RHODESIA NEWS SUMMARY
Week of May 26-June 1, 1966

Editorials, Comments and Resolutions

New Statesman - May 27, 1966
Editorial: "Sanctions: The Final Throw"
"Once again we must ask: what is the (British) government's Rhodesia policy?...It is hard to disagree with Mr. Kaunda's description of Wilson's handling of the rebellion as 'evasive and shift)' or to refute the claim of Mr. Gershon Collier, chairman of the UN Colonialism Committee, that the sanctions policy 'has been used by the British government as an expedient to avoid coming to grips with the essence of the problem'....

Economist - May 28
Letter to the Editor from Reginald Green, Kampala, Uganda
"Given your repeated support for a workable and just outcome of the Rhodesian crisis, 'Talk about Talks' (April 30) can only be termed unrealistic and dangerously misleading. Its message, 'So Mr. Wilson should be prepared to concede Rhodesian independence...!' is a blueprint for disaster. A much juster sketch for Rhodesia's future would include: 1) Immediate parity of de facto African elected and a de facto settler elected seats..., 2) A literacy franchise qualification and a basically common roll by 1970; 3) Independence under a parliamento elected under this franchise by 1972. Mr. Smith cannot accept such terms. They must be imposed. At a minimum that means comprehensive, compulsory, universal (UN) sanctions. In all probability it also means at least the show of military force.

The Observer - May 29
Editorial: "What's going on?"
"The elements of Mr. Wilson's Rhodesian policy now lie buried so deep in the recesses of 10 Downing Street that even his Ministerial colleagues no longer appear to know what is going on. The growing atmosphere of suspicion and hostility surrounding the secret talks is not conducive to their success; any agreement that might be reached is likely to be "tainted in advance."

It is vitally important to restore confidence among those nations who at first fully supported Britain--above all Zambia. But present policy is having and is bound to have the opposite effect. The danger now is that Dr. Kaunda may emulate Mr. Wilson in choosing to go his own way.

"A junior Minister, however able, is hardly the person to repair the badly damaged Anglo-Zambian relations. If Mr. Bottomley is not thought to be the right person to go to Lusaka in the present emergency, it is time Mr. Wilson got himself a new Commonwealth Secretary."

Chicago Daily News - May 28
Editorial "Russia Stirs African Cauldron"
"Black Africa has before it the example of the Congo, where organized forces were able to inflict fearful losses on an untrained, poorly-equipped native army. What would be the outcome if African troops, similarly untrained, took the field against the mobile,
The sometimes frustrating, but steady, pressure of economic sanctions is still much the wisest course against the Smith regime.

TALKS

The Observer - May 29 (Colin Legum)
"Rhodesia talks to be resumed"

The talks were adjourned 10 days ago; both sides seem to think the talks can be usefully continued. However, terms for a negotiated settlement are still nowhere in sight; "since both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith insist on complete secrecy over the talks, each is able quietly to suggest that the other is weakening."

Dr. Kaunda of Zambia remains "profoundly suspicious of the secret negotiations. Nor is Mr. Wilson able to remove these suspicions because of his insistence on secrecy."

"Zambia's plans for cutting itself off progressively from Rhodesia's communications system are going forward...British aid to expedite alternate supply routes for Zambia is expected to be increased. President Johnson has pledged America's full support as well." The possibility of using the Congolese railway line through Katanga to the Angolan port of Lobito is being discussed by Zambia and the Congo.

New York Times - May 27. (Anthony Lewis)

Prime Minister Wilson has now fully committed himself and his Government to seeking a negotiated settlement of the conflict with Rhodesia. This policy, made known by Mr. Wilson within the Government, represents a sharp change from his public position. The shift is of the highest significance in both foreign and domestic political terms...Mr. Wilson is now determined to have the 'talks' turn into official negotiations and to have the negotiations succeed. The British Government now opposes a Commonwealth meeting in July, and informants even discount speculation about a date in September. The talks with Rhodesia, it is stressed, must not be ruffled.

The main reason for the new Wilson view is the failure of sanctions to work as decisively as expected. Officials say confidently that Rhodesia's economy is being hurt, but there is no longer any talk of a dramatic collapse - or a Rhodesian political transformation as a result...The question is whether there is any realistic hope of a settlement between Britain and Rhodesia. Mr. Wilson believes there is, and officials see ground for hope in the fact that the Rhodesian side wants to go on talking quietly.

The key to a settlement could be a massive program of African education, aided from outside and designed to bring black Rhodesians gradually to the educational level required to vote. An agreement along those lines would unquestionably bring the most violent denunciation from all of black Africa... Mr. Wilson is prepared to ride out that storm.... Today, the prevailing view in the Government is that Mr. Smith is the best hope of working out of the Rhodesian embroilment.

RAILROAD CRISIS AND REACTION

The Times, London
--May 26. Three Zambian members of the Rhodesia Railways Board will not meet when the Board convenes in Bulawayo tomorrow. The Zambian...
Railroad Crisis and Reaction (Cont.)

The Times, London (Cont.)

government has not given the copper companies an approval for paying rail fares in advance, as Rhodesia is demanding. Rhodesia is considering two new rail links with South Africa, via Deit Dridge.

--- May 27. The Anglo American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust, Zambia's two copper mining companies today declared force majeure because of the Rhodesia Railway crisis. This gives them legal protection if they are unable to meet their contracts with buyers. Mines are in full production and copper is being stock piled at the rate of more than 2,000 tons a day. Mr. James Skinner, Zambian Attorney-General issued a writ against Rhodesian Railways claiming the new freight payment system illegal. He applied to the High Court for an interim injunction restraining the management from implementing the restrictions. Mr. Simon Kapwepwe talked with Secretary of State Dean Rusk about the alternative ways of exporting Zambian copper.

--- May 28. Mr. Kapwepwe said today that Britain is urging Zambia to pay the demanded freight rates. He replied that it would be "impolitic." Zambia's refusal causes a fall of $20 million in Rhodesia's budget.

--- May 30. The railways resumed loading Zambian copper today after five days interruption. The resumption began after a High Court ruling in Lusaka ordering the railway men to accept goods bound for the Rhodesian border. Whether Rhodesia will permit the copper to be sent onto the east coast is in question. Meanwhile, Mrs. Judith Hart left Zambia after several days of friendly talks on how Britain might help Zambia be less dependent economically on Rhodesia. British-Zambian friction remained as Mr. Kapwepwe again accused Mr. Wilson of "losing his principles" in talking with Smith. The civilian oil air-lift to Zambia has ended. A total of 8,300 tons of fuel had been flown to Zambia.

The New York Times

--- May 31. The Rhodesian refusal to accept the Zambian High Court ruling is expected to split the loyalties of railmen on the system and to lead to its final break-up. For railway officials on the Zambian section of the line to refuse copper shipments on Zambian terms could mean prosecution for contempt of court.

Meanwhile Zambia's planning for development of alternative routes is being stepped up. The Transport Minister, H.D. Danda, has gone to the Congo for talks on improving the capacity of the Congo section of the Lobito route. Observers here believe Britain will provide extra aid for Zambia if the railway splits into two systems.

Meanwhile 14 heavy trucks left the Copperbelt with 140 tons of copper on the highway route to Dar es Salaam. Fifty trucks of new Zambia-Tanzanian Road Services Corporation are expected to be in operation by July, but the capacity of route and of Dar es Salaam to handle the copper is doubted.

--- June 1. A Rhodesian Railways train carrying copper and zinc exports from Zambia crossed the border into Rhodesia today without hindrance.

Economist - May 28

The really intriguing question is: what prompted the Smith government to choose this moment to force a showdown that could mean a swift cut in its already halved earnings of foreign exchange and make widespread unemployment in Rhodesia?...the prepayment of freight charges would not have gone far to offset (Smith's) mounting deficits...if even these small sums are needed...here is revealing evidence of the effectiveness of the sanctions.

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Economist - May 28 (Cont.)

Even now, it may turn out that the Smith government's words and deeds are as far apart from each other as those of Africa's other ephemeral regimes... As Lord Caradon told them in the Security Council, the intensity of the Africans' feelings can be understood and respected in Britain... (But) If President Kaunda's resistance to Mr. Smith's demands this week had not been enveloped in so much angry verbiage about Britain and the Commonwealth, and accompanied by thoughtless African moves at the UN that merely tended to reduce that organization's credibility, it would have been easier to see clearly where responsibility for the new crisis lay - and to see what the crisis reveals about the prospects of an early ending to the rebellion."

The Scotsman, Edinburgh - May 29

"A curious feature of the Rhodesian crisis is that the Zambian Government, though bitterly hostile to Mr. Ian Smith's regime, has done more to keep it going than the friendly South African Government has. Britain and the United Nations have asked other countries to break off economic relations with Rhodesia. Dr. Kaunda has not got to that stage yet; but he could claim that the rail deadlock is a preliminary to closing the ring round Rhodesia, which still sends a large part of its exports to Zambia."

The Manchester Guardian Weekly - May 27

"President Kaunda's methods have been devious, but probably they have been justified all the same. The United Nations has called on all members 'to do their utmost in order to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia.' Britain has asked other members of the Commonwealth to help in bringing Mr. Smith down. Dr. Kaunda can thus claim to be promoting the public weal, even if he appears to be cutting off Mr. Wilson's nose to spite Mr. Smith's face. But will they help to achieve a change of direction in Rhodesia?... The Rhodesians would be blind not to realize, now that the euphoria is wearing off, that their future in a permanent state of economic warfare would be bleak. If the Zambian measures by making the economic tourniquet that much tighter augment the Rhodesian misgivings, that alone would be a useful purpose."

The Spectator - May 27

"Once it is plain that we will not be blackmailed into using force in this way, the Zambian action may prove a blessing in disguise. It would clearly intensify the economic squeeze on Rhodesia... It would do so to be sure at the cost of even greater damage to the Zambian economy. But because Dr. Kaunda has taken this step unilaterally, and not at the bidding of Britain, there is no reason whatsoever why Britain should mitigate its effects by the provision of further economic aid to Zambia...."

INTERNAL RHODESIA

Washington Post - June 1

Seven African miners were killed, four buried underground and one injured in a rock fall early today at the Trojan nickel mine at Dindura, a town fifty miles from Salisbury. A police spokesman said rescue workers were trying to save four men still buried at the mine in which the Anglo-African Corporation has an 85% controlling interest. A big expansion program aimed at boosting the mine's output to 600,000
**Internal Rhodesia (Cont.)**

Tons a year was due to begin Wednesday. The mine employs about 25 whites and 500 Africans.

**New York Times - May 27**

Ronald Robson, the BBC Africa correspondent, and Roy Perrott, chief reporter of the Observer of London, won High Court cases today in which they opposed Government orders expelling them from Rhodesia.

The Times, London

---May 28. The Rhodesian government took power today to seize any British passport issued by the British Government to a Rhodesian citizen resident on or after Nov. 11.

---May 31. An African arrested today near Hartley in conjunction with last week's killing of two whites.

**Chicago Daily News - May 28**

The extra hazard at the Dulawayo Gold Club's seventh hole does not exist anymore. Harold the crocodile is dead. The 5-foot crocodile, which made news by watching golfers tee off at the short seventh—snapping at one who had the discourtesy to prod him with a 4 iron—obviously did not like all the publicity he was getting. Harold moved away from the course and was bound by the police basking in the sun a mile away on the doorstep of a house.

**INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS**

**A. United Nations**

The Times, London - May 28

The UN Committee on Colonialism meeting in Dar es Salaam has demanded the release of Joshua Nkomo and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole so that they can testify to the committee. The Australian and U.S. members of the committee expressed reservation, because the committee is addressing itself to the British Government, whereas the prisoners are held under the Smith regime, and out of British control. "If Britain could bring them here, it would mean the rebellion was ended," the US representative said.

**B. United States**

New York Times - May 27

President Johnson told a gathering of African ambassadors today that the US finds repugnant the policies of white supremacy practiced in Rhodesia and other parts of Africa. In his first major speech on Africa since he took office, Mr. Johnson attempted to identify the US with a major political concern of black Africa: the struggle to end white rule in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories. He expressed sympathy for African efforts toward economic development and, although he did not offer an increase in aid, he made several specific proposals for channeling aid into more useful fields. Mr. Johnson spoke at a White House reception marking the third anniversary of the Organization of African Unity.

The speech was described by White House officials as an effort to show "that the President intends to carry forth a global policy despite the burdens of Vietnam." More practically, it is interpreted in the Administration as an effort to emphasize amid the growing criticism over the US position in Vietnam, more positive aspects of American foreign policy.
In briefing newsmen about the speech's political message, White House officials were caught between the desire to emphasize its importance and their haste to stress that no political departures were being made. This led one official to reply, when asked whether the President's explicit criticism of Rhodesia was not meant also to apply to South Africa: "I would say that the President is not trying to be undisturbing."

Excerpts from President Johnson's Speech

"There is in Africa today an increasing awareness that government must represent the true will of its citizens. Across the continent the majority of people prefer self-government with peril to subservience with serenity. This makes all the more repugnant the narrow and outmoded policy which in some parts of Africa permits the few to rule at the expense of the many.

The United States has learned from lamentable personal experience the waste and injustice that result from the domination of one race by another. Just as we are determined to remove the remnants of one inequality from our own midst, we are also with you - heart and soul - as you try to do the same.

We believe, as you do, that denial of a whole people's right to share their national future is morally wrong. We also know it is politically and socially costly. A nation in the 20th century cannot expect to achieve order and sustain growth unless it moves - not just steadily but rapidly - in the direction of full political rights for all its people. It has taken us time to learn this lesson. But having learned it, we do not intend to forget it.

The Government of the United States cannot, therefore, condone the perpetuation of racial injustice anywhere in the world... We are giving every encouragement and support to the efforts of the United Kingdom and the United Nations to restore legitimate government in Rhodesia. Only when this is accomplished can steps be taken to open the full power and responsibility of nationhood to all the people of Rhodesia - not just 6% of them.

The disruptive effects of current sanctions fall heavily upon Zambia, adding a difficult burden to that young republic's efforts to strengthen its national life. I have informed President Kenneth Kaunda that we will work with him trying to meet the economic pressures to which his country is being subjected.

As a basic part of our national tradition, we have supported self-determination and an orderly transition to majority rule in every quarter of the globe. We shall continue to provide our full share of assistance to refugees from social and political oppression.

The foreign policy of the United States is rooted in its life at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country. And we will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law. We will not live by a double standard - professing abroad what we do not practice at home, or venerating at home what we ignore abroad."

New York Times - May 29
Editorial "Africa Discovered"

The most important thing about President Johnson's major speech to African ambassadors this week was that it was made at all. It was his
first speech on African policy since he became President and the first
by an American Chief Executive on the subject since John F. Kennedy
spoke briefly on "Africa Day" in 1961.

Mr. Johnson's remarks and the White House reception were doubtless
aimed at countering a feeling widespread in Africa that the Administra-
tion is no longer genuinely interested in that continent. Cynics will
wonder if the attention given to Senator Robert F. Kennedy's forth-
coming visit to South Africa may also have been a factor.

The President may have seemed a trifle self-righteous to his guests
when he castigated white supremacy in southern Africa, but he did not
gloss what he called America's 'lamentable personal experience' with
racial inequality...."

Column "Who's in Charge of Rhodesian Problem?" Arthur Krock

"While Prime Minister Wilson in London was openly backing down from
his truculent attitude toward the Government of Rhodesia, President
Johnson in Washington was calling for its unconditional surrender.
Since the Rhodesian problem is an internal quarrel of the British
Commonwealth, the President's pre-emption of a militant stand from
which the British Government was retreating raised several questions
in the area of international politics.

These questions are: Is the President...taking charge of an
internal British controversy? Or was the impression he created of
doing this a strategic move, with Wilson's advance knowledge and
approval, to assist the negotiation with the Rhodesian Government to
which Wilson has reverted from his House of Commons declaration last
December?

There are several reasons why the speech was probably prearranged
with London. One reason is that Mr. Johnson is not given to risky
adventures in foreign policy such as deliberate incitement of the new
African nations against the U.K. most certainly would be. Also, the
U.K. not only is the most important and indispensable ally of the
U.S. but the personal relations between the President and the Prime
Minister are authoritatively represented to be close and warm.

The question that remains is, assuming his speech was a pro-
British play in diplomatic strategy, can the encouragement the
President's comments gave to the anti-Rhodesian Africans now be held
within the limits of that design?

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