RHODESIA

RG - HMG NEGOTIATIONS

Smith said RG still working on formal reply to the British. The Rhodesian Cabinet met primarily to discuss agricultural problems and RG's three-point plan for alleviating farmers' problems. A proposed Bill will create a new Government board to negotiate with creditors and lend money (£1,250,000 allocated) to farmers at a low interest. Rhodesia Tobacco Association is also asking for an increase of 1d/lb. from the Tobacco Corporation for growers. This one penny increase would make average payment to growers about 2s under RG's guarantee scheme. RG is also considering establishing fertilizer factory under private interests in order to reduce price of fertilizer, and proposals to streamline the administration of meat, dairy and grain production under statutory boards. Tobacco would not be affected by this streamlining since it is sold traditionally through auctions. (The Times, London - Nov. 1) (This indicates apparent attention begin paid by RG to HMG proposals.)

At a meeting in rural Bindura, Mashonaland, Smith gave indications of nature of RG's reply to HMG proposals: "We are able to carry our own can. It is difficult to believe that a country which has imposed sanctions against us is sheltering us in any way. If it is an embarrassment for the British Government to carry our can, I advise them to put it down and we will carry it for ourselves." Re Zambia's economic problems, Smith said Britain has produced "present predicament. These poor inarticulate people, who cannot run a railway, a post office or a petrol rationing scheme decently, have now been given a whole country to run." It would not be to Rhodesia's advantage to aggravate the problems of her next door neighbor.

Smith repeated that if Britain hands Rhodesia "over to the UN this would be tantamount to ejection from the Commonwealth, and if we were not in the Commonwealth we must automatically assume the status of a republic, whether we like it or not." (The Times, London - Oct. 24)

"Unless there is a dramatic and unlikely change by either side (HMG or RG), it is in the highest degree unlikely that progress towards a settlement will be made" by end of November. (The Times, London - Oct. 27)

Minister of Law/Order Lardner-Burke told Rhodesian Parliament that 3 months extension of State of Emergency regulations was essential for security, as well as for economic reasons and to maintain censorship. (Parliament voted to extend emergency.) (The Times, London - Oct. 27)

Minister of Information Howman informed Rhodesian Parliament that the 70 inches blank space in Rhodesia Herald Sept. 21, 2 days after arrival of British Commonwealth Secretary Bowden, was due to instructions "in accordance with the wishes of both Governments" to the censors. Thus instructions said that no material on the talks should appear on Sept. 21st. Howman commented that the situation of the meetings had been delicate in several ways: Bowden was concerned about Lardner-Burke's presence at the talks, therefore the final communique simply mentioned the "Prime Minister and his party." Howman said
acute sensitiveness made us believe that it would be in the national interest if nothing was said, lest chance comment/remark might lead to withdrawal Powden mission, and thereby give opportunity to opponents to lay blame for failure of talks on some untoward event in Rhodesia. The British mission had relaxed by the next day and it was possible to relax censorship order. Head of British mission in Rhodesia Hennings, declined comment on Howman's statements that both Governments had agreed to this procedure, but sources indicate that "only point of agreement which had been reached by the two sides-- not the two Governments-- was that no official comment should be made on informal talks at the time, beyond the one-line comment issued September 30. (The Times, London - Oct. 27)

Parliamentary Undersecretary in CRO Beswick, emphasized that military intervention in Rhodesia would result in economic chaos; those who urge force should be "prepared to contribute towards the support of the 4,000,000 Rhodesian Africans in the inevitable period of disaster which would precede the climb back to the standard of life which they now enjoy." Britain's terms would not undermine Rhodesian welfare, black or white; if Smith rejected them, Britain would seek UN support; economic sanctions must not be rejected now, lest they be discredited as instrument for settling disputes. (The Observer - Oct. 30)

President Nyerere said there were 2 ways to save Rhodesia: One was to force Britain to fulfill her duty -- The other was for the people of Rhodesia to fight. (Standard, Dar es Salaam - Oct. 15)

RG is allowing Rhodesian insurance brokers to resume replacing certain categories (such as tobacco, sugar cane, professional indemnity insurance), with Lloyd's. The local registration of Lloyd's for underwriting purposes was cancelled because HMG did not allow transfer of funds due on claims to Rhodesia. Now Registrar of Insurance Companies, who is Rhodesian official, will obtain Lloyd's underwriters if the premiums on the insurance policies are paid in Rhodesia. (The Times, London - Oct. 25)

ITEMS

The Central African editor of "Drum" was arrested in Salisbury. (The Nationalist, Dar es Salaam - Oct. 12)

A group of 24 Rhodesian African students who had fled to Botswana following disturbances at UCR, Salisbury, flew to Lusaka with the aid of the University of Zambia and World Council of Churches. (Standard, Dar es Salaam - Oct. 14)

(The following report was handed to a recent visitor to Rhodesia by one of that country's journalists, with the request that the author's name be withheld.)--

It is estimated that at least 2,900 Africans are being held in "restriction," some 800 in "detention." In addition, 1,700 Africans are being held in jail for political offenses, while many others are restricted in their own home areas. From conversations with people who have been released after periods of confinement it is possible to get an idea of what the experience is like. Obviously, none of those who give information is willing to have his name divulged.

A member of now outlawed ZAPU was arrested in his home township. He was detained for 4 months without trial near Salisbury and said of his life there: We had no breakfast or supper, only lunch--a lump of porridge and an indescribable piece of slightly cooked meat. At first we were kept all the time in cold cells. After we protested strongly we were brought out for six hours every day. We
were not allowed to read newspapers. We had no contact whatever with the outside world. The African prison warders were not allowed to speak to us. We had no soap, and our friends and relatives could not send us any—not even the poorest grade. Of course they were not allowed to visit us.

Then this man and five others were handcuffed together and flown to Gonakudzingwa restriction area, an "earthly hell, a place of suffering and boredom." This man has now been released on condition that he take no part in political activities, remain within 20 mile radius of his hut, stay away from urban areas, and submit to weekly visit/interrogation by a police constable.

A member of banned ZANU, a married man, father of five children, was arrested by police in predawn "swoop" and taken to police station for interrogation. There he remained for 14 days. After thorough screening this man and others were sent to Wha Wha restriction center in the Midlands area. He said of Wha Wha: The area is surrounded by barbed wire. Inside are huts which are supposed to accommodate six people, but because the huts were few and the prisoners many we slept ten to a hut, like rats in a hole. There was nothing else to do. The food was better than at the police stations, but it was not good and not plentiful. Only mealie-meal and beans, with sometimes a bit of meat as "relish". We got sick when the meat was unclean fish that had not been refrigerated.

This African has now been released to his home district. He is banned from leaving it, and from visiting any other rural area or any village. He is visited by a constable each week.

A youth aged about 19 described his arrest on suspicion of having been active in ZANU: I was handcuffed with my hands at my back and taken to the main police station in Salisbury. The security police asked me about ZANU. Detectives beat me up, tried to force me to agree with their charge that ZANU was plotting to overthrow government by armed rebellion. I refused—I was put into a cold cell for a full day. It was completely dark. The next day they took me out and again demanded that I tell the truth. Again I said I did not know the secret plans of the party. I was not an executive member. Soon I was put in another cell. Within 5 minutes I was able to see something that looked like a snake with a dark head. As it moved toward me I could see it flicking its tongue in and out. It was a terrible moment for me as I had never come face to face with a snake before. I jumped about, here and there, until I was exhausted. Finally the thing just disappeared. Later I learned from another prisoner that it was an electric snake. When I was next brought out for questioning I protested about the electric snake but they gave no reply. After the last interrogation I was sent to the Wha Wha restriction center, where I was kept for six months. Finally I was released to stay with my parents in a rural reserve.

(Christian Century - Oct. 26)

UNITED NATIONS

RHODESIA

UN General Assembly vote condemned any settlement between HMG and the "illegal racist minority regime" which did not recognize "the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence." (Vote was 86 to 2 (Portugal and SA), with 18 abstentions.) Caradon was in difficult position because he stated he would not make any new statement on British policy towards Rhodesia. UN Assembly obviously did not trust Wilson. The decision was "rushed through" the trusteeship council and then went to the GA where attempts by some countries such as India to tone down the motion were unsuccessful. If Britain does come to UN with call for sanctions against
Rhodesia probably she will be pressured towards more extreme measures involving South Africa. UN resolution unlikely to make any difference in present HMG-RG negotiations, or affect Commonwealth communiqué timetable. HMG believes that fear of a British "sell-out", which resulted in "hasty and ill-worded resolution" stems from Smith's reference to the two sides "being closer than most people thought." HMG does not plan to publish their terms to Rhodesia as was demanded in UN Assembly debate. (The Times, London - Oct. 24)

UN General Assembly's special committee on apartheid called for international oil embargo on SA, which would then block shipments to Rhodesia. It could be accomplished with cooperation of few British, American, French, Dutch companies. Britain repeated that Rhodesian settlement would have to be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. Caradon commented that declarations against effectiveness of sanctions would just "bolster the facade of confidence which the illegal regime has been seeking to maintain." Diallo of Guinea denounced Caradon's speech as "promises which give us vain hopes that cannot be achieved.-.-" the Rhodesian question was always discussed "with the same British eloquence and hypocrisy." (The Times, London - Oct. 26)

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

By vote of 114 to 2, with 3 abstentions, UN General Assembly passed resolution terminating SA mandate of SWA, establishing committee of 14 to recommend practical means of UN administration of the area, and setting April/67 as deadline for committee's report to the Assembly. Portugal and SA opposed the motion, the latter reaffirming refusal to comply with the action; Britain, France, Malawi abstained; US and Russia voted in favor. Last-minute efforts by US Ambassador Goldberg to diffuse immediate UN responsibility and change some of the language of the resolution in interests of "harmony" and "unanimity" were rejected by African, Asian, Latin American sponsors. (New York Times - Oct. 29)

The 54 African/Asian sponsors of UN resolution on SWA accepted Latin American amendments to broaden resolution's appeal, and gain Western powers' support. Chief amendment was provision for 14 nation committee to "recommend practical means" whereby the people of SWA might exercise self-determination and achieve independence. SA Foreign Minister Muller reiterated that UN had neither legal nor moral right to intervene. (New York Times - Oct. 27)

Difficulties of 14-member commission's role soon became manifest. It must report by April/67; SAG is determined not to permit it to visit SWA nor to enter into any discussions on the area. Further, Caradon of Britain expressed reservations about serving on the committee, and there is real doubt about Western powers' support of any economic sanctions, much less actual seizure of SWA. (New York Times - Oct. 29)

Editorial: UN has broken new ground with resolution terminating SA's mandate and accepting UN responsibility for SWA. Ultimate significance of motion's bold language will depend on Security Council willingness to agree on enforcement of General Assembly decisions, but difficulties in Security Council and with SA in implementing proposal do not diminish importance of the move. (New York Times - Oct. 30)

Caradon returned to England for consultations, primarily on southern Africa and difficulties facing Britain at UN. Britain (with France, Malawi) abstained from resolution on SWA. Britain's official reason for abstention was that resolution cannot be carried out. But Britain also would have preferred to
deal with Rhodesia first and avoid direct clash with SA as long as possible. HMG still has slim hope that settlement in Rhodesia may be reached. Wilson "appears still to take seriously" possibility that SA is urging Smith to compromise; clearly this would make clash with SA even less desirable in British eyes. If sanctions are requested against Rhodesia, oil embargo against SA may be necessary; here again, Britain will be reluctant to join in.

Reportedly, 2 ministers are braced to resign if HMG reaches agreement with Rhodesia that can be credibly attacked as "sellout" to white minority -- Lord Caradon and Mrs. Judith Hart. Caradon is said to be deeply disturbed about Britain's abstention on the UN vote on SWA. (Neither Mrs. Hart nor Lord Caradon are of cabinet rank). (Washington Post - Nov. 1)

Sole concession to those who argued against an impotent gesture is the creation of a committee to report by next April how responsibility for SWA is to be discharged. The committee can be constructive if SA cooperates. If SA is obdurate, bitter deadlock will remain until the Africans can finesse great powers into applying force. World opinion broadly accepts SA is unfit to exercise mandate. Other states have oppressive regimes, but none holds a mandate from the world authority. On these grounds there is reason in principle to withdraw the mandate when that is possible without incurring countervailing evils. Yet it is often self-defeating to seek right ends in the wrong way. (The Times, London - Oct. 29)

SA contests right of the UN to rescind the mandate unilaterally, has promised "firm and determined resistance" to any attempts aimed at imposing dangerous/unwanted system by the UN on SWA. (News from SA - Nov. 2)

SA is not challenging the UN nor is she flouting international law. What Muller said in effect was that as long as legal position remains in doubt, as it does, SA will brook no interference in her mandatory rights. Understandably there is no great enthusiasm in the UN for returning to the World Court, but until the legal position is defined, how can legally correct action be taken by the UN? The World Court was created precisely for situations of this kind, and SA is being both logical and correct in insisting that no unilateral action will be tolerated. Goldberg stressed that the US would support a move to revoke the mandate, but he did not venture to suggest how a revocation would come about. The proposed commission to establish a timetable for procedures for eventual self-determination in South West promises more lengthy debates with little hope of agreeing not just what will be done but who will do it, and how. (Star, Johannesburg - Oct. 13)

If it comes to a showdown between Vorster's regime and world opinion, US leadership may be the deciding factor. (Guardian - Oct. 27)

U. N. has rushed into what may well prove most disastrous/pointless venture of its career --- It voted to challenge most powerful/prosperous country in Africa without so much as questioning why it should do so or even how it can do so.

UN accepted charge that SA regime in SWA is threat to world peace even tho 2 of the World Court Judges who backed African cause acknowledged that charges of militarization were, as one of them put it, "completely without foundation." UN has shown contempt for opinion of World Court. UN proceeded in face of SA declaration that it would fight take-over with "all the power at its disposal." SA has money, military strength, courage. The UN has none. But it does have a plan to blockade and invade SA, drawn up for it last year by Carnegie Endowment.
for International Peace. The plan contemplates using 50 or 60 warships, including aircraft carriers, and possible invasion force which, it is estimated optimistically, could conquer the country in four months. And, where would UN get this armada, obviously—and especially in view of Goldberg's encouragement—from the US. SWA is the excuse by which Afro-Asians hope to bring US military power to bear against SA and thus ultimately to defeat the whites in Rhodesia, SWA and SA as well. (Chicago Tribune - Oct. 29)

SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Editorial: Neither Vorster nor predecessor Verwoerd, can have been happy at the way SA became involved in Rhodesian conflict. Pre-1965 Rhodesia formed part of buffer belt shielding SA from contact with states ruled by black Africans. And Rhodesia was dependable buffer because successive British governments had shielded it from international pressures, so that Britain too was in a sense a buffer state.

Smith's action changed all that. It had effect of drawing together the pieces of the southern Africa puzzle in a way that focuses attention on Pretoria more than ever before. Vorster might have broken up the pattern again by ditching Smith on the understanding that Britain would reciprocate by stoutly upholding SA's claims over SWA, but Britain has now declared Pretoria's mandate over SWA, forfeit and asserted that the people of the territory should decide their own fate. And US Ambassador Goldberg's action proposal in the UN Oct. 12--for a UN commission to map way to self-determination for SWA---went far enough beyond latest British statement of policy to arouse lively anxiety in Pretoria. So far, African states' appeals for international embargoes on trade with SA have found little significant response. Major trading powers have rejected argument that sanctions should be used to end apartheid; they have also resisted idea of using them as a lever in regard to SWA, arguing that its status was sub judice at The Hague--as it was until July. Now prospects of effective tightening of Rhodesian sanctions must depend more on major powers' real readiness to apply tighter squeeze than on nominal Security Council nose-count. The attitudes that matter most are those of the US and, to a lesser degree, of France. Countries such as Japan and Germany, however reluctant to put their economic relations with SA at risk would toe a line that already had American, British and French toes on it. US attitude on Rhodesia generally has been in alignment with Britain—neither loss of direct trade with Rhodesia nor cost of helping to fly oil into Zambia, has bulked large on American scale. Open breach with SA would bulk larger, even if all idea of involvement in international patrolling of southern African coasts were ruled out. Direct US investment in SA is estimated around $500m, only one-fifth of Britain's but hardly negligible. US Congress has shown little readiness for serious additional commitments in Africa. Yet recent evolution of US attitudes has caused real anxiety in Pretoria—which may be the only reliable gauge. If, by end November, real crunch comes over Rhodesia, there can be little confidence in Pretoria or Salisbury that the kind of protective benevolence once expected from London will now be provided by Washington. (Economist - Oct. 29)

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE WEST

It is unfortunate—even ominous—that in passing resolution on Rhodesia, UN General Assembly divided along lines that place Western world in small minority. Joined by Communist countries, nearly all nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America supported the resolution. SA and Portugal were alone in opposition, but 18 countries—including US, Canada, France, Britain—abstained on the vote. (The Globe and Mail - Oct. 25)
The 8-man British parliamentary friendship mission to Zambia was cancelled 24 hours before departure from London. There was confusion about the cause: whether an administrative blunder in Lusaka, or Zambian ill-will towards Britain. Visit was arranged by Zambian branch of Commonwealth Parliamentary Assn. and Speaker's office, Lusaka, several months ago, but Zambian Foreign office may not have been informed until just before mission due to begin. The expulsion of 12 British citizens on 24-hour notice was most recent evidence of Zambian ill-will. British Commonwealth office officially protested. But British officials deny that relations with Zambia are seriously compromised. Zambia is still considering £14m aid offer to compensate for trade losses with Rhodesia. (Observer - Oct. 30)

This is a time of immense frustration for the Zambian Government: ZG depends both on Rhodesian coal and on white labor, some of it Rhodesian or SA, on the Copperbelt; more than any government, except perhaps HMG, it has to reconcile itself to a series of crises, racial in origin, stretching into the indefinite future. Smith's constant warnings against the instability of his near African neighbors are not without foundation; but in Zambia's case they may turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. The longer he is allowed to maintain a racialist state in Rhodesia the greater will Zambia's frustrations become. Selective mandatory sanctions, if they include the commodities which really matter, like oil, will in Zambia's view be as ineffective as the voluntary sanctions applied so far. Yet unless much greater international assistance is organized, Zambia's economy will suffer at least as much as Rhodesia's from total sanctions. "No country has started its independent existence under such a strain as Zambia. This should be remembered when the strain begins to tell." (Manchester Guardian - Oct. 31)

British policy of economic sanctions against Rhodesia is at last beginning to strike home with devastating effect. But not, unfortunately on Rhodesia. Zambia is getting the worst of it; and President Kaunda looks like being the man who is going to be brought down by Christmas, not Mr. Smith. The tragedy of all this is that it need never have happened. It was known from the beginning that sanctions against Rhodesia would in the long run cripple Zambia; yet if President Kaunda had had his way and force had been used against Rhodesia the effects on Zambia's economy would have been far worse. What is to be done now? - - - "The key to the situation is in Salisbury. Kaunda may not like the discussions that are going on there, but ironically they provide the best hope for his continued existence as leader of Zambia. If talks yield nothing then the present situation will drag on for many more months. Even mandatory sanctions sponsored by the United Nations will take a long time to become effective. In this event action will have to be taken to keep the Zambian copper industry going. Possibly a joint Commonwealth effort could be made to this end, but it will have to be better managed than the things which have been done up to the present." (Daily Mail, London - Oct. 31)

Pres. Kaunda attacked some Europeans' racial attitude in Zambia, commented he wasn't sure that Finance Minister Uina would allow such Europeans to remove their earnings from the country. During independence anniversary celebrations Kaunda criticized Britain's failure to solve Rhodesian question, and pledged support for U.N. and O.A.U. (The Times, London - Oct. 25) 25 persons (23 whites, 2 Africans) were deported, given 24 hours to leave Zambia. (Washington Post - Oct. 26)

Lusaka and Ndola airports, fuel depots, strategic Copperbelt installations, and Lusaka radio station were placed under army guard; on account of "continued acts of sabotage" which have been occurring in Zambia. Mrs. Myburgh, a white mother of 2, was killed in Kitwe riot, reportedly the result of rumors that Europeans had started the fire which destroyed almost 400,000 gallons petrol. (An oil company spokesman said
the fire was an accident.) Vice-President Kamanga called the unfortunate death "a blow against the country's policy of non-racialism." At meeting of UNIP leaders, Kaunda explained new security measures and said Zambia was reaping the result of Wilson's "misfiring" on Rhodesia. (The Times, London - Nov. 1)

ECONOMIC

Pres. Kaunda accused IThG of silence/evasion over plans to build multi-million pound power station on Zambian side of Zambezi River at Kariba. At this time the jointly owned Kariba power station is on Rhodesian side of the river, and he warned that Zambia faced power shortage in 1970's unless plans for new hydro-electric scheme were undertaken. ZG had tried to involve the British, as the legal Government of Rhodesia, in building at Kariba, but "these efforts have met in some cases with evasion... in others with silence." Kaunda announced Zambia would continue with plans to build scheme on Kafue river, 30 miles from Lusaka, costing £ 25m, and that financial transactions had begun in Europe and America. But, in beginning this project, "we do not in any way wish to let anybody think that we are any less determined now than before to stake and defend our rights to Kariba as joint owners with joint liabilities." (The Times, London - Oct. 27)

Zambia plans to spend £429m on a four-year development plan, with ZG's investment at £282m, and private contributions at £147m. Zambia hopes to finance development from domestic resources, rather than borrowings, but in any case external borrowings would be no more than £75m. The plan intends to increase rural productivity and diversify the "present copper-bound economy"; it emphasizes agriculture, education, development of "reliable" routes to the sea, the building of a railway and a hydro-electric plant. (The Times, London - Nov. 1)

Zambia and Tanzania awarded the contract for the Ndola-Dar es Salaam pipeline to Italian ENI. Although some details remain to be negotiated, both sides have accepted 22-month contractual completion period with penalties. Observers emphasized Zambia's desire to get on with the job and Italy's growing interest in Central Africa, an interest she is pursuing in fields of transportation and hydro-electric power as well. (New York Times - Oct. 31)

Roan Selection Trust announced work would soon begin on first-stage development of a new copper mine near Luanshya. Initial work will cost $2.4m, and total 6-year capital outlay, designed to produce 22,000 tons annually, will run to $28m. (New York Times - Oct. 30)