

SOUTHERN AFRICA NEWS BULLETIN

Committee on Southern Africa, National Student Christian Federation,  
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y., 10027. Room 754

RHODESIA NEWS SUMMARY

Week of June 2 - 8, 1966

EDITORIALS AND PERSONAL COMMENTS

Chicago Daily News - June 3

William F. Buckley Jr. "Johnson on Africa: Double Standard"

"President Johnson's attack on South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories would be more tolerable if his language had been less hifalutin, his sense of moral rectitude more impartial, and his understanding of history at least slightly visible.

"It mattered not at all to Lyndon Johnson that great material progress has brought benefits in South Africa and Rhodesia to its citizens, black and white alike - the governments must be despised because they discriminate on the basis of color.

SANCTIONS AND OIL

Johannesburg Star - June 4

The price of motor oil has risen by 2d a pint in Rhodesia. The increase was necessary because of the increased cost of obtaining supplies.

The World Today - March 1966

"Sanctions and Rhodesia" by Dennis Austin (reprinted in Current, June 1966)

The literature on sanctions is surprisingly thin despite the the interest aroused in the problem in the 1930's and again today. Because of past failures, sanctions have an air of failure about them, which has persisted in the present efforts. It is interesting to see how quickly the African states became skeptical about the effectiveness of sanctions against the Smith regime, not only because they doubted whether the British government was as determined to act as it was to promise action but on more general grounds....

"There is also a basic difference between sanctions which aim at checking aggression or weakening a potential enemy, and those which seek to overthrow a regime or to force a fundamental change of domestic policy on its leaders. To attempt the latter is perhaps the most difficult sanctions policy of all to pursue since it is likely to demand of the regime under attack the surrender of principle and policies - of a domestic nature - which lie at the heart of a belief in its own survival..."

There are eight major points to be made concerning the nature of sanctions.

1. Sanctions are likely to be most effective when they are used as part of a general armory of weapons. It is probably a fallacy to suppose that they belong to a special category of 'pacific weapons.' In this respect it may well have been a mistake on the part of the U.K. government to rule out the use of military force in Rhodesia, since it probably tended to diminish the effectiveness of the actual measures adopted.

2. Sanctions are very likely to be a long-drawn-out affair, since by their nature they

belong to the category of siege warfare rather than assault...Sanctions cannot be expected to produce a dramatic reversal of fortunes: slow to take effect, they are also slow to produce results.

3. Sanctions cannot easily be limited to the particular enemy in view. There is usually the danger of 'overspill' or, in moral terms, the likelihood that that the innocent and the guilty will be bound by a common fate.

4. There is always a danger that the effect of sanctions will exceed what is intended, particularly if the object of the boycott is the overthrow of a regime or the ending of policies which are held by the regime to be essential to its survival.

5. The efficiency of sanctions will depend on the degree of universality with which they can be applied.

6. Sanctions being a form of limited warfare, it is wise to give as much attention to the terms of surrender necessary to secure the lifting of the boycott as to the efficiency of the embargo. If no final assault is intended, the hope must exist among the besiegers that a time for parley will come from which a satisfactory settlement can be reached. But the success and length of the siege are likely to be determined in large part by the terms being offered.

7. One must face clearly the task of reconstruction that may be necessary if the sanctions are proved 'successful.'

8. Sanctions are a trial of strength in terms not only of resources but of the will to resist and of the will on the part of the besiegers to persist in the measures adopted. One must be sure that the will is there to maintain it if a humiliating withdrawal is to be avoided.

"These general propositions have a direct bearing on the Rhodesian situation. Since sanctions were imposed in November, many of the problems set out here have become apparent. There is the fact that it is impossible to isolate Rhodesia from her neighbors; there is the difficulty of achieving collective sanctions, whether voluntary agreement or under the UN Charter; and there is the particularly dangerous situation which has begun to unfold as the result of a conflict between two different time-tables of expectancy - one geared to a course of action plotted by the African states, the other to the much slower pace of change in Rhodesia herself. Thus there is the further danger that the African states will try to widen the conflict between Britain and Rhodesia by direct action on their own part or by involving the United Nations more closely in the crisis than is acceptable to the UK. It is also difficult to see, if sanctions are persisted in and the Rhodesian Front refuses to accept whatever terms are offered, how a satisfactory resolution of the conflict can be achieved. Satisfactory, that is, not only to the Commonwealth African states and the UK, but to the Rhodesian Front government and Britain, and to both the European and African communities in Rhodesia.

#### RAILWAY CRISIS

The Times, London -

---June 2. The Commonwealth Relations Office is digesting the results of the talks Mrs. Judith Hart has had with Zambian officials. Zambia still imports £30 million of goods per year from Rhodesia and any move to cut this trade would involve extensive British help to Zambia.

Railway Crisis (Cont.)  
The Times, London (Cont.)

The railway crisis has heightened the crisis.

The economic squeeze on Rhodesia has not yet hit the man in the street, but business men and Ministers realize that Rhodesia is headed for trouble. The rift in Mr. Smith's party is reopening. Smith is moving toward the moderates' stand.

---June 6. It appears that Rhodesia has locked-up the rail traffic from Zambia bound through Rhodesia. The cars are on a rail between Victoria Falls and Wankie Colliery which since Friday has been off-limits to photographers.

New York Times

---June 3. Railway spokesmen at the regional headquarters in Broken Hill, Zambia, said that copper traffic was moving "normally" into Rhodesia and that more than \$10 million worth is already in Rhodesia with more on the way. Zambians fear, however, that Rhodesia will confiscate the copper against cash payments for the freight.

---June 7. Zambia is now confident that her full annual output of copper, 780,000 tons, will be shipped by sea even if the railway routes through Rhodesia to Mozambique are denied to her, H. D. Banda, Minister of Transport, said here today. In an interview on his return from the Congo, where he concluded a new rail agreement, he said: "We are extremely pleased with the extent of the Congolese Government's willingness to cooperate with us, and this has now made me quite confident that whatever situation arises over Rhodesia Railways we shall be able to export all our copper output."

Under the agreement with the Congo, Zambia will be able to call upon the west coast rail route to Lobito Bay for up to 38,000 tons of export traffic a month. This will be achieved by having the Congolese shift their own copper exports to other national routes, such as those by way of Matadi, Port-Francqui and Albertville, and by having the Congo make available 12 locomotives and 300 rail trucks and put at Zambia's disposal along the whole Benguela route enough additional personnel and rolling stock to deal with Zambia's export and import traffic.

In addition, up to 25,000 tons of freight a month will be able to go road to Tanzania by autumn. The route to Malawi and private company airlift arrangements will give additional export capacity.

The Financial Times - May 24

"The Cost of the Rhodesia Rail Crisis" by J.D.F. Jones

President Kaunda's decision to allow the break-up of the joint Rhodesia Railways system is clearly intended to accelerate the crisis in Central Africa so as to force Britain to accept speedier methods of overthrowing the Smith regime. It is, however, a particularly dangerous way of going about this because Zambia is deliberately exposing her own economy to the most hair raising economic risks. Three countries - Zambia, Rhodesia and Britain - will suffer if the Rhodesia Railways are allowed to break down. For President Kaunda this is a gamble, because Zambia stands to lose even more than Rhodesia if his plan goes wrong.

The first and most obvious result is that Zambia's exports of copper will come up against almost insurmountable difficulties. Rhodesia Railways has always handled most of the 7000,000 of copper carrying it through Rhodesia to Mozambique; for the past couple of months the Benguela Railway has been carrying 5,000 tons a month and Roan Selection Trust has been taking out about 4,000 tons a month in its own aircraft to Dar es Salaam.

The burden of transporting the copper will have to be carried by Zambia's newly developed road services to the north and east through Tanzania and Malawi. These may be helped by boosting the capacity of the Benguela Railway through Angola and even by attempting to mount an air-lift with outside assistance--the Zambian Foreign Minister has just been discussing this with American aviation companies.

A realistic appraisal of this situation leaves little room for optimism, and the exceptional (and unexpected) success of the emergency oil supply route should not lead to hopes of moving more than a proportion of the Zambian copper. At one time the Zambians were thinking of taking out 25,000 tons a month by road and another 10,000 tons by rail and air, or rather more than half the total output.

This figure has since been increased, and one plan is that the Benguela Railway could utilise spare-Rhodesia Railways trucks to carry out 22,000 tons a month to Lobito. But many of these plans could not be put into practice until late this summer, and there are so many other factors involved, technical as well as political, that the capacity of these emergency routes remains something of a mystery. The only certainty is that the copper companies will have to stockpile a substantial proportion of their output on the Copperbelt.

All this presupposes that the copper industry will continue to operate. Yet one of the more probable consequences of the breakdown in the rail network is a drastic cutback in Zambia's actual copper production. This would be caused by the interruption of coal supplies from Wankie, in Rhodesia.

Zambia normally takes from Wankie over 100,000 tons of coal a month, and of this about 70,000 goes to the Copperbelt. This complete dependence on Rhodesian coal has, since UDI, been qualified in three ways; 30,000 tons of South African coal has been bought (some of it is lying in Lobito); a coalfield at Nkandabwe has been developed and another and better field has been found at Sinkandoba; and oil conversion equipment has been installed at the Mufulira smelter.

Mufulira can be switched across to oil burning within hours, and contingency plans are ready to supply 10,000 tons of furnace oil a month, which will be able to maintain Mufulira's normal output of about 20,000 tons of copper--representing just over one-third of total Zambian output. The copper companies would then be able to pool their remaining stocks of Wankie coal and keep up their normal activities for the time being by mixing it with Nkandabwe. There are, however, two problems -- stocks of Wankie coal have been restricted by the persistent refusal of Rhodesia Railways to bring extra supplies across Victoria Falls since UDI, and the poor roads make it impossible to bring more than 15,000 tons of coal a month from Nkandabwe to the railhead.

There are a number of unknown factors such as the security of Kariba Dam, which make it impossible to foresee precisely what will happen, but the likely upshot is that the copper companies will try to keep up normal output for a short period before they will have to start making a major cutback in production.

By this stage another major consequence of the Railway dislocation may have made itself felt--the white expatriates who work on the Railways as well as on the Copperbelt, may have started to leave the country in large numbers. The great fear of the Zambian Cabinet is that there will be disturbances on the Copperbelt. This could be a serious danger -- it would require stern action by the Zambian authorities -- but what seems more likely is the withdrawal of more and more Whites to the south, to Rhodesia or South Africa.

This is a trend which could be hastened by the spectacle of railworkers retreating or being withdrawn to the Rhodesian sector of the railways, and it will certainly be accelerated by the economic pressures that will quickly develop if the rail links are severed. Although three-month stockpiles of essential supplies have now been built up, the Zambians will soon have to pull in their belts because there will be no room on the emergency road and air routes for anything but oil and the strictest essentials.

Here again the fate of the employees of the copper companies will be all important because, although the companies have agreed with the government to do everything in their power not to lay off either Black or White labour, this would eventually become unavoidable, and the consequent security threat would become the Government's chief problem.

The dangerous implications of this crisis for Zambia and for the copper industry should not be allowed to distract attention from the impact of this move on the Rhodesian economy. The severance of the railway link between the two countries will in fact go a long way towards the severance of Zambian-Rhodesian trade which the British Government has been urging on President Kaunda. In the first months after UDI it was impossible for Zambia to dispense with the 40 per cent of her imports that came from Rhodesia, and it was decided that she should continue to trade with Rhodesia but at the same time prepare to break the economic ties at a moment when this break would have a maximum impact on the tottering Rhodesian economy.

Twenty-five per cent. of Rhodesia's exports go to Zambia, and the banning of these was to be the "coup de grace" which Mr. Wilson was talking about in January. For her own reasons, Zambia has hesitated to do more than whittle away one-third of this trade, and the continued market in Zambia has undoubtedly been a considerable help to the Rhodesian customers (who pay in hard currency and in advance) will be a savage blow.

The third country which will suffer from this development is, of courses, Britain. Last year Britain imported 585,000 tons of copper at a cost of £178m., of which 255,000 tons came from Zambia. This year, imports are likely to be down a bit on last year, as users turn to substitutes, or draw on stocks, which are estimated as lasting for about one year, owing to the drying up of supplies from the U. S. and Chile.

But the foreign exchange cost in the financial year 1966-67 is likely to be up some £100m. on last year, on the basis of current LME prices, owing to the recent crop of price increases. If Zambian supplies are reduced, Britain will speed up the process of cutting imports and continue to draw on stocks; but the price of the copper that is imported is likely to rise still further. With the present London Metal Exchange three months forward price at £600, every further £100 price rise, if applied to the whole range of imports of, say 4000,000 tons, would mean an extra £40m. on the balance of payments.

## INTERNAL RHODESIA

### A. Guerilla Activity

The Times, London

---June 2. An African arrested on Monday in connection with the murder of two whites last month died of wounds received when he was arrested.

Internal Rhodesia (Cont.)  
The Times, London (Cont.)

---June 4. Three whites have been shot in the Karoi area in Rhodesia reports said. Officials neither confirm nor deny the report.  
---June 6. Police said terrorist activity has been discounted for the deaths.

The Observer - June 4 (Dar-es-Salaam)

ZANU claimed that it was responsible for the deaths of June 3 of three Europeans on a lonely Rhodesian farm. They were killed in reprisal for the death of an African while under arrest for the murder of the white couple in Hartley. ZANU has also claimed responsibility for those killings, but denied the arrested African was to blame.

Johannesburg Star - June 4

The O.K. Bazaar's warehouse in Salisbury was stoned by about four Africans.

## B. Talks

The Times, London - June 3

Talks began again today in Salisbury between Britain and the Rhodesian Front. Cornelius Greenfield heads the Rhodesian team and Duncan-Watson the British. No news releases were made.

## C. Economic

Johannesburg Star - June 4

A £4,500,000 25-year loan floated by the Rhodesian Government was fully subscribed as soon as the lists were opened by the Reserve Bank. Proceeds will be used to finance the Government's development programme and for maturing stock.

The Observer - June 5

Zambia's revoking of import licenses over the Rhodesian Railways, coupled with the realization that Britain has no intention of easing sanctions, has hit Rhodesian business hard. This week, the export of pig-iron and asbestos was banned (presumably by Britain).

In Bulawayo, 8000 Africans are out of work; the number of short-time firms is 60. Commercial turnover has dropped. Both African farm workers and white farm managers have been sacked. "Sources here believe that the Rhodesian economy is in real danger of running down to a point close to collapse."

The Times, London - June 7

Rhodesian trade reached record levels last year (1965) according to figures released in the annual statement. Exports totalled £165 m. and imports £120 m. About 47% of the total exports were bought by Britain and Zambia. Zambia bought £46 m., including £10 m. of re-exports from Rhodesia, up by £6 m. from the previous year. Coal, motor cars, fertilizers, fuels, and garments were worth more than £1 m. each. Exports to Britain were £31 m. Tobacco was the major one -- worth £21 m.

## D. Political

Johannesburg Star - June 5

The Rhodesian Government has refused the Central African Power

Internal Rhodesia (Cont.)  
Johannesburg Star (Cont.)

permission to pay the World Bank the £500,000 installment on the Kariba Dam loan due this week. Zambia, as guarantor for the other half of the loan, has met its installment.

Washington Post - June 5

The Rhodesian government reconnected the telephone links to the official residence of British Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs. This move was aimed at relaxing the atmosphere of the Anglo-Rhodesian talks.

#### E. Military

Christian Science Monitor - May 24

UN observers are fascinated by the whereabouts of the Rhodesian Air Force. Its planes reportedly have been dispersed - not only within Rhodesia, but also into neighboring Mozambique and South-West Africa. It is all apparently being done as a military precaution. Rhodesia doesn't want to get caught with its planes all clustered together should Britain eventually decide to make a show of force against Smith.

Reports don't show how often or how long the aircraft are alleged to have been stationed in South-West Africa's narrow Caprivi Strip. But if they are indeed there, it could stir up a sticky international situation. It would be a breach of South-West Africa's League of Nations mandate. British intelligence is understood to have clearly verified that Rhodesian planes are in Mozambique. This discovery presumably has not been publicly broadcast because it would upset the delicate British-Rhodesian talks in London and London's uneasy relations with Lisbon.

#### F. Religious

New York Times - June 7

The United Church of Christ announced in New York that ten of its missionaries in Rhodesia had refused to comply with an order by the Smith regime that they register with the Government. "The missionaries regard the order as an illegal act by a usurper Government," the Rev. Dr. Alford Carleton, head of the church's Board of World Ministries, said in the statement issued at the church's headquarters at 289 Park Avenue South. "To sign the registration form would, in their opinion, give 'de jure' recognition to the regime."

Dr. Carleton said that the missionaries had not acted under any instructions from the church. The order issued March 26 by the regime applied to all non-African males, 17 to 60 years of age. Five United Church missionaries obeyed the order. The United Church has 46 missionaries, men and women, in Rhodesia who conduct an agricultural station, primary and secondary schools, a clinic hospital, nurses training school, a teacher-training institute and a city mission program in Salisbury.

### ZAMBIA

The Observer - June 5

In an interview with Perrott, President Kaunda of Zambia proposed that the next Prime Minister's conference should be held in India, in July or as soon as possible thereafter. Part of the purpose is "to get away from the set tradition of a London venue and its implication that Britain has the decisive voice in Commonwealth

matters," and it is a further step in Zambia's break with London on Rhodesia. The early date as well would be contrary to British desires.

Dr. Kaunda insists that there is no question of ingratitude to Britain; he feels rather that it is vital for Zambia to act independently if she feels that the British are moving too slowly on Rhodesia. Future discussions on sanctions will be fruitless unless this point is born in mind.

Dr. Kaunda "appears genuinely confident" that Zambia can survive the railway payments crisis without undue hardship. (This could be managed primarily with the cooperation of the Congo; the US and Canada have also offered an airlift if needed.) However, negotiations are still in progress.) The earlier view that Zambia's copper exports would inevitably be cut in half if all Rhodesian outlets were closed appears now to have been too pessimistic. Contingency plans on paper are being supplanted by more effective practical solutions. If Zambia's railway gambit succeeds, it will confirm suspicions that British sanctions have been too timid. Dr. Kaunda brushed aside British complaints that his timing compounds the effect of the seamen's strike with the retort that Zambia could not wait any longer for sanctions to bite.

Further delay might have jeopardized Zambia's four year development plan due to start in July, and, what is even more important, might have endangered the "non-racial atmosphere" Kaunda had been striving for. Efforts to integrate the Europeans would be frustrated, and a repeat of the 1960 Congo might occur. Foreign agents are in Zambia working to this end, the President said.

Discussing the use of force in Rhodesia, Dr. Kaunda said that "Where British rule has been involved, non-violence has worked because there's a public conscience behind it. But Britain isn't in control of the Rhodesian situation. It would therefore be wrong of me to discourage Rhodesian nationalists from violence," in spite of a "fundamental belief in non-violence." But he emphasized, "We would deplore action against innocent civilians. The target, if there's no peaceful way out, must be the oppressors and the police and military who are their instruments."

Regarding the question of a negotiated settlement, Dr. Kaunda said, "We would not expect majority rule tomorrow. There must be a period of transition...and I assume it would need a period of direct rule by Britain. But political prisoners must obviously be released. And so long as the Government there rests on the artificial dominance of a minority group, no settlement will be premanent and we can never accept it."

#### Johannesburg Star - June 4

President Kaunda told a press conference he was not impressed by the "little talks about talks" in Salisbury. He said he could not see how they could give the desired results, i.e., results that will bring about a settlement "based on the noble principles of the equality of man before God and the law." He also said he did not want to get involved in talks with Mrs. Judith Hart. What Zambia wants now is action.

The British airlift of oil from Tanzania has ended. The whole operation had involved 1,935,760 gallons of oil. It had been operated by the RAF at first, but then was taken over by civilians when Tanzania said military planes and personnel could not be used in view of the diplomatic break with Britain.

## INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

### A. South Africa

Johannesburg Star - June 4

The most popular man at the Republic Day parade this week was Mr. John Gaunt Rhodesia's accredited diplomatic representative in South Africa. The huge crowd gave him a loud and long ovation.

### B. Kenya

The Times, London - June 2

Mr. Kenyatta called for decisive action on Rhodesia and said that the present situation reduced the idea of a Commonwealth to "a hollow mockery."

### C. Britain

The Times, London

---June 2. The British Government has made a total payment of £759,000 to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for interest and capital payments due on loans to or guaranteed by Rhodesia.

---June 7. Mrs. Hart said of Rhodesia yesterday, "We shall settle the matter only on return to constitutional rule, and in terms of the six principles, as we have so often said."

The Observer - June 5

"Britain will step up grip on Rhodesia," by Colin Legum

"Mr Wilson believes that the talks can produce a successful outcome only if the economic pressure on Rhodesia is steadily increased." Mrs. Judith Hart, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, will return to Zambia soon, with plans for intensifying pressure. Optimistic reports on the talks are inspired wholly by Salisbury, as a means for Smith to bolster the morale of his supporters. The essential prerequisite condition for calling off sanctions remains the renunciation of UDI.

Zambia will play a key role in the stepped-up sanctions, for South Africa refuses to reduce its support of Smith. Zambia has been working on a two year schedule to cut off all its economic ties with Rhodesia. But the British plan "demands a much quicker rate of cut-off." Zambia is willing to do this, provided her economy is not badly disrupted, and relations between races are not strained. Meanwhile, Mrs. Hart has returned to London to seek measures for implementation. "When she returns this week she will be in a position to make practical proposals."

Imports from Rhodesia have already been reduced £12 million; another £20 million (excluding coal and power) is the target. The British government denies having intervened in the Rhodesian railways questions, feeling the matter was Zambia's alone. There is no evidence of a cabinet split on Wilson's policies; "even his left-wing ministers are now satisfied that there is no danger of a "sell-out" on the Government's six principles."

### Articles of Interest

Hasson, R. A., "Rhodesia - a 'Police State'?" The World Today, Vol. XXII, n. 5, (May 1966), p. 181.

Pratt, R. C., "African Reactions to the Rhodesian Crisis," International Journal, Vol. XXI, n. 2 (Spring 1966) p. 186.

"Rhodesia and the United Nations," International Review Service, Vol. XII, n. 89.