The Times, London - March 12, 1966

The cost of sanctions to British merchants and to the British Government is running at a rate of £60 - £80 million a year. Mr. Smith uses the figures to argue for recognition of his government while Afro-Asian nations use them to indicate that military intervention would be cheaper.

Both of these arguments should be resisted. Trade loss to Afro-Asian countries would have been high if Britain had recognized Smith, and the cost of war can never be pre-determined. "But the unilateral declaration of independence involved a matter of principle. If rebellion and the seizure of full power by a minority are things that Britain cannot condone they do not become acceptable if immediately they are shown to be expensive to oppose."

The Economist - March 12, 1966

"How much bluff?"

The Rhodesian situation has become long on assertions and short on facts. Since Sunday the Greek tanker said to be carrying 20,000 tons of Angolan crude oil has been expected and it has not yet arrived. "But if it does not arrive after all the fanfare, some of Mr. Smith's other confident claims may begin to look hollow too."

How much refined petrol is Rhodesia getting? Rhodesian estimates claim up to 100,000 gallons a day more than the present level of rationed consumption. Britain claims that only 30 - 40,000 gallons is coming from South Africa per day and that none is coming "from" Mozambique.

"If it finally turns out that the oil embargo is being broken on a significant scale, this would not make an early collapse of Mr. Smith's government, but the strain of sanctions would remain considerable . . . No tobacco has yet been sold in special deals to foreigners . . . unless Mr. Smith can get more than the £10 million which even the optimists assert is the best he can reasonably hope for from the coming tobacco auctions, his foreign exchange squeeze will be tightened still further, and very damagingly."

South African Summary - March 9, 1966 (Information service of South Africa)

"Normal trade with Rhodesia - Dr. Verwoerd"

Dr. H.F. Verwoerd said that it was natural for South Africa to continue trading with Rhodesia if Britain could continue trading with Cuba and Vietnam, despite of her close ties with the United States. South Africa is just being a good neighbor and standing by the principle of refusing to participate in boycotts. "Let it be perfectly clear that quantities do not affect principles. We do not believe in sanctions and if any commodity available in this country is traded with Rhodesia, whether it be groceries, steel, machinery or oil or gasoline, the Government would be participating in a boycott if it were to impede such trade." The Prime Minister also pointed out that the exchange of concerns between Britain and South Africa had been conducted in a civilized manner.
Sanctions (Cont.)

The New York Times - March 10, 1966
"South African paper tells of 'gas' flow to Rhodesia"

The Rand Daily Mail reported that gasoline was going to Rhodesia on South African railways "through Lourenco Marques." The oil is being transported in various secret ways such as using Portuguese trains and other conveyor techniques. The paper reported that 155,000 gallons had entered Rhodesia in this manner.

The Times, London - March 10, 1966
"Pipeline directors are given further warning"

The British Ministry of Power talked with Mr. A. H. Ball, the chairman of Lonrho and Mr. R.W. Rowland, the joint-managing director of the Portuguese company C.P.M.R. and Mr. J.A. Caldecott, another director, and no doubt repeated what Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, had said the previous day. After these meetings the men left for Lisbon and a board meeting of the C.P.M.R. The men were told to convey to the Portuguese the seriousness of having a company in which the British hold the majority stock involving itself in shipping oil from Beira in Mozambique to Umtali in Rhodesia. This warning applied to any aid by Lonrho to channel oil into Rhodesia including the building of a connecting pipeline from the Portuguese-built storage tanks to the main pipeline. It is believed that Mr. Hughes also hinted that if the embargo is broken the U.N. would come into the issue. The O.A.U. has empowered Mali, Senegal, and Zambia's delegates to initiate the issue of mandatory sanctions at the U.N. If international action does occur it would produce grave results for Portugal. It seems that the British Government has prevented the breach of the embargo by "securing the diversion of at least one tanker destined for Beira."

British officials denied the suggestion that the use of aircraft facilities in Malagasy was in fact the first steps to establishing a full blockade. The Malagasy Republic's government has not yet replied to the British request for facilities. At present the Ark Royal aircraft carrier holds planes with early warning radar systems to detect approaching ships. It is stationed off the East African coast.

Since January 5th there have been 32 reports of a tanker on the way to Mozambique with oil for Rhodesia, therefore the British Government is skeptical of the latest report of another tanker. The Portuguese Government has given assurances that the storage tanks at Beira are going to be used for oil distribution in Mozambique rather than for oil bound for Rhodesia.

March 11, 1966: Two British carriers are now patrolling the Mozambique Channel. They are not operating a blockade and would not stop any tanker headed for Beira. But their function is to give Whitehall information so that political and diplomatic forces may be used to re-route approaching ships.

March 12, 1966: Two oil rigs are being shipped to South Africa. They are of such a size to indicate that oil has been found in South Africa, possibly in the Cape or Karoo areas.

The Lonrho pipeline company has been meeting for the last two days. No news has been announced thought it is presumed that the directors are holding to their former policy of piping any oil that reaches Beira. So far, they say, it has been an academic question.
Sanctions (Cont.)

The Economist - March 12, 1966

"Plugging the Oil Leak"

"If Rhodesia's neighbours to south and east really mean to sustain the rebellion, they --- and Britain --- must face some rough consequences."

The mysterious tanker whose reported approach to Beira began to make headlines on March 3rd still has not showed up. "If the rumoured tanker, (still on Thursday invisible) does unload at Beira, undeflected by any attention it may receive from British warships, and if the pipeline company then pumps crude oil into Rhodesia, in spite of the strong warning that its British directors got from their government this week, Mr. Smith's dwindling reserves stand to gain the equivalent of two or three week's rationed petrol. And Mr. Smith's government would get a hefty shot in the arm. If, on the other hand, the hopes his supporters have pinned on the tanker are disappointed, the setback to rebel morale will be correspondingly sharp."

It cannot yet be said that sanctions are failing. They will likely hurt much more when the problem of selling the tobacco crops becomes acute at the end of March. Rebel morale also seems to be sustained by the hope of a Conservative victory in the British elections on March 31st. Another significant date is March 30th, the day of the South African general elections. The United Party has chosen to fight the elections on a platform of more open support for Mr. Smith than the National Party Government has yet declared. This is hardly likely to make Dr. Verwoerd narrow the "open door" policy on petrol and other supplies.

Portugal and South Africa are also unlikely to pay much attention to endorsements of mandatory sanctions by the U.N. Security Council. The only thing that might pressure them would be "some fairly tough squeeze-plays by Britain and the U.S." Both Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Salazar are firm men and the pressures brought to bear will have to be strong ones. "Britain's massive trading and financial intercourse with South Africa may offer great leverage, but it also means that a decision to put the squeeze on South Africa must be taken with full awareness of its consequences for this country and taken only with full participation by the U.S. and other major industrial nations." It may mean the use of military force but there is no reason to think it need come to that. "The sheer size and variety of Britain's normal economic intercourse with South Africa offers a host of sensitive spots at which pressure could be applied selectively and probably without fanfare. What may be needed is the least application of pressure which will persuade Dr. Verwoerd that Mr. Smith is expendable; but enough to do just that."

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966

Great Britain's "Early Bird" warning system has diverted three unidentified pirate tankers from docking at Beira to unload oil for Rhodesia. Air and sea patrols and radar equipment provide Britain with the opportunity to exert diplomatic pressure on the owner-nation and this pressure succeeded in dissuading a third tanker from supplying its 20,000 tons of crude oil just last week. The H.M.S. Eagle will replace the Ark Royal aircraft carrier in the near future. Authoritative sources indicate that the Beira blockade has thus far been successful and that the Umtali refineries are still idle.

Mr. Wilson indicated that the "oil seepage" from South Africa and perhaps the Portuguese territories was causing concern and that the problem thus created would have to be dealt with. He reaffirmed, however, his Government's commitment not to use force and stressed the increasingly difficult economic situation within Rhodesia.

Britain's December exports to Rhodesia amounted to £1,800,000 and her January ones dropped to £500,000, according to the President of the Board of Trade in London.
Sanctions (Cont.)

The Johannesburg Star (Cont.) - March 12, 1966

Salisbury continues to be confident in its ability to resist sanctions and bases much of its hope on the friendship of South Africans and Wilson's inability, given his own political context, to apply military force. Rhodesian financial institutions continue to function and the Zambian trade boycott has failed, as yet, to materialize. However, much depends on the fate of Rhodesia's tobacco crop, which starts to market on March 29th.

The Observer - March 13, 1966

"Vervowerd threat to sanctions" (Colin Legum)

Verwoerd has authorized the government-controlled Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa (IDC) "to negotiate for a controlling interest in the Rhodesia Iron and Steel Corporation (RISCO) on behalf of another South African state-controlled company -- the Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR)." For £2.5 million, control over RISCO would pass to ISCOR. This would have three advantages for the Smith regime; 1. fresh sterling resources for overseas trade, 2. the RISCO steelworks would be able to stay open, thus avoiding loss of jobs, and 3. Rhodesian pig-iron could be exported via South Africa to Britain, Europe, and Japan, without a risk of being traced.

This deal marks the first time the Vervoor government has officially become involved in trying to undermine sanctions. In addition, South Africa is supplying petrol and acting as Rhodesia's banker. The ban on mineral exports is hardly working. Union Carbide and Vanadium Corporation have protested Britain's allowing 9,000 tons of chrome to be imported; the explanation being that the shipment was authorized before the British Order in Council forbade the importation of chrome. In general, some American companies are observing the embargo on a voluntary basis, but others are not. The State Department takes a hard line, whereas the Department of Commerce emphasizes that "Presidential directives are not binding on American businessmen." Rhodesian minerals still find customers, often in unexpected places -- it is a buyer's market. Tobacco buyers are arriving in Salisbury for the upcoming auctions. Two American firms have arrived, "but the State Department got on to them, and they have now given assurances that they will not participate in the auctions."

Mr. Wilson is considering asking for mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, if he wins the election.

The Times, London - March 16, 1966

Dr. Douglas Anglin, Vice-Chancellor of Zambia University, and three other members of the faculty presented a letter today to the British High Commissioner in Zambia, calling on Britain to seek U.N. action to make sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory. The letter was signed by 18 members of the academic staff. It criticized Britain for a lack of firmness in the Rhodesian rebellion. The letter also calls for military intervention and the use of force in case of a breakdown of law and order.

The Rhodesian tobacco market expects buyers from Switzerland, Portugal and the Netherlands. It is doubtful that the crop will reach the normal markets in England, Belgium and Holland, except, perhaps in greatly reduced quantities. It is reported that reputable buyers will be kept from the secret auctions for fear they might report what they see. Smith will screen out those he cannot trust in favor of the racketeers.

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966

The Australian Government has clamped down on the "petrol for Rhodesia" fund in Australia.
CONDITIONS WITHIN RHODESIA

POLITICAL CLIMATE

The Times, London - March 10, 1966
"Minister denies report of African troubles"
Mr. Howman, the Rhodesian Minister of Information, spoke in Parliament attacking the London Times for publishing a statement that Africans in the Nkai reserve in Matabeleland had formed guerilla bands in response to Rhodesian aggression. Mr. Joe Behand, the African elected district member from Matabeleland North, said the report of guerilla action was false and Mr. Howman "categorically" denied it. He commented, "Things have come to a sorry pass when we find the great institutions of England, the Bank of England, Lloyd's of London, and now The Times fallen from their erst-while pedestals of objectivity, reliability and integrity." In this article of the Times it states that since the bus boycott in December there has in fact "been little trouble." A ZAPU report from Dar es Salam on March 3rd, which was the basis for the information issued by Reuter, also mentioned other disturbances in the towns. This was also denied by Rhodesian officials. Mr. Lardner-Burke admitted this in the rural regions there have been "sporadic outbreaks" of crop slashing and cattle maiming, which have been inspired by subversive radio broadcasts from Zambia.

March 11, 1966: Mr. Bruce-Brand, Rhodesian Secretary for Law and Order, reported today that Rhodesia is battling the forces of Communism in the country. His report calls for the Rhodesian Government to introduce powers of preventative detention.

March 12, 1966: Mr. Smith said his Government is not thinking of declaring Rhodesia a Republic although many remarks by his followers in high positions have prejudiced Rhodesia's position in the Commonwealth.

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966
Rhodesia is deporting two representatives of Amnesty International, a relief agency which aids political prisoners. They are Miss Antonia Caccia and Mr Aidan Foster-Carter. (See notes of special interest at end)
Jean Pierre Maire, a leader of the France-Rhodesia Association, returned to Paris after a 10-day fact-finding mission and reported that black and white Rhodesians were "all confident of the future of Rhodesia." He said that Africans there had a more enviable position than those in many other parts of the continent. "They all told me they were very contented with their lot. There isn't segregation in Rhodesia, and certain Africans live in conditions of comfort which some French people do not enjoy."

"2 Top Rhodesians' Sons Target of Student Prank"
The teenage sons of P.M. Ian Smith and Sir Humphrey Gibbs were released shortly after they were "kidnapped" as part of a Capetown University students effort to publicize an annual "rag." They also sent telegrams to the boys' fathers calling for a meeting between them to discuss the Rhodesian situation.

Ecumenical Press Service - Feb. 24, 1966
"Extreme measures to break Morale used in Rhodesian camps, BCC charges."
The British Council of Churches issued a statement in London that the Smith Government was being harsh and extreme to restricted Africans.
Conditions within Rhodesia (Cont.)

Ecumenical Press Service - Feb. 24, 1966

In one camp the restricted Africans are confined to a small hut encircled by barbed wire, heavily guarded and with arc lights shining all night. In another camp they are allowed no news from the outside and no reading material, and even their wives are not told of their whereabouts. "In what is now an every day occurrence a good-living, hard-working African was taken into custody by the police in December and kept in prison for a month without any charge being made against him and then released with no explanation. . . . The conditions of overcrowding, lack of sanitation and washing facilities were appalling." The statement of the BCC issued in association with the Conference of British Missionary Societies also revealed that no minister of religion has been allowed to visit restricted Africans at Gonagudzingwa for over a year and that the Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland had received his final refusal from the Government on his request to see them.

The British Government has given assurances that it will give financial aid to missionary societies and overseas charities during the present emergency.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Times - London, March 14, 1966

Mr. Wrathall, Rhodesian Minister of Finance, rebuked Britain today for refusing to release funds from the Bank of England to pay for £1.25 million of maize brought into Rhodesia to feed Africans in tribal trust areas. From this complaint, it is learned that Rhodesia will be importing 500,000 bags, each weighing 200 pounds, before Rhodesia's crop is ready in two months time. This year's crop has made a remarkable recovery from the drought and will probably be sufficient for internal needs for 1966-1967.

The three key problems in Rhodesia remain: sanctions, demand for the status of a Republic, and the judiciary where a ruling on the legality of the Smith Government is expected in a test case in the next few weeks.

CONDITIONS WITHIN ZAMBIA

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966

Zambia plans to establish a 15,000,000 road transport system and a military training system announced President Kaunda at the opening of Parliament in Lusaka last week. The transport system is in addition to existing plans for the Z200,000,000 Tanzam railway, an oil pipeline to Dar es Salaam, and a hydro-electric scheme for Kafue. The Anglo-Canadian survey team has now agreed on the best route for the railroad, which might not pay for itself until 1990. The military training school will be built at Broken Hill and will be party of the drive to expand the size of the Zambian army.

Zambia's representatives to the British Government concerning the three common services (Rhodesia Railways, Central African Airways, and the Central African Power Corporation) have, thus far, produced no results.

South Africa has stepped up her supplies of coal to Zambia to a rate of more than 5,000 tons a month. The Transvaal coal goes by ship to Lobito, Angola, and thence to the Copperbelt via the Benguela railway. Some 8,000 tons of copper are now moving out from Zambia along this same route every month.

Malawi will process and pack Zambia's tobacco crop this year. The estimated 20 million pound crop will enter Malawi duty free and will not lose the Commonwealth preferences which would have been endangered by export through Rhodesia.

New Zealand is giving £20,000 worth of agricultural equipment to Zambia. The Zobe Steel Works of Japan have completed a contract for the building of a fertilizer manufacturing company in Livingstone.
The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966 (Cont.)

There has been some discussion in the British Parliament about press censorship, present or anticipated, in Zambia. The contentions of Mr. Evelyn King, a Conservative, were based on the expulsion of two journalists from Zambia, one being an Englishman.

The Times, London - March 16, 1966

Plans are going ahead for a pipeline from Dar es Salaam to the Copperbelt. Lonrho, the company which controls the line from Beira to Umtali, has been invited to undertake a survey for the scheme. A refinery for oil may also be built. Both projects depend on the backing of the Zambian Government.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

BRITISH POLITICS

The Times, London - March 12, 1966

Sir Alec Douglas-Home said today that Labor would probably not oppose any decision by the U.N. to use force in Rhodesia. In fact, a Labor Government might join in. He said that his policy has been, and is, one of readiness to talk to Mr. Smith with the hope of bringing Rhodesia back into the Commonwealth.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966

In an effort to express gratitude for gifts of petrol, some Bulawayo businessmen are planning to bring children from South African orphanages to Rhodesia for short vacations. The idea was sparked by the arrival of a 44-gallon drum of oil from Johannesburg orphanages.

Africans from Rhodesia and Mozambique working in South Africa have to pay to stay in the country and must carry passports issued by their home country rather than reference books, as was the case previously.

Young Rhodesians on a bicycle built for four are on their way to Pretoria and Durban with goodwill messages from the Mayor of Bulawayo. Three cars accompany them, bearing patriotic slogans and stickers, saying "Thank you South Africa."

THE UNITED STATES

The Johannesburg Star - March 12, 1966

Mr. John Ashbrook, a Republican Representative from Ohio, warned the House sub-committee against a continuation of the sanctions policy against Rhodesia. He had chaired a "fact-finding" mission to Salisbury in January under the sponsorship of the American-African Affairs Association. (See Rhodesia News Summary, March 3-9)

He declared, "Southern Rhodesia is a model nation for peace, stability, and racial harmony with increasing rather than decreasing efforts towards understanding between races . . . Prime Minister Smith is a true patriot and a gentleman. It would take a major holocaust to depose him. . . ."

NOTES OF SPECIAL INTEREST: There will be a meeting on April 7, 1966 at 8:00 P.M. at Freedom House, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York for the establishment of an American branch of Amnesty International.