BOGDEN talked with Smith and returned London -- most in Salisbury feel end of the road has been reached. Before meeting Bouden, Smith said he had new proposals, but did not give details -- he felt if agreement could be reached on Constitution, Britain could avoid going to UN.

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Cables from Governor Gibbs delayed HMG's break with Rhodesia; they at least implied threat to resign. Gibbs agrees with Conservatives that break and recourse to UN would be disastrous.

Labor MP's feel that Queen may be sympathetic with Gibbs and influence Wilson accordingly. Gibbs's critics maintain he dislikes Smith/RF mainly on social grounds, does not disagree with their white supremacy policy, reportedly called Todd and daughter Judy "wild extremists."

Labor MP's tend to see Rhodesia as clear right-wrong issue and speak of it with passion; were wary of Bowden when first appointed, but now support him. Those who want stronger stand do so for variety of reasons; some damn financial consequences (or hope US will pick up bill). Bipartisanship is widely diagnosed as dead, and Labor hopes for Conservative split to minimize political capital. Conservatives are for indefinite bilateral talks, oppose HMG ultimatum, reject idea of interim direct control while new Rhodesian constitution is worked out.

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Editorial: Bowden's visit unlikely to bring results; Smith seems convinced he can win without compromise. Thus Wilson seems bound to have to go to UN. Observer - Nov. 27

Bowden's effort was worth making; approach of deadline can sometimes have remarkable affect on attitudes; "There are many shades of opinion towards Rhodesia in this country (Britain), but there is general agreement about the need to safeguard the political progress of the African majority. If Mr. Smith imagines that there can be any compromise on that he is mistaken. Mr. Bowden's mission presents an opportunity to keep the Rhodesian affair where it belongs--in negotiations between London and Salisbury. Mr. Smith and his white Rhodesians have every interest in seeing that this is done. So has Mr. Wilson." Daily Mail - Nov. 24

"Mr. Bowden's latest trip to Rhodesia is a substitute for action. It can achieve nothing, beyond perhaps dissuading the Governor from resigning. Smith will rightly see it as a further sign of British weakness; our friends abroad as evidence of Britain's reluctance to stick to principle. The real choice before the Government has always been a simple one -- we had either to concede that we can no longer determine events in Africa, and leave Smith to the Africans, or restore Constitutional law by force. There
was never a third choice, and all Wilson's writhings during the last year and
more have sprung from his unwillingness to recognize the fact. In short,
Britain should either wash her hands of Rhodesia or enforce the law. Wilson
lacks the courage to do either." New Statesman - Nov. 25

Issue in Rhodesia is precisely what it always has been. "It is
whether the whites should retain power there for just so long as they judge
necessary, or whether they should abdicate in advance by agreeing to a process
that takes the timing of the transfer out of their hands. No amount of
verbiage should be allowed to obscure this basic reality." Sunday Telegraph-
Nov. 27

Britain retains responsibility for 4m black Africans in Rhodesia. There
can be many interpretations of the precise political, economic and human
opportunities that would have been theirs if the old system in Rhodesia
continued. . . In so far as Smith's government has slowed down/arrested
this African development Britain's responsibility cannot be shrugged off.
Economist - Nov. 26-Dec. 2

Little moves - and a Pause . . .

In order to "clarify" remarks made by Smith to journalists HMG
despatched Sir Morrice James to Salisbury. Smith indicated that RG interested
only in "delay" of black rule in Rhodesia for "possibly 5 years" after next
election. Literally construed, these remarks constitute significant change
from Smith's expressed determination to avoid black rule during his lifetime.

British delegation, headed by Permanent Under Secretary for Commonwealth
affairs Garner arrived Washington for talks on Rhodesia with US team headed
by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Palmer and Assistant
Secretary for International Organization Affairs Sisco. State Department
sources indicated Rhodesian situation was deteriorating, implied that US
would support new British measures to break resistance of Smith regime.
British group will also go to Ottawa. New York Times - Nov. 29, 30.

HMG paused at moment when observers expected it would ask for UN
sanctions against Rhodesia - - Wilson defended policy in Parliament on basis
of "small movement" toward compromise by Smith; Dec. 1 deadline for appeal
to UN had had salutary effect on RG. Some Labor members criticized HMG
delay as procrastination; some observers felt Smith was successfully
playing for time, and Wilson now feared any recourse to UN might result in
trade war with SA involving great harm to British economy. New York Times -
Nov. 29, 30

Mediterranean Musical Chairs - or Blues

Wilson and Smith met aboard HMS Tiger in Mediterranean in effort to
settle struggle over UDI. Rhodesian Governor Gibbs and Chief Justice
Beadle also on board. Wilson and Smith expected to talk in seclusion for
2 days. Before leaving London Wilson indicated HMG-RG agreement only possible,
not likely, said Commonwealth sanctions committee meeting scheduled Dec. 5
would proceed, preparations for recourse to Security Council would go ahead. Wilson added "A decision one way or another cannot be delayed much longer."

Reportedly, HMG-RG settlement would include Rhodesian independence on basis of 1961 Constitution abrogated by Smith at UDI, Nov. 11, 1965; would rest in considerable part on faith in Smith's promises. However, in any settlement, essential for Wilson to have sufficient guarantees of black Rhodesians' rights so that he can hold his Labour Party behind him. Wilson assured Commons before leaving London that there was "utter determination" in HMG not to abandon any of Britain's 6 principles. Opposition leader Heath said whole House was glad that Wilson going to meet Smith. New York Times - Dec. 2

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Hush, Hush - - Whisper Who dares - - Harold Wilson is saying his prayers.

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"One year after Independence, Rhodesia has demonstrated to the world her determination to survive without any sacrifice of principle. There is little that Great Britain, the United Nations or Arthur Goldberg can do to bring Rhodesia to her knees, short of military aggression.

"The question of Rhodesian Independence has been superseded by the larger one of preserving the territorial integrity of all Southern Africa, especially the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. . . . The Liberal- Communist establishment is preparing a war against South Africa.

"For these reasons, the American - Southern Africa Council has been formed. The Council will carry on the work of the National Coordinating Committee, Friends of Rhodesian Independence with expanded operations designed to counteract the rapidly growing battlefield in Southern Africa."

Rhodesian African Opposition (UPP) representatives Mnudu and Behane said in Blantyre that force was not answer in Rhodesia. Standard (Dar es Salaam) - Nov. 8

ECONOMIC

Rhodesia is attempting, with SA aid, to "boost Rhodesian exports". Potchefstroom exhibition will promote goods by Rhodesian manufacturers. Star (Johannesburg) - Nov. 5

INSIDE RHODESIA

In Salisbury magistrates' court 4 Africans were committed for trial for murder of young white farmer and his wife, Johannes and Babs Vilijoen at Hartley, 60 miles from Salisbury.

Vilijoen was killed with machine-gun as he answered knock at farm-house door and his wife when she came to see what was happening.

Reportedly, the group had been sent from Zambia to Tanzania for terrorist training by banned Zimbabwe African National Union. Times (London)- Nov. 25.
ZANU's Dar office reported Rev. Mabangini Sithole began hunger strike in Salisbury jail, together with 6 - 8 of his right hand men. Nationalist (Dar es Salaam) Nov. 14

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High Court sentenced Ian Dixon to 7 years' imprisonment and hard labor for possession of Soviet hand grenades, and literature from ZAPU. NYT - Nov. 17

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High Court upheld injunction restraining deportation US citizen Brooks, until he has appealed order declaring him prohibited immigrant. He is charged with falsifying Rhodesian immigration declaration by not revealing charges against him in Philadelphia for burglary, assault, conspiracy. New York Times - Nov. 25

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US missionary Blakney from UCC was fined $42 for "ridiculing" police in recent sermon in which he described torture inflicted on African prisoner (member of his congregation). Charges that Blakney aroused "contempt" of police were not validated. New York Times Nov. 26

ZAMBIA

After visit to Canada, Kaunda visited Chile for talks aimed at possible joint policy by Chile and Zambia on copper production, marketing, prices. Christian Science Monitor - Nov. 30

President Kaunda "at last" accepted some responsibility for racial unrest in Zambia: in recent speech, preceding trip to OAU conference, Addis Abeba, he indicated that UNIP had not encouraged sufficient discipline/retention of order. He insisted that although UNIP members had not always been helpful in recent problems, such members and their groups were not acting in complete, free-wheeling autonomy. Recently it was suspected that offices other than Kaunda's were able to influence/give orders to above groups. Kaunda's speech criticised Wilson in HMG's handling of Rhodesian situation, and assailed Right Wing British Press for its "rejoicing" at social unrest in Zambia. Star (Johannesburg) Nov. 5

Zambia protested to hYG over Rhodesian shooting of African woman Mrs. Soko in Zambian Territorial waters of Zambezi River bordering Rhodesia. Nationalist (Dar es Salaam) - Nov. 12

Gissing, a 52-year-old white man, was arrested in Zambia on charge of possessing dynamite/detonators in connection with "plot" to blow up Kafue rail bridge. Gissing allegedly conspired with Dumbier of Friedrich Zoellner Corporation, NY, who is facing charges in US on same question. New York Times - Nov. 27

Mrs. Elliott, former Israeli/currently Austrian citizen, and 3 Israelis were charged with "conspiracy to commit crime" in connection with alleged plan to dynamite bridge. Allegations say Mrs. Elliott, working with husband who faces similar charges in US, sought saboteurs in Israel for project. New York Times - Nov. 30
Brinkmanship on Rhodesia: SA would like Smith regime to succeed now that it has taken plunge into UDI, but if regime is destined ultimately to bite the dust, SA is not going to bite the dust with it. Temptations - to continue to support Smith or to abandon him - are balanced. Hence the brinkmanship.

If Britain goes to UN and asks for selective mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, she may specify sanctions which will by-pass SA as far as possible, e.g. if oil is included in sanctions resolution, pressure may be applied on Mozambique, Rhodesia's main channel for oil supplies at present. Already Portuguese officials sourly anticipate HMG will prefer clash with Portugal rather than with SA. In this case SA will have to revert to sending oil by road over Beit Bridge through friends of Rhodesia, private organizations, and not by 5 major oil companies (Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil, Total).

SA has new contingency planning - Since Sharpeville 1960 self-sufficiency has been regarded as essential; with Rhodesian issue, there is urgency.

Conclusion: Contingency planning is long-term; SA is prepared to go to brink over Rhodesia, but not over it -- SA is ready to swim with Rhodesia but not sink with it. If UN requires mandatory oil sanctions, SA might decide time has come to turn away at the brink - as unobtrusively as possible. Observer - Nov. 27

Siege Plans: With heightened concern that impending UN involvement on Rhodesian crisis might involve SA, SAG revealed details of elaborate plan for state of siege; urged importers to make at least 6-month stockpiles of strategic products; is taking special precautions on oil - building tanker fleet, second oil-from-coal plant, new storage tanks, encouraging oil companies through liberal tax concessions to explore potential of Continental Shelf. Legislation now ensures that Lloyds of London keeps deposits in SA equal to 70% of local premiums.

Vorster reiterated SA's "strict neutrality" on Rhodesian question and her complete opposition to principle of sanctions. New York Times - Nov. 27

Anti-colonialist friend: Only someone like General deGaulle would have been able to balance his image as an "idol of the third world" with France's increasing economic interests in SA and established gaullist doctrine of non-interference in a country's internal affairs. However, he may be forced to come down on one side or another if Britain asks UN to impose mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia.

This is how the position may develop. If HMG, backed by US, asks UN to impose selective mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, odds are that France will not use veto (abstention would enable her to preserve doctrine of non-interference). But if sanctions are applied in earnest, things cannot end here - soon it will be necessary to restrict supplies to countries that break boycott. It is in this second stage, when decision has to be taken on, say, rationing petrol supplies to SA that deGaulle may have to make up his mind. Rhodesia has been treated by French Government as "internal" British matter; SA could not be.

But, in dealings with SA, France has shown scant respect for UN or world opinion. Her relatively small economic interest in SA market is unlikely to weigh heavily against deGaulle's prestigious position in Africa, Asia, Latin America. On balance, he may have to yield if faced with
unambiguous choice in full limelight... but French authorities are convinced things will never come to such a pass. They rely on Wilson still to seek compromise. If they are right, de Gaulle will continue to parade world stage as champion of anti-colonialism, while remaining, on the side, South Africa's friend.  

Economist - Nov. 26-Dec. 2

Lesotho: Chief Lebuo Jonathan assured OAU that SA refugees in Lesotho would not be betrayed to SA.

O. A. U.

Editorial on OAU Conference: "If there is one advantage accruing from the conference, we hope that it will be that the majority of member states of the organization will come to reckon with its weakness. There can be no doubt that it IS weak." Nationalist (Dar es Salaam) - Nov. 11

Much of what is wrong with Black Africa was illustrated at OAU conference at Addis Ababa. Primarily it is its leadership. The conference verged on ridiculous, and no service would be performed to anyone, including African states themselves, by trying to hide this... only issue of Southern Africa gave some fragile facade of unity.

Boycotted by good half of heads of state, enmeshed in Ghana-Guinea uproar, unwilling to tackle in any adequate way such issues as Ethiopian-Somali dispute or record of Committee of Liberation, the OAU conference delegates finally dispersed (at least, those who had not departed early), having made mostly a mockery of their organization's title.

Tanzania's President Nyerere later described Black Africa as a "mess," and gave some reasons why this is so. But he ignored some of the most pertinent -- that leaders such as he himself had in the past urged the OAU to courses so extreme that, if carried through, they could only have boomeranged, and, if ignored, as they mostly were, could only bring the organization into disrepute.

In absence of toppled extremists such as Ben Bella and Nkrumah, conference did at least avoid passing high-flying resolutions it was incapable of fulfilling. But sadly, it still showed little ability or even desire to get down to tackling problems that are basic to nearly all else -- poverty, development of democratic stable government, regional co-operation.

Star (Johannesburg) - Nov. 12