"African upheavals and the Rhodesian question"

Britain must take into account the experiences of the rest of Africa in self-government when the time comes to decide Rhodesia's future. "The only ultimate status for Rhodesia is an independent country under majority," but in determining how this status is to be attained, "it would be irresponsible . . . to ignore the abuses and disturbances which have made life intolerable for so many Africans under African governments."

"Can the Smith regime stick it out?" (John Worrall)

Salisbury and Whitehall are equally confident that their side will win. It is now clear that "Mr. Wilson cannot hope to meet his July deadline for the Smith regime's collapse; . . . barring British military intervention, Mr. Smith and his Government have a sporting chance of pulling off their coup, but at the risk of a damaged economy. The oil embargo has been seriously breached and it may increase "until crude oil in sufficient quantities starts coming again to Beira for the Feruka refinery." Concerning tobacco, most buyers are prohibited from buying by their governments, but "confident estimates are that a fair proportion of the crop will be sold and that financial arrangements will be made through the new Tobacco Corporation to buy in unsold tobacco. If then the oil embargo is burst open, and if Rhodesia can bring in foreign currency for its tobacco and at the same time keep its influential tobacco farmers in funds," then some kind of economic equilibrium may be maintained.

Exports are believed to be "well maintained," including chrome, asbestos and other material. Imports are down, leading to a satisfactory balance of payments. Unemployment is growing, although it is not as extensive as even official estimates. Agencies are reabsorbing labor; wages and overtime are being reduced. South African goods are gradually replacing many imports although the stocks of some have dwindled. In sum it is clear "that Rhodesia possessed a great deal more economic 'fat' than many people thought." In the field of business "many ingenious and devious methods" are being used to overcome import and export restrictions. "Politically, Mr. Smith is stronger than ever." Although, "many prominent whites would like to see a fresh start made after a return to the 1961 constitution," none feel that the time for opposition is ripe and they are hopelessly split anyway. Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Sir Hugh Beadle advocate talks with Smith as a de facto government, as the only alternative to military intervention "and if that became a serious issue I believe that both would throw their hands in and take most of the white dissenters with them."

Another alternative is for Britain to wage economic war against the whole of white controlled Southern Africa, but in view of the breakdown of British bipartisan support for Mr. Wilson, this will be even more difficult. "It looks at this distance as though Mr. Smith's incredible rebellion might well succeed."

The Times, London - March 3, 1966

Letter from W.P. Kirkman

"With Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's reported analysis of the Rhodesian situation -- that Mr. Ian Smith holds effective power -- few would quarrel. To jump from that to the suggestion that we should therefore negotiate with Mr. Smith without preconditions is a very different matter." Smith's actions show nothing to admire nor would British acquiescence to these demands be considered admirable. "Has all the talk about Britain's responsibility been so much political eyewash? Do we really subscribe to the doctrine that, if you break the law successfully, you should be allowed to get away with it?"
The Times, London - March 8, 1966
Letter from Barry Phelps in response to Mr. Kirkman's letter of March 3, 1966

Mr. Phelps writes that "the fact of the matter is that if you break the law successfully you get away with it. . . ." He cites such examples as Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, General Mobutu, and General Ankrah. "It seems, therefore, that the question is not one of legal etiquette but of the moral justification for the Smith Government. Africa will be searched in vain for a proved democracy and even the quasi-democracies like Sierra Leone are also becoming one-party states led by autocrats. Africa is not yet ready for the Westminster democracy. Why, therefore, should Mr. Ian Smith's relatively mild oligarchy arouse the exclusive wrath and righteous indignation of Britain's armchair idealists? . . . In Rhodesia the African has just as much freedom under the white oligarchy as he does under the black autocrats. Therefore on a moral plane Mr. Ian Smith's Government is more worthy of our approval than most. . . One cannot help feeling that if Mr. Ian Smith had a black skin, then Britain's left wing idealists would display as much indifference about his actions as they did over the Congo tragedy, or Nkrumah's police state, or the genocide now taking place in southern Sudan."

The Observer - March 6, 1966
"If Sanctions fail" (Colin Legum)

Mr. Wilson's gamble in applying sanctions piecemeal and resisting attempts to make them compulsory under the UN Charter has failed for South Africa and Portugal have "moved from friendly neutrality to sympathetic support for the rebels." Dr. Verwoerd's shift in attitude can be accounted for by two possible theories. One is that he has simply given way to electoral pressure. The other, more far reaching explanation, is that a group within his own cabinet has been arguing that the Rhodesia is a relatively favorable ground for the confrontation with international forces which will inevitably come sooner or later.

If sanctions are extended to Portugal and South Africa, a much wider confrontation than the present one may indeed be in the making. The United States is more inclined to use drastic measures, including force, before the Rhodesian situation deteriorates further, so as to avoid the possibility of the West's "drifting into an open-ended commitment in Southern Africa."

By the beginning of April election results in Britain and South Africa will be in. "The choice then will lie between mandatory sanctions, military intervention, or abdication. If the last is to be ruled out -- as it surely must -- one of two very tough decisions will have to be taken. It will need a strong British Government to take either."

SANCTIONS AND OIL

The New York Times - March 2, 1966
"Rhodesia expects a new supply of oil"

Crude oil tanks are being constructed in Beira, Mozambique near the pipelines to Rhodesia's oil refinery 186 miles away. Meanwhile, refined oil continues to flow into Rhodesia from South Africa. In a "green light" speech last night, Dr. Verwoerd made it clear that his interpretation of "normal" trade with Rhodesia went beyond the usual commodities at the usual volume levels.

Press Digest (from South Africa) - March 3, 1966: "No Sanctions against Rhodesia"

From Die Transvaler of March 3, 1966: "No Sanctions against Rhodesia"

In his address to the National Party rally in Johannesburg F.M. Verwoerd affirmed that, "South Africa's standpoint towards Rhodesia was in conformity with that of the time when she was attacked in the U.N. and elsewhere. South Africa's standpoint was throughout that she did not want sanctions applied against her and that she would not apply sanctions or interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries." He said that S.A. would trade if she had the goods, regardless of the quantity. Dr. Verwoerd
Sanctions (Cont.)

Press Digest - March 3, 1966 (Cont.)

said he was forced to mention Rhodesia simply because the opposition leader had made it a campaign issue and because "leakages took place concerning diplomatic negotiations between South Africa and Britain." He said that the negotiations were "conducted in a civilized manner and were not accompanied by threats."

The Times, London - March 3, 1966
"Warning to Portugal on Oil"

Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, visited with Dr. Jose de Villas-Boas, the Portuguese Charge d'Affaires in Britain, to relay the view of his government that the construction of oil tanks at Beira and the supply of oil to rebel Rhodesia was considered to be a serious matter.

March, 4, 1966: "Tension mounts as Beira awaits tanker"

Colonel Leslie, the Rhodesian Secretary of Transport, went to Beira in order to inspect the storage tanks being built there to hold oil which is expected to arrive at the Mozambique port next week. The tanks are being constructed on Mozambique railway land. Lonrho company, which controls the Beira-Feruka pipelines, has been asked by the refining company, Capref, to build a short pipeline between the tanks and the main 186 mile line. The more important question is whether the Portuguese Government is going to allow the unloading, storing and pumping of the expected oil. "All indications are that the Portuguese intend to regard the whole thing as a purely commercial arrangement." The view of the Salisbury correspondent is that if the tanker does get through to Beira and unloads a significant tonnage of oil "there will be a big break not just in the oil embargo but also psychologically in the overall impact of sanctions." The "mystery" tanker is reported to be carrying 14,000 tons.

President Kaunda is presumably bringing pressure to bear on the British and Americans to make sure the tanker does not unload. He is basing his argument on the example of the Cuban blockade which was justified to prevent east-west conflict in 1963. The British and Americans are probably pressuring Portugal. Zambia seems to be considering "serving notice" to oil marketing companies which are helping to break the embargo, although this action may not be taken for some time.

"Oil Firms to curb South Africa - Rhodesia Sales" (Richard Eder, Washington)

Shell, British Petroleum, Socony-Mobil and a French producer have agreed to reduce oil sales to a 10% increase over the 1964 consumption level and thus to discourage the transfer of oil from South Africa to Rhodesia. Recent shipments to Rhodesia have been at about 20% of the requirement, whereas South African shipments will be just above the normal growth rate. South Africa has considerable oil reserves. It appears that the oil being supplied from S.A. to Rhodesia has been sent by private individuals and not out of the governments' stockpile.

Administration analyses are pessimistic about any success coming out of the British economic pressures. There is no sign of Smith's weakening. Private consensus in Washington is that Britain will eventually have to use force in Rhodesia, particularly if Mr. Wilson gets a strong mandate in the British elections on March 31st.

March 5, 1966: "Mobil denies role in oil deal" The Mobil oil company denied that it was a partner in agreements with the British Government and other oil companies to limit sales to South Africa.

The Johannesburg Star - March 5, 1966

An oil tanker belonging to a Greek merchant was scheduled to arrive at Beira on March 6. Its supply would be used to push through to Rhodesia 14,000 tons of oil which have been trapped in the pipeline from Beira-Feruka since December 31. Through techni-
Sanctions (Cont.)

The Star - March 5, 1966 (Cont.)

cal adjustments none of the oil companies which have some commitment to sanctions would be implicated.

On March 4, the Rhodesian regime relaxed rationing sufficiently to allow those taking holidays of three weeks or more outside the country enough petrol to reach the border. Rhodesian officials are not revealing the uses to which South African "gift petrol" is being assigned, but it is widely believed that much of it is going to "essential Government services," including the army.

The Times, London-- March 5, 1966
"New Oil Tanks in Mozambique confirmed by Portugal"

The reports from Mozambique that a private Portuguese company is building new oil reservoirs was confirmed by an official Portuguese statement. This statement simply said that "since it has been proved that some foreign oil companies are political instruments of their government, it seemed convenient to take precautionary measures to avoid dependence on these foreign companies." Thus the statement does not explain the exact purpose of the oil tanks, whether they are going to be used for the actual storage of oil bound for Rhodesia or simply for insurance against possible sanctions against Mozambique in the future. It was not a direct reply to Mr. Stewart's talks with the Portuguese Charge d'Affaires, but it could be an indirect way of saying that the new oil tanks at Beira will not be used for Rhodesian oil. But it seems that South Africa and Portugal "recently concluded that while Britain is engaged on an election and the African states are in full disarray, increased chances can be taken in flouting the oil embargo." Reports also include that the Sonarep refinery in Lourenco Marques is to be expanded.

The London Sunday Times - March 6, 1966
The oil flow from South Africa to Rhodesia is continuing to grow in size and is now averaging 60,000 to 70,000 gallons a day. The Rhodesian Ministry of Commerce and Industry announced that members of the oil industry are under specific instructions not to disclose any matters relating to the industry.

The Observer - March 6, 1966
"Royal Navy waits for tankers"

Two oil tankers are now reported to be approaching Beira. British warships are on watch for them, but they cannot stop the tankers. If they unload their wares British pressure on Portugal is unlikely to stop the crude oil being piped on to Rhodesia. "One tanker is said to have been loaded at Lobito in Angola." This would be heavier crude oil than the normal type supplied from the Persian Gulf, but there are reports that the Feruka refinery at Umtali has been adapted for use of this oil. Rail tankers have been assembled at Beira in case the pipeline cannot be opened. South African petrol may now be reaching Rhodesia through Komatipoort, where the S.A. railway links up with Mozambique's.

The Times, London - March 7, 1966
"Rhodesia pipeline company chief flies to London"

Mr. R.W. Rowland, joint managing director of Lonrho, the British company which controls the Portuguese-registered Pipeline Company of Mozambique (C.P.M.R.) came to London to have talks with British officials en route to a meeting in Lisbon of the C.P.M.R. directors. He was accompanied by Mr. A.H. Ball, chairman of Lonrho. It seems that the Rhodesian Government's instructions to the company for the arrangement of pumping oil from Beira to Untali has caused Lonrho certain problems. Reports are that a tanker has come from Angola and is lying off the shore of Mozambique before it will dock on Tuesday. Construction of the six storage tanks went on throughout the weekend.
Sanctions (Cont.)

The Times, London - March 7, 1966
"Greek Ban on Oil Cargoes"

The Greek Government has told the British that merchant ships of Greece are not allowed to carry arms and oil to Rhodesia.

March 8, 1966: "Lisbon Envoy again sees Minister"

Dr. Jose de Villas-Boas (Paris) met again with Mr. Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, this time on his own request. The Portuguese Charge d'Affaires probably repeated the official Portuguese statement issued on Friday which said that tanks were being built to reduce dependence on foreign companies and foreign storage facilities. It is also believed that he denied the rumors that oil has been reaching Rhodesia from Mozambique by rail.

"Pipeline Men here for Talks"

Questioned at the London airport about the possibility of oil flowing from Beira to Umtali Mr. Rowland and Mr. Fall said it would pose a difficult situation if and when the oil does arrive. Mr. Ball said that he thought a tanker was due soon but since the concession is on Portuguese territory, "it is up to the Portuguese what happens." Mr. Ball is the chairman of Lonrho.

"Journalists await Beira Tanker"

An aircraft which flew 60 miles up and down the coast of Mozambique has not detected any tanker bound for Beira. A great number of reporters have gathered on the docks in expectation at the same time that work continues on the pre-fabricated storage tanks.

The New York Times - March 8, 1966
"Portugal unmoved on Rhodesia's oil"

Reports reveal that the Portuguese Government has "carefully noted" the British concern over the oil tanks at Beira and the possible flow of oil to Rhodesia.

(from Johannesburg, S.A.)

A Mozambique Government spokesman said that the Greek tanker "Aravia" was bound for Beira, possibly from Angola.

The Times, London - March 9, 1966

The company which controls the Rhodesian refinery at Feruka has taken steps to rescind instructions to construct a connecting pipe between Beira and its own pumping station. The local company had issued these instructions but in London, the board of the company (whose shareholders are Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil, Total, Aminoil and Kuwait Oil) decided that the Portuguese-registered Pipeline subsidiary need not obey orders from Umtali.

Representative of C.P.M.R. met with Mr. Cledwyn Hughes of the Commonwealth Relations Office. The seriousness of any breach of the embargo was put to them and they undertook to put this position to the Portuguese members of the board of the company who have control over operations in Mozambique. It is not certain, therefore, that the company would refuse to pump oil along the pipeline.

There is no sign, however, of the tanker which has been reported to be heading for Beira, and the issue may not arise.

The sanctions question is now largely a matter of bluff, with each side making strong claims. Mr. Smith seems to have won three tactical successes in recent weeks - the leak in the oil embargo through South Africa, the failure of the Zambian boycott to materialize, and the continuing cooperation of Rhodesian financial institutions. Oil seems to be Smith's best success. If the South African company, Katko, wins its case against BP and BP is forced to supply it diesel oil, Rhodesian requirements can be met in full. But it is significant that the tanker has not yet appeared at Beira.
Sanctions (Cont.)

The Times, London - March 9, 1966 (Cont.)

Tobacco is much less clear. The auctions will begin in secret on March 29th, but it seems that the Rhodesian Government may still have to buy much of the crop at the cost of substantial inflation at home. Other commodities, such as chrome and asbestos, seem to have less chance of evading the boycott.

Rhodesia continues to export manufactured goods to Zambia and Malawi. Trade with South Africa continues as usual, although oil is replacing some of the consumer goods usually bought.

The New York Times - March 9, 1966
"Madagascar to aid Oil Patrol"

The British Government has requested the use of landing, fueling and other facilities on Madagascar for R.A.F. planes which are patrolling the sea routes to Mozambique. At the moment the watch is being kept by two aircraft carriers of the British, the "Eagle" and the "Ark Royal."

CONDITIONS WITHIN RHODESIA

ECONOMIC

The Times, London - March 3, 1966
"Duty of Rhodesia to pay Pensions"

Lord Beswick, Parliamentary Undersecretary for Commonwealth Relations, informed the House of Lords that the payment of pensions to civil servants of the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was the duty of the Rhodesian Government via monies of the Central African Pension Fund. The Board of Trustees of the Pension Fund British members who are Crown Agents. The British are sensitive to the Rhodesian accusations that they are not honoring the pension agreements. They retort that the difficulties stem from the Rhodesian Government's 'refusal to allow the trustees to deal with the fund's liquidity problem,' that is to deal with the Governments of Zambia and Malawi. (March 4: The Rhod. M. of Finance accused the British Gov't of "coercing" the Crown Agents against the payment of pensions)

The Johannesburg Star - March 5, 1966

In March, Rhodesia began marketing a honey-coated maize cereal to replace the shortage of corn flakes.

C.J. Hughes, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia, indicated that there will not be any significant volume of credit to tobacco growers for this year's crop unless there is some change in the present situation.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

The Times, London - March 3, 1966
"Emergency Powers to 'Stop Attacks!"

Mr. Lardner-Burke told the Rhodesian Parliament, "We must leave no loopholes that our enemies can seize upon to attack and upset and interfere with good government during this vital and crucial stage of our emergence as a sovereign independent Rhodesia." The occasion was the second reading of the Emergency Powers Amendment Bill aimed at widening "the circumstances in which the Officer Administering the Government may proclaim an emergency, to facilitate the issuing of regulations following a declaration of emergency, and to increase the range of subjects for which emergency regulations can be readily issued." Lardner-Burke said that the purpose of the Bill was to make it clear that all laws passed and enforced since Nov. 11th were valid and legal. He also said that 57 persons were in a state of detention in Rhodesia, but he would not disclose their location for security purposes.

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Conditions within Rhodesia (Cont.)

The Times, London - March 4, 1966

"Zapus say fighting has broken out"

A report from the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union office in Dar es Salaam says that 500 Africans who fled from Rhodesian troops in the Nkai Reserve in western Rhodesia have formed guerilla bands and have driven white farmers from the region. The white troops were destroying huts and livestock and in retaliation the Africans have destroyed the crops and property of the whites.

March 5, 1966: "Widening Rhodesia Court Powers". The Magistrates' Court Amendment Bill was given its first reading in parliament. The bill allows a regional magistrate to sentence 10 years imprisonment or 1000 I fine for anyone doing "malicious injury to property or arson." The recent incidents of crop burning and cattle destruction were attributed by Mr. Lardner Burke to "subversive radio broadcasts." He also commented that he thought that Britain was aiming at the "eventual use of force in Rhodesia."

The Johannesburg Star - March 5, 1966

R.T.R. Hawkins, a Rhodesian Front Parliamentarian, sharply criticized the Feb. 27th sermon of a visiting English cleric in the Salisbury Anglican cathedral. He referred in particular to the Rev. Hugh Bishop's "abysmal ignorance" of Rhodesian affairs, questioned his allegations of murder and torture of Africans by whites, and suggested that it might be time to consider church gatherings within the regulations governing public meetings.

A Rhodesian Front official warned private schools that unless they economized and increased their own incomes the Government would not be prepared to give them further financial assistance.

Statistics in Salisbury reveal that Rhodesia has had a net gain of 4,463 white immigrants in 1965 as compared with a net loss of 6,722 in 1964.

CONDITIONS WITHIN ZAMBIA

The Times, London - March 3, 1966

"Work-to-Rule in Mines"

European miners have returned to work in the copperbelt's mines, although those belonging to the Mineworkers' Society, one of the two major unions who have participated in the month long series of unofficial strikes, are only "working-to-rule," that is doing the minimal requirements for their jobs which will effect production.

March 4, 1966: "Big new mine plan expected on Zambia Copperbelt" The copperbelt mines seem to be returning to normal after four weeks of strikes and the "work-to-rule" campaign faltering. The white miners have received a big morale booster by the announcement that the Anglo-American Corp. is going to build a new mine. This company has taken this approach of expansion even during the Rhodesian crisis, while the Roan Selection Trust, the other major mining concern in Zambia, is setting up elaborate plans in case coal for the Zambian smelters is cut off from Rhodesia and rail links severed. The Roan group is working on converting the Mufulira smelter from coal to oil and plans to have the Zambian Air Force fly in oil from the Congo. It is also going to bring in two big planes able to fly out 25 tons of copper at one time, although this is just a small percentage of the Zambian copper exports.

March 5, 1966: "Zambia curbs on black market" New regulations against those who sell petrol on the black market were announced, including three years to fifteen imprisonment who those who export petrol. There are also regulations for those persons who possess without authority varying amounts of petrol.
Frank Rzechorzek, a Zambian union official blamed for the March 4th strike of white miners at Mufulira, has written to his fellow union members urging them to return to work. Restricted at Mporokoso, he communicated with the miners through Ben Oddy, another official of the Mufulira branch of the Mineworkers' Society.

The effect of oil rationing in Zambia has been for most people more inconvenient than disastrous. Some businesses certainly have been severely cut back. The sale of new and second-hand cars is one. Much of the business and industry, however, has been carrying on largely as usual. Zambia's main source of revenue, its copper mines, has not cut back production. One of the big mining companies, Anglo-American Corporation, suspended the removal of the earth and rock above the ore in the open mines in January but restarted in February. The extreme shortages of the early weeks has been eased, but the sense of insecurity remains.

President Kaunda called again for Britain to bring down the Rhodesian regime by force. He also announced plans to form a National Transport Corporation in conjunction with the Italian firm, Fiat, and perhaps the Tanzanian Government will join also.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

BRITISH POLITICS

Sir Alec Douglas-Home cited Rhodesia in a speech as just one example of the failure of the Labour Government's statesmanship abroad. He said that one man one vote was correct but not at the expense of crushing the Rhodesian economy. "It is no part of Britain's duty to assist extremists to dictatorship. But that is exactly the choice which Mr. Wilson's policy of sanctions is certain to bring about." By this he meant that either extremists within the Rhodesia Front or black nationalists would take power eventually and that the "middle, constitutional way in which Africans could graduate to responsible government," was not being negotiated or encouraged by Wilson.

March 8, 1966: Letter from Michael Foot, MP. The writer questions whether Sir Alec had changed his position on Rhodesia since Dec. 21st when he set down "two propositions which must precede any proposal for conciliation. The first is this. Majority rule for the Africans must be certain." Mr. Foot also wonders why Sir Alec did not vote against sanctions in the House of Commons since he seems to waver on the question now. He goes on to say that it does not seem that either Smith or the Rhodesian Front is willing to accept Douglas-Home's proposition of December 21st and "to pretend that Mr. Smith and his associates are prepared to talk or negotiate on terms which Sir Alec... laid down as essential seems to be encouraging illusions without parallel since Mr. Neville Chamberlain returned from Munich promising peace with honour."

JAMAICA

Some politicians and students are planning to boycott the opening of Parliament in Kingston, Jamaica at the time of Queen Elizabeth's visit in protest to the Rhodesian situation.
INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS (Cont.)

JAMAICA (Cont.)

The Times, London - March 4, 1966
"Rhodesian Slogans greet Queen"

Travelling in a royal procession in Kingston, the Queen was met by applause and 50 people held placards reading "Our brothers in Rhodesia sold out by Britain" and "Queen on tour cause she rich, we squatters cause we poor". The Queen probably didn't even see them.

March 5: "The Queen speaks of Rhodesia"

The Queen said "my Government in Jamaica supports all measures which may be used to put an end to the illegal Government in Rhodesia". There have been no great demonstrations in Kingston, although some members of the House of Assembly and one Senator did not turn up for the State opening of Parliament.

SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg Star - March 5, 1966

"Rhodesia continued to be a major issue in the South African election campaigns. Verwoerd made it clear that South Africa would sell to Rhodesia whatever she had available and that "normal trade" included any such fluctuations in quantity that demand and supply might dictate. His affirmation of "unimpeded trade" removed any lingering doubts in Rhodesian minds about barriers to the oil tanker traffic and reduced his differences from the United Party position to theoretical disputes about "multi-racialism."

Mrs. Helen Suzman, the lone Progressive Party incumbent, attacked both Verwoerd and the United Party for their political opportunism and "vote snatching." In reference to the former, she said: "Since UDI has become an election issue... the party politician in him has superseded the 'elder statesman,' and he has given every encouragement to individuals and organizations to help Mr. Smith. If Britain and the United States are in earnest over their declared intention to bring down the Smith Government, they will not indefinitely allow the present scale aid to Rhodesia via South Africa to continue unchecked."

UNITED STATES

Johannesburg Star - March 5, 1966

G. Mennen Williams was reported to have said in early March that there "seems to be some degree of cracking" in the Smith regime. He praised the cooperation of private interests in the application of sanctions.

Africa Report - February, 1966
"U.S. Policy on Rhodesia" (Excerpts from an address by G. Mennen Williams to the American Legion on December 19, 1965 in Washington D. C.)

"There has been some feeling in this country that the Southern Rhodesian rebellion, important as it is in its own right, is not of direct interest to the United States in view of our many other important world involvements. Let me say flatly that nothing could be further from the truth. We naturally have a stake in what is happening in Southern Rhodesia because of our traditional beliefs that government should be based on the consent of the governed and that all men are created equal..." -165-
"U. S. Policy on Rhodesia" (Speech by G. Kennen Williams cont.)

"In addition to those historic beliefs, we have other vital U.S. interests at stake in Africa. . . . This act of illegal rule by a selfish minority of 220,000 whites could jeopardize the rights, prestige, and good relations built up and enjoyed by some 1,500,000 other whites of European origin—a term that includes Americans—who live in areas of Africa other than southern Africa. . . . Unchecked, the Southern Rhodesian situation could well lead to the downfall of responsible, friendly African governments and their replacement by radical elements whose hands would be strengthened by white Southern Rhodesian actions. . . . The simple fact is that our entire posture in Africa rests squarely on the strong moral and material support we give African nations on issues of vital importance to them—and, obviously, the question of independence and majority rule in Southern Rhodesia is such an issue. You can readily see, therefore, that it would be a poor political risk to pander to Southern Rhodesia's white minority regime for any reason—and certainly not for investment reasons, as has been suggested in some quarters, when only $56,000,000 of our $44,340,000,000 world-wide investment total is involved—and $56,000,000 is only about one-twentieth of our investment in black and Arab Africa.

And, finally, the situation in Southern Rhodesia could trigger a bitter war along racial lines in southern Africa—a struggle that could spread swiftly to other continents. This could be the gravest consequence of all. The tragedy of the current situation is that it didn't have to happen. Under British rule, black Southern Rhodesians had confidence that their political rights would flow normally, as such rights have done in other former British colonies. . . . White Southern Rhodesians also had seen the successful transition from white minority rule to non-racial societies that had been accomplished in other parts of Africa. . . . But to no avail. The white minority was convinced it could hold back the tide of African nationalism by a selfish and ill-considered seizure of power. . . . The measures the Southern Rhodesian regime is taking to keep in power and control its people are reminiscent of those adopted by the totalitarian regimes of the 1930's against whom we fought in World War II.

Looking to the future, we believe that Britain, as the sovereign power in Southern Rhodesia, has the primary responsibility for halting the rebellion in its colony. . . . Speed is a critical factor in the situation, however. African nations already are impatient with Britain's choice of measures. . . . Under normal circumstances, it would seem that the extensive British sanctions would be strong enough to bring down the Southern Rhodesian regime. But three intangibles remain: the amount of cooperation received from South Africa, . . . the predatory tendencies of modern-day private buccaneers looking for quick profit, . . . and the amount of patience and restraint exhibited by African nations. Because of our own important interests in this matter, the United States fully backs the British Government in its actions. We believe Britain will continue to apply measures that will be adequate to resolve the situation, and we will support those measures."
INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS (Cont.)

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Times, London - March 3, 1966

The Rhodesian question is being discussed by the political committee of the ministerial council of the O.A.U. Mr. Simon Kappepwe, Zambia's foreign minister submitted the appeal for economic aid and a special fund may be established to administer it. President Nyerere and President Kaunda have been appointed to work on bringing together the two African nationalist parties in Rhodesia, ZAPU led by Mr. Joshua Nkomo and ZANU led by Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. An Algerian resolution called for recognition of ZAPU and included a call for military intervention in Rhodesia preceded by a popular uprising in Rhodesia of all the people. There was some opposition to the draft resolution on the belief that all nationalist parties should be united. Mr. Yifru of Ethiopia told the meeting that the December decision to break relations with Britain should be reviewed, and there were reports that some of the nine countries which did make that break were considering a resumption of relations. On the other hand Mr. Arteh (Somalia) backed the delegates of Mali and Guinea that all members of the O.A.U. should implement that resolution of December.

March 4: "Call to O.A.U. for Uprising"

A draft resolution submitted by the Algerian representatives calling for an armed uprising in Rhodesia is being studied by the political committee. It calls for the training of nationalists and the provision of material especially by those countries located near Rhodesia.

This resolution was different from the one entered by Tunisia and backed by 17 other countries which was presumably less radical but which was tabled. For the Algerian motion the countries were not revealed but the backers of the Tunisian one included Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Zambia. The delegates of Mali, Guinea, Tanzania and U.A.R. walked out over the seating of the delegates from the new government of Ghana, and it seems their move is backed by Tanzania and perhaps Somali. This decision upsets the immediate problems of the O.A.U. ministerial conference, that is a solution to the problem of Rhodesia.

March 5: Walk-outs from the O.A.U. included Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, and U.A.R. was joined by Kenya all over the seating of Ghana. While Algeria and Somalia left over the political committee "weak draft resolution on Rhodesia," the Kenya withdrawal was a shock. This is only an exodus from the present session of the Ministerial Council of the O.A.U.

New York Times - March 6, 1966

"African Parley mutes Rhodesia Stand"

The O.A.U. has turned to the UN for assistance in bringing down Rhodesia. A resolution was approved 23-0 (with 1 abstention) which demands Britain use "more effective measures, including the use of force" but which mainly emphasizes the African members of the UN to urge the Security Council to consider the Rhodesian situation under Charter VII of the Charter. The Charter calls for mandatory sanctions against a country including a possible blockade and military demonstrations.

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

New York Times - March 6, 1966 (Cont.)

The resolution is considered to be a victory for moderates. Nine countries did not vote, including Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, Kenya, U.A.R., Somalia, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville) and lastly Mauritania. All except the latter country walked out of the Ministerial Committee meeting, while Mauritania remained but did not vote.

The clause in the earlier resolution allowing African governments which broke relations with Britain over the Rhodesian issue to renew those ties and which caused Algeria and Somalia to leave the meetings was never included in the final draft.

The Rhodesian resolution also includes: 1) The appeal for all governments to not recognize the racist regime in Rhodesia; 2) Establishes a committee of five to examine economic aid for African nations effected by the situation; 3) Recommends that the O.A.U. not recognize one nationalist party or another in Rhodesia.

UNITED NATIONS

New York Times - March 9

Secretary-General U Thant pointed to Rhodesia as a great problem in his speech opening the session of the Special Committee on Colonialism. He called on Britain for speedy action in bringing about a "just society without discrimination" in Rhodesia.

OF NOTED INTEREST

In the Johannesburg Star of March 5th there were five main articles on the first five pages, including the lead article, concerning the House Sub-Committee hearings on U.S. relations with South Africa.