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PAPER ABSTRACT**

**“THE BELOVED GREEN AND WHITE” – (WHITE) RHODESIA’S SEARCH FOR A
UNIQUE SYMBOL OF IDENTITY**

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Since the founding of the Colony until its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), white Rhodesians considered themselves quintessentially British. Despite epithets such as being “... more British than the British”, in declaring UDI on Armistice Day in 1965 under a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II, white Rhodesians became the first people of largely British origin to rebel against the Crown since the American Revolution.

Despite concluding the UDI proclamation with “God Save the Queen”, Britain’s response was to proclaim Rhodesia to be in a state of rebellion. Thus the need for a distinctive national identity became more acute together with the symbols to reflect this change.

This paper explores the process leading to the adoption of a distinctive Rhodesian flag to symbolise the country’s assumed independence, and its evolution into a potent emotional symbol particularly after the country became Zimbabwe and adopted a new flag.

INTRODUCTION

On 11th November 1965, at 11 a.m. (the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month), under Annigoni's famous portrait of a youthful Elizabeth II in Garter robes, Ian Smith and his Cabinet signed a Proclamation of Independence from the British Parliament, whilst retaining loyalty to the person of the Monarch and the Queen of Rhodesia (Fig. 1). Thus white Rhodesians became, however reluctantly, the first people of largely British origin to throw off the Crown since the American Revolution.¹ The immediate response by the British Government to this Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was to proclaim Rhodesia to be in a state of rebellion, the Government in Salisbury to be illegal and to request the United Nations to apply sanctions against the 'rebel regime'.

The events leading up to the constitutional stalemate which resulted in this drastic action began more than half a century earlier when Queen Victoria approved a Royal Charter establishing the British South Africa Company (BSAC) on 29 October 1889. This was the brainchild of the British imperialist and financier Cecil John Rhodes, who was living in the Cape Colony at the time and whose ambition was to exploit the mineral wealth of Mashonaland. This was part of a broader quest to expand the sphere of British commercial and political influence from "Cape to Cairo". The BSAC was more than just a business enterprise. Its Charter gave it the power, *inter alia*, to make treaties, promulgate laws, prescribe the peace, maintain a police force, acquire (new) mining concessions and provide the infrastructure for a new colony at the Company's expense. With these formidable powers and its wide range of interests, the Company established the foundations of the colony that was to become Southern Rhodesia and later the state of Zimbabwe.²

From 1890 when the first white settlers entered the territory until 1923 when self-government was granted, there were several forces at work which were moving the

¹ Skeen, A. (1966). *Prelude to Independence*, Wood, J.R.T. (2005) *So Far and No Further!* and Lowry, D. (2010). *Rhodesia 1890-1980 'The Lost Dominion'*.

² Berry, B.B. (1999). *The flags of the British South Africa Company, 1890-1923*.

settlers to independence while, at the same time, there were conflicting pressures aimed at moving the territory in other directions. Nascent white nationalism, and a growing sense of identity and purpose, became evident in 1922 when the settlers, increasingly distrustful of the Company following the death of Rhodes in 1902 and fearful of an amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia which would diminish their ratio to the African majority even further, voted in favour of Responsible Government rather than to become a fifth province of the Union of South Africa. To many commentators, the outcome of this crucial referendum was to determine the course that the country would follow in the ensuing years and the outcome of the referendum can be regarded as a precursor to UDI in 1965.³

Responsible Government was granted on 13 September 1923 and on 01 October 1923 Southern Rhodesia was annexed to the British Crown as a self-governing colony. The Letters Patent granting the colony the right to self-government made no change to the pre-existing franchise which granted the right to vote centred on an elementary standard of education, property ownership and financial means. The reality was that despite being non-racial, the qualifications were beyond the reach of most (black) Africans and thus the electorate at the time was, and remained, predominantly white.

What Southern Rhodesia had gained was close to Dominion status as she gained wide powers, including defence, but not external affairs.⁴ Britain retained reserve powers of veto to protect African rights and land in particular. It was a unique constitutional arrangement in that while the British Government had full power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia, it would not do so without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly. The British reserve powers were *never* invoked even when racial segregation

³ An in depth analysis of the 1922 referendum can be found in Di Perna, A.P. (1978). *A Right to be Proud*. See also Lowry, D. (2010). *Op cit* and Wood, J.R.T. (2005). *Op cit*.

⁴ The Dominions were semi-independent polities under the British Crown, constituting the British Empire, beginning with the Canadian Confederation in 1867. They included Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland, South Africa, and the Irish Free State, and then from the late 1940s also India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). The Balfour Declaration of 1926 recognised the Dominions as "autonomous Communities within the British Empire", and the 1931 Statute of Westminster granted them full legislative independence (Wikipedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion>).

legislation was introduced. Able to govern and defend themselves, the white electorate understood that, in due course, Southern Rhodesia would become a Dominion. This belief was reinforced by the British placing responsibility for Southern Rhodesia under the aegis of the Dominions' Office (together with Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, *etc.*) and by inviting Southern Rhodesian Prime Ministers to all conferences of the Dominion (and later Commonwealth) Prime Ministers from 1931. Southern Rhodesia was also the only colony which had a High Commission in London, a diplomatic mission status normally afforded only to independent members of the Commonwealth.

This unique constitutional arrangement was perpetuated after 1953 when Southern Rhodesia joined in a federation with the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The system of government for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was in itself one of the most complicated systems of government ever established. Five different governments had overlapping and interlocking responsibilities for its affairs. There was the British Government in London, theoretically united but divided for practical purposes into two by no means friendly or united departments – the Commonwealth Office which dealt with the federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments through separate sets of High Commissioners in Salisbury and London, and the Colonial Office which dealt with the two northern protectorates through their respective Governors who possessed very wide powers. There was also a Governor-General of the Federation and a Governor of Southern Rhodesia, both of whom, unlike their northern counterparts, were constitutional monarchs acting on the advice of their Prime Ministers.⁵ The Federation only lasted a decade, the British succumbing to political pressure from African nationalists for self-determination in the two protectorates and the politically dominant whites in Southern Rhodesia also demanding independence based on its qualified franchise. Nyasaland was granted self-government in 1962 and would later become independent as Malawi on 06 July 1964. Northern Rhodesia soon followed and its secession would result in the formal dissolution of the Federation on 31 December 1963. Northern Rhodesia attained independence as the Republic of Zambia on 24 October 1964.

⁵ Blake, R. Foreword in Wood, J.R.T. (1983). *The Welensky Papers*.

Following the break-up of the Federation and the granting of independence to the two northern territories, the demands for Southern Rhodesia (later simply called Rhodesia following Zambian independence)⁶ to also obtain its independence intensified. These demands were premised essentially on the fact that the colony had had virtual political autonomy since it was granted self-government in 1923. Although prepared to grant formal independence, the British government adopted a policy of *no independence before majority rule* and that independence would not be granted to Rhodesia until sufficient guarantees for the political advancement of the African majority were in place. Despite on-going negotiations, including visits by the Rhodesian Prime Minister to London and the British Prime Minister to Salisbury, an impasse ensued resulting in the declaration of UDI by the Rhodesian Government in November 1965.

RHODESIAN COLONIAL FLAGS

At the time of UDI Rhodesia followed the traditional British colonial practice and flew an 'ensign-based' flag with the Union Jack in the canton and the shield from its Coat of Arms in the fly. However, since 08 April 1964 this had a light (plumbago) blue background rather than the traditional dark blue and was unique in being the only non-armed service

⁶ The official name of the country, according to the constitution adopted concurrently with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, was Rhodesia. This was not the case under British law, however, which considered the territory's legal name to be Southern Rhodesia, the name given to the country in 1898 during the British South Africa Company's administration of the Rhodesias, and retained by the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia after the end of Company rule in 1923.

This naming dispute dates back to October 1964 when Northern Rhodesia became independent from Britain and concurrently changed its name to Zambia. The Southern Rhodesian colonial government in Salisbury felt that in the absence of a "Northern" Rhodesia, the continued use of "Southern" was superfluous. It passed legislation to become simply Rhodesia, but the British government refused to approve this on the grounds that the country's name was defined by British legislation and so could not be altered by the colonial government. Salisbury went on using the shortened name in an official manner nevertheless, while the British government continued referring to the country as Southern Rhodesia. This situation continued throughout the UDI period. The shortened name was used by many people including the British government in the House of Commons.

The British government maintained this stance regarding the June–December 1979 successor state of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, and when Zimbabwe Rhodesia returned to colonial status from December 1979 to April 1980, it was as "Southern Rhodesia". Southern Rhodesia subsequently gained international recognition of its independence in April 1980, when it became the Republic of Zimbabwe (Wikipedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodesia>).

colonial flag in this colour at the time.⁷ The decision to change the flag was to highlight the political changes following the dissolution of the Federation,⁸ when Southern Rhodesia reverted to its pre-Federal colonial flag which followed the same pattern but with a dark blue background. The flag of the Federation was also in the same pattern but with the shield from the Federal Arms in the fly (see Fig. 2).

The adoption of a colonial flag for Southern Rhodesia had not been without confusion. With the end of the BSAC Administration, the Company flag, a Union Jack charged with the Company badge in the centre, was lowered on 29 September 1923 and replaced on 01 October 1923 with the British Union Flag symbolising the change in administration. On this date there was no colonial Arms and also no flag. The Southern Rhodesia coat of arms was only granted by Royal Warrant on 11 August 1924. Thus began a 13 year period of confusion and misunderstanding as to what the flag of the colony was.⁹

In response to questions about what flag to use on such occasions as the British Empire Exhibition *etc.*, correspondence between the Rhodesian High Commission and the Colonial Office shows that the latter answered "... following the course adopted by other colonies last year, it is thought that the Blue Ensign with the Arms (or Flag Badge) of Southern Rhodesia in the fly might be used for this purpose".¹⁰ What was clear, however, and later confirmed in a letter from the Colonial Secretary in Salisbury to the Rhodesian High Commission in London in March 1928 on the question of what was the official flag of the colony, was that "the Union Jack is the flag of Southern Rhodesia".¹¹

While the general public seemed content to fly the Union Jack, the need for a distinct flag to distinguish the Colony abroad was still a matter of some consternation. In November 1934 the Rhodesian High Commission purchased some Union Jacks with green pennants

⁷ Later Fiji and Tuvalu, in 1970 and 1978 respectively, also adopted British ensign-based flags with light blue backgrounds.

⁸ Allport, R. (1995). *Flags and Symbols of Rhodesia 1890 – 1980* and Berry, B.B. (1995). *Flying in the Winds of Change*.

⁹ See Faul, M. (1996). *Just what is the Rhodesian Flag?* and Faul, M. (1999). *The genesis of a colonial flag: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1937*.

¹⁰ Faul, M. (1999). *Op cit*, p. 105.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 106.

below emblazoned with “SOUTHERN RHODESIA” in white letters to be used as car flags at the wedding of Prince George, Duke of Kent, to Princess Marina of Greece and Denmark (Fig. 2). Later the Union Jack and pennant, alongside various other colonial flags, featured on a handkerchief to commemorate the impending coronation of King Edward VIII.

The forthcoming coronation brought matters to a head. The adoption of a flag was an Act related to foreign affairs and due to the colony’s unique constitutional status, this was a matter controlled from London. Following further communications between the Prime Minister, the Rhodesian High Commission and the Dominions Office, in January 1937 the Prime Minister indicated his preference for a flag based on the blue ensign with shield in the fly to be used *outside* the colony – commenting that “it would not necessarily be used here [*i.e.* within the country] at all, except as bunting or in combination with the Union Jack.” This arrangement was confirmed later in June 1937 when the Rhodesian High Commissioner, Mr. B.F. Wright, wrote to Colonel Methuen (former co-ordinator of the Southern Rhodesia Defence Force) to inform him that a flag for Southern Rhodesia was available from a London manufacturer. He added,

“I should mention that the Official Flag of Southern Rhodesia is still the Union Jack, and that the new flag has only been adopted for use outside the Colony ... the Union Jack gave us no distinction from the Mother Country or the Colonial Empire, but the new Flag ... the Blue Ensign with the badge of the Colony’s Coat-of-Arms emblazoned on the fly, does give us our own identity, which is valuable for publicity purposes on this side [Britain], but I feel it right to point out that the new Flag ... shall not come into general use in the Colony.”¹²

Despite these reservations, the flag did come into general usage and flew alongside the Union Jack within the colony. This dual flag arrangement continued during the Federal period and with the light blue ensign until 10 November 1968.¹³

¹² Quoted in Faul, M. (1999). *Op cit*, p. 107.

¹³ Government of Rhodesia (n.d.). *Flags of Rhodesia*; Allport, R. (1995). *Op cit*; Berry, B.B. (1995). *Op cit* and Faul, M. (1995). *The Vexillology of UDI*.

EVOLUTION OF A “RHODESIAN” IDENTITY

The lack of a distinctive flag, and the fact that the issue came to be settled somewhat informally without any legislative prescription, is indicative of the emerging settler identity in the colony. To many observers, the most striking aspect of Rhodesia remained its Britishness, and until the late 1950s, most whites appear to have identified themselves primarily as British rather than Rhodesian. Indeed, Rudyard Kipling foretold with peculiar prescience that Rhodesia would be the “last loyal white colony”.¹⁴ “A little bit of England” remarked Lord Buxton, British High Commissioner in South Africa, following a visit to the territory in 1916, adding that the settlers were “proud of being purely British, and that they form part of the Empire; and they crave public recognition of this fact.”¹⁵ Ethel Tawse Jollie, the first female Member of Parliament in the colony and the first woman to sit in an Empire Parliament, declared that “the average British-born Rhodesian feels that this is essentially a British country, pioneered, bought and developed by British people, and he wants to keep it so.” She later reflected in 1930 that “... Rhodesians conveyed a sort of super-British Imperialism ... a loyalty to the Flag and Empire which appears to be old fashioned in Great Britain today.”¹⁶

This affiliation was reinforced by the Second World War. White Rhodesians demonstrated their loyalty by being the first member of the British Empire to declare war in 1939 and as, furthermore, proportionately more Southern Rhodesians fought in the conflict than any of their Commonwealth counterparts¹⁷ with the colony boasting that it was “second to none in its loyalty to the Crown”, a “Bastion of Empire” with a proud record of British-style Government”.¹⁸ Indeed, Ian Smith frequently stated that he believed that, had Churchill lived on, he would have settled in Rhodesia in order to feel at home.

¹⁴ Quoted in Lowry, D. (2010). *Op cit*, p. 128.

¹⁵ Quoted in Lowry, D. (2010). *Op cit*, pp. 128-129.

¹⁶ Jollie, E.T. (1924). *The Real Rhodesia*, p. 7 and p.102.

¹⁷ Wood, J.R.T. (2005). *Op cit*.

¹⁸ Quoted in Lowry, D. (2010). *Op cit*, pp. 129 - 130.

The colony remained dependent on immigration for its chief source of population growth amongst the white community. After 1923 control of immigration was a local issue and a fundamental source of tension in policy. The “right sort” of settlers, *i.e.* those with capital and skills, were preferred. Similarly, after the Second World War, there were those who advocated the mass-immigration of non-British Europeans, but these floundered on ethnic concerns about maintaining the “British character” of the community. On the other hand, the continuing regional and educational links of the colony kept it within a South African orbit, where in sporting terms, very pervasive to white identity, Southern Rhodesia constituted a provincial side. The colony was described as being a kind of self-governing English-speaking South African frontier, whose autonomy and unchallenged Britishness was envied by many English-speaking South Africans, particularly those in Natal.¹⁹

Thus, it is not surprising that many white Rhodesians felt betrayed by their British “kith and kin” following the break-up of the Federation and in the events leading up to, and immediately after, UDI. The Rhodesian Prime Minister was unequivocal in denouncing the “perfidious Albion” of successive British Governments in dealing with the Rhodesian independence issue,²⁰ and it has been argued that one of the reasons British Prime Minister Harold Wilson refused to support military intervention to suppress the rebellion was the perceived lack of support from his military officers for such action.²¹

AFTER UDI – THE SEARCH FOR A SYMBOLIC IDENTITY

The Proclamation of Independence recalled the country’s loyalty to the Crown, to “kith and kin” in Britain and to the Commonwealth and concluded with the conventional salutation “God Save the Queen” to whom allegiance was pledged as “Queen of Rhodesia”. “What the declaration was intended to convey was that UDI did not extricate Rhodesia from the British Empire, but instead unilaterally declared itself to be a Dominion *within* the British Empire”.²²

¹⁹ Lowry, D. (2010). *Op cit.*

²⁰ Smith, I. (1997). *The Great Betrayal.*

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 109.

²² Brownell, J. (2010). *Op cit*, p. 11.

Nevertheless, following UDI Britain found itself under increasing pressure from the United Nations and the so-called new “Afro-Asian bloc” in the Commonwealth to do more to resolve the crisis. This led to the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia and a further deterioration in relations between the two countries as despite repeated attempts at negotiation, the stalemate persisted. However, there was no change in the flag, nor in the existing rule that it be flown side-by-side with the Union Jack. Indeed, in a radio broadcast by Prime Minister Ian Smith immediately after signing UDI, he reassured Rhodesians that “... we in this country stand second to none in our loyalty to the Queen, and whatever else other countries may have done or may yet do, it is our intention that the Union Jack will continue to fly in Rhodesia and the National Anthem continue to be sung.”²³ In an outburst of patriotic fervor, the Southern Rhodesia light blue ensign adopted in 1964 was displayed on cars and appeared on ‘Good Luck Rhodesia’ Air Mail stickers and also on leaflets thanking South Africans for ensuring fuel supplies were maintained despite the oil embargo (Fig. 3). According to Faul (1995), “it was the only time when the display of flags in Rhodesia rivalled that of the USA”.²⁴

With vitriolic anti-British propaganda and feelings over sanctions becoming increasingly bitter, there were some cases when the Union Jack on the flag was cut out, in others black lines were marked across it to “cancel” it out. And in a very few cases, a sticker of the South African flag was placed over the Union Jack.²⁵ The presence of the Union Jack on the Rhodesian flag became increasingly pointless.

In January 1967 the Cabinet established a Committee on Honours and Awards comprising several government ministers. The remit of this Committee was to investigate the possibility of creating new civil and military honours for Rhodesia, and to devise a new flag and national anthem.

²³ Skeen, A. (1966). *Op cit*, p. 153 and quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). “*These Colours Don’t Run: Changing the Rhodesian Flag, 1968*”, p. 5.

²⁴ Faul, M. (1995). *Op cit*, p. 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

In reporting back to Cabinet in May 1968, the Committee explained that it had held a public competition to design a new flag and that over 50 entries had been received. The report laid out the guiding principles that had been used to select a successful design and they included:

- That the design should be as simple as possible;
- The colours should be harmonious, with the national colour of dark green;
- The design should preserve a reminder of the former administration of the country; and
- The design should indicate Rhodesia's independence.²⁶

The details and the design of the proposed new flag of Rhodesia were outlined in the Flag of Rhodesia Bill and published in the *Government Gazette* of 09 August 1968. The general public got their first sight of the proposed design when an illustration and a description of the flag featured on the front page of the main daily newspaper, *The Rhodesia Herald*, the following day under the headline "No Union Jack on proposed new flag" (Fig. 4).²⁷

At the Second Reading of the Flag of Rhodesia Bill in Parliament on 03 September 1968, the Minister of Justice explained the need for a new flag by saying that although Rhodesia "... has, until now, been quite willing to keep the Union Flag²⁸ ... Things have changed and we must accept that change, just as others must accept it, Rhodesia is a nation justly proud of her essentially British heritage but independent nonetheless".²⁹

He further explained that green and white were the country's sporting colours, having been used since at least 1924 by the Rhodesian Rugby Football Union and formally adopted as such on 30 May 1927. Green also predominates in the country's coat of arms

²⁶ Quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 6.

²⁷ The Rhodesia Herald. (11 August 1968). *No Union Jack on proposed new flag*.

²⁸ The terms *Union Jack* and *Union Flag* are both historically correct for describing the national flag of the United Kingdom although traditionally a "jack" refers to a flag on a ship. Both terms are used interchangeably in this paper.

²⁹ Government of Rhodesia. (1968a). *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 72, p. 933.

while on a more practical basis the Committee had noted that the proposed green and white flag was less susceptible to fading in the sun than the existing Southern Rhodesia ensign and would also be cheaper to produce.

The guideline to “preserve a reminder of the former administration of the country” reflected the need for some continuity. The most logical way to have achieved this would have been to have retained the Union Jack in some form, perhaps not as prominently, but more in a manner such as found in the South African national flag at the time. However, the Committee explicitly ruled this out arguing that, “Whether or not Rhodesia retains a connection with the Crown, the independence of this country must be seen as a fact. Since the confrontation with Britain the Committee believes that sentiment will be against the continued use of the Union Flag. For these two reasons the Committee recommend that the Union Flag should not be incorporated into the new Rhodesian flag”.³⁰

Two designs were recommended by the Committee, one of which was eventually chosen by Cabinet to be the new Rhodesian flag. The whole process had taken just seven months and the Cabinet documents do not reveal who submitted the winning design.

The process of imbuing the flag with meaning began when the Flag of Rhodesia Bill was presented to Parliament in August 1968. The general history of flags was outlined with specific reference to the flags of Rhodesia and how all the newly independent countries “... have all adopted distinctive flags ... in which the national flags of Britain bear no part.”³¹ The Minister presented the change as a choice which had been forced upon Rhodesia by the British Government which was as a result of the changed relationship between the two countries, arguing “... It is because of this clearly identifiable character which we have acquired which makes it desirable and necessary to have our own separate and clearly identifiable flag ...”.³²

³⁰ Quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 6.

³¹ Government of Rhodesia. (1968a). *Op cit*, p. 933.

³² *Ibid*, pp. 935-936 and quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 7.

However, the Minister failed to explain what he considered was so “Rhodesian” about the flag beyond the fact that it demonstrated that the country was no longer British. This led to confusion amongst some Members of Parliament and the ensuing debate revealed the ambivalent relationship of the Rhodesian Government with the former colonial power, and a series of competing interpretations of what Rhodesia was and how it should be represented symbolically.

The debate also revealed some harsh criticism for the proposed design.

There was no consensus as to what exactly was “Rhodesian” about the new flag! A complaint from one Member decried the inclusion of the “whole achievements of Her Majesty’s Coat of Arms of Rhodesia If the Union Jack is objectionable, (then) why not the (colonial) Arms equally so?”³³ One backbencher felt the need for the inclusion of a symbol of Rhodesia’s Christianity while others complained that green and white were associated with Islamic states, mentioning Pakistan, Nigeria and Saudi Arabia as examples, and thus unsuitable to be used in a flag for a Christian country.

Further debate centered on the similarity to the Nigerian flag and that this lack of distinctiveness would lead to “great confusion”. The design was criticised as being amateurish and ugly, being neither symbolic nor representative enough. Opposition Member of Parliament, Dr Ahrn Palley, argued strongly for the retention of the Union Jack and was strident in his criticism believing that the changing of the flag was a party political, rather than a national, act and that this was a precursor to the declaration of a republic. He also argued that there had been insufficient consultation and that the design had been presented as a *fait accompli* to the public. He also made an impassionate speech about the value of national symbols in which he argued,

“If a flag is to have any meaning whatsoever to a nation or a people, that flag must grow out of the history of the people, that flag must grow out of the loyalties and the sentiments and the honour of a nation. One cannot thrust aside a national flag and replace it by the equivalent piece of bunting and say now it represents the sentiments

³³ Government of Rhodesia. (1968a). *Op cit*, p. 938.

and emotions of a people; that [it] now is your new emblem of honour, loyalty and affection and esteem which a national flag represents".³⁴

On the other side of the parliamentary chamber there were those members who rose to the defence of the new design. One Member believed it stood for "... sunny skies, the people in it ... the living conditions ... everything appertaining to Rhodesia".³⁵ Another stressed the importance of demonstrating independence from Britain while at the same time presenting a vision of the "Rhodesian way of life" – that elusive and highly subjective concept which Godwin and Hancock (1993) contend was so appealing to many white Rhodesians precisely because of its vagueness.³⁶ Another Member invoked the spirit of the United States, arguing that Rhodesia should follow its example as a rugged individualistic nation of frontiersmen.

The Parliamentary debates ended on 01 October 1968 after further solicitations of the public for more designs met with a lukewarm response. The Minister brought matters to a close stating unambiguously the government's view that "... the position of the Union Jack is obvious, subservience to the British Government".³⁷

The Flag of Rhodesia Act was duly passed with the new flag being officially described as:

"... consisting of three vertical stripes of equal width, green, white and green, on which there appears in the centre of the white stripe the coat of arms of Rhodesia, with –

- a) the length of the flag equal to twice the width of the flag; and
- b) the coat of arms of Rhodesia equal in height to three-fifths of the height of the flag" (Fig. 5).³⁸

The Act also laid down penalties of a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years for anyone who burns, mutilates or

³⁴ Government of Rhodesia. (1968a). *Op cit*, pp. 943-944 and quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 9.

³⁵ Quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 10.

³⁶ Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit* and Godwin, P. and Hancock, I. (1993). *Rhodesians Never Die*.

³⁷ Government of Rhodesia. (1968b). *Parliamentary Debates*, pp. 21-22 and quoted in Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*, p. 10.

³⁸ Government of Rhodesia. (1968c). *The Flag of Rhodesia Act*, pp. 1-2.

otherwise insults the flag or a reproduction thereof which is calculated to show disrespect or bring the Flag of Rhodesia into disrepute.³⁹

The Act makes no mention of the specifications relating to the colours of the flag.

The new flag was raised for the first time at 9am on the third anniversary of UDI, Monday, 11 November 1968 (Fig. 6). Though the debates had suggested that there was public apathy towards the whole process, large crowds turned out to see the flag being raised at ceremonies held across the country. In a speech by the Officer Administering the Government, the head of state Mr. Clifford Dupont outlined the symbolism of the design and concluded,

“Throughout history, men had realized that they could best express their feelings, their love, their loyalty and their patriotism for their country by showing respect to an emblem such as a national flag. May our new flag not only inspire such feelings but also become a symbol of the unity of Rhodesians of all races”.⁴⁰

The new flag was raised at ceremonies at all Government schools the following day.

A pamphlet with an illustration and a description of the new flag was later published by the Government and widely distributed. The explanation of the symbolism was given as follows:

“The Flag of Rhodesia consists of three vertical panels, green, white and green. Superimposed centrally on the white panel is the Coat of Arms of Rhodesia. Green is the predominant colour of the Coat of Arms. It is a bold colour and has the advantage of comparative lightfastness in Rhodesia’s sunny climate.

The Arms were granted by Royal Warrant of King George V in August, 1924. The gold pick symbolises the importance of the mining industry and, in particular (at the time of its adoption), the mining of gold. The pick is set on a green field, representing the agricultural background of the country. The bird which surmounts the Arms is a representation of the soapstone bird found at the Great Zimbabwe Ruins, and serves as a reminder of the country’s past, including its prehistory. The lion and thistles are from the Arms of Cecil John Rhodes, the Founder, to whom allusion is also made in the motto: *Sit Nomine Digna* – “May she (Rhodesia) be worthy of the name”.⁴¹

³⁹ Government of Rhodesia, (1968c). *Op cit.*

⁴⁰ Government of Rhodesia. (1968d). *Flag of Independence is Raised*, p. 6.

⁴¹ Government of Rhodesia. (1968e). *The Flag of Rhodesia*, p. 5.

ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION

The constitutional crisis persisted and Rhodesians found themselves increasingly isolated. The country failed to secure international recognition, not even from sympathetic and sanctions-busting neighbouring South Africa. As was the case elsewhere following the adoption of a new national flag, there was initially a general lukewarm response to the new flag. However, as the constitutional stalemate continued and the country found itself almost completely surrounded by hostile neighbours following the independence of Mozambique and becoming embroiled in a civil war towards the end of the 1970s, the flag became increasingly symbolic to white Rhodesians.

The country proclaimed itself a republic in March 1970, finally severing the vestigial links with the Crown. As a consequence, the "Royal" prefix was dropped for some units in the military such as in the case of the Rhodesian Air Force, which also adopted a new ensign containing the national flag in the canton (Fig. 7).⁴²

As with the light blue ensign immediately after UDI, the new flag became the most obvious expression of patriotism and was displayed on all kinds of consumer items such as bumper stickers, caps, clothes, swimming towels, beer mugs and various curios. The flag featured on a postage stamp, illustrated book covers and was mentioned in a number of songs by popular Rhodesian folk singer, John Edmond (Fig. 8). One song called the "*Green and White*" was about the flag itself and has a chorus evoking the emotional attachment to the flag, viz:

"Green and white you're flying in the blue Rhodesian sky
Green and white ... you know that we all love you 'til we die".⁴³

Patriotism and the feeling of loyalty towards the flag is further highlighted later by Edmond in "*Rhodesians of the World*":

"We stood against the world
For what we believed was right
A symbol of truth ...

⁴² Allport, R. (1995). *Op cit*, Faul, M. (1995). *Op cit* and Government of Rhodesia. (1970). *New ensign of the Air Force*.

⁴³ Edmond, J. (1970). *Green and White*.

Our beloved Green and White.”⁴⁴

As the country succumbed to the pressures of the war and sanctions, together with the intervention and political pressure from South Africa and the United States, the Rhodesian Government met with some of the internally based moderate African nationalist leaders in order to reach an agreement on the political future for the country. The Internal Settlement was signed on 03 March 1978 which led to the establishment of a transitional government and the holding of the first universal suffrage elections in the country in March the following year. On 01 June 1979 Bishop Abel Muzorewa became the first black African Prime Minister and the country was renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia.⁴⁵ With the realisation of the impending majority rule, and with it a change in flag, there was an explosion of Rhodesian flag paraphernalia. Sets comprising all of the country's flags became widely available as people wanted to purchase a reminder of this period in the country's history.

Such developments reflected the reality of the situation. The Rhodesian flag was essentially a white man's flag and public displays against the flag amongst whites was rare. There was, however, one case reported soon after its adoption where twelve whites tried to take down the new flag flying on top of the kopje in the capital and were arrested by the police.⁴⁶ It is not clear whether any black or non-white groups had been consulted during the design process, but this is unlikely and most of the debates at the time of its adoption were confined to the white population. The new flag thus had little resonance with the African population and was considered a symbol of oppression. This was highlighted shortly after its adoption when the headmaster at a school for Coloured (mixed-race) children was reported as saying that after he had raised the new flag, he had washed his hands with carbolic soap and left it up to rot! ⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Edmond, J. (1992). *Rhodesians of the World*.

⁴⁵ Berry, B.B. (1995). *Op cit*.

⁴⁶ Brownell, J. (2010). *Op cit*.

⁴⁷ Personal recollection.

While the flag gained acceptance within the country, especially amongst the white population, this was not the case internationally. The first major incident around the flying of the flag occurred in London. The new flag was raised over Rhodesia House, the offices of the Rhodesian High Commission on The Strand, on 31 December 1968. Although not easily seen from street level, the flag immediately caused a ruckus in the popular press and within the British Government at Whitehall. Two days later a British Cabinet held a meeting to discuss the flying of the flag by Rhodesia House. It was agreed that the hoisting of the flag was timed to correspond with the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting, from which Rhodesia was excluded, and was intended to be "highly provocative".⁴⁸

Three options were discussed as being available to the British Government – do nothing, remove it by force if necessary or arrange a compromise whereby the British Residual Mission in Salisbury would lower the Union Jack simultaneously with Rhodesia House lowering the Rhodesian flag. The first option was discounted as flying the flag contravened no law and Rhodesia House was protected by certain diplomatic privileges. Furthermore, a forceful removal might invite reprisals against the British Mission in Rhodesia. Prime Minister Harold Wilson commented that everyone disliked the compromise solution and so there was no official response.⁴⁹

However, the "insignificant piece of bunting" as the flag was referred to, continued to court controversy. Various "flag raiders" began to periodically climb the flag pole of Rhodesia House and remove it. On two occasions, students removed the Rhodesian flag and replaced it with a Union Jack, one of which flew above Rhodesia House for 17 hours. Throughout January 1969, British newspaper cartoonists had a field day with the entire episode, lampooning the apparent powerlessness of the British Government while highlighting the high-flying antics of the flag pole raiders (Fig. 9).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Brownell, J. (2010). *Op cit*, p. 21.

⁴⁹ Brownell, J. (2010). *Op cit*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*. See also the British Cartoon Archive at www.cartoons.ac.uk for the actual cartoons shown in Figure 9.

The Rhodesian flag flying over Rhodesia House and the subsequent protests were a great embarrassment to Britain internationally. The American embassy in London reported to Washington that "Everybody in London it appears has seen [the UDI flag above Rhodesia House] except [the] British Government".⁵¹ The flag finally came down following the referendum in June 1969 with the outcome in favour of a Republican Constitution which resulted in Rhodesia House closing its doors on 14 July 1969.

The flag flew in its official capacity, without any notoriety, at the Rhodesian diplomatic missions in Lisbon (until 1974) and in Pretoria until 1979.

Further controversies regarding the flag revolved around Rhodesia's participation at the few international sports events to which the country was invited. The country was barred from participating in the 1968 Olympic Games but in 1971, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) offered Rhodesia the opportunity to compete in the upcoming 1972 Summer Olympics if it did so as the "Colony of Southern Rhodesia" with a British identity. This included using the old flag and "God Save the Queen" as the anthem, as it had done in 1964. The matter was discussed by the Cabinet and despite the influence of sport in its design, approval was given.⁵² A racially mixed team of 44 athletes arrived in Munich in August 1972 and, interestingly, it was the pre-1964 Southern Rhodesia *dark blue* ensign that was raised at the Olympic Village.⁵³ However, following objections and threats from 42 nations to boycott the Games, the IOC voted 36 to 31 (with three abstentions) to exclude Rhodesia. The athletes were allowed to remain in the Olympic Village and attend their events, but were forbidden from participating. However, during the closing ceremony hockey player Reg Bennett carried a Rhodesian flag aloft much to the delight of the 80,000 strong crowd (Fig. 10).⁵⁴

⁵¹ Telegram from American Embassy in London to the State Department, 07 January 1969, quoted in Brownell, J. (2010). *Op cit*, p. 23.

⁵² Kenrick, D. (2015). *Op cit*.

⁵³ AP Archive. (1972). *Rhodesian Olympic Flag Raising at Munich Olympic Village*.

⁵⁴ See xxxxx

The use of the flag was also forbidden at the Maccabi Games in Tel Aviv in July 1973 and the Rhodesian team was asked to participate under the Union Jack. Instead, the team marched under the Rhodesian Maccabi banner at the opening ceremony and did not participate in those parts of the ceremony which required the presentation of a national flag.⁵⁵

DOWN, BUT NOT OUT – AFTER THE DEMISE OF RHODESIA

There was no formal public ceremony to mark the lowering of the Rhodesian flag for the last time on 01 September 1979. The country had been renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia with Bishop Abel Muzorewa as the first black African Prime Minister on 01 June 1979. A new flag to reflect the political changes in the country, and specifically its multiracial character, was raised for the first time at ceremonies across the country on 02 September 1979 (Fig. 11). Despite the majority of black Africans in parliament, the exclusion of the externally based African nationalists and the over-representation of whites, denied Zimbabwe Rhodesia international recognition and the lifting of sanctions. The guerilla war continued, white attrition increased and the faltering economy finally led to British-sponsored talks at Lancaster House towards the end of 1979 which was attended by all parties, including the externally based Patriotic Front.⁵⁶

These negotiations brought about the lifting of sanctions and the country's return to its former status as a British colony when Lord Christopher Soames arrived as the new Governor on 12 December 1979 to oversee the transition process. This was followed by a ceasefire on 28 December 1979 and the holding of internationally supervised elections early in 1980.

With the ending of the UDI political impasse and the return to legality as a British colony, this was the first time in its history that the country was ruled *directly* from London. The

⁵⁵ The Chronicle. (08 July 1973). *No UK flag for us – Rhodesian Maccabi Team* and The Chronicle. (10 July 1973). *Rhodesia marches in Games Opening*.

⁵⁶ Berry, B.B. (1995). *Op cit*.

Union Jack was reinstated as the country's official flag although in practice the Zimbabwe Rhodesia flag continued to be used. This is one of the few examples of a reversion to the use of the Union Jack and is the reason why it was the Union Jack that was lowered at the celebrations on 17/18 April 1980 to mark the independence of the country as the Republic of Zimbabwe (Fig. 12).⁵⁷

The years that followed UDI were to test the fortitude and ingenuity of white Rhodesians, who never numbered more than 250,000 (out of a total population of nearly five million),⁵⁸ but who nevertheless manifested a fierce nationalism. The large majority of (white) Rhodesians believed that their "Rhodesian-ness" supplied a common bond based on Christian values and firmly grounded in British imperial ideals, dedicated to maintaining a "civilised" way of life. The Beloved "Green and White", as the flag came to be fondly called, came to represent that ideal of Rhodesia that many whites subscribed to.

With the move to majority rule and shortly after April 1980, most whites left the country. The "Green and White" is now the focal point of many Rhodesian "Contact Organisations" throughout the world today, featuring prominently at reunions, events to commemorate those who fell in defence of the country during UDI and at Remembrance Day parades (Fig. 13). It features on the cover of *Rhodesians Worldwide*, the main Rhodesian contact magazine, and it is a popular item for collectors of Southern African militaria.

Yet, to outsiders, that symbol of Rhodesian-ness represents racial solidarity in defence of privilege and white rule. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the shooter of nine worshippers at a historic black church in Charleston (North Carolina, USA) on 17 June 2015, Dylann Roof, was photographed wearing a jacket emblazoned with the old flag of South Africa and that of Rhodesia (Fig. 14).

Reflecting on why Roof, a 21 year old American, would display the Rhodesian flag in particular, a number of commentators argued that despite its obscurity in American

⁵⁷ Berry, B.B. (1995). *Op cit* and Berry, B.B (2000). *Together at last – Rhodesia's flags*.

⁵⁸ Encyclopaedia Rhodesia. (1973). p. 70.

political discourse, Rhodesia is well known to white (American) racists and Rhodesian flag patches are often sold at extreme right-wing events.⁵⁹ “The Rhodesian flag is important in terms of symbolism, for Rhodesia subscribed to white supremacy” explains a lecturer in African history at Oxford University.⁶⁰ Furthermore, such (Rhodesian and the old South African) flags are popular in some white supremacist circles as a way to advertise to like-minded individuals without being as obvious as wearing a swastika.⁶¹ Together with these flags, it was listed as one of the world’s most controversial and divisive flags following the Charleston shooting in 2015 (Fig. 15).⁶² Such sentiments are echoed by Foldy who commented that “Few flags represent racialised violence quite as sharply as that of white Rhodesia, a flag whose historical implications belong alongside the swastika”.⁶³

CONCLUSION

The Green and White Rhodesian flag is the symbol most associated with the post-UDI period following the country’s dramatic break from Britain and its desire to create a unique identity. Today it is the rallying point for white ex-Rhodesians who are now scattered around the world, while it is completely ignored within the country over which it once flew since it represents the colonial past and particularly the attempt to delay the transfer to black majority rule.

To those non-Zimbabweans who recognise the flag, it can be found alongside the flags of the Confederate States of America, the Third Reich and apartheid South Africa as a symbol of white supremacy.

Most white ex-Rhodesians are indignant, and indeed horrified, that “our” flag should now come to represent the worst excesses of white supremacy. To them it represents the

⁵⁹ Todd Blodgett, quoted in Baumann, N. (2015). *Dylann Roof Had A Rhodesian Flag On His Jacket*.

⁶⁰ Blessing-Miles Tendi, quoted in Baumann, N. (2015). *Op cit*.

⁶¹ Murphy, D. (2015). *Why would an American white supremacist be fond of Rhodesia?*

⁶² MacGuill, D. (2015). *The world’s most controversial and divisive flags*.

⁶³ Foldy, B. (2015). *Rhodesian Flag, Confederate Flag: Roof & the Legacies of Racial Hate*.

nostalgia of the past, the years of resistance, the comradeship of the war and the perfidy of supposed friends who helped bring Rhodesia down. Despite the loss of a way of life, for white ex-Rhodesians the loss of a country and the rootlessness that it has created, the beloved "Green and White" is the proud symbol of all that had been achieved in ninety years, the heroic defence against terrorism and sanctions ... the symbol of Rhodesians who will 'never die'.

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Fig. 1: Signing the Unilateral Declaration of Independence



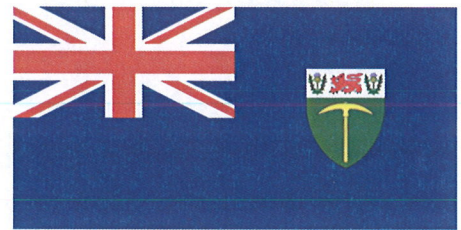
BSAC (1890 – September 1923)



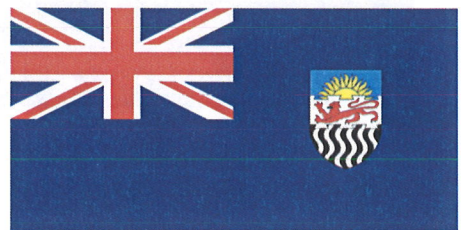
BSAC (alternate version)



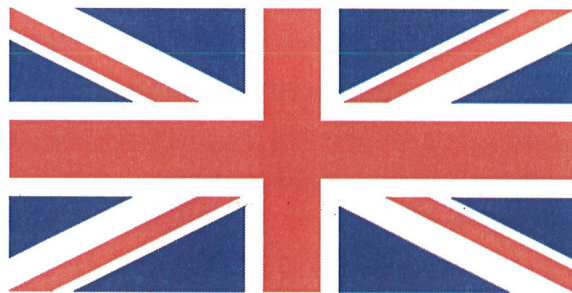
Car flag used in London in 1934



Southern Rhodesia – to be flown outside the Colony (c1934 – September 1953)

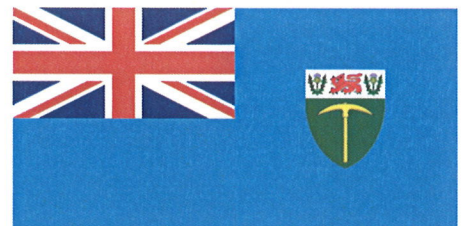


Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (September 1953 – December 1963)



*The Union Flag (Union Jack)
(October 1923 – November 1968)*

*Flown inside the Colony
alongside the Federal and Southern Rhodesia
light blue ensigns*



*Southern Rhodesia
(April 1964 – November 1968)*

Fig.2 : Colonial flags of Southern Rhodesia (1890 – 1968)

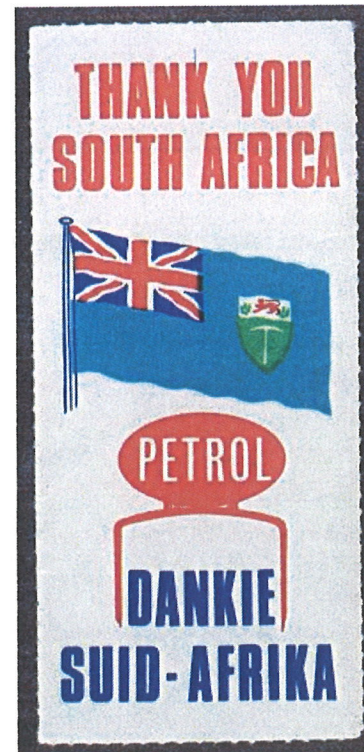


Fig. 3: Patriotic stickers showing the Southern Rhodesia light blue ensign

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 Two or Three Piece Suits
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ESTABLISHED 1891
 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308, 310, 312, 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 342, 344, 346, 348, 350, 352, 354, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366, 368, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378, 380, 382, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 402, 404, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 418, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000

The Rhodesia Herald
 (Sponsoring THE EVENING STANDARD)
 SALISBURY, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1968

"MIAMI BEACH"
 Light-Weight Summer Suits
 Pure New Wool
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No Union Jack on proposed new flag

By Our Political Correspondent

THE details and design of the proposed new Rhodesian flag were published with yesterday's *Evening Standard*. A Bill providing for the adoption of the new flag was also published. It is expected that the Bill will come before Parliament during the current session of sitting.

The Bill would amend the provisions of the *South African Act of 1967* in relation to the flag of Rhodesia. The Bill would also amend the provisions of the *South African Act of 1967* in relation to the flag of Rhodesia.

The Bill would amend the provisions of the *South African Act of 1967* in relation to the flag of Rhodesia.

SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET IS RESHUFFLED

Pretoria, Friday.

FOUR new appointments to the Cabinet and a reshuffle of portfolios were announced tonight by the South African Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster. He also announced the appointment of four new deputy Ministers.

Mr. Vorster said the Minister of Health, Dr. A. M. J. van der Merwe, and two other senior ministers had relinquished their Cabinet portfolios. This was in addition to the resignation of the Minister of Community Development, Mr. J. G. van der Merwe, who was appointed as a deputy Minister.

The new appointments were: Mr. J. G. van der Merwe as Minister of Health, Mr. A. M. J. van der Merwe as Minister of Community Development, Mr. J. G. van der Merwe as Minister of Health, and Mr. A. M. J. van der Merwe as Minister of Community Development.

Fortitude

The South African security forces in the new South Africa are expected to be a force of 100,000 men. The security forces are expected to be a force of 100,000 men.

The security forces are expected to be a force of 100,000 men.

At Olympia?

The Union Jack does not appear in the design for the new flag. It is not yet known whether the new flag will be used in the new South Africa.

JUDGE BACKS THE GOVERNMENT

'Internal de jure status achieved'

JUDGEMENT OF PRIVY

ONE of the best shows

By the Agricultural Editor

Mr. Vorster said the Minister of Health, Dr. A. M. J. van der Merwe, and two other senior ministers had relinquished their Cabinet portfolios. This was in addition to the resignation of the Minister of Community Development, Mr. J. G. van der Merwe, who was appointed as a deputy Minister.

Fig. 4: The Rhodesia Herald announces the new flag design

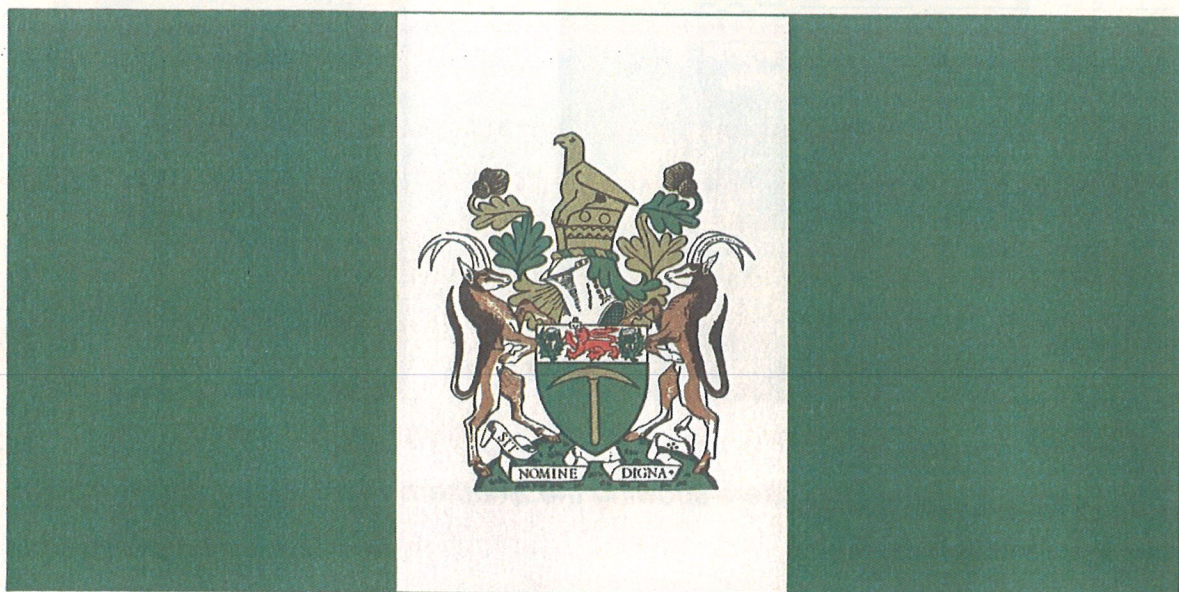


Fig. 5: Official Government illustration of the Rhodesian flag



Fig. 6: Raising the Rhodesian flag for the first time in Salisbury on 11 November 1968

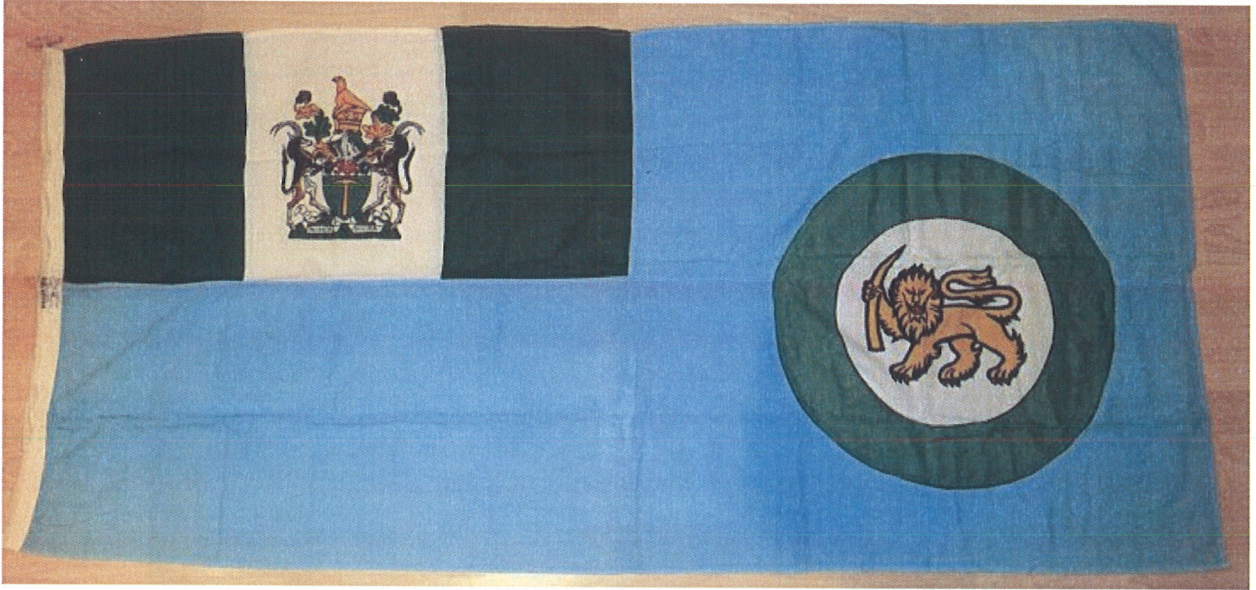


Fig. 7: Rhodesian Air Force ensign (1970 – 1979) with Rhodesian flag in the canton

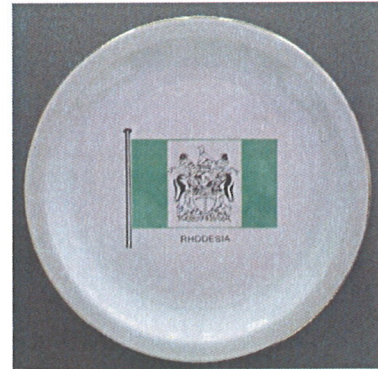
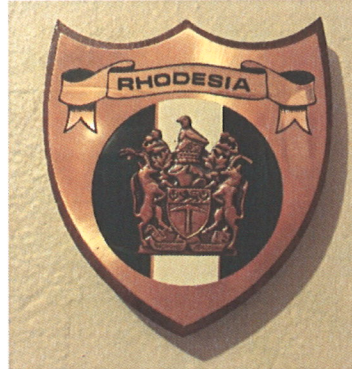
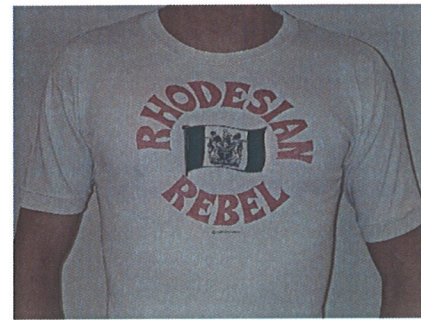
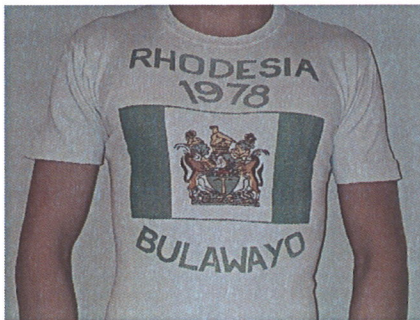
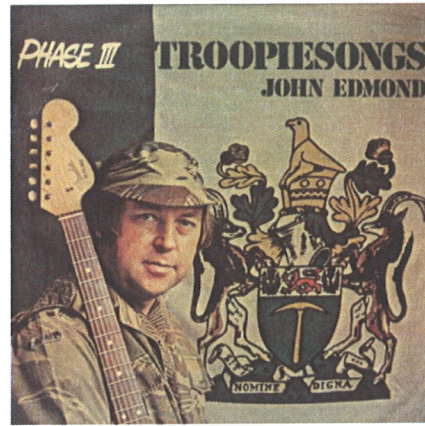
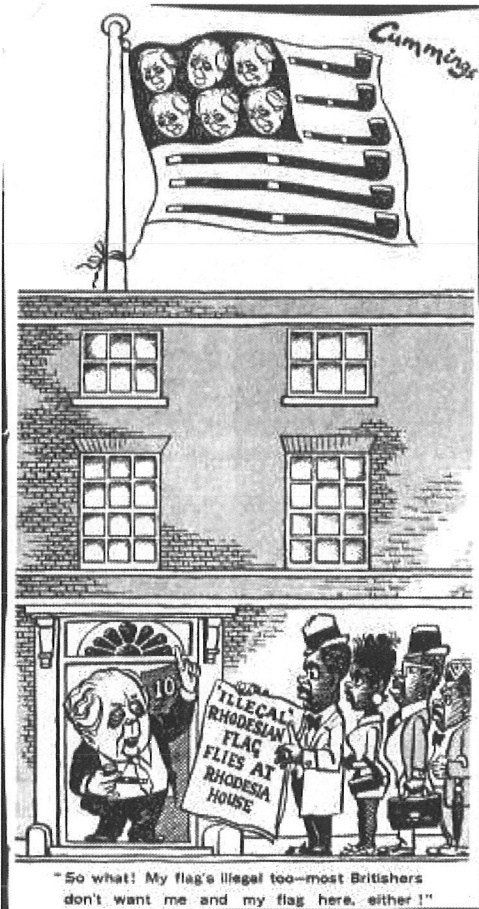


Fig. 8: Paraphernalia showing the Rhodesian flag



Cummings – Sunday Express
04/01/1969



Giles – Daily Express
14/01/1969



Cummings – Daily Express 05/01/1969



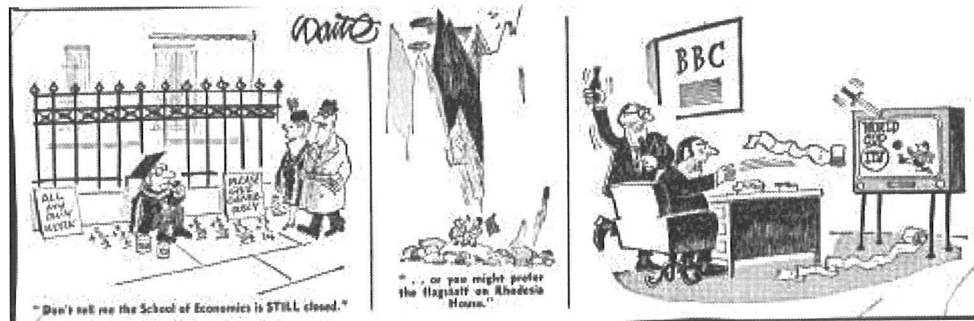
Papas - Guardian

13/01/1969



Musgrave Wood – Daily Mail

14/01/1969



Wait – The Sun (28/01/1969)

Fig. 9: Cartoons in the British press relating to the Rhodesian flag flying over Rhodesia House saga (January 1969)



Fig. 10: Reg Bennett holds a Rhodesian flag aloft during the closing ceremony of the 1972 Munich Olympic Games



*Fig. 11: Raising the flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia –
Rufaro Stadium, Salisbury (02 September 1979)*



*Fig. 12: Raising the flag of Zimbabwe –
Rufaro Stadium, Salisbury (Midnight 17/18 April 1980)*



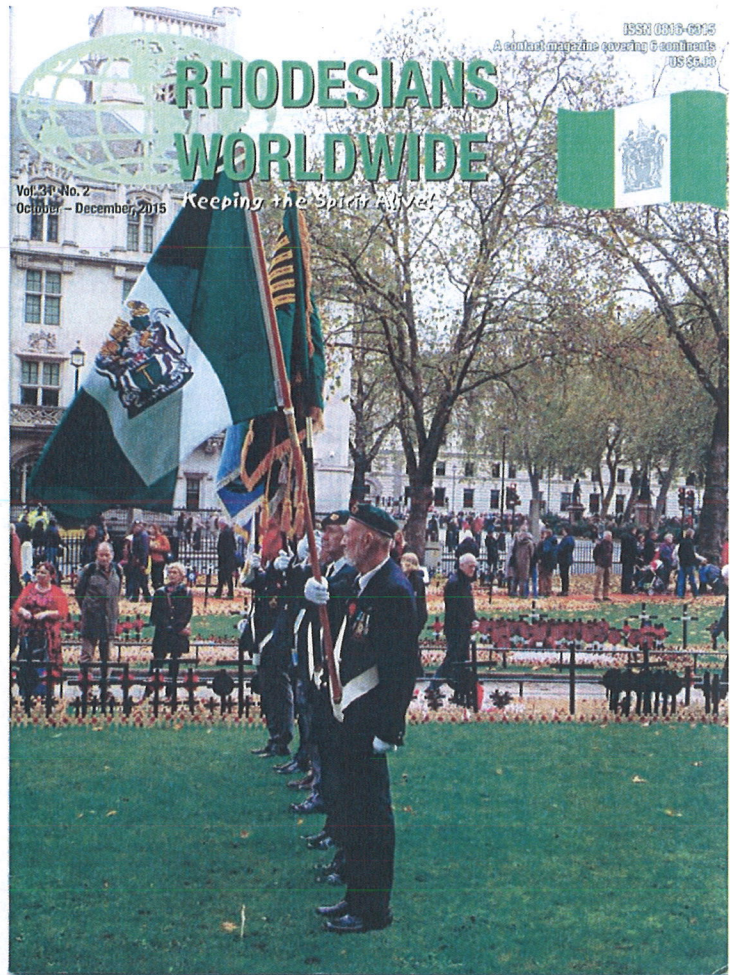


Fig. 13: Displaying the Beloved Green and White post 1980



Fig. 14 : Dylann Roof wearing a jacket displaying the old South African and Rhodesian flags

FLAGGING THE FLAGS

Around the world, countries have long struggled with questions about flags that have been deemed controversial

 <p>UNITED STATES: Last week's South Carolina shooting renewed debate over one of the most controversial Southern symbols — the Confederate flag. It has become a divisive and violent emblem of the Ku Klux Klan and white supremacist groups</p>	 <p>GERMANY: With the defeat of Adolf Hitler in 1945, the Nazi's scarlet flag with a black swastika was banned in Germany and remains so today</p>	 <p>MIDDLE EAST: In the Middle East, ISIS group has co-opted the centuries-old "Black Banner" to use as its standard</p>	 <p>BALKANS: Last October, a European Championship soccer qualifying match between Serbia and Albania was suspended in Belgrade after a drone carrying an Albanian nationalist flag flew over the pitch, igniting clashes between players and fans</p>	 <p>SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA: The flags of the now-defunct white-supremacist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, which is today Zimbabwe</p>
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Source: AP

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Fig. 15 : The Rhodesian flag appears alongside other "controversial flags"

