

## RHODESIA NEWS SUMMARY

Committee on Southern Africa, National Student Christian Federation,  
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Week of Feb. 24 - March 2, 1966

### EDITORIALS & COMMENTS

The Manchester Guardian Weekly - Feb. 24, 1966

"Editorial"

South Africa must make a difficult choice in deciding whether to defy the oil sanctions against Rhodesia. Verwoerd faces elections in five weeks time, and outright prohibition of petrol supplies to Rhodesia would seriously affect his popularity. On the other hand, the risk of a UN resolution or other international action would seem to be less serious from Verwoerd's standpoint, and he may suspect that sooner or later the UN will enact sanctions against South Africa no matter what he does, and "that Britain will be reluctant to comply because of the damage the British economy would suffer. Britain and South Africa, pole apart in their outlook, and seeking quite different results, have in common that they can both look forward to a miserable time."

The Times, London - Feb. 24, 1966

"Rhodesians defiant and optimistic" (from special correspondent)

"A spirit of defiant optimism prevails in Rhodesia today as it enters its fourth month after the assumption of independence." For the ordinary white Rhodesian "the struggle has developed into a straight fight between Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson and talk of military intervention or the complete cutting off of the Zambian market seems likely only to strengthen the determination to resist."

The Times correspondent spoke with a number of businessmen and farmers before he returned from Rhodesia. One tobacco farmer admitted the ultimate effect of sanctions and predicted that middlemen (salesmen etc.) would leave the country but that the farmers would stay and the tobacco crop would be sold. Some businessmen are still annoyed that the Government did not give them sufficient warnings about the effects of the sanctions, so that now they much search frantically for new markets. "Support generally for Mr. Smith is reckoned even by his opponents to be about 90% of the non-African population, but to what lengths is the ordinary Rhodesian prepared to go in defence of the Government, assuming no outside military intervention?" There has been some objection to the "I hate Harold" campaign and to the rumors that Rhodesia would declare itself a republic. One Rhodesian Front official estimated that three-quarters of the white Rhodesians would vote against their country becoming a republic and that those within the party who had pro-republican feelings were not of Afrikaner descent but former residents of the U.K.

All of the censorship regulations and other restrictions "create the impression that the Government is afraid of criticism from whatever quarter, whether real or imagined." It seems that Mr. Lardner-Burke's mention of a "Shadow Cabinet" which was plotting to bring down Smith was meant "to intimidate certain individuals outside Parliament whose position is known to be hostile."

The Times, London - Feb. 24, 1966 (Cont.)

The greatest 'upheaval' is resulting from the petrol shortage and rationing but "much ingenuity continues to be expended on ways of circumventing the rationing and loopholes and anomalies are constantly being exposed . . . ." The correspondent mentions that a number of cars with "Forward Rhodesia" stickers cross into Mozambique in order to buy cheaper petrol. There are many 'self-help' groups, 'semi-welfare, semi-political organizations' which have emerged and although some of their efforts overlap and their efficiency is questionable . . . the white population appears anxious at the moment to demonstrate its self-sufficiency. Many people will admit that a greater degree of multi-racialism is inevitable and some are consciously preparing for it. The rest are content to leave the timing to Mr. Smith."

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Two more coups in Africa"

"An immediate effect of the coups is likely to be a swing in public sympathy in Britain towards Mr. Ian Smith's Government, ironically enough also a government that revoked legal authority. Mr. Wilson will face greatly increased pressure for talks on Rhodesia without any pre-conditions."

The Observer - Feb. 27, 1966

"Editorial"

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's proposals, embodied in a Conservative motion, do not even suggest diminishing sanctions and do not question Wilson's long term aims. They simply urge "formal talks" as opposed to negotiations with Mr. Smith. Aside from the questionable wisdom of such talks in themselves, "by propping up the morale of the rebels and by undermining African confidence, Mr. Lloyd's approach has harmed the Government's policy, without offering an alternative course."

#### SANCTIONS & OIL

The New York Times - Feb. 24, 1966

Due to assistance from other countries, the stage-by-stage reduction of imports from Rhodesia has had little adverse effect on the economy of Zambia. According to the Zambian Finance Minister, Arthur Wina, the imports have been cut by 35% since January. It is thought unlikely that it will be possible to carry out a total embargo.

The products which are being obtained from alternate sources include light structural steel, paper products, tires and tubes, furniture, bottles and glass, clothing and footwear. South Africa has been the main beneficiary; Australia, Israel, the U.S., Canada, Scandinavia, and Britain are also sources of alternate imports. Still coming from Rhodesia are such goods as coal, electric power, foodstuffs, wood products, plumbing and lighting fixtures, building materials, electrical machinery, and \$1.5 million/year worth of tobacco.

The Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 25, 1966 (from Robert M. Hallett)

It is still unclear whether South Africa is breaching in a major way the oil sanctions against Ian Smith's regime. The British Government and top oil companies estimate the flow at not more than 8,000 gallons a day. South African newspapers that have stationed reporters at the Rhodesian border say the figure runs about 35,000 gallons a day. While this is far short of Rhodesia's need of at least 70,000 gallons a day, it would be a substantial amount.

It is in the short-term interests of both Rhodesia and South Africa to encourage reports of large-scale shipments northwards. For Rhodesia it represents a boost to morale in the sanctions war. For S.A. it benefits the National Party, which has been sharply criticized by political foes for not doing more for Rhodesia.

Press Digest (of South Africa) - Feb. 24, 1966

From the Rand Daily Mail (Feb. 19, 1966)

"It is hard to observe what is going on at Beit Bridge without coming to the conclusion that an economic and diplomatic struggle of historic proportions is taking place. . . Our guess is that the Government is prepared to play it cool and hard. It is almost certainly helping Rhodesia in every way it can - short of saying so publicly. It desperately wants to see Smith succeed and sanctions shown up to be an ineffectual weapon once and for all. Dr. Verwoerd may well have decided that this is the decisive opportunity, that even if Britain complained to the United Nations the world is not ready to act against so powerful a country as South Africa especially if it had technically remained neutral. So the ball is in Britain's court."

From The Natal Mercury - (Feb. 22, 1966)

". . . Mr. Wilson, judging by the snooping activities of certain British Embassy officials in the neighbourhood of Beit Bridge, would seem to have forgotten how easily friendly relations can in moment of crisis become estranged when diplomatic protocol is not scrupulously observed. If in his frustration, Mr. Wilson starts trying to wield the big stick against South Africa that is a risk that we in this country must accept. . . . The success of the 'petrol for Rhodesia' campaign suggests, too that more and more South Africans are prepared to take the risks involved with their eyes wide open. That know that if Rhodesia falls the militant Pan-Africanists will have outflanked the two Portuguese Territories and will then be able to direct the full weight of their Communist-provoked fury against an isolated South Africa. It is the task of South African political leadership to do its utmost to thwart this threat before it can become a sinister reality."

The Times, London - Feb. 25, 1966

"Zambia increase petrol ration"

Formerly Zambia allocated 10 gallons per month to a private motorist, but it will now raise the ration to 12 gallons. Orders have been placed for heavy oil for use in the copper mines and there is testing as to whether the smelters at Mufulira can be converted from using coal to oil. "However much has yet to be done before Zambia can sever links with Rhodesia as a final blow to that country's economy."

## Sanctions (Cont.)

The New York Times - Feb. 25, 1966

"U.S. to lose trade in Rhodesia"

Mobil and Caltex, each with more than 15% share of the oil market, are complaining that the oil business in Rhodesia is slipping away to the clandestine operations of the British Oil Companies. The tobacco, chrome and asbestos businesses are also feeling the effects of the British sanctions, although only some businesses are complying with the British law making it an offense to export specific products to Rhodesia.

The Times, London - Feb. 26, 1966

"Smith Regime to control tobacco buying"

The Rhodesian Government has announced that it will regulate the jobs formerly performed by members of the Tobacco Miscellaneous Employers Association, which include the buying, packing and auctioning of tobacco. This includes then the control of 11,000 workers, 600 being Europeans. According to the British Orders in Council the subsidies of the British companies, Imperial Tobacco and Gallahers, are precluded from buying tobacco and the handling companies are banned from operating also. Therefore control by the Rhodesian Government of these functions will provide the use of company facilities without involving the companies in a breach of the British law. The opening sales date for tobacco has been delayed in Rhodesia until March 29th, two or three weeks later than usual.

Companies involved in the oil, iron and steel industries are already under Government control with only the sugar industry left unregulated. The sugar exporters think that they will manage to get rid of their 210,000 tons of sugar by selling it possibly to Portugal, which has imported sugar from Cuba in the past.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Pluto keeps Zambia mobile"

Airlifts into Zambia bring in approximately 9,000 tons of fuel per month, while lorries travelling over the Great North Road haul 10,000 tons per month. Other fuel routes include one from across Lake Tanganyika and by rail from the Congo. Zambia is now getting 24,000 tons per month or 10,000 more tons of fuel than it received from Rhodesia. The airlifted oil is the most expensive for the governments (USA, Britain, and Canada) involved and each gallon costs 30 shillings although it is sold at a pre-airlift price in Zambia. The road lift is a "chancy" for the 1,000 drivers from Lusaka and the Copperbelt who speed 500 miles to Isoka where they meet convoys coming from Tanzania with fuel from Kenya. The operation, called Pluto, takes 13 hours on the outward trip and even more time coming back over the unsurfaced Great North Road. Another route on the Great East Road to Malawi will open soon.

"Rhodesians confident of winning the economic war"

"Heartened by the words of the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. J.H. Mussett that the first oil tanker to break the embargo would arrive in Beira, Rhodesians are confident that they will win the economic war." Some Rhodesians have become wary of the rumors of oil shipments, which seem to come in cycles. Noone was surprised though at those about Aristotle Onassis sending tankers to Beira since his name was mentioned as an oil supplier in the days before UDI. Even in Beira, where rumors "do not circulate as freely as they do in Salisbury," Portuguese sources believe that an oil ship-

## Sanctions (Cont.)

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966 (Cont.)

ment will soon come to Beira. Rumors include that the oil may be coming from Angola. Sapa-Reuter reports that Onassis does not plan to defy the oil embargo against Rhodesia.

"View from a bridge"

"South Africa, in fact, must make up its mind whether to get in or stay out. By trying to do both at once it is forfeiting its chance to bring pressure to bear on both parties to the Rhodesian dispute to abandon a disastrous confrontation and come to terms. The Prime Minister's policy is turning sour and South Africa is in danger of getting the worst of both worlds."

The New York Times - Feb. 28, 1966

"New U.S. curbs on Rhodesia due"

The U.S. is planning to bolster its support to Britain, but the timing and steps to be taken were not enumerated. The Department of Commerce will require a license for all exports to Rhodesia. In 1964 these exports amounted to \$21 million worth of goods while imports from Rhodesia were worth \$11 million.

The Times, London - Feb. 28, 1966

"U.S. Controls of Exports"

American government control of almost all exports to Rhodesia will be regulated by licenses for any product with the exception of drugs and other humanitarian items. American officials in Washington "predicted that Rhodesia would feel a 'real pinch' from April and later be in 'pretty dire straits.'" In Rhodesia there seems to be little concern over the new license control of exports from America. Rhodesia's imports from America were primarily capital goods which are no longer in demand or consumer goods which were already under Rhodesian import control.

"Further Petrol Gift from S.A."

There were reports from Beitbridge on Feb. 26th that there had been a drop in the oil flow, but other fuel is still entering from unknown sources. The Petrol for Rhodesia Fund has sent another 25,000 gallons, costing the contributors £5,000.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Chrome from Rhodesia not vital for U.S."

Business Week reported that American consumption of chrome does not depend on Rhodesia supplies and that American companies may turn to the United States stockpiles for their supplies. But the Office of Emergency Planning says that high-grade ore is scarce so that there may be some delays.

The Christian Science Monitor - March 2, 1966 (from David Anable)

The Rhodesian oil embargo is forcing land-locked Zambia to forge and strengthen new links with the outside world. Although strict rationing still persists a govern-

The Christian Science Monitor - March 2, 1966 (Cont)

ment spokesman insists that "fuel is coming in at a faster rate than we would normally use it." This leads some to the conclusion that if the border with Rhodesia is kept open for other goods, fuel rationing could be greatly relaxed or even ended in the weeks following the end of the rainy season. Besides the air routes which British, American, and Canadian planes are flying in oil three land routes are being used:

1. The "Great North Road" is a 1,250 mile graveled single lane road from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam over which 13 twenty-five ton road tankers owned by an Italian firm in Mombasa, are making the round trip in ten days. In addition to these about 250 trucks are shuttling back and forth between Isoka and Lusaka or the copperbelt.
2. Other road tankers are bringing in fuel from Mpulungu, Zambia's only port. The oil reaches there by steamer on Lake Tanganyika from Kigoma which is joined by rail across Tanzania to Dar es Salaam.
3. The "Great East Road" runs from Lusaka to Fort Jameson and on into Malawi. It is the final lap for oil landed at the port of Beira and carried in drums on the railway through Blantyre to Salima.

The Times, London - March 2, 1966

"Oil Storage Tanks being built in Beira"

The first tank built to hold 5,000 tons of crude oil destined for Rhodesia will be completed by March 5th. These tanks are being built near the boundary wall of the Shell storage farm and are being constructed because Mobil and Shell storage tanks cannot presumably have any connection with Rhodesia-bound oil due to the embargo. There are some complications still for the flow of oil as the new tanks are separated by a short distance from the pipeline which connects Beira with Feruka in Rhodesia. The main 186 mile pipeline is controlled by Lonrho, a London-registered company, and the question of a small connecting pipeline will provide a dilemma for the company which is subject to the British Orders in Council on the embargo. If Lonrho wavers then the decision of the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique will be crucial. "The impression is that they will regard the arrival of supplies of crude oil for Rhodesia at Beira as part of the ordinary two-way trade through the port and treat it on this basis, on the South African model." There is no knowing when a sea tanker will bring oil to Beira for Rhodesia.

Refined petroleum products are still coming through South Africa and some needs, such as paraffin, are being filled. Only half the amount of "motor spirits" needed by Rhodesia (70,000 gallons) are supplied per day from the south but there are increased amounts coming by rail from South Africa and routed through Lourenco Marques.

Dr. Verwoerd's speech in opening the Nationalist Party's election campaigning will probably increase the total flow of petrol to Rhodesia. The P.M. made it crystal clear that 'normal' trade relations went "well beyond trade in the usual commodities and at the usual levels." Before UDI only a small amount of lubricant oils were exported from S.A. to Rhodesia as opposed to the flow of petrol at the present time. It is suspected that petrol prices will rise in Rhodesia since the embargo is making life very costly.

CONDITIONS WITHIN RHODESIA

ECONOMIC

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"94,776 South Africans went to Rhodesia"

## Economic Conditions in Rhodesia (Cont.)

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966 (Cont.)

Tourism was Rhodesia's third largest source of foreign revenue in 1964 next to tobacco and asbestos. Most tourists came from neighboring countries, especially from South Africa. Overseas visitors came from the U.K. and the U.S.A.

Miscellaneous: The French manufacturers of Peugeot cars have denied that an assembly plant is going to be set up in Rhodesia. Negotiations for the plant are underway but no conclusion has been reached.

The Times, London - Feb. 28, 1966

"Savings Drive in Rhodesia"

Mr. Ian Smith announced over the radio and TV the launching of a national savings campaign. The campaign has the support of business, industry, and banking interests and will be introduced into the schools, following the raising of nearly £400,000 through the sales of Independence Bonds. Mr. Smith commented that since Rhodesia has its political independence "it is therefore all the more important to ensure that we maintain our financial independence."

The Rhodesian Government also announced that it will float a three year £5 m. loan at 5% through the Reserve Bank. There will also be an increase in foreign currency holiday travel allowance from £100 to £150 which will not really affect the economy until the end of the year when most Rhodesians go on holiday and then usually to South Africa.

### POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 24, 1966 (from John Worrall)

"A powerful group inside the Smith Government and the ruling party is thinking and planning towards the conversion of Rhodesia into a republic." Within three or four months the republic versus monarchy issue would be put before the electorate, hoping to overcome the "agonising division of loyalties which has existed since UDI."

The New York Times - Feb. 27, 1966

"Smith is confident on Rhodesian Rule"

Mr. Smith told Rhodesians in a radio address, "It is now generally conceded that we have our political independence. At the present time our war is an economic war with businesses and industry as the frontier fighters, who are now the life blood of our economy."

The Times, London - March 1, 1966

"Wider Emergency Powers expected in Rhodesia"

Mr. Lardner-Burke, the Rhodesian Minister of Justice and Law and Order will present a bill tomorrow, as an amendment to the existing Emergency Powers Act, which will probably seek to extend the circumstances under which the Officer Administering the Government can, on the Government's request, declare an emergency as well as extend his powers during emergencies. According to the 1965 Constitution the Officer can proclaim a state of emergency, if he feels "there is sufficient threat to public safety, public order or the maintenance of an essential service inside Rhodesia." The new amendment will probably extend his powers to react to any external threat against Rhodesia. The present legislation enables the Officer to arrest, detain and restrict persons during an emergency as well as to control man-power supplies, censorship and corporations, in all he has twenty different regulatory powers.

## Political Conditions in Rhodesia (Cont.)

The Times, London - March 2, 1966

Mr. Lardner-Burke tabled his amendment to the Emergency Powers Act today. At present many of the powers of the Officer Administering the Government are not incorporated in the Act but rather make up the ad hoc legislation passed during the present emergency. It was thought that Lardner-Burke's amendment would incorporate these powers, especially those over business activities in Rhodesia.

Mr. John Howman, the Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism, "who is generally regarded as a Cabinet moderate," said in a recent meeting that Mr. Wilson's conditions for a settlement in Rhodesia were similar to those Hitler tried to impose on Britain "though expressed in more temperate words than the Fuhrer chose."

### CONDITIONS WITHIN ZAMBIA

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Mine strikes - Kaunda threatens whites"

President Kaunda threatened to invoke the anti-strike law against dissident Whites who have disrupted the copperbelt with strikes over contract terms for several months. He called them "supporters of foreign interests and intrigues" and it is likely that rather than invoke the imprisonment clause some of them will be deported. The 5,000 white miners realize that they are indispensable to the mining business and therefore they are "only chasing material gains." President Kaunda is trying to prevent the spread of disobedience as well as curb the number of resignations by white miners.

A team from Zambia is going to South Africa soon to recruit white miners with the appeal that salaries are "appreciably higher" in Zambia than in S.A., as well as the number of fringe benefits.

The Times, London - March 2, 1966

"Mr. Kaunda defied by miners"

At two copper mines the European miners did not go to work in spite of President Kaunda's orders that all men must return to the seven copper mines and the Broken Hill copper and zinc mines. Disobedience means a fine of £500 and/or two years' imprisonment. It now appears that the white miners are striking over the restriction of a Mr. Rzechorek, the chairman of the Mufulira branch of the miners' society.

Note: The Chicago Daily News - Feb. 28, 1966

More than one third of the congregation walked out of Salisbury's Anglican Cathedral on Sunday when a visiting British clergyman, the Rev. Hugh Bishop, criticized Rhodesia during his sermon.

### INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

SOUTH AFRICA -- Rhodesia and the S.A. General Election

Press Digest (of South Africa) - Feb. 24, 1966

From Die Transvaler-(Feb. 22, 1966)

The Rhodesian crisis is influencing the political attitudes of South Africans because ". . . the struggle of somewhat more than 220,000 Whites in Rhodesia, of whom the overwhelming majority are of pure British origin, has brought every English person, who is not blind to reality, to the realisation that he must adopt another attitude toward Britain," and that he could expect nothing from Britain.

Press Digest - Feb. 24, 1966 (Cont.)

From the Evening Post (Feb. 16, 1966)

"As he steps into the polling booth on March 30 the voter cannot settle Rhodesia's destiny . . . but the voter ought to know whether the candidates wooing his electoral favour support policies that make South Africa the ideological laughing-stock of the democratic world, perpetuate colour bars that must nip all blooms in the bud and demand that skincolour and not merit shall be the yardstick of economic opportunity. In other words, it is South Africa's destiny, not the political fortunes of Mr. Smith or Mr. Wilson, that will be at stake on March 30."

From the Rand Daily Mail (Feb. 19, 1966)

The effect of the Rhodesian issue on the voting patterns in the S.A. election will depend on what happens in Rhodesia during the period before the election. Laurence Gandar's column expresses that a clash between South Africa and Britain would probably benefit the Nationalist Party and that "the Rhodesian affair is not going to be settled soon. Whatever happens it is going to drag on and on, playing on our emotions in one way or another. In other words, it is going to keep fuelling the fires of white nationalism here for a long time to come." He adds that International Court of Justice's decision on the South West Africa question will probably "reinforce" this attitude and "that one party state which Nationalism commentators are predicting more and more frequently is by no means an idle speculation. It simply means that South Africa will develop its own version of Rhodesian Front down here."

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"African backs Ian Smith"

The son of the Transkei Minister of Agriculture has given R2 to the Friends of Rhodesia fund and has urged his fellow Africans to do the same.

"Argus backs Graaff on Smith" (from the Cape Argus)

"At present Rhodesia is bearing the brunt of the attack really aimed at South Africa." The Rhodesian situation is thus the real issue in South African politics. The opinion of Sir de Villiers Graaff that the fall of Rhodesia would bring the Afro-Asians to the "threshold" of S.A. is the opinion of South Africans. If this situation does occur it will cause South Africans "to be something more than spectators."

#### BRITISH POLITICS

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 24, 1966 (from Philip Rawston)

Selwyn Lloyd has told the Conservative Shadow Cabinet that talks with Smith should be initiated as soon as possible, without prior conditions. Lloyd's report will probably unite the Tories in firm opposition to Wilson's Rhodesian policies; this could be "another, perhaps conclusive reason for an early general election."

The New York Times - Feb. 25, 1966

"Tories urge parley on Rhodesia Issue"

The Conservative party introduced a motion in the House of Commons calling for talks between Britain and Ian Smith's regime. Mr. Wilson refrained from making any comment.

The Times, London - Feb. 25, 1966

"End of Bipartisan Policy on Rhodesia"

The Times, London - Feb. 25, 1966 (Cont.)

"If Mr. Wilson does not announce a March election within the next few days a clash between Government and Opposition on Rhodesia now looks certain." Mr. Heath and the Opposition Shadow Cabinet tabled a motion calling for talks with Rhodesia "with the aim of achieving a constitutional settlement in Rhodesia." The motion is not a "censure motion" although it may be regarded as such by Mr. Wilson. This united move by the Opposition has been avoided until now, "The motion fulfilled one of the conditions that Mr. Wilson has lately insisted would influence his decision to go to the country" for a general election. The Conservatives are just waiting for the announcement (which occurred the next day) and have planned their "battle positions" already. But Mr. Heath does not think that Rhodesia or even the defense problem of Britain will be decisive issues. They are simply examples of the "wasted months" of Labour rule. Heath will stress internal British economic problems during his campaign.

"Conservatives firmly united over Rhodesia"

Mr. Lloyd's desire for talks on Rhodesia has presumably satisfied the center block and even the right wingers within the Conservative Party. The Conservative motion was phrased in order to get the most Conservative signatures and to avoid the split that occurred over oil sanctions. The motion refutes Mr. Wilson's statement of January 25th which said that negotiations could not occur with an illegal regime which would not lead Rhodesia to racial harmony but only with "responsible persons representing all the people." This statement is interpreted as calling for "unconditional surrender" a position which the Tories will not accept. Mr. Wilson has challenged the Opposition to a "frontal collision" on his handling of the Rhodesian crisis and the motion could be interpreted as such a challenge.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Tory call on Rhodesia"

Selwyn Lloyd stressed in his report that "the great tragedy of the Rhodesian situation is that neither side can win." The Conservative position is that Mr. Wilson miscalculated the Rhodesian situation and that most of the British opinion backs the initiation of talks. They interpret the stagnant situation as one of Mr. Wilson's "personal vendetta" against Mr. Smith. Mr. Lloyd seems convinced that there is a willingness of the Smith regime to discuss. "The purpose of starting up the talks again --- an ideal that is easier to declare than clarify --- would be to attempt another constitutional settlement." It seems that the Tories have some ideas about possible constitutional changes in Rhodesia, but they are waiting for a new attitude in Britain and a "public willingness" in Rhodesia to appear.

The Observer - Feb. 27, 1966

The Government feels that the Tory proposals are more of an effort to unite the "three wings of the Conservative Party," than a serious challenge to Government policy. "The real difference . . . now is over the timing of talks with Rhodesian leaders." There is also uncertainty as to when sanctions are likely to "bite." Lloyd contends that Wilson has been "wildly over-optimistic." Duncan Sandys, former Commonwealth Secretary, stated that if white Rhodesians are ever to accept majority rule, Africans must demonstrate that they can achieve stability, freedom and the rule of law in other countries.

The Times, London - Feb. 28, 1966 (Letter to the editor from "Stamp")

The Times, London - Feb. 28, 1966

"The ultimate tragedy of the Rhodesian situation appears to be imminent -- namely that it will become a party political issue . . . Surely it should be possible for the issue to be settled on a national rather than on a party political basis. May I urge that an all-party committee of privy councillors, be empowered to negotiate a settlement of the Rhodesian crisis subject, of course, to the approval of Parliament . . . . It is really now or never."

#### AFRICAN REACTION

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 26, 1966

"Egypt and Ghana talk of military action"

Former-President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah and President Nasser of Egypt discussed ways to mobilize African effort for military action to bring down the Smith regime. This occurred before Nkrumah flew to Peking.

The New York Times - Feb. 28, 1966

"Haile Selassie Asks African Unity on Rhodesia"

A speech by the Ethiopian emperor opened the foreign ministers' conference of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa. He asked for solidarity and unity to bring about "total liberation of our continent" despite efforts of the colonial powers to prevent it. He said that peace and stability should be insured to prevent distractions from the problem of Rhodesia. He added that the economic campaign had been set back because of the support of Portugal and South Africa for Rhodesia, and further that Zambia was paying heavily for the economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Simon Kapwepwe, Zambia's Foreign Minister, urged Britain to use military force against Rhodesia. Such action would be cheaper, faster, and would cut the economic losses now being sustained by Britain. Internal problems in Nigeria and Ghana are believed to have reduced the prospect of African military intervention.

#### THE UNITED STATES & RHODESIA

The Chicago Daily News - Feb. 26, 1966 (from Carl T. Rowan)

Representatives from the White House, the Justice Department and other parts of the Government conferred at the State Department on Feb. 24th on the urgent matter of how to halt the growing tide of resentment over the presence of a "Rhodesian Information Office" in Washington. Anger over the activities of Henry J.C. Hooper, who had been first secretary for information in the Southern Rhodesian office of the British Embassy, reached what one U.S. official called "an alarming pitch" throughout Africa. In Nigeria, radio stations and newspapers carried vehement anti-American comments accusing the U.S. of "hypocrisy" in pledging to help Britain crush the rebel Rhodesian regime while at the same time giving it "an opportunity to propagate its views." In Ethiopia, the government-controlled Herald, usually a moderate voice, urged Africans to seek military help "from sources, no matter how unpleasant the choice may be." Several African leaders have met quietly to plan demonstrations and other "retaliations" against the U.S. Their proposals will be placed before the O.A.U. meeting. African suspicions that the U.S. is "playing footsie" with the Rhodesians is compounded by the fact that three cars at Hooper's office still bear diplomatic plates. Further, Hooper still carries the British authorized Rhodesian passport with which he entered the U.S. as a diplomat.

The New York Times - Feb. 28, 1966

The State Department has notified John Hooper, head of the Rhodesian information office here, to report to the Justice Department in order to clarify the reasons for his remaining in the U.S., which does not involve automatic deportation. Mr. Hooper is legally registered in compliance with the law on foreign agents, after he was discharged from the British Embassy when he refused to pledge his loyalty to the Crown.

United Nations, Security Council - Letter of 28 Feb., 1966 (S/7170) from the Permanent Representative of the U.S. of A. addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Ambassador Goldbdrgr submitted the letter from the Under-Secretary for Economic Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, to Mr. Hooper informing him that he has "no official capacity in this country." but that he could remain only as a private citizen if his application to the Department of Justice for a change in status was granted.

The Chicago Daily News - March 1, 1966 (from Carl Rowan)

The "American-African Affairs Assn.", a new right-wing organization designed to save Africa from Communism has issued a 12 page report that warns that the survival of Western civilization depends on the survival of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. Three members of the group, Max Yergan, John Ashbrook, and Ralph de Toledo issued the report after a short trip to Rhodesia. Yergan, the associations' co-chairman and a Negro, is a former Communist turned superpatriot. Rep. Ashbrook is a conservative Republican from Ohio and de Toledo is a former leftist turned professional anti-Communist. The other co-chairman is William A. Rusher, publisher of the National Review, who broke with the Republican party because he thought that President Eisenhower did not give enough support to Sen. McCarthy. George Schuyler, a Negro writer for the Pittsburgh Courier is another member of the AAAA. The group's membership list closely coincides with that of the "Katanga Freedom Fighters." Many people are concerned about the group because, (1) Some Africans may believe that it is representative of the U.S. and (2) It may be vocal enough to make an already timid State Department even more so in its dealing with the problems of Rhodesia and the rest of Africa.

NOTES OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

The independence of Bechuanaland is set for Sept. 30, 1966 under the name of Botswana.

Important Articles:

1. Cable, Mary, "We and They in Rhodesia," The New Yorker, Feb. 19, 1966
2. McKay, Vernon, "South African Propaganda: Methods and Media," Africa Report, February, 1966, p. 41.

Periodicals and Books

1. Spence, J.E., Republic under Pressure: a Study of South African Foreign Policy, Chatham House Essays, London.
2. Crisis and Change, (a new journal on Southern Africa): subscription rate \$6.00 per year. Address: Circulation Manager, 607A Grand Building, Trafalgar Square London WC2.