EDITORIALS

The Guardian, Manchester - July 11
"If the whites do not come to terms with the Africans, the world will not simply go away. It will become more and more insistent. The question for the whites is not whether majority rule will come, but how.

"The chances must be rated fairly low that any constitutional settlement in Rhodesia can be reached which will, in the British Prime Minister's phrase, 'be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole'. What one race will wear, the other will not. But the search for some common ground is worth making even at this late stage. The alternative may well be bloodshed in Rhodesia, extending to Southern Africa as a whole."

Economist - July 9
"... The main effect of the continuation of the discreet talks between officials was to foster rumors that some underhand bargain was being struck, and to compel Mr. Wilson to reiterate that 'there will be no tampering with the six principles'. He pointed out on Tuesday that no settlement would be worth making unless it secured Rhodesia's 'acceptance in international society.' This was criticised by some of Mr. Ian Smith's supporters as amounting to the addition of a seventh principle to Britain's terms for agreement. But Mr. Wilson was merely spelling out the self-evident point that no settlement will stick unless most of the rest of the world accepts it."

This is a good time for a pause for some "hard thought" on both sides. In Rhodesia the Chamber of Commerce is gloomy, sharp tax increases were accompanied by warnings of more, a group of business leaders urged Mr. Smith to come to terms quickly since his position would be fatally weakened in August, the loss of Zambian trade is being felt, the tobacco farmers are demanding the secrecy about next year's plans for their crop be lifted and the legality of the regime has been directly challenged in the courts.

New Statesman - July 8
"Rhodesian Failure" by John Hatch
The offer of £7.3 million to aid in the sanctions policy by Judith Hart's mission to Zambia has been refused because President Kaunda fears a sell-out to Smith. There is a different interpretation put on the words "sell-out" and "settlement" in Lusaka and London.

"In London some government circles seem to believe that to secure a 'national' government in Rhodesia, led by Smith or some other Rhodesian Front figure, including some black faces and with safeguards for eventual African advance, would represent a 'settlement'. In Lusaka and every other African capital it would be seen as a 'sell-out'... If Zambia 'had faith that Britain was really determined to defeat the Smith rebellion they would have cooperated with Mrs. Hart: their distrust enjoins them to demand aid for their expensive long-term needs while they can still argue that Britain must compensate them for economic losses."

"A similar political misjudgement underlies the failure of the
the sanctions policy. The only policy which can win support from the majority of the Rhodesians, and from international opinion, is a period of direct rule, with a fully-representative government, under the governor charged with the task of preparing a phased introduction to genuine democracy. But such a settlement would involve unconditional surrender by Smith; and there seems no way short of force, to bring this about.

Johannesburg Star - July 9
"Pause that refreshes."
"It must long have been obvious that the negotiators on Rhodesian independence were in fact marking time. . . . Mr. Wilson's motives in playing for time can be guessed at. After an early miscalculation of their effect, he was anxious to give his sanctions more time to work, while containing the impatience of the other African states, in and out of the Commonwealth, and of the United Nations. In this he has been successful; for what the success is worth."

The People, London - July 10
The upsurge in violence in Rhodesia indicates "that Rhodesian Africans who have been training for months past in other African countries for terrorist activity are now completing their courses and infiltrating back into Rhodesia. The incitement to violence in Rhodesia is a deliberate act of policy by other African states in their effort to procure United Nations military intervention. The ruse is to show to the General Assembly in September that there is violence in Rhodesia, and therefore a threat to peace. This, it is argued, would justify the entry of United Nations troops into the country."

INTERIOR RHODESIA
A. Ian Smith's Address to Parliament
Globe and Mail, Toronto - July 8
Prime Minister Ian Smith yesterday accused Britain of intimidation during the recent informal talks.

Speaking in Parliament here, the Prime Minister said that while the discussions were in progress, Britain intensified its economic sanctions "probably in the misguided belief that we of the Rhodesian Government are susceptible to intimidation."

"Here they are very wrong. . . . We have no intention of deviating from our principles. We will never surrender to threats, we will never surrender to sanctions. In fact, we are not the sort of people who will ever surrender to anything."

The talks were adjourned Tuesday but will resume here later this month.

Mr. Smith said that very little progress has been made so far, although there has been no setback.

He welcomed the present adjournment. "I believe there is now a clearer understanding of the position between our two countries. I think it is important for the British delegation to return to Britain to take stock of their position before the talks continue."

Mr. Smith said he had never thought a solution to the independence problem could be found in a matter of days or weeks; it would take months.

He was not pessimistic. "We certainly have no intention of giving up so early in the game," he added. "We are riding sanctions far better than we expected. I think this is the result of a well-trained highly sophisticated and efficient economy."

His administration had never tried to cover up the effect of sanctions on certain sections of the economy, adding that many
industries now were more buoyant than they had ever been. "Of course sanctions are having an effect," he said. "They are increasing the bitterness between Britain and Rhodesia."

"We want everyone in the world -- including Britain -- to leave us alone. Their interference is hindering and not helping, and Britain's so-called shelter is the biggest embarrassment to us, and the biggest impediment to progress today. Leave us alone, and keep your cold uncharitable shelter to yourself."

B. The Times, London - July 7
Two High Court Judges reserved judgment in the constitutional test case on the legality of Mr. Ian Smith's Government. The Judges have also been asked to rule on whether the 1965 Constitution, approved with Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence was legal.
Mr. Sidney Kentridge, a South African Q.C. appearing for Mr. Madzimbamuto, raised the question of whether the commanding officers of the Rhodesian Army and Air Force supported the Government.
He challenged a suggestion by the Government counsel Mr. Oscar Rathouse, also a South African Q.C. that even if the Army and Air Force commanders had not sent court affidavits to say so, they were never-the-less loyal to Mr. Smith's regime.

C. Economic
The Times, London - July 7
The Rhodesian economy did well last year, according to the economic survey for 1965.
The survey shows that the various pipelines were well placed to withstand the initial impact of sanctions, although the fundamental profile of the economy, with its dependence on Zambian and British markets, is badly placed to withstand a longer siege unless there is a considerable reorientation of traditional trading patterns and a lot of help from friends.
The country's gross domestic product rose to £354m. for the year. This is an increase of seven per cent, and represents for the first time in four years an increase in real terms a head of population for the country's 4,330,000 inhabitants at the year end.
Income a head rose by £2 2s to £84. A total of 629,000 Africans were employed in the cash economy; they earned an average of £128 a year. European, Asian, and Coloured employees, totalling 89,000, earned an average of £1,285.
After allowing for an increase of stocks there was a favourable balance of visible trade of £42m and a favourable balance on current account of £14m., both records.
In spite of an outflow of £8m. of long-term capital there was almost certainly an increase over the year in the country's foreign reserves, although this section of the statistics is rather muddled for security reasons.

A. Political
The Times, London
---July 9. Mr. Kapwepwe, the Zambian Foreign Minister, leaves Lusaka by air tomorrow to attend the next meeting on Wednesday of the Commonwealth committee on sanctions against Rhodesia.
Normally the committee's meetings are attended by the permanent representatives of the various Commonwealth countries who are based in London, but a Government spokesman said today: "The forthcoming meeting is so important in view of the recent developments in the Rhodesian situation that it is necessary for the Minister to give the Commonwealth committee a clear picture of Zambia's position."

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President Kaunda today threatened to take Zambia out of the Commonwealth unless Britain brought about the end of white minority rule in Rhodesia. He was speaking at his inauguration as the first Chancellor of Zambia's new university.

Dr. Kaunda bitterly attacked Britain for persuading other countries to agree to the postponement of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference from July to September.

He agreed that Zambia would have to give up a certain amount of freedom to belong to the Commonwealth or any other organization, "but here we are being requested to give up principles, which is a thing we cannot do. So gravely we must think again. I want to admit this has been, and still is, and agonizing period. But if leaving the Commonwealth is the only way Zambia can show that soul-less, cleverness wins rounds but not victories, then we must take this step.

The President assured British and other Commonwealth citizens living in Zambia that they had nothing to fear if Zambia left the Commonwealth.

The Rhodesian situation put Britain and the west as a whole on trial, "and unless they can meet firmly this blatant attempt by a small racialist group to maintain selfishly its position of dominance and control the majority, their high sounding declaration of so-called western democracy will be hollow and useless."

B. Economic

The Times, London - July 11

The Zambia Minister of Transport, Mr. Hyden Banda, has sharply criticized certain businesses, including oil companies, for failing to cooperate with the Government in bringing supplies to the landlocked Republic over new routes instead of through Rhodesia.

Mr. Banda took exception to various interests which, he said, had indicated that the new routes were doomed to failure -- they go through the Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Portuguese Angola, and Mozambique-- and that Zambia was bound to revert to the old routes through Rhodesia.

He accused the oil companies of doing little towards bringing in fuel over the new routes, and merely depending on the Zambian Government to see what should be done. The Toronto Globe and Mail - July 9, reported that "a Commonwealth official in London said that with the exception of Britain and Canada, most Commonwealth countries have not responded to Zambia's appeal for economic aid to help cut its imports from Rhodesia.

Canada and Britain provided an expensive oil airlift, and Sierra Leone is ready with a gift of four oil tankers for Zambia. The only other significant gift offer is a shipment of 50 tons of mutton and three trucks from New Zealand."

Johannesburg Star - July 9

Tanzania's new refinery in Dar es Salaam began operations this week. The R10 million Italian-financed complex will eventually supply all Tanzania's needs and, given road transport or a projected cross-country pipeline, a substantial part of Zambia's.

Zambia faces increasing difficulties in the export of copper. It seems unlikely that more than half of the 60,000 tons a month can be transported to world markets in the near future. The main reason seems to have been the failure of the Congolese route to carry the expected 30,000 tons of copper a month. The Congolese had intended to route their own copper through Matadi, and make the Benguela route available for Zambian copper, but this has been found to be impossible.

The Globe and Mail, Toronto - July 8

President Kenneth Kaunda has received a preliminary report on an
extensive engineering survey conducted by an Anglo-Canadian team of the long-projected 1,000-mile railway between Zambia and Tanzania.

Maxwell Stamp of a British firm, one of several involved in the survey, said he had met the President in Lusaka to tell him about it and the final report should be completed in three or four weeks. It would be presented to the governments of Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. The report would show the project to be perfectly feasible and more profitable than was thought originally.

The next step will be for a Zambian-Tanzanian inter-governmental committee to consider how funds are to be raised if they accept the report. One problem will be that more than half the cost of building the railway will be involved in Tanzania although Zambia is in a stronger financial position than Tanzania. The survey has cost the British and Canadian governments $491,000.

Mr. Stamp said among the advantages for Zambia would be the provision of thousands of jobs and an outlet to the sea through a friendly country. However, the railway which would cost at least $150,000,000 and probably far more will take five years to build.

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

A. South Africa
Johannesburg Star - July 9
The Friends of Rhodesia Trust in Salisbury has received £17,500 further from organizations in South Africa.

B. Britain
The Times, London - July 8
Mr. Heath will discuss with Mr. Maudling, the Opposition deputy leader, a proposal that Mr. Maudling should make a reconnaissance to Rhodesia to sound political opinion in Salisbury and to form a conclusion about developments since Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's visit in February.

The New York Times - July 11 (Graham Hovey)
Time bombs tick ominously for Britain's Labor Government. A hundred days after its election triumph it is in danger not of early defeat but of massive damage to its standing at home and abroad.

Circumstances are closing in on Britain. Not even the nimble Mr. Wilson can straddle much longer on decisive questions involving Rhodesia and the Commonwealth; Vietnam and the United States; NATO and the Common Market; Britain's sluggish economy, the balance of payments crisis and the weakness of the pound. To continue his tightrope act will risk greater disaster in some areas and being ignored in others. His diplomatic timetable provides examples.

In September he will be host to heads of Commonwealth governments and must account to African members for his assertion at their meeting in Lagos last January that sanctions would crush Rhodesia's white rebel regime "in a matter of weeks, rather than months." He may face a repudiation extremely painful for one who promised in office to strengthen Commonwealth ties.

Johannesburg Star - July 9
Mr. Harold Wilson said of Rhodesia that "the present situation cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely", and this is interpreted in Salisbury as meaning that the Anglo-Rhodesian civil service talkers will have the month of August to get out of the mire they have been in.

Duncan Sandys, former Commonwealth Secretary, is flying to Rhodesia for talks.

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Mr. Harold Wilson was presented with a tin of Rhodesian tobacco by Nigel and Tim Gibbs, sons of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, when they visited him in London. (327)