

## SOUTHERN AFRICA NEWS BULLETIN

Committee on Southern Africa, National Student Christian Federation,  
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### RHODESIA NEWS SUMMARY

Week of June 30 - July 6, 1966

#### EDITORIALS AND PERSONAL COMMENTS

##### The Guardian - July 6

"A more promising approach would be for the Government to draw up new constitutional proposals so that white Rhodesians can see that there is a reasonable alternative to the economic ruin of their country. Mr. Wilson has said that majority rule will not come over-night; and this is accepted in the black Commonwealth countries. He should now be more specific. His requirement that any settlement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be, if properly interpreted, a sufficient guarantee against a betrayal of the Africans.

"Within this formidable phrase many constitutional expedients can be found to entrench the stability of the country and the efficiency of its services. But if the whites reject a fair offer, the Government had better brace itself for sterner measures than it has contemplated so far. The call for mandatory sanctions, if not the actual use of force, will be even more clamant by September 6 than it has been so far."

##### The Financial Times - July 6

"It is still difficult to see any satisfactory way out of the Rhodesian situation. When the impact of sanctions becomes more obvious, Rhodesian public opinion may become more aware of what is really involved in the unilateral declaration of independence. But there is no reason at present to suppose that this will compel Mr. Smith or any alternative leader to make more than modest concessions in the early future towards Britain's point of view.

"Mr. Wilson is anxious to get the talks going again as soon as possible in the hope of getting some result before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet. But talks that are making no progress cannot continue indefinitely, and the longer the problem remains unsolved the more difficult it will be to keep its solution a British responsibility."

##### The Scotsman - July 6

"Thanks to a few glib and over-confident remarks made in the early stages of the rebellion, Mr. Wilson's reputation for credibility stands much lower among African leaders than it used to. Mr. Smith, on the other hand, is still trusted by the majority of white Rhodesians, despite his grotesquely misleading assurances about the benefits of the unilateral declaration of independence. Their trust in him cannot last for ever, but it has already lasted too long to suit Mr. Wilson. Only if Mr. Smith takes the unprecedented step of standing up to his right wing will optimism be justified."

#### TALKS

##### The Times, London

---July 4. "Emotion Reigns Among Rank and File in Rhodesia" by W. P. Kirkman.

Sanctions are biting more deeply into the Rhodesian economy than Mr. Ian Smith's government is prepared publicly to admit. In Salisbury,

many "house for sale" notices are to be seen. The farmers who are the economic backbone of Rhodesia even though it has a more sophisticated secondary industry than most countries of Africa, have been hard hit. Some of them are likely to be bankrupt by the end of the year.

Manufacturers do not seem so far to have been badly hit, or to have faced insuperable difficulties over credit or in obtaining raw materials. The development of a new local secondary industry has been quite successful. Until recently retail trade -- and therefore the white man in the street -- has not been badly hit, but now there are signs that the cumulative effect of sanctions is building up.

People have been warned to expect a rise in the price of food. Sales tax has just been doubled. For many people, the big trouble over petrol rationing is not so much the limited amount available as the price.

In Bulawayo, an important railway centre, there is apprehension at the prospect of rail traffic being cut off by Zambia. There is more long-term anxiety at the possibility of a new Rhodesia-South Africa railway which might bypass Bulawayo completely. In Umtali, the local B.M.C. factory is producing cars at well below its capacity. The oil refinery deteriorates as each day passes with no oil coming from Beira. ---July 5. The Rhodesian and British officials resumed their exploratory talks in Salisbury today after a nine-day break. It is now generally appreciated that each side went into the talks misunderstanding the position of the other. The Rhodesians were under the impression that Britain was prepared to make major concessions from the position adopted last year in the anxiety to get a settlement. The British view was that the weight of sanctions had persuaded the Rhodesian side of the need for settlement on terms that would satisfy the six British principles. Both were wrong. The British are still standing by the six principles, and in particular the first of them which is concerned with constitutional guarantees of unimpeded progress towards majority rule. The Rhodesians, for their part, are wary of such entrenched provisions, and for the time being at any rate do not consider the weight of sanctions necessitates their making concessions on this point. It would be wrong to say that nothing useful has come out of the talks. But there is still this hard core of disagreement. In the adjournment both sides will continue to study possible ways round the problem. Meanwhile, the British will seek to increase the effect of sanctions and the Rhodesians will seek to by pass them.

The final outcome of the Rhodesian problem will depend far more on the relative success of the two side' efforts in the economic field than on the constitutional ingenuity of their negotiators. All the evidence is that there is a period of real hardship ahead for Rhodesia as the effect of sanctions goes deeper into the economy. But something like a total collapse of the economy does not seem as likely as some commentators assume.

---July 6. Mr. Wilson announced in the Commons yesterday that the exploratory talks with the Rhodesian regime at official level "are being adjourned for a period." There was a link, well understood by the House, between this announcement and a written answer giving the dates and place of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference. It is to be in London from September 6 to 15. Mr. Duncan Sandys, the former Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, is to leave London on Saturday for Rhodesia, where he intends to stay a week.

In his statement Mr. Wilson said "The discussions have been useful in clarifying attitudes and intentions and in further identifying the problems which have to be met in order to achieve a solution acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, and to this House. It has been agreed that there should now be a pause for further consideration of the respective positions, before the talks are resumed later in the month. In the interval sanctions will, of course, be fully maintained.

So far as her Majesty's Government are concerned, they intend to employ the pause in hard thought on all the main aspects of the Rhodesia problem, particularly the right constitutional arrangements within Rhodesia and Rhodesia's future place in the family of nations. These are related and indeed, inseparable aspects of the same problem, for there would be no purpose in reaching agreement on the constitutional future of Rhodesia if that agreement did not at the same time win for Rhodesia acceptance in international society.

It is expected that the talks will be resumed at a fairly early date and the House will agree that it is important that they should then make more rapid progress, for I am sure that the House will also agree that the present situation cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely.

### SANCTIONS

New York Times - July 3 (Robert Kleiman)

Britain is urging a number of countries, including West Germany, Japan, Switzerland and Portugal, to close "major gaps" in the economic sanctions against Rhodesia. An official British report states that Rhodesia is already in "serious trouble" and now realized "that the difficulties are going to get worse."

The report has been made available to the United States and other friendly governments. It is a detailed evaluation of the effectiveness of the trade embargo and it raises questions about shipments of Rhodesian chrome to the United States.

The over-all conclusion is that time is on Britain's side in the current talks with representatives of Ian D. Smith. The talks began in London in May and are now about to be resumed in Salisbury.

Prime Minister Wilson's representatives, according to British officials, are refusing to yield on his "six principles."

The report on the trade embargo comments that Rhodesian Ministers, who originally treated sanctions "as a sort of international joke," are now acknowledging their effectiveness. It concluded:

"Neither the business community nor the regime now believe that sanctions will be short-lived and that a brief period of belt-tightening will suffice to survive them. The realization of this was a major factor in directing Smith to ask for talks. With each week the economic situation gets more difficult. Time is therefore not on Smith's side."

United States officials familiar with the British report consider it to be an objective assessment of the economic situation in Rhodesia. They caution, however, that the Rhodesian economy is not going to collapse and that the outcome depends on political and psychological factors.

The question, these officials say, is whether white Rhodesians are willing to live with a long-term prospect of economic decline, business losses, fading market and rising unemployment.

The British study concedes that the oil embargo has not halted Rhodesia's oil imports, now mainly by land from South Africa. But it has raised their cost, required a 25 per cent increase in gasoline prices and forced rationing at half normal consumption, increasing the general economic strain.

Apart from oil, sanctions primarily are aimed at Rhodesia's exports. Here the biggest gap is in the neighboring countries of southern Africa, black as well as white-ruled, that normally take 40 percent of Rhodesia's exports and have done little or nothing to reduce them.

But Britain is hopeful that Zambia, which alone takes 25 per cent of Rhodesia's exports, will alter this picture.

Elsewhere in the world, the report states, "nearly all the major importing countries have cut off nearly all their imports from Rhodesia." Rhodesia has been denied access to markets that in 1964 took £60-million

(\$168-million) of its £70-million (\$196-million) of exports outside southern Africa.

Much of the remaining gap, the British believe, will be closed by continuing "representations" to countries. The main leakages are stated to be in sales of copper and asbestos to West Germany, asbestos to Japan meat to Switzerland and sugar and tobacco to Portugal.

The embargo study expresses concern about chrome sales, stating that shipments of Rhodesian chrome from (Portuguese) Mozambique to the United States are continuing." But United States officials say that the output of American-owned mines, which now are operating under surveillance is being stockpiled in Mozambique and that only pre-sanctions stocks are being shipped to the United States.

The sharp decline in Rhodesian exports has forced sharp cuts in imports to conserve foreign exchange.

Rhodesia's exchange reserves so far have actually increased slightly. But the import cuts are putting the distributive trade in difficulty; automobile sales have virtually halted. The annual report of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia states that "certain firms will never recover from the blow."

## INTERNAL RHODESIA

### A. Economic

Johannesburg Star - July 2

A seven-man trade delegation from Angola has arrived in Salisbury. Last month a Rhodesian delegation had visited Angola. Last year's trade between the two countries was worth about £250,000 (£194,000 being Rhodesian exports). Rhodesia is trying to expand exports to Portuguese territories and South Africa to replace the £36-million worth export trade to Zambia.

A new Rhodesian company is hoping to break the South African market for soft toys - and to cut into the Rhodesian market formerly served by Britain. The company, Zemba Products, is quite optimistic on the basis of preliminary market investigations.

The Times, London - June 24

Mr. John Whitehall, Rhodesia Minister of Finance announced today sharp increases in indirect taxation. The sales tax is to be doubled to 8d a pound. A liquor tax increase goes to 1s a bottle. Revenues are expected to raise an extra £2-million in a full financial year. The Army, Air Force, the police and teachers have all had recent wage boosts. Import control and petrol rationing cause high costs of administration. The Government obtained a £5 million sterling vote of credit this year, almost certainly to purchase the Joanna II tanker and its successors, with their crude oil.

---July 1. The Rhodesian Government is tightening its attitude towards the allocation of currency for imports from Britain. A number of merchants who ordinarily obtain their supplies from Britain have been told that they should make every effort to organize alternative sources of supply. For some of them this is not easy, as they are wholly owned Rhodesian subsidiaries of British companies whose function is to sell the parent products in Rhodesia.

### B. Guerrilla Activity

The Times, London

---June 22 and 24. Seven Africans are on trial for illegal possession of explosives. They are charged with attempting to blow up the Umtali-Beira pipeline. They said they should be "prisoners of war" and not criminals, because they declared war on the Smith regime.

Seven armed Africans who entered Rhodesia from Zambia were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for carrying arms (from Russia and China) and explosives. All were ZANU members. They were denied their request to be called prisoners of war because the judge said no state of war existed in the country.

---June 23. Three Africans have been sentenced to death for attacking a train with knobberries and stones and setting it on fire with petrol. They were sentenced under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. Two of the 8 accused were acquitted. Others were sentenced to 5, 6, and 10 year imprisonment.

---July 2. The police were today investigating an explosion which shattered windows in a white suburban shopping centre last night soon after two apparent arson attempts in factories in Salisbury's industrial area. The police also reported five incidents in which buses and cars were stoned last night.

Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, the Minister of Justice, Law and Order, told Parliament today that the Government had issued detention order against 95 people since independence on November 11. Of these, six had subsequently been released and in three cases detention orders had been revoked.

### C. Political

The Times, London

---June 30. The test case of the legality of the Rhodesian Government, brought by two detainees, Mr. Daniel Madzimbamuto and Mr. Leo Baron, continued in the High Court in Salisbury today. Counsel for the detainee argued that the duty of the court was to authorize their release on the ground that the Government was illegal. A contrary decision would be based on political factors.

Mr. S. Kentridge, representing Mr. Madzimbamuto, said that in cases arising out of the American Civil War the United States Supreme Court had never validated any acts that were against the constitution. This was in spite of the immense power of the American confederated states, which governed for four years without recognition by the Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Lewis later asked: "If we are to remain the judicial branch of the state, is it not inevitable that we must recognize de facto the people who constitute the executive?" Mr. Kentridge replied that to recognize them would be for the court to recognize that might was right.

---July 1. The test case on the legality of the Rhodesian Government continued in Salisbury High Court today. Arguing the Government's case Mr. O. Rathouse, Q.C. said that the assumption of independence on November 11 was a "legal revolution."

Johannesburg Star - July 2

The censors have banned the story of a Government (Smith) backbencher interjecting "Traitors" in the Rhodesian Parliament when the Chief Justice (Sir Hugh Beadle) and Sir Humphrey Gibbs were referred to during a speech.

## ZAMBIA

### A. Railraod Crisis

Johannesburg Star - July 2

The seven-man Rhodesia Railways Board is preparing a report on the future of the system to submit to the Zambian and Rhodesian governments, it was disclosed in a Railways statement.

The Times, London - July 1

Rhodesia Railways announced tonight that the administration is to prepare a report for submission, if they want it, to the Governments of

Rhodesia and Zambia dealing with the implication of the break-up of the present unitary system into two separate systems and the best way of affecting such a division. The report will mark another stage in the apparently inexorable process towards separate rail systems.

The railways also announced that 65 wagons containing an aggregate of about 2,500 tons of copper from Zambia have now passed out of Rhodesia into Mozambique. This means that the balance of the 17,000 tons of Zambian copper which was locked up in Rhodesia during the exchange control impasse has still to pass through this country.

---July 2. Mr. Mainza Chona, the Home Affairs Minister, said here today that Zambia wants real, as opposed to symbolic or nominal, aid from Britain. He was speaking as secretary-general of the ruling United National Independence Party, and was quoted in the Zambia Mail, which is owned by the Government Relations Secretary, and a British mission, Mr. Chona said that there should be no conditions attached to British aid.

#### INTERNATIONAL REACTION

##### A. O.A.U.

New York Times - July 2

The ninth session of the liberation committee of the Organization for African Unity ended today with a statement condemning the secret talks between Britain and Rhodesia. The committee again called on the British Government to "apply immediately the use of force to topple the Smith regime."

According to committee sources, the meetings achieved little on Rhodesia, or on the committee's financial crisis. The denunciation of Rhodesia, was along expected lines, the sources said.

Many of the 30 nations in the organization are in arrears on dues.

##### B. Mozambique

Johannesburg Star - July 2

The port of Beira is believed to be some 2 million Rand down on its revenue for April and May this year as compared with 1965. This drop represents a drop in cargo tonnage of more than a quarter, and is considered to be the result of sanctions against Rhodesia. The biggest fall was in petrol, oil and lubricants.

Its attraction to Rhodesians as a tourist center seems to have increased, however. The Beira port authority, which includes representatives from the Rhodesian, Zambian, and Malawi governments, met this month to discuss expansion of the port facilities.

Rand Daily Mail - June 30

"It is clear that in the Government's view the search for oil is by far the most urgent project being undertaken in this country today. Dr. Vervoerd and his advisers have fully understood the lesson taught by the blockade of Rhodesia. And they are aware of two most important points of difference between the positions of the two countries: South Africa's immensely greater consumption of oil; and the absence of a neighbour who could help us on a scale equivalent to that of the aid we have given the Rhodesians. The prospect of an oil embargo against South Africa may be remote now, but it may not continue to be, So the Government's deep preoccupation with the need to find oil is understandable."