Discussion on the British proposal for selective mandatory sanctions was generally critical. Federenko (USSR), Bouattoura (Algeria) and others emphasized British reluctance to enforce sanctions to date, called for implementation of effective sanctions now, including embargo on oil. Russian delegate also indicated the "subversion" of the US of the boycott as shown in rise of Rhodesian imports by the US. De Beus (Netherlands) saw no great objections to mandatory sanctions on oil/oil products. British were apparently open to such sanctions provided individual UN members, not Britain, are responsible for enforcement. Generally, British and African positions remained far apart.  

New York Times--Dec. 15  

Kironde (Uganda) urged Security Council to vote on British proposal and African amendments on Dec. 16 in order to foreclose any new attempts by HMG and RG at agreement. NYT-Dec. 16  

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION  

By vote 11 - 0 with 4 abstentions (USSR, Bulgaria, France Mali), Security Council approved an amended British proposal for selective mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia: UN members are to prevent purchase of asbestos, iron ore, tobacco, copper, meat/meat products, hides, skins, leather; to prevent the supply of oil/oil products, aircraft and motor vehicles and equipment materials for their manufacture. Responsibility for stopping the flow of oil rests with individual UN members.  

Five African amendments were defeated: these asked Britain to prevent supply of oil by all means; condemned SA and Portuguese support of Smith; demanded withdrawal of all British offers to rebel regime; wanted embargo on purchases of coal and all manufactured goods; deplored Britain's refusal to use force. NYT--Dec. 17  

World-wide application of new sanctions is expected to reduce Rhodesia's total economic activity by $100m i.e. 10% of 1965 level (about $1b); measures taken by Britain and others thus far reduced 1966 volume to about $850m. NYT-Dec. 18  

SANCTIONS  

Editorial comment: The UN action represents middle course, fully acceptable to no one, but sanctions may be effective against Rhodesian exports, particularly tobacco. The US should comply with/fully enforce the measures. NYT-Dec. 17  

Analysis: The US has probably lost some esteem of African nations by its support of moderately-worded British proposal for sanctions. African pique at
whole process was expressed by Adebo (Nigeria) at conclusion of SC session and after defeat of 5 key African amendments which would have greatly strengthened the resolution. The USSR supported African position consistently, has probably enhanced its prestige on that continent. US delegation and Government thought US had no real alternative to support of the British. NYT-NYT-Dec. 19

REACTIONS TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

RHODESIA: Rhodesians do not expect sanctions impact for 6 months; this will enable Tiger-type settlement to be reached. Defeat of African SC amendment that HMG should withdraw all offers to RG has softened blow of sanctions.

Smith plans to offer to reopen negotiations soon, but first must settle struggle with opponents in RG Cabinet. The latter, led by Harper, expect full support from SA, want settlement only on rebels' own terms. They represent PF rank and file (farmers and urban artisans), while Smith is nearer to establishment. Though Smith is white idol, in Cabinet he has only 3 sure supporters of any sort of compromise with Britain. He and Harper must vie for the middle group.

A majority would support settlement on Tiger terms with 4 clarifications/concessions: 1) Wilson would publicly state that Gibbs will remain Governor, his successor to be chosen by RG. 2) Elections for Parliament under 1961 Constitution would not be conditional on completion of the commission report in 4 months. 3) The Defense and Security Council would answer to RG, not to Governor. 4) All Ministers would be appointed by Rhodesian PM, not by Governor. The Observer - Dec. 18

Former Rhodesian and Federal PM, Malvern, took full-page advertisement in Rhodesia Herald Dec. 16 in effort to mobilize opposition to rejection of HMG proposals by the Smith regime, and to work to restore "our country...to its state of honorable recognition by the rest of the world." NYT-Dec. 16

Britain: Rumors that negotiations with RG continue secretly were labeled Tory fabrications by HMG. Deadlock can be broken only by complete reversal by Smith; no initiative has come from him. Britain's refusal in SC to accept African amendment on withdrawal of all existing offers was viewed as only refusal by HMG to abandon responsibility for Rhodesia. Wilson feels that despite UN debate, Commonwealth countries lived up to September PMs' communique, and thus he will carry out his side of bargain (NIPMAR).

Tories: Lord Salisbury strongly denounced the SC sanctions decision. Crossman commented on Tory divisions, saying larger loyalist group could use more effective leadership from Maudling. Sandys and Powell are winning increasing support against present leadership. Observer - Dec. 18

AUSTRALIA: PM Holt announced rejection of proposal by Smith regime that Australia and New Zealand should participate in fact-finding mission to test Rhodesian public opinion on independence issue, and thus contribute to new talks with HMG. Holt characterized proposal as unrealistic, unacceptable to many Commonwealth nations, inappropriate as an initiative of the Australian Government. Smith regime was running against whole course of modern history. NYT-Dec. 20 London Times-Dec. 21

SOUTH AFRICA: Vorster said Rhodesian crisis was domestic affair between Britain and Rhodesia and should be solved by them; emphasized he had always maintained this the correct standpoint, both privately/publicly. He warned however, that fact that SA had acted correctly should not be taken as sign

-406-
of weakness. SA would not give in to outside pressure to alter her standpoint. Vorster wished to make it very clear that, whatever decisions were required of him, he would not allow the honor of SA to be injured. He had been strengthened by knowledge that in speaking on foreign affairs, he did not only speak on behalf of himself or his Party, but also on behalf of all peoples of SA."

"I want to say in all humility, but also in all sincerity, that the outside world must not mistake the mood of the people of SA. The outside world and especially the warmongering leaders of the African continent must understand one thing very thoroughly -- and those who want to run with them must understand it too -- that the white man of South Africa, and for that matter the white man of Africa, is not expendable."

"Let them take decisions at the UN or in other world bodies -- those decisions will not wipe the white man off the face of Africa, because we, the people of South Africa -- and here I am speaking for the moment on behalf of the whites -- are here to stay. Let nobody mistake that." 

NEWS from South Africa - Dec. 21

** ** **

SA was strong enough to withstand sanctions for at least 3 years. However, countries applying sanctions against SA could only keep them up for 2 years at most without strategic supplies such as gold and uranium, said Minister of Agricultural Technical Services, Fouche last week.

UN discussion of Rhodesian issue made it clear there was a possibility that sanctions could be extended to SA, but SA was determined to continue trade with Rhodesia as usual. NEWS from SA - Dec. 21

** ** **

Economics Minister Diederichs declared SAG would continue "normal commerce" with Rhodesia, not believing in boycotts and reprisals as solutions to problems. NYT - Dec. 30

** ** **

Privately, SAG is showing impatience with Smith's Cabinet. Publicly, it is made clear that Rhodesians are not complete kith and kin. But little pressure has been applied, other than letters to Smith and Wilson. Any threat to reduce trade with Rhodesia would be contrary to SA's "neutral" policy, would be hazardous politically. Observer - Dec. 18

LESOTHO: declared it cannot participate in UN sanctions against Rhodesia. NYT - Dec. 24

** ** **

PORTUGAL: doubts legality of UN sanctions, since 'various or one of the permanent members of the council' abstained. LT - Dec. 25

** ** **

Wilson said in Commons that Portugal may cooperate on oil ban. Standard (Dar es Salaam) - Dec. 23

** ** **

UNITED STATES: Johnson began preparation of executive order banning 80% plus of US imports from Rhodesia, invoking 1945 Act of Congress implementing US membership in the UN for first time. Expected curbs should eliminate $23m of $10m total, including chromite ($3.5m 1966), pig iron ($2.2m 1966, negligible 1965), tobacco ($4.5m Jan.-Oct 1966, c.f. $.765m 1965).

** ** **

One View: Rhodesia, by any standard, ranks just about at the worst end of the political spectrum, with SA its only rival.

If we were wise, the UN would not depend on economic sanctions in Rhodesian crisis, for these are bound to be ineffective, to create more resentment/disillusion in Africa, where faith in law as a means of social change has already been irreparably hurt by the World Court's ignominious legalism in
the case of SWA. With US support the UN would muster an army and march it into Rhodesia. A relatively little force now could prevent major suffering later. The Africans see us mobilize a multi-million dollar juggernaut in Vietnam in a test of will and prestige with our imperial rivals, Russia and China. We can hardly expect them to believe we are helpless to deal with Rhodesia's 11,000 man army, 8,000 of them blacks, with a handful of planes and no access to the sea. Our propaganda insists that we are only in South Vietnam to assure its people freedom of choice. That propaganda will backfire in Rhodesia, where only the feeblest steps are envisaged to make 220,000 whites give not freedom of choice but some hope of future freedom to 4,000,000 blacks. The arithmetic is deadly...

(Rhodesia) is ultimately our test, not Britain's. A showdown requires American support of the shaky pound sterling, and American readiness to back action so overwhelming as to frighten SA and Portugal. Neither has yet recognized the Rhodesian regime. Both are waiting to see which way the wind blows. They will abandon the Rhodesians rather than be drawn into a conflict with the rest of the world if the US is firm. And the US here means the great Rockefeller family with its Chase Manhattan bank and its vast investments in SA. Nelson Rockefeller was ready to send US troops into the Congo some years ago and take to one of his many bomb shelters. But the chances are these cold warriors will turn tepid in the Rhodesian crisis. One of the great conflicts of human history has begun. I.F. Stone's Weekly - Dec. 12

Another View: Mr. Harold Wilson, having been unable as Prime Minister of Great Britain to come to terms with the Rhodesian rebellion against the British crown, has called upon the UN to take over the problem and solve it if it can. What is the UN supposed to do about the Rhodesian rebellion? It is supposed to cut off trade with Rhodesia, or at least as much trade as can be cut off without the risk of war with SA and Portugal. The purpose of the embargo is to injure Rhodesia enough to convince the settlers' government that its policy of excluding Africans from power cannot be sustained and that it should accept Britain's terms.

This is surely a most extraordinary way to suppress a rebellion against the sovereignty of an imperial power...

The Prime Minister of Great Britain assured the rebel government that it would not be suppressed. Having given up the game at the outset, Mr. Wilson has been trying ever since to win the game by harassment and threats and bluff and other devices. The crucial fact is that while the British imperial power in Rhodesia has vanished, Mr. Wilson is trying to act as if it had not vanished: ...

It is not less unrealistic to pretend that the UN can muster enough power to suppress the rebellion. Among the new African states there exists no force, military or economic, which could make a serious impact upon Rhodesia backed by SA. Britain itself, having from the outset renounced the use of imperial power, is not likely to use it now. No European nation will use force to subdue the ruling whites. It seems improbable that a case will be constructed for American intervention. The UN has no more force than the force which its strongest members will provide themselves or will approve of.

The plea to the UN to use force against Rhodesia is a disservice to the UN. Mr. Wilson is asking the UN to do what it was never meant to do, what it is not organized to do and what it cannot do. A resort to the United Nations would have been justified if Mr. Wilson had asked the UN for help in negotiating a treaty of independence for the state of Rhodesia. For the prospect of recognition by the whole world community would be a very considerable bargaining point.

Bargaining about what? About... the enfranchisement of the African
majority. Their full enfranchisement cannot come immediately or very soon.
For the ruling white minority are much too strong and much too resolute. On
the other hand the African majority cannot be denied the acquisition of
political power forever, or even indefinitely. To find some acceptable point
of compromise between these two extremes is all that diplomacy can hope to do.
Walter Lippmann - Washington Post - Dec. 13

"...since the Security Council's foolhardy resolution of Dec. 15,
rumors have floated about Washington that the Congress may not be nearly so
agreeable to these sanctions as the Ambassador supposes - and it is the
Congress, after all, which plainly has the constitutional power to regulate
commerce with foreign nations. There is talk of one of these "provided,
however" amendments to the administration's supplemental bill for defense
appropriations. Other legislative devices are being considered. Rhodesia
is not without influential friends in influential committees of both House
and Senate. . .

"Very few Americans have thought this Rhodesian policy through to an end.
But members of the Congress are stirring. Next month they will be heard from."
Washington Evening Star - Dec. 27

Senator Eastland is planning several steps in coming session of Congress
(Dirkson is reported sympathetic): to propose sense of Congress resolution
calling for immediate recognition of Rhodesia; to initiate probe by his
Judiciary Committee into legality of US support for SC sanctions; to propose
that Foreign Relations Committee investigate whole Rhodesian crisis. In any
case, Eastland will visit Rhodesia - - either alone, or as leader of Senate
investigating group early 1967. Pro-Rhodians in Washington are encouraged
by fact that such liberal voices as Washington Post, Dean Acheson, Walter
Lippman, have come out against sanctions. Observer - Dec. 31

ZAMBIA: ZG leaders hold divergent views over policy re: UN sanctions. Some
favor commitment only to complete mandatory sanctions and use of Rhodesian
Railway for copper exports, oil and coal supplies until such sanctions are
affected or until oil pipeline with Dar-es-Salaam (due for completion Sept.
1968) and other new infrastructure links are established. Others favor
cooperation with present selective sanctions. The disagreements are
occurring against background of delicate railway links, especially Lobito
railway, rumors of sabotage by Congolese and Angolan nationalists (ostensibly
friendly to Zambia), and the rainy season -- which means the "mud season"
on Great North and Great East Roads. NYT - Jan. 2

BRITAIN: Despite some internal friction, Conservative Party has been putting
together a unified stand on Rhodesia which differs emphatically from Labor
Govt's position: 1. Wrong/dangerous to ask UN to authorize mandatory sanctions
against Rhodesia. They will fail, embarrass UN. By turning to UN, Britain is
gradually losing control of Rhodesian policy. 2. Wilson should not
have sought to impose "interim" govt. on Rhodesia. Acceptance of revised
constitution should have sufficed. 3. Wilson too concerned about impact of
Rhodesia on Commonwealth, which would not have broken up if he had taken firm/
vigorous stand at start; 2 or 3 "extremist" members (e.g. Tanzania, Zambia)
might have withdrawn, but most, including all Asians, value membership too
much to pull out over Rhodesia. Christian Science Monitor - Dec. 30
Finland, Mexico, New Zealand, Britain, and USA have notified UN Secretary General of their intention to comply with SC resolution of Dec. 16.

BRITAIN: Southern Rhodesia (Prohibited Trade and Dealings) Order went into operation Dec. 23, demonstrating how HMG is giving effect to SC resolution. These new powers include control of motor vehicle assembly in Rhodesia. LT-Dec. 23

USA: President Johnson signed executive order to implement SC resolution, thereby invoking for first time Section 5 of UN Participation Act 1945, which empowers US President to apply appropriate measures to enforce SC decisions made under Article 41 of UN Charter, covering threats to peace. Cuts are expected to eliminate $8m of nearly $10m US imports from Rhodesia; affect of embargo on US exports to Rhodesia will be less drastic, because US exports have already fallen off (from $23m 1965, to about $6m Jan.-Oct. 1966) Maximum penalties for violating order would be 10 years prison and/or $10,000 fine. NYT-Jan. 6

In Rhodesia it was reported that French Government's tobacco monopoly had agreed to exchange $5.6m worth Rhodesian tobacco for cotton goods (Boussac). Paris denied the report. Washington Post - Dec. 17

SOUTH AFRICA: SA is trying to place an order with the Nevespu consortium of Dutch firms for 4 or 5 submarines and other war materials. The initial contract will be worth £50m.

Note: SA imports from Rhodesia rose by $42m 1966, thereby freeing SA domestic production for export. SA trade with Africa generally rose 19%. Jan.-Nov. 1966, much of it through Rhodesia. Rhodesia expected to have tough year 1967, but economists estimate Rhodesian exports at $112m 1966, enough to meet import bill. NYT - Jan. 6)

Wilson withdrew all settlement offers to Rhodesian regime; indicated HMG would not again offer legal independence except under majority African rule; stressed importance of maintaining Commonwealth ties, and suggested Smith had wanted settlement but was overwhelmed by extremists in Rhodesia. HMG White Paper indicated Wilson's surprise and anger during Tiger talks that Smith did not have power to reach final agreement. NYT-Dec. 21

Wilson slams door on Rhodesia -- indicates NIBMAR -- all offers to Smith on Tiger withdrawn. In the Commons "Mr. P. Wall could hardly believe his ears."

Up till now it has been question of guaranteeing unimpeded advance towards majority rule, with no dates; but now Wilson concedes that HMG policy is as set forth in paragraph 10 of Commonwealth PM's communique ie. no independence till majority rule achieved. What remains? Rhodesians must get rid of 'racialist and fascist-minded people' who control Smith, return to the legal 1961 constitution, and self-government, until Africans become majority of electorate. London Times - Dec. 21

RG spokesman indicated that Smith had no immediate comment on HMG withdrawal of settlement offers, but observers regarded the action as
almost certain prelude to proclamation of republic in Rhodesia. NYT-Dec. 21

Nyerere says Tanzania's main quarrel with HMG is over. "In view of Wilson's NIBMAR statement."

"Thanks to the racialists and fascists of Rhodesia, Mr. Wilson has been forced to see the light. Now we will wait and see evidence of Mr. Wilson's earnestness in bringing down a regime he admits is racist and fascist-dominated." London Times - Dec. 22

*** *** ***

In his 1st press conference since SC resolution on sanctions, Smith said that British and UN action cut Rhodesia's ties to Commonwealth and made her, in effect, a republic. However, he also stated that he had not yet consulted his advisers on next steps and that a mandate from Rhodesian people would have to precede any action. Several press representatives, including NY Times correspondent and representative of The Rhodesia Herald, were denied admission to news conference. NYT - Dec. 23

*** *** ***

Smith preparing to declare Republic -- says Rhodesia has already become one -- repeats that one man-one vote will not come in Smith's or Wilson's lifetime. This was at press conference from which were excluded Rhodesia Herald, London Times, BBC, Guardian, The Sun, Sunday Times. LT-Dec. 23

*** *** ***

Commonwealth Secretary Bowden declared Smith regime did not have authority to proclaim Republic, Rhodesia continued to be British responsibility. NYT-Dec. 23

CHRISTMAS TRUCE

HMG continues to support UCRN financially at least for 1st quarter 1967. LT-Dec. 22

Bottomley announced in Commons that Britain will continue to aid University College, Salisbury. Nationalist (Iar) - Dec. 23

Those who urged Council of Association of University Teachers to press for withdrawal of HMG grant to UCRN are wrong. As long as Africans are enrolled it should get the money. LT-Dec. 24

*** *** ***

Despite Smith's belief that Rhodesia is already a republic, the Queen's message will be relayed. LT-Dec. 24

The Rhodesia Constitutional Association says RG is "bound by honour" to consult the people of the country re: republican status. This is a political, not a legal issue. LT-Dec. 28

TRUCE ENDS -- AND THE NEW YEAR

Smitty's Christmas Present Snatched. . .

28 Tons Rhodesian notes were seized while awaiting SAA plane in Frankfurt, and impounded until result known of a court action brought in Germany by Sir Sydney Caine. LT-Dec. 22

German authorities disclosed seizure of 28 tons Rhodesian banknotes printed in Munich at request of Smith regime. Civilian and criminal courts in Frankfurt disagreed about status of notes. The civilian court supported action of public prosecutor, declared the $15cm value package (repeat: 28 tons) to be forgeries because of illegal status of Smith government; the prosecutor had acted at request of Rhodesian Reserve Bank in London,
which HMG regards as legal authority of finances for Rhodesia. The criminal court ruled that the banknotes were not forgeries on basis that Smith Government held the only effective power in Rhodesia. NYT-Dec. 22,3

COURTING -- CAN IT BE UNCIVIL OR CRIMINAL?

Confusion over Rhodesian notes -- Frankfurt High Court ordered action to be suspended on a decision by lower court that seizure was unjustified. The case in the Criminal courts (on whether the money is forged) continues on Tues. next. The Court tried to contact Gibbs in Salisbury by Telex. RG sent by Telex to Frankfurt extracts of the Foundation Charter of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia. LT-Dec. 24

One of two West German courts involved in wrangle over money destined for Rhodesia said the funds could leave the country. Three judges in a Frankfurt criminal appeal court upheld a lower criminal court ruling against the seizure of the Rhodesian bills under orders of Frankfurt public prosecutor. But -- export of the bills is still blocked by a civil court injunction. Washington Post - Dec. 28

Frankfurt High Court decided that the 28 tons Rhodesian money were not forged. Chairman of Court said it was not clear whether Bank of Rhodesia in Salisbury had or had not legal right to print money. But -- the injunction preventing the money being sent to Rhodesia still holds. LT-Dec. 28

SMITTY VERY CROSS

In New Year's TV message Smith declared RG would begin task of constitutional reform and finalization that had been delayed by efforts to reach settlement with HMG. He strongly criticized Wilson for hypocrisy/emotional pique, and denounced UN for its action and "deceit." NYT-Jan.2

Smith denounced UN saying there is "more justice where the Demon Satan reigns than where the UN wallows in its sanctimonious hypocrisy." Washington Post - Jan. 2

SOUTH AFRICA - THINKS ---

Die Burger, newspaper voice of "progressive" wing of SAG's Nationalist Party suggested Rhodesia should consider abandoning UDI. Its editorial was first open sign of disillusionment with Rhodesian policy and of fear of greater embroilment for SA. Broadcasting and television services in Rhodesia made no mention of Die Burger's comment. NYT - Dec. 23

SA will not recognize any Republic of Rhodesia according to SAG officials quoted by SA newspaper Die Beeld: SA would simply maintain "normal relations" with RG; and proclaiming a republic would increase the problems confronting Smith. Washington Post - Dec. 26

Vorster suggested that SAG would consider the value of continuing membership in the UN during 1967, given that organization's movement towards "complete disregard of existing rules." He also referred to the "threat to stability" made by Britain in placing the "domestic" issue of Rhodesia before the UN. NYT-Jan. 1

(Ed. Note: Perhaps Vorster had not heard of Smitty's international Christmas present).