President Johnson's Executive Order of economic sanctions against Rhodesia fulfills the mandate of the UN Security Council resolution (see Note I). There is much controversy over US support of the sanctions, despite Congressional authority (see Note II).

WHY THE US SHOULD SUPPORT UN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

4 points

(1) Selective sanctions on Rhodesia have been agreed upon by the majority of the UN Security Council, endorsed by most nations of the world, as one of the few peaceful means available to pressure and persuade white Rhodesians to shift course and permit all Rhodesians to participate in political and economic development.

While sanctions may not force a change of heart in the present government, their widespread application demonstrates peacefully the world's disapproval of the illegal and racist regime. Such positive action will help to keep the whole Rhodesian question exposed, open to negotiation and to the examination of alternative solutions.

(2) Failure of the US to carry out its pronounced support of the sanctions would undermine psychologically as well as economically the unity of UN member nations, and would thus spell the failure of sanctions to bring about any change in Rhodesia. Even more important, US withdrawal would seriously call into question the honor of US commitments—and thus would endanger future US peace efforts.

(3) While it is unquestionably true that the Rhodesian Government is anti-Communist, the US should not judge, by this measure alone, a government that has kept virtually all African political leaders in detention for three years, has passed a series of emergency and other laws banning African political parties and meetings, has censored the press, and has used such practices as cutting off water to African townships when faced with protest strikes. US withdrawal from cooperation in sanctions would unquestionably be interpreted by friends and foes of the present Rhodesian regime as de facto, if not de jure, support for that regime and its policies.

(4) If we fail to maintain sanctions—thus supporting a regime which openly stands for the virtually permanent perpetuation of white minority domination—we can expect a growing separation of white from black, an increased and dangerous emphasis on racism in Southern Africa. The exacerbation of racism will make the achievement of peaceful solutions less and less likely, not only in Southern Africa, but in many other parts of the world.

* * *

Note I UN sanctions call on nations to prohibit:
- the importation directly or indirectly of Rhodesian asbestos, iron ore, pig iron, chrome, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and hides;
- the transfer of funds to Rhodesia for the purpose of dealing in these;
- shipment of these commodities in (US) ships;
- participation in the supply to Rhodesia of oil and oil products, arms, military equipment and motor vehicles.

Note II Article 5 of the UN Participation Act passed by Congress authorized the President to sign Executive Orders directing US agencies to abide by economic (but not military) sanctions agreed upon in the UN Security Council without further recourse to Congress.
Majority Rule—The Larger Goal

The US purpose in supporting sanctions is to impress the minority government that international recognition will come only when it accepts the premise of working toward majority rule. Almost no one, including most African nationalists, expects immediate majority rule in Rhodesia. Nationalist leaders do not oppose the principles of a transitional government for a limited time, but insist that majority rule must be achieved before independence is granted.

As well as enforcing sanctions, the US should quietly urge Rhodesia to come to terms and should discourage South Africa's support of Rhodesia.

Rhodesia—Background to the Problem

Population: 95% African...4 million; 5% European (white)...220,000.

Size: 150,000 sq. mi. or slightly less than California; 90 million acres. Reserved acres: 42 million African; 41 million white; 6 million free.

Politics: 1923–1965 Self-governing colony; U.K. had the rarely-used authority to protect all citizens. Politics and civil service entirely Europeans who built the country and prospered from the rich economy. 1962 Election of Rhodesian Front, furthest right party, increasingly preoccupied with securing the permanent predominance of Europeans. 1965 Nov. UDI—Unilateral Declaration of Independence—cut off long negotiations with U.K. for constitution leading to majority rule. No nation has officially recognized its statehood. South Africa buttresses the economy but presses the government to negotiate with U.K.

Parliament: 50 white members from "A" role voters (secondary school plus $924 a year; 93,000 white, 2,300 African voters. 15 members (1 is white) from "B" role voters (lower qualifications); 600 white, 10,700 African voters.

Some Rhodesians claim Africans will in time attain high enough levels to participate politically. Some, as the Prime Minister, have said, "not in our lifetime." Some, as the Secretary for Internal Affairs, say, "We must plan on the basis of ultimate territorial segregation."

If the "right" to vote is a function of education and income, what are the African’s chances?

Education: Primary — a high proportion of African children enter. Secondary — 12,000 enter (2% of those who start school); 1000 graduate a year; 630,000 Africans in school. Budget: $280/white child; $28/African. The regime justly claims better education than in many countries. Those of whom they boast cannot obtain or advance in government or industry jobs or own land in half of the country.

Nearly 300 African Rhodesians are in U.S. colleges (almost all on U.S., not Rhodesian scholarships). Several hundred in other countries. Not one African economics graduate from university in Rhodesia was hired in Rhodesia last year.

Since UDI: African education budget cut (some schools closed, teachers' contracts ended, per capita spending lower); schools segregated again; the target number for secondary school halved; the number of university scholarships diminished.

Economy: 1965 Gross Domestic Product almost $1 billion. Average industrial wage: $2,900 white, $190 African. 629,000 Africans employed (with 69,000 in manufacturing).

Exports: tobacco, asbestos, textiles, meat, copper, iron, steel, gold, chrome, vehicles, sugar, diverse manufactured goods.

Trade with: U.K., Zambia, South Africa, West Germany, Japan, U.S., Malawi.