EDITORIALS AND PERSONAL COMMENTS

The Times, London - June 21

"The farmers are now thought to see that if a settlement is not reached soon they will have to abandon next year's crop (tobacco) after heavy losses on this year's. Their reaction will be the acid test. If they prefer to abandon tobacco for subsistence farming rather than press Mr. Smith to a compromise - which their friends in business already urge - then Britain and Africa generally must sit down to besiege Rhodesia until it is received, or the world concert on sanctions breaks down. Neither result is desirable in British or African interests. It is right therefore for the officials to work over every formula that embodies Britain's basic principles on African constitutional advancement and African consent to the final settlement."

Manchester Guardian Weekly - June 16

Editorial: "No return to 1961 in Rhodesia"

Perhaps the talks have already turned into negotiations, and if so Mr. Wilson should explain what they are about. Three factors can be considered in turn: sanctions, relations with Zambia, and Britain's aims in the Salisbury talks.

Last week the President of the Rhodesian Associated Chambers of Commerce warned that many firms were struggling for existence. Dwindling stocks, import licenses, and the exchange control have been taking their toll for weeks, but this is the first public statement from business. The government has clearly been disguising the effect of sanctions; the petrol entering the country has to be paid for. Mr. Smith may well have to let the economy "fall with a bump." Zambia's stand on the railway has added to Rhodesia's difficulties, and it is reported that Zambia is also blocking funds for the Kariba power account. Should Mr. Smith in turn cut off powers, he will presumably face retaliation by Britain.

It is important to convince Zambia that Britain is not more concerned about copper exports than about ending the Smith rebellion. Further, Dr. Kaunda's efforts to run a non-racial state are being greatly strained by Britain's gradualism.

The Salisbury talks must make clear that now (as opposed to before UDI) Rhodesia is the weak party and must make concessions. The same offers made to her last year must not be repeated. In particular, a return to the 1961 Constitution with amendments providing for legal independence is not possible. No one now believes in that Constitution.

But immediate majority rule is neither desirable nor practicable. It would terrify the whites and thereby jeopardize Rhodesia's future prosperity; the Africans do not have sufficient government experience.

The only realistic course is to impose direct British rule for some years. It will permit quick attainment of political equality, perhaps by way of parity of representation. This will be a colonial situation and thus uncomfortable for Britain, but it must be faced, and the Rhodesians must be forced to accept it.
The Economist - June 17

"There is little doubt that Mr. Smith's more intelligent supporters want them to succeed. The British Government may regard the talks more as a holding operation while sanctions bite harder. The assumption is that the officials will try to prepare an agreed draft that could be considered at ministerial level. British officials emphasize that any draft must accord with the familiar Six Principles at which Mr. Smith has always gibbed and which include the requirement about acceptability to Rhodesia's people as a whole. Thus, the gap remains a wide one despite Mr. Wilson's apparent hopes of a solution by August."

Christian Science Monitor - June 17

Letter to the Editor from Edna Mason Kaula

"When in Rhodesia during 1964 and 1965, I spent several hours each week in Salisbury's USIS library. It was gratifying to see how well it was attended. Most of the time every chair was occupied by students who were oblivious to what went on around them while they concentrated on absorbing the knowledge made available by a benevolent US Government... But today's mail brought disillusioned letters from two Rhodesian friends - one black, one white. The library has been closed, the books have been taken away. They no longer have access to this means of learning... The British Consul library packed up too, so now they (the Africans) have no free library."

The People - June 19

(Editorial in this left-of-center British paper)

"Present signs are that Rhodesia cannot hold out against sanctions very much longer without serious hardship. The Smith regime has delayed the imposition of severe austerity measures only in the hope that the current talks succeed and sanctions end. It is now believed that entirely new ideas for Rhodesia's future constitution are being discussed - such as constitutions on the Swiss model, with heavy emphasis on referenda, or on the American, with strong presidential powers. But the main topic is the massive program of African education that will have to be put through in any constitution aimed at eventual majority rule."

SPECIAL REPORT - MILITARY FORCES IN AFRICA

The Johannesburg Star for the week of June 18 gives a full page report on military forces in Africa as compiled by the British Institute of Strategic Studies. The following is a summary of that report with special reference to Rhodesia:

If the total military strength of Black and Arab Africa were pitted against the combined forces of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, the southern territories would be outnumbered by more than three to one. But the Black North by itself would be no match for the White South in any arms contest. Even Rhodesia alone would stand an excellent chance of beating off a composite strike force from the Pan-Africanist countries. And any such attack would be difficult to mount for several reasons.

In the first place the institute experts maintain that the equipment at the disposal of non-Arab African countries is wholly inadequate for a major offensive. Only Ghana, Senegal and Ethiopia have substantial parachute forces and only Ethiopia has a modern air force even by Rhodesia's modest standards. Secondly, the costs of developing the bases necessary for such an offensive would be prohibitive. Further snags would be posed by the lack of standard
weapons and the need to create an efficient high command to coordinate attacks.

At the same time, however, the Arab countries hold an overwhelming balance of power on the continent. The United Arab Republic has by far the biggest army in Africa - 15,000 men compared with South Africa's 16,200 and Rhodesia's 3,400 regulars - and an air force of 500 operational planes. Algeria has a total armed force of 48,000 plus 40 Russian fighters and a squadron of light bombers; Morocco has 44,600 regular troops and a small force of Russian fighters.

Therefore, despite positive attempts by many states to build up their armies, and despite an ever-increasing number of coups d'etat, Africa's military might is not yet a factor in the world context.

RHODESIA - Population 4.28 million. Total armed forces (regular) 43,000
Army: 3,400; one Special Air Service squadron, two infantry battalions, one with Ferret armoured cars, two territorial brigades.
Air Force: 900; one squadron Hunter day-fighter/ground attack, one squadron Canberra light bombers, one squadron armed Provost reconnaissance, one squadron Dakota and DC4M North Star transport, 1 squadron Alouette Mk. 3 helicopters.
Para-military forces: 6,400 active, 28,500 reservists.

ZAMBIA - Population 3.72 million. Total armed forces 3,300.
Army: 3,000; three infantry battalions with supporting services, one armoured car squadron with Ferrets, one battery of 105mm. gun howitzers.
Air Force: 300; four Dakota and four Caribou transports, two Pembroke and six Beaver communications aircraft and two Chipmunk trainers; plans to form two transport and reconnaissance squadrons.
Reserves: two infantry battalions.
Police: 6,000, including six platoons of mobile police and flight of light planes.
Total arms allocation to 1965: R167.9 million. (President Kaunda has announced rapid expansion of armed forces.

SANCTIONS

Johannesburg Star - June 18
--- Chromite. The importance of Rhodesia - the West's main producer of chromite - had led to some hypocrisy in dealing with the ore, says the official organ of the Candour League of Rhodesia, "Rhodesia and World Report." In March, for instance, says the magazine, a large consignment was landed in Britain and this was followed by a 10,000 ton shipment offloaded in Mobile, Alabama. "In spite of the fact that the ship was shadowed for weeks by the U.S. Navy, no murmur was raised against the offloading of this much needed ore."
--- Asbestos. Japan announces that it has stopped imports of asbestos and chrome ore from Rhodesia in response to the sanctions call by the Security Council. The announcement said, however, that the government hoped countries concerned would try to end without delay what it called the unsatisfactory situation over Rhodesia. Imports of asbestos amounted to about 9,000 tons last year. Imports from the Soviet Union and Canada will have to be increased as a result of the suspension.
--- Japan. All imports from Rhodesia other than iron ore, have now been stopped, except for shipments against contracts already in existence before the UN resolutions were passed. The Japanese government is still trying to persuade steel mills to suspend imports of iron ore.

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Sanctions (Cont.)

New York Times - June 22 (Drew Middleton from the UN)
Rhodesia's economy is suffering seriously from the economic sanctions imposed by the UN, according to an authoritative British source. Unemployment is rising and recently businessmen, who have supported Prime Minister Smith's regime, protested to his Government that foreign markets were disappearing and that the country's economic viability was in peril. An added complication has been the failure of South Africa to provide the massive aid in oil and raw materials that the Smith Government expected.

Despite the mounting pressures, a small group within Mr. Smith's Cabinet is reported to be determined to "ride out the storm," confident that Britain in the end will seek accommodation with the regime. There are no indications on the British side of any attempt to appease the Rhodesians in the current series of talks between the two governments.

RAILWAY CRISIS

Zambia has made available the currency needed to pay the Rhodesian Railways for the shipment of copper through Rhodesia. About 17,000 tons of copper worth R20 million at current market prices, is involved. The cost of carrying this by rail through Rhodesia and Mozambique is probably between R3000,000 and R4000,000. The fee paid to Rhodesia Railways is thought to be between R100,000 and 200,000. Thus ends the immediate crisis, but not the long range one. (The Times, London, New York Times, Johannesburg Star)

Johannesburg Star - June 18
Zambia has appointed its own Administrator of Railways and taken emergency powers to control the movement of traffic in another step towards the break-up of the jointly owned Rhodesian Railways. New Zambian railway regulations gazetted in Lusaka recently make it clear that the Railways Administrator, Mr. Albert Frank Lucarotti, can move rolling stock from Zambia to the Congo and Angola. The regulations were made by President Kaunda under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance. Mr. Lucarotti, a railways adviser with the Ministry of Transport, is given wide powers under the new regulations. He can give the railways manager for Zambia, Mr. Norman Watworth of Broken Hill, any direction he thinks fit to maintain communications in Zambia. The movement from Zambia to Rhodesia of locomotives, rolling stock and equipment can be prohibited or controlled. He can also ask for information on the whereabouts of any of the possessions of the railways within Zambia. To secure such information the administrator can enter and inspect without a warrant any premises occupied by the railways. Anyone who contravenes the regulations can on conviction go to prison for three years.

The Times, London - June 16
Talks begin tomorrow in Lusaka among the Governments of Congo, Zambia, and Tanzania, two mining companies (R.S.T. and Anglo-American), and two privately owned railway companies (Benguela Railway and Bas Congo Au Katanga) to discuss how more copper can be exported avoiding the Rhodeisan route. Mr. Bomboko, Congolese Foreign Minister, said the Congo was willing to make sacrifices to facilitate shipping of Zambian copper production each month - or about 30,000 of the 60,000 tons monthly production. Dar es Salaam could handle 300,000 tons a year and
and Mtwar will be able to do the same when road connections are in

INTERNAL RHODESIA

A. Guerilla Activity

The Times, London - June 15

Salisbury African townships were the scene of disturbances last night. A bus was set on fire; petrol bombs were thrown at a small hotel; some stoning occurred at a filling station. In the nearby industrial site $50,000 worth of damage was done to a furniture warehouse. The Rhodesia Herald published two columns of white space where the story was to have been printed.

B. Talks

The Times, London - June 13

The British-Rhodesian talks are expected to go on for another ten days in Salisbury. Tight security surrounds the goings-on. The general direction of the talks includes:

1. Discussion on details of the Land Apportionment Act; 2. Methods of registering voters. A lot of ground has been covered, but not much actual progress has been made. Neither side is questioning the sincerity of the other.

C. Political

Johannesburg Star - June 18

Chad Chipunza, leader of the United Peoples Party, said that two conditions must be fulfilled in any Rhodesian settlement: 1. "positive advancement and participation in the government for the African people of this country;" 2. assurance that Rhodesia is a country in which it is safe for Europeans to bring up their families and establish their business. He said that since his recent visit to London his feeling that it was essential for a quick settlement has been reinforced.

The Times, London - June 15

Mr. Stumbles, Speaker of the Rhodesian Parliament announced that the High Court Judges will not attend the opening of the Parliament next week because certain litigation is before the Court which might involve the standing of the Government and of Parliament. The case in point is that of David Madzimbamuto which challenges the legallity of the Government.

D. Economic

The Times, London

---June 15. The expected rapid rise of unemployment among non-Africans in Rhodesia has been held to four percent of the labor force. Many who have lost jobs because of the effect of sanctions have been absorbed into civil service positions.

---June 21. Credit problems caused by draught and those caused by low commodity prices (due to sanctions) are to be considered and assuaged by a government organization headed by John Grazlin, former Federal Minister of Agriculture.
Internal Rhodesia (Cont.)

Economic (Cont.)

Economist - June 18

Low tobacco prices have brought many farmers near the point of no return. One authority said that at least 600 out of 3000 tobacco farmers cannot survive. Not all can switch to maize, cotton, or beef. The Smith government is already finding the money (525 million?) to put in the tobacco.

E. Other

Johannesburg Star - June 18

Rhodesia's High Commissioner in Britain at the time of UDI has written a book about his experiences. He tells how he was not impressed by the African diplomats which he met at various parties. "They soon cleared the plates within reach and turned to the drink. With glass in hand they liberally added whisky, gin, sherry from all available bottles and quaffed this cocktail with delight." He goes on to tell of his wife's diplomatic courtesy social calls on mansions where representatives of African states live. "The once proud lawns and grounds of these houses were usually ploughed up and planted with maize..."

ZAMBIA

A. Talks with Britain

The Observer - June 19

"Last Chance in Zambia," Roy Perrott, Lusaka

Mrs. Judith Hart, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, arrived here with her advisers on June 18 to resume planning talks with the Zambian Government. It may be the last chance to restore good relations between Britain and Zambia, as well as concerted action against Rhodesia.

Mrs. Judith Hart presumably has concrete proposals to help Zambia survive the cut-off of Rhodesian imports at the end of this month. If, as seems likely, the talks in Salisbury are not making headway, Britain would want to help Zambia as much as it can. But "a big question mark hangs over how far Britain is able or willing to go in its support of Zambia."

The Johannesburg Star reported that Zambia would make the following requests of Mrs. Hart: 1. That Britain bears the extra cost of using emergency supply routes instead of Rhodesia Railways. This would particularly apply to the cost of bringing coal into the country as a substitute for Wankie coal; 2. That the British supply 55 railway technicians to help run the Zambian sector of the R.R. system; 3. That Britain help to provide two light locomotives to boost the capacity of the Benguela line to Lobito; 4. That Britain give substantial help in developing Mtwar as a supply port to Zambia.

B. Other Political

Johannesburg Star - June 18

The Liberation Centre in Lusaka - two single storey Government-donated buildings housing 13 anti-White nationalist groups--stand on what should be the most explosive acre in Africa. Here are found officers of SWAPO, FRELIMO, ZANU, COREMO, and ZAPU, among others.
The two white-washed building's are a center for distilling, studying and reporting on activities in Southern Africa.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

A. Britain

The Times, London
--- June 13. Mr. Patrick Wall, Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party's Parliamentary Commonwealth Affairs Committee and Defence Committee, has just returned from a private 4-week visit to Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. He says there is no way short of war to keep supplies from reaching Smith. He added that sanctions are beginning to bite. Adequate credit will be made available, however, for Rhodesian tobacco farmers to put in a good crop. Mr. Wall said he found 95% of the population - African and European - are behind Smith. "African support is proved by the intelligence given to the security forces, which has enabled them to pick up large numbers of infiltrators without deploying the large military effort the Portuguese found necessary in Mozambique."

Mr. Wall is disturbed by the growing anti-British feeling among whites in Rhodesia. The loss of British markets in Rhodesia and South Africa is a second concern of his. He urges quick settlement and is sure that Mr. Smith as leader of his people has the power to carry them with him.
--- June 18. Dr. Walter Adams, principal of the University College of Rhodesia has been appointed to succeed Sir Sydney Caine as Director of the London School of Economics.
--- June 21. The Commonwealth Ministers' Conference on Rhodesia scheduled for July is postponed to September. It may be held in Canada.

B. Malawi

New York Times - June 22

Henry Chipembere, Malawi's former Minister of Education, announced in New York that he is returning to Africa to lead the opposition to Dr. H. Kamazu Banda, Malawi's President. Mr. Chipembere was expelled from the Government by Dr. Banda in September 1964. In Mr. Chipembere's words, Dr. Banda has given "moral support" to the Smith regime and has defied the African boycott on trade with Mozambique.

C. United States

Senator Robert Kennedy's African Trip

From a scanning of reports, Senator Kennedy did not specifically refer to Rhodesia in any of his speeches. His remarks on South Africa tended to be moderate. In one interview, however, he noted that if we are fighting for freedom and democracy in Vietnam maybe we should be doing the same in Mozambique. This remark came several days after his quiet conversation with Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO in Dar es Salaam.