this consent was general was not new. Of course, as

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Great Britain had said all along, she could only be satisfied of general consent by national elections involving one man-one vote. This was patently obvious to most outsiders but seemed to stymie most Rhodesians including the newspapers for a long period of time.

The reactions of the company newspapers to the Smith-Home communiqué were puzzling. The Sunday News took one of the most forthright stands by stating immediately that Smith had agreed in London to consult the population—not the electorate. The News article concluded by saying that "... if Mr. Smith is to fulfill his commitment to the British Government, each adult must have an opportunity to say 'yes.'" The Chronicle came out on September 19th supporting the Prime Minister's idea for an indaba of chiefs and favoring the bi-partisan committee seeking methods to consult African opinion. Underlying this was the assumption that no changes would be made in the 1961 Constitution. By October 16th, the Chronicle's enthusiasm for the indaba had waned and the paper began asking pointed questions.

The Umtali Post had grave doubts about the method of African consultations and later gave what amounted to

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20 Ibid., October 16, 1964.
completely ambiguous advice on how to vote in the November 5th referendum. The Rhodesia Herald welcomed the Smith-Home comminque but wondered about certain aspects of it. By September 30th, the Herald was questioning Smith personally about some of his statements, such as his statement to Parliament that if he could prove African support the British "would have no option but to accede." 21 In mid-October, the Herald stated: "She [Britain] has made no pledge even to accept the Southern Rhodesia Government's interpretation of rural African opinion. The position after that test [the chiefs' indaba] will be no different from today." In the same editorial, the editor stated that the chiefs are the spokesmen for their people. 22 This seems like a tremendously naive statement to the author since the police must protect the chiefs from the subjects they supposedly represent.

The Herald urged the Prime Minister to call off the indaba after Harold Wilson's statement on the consequences of a UDI. Later still, the Herald, along with the Sunday Mail, urged its readers to vote "no" on the November 5th referendum. It must be concluded then that after some

confused initial enthusiasm for the results of Smith's London meeting that the company papers became gradually more against the government moves toward independence culminating in the two papers with the largest circulation telling their readers to vote against the government in the referendum.

The Citizen naturally supported the indaba and the referendum. The Central African Examiner was critical, and Moto came out with an article entitled "Wilson is Our Friend." In a November editorial, the Moto editor condemned the government for using the chiefs on the independence issue and for decreasing the chiefs' authority by dragging them into politics.23

II. POLITICAL PARTIES

Mrs. Ahrn Palley, law lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said in an interview that the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company always represented the Huggins, Welensky, UFP, RNP, RP group, commonly known in Rhodesia as the establishment. Mrs. Palley attributes part of the present government's anti-press campaign to the fact that the daily press never gave the Rhodesian Front a fair shake when it was the opposition and that the press suppressed criticism of the governing United

Federal Party.²⁴ Clyde Sanger wrote ". . . Welensky and Whitehead can count on steady support from the whole group [RP&P papers]."²⁵ Colin Leys wrote in 1959: "Editorially their [RP&P's] influence has usually been cast in favor of the government [UFP at that time] and against opposition parties. . . ."²⁶

One of the reasons the political journal, Dissent, was started in March, 1959, was to counter the criticism against the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers. Dissent gave as its purpose in the first issue the following:

Unhappily the two most influential Salisbury newspapers [the Rhodesia Herald and Sunday Mail] are more or less committed to the support of the government [UFP] and even the Central African Examiner is evincing an increasing attachment to Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. Certainly these papers publish reports of the opposition to government policy, but it is not to be expected that they should give full expression to its critics. Our intention is to provide an opportunity for statement of these views.²⁷

The governmental position has changed drastically since 1959. The old Welensky-Whitehead establishment is now the Rhodesia Party and is in opposition. Sir Roy Welensky

²⁴Mrs. Claire Palley, Law Lecturer, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, personal interview with author, October 19, 1964, Salisbury.


²⁷Editorial in Dissent, March 2, 1959.
is permanently retired from politics as of December, 1964, and the RP looks as if it may fold altogether as a Parliamentary opposition. The Rhodesia Front, which came into power in December, 1962, has become firmly entrenched in power as it evinces the forms and organization of the first truly professional political party in Rhodesia's history. The victory of two RF candidates in the Avondale and Arundle "safe" RP constituencies in the October 1, 1964, bi-elections clearly indicates the size of the swing in public opinion to the RF purple and white banner.

Although Clyde Sanger personally refutes Mrs. Palley's statement concerning suppression of criticism of the UFP and a news bias against the Rhodesian Front, there is general agreement that the daily press does support the Rhodesia Party. What is the present position of the daily press and how has this position changed? Generally, the editorial position of the company press supports the earlier evidence that shows support of the United Federal Party, now the Rhodesia Party.

The daily press, the Herald and the Chronicle, will be discussed first. The overall tone of the Chronicle's editorials supports the opposition, the RP. This is not to

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say that the Chronicle has not, on occasion during 1964, also leveled its guns at the RP. On September 18th, the Chronicle criticized Sir Edgar Whitehead for not being tough enough in the Legislative Assembly.\(^\text{29}\) The next day, the Chronicle editorially supported Smith's plans for African consultations with certain important reservations.\(^\text{30}\) It is obvious from these two examples that the editorial picture is not all black and white politically but contains important shades of grey. This does not change the overall picture which leans toward the Rhodesia Party.

The Chronicle, in 1964, has attacked Smith for his flippant three-day wonder speech, questioned whether the RF has a party policy at all, and questioned the advisability and need of changing Prime Ministers in April. On April 17th, the Chronicle attacked the restriction of Joshua Nkomo by a "mere handful of strong-willed men who have just got rid of their own (in Rhodesia widely popular) leader."\(^\text{31}\) Later in the year, the Chronicle took the RF to task for such diverse things as ministers speaking on topics outside their portfolios, the separation of races (which seemed to the Chronicle to be Smith's policy), and the failure of the RF

\(^{29}\) Editorial in the Chronicle, September 18, 1964.  
\(^{30}\) Ibid., September 19, 1964.  
\(^{31}\) Ibid., April 17, 1964.
to abolish the discriminatory Land Apportionment Act. At the same time, Sir Roy Welensky was welcomed back to politics and only mild criticism of the RP put forward.

The **Herald** takes very much the same position as the **Chronicle** on party politics but somehow seems less consistent in its policy. This may be due to the way the editorials are written which will be discussed later. On November 5, 1964, two days after the elections in the United States and the great defeat of Senator Goldwater, the **Herald** published one of its most caustic editorials against the RF. Smith had just delivered a television address in which he said the eyes of the civilized world were on Rhodesia. The editorial said:

> Presumably it [the civilized world] does not embrace the United States, which has brushed aside the man [Goldwater] who, his head turned resolutely backwards as he marched into the future, would have been a natural ally of the Rhodesian Front in this country.  

The leader of October 1st supported Sir Roy Welensky in the Arundle bi-election and attacked Smith's desire to have independence as being in actuality a desire to change the 1961 Constitution. The **Herald** also published an editorial late in November decrying the lack of support for the RP and giving dire predictions for the future of that party.

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and the Rhodesian system of Parliamentary opposition. Since Sir Roy Welensky left active politics in December, these dire predictions have more validity than the Herald could have imagined in November. The Rhodesia Herald almost casually slaps the RP hard occasionally but is almost always in the RP corner when the political chips are on the table.

The Umtali Post seems to be almost unequivocably a Welensky supporter. The two Sunday papers generally follow the line of the dailies with certain additions of their own. The Sunday News on May 31st stated simply that the RF was destroying several basic freedoms. The Sunday Mail stated that the RF manifested "an intolerance of a different point of view." But on August 2d, the Mail congratulated Mr. Wrathall, the Minister of Finance, on the new Rhodesian budget.

Eilleen Haddon has described the policy of the Citizen as more a case of being conservative than being RF. In Rhodesia, this seems to be an unnecessarily fine distinction because the Citizen, having the political philosophy it

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34 Ibid., November 28, 1964.
36 Editorial in the Sunday Mail, September 27, 1964.
37 Ibid., August 2, 1964.
38 Eilleen Haddon, Editor, Central African Examiner, personal interview with author, October 12, 1964, Salisbury.
does, has little choice but to support the RF. The RP, which would be a conservative party in most other countries, seems positively radical at times in Rhodesia. The Citizen's choice is small and definitely is Rhodesian Front. At times, the Citizen appears to be almost the official public organ of the RF.

The Citizen is not so RF that it is above criticizing the party. This is usually the case though when the paper finds itself further to the right than the party. A case in point is an article written January 24th which condemns Winston Field for going to London to negotiate since Rhodesian goals are necessary and Rhodesia must guide its own destiny. The Citizen welcomed the Field-Smith change in government and seems more at home with Smith than Field. One Citizen leader goes so far as to indicate that the Rhodesia National Party (another former name of the RP) did not want independence at all. While Ian Smith was still Minister of Finance, the Citizen scrutinized his proposed tax policy and found it wanting.

The Daily News, the Central African Examiner, and Moto were all obviously not supporters of the Rhodesian Front. But the attitude of these publications to the

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39 Editorial in the Citizen, January 24, 1964.
40 Ibid., March 27, 1964.
41 Ibid., April 3, 1964.
Rhodesia Party is a little more difficult to define. All of these three independents support African nationalist aspirations but then so does the RP at least theoretically support African advancement. The Daily News always sought some sort of middle position somewhere between the RP and the African nationalists. This is the idea most closely associated with the Members of Parliament, Chigogo, Chinetsa, and Hove. Dr. Ahrn Palley, who contributed the Doctor's Column and a law advice column to the Daily News, is also associated with this outlook. Dr. Palley is neither RF nor RP but is an independent MP.

The Central African Examiner, if related to any political group or person, is closest to former Prime Minister Garfield Todd who is active politically but has not sought any public office. Moto has no connection with any of the major political parties and is in no way associated with them.

III. AFRICAN NATIONALIST PARTIES

The two African nationalist parties, PCC and ZANO, still operate clandestinely throughout Rhodesia despite the fact that they and their leaders are banned. The reaction of the press to the parties and their leaders, as well as to the banning of the two parties, will be the subject of this section. Since the Highfield and Harare emergencies are so
closely linked to the banning of the parties, these actions and press reaction to them will be discussed also.

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company press generally is sympathetic to African aspirations politically and socially but finds the two African nationalist leaders a bit extreme and in too big a rush to achieve their aims. The approach of most of the editors is a gradualist one and the violence and intimidation of recent African political developments is anathema to them. Thus despite sympathy and identification with certain parts of the nationalists' program, the company press fears their radicalism and is ultimately anti-nationalist.

The *Sunday Mail* supported the clean-up of the African townships and the end of violence there but also made it clear that they thought this only a half solution to a difficult problem. The editor stressed the need for new African schools and better job opportunities. Later, the *Mail* stated that mere amendments to existing security laws were no solution to the internecine warfare between the two African parties. In May, when the new Prime Minister spoke publicly about his desire to have round table talks with all segments of Rhodesian people represented, the *Mail*

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supported the Prime Minister because the editor felt this would show the African nationalists' unwillingness to discuss and compromise.

The Sunday News approach to the nationalists is a bit more direct. In February, the "Sub Rosa" column, which does more political commenting than the News leaders, expressed the belief that the nationalist movement was in the hands of extremists. In a later editorial, the editor stressed that Sir Hugh Foot and other liberals must realize that the only alternative to white minority government at the present time in Rhodesia is "heart-breaking and disastrous..." 45

The Chronicle criticized the restriction of Nkomo and abhorred the violence brought about by inter-party strife and competition. In a rare interpretation in the press of the relative strengths of the two movements, the Chronicle came to the conclusion that PCC was, indeed, dominant. The paper came to this conclusion because ZANU was blaming the press for supporting PCC which the Chronicle took to be a ZANU admission of PCC's dominance. 46

The position of the Rhodesia Herald toward the

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nationalist movement is best summed up by the following editorial concerning Joshua Nkomo:

... he [Nkomo], a man without popular following, is at the most charitable a catalyst—a man whose mere presence results in violence; and that for the sake of public order he is better out of public life.47

The Daily News was the only daily newspaper actively supporting an African party. In fact, in his statement before the Legislative Assembly banning the Daily News, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Lardner-Burke, listed as one of the Daily News' black spots the supporting of the PCC. Lardner-Burke said,

... the Daily News has been actively engaged in trying to channel the whole of the African nationalist movement into the ways and thoughts of Joshua Nkomo and the People's Caretaker Council, to the detriment of people of all races living in Southern Rhodesia.48

Eugene Wason, last editor of the Daily News, admits supporting Nkomo and the PCC. Wason believed that Nkomo was a better leader and more moderate than the Reverend Sithole.49

The Daily News never made a carte blanche endorsement of the PCC to the exclusion of ZANU, but the sentiments of the paper were obvious. Mathew Wakatama, one of the political

writers for the Daily News and a lecturer at the University College, began supporting Nkomo publicly with the issue of March 25, 1964. Wakatama said he found Nkomo "to be a genuine and reasonable leader."

Mr. Wason reports that his decision to support Nkomo was based on several things. He believed that ZANU was responsible for the split in the nationalist movement. Wason never met Nkomo but was influenced by Garfield Todd and Mathew Wakatama in accepting the PCC. Despite the fact that Wason wanted to be fair and leave the door open to ZANU, ZANU representatives refused to come and present their side of the case to Wason and his paper.

Moto, because of its church affiliation, tried to follow a strictly neutral course between ZANU and PCC. The paper seems to have succeeded very well in doing this. The October editorial mentions one beneficial aspect of the restricting of the party leaders—their mutual restriction.

The country can no longer afford the senseless split within the nationalist movement at this critical hour. The time has come to make an all-out effort towards national unity.

Moto's policy reflects the injunction of the Bishop of Gwelo for the editor and the paper to remain out of the conflict of party squabbles.

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The Citizen, of course, merely condemns all nationalist movements and does everything to make the nationalist equals communism equation seem more real. The Citizen of November 28, 1964, in an article (printed in red headlines) entitled "Sithole Among the Chinese Reds," comes forth with evidence that Sithole has been in China to a training school for African freedom fighters and saboteurs. Another leader on March 20th intimated that African saboteurs from foreign sources were operating in Rhodesia. From these few examples, the position of the Citizen should be obvious. The Central African Examiner, the other independent, favors Nkomo and his party.

The reaction of the daily press to the Highfield Emergency of August 26th was generally that some action was needed to clean up the township's delinquents and hoodlums and to end the continuous violence. But the papers made it clear that the broader ills of the country were responsible for the troubles in Highfield and that the Emergency Act was really only a stop-gap measure. The reaction to the declaration of an emergency in Harare township on October 7th brought this reaction from the Rhodesia Herald:

... the electric shock which went through Salisbury with the declaration of a state of emergency in Highfield is still remembered. Yet a similar announcement yesterday concerning Harari caused hardly a ripple: is the country becoming inured to such
IV. MAJORITY RULE

Majority rule is a subject that falls somewhere in between the other political topics discussed so far. It is a very important political topic and slogan that the papers have had to speak out on in the past. Since independence relies on the granting of majority rule or its denial depending on whether independence is granted or taken, majority rule is probably the most essential problem in Rhodesia today. It is, of course, a basically racial problem.

Colin Leys has described the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company newspapers on the question of race. "On racial issues it [the company press] has been paternalistic while opposed in general to extreme expressions of white supremacy and to proposals for intensified segregation." This is a good succinct statement of the stand of the daily press. The position is confusing to the non-Rhodesian and the author suspects to the European and African Rhodesian as well. It generally reflects the thinking of the Rhodesian Party on the same subject.

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53 Leys, op. cit.
The Chronicle has demanded editorially the end of the Land Apportionment Act and all discrimination but the same week stated definite opposition to immediate one man-one vote as demanded by the nationalist leaders. The Chronicle does not deny the ultimate rightness of majority rule but does indicate that gradual change toward this goal is what is required. Since the franchise is an important element in the majority rule question, the Chronicle editor discussed this on February 6 and concluded that lowering the franchise would be a mistake.

The Herald summed up its feelings on majority rule in a bitterly anti-RF leader the day of the bi-elections.

We say that an African majority in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament is ultimately inevitable. And further, that a Government with the outlook of the Rhodesian Front will make it also inevitable that the African majority will be nationalist and racial. . . . but that by the reasonable meeting of reasonable desires that African majority and its Government might itself, when it comes constitutionally to power, be reasonable.

The important word here is "ultimately" since the Herald's approach, like that of the Chronicle, is a gradualist one.

The Umtali Post supports multi-racialism but has


55 Ibid., February 6, 1964.

56 Editorial in the Rhodesia Herald, October 1, 1964.
little to say about majority rule—the same position as that of the *Sunday News*. The *Sunday News* goes so far as to advocate one man—one vote in finding the Africans’ opinion on independence. The *Sunday Mail* editor offers nothing new on majority rule. The papers generally then favor eventual majority rule after an unspecified transitional period; they favor compromise at present to prevent violence when the transition is complete; they are against the RF and the nationalists because of what the *Chronicle* editor calls their "either-or" approach to solving Rhodesia's many problems.

The *Citizen* quite naturally is against one man—one vote and for retention of the Land Apportionment Act. In a January 31st leader, the *Citizen* took Sir Albert Robinson, ex-Federal High Commissioner in London, to task for a speech in Bulawayo in which he advocated a collective European-African government. Moto and the *Central African Examiner* are in favor of majority rule as quickly as possible.

This chapter has shown the attitude of the press toward the great issues and different parties and factions which make Rhodesian politics such a volatile pre-occupation.

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of most Rhodesians. A study of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company papers illustrates how similar the editorial policies are on the burning issues. There are differences, of course, but these are matters of degree more than anything else. The basic weltansicht of these papers is almost identical. The independent papers follow the line that the nature of their journals would demand from the ultra-conservativeness of the Citizen to the pro-nationalist Moto.
CHAPTER V

THE INTERACTION OF PRESS, GOVERNMENT, AND SOCIETY

The previous chapters of this paper have analyzed what the Rhodesian press was and is, how it is run, who runs it, and what it has to say. This chapter will tie all of these together and illustrate the effects of the press on Rhodesian politics and society. But the chapter title of interaction is accurate because the author feels that politics and politicians and society and people also affect the press. In Rhodesia, the interplay between the press and the government is most active at present and vital to the future of the press, as well as the country as a whole. The other chapters have been the bones; this chapter is the flesh and the meat.

I. THE PRESS AND THE LAW

Currently, the Rhodesian press is involved in continuing battle with the government. In the last year, two newspapers have been banned, the Central African Examiner and the Chronicle tried for violations of the Law and Order Maintenance Act, and the Daily News editor, after the paper was banned, tried for various offenses. All of this has made the position of the press under Rhodesian law a matter
of great public interest and vital importance. The press is mentioned in some way in practically all emergency bills as well as in the 1961 Constitution and the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

The 1961 Constitution

The constitution accepted in 1961 by the Rhodesian electorate says nothing about the press but does contain clauses and sections which bear upon the prerogatives and rights and duties of the press and citizens in general. This constitution was opposed by the present government in the 1961 constitutional referendum. Whereas the American Constitution is often remarkable for what it does not say, the Rhodesian constitution is remarkable for some of the things it does say.

The introduction to the Declaration of Rights in Chapter VI of the constitution insures that all Rhodesians regardless of race, creed, tribe, or political persuasion shall have, among other rights, the freedom of conscience, expression, assembly and association. The catch in all this is a short phrase in the introductory sentence. "... but subject to respect for the public interest..."¹ It is

the Rhodesian Front conservative government which is now in
a position to define what is in the public interest.

The basic clause in the constitution concerning the
press is that on freedom of expression. It reads as follows:

Except with his own consent or by way of parental
discipline, no person shall be hindered in the enjoy­
ment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart
ideas and information without interference, and free­
dom from interference with his correspondence.

This is followed by a long list of possible contraventions
or inconsistencies which might be exigent under laws which
are necessary in the interests of "defence, public safety,
public order, public morality, or public health. . . ."\(^2\)

Section 69 of the constitution clarifies this a bit
by stating unequivocally that the rights previously outlined
could be contravened by any law which "... makes provision
with respect to the taking during any period of public emer­
gency of action for the purpose of dealing with any situa­
tion arising during that period. . . ."\(^3\) This provision is
meant, of course, to be applied only in extraordinary times
and circumstances. It has been used several times without a
great deal of reaction from the public. Rhodesians have
really become inured to living under the exceptional and not
the rule.

\(^2\)Ibid., Section 65 (1), p. 40.

\(^3\)Ibid., Section 69 (1), p. 42.
It is not strange under the circumstances existing in Rhodesia that there are certain constitutional reservations on the rights outlined in the Declaration of Rights. What is unusual and unsettling is the use of these powers. The Law and Order Maintenance Act contains provisions proscribing the right of expression as do the Highfield and Harare Emergency Acts.

**Law and Order Maintenance Act**

No other Rhodesian act, with the possible exception of the Land Apportionment Act, is so well known or widely discussed as the Law and Order Maintenance Act. Only a few Rhodesians have read it, and only a few understand it—these being mostly Parliamentarians or solicitors or newsmen who have been tried under its terms. This act, much more so than the constitution itself, determines, to a great extent, the contents of the daily press.

The Law and Order Maintenance Act lists as one of its purposes: "To make provision for the maintenance of law and order in Southern Rhodesia; to provide for the prohibition in the public interest of the printing, publication, dissemination and possession of certain publications. . . ."

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Under what circumstances can these publications be caused to cease publication? Sections 43 and 44 of the act list one circumstance—the publication of subversive statements. Any purpose who purports to or advises any other person "... to resist, either actively or passively, any law of Southern Rhodesia ..." shall be guilty of this offense.\(^5\)

The act goes on to define a subversive statement in more detail and includes these terms. Any statement is subversive that is likely to

- bring government into hatred or contempt,
- excite disaffection,
- incite to attempt alteration of any matter of law by other than lawful means,
- incite to disturb public peace,
- promote feelings of hostility,
- induce to resist the law,
- or to lead to public disorder.

This is certainly broad in scope. The law states that the press can show that the government has been misled or mistaken and can point out errors and defects as well as urge change through the mechanism of the law.\(^6\)

The defining of a subversive statement is quite important to the press. As Mrs. Claire Palley has said, the definition of a subversive statement varies greatly from country to country but what would be considered merely controversial in some societies is considered subversive in

\(^5\)Ibid., Sections 43-44, pp. 556-558.

\(^6\)Ibid.
Rhodesia. This is an important point in the further discussion of government-press relations.

The second great offense in the Law and Order Maintenance Act is the incitement to public violence. Section 55 covers this and states that anyone who "... has spoken or published such words, that it might reasonably be expected that the natural and probable consequences of his act ... or publication would ... be the commission of public violence," is guilty of this offense. Incitement to public violence is another offense for which a publication can be banned.

The third offense under the act is the publication of false views. Section 48 defines the offense and prescribes its punishment.

Any person who makes, publishes or reproduces any false statement rumour [sic] or report which is likely to cause fear, alarm or despondency among the public or to disturb the public peace shall be guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years unless he satisfies the court before such making publication ... he took reasonable measures to verify the accuracy thereof.  

The act defines a statement as writing, printing, painting, drawing or similar representation and a

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7 Claire Palley, Law Lecturer, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, October 19, 1964, Salisbury.
9 Ibid.
publication as all printed or written matter or anything capable of suggesting words or ideas including gramophone records and other means of representing speech. The Law and Order Maintenance Act also defines who may be arrested under Section 53, Subversive Statements. These include office bearers of the publishing organization, editors, assistant editors, authors, anyone proved to be editor, or anyone proved to have published the article or extract. A defense in the case of subversive statements is in the case of an article or extract being published without the authority, consent, or knowledge of the accused.

Some interesting legal aspects of the effect of banning a newspaper are listed in this act. Among these are: (1) all subsequent issues of the banned publication are banned; (2) all or any publication under any other name which is in effect a continuation of the named publication is banned; (3) all publications before and after the date of the order published by the named person or association are banned; (4) all translations into any language are also banned. The government may revoke the order; but when the order stands, it is final and may not be "varied or set

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10 Ibid., Section 18 (2), p. 545.
11 Ibid., Section 53, pp. 563-564.
aside by any court of law." In other words, in the drastic step of closing a newspaper, Rhodesian law gives no recourse to the courts.

A resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly is necessary to ban any publication registered under the Printed Publications Act prior to December 2, 1960. This includes almost all active publications in Rhodesia today. After the banning, it is illegal to print, publish, disseminate, distribute, sell, offer for sale, or reproduce prohibited publications. It is also illegal to have banned publications or extracts from these in your possession without a lawful excuse.

Because of the nature of the Law and Order Maintenance Act and government enthusiasm in reading newspapers and trying them under the act, the publishers must be very careful in their papers. All of the papers, including the smallest, have solicitors who read either all copy or questionable copy before publication. These solicitors check not only for the usual libel possibilities but also for violations of the Law and Order Maintenance Act. This care on the part of the editors has not prevented various papers from being tried by the government for violations of the act.

\[12\] Ibid., Section 18 (2), p. 545.

\[13\] Ibid., Section 19, pp. 545-546.
These cases will be discussed under press-government relations.

**Emergency Regulations**

The Highfield and Harare Emergency Regulations 1964 contain provisions which affect the press. These regulations, promulgated in August and November, 1964, state the conditions to prevail in the township during the three-month emergency period. The effect of one part of these regulations is to stop the sale and distribution of certain newspapers in the townships. Mrs. Eileen Haddon reported that the *Central African Examiner* was prohibited in Highfield.

Section 7 of the Highfield Emergency Regulation 1964 states that:

> The protecting authority may by order prohibit - (a) the posting of any notice; or (b) the sale, dissemination or distribution of any newspaper, bill, placard, poster, pamphlet, circular or other written matter; within the area or any portion of the area.\(^{14}\)

Any violation of this section is an offense punishable by up to twelve months' imprisonment.

An interesting aspect of this law is the definition of the protecting authority as used in Section 7. At first glance, the protecting authority would seem to be the

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government. Section 3 of the regulation defines the au-
authority as "a commissioned officer of police to be in charge
of the area." The police officer is to be appointed by the
Commissioner of Police. Thus, it is the discretion of a
commissioned police officer that decides what publications
can and will be prohibited in the emergency area.

The Constitution, the Law and Order Maintenance Act,
and the Emergency Regulations 1954 are the major documents
with sections pertaining to the press. What is probably
most remarkable about the constitution is the "right to
but . . ." attitude taken in that document. The definition
of public safety and security is in the hands of the govern-
ment which is against the press establishment in general.
The Law and Order Maintenance Act makes the press very cau-
tious and careful. The government seems to be using it
against the press more for nuisance value than anything
else. The Emergency Regulations can cut whole sections of
the population off from the press at the discretion of a
single police officer.

The Rhodesian law is written as though the press was
an enemy or potential enemy needing controls. The Law and
Order Maintenance Act was passed by the RP, the present
opposition, when it was the government. The RP had good

\[15\] Ibid., Section 3, p. 478e.
relations with the company press and fair relations with the Daily News at that time. It is remarkable that the act was passed by the RP but not at all remarkable that the present government has made use of the act which the RP never did. Rhodesian law is restrictive where the press is concerned. The not-too-veiled threat of banning or court action is ever present.

II. PRESS-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

John Parker, President of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists and a sub-editor, described government policy toward the press as "... a concerted attack against the press--especially the RP&P." Parker went on to say that what was most disturbing was the method of attack. The government, according to Parker, was not criticizing the editorial policies of the papers but attacking the papers for slanting the news. Parker called this "... an unwarranted attack against journalistic standards."16

Since any relation is a two-way exchange, the government viewpoint of its relations with the press is equally important. In March, 1964, at a congress of the Guild of Journalists, Winston Field, then Prime Minister, admitted

16John Parker, Chief Sub-Editor, Sunday Mail and President, Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, personal interview with the author, November 3, 1964, Salisbury.
that there had been certain "slip ups" in relations between the government and the press and accepted part of the blame for this. Field then went on to place partial blame on the recent existence of two information departments, the Rhodesian and the Federal, and the confusion caused by two agencies doing essentially the same job. Field then said, "our [journalistic] standards are pretty good." This was a rather tepid endorsement at best. After this, the former Prime Minister stressed journalistic integrity and the fact that he did not want opinion presented as news. This speech, although conciliatory in tone, did little to clear up the government's position.

The thoughts of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, are best summed up by his remarks made at a RF political house meeting in the Salisbury suburb of Mount Pleasant. The author was present at this pre-bi-election meeting on September 18. Smith was discussing his recent trip to Portugal and England and made the comment that he had received warmer and more accurate press coverage in England than he normally enjoyed in the Rhodesian press. The Prime Minister's comment was caustically drawn and received a bit of laughter.

Basis of Press-Government Misunderstanding

What is the basis in 1964 for this mutual hostility between the press and the government? Certainly, it must be
described as mutual hostility because the company press is
against the RF government and the government is no booster
of the press. There are many reasons. There is the latent
animosity inherited from the era when the RF was out of
power and the RP in and the supposed slights against the RF
at that time. There is the current mood of the European
population and the new-found backing the RF is receiving.
There is also the basic difference in outlook between the
editors and the present government. There is also an ele­
ment of distrust of the press in general and popular confu­
sion in government and out about the role of the press.

The RF feels and has always felt that its position
has never been clearly and adequately stated by the company
press. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze this
statement on a historic basis. There is some evidence to
support the allegation because the company press is and has
always been oriented toward the RP or more moderate line of
thinking. Suffice it to say that the RF came to power in
December, 1962, with a hostile attitude toward the company
press that has continued until the present. A reading of
the company press in 1964 would indicate that this criticism,
if once true, is no longer. The press seems to be trying
extremely hard to be fair and impartial in its news coverage
and succeeds admirably at this.

The RF has won several important elections in the
past year and now finds itself in a position of unparalleled strength for a Rhodesian political party. This shift in political power from the pre-December, 1962, days when the RP seemed indomitable to the present when the RF is in an almost unassailable position was unexpected and indicates a swing to the right in European Rhodesian thinking. This new line of political thinking finds the government with fairly solid popular support in a country where the press is backing an opposition with waning power.

The RF government and the press agree on several broad topics, such as no immediate majority rule and fear of Pan Africanism in general. But this does not alter the fact that there is a great hiatus between the two philosophies. Most of the editors support repeal of the Land Apportionment Act; the government opposes it and got elected on this issue in 1962. The press accepts the inevitability of majority rule; the RF, despite protestations to the same end, does not. The press feels that free criticism is salutary and absolutely essential to maintain an independent press; the RF with its huge mandate feels that criticism is unwarranted, injures the progress of the country, and hinders the confidence campaign started by the government.

Brigadier Ralston, who wrote a column under the nom de plume of M'takati in the Daily News, stated the differences between the government and the press in plainer terms.
In his column, he said that the government is "The Farmers" and the journalists "the city slickers" and this causes natural suspicion on the part of "The Farmers." He also lays part of the blame for press-government friction on the lack of the gallery and lobby systems as developed at Westminster.  

**Developments in 1964**

It may be said that press relations with the government started in 1964 at an all time low, improved slightly in March with the Field-Guild partial reconciliation, dropped again in April at the change of government, and steadily deteriorated since to a lower level than ever before. The friction is now more open and less covert; this has been an important development in 1964.

November, 1963, found Lieutenant Colonel Tanner, a RF MP, imploring in the Legislative Assembly that the *Rhodesia Herald* not give "... a somewhat slanted view" to the news.  

In March, 1964, John Parker at the Guild Convention felt compelled to say "one begins to feel the only newspapers tolerable to these politicians is one which is prepared ... to praise every action by the Government."  

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The Chronicle came out in May with a powerful leader concerning the new shift in government policy toward the press.

And it [press-government relations] has changed dramatically for the worse. For although Mr. Field was not happy about the relationship between the Government and newspapers and was taking active steps in his last few weeks as Prime Minister to put it on a better footing, he was a believer in Press freedom.  

The implications of that emphasized "was" are that the present Prime Minister is not a believer in press freedom.

What has Mr. Smith had to say about the press? On May 30th, he brought up the ancient cry that the main shareholders and controllers of the press are not Rhodesian and that the press is a monopoly. The Prime Minister then went on to say that the government had the duty to see that that position was not abused.  

He failed to elaborate on government methods for achieving this. His opinion again came out in a speech on October 11 at the Sinoia Golden Jubilee when he said, "I don't think that you believe everything you read in the newspapers, because it is more difficult to pull the wool over the eyes of rural people than others."  

The Parliamentary Secretary for Information, Mr. P. K. Van der Byl, has added to the friction instead of ameliorating it as would seem his function in his present position.

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22 Editorial in the Sunday Mail, October 11, 1964.
Mr. Van der Byl in May said that he would welcome a Rhodesian Press Council and denied that the government had plans for censoring the press. Then he added "it would be to the benefit of everyone concerned if the Press put its own house in order." Stressing the obligation of the press to be loyal to Rhodesia, he said, "... they [newspapers] must not be something which in fact makes the position of the country more difficult, more tenuous or more uncertain." Van der Byl defined press freedom as "... the freedom of the public to have access to a Press that was unbiased and unslanted." 23

Surely this must be one of the strangest definitions of press freedom ever advanced. How does Van der Byl define the interests of the country which he insists the press supports? His definition of these interests is quite simple and candid.

You have to give some thought to a definition of the country: it must be by and large, I think, under the democratic system, the way the majority of the electorate conceive it—that is, the preservation of the European in this country." 24

This extraordinary statement could be translated to mean that the press which in being unbiased and unslanted (Van der Byl's words) and therefore theoretically offering a

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23 Ibid., May 24, 1964.
24 Ibid.
broad appeal is going against the interests of the country which are really only European interests. This reflects the insular thinking of the RF government on the role of the press.

In 1964, Rhodesia got a new information adviser, Mr. Ivar Benson, a journalist from South Africa. Mr. Benson is the author of a series of pamphlets bearing the titles: "Know Your Enemy," "The Problems of an Unfree Press," and "The Press and Public Opinion." All of these pamphlets are the manuscripts of talks he delivered over the South African Broadcasting Corporation in 1963. The press criticized in these broadcasts is the major English language papers of South Africa most of which belong to the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, the parent company of the RP&P.

Benson, called Rhodesia's McCarthy and a dangerous man by *Daily News* editor Eugene Wason, has some unusual ideas about the press. These ideas prevail in the government today. The breeding ground was there before Benson's advent on the Rhodesian scene, but he certainly has added fuel to the flames of anti-press feeling. This is a peculiar result for a man hired as an information adviser. The government's very hiring of a man with Benson's reputation

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increased animosity between the press and the government. The reaction of the press in general to Benson and Van der Byl, the two men in Rhodesia most directly involved in press-government relations, is best summed up by Clyde Sanger's description of them. He describes them as "sinister characters." 26

The Citizen stated on August 28 that Benson "... has certainly done nothing in his short term of service to justify the attacks on him." 27 There is little evidence that Mr. Benson has made any concrete suggestions, such as closing the Daily News or trying the Central African Examiner, and the author does not imply that he has. Mr. Benson is not very rewarding to talk to when queried about his job. But there is little doubt in the author's mind that Benson has exerted an influence on such people as Van der Byl, and there is abundant evidence that press-government relations have worsened and hardened during his tenure.

The Daily News in a leader entitled "The Wicked Press" had this to say about Van der Byl and Benson.

The trouble is that Mr. Van der Byl knows so little about newspapers. That is not his fault. What is his fault is that he has shown a singular lack of wanting to learn, except from one mentor.


This mentor, Mr. Ivar Benson, has been lauded as a man of world-wide reputation but . . . his experience is not remarkable, and he has a mind that moves on one single track.28

The "one single track" the Daily News was talking about is communism—a Benson, government bogey man.

Benson is an unusual man. As John Parker described him, Benson is "a journalist who suspects journalists."29

In "Know Your Enemy," Benson said, "the Communist faith . . . is something to which the educated classes especially in the great cities are particularly susceptible. . . . And most susceptible of all are journalists, university teachers, scientists. . . ."30 In the same pamphlet, Benson condemns the South African press for opposing anti-communist legislation and for failing to express anti-communist sentiment. He goes on to brand certain world church organizations and major English and American papers as communist oriented. The pamphlet is full of invective and unfounded innuendo. Benson has called in Peter Forebath, the East and Central African Time correspondent, and told him that Time was communist oriented.


29 Parker, op. cit.

Other Benson philosophies are now popularly accepted among the RF government and its more ardent supporters. Whether these were there before Benson is difficult to ascertain, but that the government reflects Benson's writings and beliefs is quite evident. A sampling of Benson's bon mots will illustrate this point.

The Press must be free—no one denies that—but it must be OUR Press, promoting OUR values and OUR interests. Only such a Press has any claim to the freedom to govern itself in OUR society.\textsuperscript{31}

\ldots a newspaper's leading articles were not the main opinion forming mechanism of the Press. It was the selection, the emphasis and, most important, the omission of news that had the greatest impact.\textsuperscript{32}

What is so often missing is precisely that portion of the news that would raise confidence and strengthen the determination of the people of South Africa to stand firm against the present world-wide campaign of pressure and abuse.\textsuperscript{33}

It is all there—the emphasis on communism and the unique susceptibility of journalists to that way of thinking, the idea that the press must express the opinion of the popular electorate (the European), the fact that news can be slanted and editors can censor by omission, and the desire


\textsuperscript{32}"Benson Gets Mixed Reception at UCRN," news item in the \textit{Rhodesia Herald}, August 27, 1964.

to have the press support the country in its quest of self-confidence. All these ideas are Benson's and all prevail in the government.

Rhodesia finds itself in this strange situation. The press establishment despises and fears the government information adviser and the Parliamentary Secretary for Information. Only the Citizen is an exception to this, as would be Newsfront presumably if it were still publishing. The group of people in the government involved in press-government relations mistrusts the daily press and journalists, in general, and believes that the daily press fails to support the information department's goals and aims. It is a situation that would be faintly facetious if it were not deadly serious.

The Cases Against the Press

There have been at least four government versus the press court cases in 1964. Three of these cases involved the Law and Order Maintenance Act and the other an offense under the Native Affairs Act, which only nominally concerns the press. The cases under the Law and Order Maintenance Act were against the Central African Examiner, Chronicle, and the Daily News; the Native Affairs Act case was against the Daily News.

On August 5, an African reporter for the Daily News,
Mr. Saul Ndhlovu, was found guilty of a violation of the Native Affairs Act by Magistrate O. M. Jackson and fined $70. Mr. Ndhlovu had written an article in the Daily News indicating that the Rhodesian chiefs had little popular support. His article emphasized that what little support that existed for the chiefs would be undermined by their foreign trip at government expense. The Native Affairs Act prohibits undermining the support of the chiefs—this is what Mr. Ndhlovu was tried for.

The most important press case to date under the Law and Order Maintenance Act was that against Mr. Sydney Swadel and the Chronicle. The front page headline of the March 23, 1964, Chronicle, was "Field Sees Bomb Blast Havoc at Bulawayo Sports Event," and the sub-headline read "Youths Run Screaming as Shrapnel Showers Ground." Mr. Swadel believes that this case would have never been tried under Sir Edgar Whitehead's RP despite the existence of the same act. Swadel believes the RP may have complained about the article but not brought it to court.

The case is being tried under Section 48 of the Law and Order Maintenance Act and the charge concerns the validity of the words "Havoc" and "Fled Screaming" in the headlines. The government maintains these headlines were false and likely to spread alarm and despondency. The charge is against the company and not Swadel personally, who is
representing the company in court. The outcome of the case depended basically on the interpretation of the word "Havoc." Swadel, or rather the RP&P, was found guilty and fined $70.

Mr. Eugene Wason, former editor of the Daily News, represented African Newspapers, Ltd. in court on three charges under Section 48 of the Law and Order Maintenance Act. This was in November—several months after the prohibition of the Daily News. Because Wason was representing the company and the act makes provisions only for a jail sentence, the only possible outcome of the case was a reprimand. The outcome of this case in December is not yet available to the author.

Eugene Wason thinks that the cases against the press are brought up for their nuisance value and to show that the government can take legal action against the press. Certainly the government is after no particular editor because it has tried none personally. The fines and reprimands are small and trivial and place no burden on the companies. The purpose of these cases seems to be more a case of the government letting the press know where it stands and what its limitations are.

Banning the Daily News

August 26, 1964, was an exciting day in Rhodesia. A

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34 Wason, op. cit.
state of emergency was declared in Highfield Township; the
PCC and ZANU political organizations were declared unlawful;
and the Daily News was banned. The Minister of Law and
Order, Mr. Lardner-Burke, introduced the resolution pro-
hibiting the Daily News with a short harangue about the
communist menace—the old pathological bogey man. This was
followed by a short lesson on the government's philosophy of
press freedom.

Lardner-Burke's definition of press freedom is iden-
tical to that of van der Byl's given earlier. "... Press
freedom ... is essentially the property of the community."
"It is ... the responsibility of the Government to ensure
that Press freedom ... is not abused and is not permitted
to degenerate into dangerous licence." The Minister keeps
harping back to the Press's responsibilities to the elec-
torate and the community neither of which he defines. It is
obvious that he is referring to the European community.

The Daily News is then castigated as "highly sensa-
tional journalism" in support of the PCC. Extreme views
were given free play according to Lardner-Burke and the
Daily News was non-objective. Lardner-Burke cited the issue
of September 28, 1962, as an example of the Daily News'
simultaneous decrying and exciting of violence." Listed as

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35 Southern Rhodesia Debate of the Legislative Assem-
 bly, August 26, 1964, pp. 1279-1280.
other Daily News violations are anti-European sentiment, racial prejudice, spreading rumors, and illegal possession of a radio transmitter and receiver. Lardner-Burke ended his speech by saying

... the Daily News is not a newspaper within any accepted definition of that word but is an instrument of political agitation that has been used with utter ruthlessness. As such, it cannot claim that immunity from interference associated in the public mind with the ideal of Press freedom. Indeed all Press freedom is endangered when sections of the Press, and journalists themselves, show themselves willing to condone such behaviour and to protect the culprit.36

Lardner-Burke's description of the Daily News is exaggerated to suit his purposes and fits the Citizen and Newsfront if PCC were changed to RF and the racial bias switched. But the Citizen and Newsfront supported the government; the Daily News' fatal flaw was being too effective in its opposition.

Lardner-Burke made another extraordinary statement in the Daily News debate. He said:

It will probably be alleged that the banning of this newspaper has removed the one avenue of political expression at present afforded the Africans. This is, of course, not true. There are other newspapers, which ... can hardly be termed pro-Government, to carry news, letters and correspondence, and which will also present political opinions and aspirations.37

36 Ibid., pp. 1279-1292.
37 Ibid., p. 1291.
Using Lardner-Burke's words, this, of course, is not true. The only other newspaper that represents African aspirations is Moto which is a monthly. The Daily News was the only African daily and nothing is as effective as a daily paper in getting to the readers.

The Daily News was defended by the Press's main stalwarts in the Assembly, Roger Nicholson, who gave an eloquent rebuttal to Lardner-Burke, and Dr. Ahrn Palley. The African MP's also attacked the government move with the two independents, Chigogo and Chinetsa, leading the debate. The motion was voted on late on the night of August 26 and was passed by a vote of twenty-four to eighteen. The Daily News, which had a special edition ready, was not allowed to distribute the paper; so the last public edition of the Daily News was August 25.

Eighty-six students from the university protested the banning and were arrested. The newspapers generally condemned the government's action with the natural exception of the Citizen. The Citizen never mentioned the prohibition. After an emergency meeting of the Guild, John Parker sent a unanimous resolution to the Governor urging his reconsideration and sent a letter to the National Union of Journalists in Great Britain urging some action. John Parker and Deryk James were then denied permission by the government to present their case over television. Otherwise, there was very
little European reaction to the banning. Few Europeans missed the News, because only about two thousand read it.

Eugene Wason's interpretation of the banning is quite interesting. He believes that the broad charge that the Daily News was a danger to public security can be interpreted to mean that the government felt that the Daily News was responsible for the violence in the townships. The other reason Wason gives is the paper's obvious support of the PCC. Wason states that he feels the government hates the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company more than the Daily News and that the banning of his paper was among other things a warning to the RP&P. John Parker agrees with Wason and calls the Daily News banning "an indirect way of threatening the RP&P." It is little wonder then that the Rhodesian press feels insecure about its future. Most editors, managers, and journalists interpret the various court cases and the banning of the Daily News the same way as did John Parker and Eugene Wason.

Government Relations with Radio and Television

Ajax, political columnist of the Sunday Mail reported in September that "most Rhodesians would sympathize with the

38Wason, op. cit.
39Parker, op. cit.
Government's using television and radio to counteract an unfavorable Press."  
The government's official policy is that the daily press is hostile to the government and control of radio and television is necessary to balance this situation. Dave Williams, chief press officer of the Rhodesian Information Service, calls the press "hostile" and declares that air time is needed to present the government attitude. Ivar Benson admits that both radio and television are at present nominally under control of the government.

SRBC, Southern Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, is controlled by a statutory body whose members are appointed by the government. This board was set up under the previous government and most board members were appointed by the present opposition. The composition of the board does not alter the fact that the board is subject to government control. The original concept was that the board would be independent and allow the SRBC to be an autonomous body of neutral political character much as is the BBC in England.

40 "Ajax" in the Sunday Mail, September 6, 1964.
41 David Williams, Chief Press Officer, Rhodesian Information Service, personal interview with the author, November 17, 1964, Salisbury.
42 Ivar Benson, Information Adviser to the Rhodesian Government, personal interview with the author, November 17, 1964, Salisbury.
That this concept has not worked is evidenced by two events which occurred in 1964. In May, Salisbury solicitor, Hardwick Holderness, who is a political compatriot of Garfield Todd's, tried to get an interview on radio and television to present his views. Van der Byl did not order the SRBC to drop the Holderness interview but called the board and advised them that Holderness was "not of sufficient importance," and to interview him would add "uncertainty and lower the morale of moderate Africans."\(^4\)\(^3\) Asked if it would not be better if trained journalists at SRBC decided the news value of the Holderness interview, Van der Byl replied:

"The Heads of News are not the arbiters of policy. If they were, what use would the board be?"\(^4\)\(^4\)

Van der Byl later said, ". . . radio and television unlike the newspapers, belonged to the people and must base its values on a set of criteria accepted by the people."\(^4\)\(^5\)

The *Sunday Mail* condemned government control of radio and television while the *Citizen* safely and blandly asked:

Surely the question of Press censorship did not enter this matter? . . . the jump from the Holderness affair to Press censorship could only be attempted in Rhodesia. And we daresay, his [Holderness] beliefs may be political dynamite.

\(^4\)\(^3\)News item in the *Sunday Mail*, May 3, 1964.

\(^4\)\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^4\)\(^5\)News item in the *Sunday Mail*, May 10, 1964.
Now the SRBC and the RTV are non-political and should not rush into presentation of political matters.\textsuperscript{46}

In September, a group of anthropologists at the university published a statement against the chiefs' indaba as a means of consulting African opinion. The leader of the group was the eminent anthropologist, J. Clyde Mitchell, and the statement became known as the Mitchell statement. The SRBC refused to allow the statement to be given on a news broadcast and three journalist-newsmen resigned from the staff of SRBC in protest. No adequate explanation was ever given of the board's action. This was after the refusal in late August of SRBC and RTV to interview John Parker and Sydney Sawyer. The excuse given in the Parker-Sawyer case was that the government was unable to delegate anyone to state its case. Ajax countered this excuse with the rejoinder, "continuation of the present policy will make their [governments] protests about the bias of mass media sound like whinnyings of angry senility."\textsuperscript{47}

SRBC has ultimate control over RTV by the mere fact that RTV's broadcast facilities are controlled by SRBC. This includes the transmitter itself which could be shut off at any time by SRBC. The Prime Minister announced a move in

\textsuperscript{46} Editorial in the \textit{Citizen}, May 8, 1964.

\textsuperscript{47} "Ajax" in the \textit{Sunday Mail}, September 6, 1964.
late November for the government to take over control of RTV completely. The reason given was "to ensure that such a powerful medium as television does not fall into irresponsible hands." The Prime Minister said: "But what guarantee would we have for instance, that people who were Communist sympathisers could not get control of RTV . . . it's a private company." As the Herald pointed out, the Prime Minister was wrong on two counts: RTV is not a private company but a public company, and the founder shares (the only voting shares—39.1 per cent held by the RP&P) can only be sold with the permission of the SRBC. In other words, the only way control of RTV could fall into "irresponsible hands" would be by government consent.

Negotiations are still in progress between the founders and the government. The important conclusions concerning the radio and television media are that the government controls both media, at least nominally, and no criticism of the government, except the innocuous statements of the RP, is permitted on these facilities. The government feels that radio and television are necessary to counter a hostile press and actions have been instigated to control both media completely. Thus, Rhodesia is set up for a battle of the

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media—the press against radio and television with government spurring on the competition.

III. PRESS-SOCIETY RELATIONS

Press Relations with the Financial Community

The press enjoyed close relations with the Rhodesian financial community until 1964 when relations became strained. The government started a confidence-in-Rhodesia campaign in 1964 and began using such slogans as "Buy Rhodesian" in the local stores. In the previous section, the author has shown in several instances how the government has attacked the RP&P for undermining this campaign. But this criticism has come from the sources other than the government—the most important being the financial community itself.

Rhodesian Property and Finance is the most important business journal in Rhodesia. Its editor, Willifred Brooks, used to be an aide to Garfield Todd but more recently has become more conservative and an RF supporter. He consistently refused to grant the author an interview and was one of the few editors unavailable for comment. Property and Finance has backed the government's confidence campaign to the hilt and began in the spring of 1964 to condemn lustily the RP&P for its criticism of the government and its supposed undermining of the confidence campaign.

Property and Finance first attacked the RP&P in April,
1964 but the July issue was the beginning of an earnest onslaught. The headline page one article of the July issue was entitled "'Power Politics' of SR monopoly Press: big firms disturbed by effect on business." The journal states that the RP&P's policies "threaten legitimate business interests" and make an issue of independence that is "largely artificial and promoted by newspapers themselves." The RP&P according to Property and Finance has been steadily losing advertising revenue in 1964 despite an increase in advertising expenditures in all media. Property and Finance then indicts the Rhodesian press for being the source of much anti-Rhodesian propaganda in newspapers abroad. On the subject of press freedom, the business journal was most blunt, dismissing the press charges of government attempts at control with the charge of RP&P monopoly.\(^\text{49}\)

This attack begun in July let up in August but reached a crescendo in September with another front page article detailing the inadequacies of the RP&P and its papers. The first line read "for the first time since their establishment in the early days of Rhodesia, the newspapers of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company are under massive pressure--business, economic and governmental." Property and Finance was certainly right about governmental

\(^{49}\)News item in Rhodesian Property and Finance, July, 1964.
pressure, but the others are debated by the RP&P executives. What is tremendously significant about the *Property and Finance* articles which continued into November is that the country's leading business journal should feel compelled to attack the press in the first place and that the supposed difficulties of the press should be flaunted with such obvious relish. The attack culminated in an article in the November issue entitled "Defeat for the Press." This article concludes that:

The Referendum results have shown once again that Rhodesians . . . were not influenced by a shameful and arrogant press campaign even more virulent than that preceding the two bi-elections. . . . the Rhodesian monopoly daily and Sunday newspapers are now a fully discredited opinion-forming institution.50

The glee with which *Property and Finance* reported the press's relative lack of influence on the Referendum is obvious.

The management of the RP&P Company are not of the same opinion as *Property and Finance* concerning the financial position of the papers. John Hennessy, managing director of the RP&P, after admitting that *Property and Finance* is doing well financially and has a rising circulation, says that *Property and Finance* is "bitter" and "curries the favor of the RF government which desires to control the business journal." According to Mr. Hennessy, the

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reason the RP&P bought a large percentage of the shares in RTV was to hedge against the loss of press advertising which would naturally shift to television, a very popular advertising medium. 51

Rhys Meier reports that the Sunday Mail has lost some advertising accounts and attributes this to two things—the advent of television and the high cost of advertising in the Mail. Since advertising rates are tied to circulation, the Sunday Mail has the highest rates in Rhodesia. 52 The Herald is in a different situation. According to Henry Maasdorp, the advertising income of the Herald is rising despite the loss of some accounts. Maasdorp calls the Property and Finance articles "inflated." 53 Sydney Swadel of the Chronicle blames television and the business slump for a loss of advertising but notices a definite improvement in the last half of 1964. 54 The picture painted by Property and Finance, while true in some instances and accurate in others, is not

52 Rhys Meier, Editor, Sunday Mail, personal interview with the author, November 11, 1964, Salisbury.
53 Henry Maasdorp, Assistant Editor, Rhodesia Herald, personal interview with the author, November 16, 1964, Salisbury.
54 Sydney Swadel, Editor, Chronicle, personal interview with the author, November 19, 1964, Bulawayo.
credible on the whole. John Parker points out that the RP&P advertising revenue is improving despite the loss of some large accounts, such as some of the cigarette companies.

The executives of RP&P were able to foresee the day when television would take away advertising revenue and got in the television business in a big way to counter this. Despite the government and Property and Finance attacks, the company papers are not suffering from any great dirth of advertising. In the bi-election campaign in September, the RF was the largest single advertiser, indicating that that party still thought the company press had at least some influence on the public. Since these papers are the only daily papers, advertisers have little choice but to use this method of reaching their customers.

The independents present a mixed picture as far as advertising is concerned. Eugene Wason reported rising advertising at the time of banning; most of this was international advertising and had little to do with Rhodesian machinations. Surprisingly, John Theo reported a low in November for Citizen advertising revenue but predicted a great increase in December. The Central African Examiner has lost all of its advertising in the last several years, and Mrs. Haddon attributes this mainly to political pressures on the advertisers. Moto has had little change in its advertising. None of these papers, with the exception of a
few asides about the Daily News, was included in Property and Finance's anti-press campaign; yet the independents have had the same mixed advertising results as the company press. The point is that there have been wide fluctuations in the Rhodesian economy in 1964, and this has affected some papers more than others. The Citizen which gives unqualified support to most government actions and the confidence campaign has suffered along with the more liberal journals.

At best, relations between the business community and the company papers are strained. The reason probably more than Property and Finance's attack is that the business community is almost inherently more conservative than the journalists who mold the press. What friction does exist seems to be encouraged by government and the country's main business journal but is actually the result of differences in approach to the solution of Rhodesia's many problems.

Press Relations with Political and Ethnic Groups

The RP&P's papers are mainly concerned with the European population and reflect the opinions of a dwindling minority of that population. These papers are not written for an African audience, and the wide African readership that does exist is quite surprising. The two smallest minority groups, the Indians and the Coloreds, are generally ignored. The independent papers are also designed to appeal along racial lines: Moto, the Daily News, and the Central
African Examiner to an African audience; and the Citizen to a European audience. Since politics in Rhodesia quite often follows or is based on racial lines, this split in racial appeal is not unusual.

The support of the company press goes to the RP--this has been demonstrated in Chapter IV. The editors disagree with the government but are reluctant to criticize the RF vehemently. Government feels that the press is out to undermine the RF and throw it out; the press feels threatened by government actions. The idea of a European society divided against itself is still a latent concept despite government-press, RF-RP animosity. This split has only recently become at all manifest, but it is lopsided with the greatest number of Europeans on the RF bandwagon and more joining all the time. The daily and Sunday press finds itself more and more isolated and cut off from the mainstream of Rhodesian political thought; yet, the papers are reluctant to admit this and still try to strike a balance which pleases no one and leaves the press basically impotent.

Cyril Dunn has presented this profile of the Rhodesian press:

But the local Press in general does not present a picture of a white community divided against itself. And of those reporters who have links with the Press abroad few normally use these facilities to present white policy in an unfavourable light. The fact seems to be that most Rhodesian newspapermen earnestly
believe in the rectitude and good intentions of the white society to which they belong and whose future they are naturally anxious to safeguard.55

The RP&P has maintained precisely this attitude combined with a belief in the inevitability of African rule.

Is the RP&P making any attempt to appeal to a wide audience—especially the African reader? The answer is a weak "yes." The Chronicle has recently introduced a special African sports page and is attempting to give more African news, including stories on the political leaders. Mr. Swadel tempers this by stating that it is difficult to produce a European and African newspaper simultaneously and that there is always the fear in increasing African coverage of printing a subversive statement. But Mr. Swadel firmly believes that his "paper must be more universally accepted by both groups in the future."56

Henry Maasdorp stated that the Herald's policy was a concerted effort to appeal to Africans. A small departure from old procedure has begun with the publication of a digest of African sports each Friday, Saturday, and Monday. There is talk of extending this and providing an additional page or two of African copy each day. The Sunday Mail is in

56 Swadel, op. cit.
a slightly different position since it must produce a paper with both European and African appeal. The Mail is widely distributed in Zambia as well as Rhodesia; therefore, it must try to appeal to two entirely different audiences—an independent African country and an English self-governing colony with a population resisting the rise of African nationalism. This has resulted in the production of two front pages on occasion and the insertion of special pages for the Zambian edition. Meier's policy is to print more and more African news reflecting an increase in African readers over the past ten years.

The RP&P thus seems to be seeking a wider readership but has taken only small steps in this direction. The papers are all, with the exception of the Mail, still designed for European readers, but it is nonetheless significant that an attempt, no matter how feeble, is being made to woo the African. The independents are also attractive to restricted audiences. Perhaps the Central African Examiner has the widest appeal, but there are few readers who fall in the area of its appeal. The Daily News had two to three thousand European readers but made no real attempt to attract European readers. The appeal of the Citizen and Moto is directed to those groups interested in the outlook of each publication. The Examiner now has a policy of attempting to fill the gap between the more basic Daily News and a
journal of critical analysis. This shift from straight critical analysis to a mixture of news and analysis was necessitated by the prohibition of the Daily News. Easier reading for a wider African audience is the goal.  

The Indian and Colored groups are in the never-never land racially. These groups are almost completely unrepresented in the press. Lotus, an Indian publication from Bulawayo, has ceased publishing. This monthly magazine was well written with hard-hitting, sensible editorials. Eileen Haddon reports that it is "difficult" to get any material from the Indian or Colored populations. Since the demise of Lotus, the Indian voice is silent; the Colored voice has never been heard.

Within the European population are there certain elements to which the press is more attuned than others? This is a question which is very difficult to answer. The daily press reflects the feelings of a group slightly left of the RP but is read by the European population in general because there is no real choice. The Herald and the Chronicle are the only two dailies. The Citizen has been

57 Eileen Haddon, Editor, Central African Examiner, personal interview with the author, October 12, 1964, Salisbury.

58 Ibid.
described by Colin Seymour-Ure, an expert on the Rhodesian press and an Oxford lecturer, as speaking for the poor white—the man who is hit by recessions and economic troubles.

The government was offered a column in the Herald to present its case to the people. This offer was rejected. It appears that the Citizen has become the unofficial outlet for the RF and Ian Smith particularly. The official attitude toward government stories is this: if the newspaper digs up a story, it belongs to that paper exclusively; if the government puts out some information, it belongs to all papers. The Citizen requests stories from the Prime Minister who tape records his reply. John Theo says that Smith realizes that the Herald would edit and cut up his replies and that the Prime Minister knows he can say what he thinks in the Citizen. Ivar Benson believes that Smith is not using the Citizen as such, but that the Citizen maintains better contacts with the government than the company papers. Benson also remarked about the strange reactions of the public when he noted the rise in the Citizen's circulation after it began printing headlines in red ink.


60. Benson, interview, op. cit.
The letters to the editor in the daily press would indicate that more readers disagree with the papers and agree with the RF than agree with paper policy. The letters are edited to present this picture. If 90 per cent of a day's letters received are anti-press and anti-RP, then 90 per cent of the letters printed will reflect this opinion. This is the editorial policy. The only exceptions are African letters. Because these letters are fairly scarce (two to three a day to the Herald) and the writers' viewpoints are considered worth bringing to public attention, a higher percentage of African letters is published than is received.

The Press as a Creative Force

Mr. Colin J. Cowan, formerly editor of the Rhodesia Herald, said, in a television interview while still editor, that the Rhodesian press, if it ever found itself in opposition, could topple the government. This thesis has since been put to the test and found wanting. Soon after Cowan's interview, the RP&P papers found themselves in opposition and comparatively powerless. This conclusion was re-emphasized in the fall of 1964 when the papers supported the RP in the October bi-elections and urged a "no" vote in the November referendum. The position of the papers was not supported by the electorate in either case. The RP&P papers have lost the power of persuasion.
The Citizen, on the other hand, claims to have been one of the forces behind the RF upset victory in December, 1962. John Theo received many letters from RF government ministers thanking the Citizen for its support and several saying that an RF victory would not have been possible without that paper's support. The Citizen position was again taken by the electorate in the bi-election and the independence referendum. Whether the Citizen was the molder of public opinion or merely the reflection is impossible to gauge.

One of the reasons the author feels the RP&P papers have lost their hold over public opinion is the nature of the RP and its history. Most Rhodesians, after backing the Welensky plan for multi-racialism, realized over the years that the plan was a sham and would never be much more than a distant program. The newspapers' support of this program disillusioned the readers as they became more critical of the Welensky plan. This undermined the credibility of the press position. Linked closely to this was the post-1962 government attacks on the press which have been somewhat successful.

Another criticism of the RP&P newspapers, which is prevalent and in the author's opinion true, is that of editorial inconsistency. John Reed compares this editorial inconsistency to the RP's inconsistency as an opposition in
Parliament. Reed calls it a program of "criticism and disappearance." Clyde Sanger, after calling Malcolm Smith "courageous," says that the Herald's editorials are like RP policy—"continuously fluctuating and inhibited." Eugene Wason, after the banning of the Daily News, called the Argus papers "dull and uninspiring" despite a brave stand by the Herald. Wason attributes the editorial inconsistencies to fear of further government action and calls the Sunday Mail's leaders the most consistent and the Chronicle's the best written but not entirely consistent.

The author agrees with the critics above. Clyde Sanger makes two further statements of interest on this subject in his book Central African Emergency. "... the Rhodesian Press ... has shown itself less adequate in the role of independent critic than the South African Press." After praising the Chronicle and the Central African Examiner for showing the same spirit of opposition as The Rand Daily Mail and Drum in resoluteness and consistency of

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61 John Reed, English Lecturer, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and formerly co-Editor of Dissent, personal interview with the author, October 29, 1964, Salisbury.


63 Wason, op. cit.
editorial policies, Sanger states that the two Rhodesian publications have "... marred it by inconsistency and irresolution."

There are several factors which influence the leaders. The most important of these are the editor's policy and the method of writing the editorials. The policy has been discussed in a previous chapter. The reason the Sunday Mail's editorials are most consistent is that Rhys Meier is a confident person who knows his own mind and has firm political beliefs. Also, Meier writes almost all of the editorials himself. The Herald position is somewhat different. Malcolm Smith shares the leader writing task with his two assistant editors, Mr. Maasdorp and Mr. Hughes. Despite the fact that the editor is ultimately responsible for the leader contents, the editor seems to be pulled one way one day and another way the next day by his assistants. It is well known that Maasdorp is fairly conservative and Hughes fairly liberal with Malcolm Smith falling uneasily between the two. John Parker calls Malcolm Smith a person who is "alternately stubborn, weak, and vacillating" and lists Rhys Meier as the most consistently liberal editor. An unknown


65 Parker, op. cit.
element in this is that of a daily versus a Sunday paper. The Mail being a weekly is not as open to attack and not as influential as the daily Herald; thus, the weekly editor can speak out with a bit more candor.

The Chronicle is known throughout Rhodesia as the most consistently liberal and outspoken paper in Rhodesia. It is difficult to compare papers on this basis; but if dailies are the criterion, the Chronicle wins hands down. If all RP&P papers are considered, the author would give a slight edge to the Sunday Mail over the Chronicle. Sydney Swadel feels that geographical location alone gives him an advantage over the Herald. Swadel calls the Herald "more tolerant" than his paper and explains this by saying the Herald must be more careful because it is located at the seat of government. 66 The author discounts this in 1964 because transport and communications have improved and Bulawayo is no longer isolated, but one cannot totally discount the influence of this on the editor as long as he feels this himself.

Have the RP&P papers lost whatever power of persuasion they once had? How effective has the government onslaught been in discrediting the press? John Hennessy states frankly that the government attack has been successful to a

66Swadel, op. cit.
certain extent and that the newspapers have almost no influence on the outcome of elections.\textsuperscript{67} Henry Maasdorp has also concluded that the RP&P papers fail to sway voters but insists, quite rightly, that the mere act of publishing molds opinion to some extent.\textsuperscript{68} Rhys Meier believes the government press assault has been effective by "distorting and misrepresenting the papers and provoking public anger."\textsuperscript{69} Sydney Swadel also believes the anti-press campaign has succeeded to some extent and credits this success to the wide support of the RF. Swadel thinks that the majority of the Europeans is RF and these people would rather believe their RF government than the pro-RP press.\textsuperscript{70} John Reed believes that people read the daily papers simply because there is no choice and that the readers make allowances for the papers' policies. In other words, the readers know the papers' general policies and read them with the \textit{a priori} assumption that they will disagree with the papers. Reed also made the interesting statement that the government thinks the RF&P is influential whether it is or not.\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{67} Hennessy, \textit{op. cit.}
\bibitem{68} Maasdorp, \textit{op. cit.}
\bibitem{69} Meier, \textit{op. cit.}
\bibitem{70} Swadel, \textit{op. cit.}
\bibitem{71} Reed, \textit{op. cit.}
\end{thebibliography}
The press has lost its power as a creative force in Rhodesia—not totally or absolutely but relatively. The government attempt to discredit the press has had an effect on the press, and this effect has been to diminish the credibility and standing of the press in Rhodesian society. The Chronicle and the Rhodesia Herald are read because they are the only dailies, and the opinions of these papers are generally ignored by both African and European readers. But as Henry Maasdorp said, the very existence of the press and its continuous publication cannot help but mold opinion although those molded may be in a minority in the country.  

The leaders of the Daily News were well written and lucid; the editorial policy was clear. This paper swayed few Europeans but had a great impact on the Africans. When the Daily News began backing Nkomo, hundreds of letters came to the paper claiming allegiance to the PCC (this was also influenced by violence in the townships). The News never supported one man-one vote, decried racial hatred, and generally set a moderate tone in its leaders. As Mathew Wakatama said, "there is nothing to present African opinion now." Only Moto is still publishing, and it cannot afford to become a daily.

The Central African Examiner is probably more influential outside Rhodesia than in. There are subscribers

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72 Maasdorp, pp. cit.
to this journal from almost every Commonwealth country and from the United States. Its circulation is small in Rhodesia and includes several government ministries; but these are undoubtedly readers who are looking for violations of the Law and Order Maintenance Act and not really swayed by the contents of the Examiner. Moto is now the most important journal of African opinion, and its rising circulation indicates rising interest in it; but as a monthly, Moto is relatively ineffectual as an opinion-forming medium.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company finds itself in a most peculiar position at the end of 1964. Under attack by the government and elements of the business community, these papers find themselves increasingly separated from most elements of Rhodesian society and increasingly in fear of losing their independence and press freedom. The papers themselves are not blameless in getting into this position. If the company press had not backed a program that was basically a sham and had come forward in earlier times with a program that was clear and uncompromising, these papers may have gained many more enemies but would have gained grudging respect at the same time. The company press is dull, vapid, and uninspiring. Its leaders are confusing; its position, muddled; and its effectiveness, gone. It is neither fish nor foul, conservative or liberal, racist or color blind. It is all things to all people and appeals in the long run to hardly any group or element. It has been courageous on occasion but generally has been a flaccid crusader. The press is in a hole which it started on its own and which is constantly being enlarged by its detractors. The courage and fortitude that have been missing in the past
are required now to retrench and re-establish the press as a vital force in Rhodesian politics and society.

The company press is an absolute monopoly in the daily field and an almost complete monopoly in the weekly field. The Umtali Post is the only paper of the eastern highlands, and the Citizen is the only weekly competition for the Sunday Mail and Sunday News. More than ever the daily press needs an active competitor to shake it from its lethargy. It may even in the next few years behoove the RP&P to seek a competitor to allay government criticism and deflect the government's now total fascination with the present organization. The fact that the RP&P does not want to be a monopoly (or says it does not) does not change the fact that for the foreseeable future it is a monopoly.

The charge of outside control of the press is founded on history and not present fact. This criticism of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company is today fatuous and unfounded. There is only one non-Rhodesian on the board of directors, and the majority of the shares are Rhodesian owned. If the charge of outside control were true, it would be relatively unimportant since both Argus and RP&P editors are relatively autonomous from the management. Only the government and its most avid supporters would grab at this threat to indicate RP&P indifference to Rhodesian development. This is the government reflecting Ivar Benson's thinking and Benson's thinking is ultra-conservative.
Benson and P.K. van der Byl led the 1964 government campaign against the press and helped form the government's present opinion of the press. If the government had deliberately set out to wreck government-press relations, it could not have chosen two people more suited to the task than Benson and van der Byl. They hate the press, and the press hates them. Thanks to these two men, government-press friction has increased and emerged from the twilight of innuendo into the overt struggle of 1964. The press and government officials vocalized in 1964 what went unsaid before. Public discussion of the issues has done little to clear the air because the antagonists have dug in and the population which was generally antipathetic to the press has remained so. It is difficult to excite people about something to which they have a long-standing history of indifference. The struggle thus remains between the government and the press establishment with the people as slightly bemused, indifferent bystanders.

Government action against the press in 1964 included not only a campaign against the press but also court action for the first time. Two papers were prohibited and three tried under the Law and Order Maintenance Act. The law had not changed—only the use of the law. The public became further inured to extraordinary action by the government, and the banning of the Daily News illustrated the indifference
of the European public to an event with far-reaching implications. Only students and journalists were aroused by this government step. The case against the Daily News was weak and trumped up. If the Daily News had violated the Law and Order Maintenance Act so many times, why had African newspapers not been tried before on individual violations? Why was the Chronicle tried and not merely warned? Obviously, the government is carrying out a vendetta against the "monopoly" press for failure to support RF aspirations and actions. This led John Parker to say: "One begins to feel the only newspapers tolerable to these politicians is one which is prepared . . . to praise every action by the Government."\(^1\) Rhys Meier decried a "manifestation of an intolerance of a different point of view" by the RF.\(^2\)

The government's stand is clear. The press is a monopoly controlled by South African liberals, is critical of the government, advocates policies contrary to the interests of Rhodesia, and undermines the confidence campaign; therefore, the press must be checked and radio and television must be controlled to counter the press. The Rhodesian Information Service must be a bureau of counter-propaganda both locally and internationally.

\(^1\) News item in the Sunday News, March 22, 1964.
\(^2\) Editorial in the Sunday Mail, September 27, 1964.
John Reed said that the press never took the RF seriously. Now it is taking the RF seriously and is throwing occasional sops to the government in a futile attempt to strengthen its own position and minimize government criticism. The result, like the half-hearted opposition of the RF, has been disastrous. The position and respect of the press has been further eroded. Rhodesians of all races are not in the mood for middle-of-the-road stands and compromises. Most Rhodesians are swinging to the extremes in political support—African nationalist or RF.

The independents are gaining from the banning of the Daily News and the defection from the company press. The circulation of all but the Examiner is rising precipitously. Only the Daily News was a target of government scrutiny which is probably as good a recommendation as any paper could get. The rest are left out of the government-press debate. Only the Citizen joins in with an occasional blast against the monopoly press and a pat on the back for Benson or van der Byl. The Citizen must be counted as the most influential independent newspaper because its line appeals to more Europeans than any other.

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3 John Reed, English Lecturer, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and formerly co-Editor of Dissent, personal interview with the author, October 29, 1964, Salisbury.
The government found itself at the end of 1964 with more popular support from the electorate than would have been dreamed of two years ago. This has further isolated the press and made the government more bold. Everyone is waiting to see what the next steps to independence will be. Whatever the future holds for Rhodesia, the future of the press establishment, basically the RP&P, is not rosy. The more support the government gets and the more the press becomes alienated from the people it serves, the more government will feel compelled to act against this strange counterforce in its midst. The Rhodesian government has already made more moves in the direction of press controls than the South African government has against its much bolder press.
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APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A

VERNACULAR PRESS

The only major vernacular publication is Moto which is slightly less than one-half Shona. There is also a journal subsidized by the Farmers Union called Murumi (Farmer). There are several smaller church publications and a paper published for government employees who are African.

The vernacular press is quite small and inactive. There is a definite tendency away from vernacular to English; the tragedy is that there are so few African newspapers published in any language. Mathew Wakatama says Africans must produce their own cyclo-styled sheets, but this is very difficult due to the stringent security laws of Rhodesia and their enforcement.

Chipupu (Witness) was an important vernacular paper that died with the banning of the African Congress in 1959. George Nyandoro was editor of this newspaper. Munyai Washe, published by the Morgenstern Dutch Reformed Church in Fort Victoria, is a monthly still published. There is also Ma Polisa, a monthly police gazette. Parade and Drum occasionally have some vernacular articles.
APPENDIX B

LOCAL PAPERS

Many small, hometown newspapers exist in Rhodesia that have not been discussed in the body of the thesis. The reason is that most of their papers are purely local in nature and have little or nothing to say about national politics.

These papers include the Gwelo Times, the Midlands Observer (published in Que Que), and the Gatooma Mail. There are many others. Most of these papers, if any political orientation is reflected at all, are very conservative and reflect the rural outlook of the Europeans around the small towns where they are produced. Most would back the RF government. Some of these papers contain a larger percentage of African coverage than their big city counterparts. The Midlands Observer is a good example of this.

Some of these towns are quite small and the production of a paper is quite a feat. None of the small town papers are dailies and almost all are weeklies.
APPENDIX C

THE ZIMBABWE SUN

The Zimbabwe Sun ran for twelve issues before it was prohibited. It was not included in the discussion in the body of the thesis (other than history) because it was so ephemeral and specialized. The circulation was initially five thousand and rose quickly to ten thousand. It was run off on one mimeograph machine in the spare time of its staff. PCC party funds started the Sun which later became self-sufficient. Advertisements were added after the first several issues.

Willie Musarurwa was first editor. After his restriction, Steve Lombard, Nelson Samkangi, and Enoch Dumbetshena shared editing chores. Lombard and Samkangi did 90 per cent of the articles, while Enoch Dumbetshena, a Salisbury barrister, did the leader writing. The policy was, of course, pro-Nkomo, anti-RF and RP. The Sun included an attack on February 1, 1964, against the Rhodesia Herald and the Daily News. Other targets of the Sun were Mathew Wakatama and Arthur Levin, publisher of the pro-ZANU "Confidential News Report." Each edition included one or two pages in Shona.
APPENDIX D

NEWSPRONT

*Newsfront* began publication on July 12, 1963, and mysteriously ceased publication on May 15, 1964, after putting out twenty-three editions. *Newsfront* was the most conservative newspaper produced in recent Rhodesian history.

Colin Seymour-Ure describes *Newsfront* as "anti-UN, anti-AID, anti-Peace Corps, anti-Communist, anti-internationalist, anti-liberal, and anti-Macmillanism."

Black Africa is considered a communist menace and Rhodesia is the last bastion of white civilization. A theme of violence and war threads its way through the truly incredible articles of this newspaper. Contributors included Lord Graham, Winston Field, Clifford Dupont, Ian Smith, and other prominent RF politicians. *Newsfront* was an unofficial party-government organ; its finances are a mystery.

Among other causes championed by *Newsfront* are freedom for Lappland ("Don't be Beastly to the Lapps"), and a desire to see all broadcasting facilities in government hands. The press was a favorite target. *Newsfront* vented its spleen not on England but the United States which was pictured as a decadent, communist-ridden society. After an anti-UNESCO campaign (UNESCO was considered to have distributed communist text books in Rhodesia), *Newsfront* died. It is
believed that UN pressure was applied to end the publication of this strange newspaper.
APPENDIX E

ARTHUR LEVIN'S CONFIDENTIAL NEWS REPORT

Arthur Levin is a free-lance journalist who publishes in Salisbury a private, expensive newsletter called the "Confidential News Report." Most cabinet ministers and many government officials are subscribers to the News Report which comes out usually once a week (sometimes more often). The News Report cost 100 Guineas a year ($294) and thus is simply not available to the public. The only copy the author ever saw was one shown him by Mr. Levin in his house.

Arthur Levin supports the Reverend Sithole and his ZANU party. As far as the author can gather, the News Report is for gradual nationalism and is generally anti-government. It includes a great deal of inside government scoops, such as a parliamentary fist fight that is not covered by the daily press. The circulation and distribution are unknown. Mr. Levin gets around the Law and Order Maintenance Act by keeping his publication a private, subscription paper. Mr. Levin is constantly traveling, including a trip to the U.S. political conventions in 1964.

The address of the "Confidential News Report" is:

Arthur Levin
House
Salisbury, Rhodesia