DECEMBER 5 cont.:
Rhodesia Acts to Counter Sanctions:
The economic leaders who were most opposed to U.D.I. are now drawing up a comprehensive plan to enable Rhodesia to succeed with her independence. The country is being put on a war time footing. Some goods will be rationed, some inefficient factories will be closed, and raw materials will be channeled to those companies which will make best use of them.

Economic pressures have solidified Smith's control. Rhodesians are confident that they will find markets, that entrepreneurs in search of quick profit will help them out. They were irritated at the refusal of the U.S. to accept the 1965 sugar quota, complaining that not even Britian had backed out of agreements completed before November 11.

White population:
One indication that all is not well in Rhodesia is the fact that since 1961, there has been a decrease in the white population. With increased tensions, "Europeans have, on balance, been getting out of Rhodesia," according to the London Times. In 1960, "Europeans" were 6% of the population. In 1964 they were only 5%. If emigration and the high African birth rate continue, whites will become a tiny percentage of the population.

SOURCES: New York Times, Dec. 6
London Times, Nov. 17

DECEMBER 6:
Mozambique Pipeline:
Opponents of Portuguese control in Mozambique have pledged themselves to blow up the oil pipeline which supplies Rhodesia with oil. Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation central committee (FRELIMO) stated that "the struggle of the black people of Rhodesia is the struggle of the people of Mozambique." Oil enters Mozambique at Beira and goes by pipeline to Rhodesia. FRELIMO has some 3,000 men engaged in guerilla warfare in Mozambique, so their threat has to be taken seriously.

Zambia and OAU Action:
The Organization of African Unity passed a resolution calling for complete economic and diplomatic isolation of Rhodesia and a breaking with Britian if her action is ineffective. Further, military measures will be taken if economic measures fail. Ghana and Ethiopia have already agreed to contribute troops. The United Arab Republic, Algeria, Nigeria, Sudan, Ivory Coast and Congo (Leopoldville) are also expected to offer forces. This action, however, is only a
recommendation, not an imposition of measures.

The question is, what will Zambia's response be to the OAU's action? Kaunda is believed to be moving towards the imposition of sanctions, in spite of the great cost to Zambia. This would hurt Rhodesia as 20% of her exports are bought in Zambia. Certain products like tires and textiles would lose more than half of their trade. Zambia would have to find new sources of coal, gasoline, foodstuffs, spare parts, etc., and a new outlet for copper.

Zambia is really caught because of her dependence on Rhodesia. Kaunda believes that Smith is perfectly capable of cutting off Zambia's power or even blowing up the dam and that as pressures on Rhodesia increase, there is more and more likelihood of this happening. Thus the sooner Smith can be stopped, the better. And Kaunda believes that Britain is responsible to see that this happens.

Kaunda believes that British troops, not African troops, should move against Smith. He very much does not want to be held responsible for allowing African troops into Zambia that would start a war against Rhodesia -- a war that would be a race war. The OAU's forces cannot function without a Zambian base.

Adding to Kaunda's fear of the racial elements in the situation is the presence in Zambia of white railway workers and miners, who are essential to the working of Zambia's economy. There are 68,000 whites in Zambia, and generally they are very sympathetic to Smith. The railway workers are almost all Rhodesians and the miners are Rhodesians and South Africans. So far Kaunda has done an excellent job of curbing racial conflict, and he can't afford not to.

There is the further problem of the presence of Portuguese troops which are being moved in close to the Angola-Zambian border, and the strengthening of the South African Air Force detachment on the Caprivi Strip in South West Africa.

RHODESIA'S FORCE:

Rhodesia's armed forces consist of a one-brigade army, not counting reserves, and a small but highly professional air force equipped with jets. It is estimated that by combining the army and the police force 45,000 men, mostly whites, could be put onto the field. However, some observers feel that if Britain were to send in a half-battalion, numerous Rhodesians would rally to it in order not to break oaths of fealty and in order to avoid being court-martialed by the British.

Peace Plan to Rhodesia:

Wilson is preparing a plan that will give Rhodesia the opportunity to return to normal relations with Britain. Wilson is taking this action for at least two reasons. He does not want to see the Commonwealth destroyed. Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia have threatened to break relations with Britain if her action is ineffective. Secondly,
Rhodesian News Summary:
Dec. 6 cont.:

the Conservatives have warned Wilson that they are not prepared to see Britain involved in a civil war in Rhodesia. Thus Wilson must do everything in his power to solve the problem peacefully.

The precise terms of the offer have not yet been worked out. The terms will be announced over the radio. The British are building a station in Bechuanaland which should be ready for use in a week or 10 days. Wilson or even Queen Elizabeth will offer the terms. There are two expected approaches. First, Britain is expected to encourage an overthrow of the Smith regime. The encouragement of a coup is expected to appeal to the moderates in Rhodesia who oppose Smith. Secondly, Britain will offer Smith the chance to return to the 1961 Constitution with minor changes. Assurances will be given that Smith's Government will not be punished if it decides now to return to legality. Wilson is attempting to convince the white population that although they must accept unimpeded progress towards majority rule there will be an interim period lasting several years before they need fear an African majority. The Prime Minister is convinced that one of the reasons why Mr. Smith has so much of the white population behind him is that they believe there is no third way between U.D.I. and African rule." (Observer).

Fear of Africans:

It is significant that the Observer's statement about Wilson's offering of terms, talks about the white fear of African rule. What seems to be implied is that it will not be necessary to fear an African majority for several years, but eventually it will be necessary to fear one. In other words, the only way the whites can see an African majority is through eyes of fear. While Wilson is attempting not to be offensive to the Africans it is clear that he does not have a policy which really responds to their needs. He has not acted to help alleviate white fears.

The South African Bantu paper World carried an article Nov. 22 which very much throws light on the mutual distrust and fear of white and black in Rhodesia. Smith has declared that the Africans are behind him. He has consulted the chiefs and they support him. The World reports: "Our quarrel with some people who have spoken about consultation has been that it has not been honest consultation. It has always been consultation with the chiefs, as the so-called traditional leaders of the people and not consultation of the politicians and enlightened Africans. This is the case with our Republican Government as also with the Rhodesian Government under Mr. Smith...The educated African was regarded as an agitator and he was discarded for purposes of consultation. We respect our chiefs...but we feel that they are embarking on a role which they never exercised in the tribal set-up. All tribal political organization was based on the system of the leadership of the headman...There is a real hunger for a political forum for the expression of the legitimate grievances and aspirations of the people. People must ventilate their feelings if they are to remain happy...It is not too late to
create political machineries for consultation. There must, however, be pure motives."

Britain and Rhodesia should take note. The African's fears and hopes must be taken with the same seriousness that is presently given the whites and the British problems involved in countering UDI.

Jobs in Rhodesia:

A public work's program is being planned to prevent the spread of unemployment in Rhodesia. The projects envisioned include roads and houses in the African townships. Finance minister John Wrathall said that road building alone could employ 1,500 people within a few months. What this means is that man power will be used instead of machines. Wrathall warned that this would mean a tax increase.

Unemployment has not yet been a visible problem because sanctions take time to work. However, anxiety over job security is growing. It has been estimated that by the end of February there will be 4,000 unemployed whites. Some employers are waiting until after Christmas to lay their men off.

Wrathall spoke on television and told the country that Rhodesia was at war. He complained about Britain's suspension of the board of the Bank of Rhodesia and called the new board "a troop of puppets." He rationalized the secrecy of government economic planning saying, "those of you who remember the last war will need no reminding of the power which said, 'loose talk costs lives'."

SOURCES: N.Y. Times, Dec. 7
          Observer, Dec. 5
          South African Press Digest No. 47, Dec. 2
          Manchester Guardian Weekly, Dec. 2.
than there were immediately after U.D.I. Censorship has been used effectively and humorously by those who are in opposition to Smith. The Central African Examiner, a liberal monthly magazine is 1/3 white pages. Joseph Lelyveld reports that, "the cover of the magazine advertised it as a 'Special Christmas Do-It-Yourself issue,' with lots of space in which you can write what you want to read instead of what we want you to read.' Inside there was a 'Christmas party puzzle' with 'cash prizes (payable in Rhodesian paper currency)' for readers 'who correctly fill in the largest number of missing words in this issue.'"

White Solidarity:

The Economist's reported in Salisbury writes of growing white solidarity. He is convinced that Wilson will not be able to split the whites. Regardless of earlier positions, the whites now see themselves faced with the basic problem of survival. They believe that sanctions will not work. They also believe that large numbers of people in Britain, the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, and continental Europe support them in their action. They see themselves, and want the world to see them, as the "sturdy fighters for Christian civilization in a disintegrating continent full of weak black governments unable to stem communist subversion."

SOURCES: N.Y. Times, Dec. 8
The Economist, Dec. 4

DECEMBER 8:
Rhodesian Curbs Against Zambia and Malawi:

Rhodesia has placed stringent restrictions on trade with Zambia and Malawi, saying that British economic sanctions have forced this action. Malawi and Zambia will no longer be able to pay for Rhodesian goods in British currency. For, payment in British currency merely swells the reserves in London which Rhodesia cannot touch. Thus Zambia and Malawi must pay for Rhodesian purchases in U.S. or Canadian dollars or some other Western European currency. The question is whether or not Britain will allow Zambia and Malawi to buy these currencies with their British pounds.

If Britain refuses, Rhodesia's secondary industries will be crippled. Last year Zambia and Malawi spent $102 million in Rhodesia, about 25% of all Rhodesian exports. Zambia is Rhodesia's largest customer. Thus, Rhodesia may lose a great deal by this action. Her response will be to send the Zambian and Malawian workers in Rhodesia home. There are 270,000 such workers, (more than the total white population of Rhodesia). Their exit would open up jobs for Rhodesians.

Malawi has already reacted by banning all trade with Rhodesia.

The only sterling area nations exempted from the Rhodesian regulation are Britain and South Africa.
Rhodesia's action is puzzling. As Rhodesia begins to feel the effect of sanctions, observers were predicting that one of the things Rhodesia most feared was a break of trade by Zambia. The break may have come but at Rhodesia's initiative.

There are conflicting reports from Salisbury on the effect of sanctions. Smith is admitting that they are being felt. He called Wilson's action "deceitful". But he also said, "I am confident that we will be able to overcome them soon." Those who support him evidently believe sanctions cannot work. However, the minority of whites perhaps just 5% of the electorate, are convinced that Britain means business and that sanctions will work.

Smith has always played down the hardships of sanctions. Yet, as unemployment rises he will have to face it. A real test of his strength will come after Christmas, when large lay offs are expected. If, as some predict, large numbers of whites leave the country in search of jobs, he will be in serious trouble. South Africa is the logical destination of such people and South Africa wants whites. The whites of Rhodesia cannot afford to lose very many of their members and survive. And, those who would remain would be the farmers and those most committed to Smith, in other words the most conservative and die hard whites.

Rhodesia's Economy:

Rhodesian business has gone underground, but plans are being made and will become evident as they come into effect. For example, the price of sugar has gone up 20% to offset the loss of Commonwealth preferences and to keep the sugar estates going. The sugar industry employs some 30,000 people and still aims at 350,000 tons of sugar next year. However, it cannot hope to sell this sugar to brokers for more than L15 a ton, which is L9 less than the break-even price.

Tobacco is a real problem. The Government talked of buying the crop. However, now that Britain has taken over control of the Rhodesian Bank and because of the fact that South Africa has been unable to raise large loans for Rhodesia, the Government may not be able to buy up the tobacco. If it is sold on the world market, it could only be expected to bring about half its normal price. In a year of excellent crops, this can hardly make the farmers happy.

Asbestos and chrome are expected to bring their normal prices as there is such a great demand for them.

African States and the Commonwealth:

Uganda has definitely committed herself to leave the Commonwealth if Britain fails to "take action against Mr Smith's rebel Rhodesian regime by December 15." Mr. Felix Onama, Ugandan Defense Minister announced this December 4. He said "we attach great importance to the Commonwealth, but on the question of Rhodesia Uganda feels Britain has let down the whole of Africa and the Commonwealth members in Africa."

Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda has written to Tanzania's President, Julius Nyerere, asking Tanzania not to break with Britain.
Kaunda pointed out that such a break would sever the geographical corridor through which Britain could move against Rhodesia. The break would landlock Zambia and prevent her from receiving British aid.

Kaunda is expected to write to other African leaders expressing agreement in principle with the OAU's action but reserving the right to act only on the resolutions that would not damage Zambia's economy or expose her to other dangers.

U.S. Action:

In a move that was more symbolic than practical, the U.S. deprived Rhodesia of control over foreign exchange accounts held in this country. This was done by recognizing the new board of the Rhodesian Reserve Bank as the body which is entitled to control official Rhodesian accounts in the U.S. The act is relatively minor as total Rhodesian holdings are only about $1 million.

Kariba Dam:

Arthur Bottomley, Britain's Commonwealth Secretary, gave the mining of the Kariba Dam as one concrete reason why British troops would not enter Rhodesia, causing the dam to be destroyed. A thorough inspection of the dam indicates that it is not mined. Dam officials deny any truth to such contentions. L.E. Black, a senior British corporation official at Kariba reported that no orders had ever been received to make arrangements to destroy the dam. Even private sabotage was ruled out. It would take a huge amount of explosives to destroy the dam. There are 6 100-kilowatt turbines. The superintendent of the control station, Philip Slack, said, "No individual would have a chance to sabotage more than one or two turbines before he was discovered and we could still operate on the other four." The complex is patrolled day and night.

Thus, Bottomley's statement now appears as an attempt to justify Britain's unjustifiable refusal to send troops to both sides of the dam.

Zambia and Rhodesia each own 50% of the stock of the Central African Power Corporation. However, the location of the control center in Rhodesia gives her a strangle hold on Zambia if she chooses to use it. If the dam ever were to be destroyed, it would not only paralyze Zambia's economy. It would also "unleash a massive tidal wave down the Zambezia Valley and inundate scores of African villages in Zambia, Rhodesia, and Portugese Mozambique."

Sources: New York Times, Dec. 9
Observer, Dec. 5
Economist, Dec. 4
Zambia's President:

Kenneth Kaunda was a "Man in the News" in the New York Times today. Respect for him grows as he tries to deal with the problems of his nation and Rhodesia. The following represents some of the thinking of Kaunda:

"Power in the hands of the minority--in this case the white man--is an arrangement that will corrupt the best of men regardless of their color," Mr. Kaunda observed several years ago. "It is a system that tempts the privileged few to discriminate against the many--in this country the blacks." The comments...are echoed today in Mr. Kaunda's position in regard to Rhodesia."

Zambian Appeal for Troops:

Zambia issued a new appeal to Britain for troops to protect the Kariba Dam. President Kaunda sent two notes, the second after Britain failed to respond to the first. Kaunda warned Britain that failure to act would open the door to troops contributed by African states to an Organization of African Unity force.

Kaunda addressed the Zambian parliament and strongly attacked Britain's refusal to act effectively against Rhodesia. He said Britain was using Zambia as an excuse to not act against Rhodesia. For example, Britain has refused to stop a British Shell Oil tanker bound for Rhodesia, because some of the oil may be for Zambia. Kaunda believes that Britain is refusing to take really effective economic and military action, but that concern for Zambia is not the real reason for the inaction. Kaunda also condemned Britain's offer to negotiate a settlement with Smith. Kaunda said of the British offer: "Today you brand someone a rebel--a chap who has committed treason--and tomorrow, you declare publicly you will embrace him."

Zambia announced two new moves. First, the army and air force will be rapidly strengthened. Secondly, a program will be initiated to build a dam on the Kafue River to eliminate Zambian dependence on the Kariba Dam.

The Kariba Dam, the airline services, and the Rhodesian Railroad are all jointly owned by Rhodesia and Zambia. Kaunda declared in parliament that if Rhodesia interrupted any of these, Zambia would regard it as a declaration of war and act accordingly.

Fuel Stockpile:

The London Times reported that a convoy of tank trucks is on its way from Zambia to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania to pick up fuel for a stockpile. It is a 1,500 mile trip.

Rhodesian Action against Zambia and Malawi:

In Salisbury, economic circles were expressing cautious hope that yesterday's economic restrictions imposed on Zambia and Malawi would not disrupt the bulk of trade with these countries. They base this hope on the fact that Britain has shown no signs of preparing a
program to replace Rhodesia as Zambia's main supplier of manufactured goods.

Trade may be able to continue between Zambia and Rhodesia by using South Africa. Zambian importers could pay sterling to South African exporters for goods purchased in Rhodesia. In cases where the Rhodesian producer was a subsidiary or affiliate of a South African concern this would be quite easy.

U.S. and Oil Embargo:
Secretary of State Dean Rusk said the United States was considering the imposition of an oil embargo but that the U.S. was doubtful of the effectiveness of such an embargo.

U.N. Man to Zambia:
Mr. George Ivan Smith, Australian born U.N. official and U Thant's special representative in East and Central Africa has been sent to Zambia. He will also go to Tanzania and Kenya, visiting U.N. technical assistance offices. The purpose of the visit is to study the disposition of U.N. staff there and the possibilities of extending technical assistance which might be needed as a result of the Rhodesian crisis.

SOURCES: New York Times, Dec. 9 & 10
Observer, Dec. 5

DECEMBER 10:
Prime Minister Wilson:
Prime Minister Wilson's ability to control the Rhodesian crisis has been praised by many in Britain at the same time that he was being severely criticized abroad, particularly by the African states. Wilson cannot forget the political realities at home and this has a huge influence on the way he moves. The African states have threatened to break with Britain if Smith is not destroyed by December 15th. While some observers have criticized "African impatience" the act did bring the two British parties closer together, perhaps convincing Conservative leader Heath that strong action is a necessity.

Wilson, according to the Observer is operating on two principles: (1) no surrender to Smith, and (2) no military invasion. He has had to move slowly enough to take the public with him as he is not prepared to lose an election over U.D.I. The Conservatives are still highly critical of the economic measures. The Economist came out against the freezing of pension payments due to Rhodesians. It said that this merely made it harder for those loyal to Britain to stand against Smith, and called for a paying of pensions. (There are at least 3,500 pensioners in Rhodesia drawing remittances of about L500,000 a year.) The Daily Mirror, which has the largest circulation of any British daily paper, came out with a surprising attack on Wilson, calling him not to spend so much time on Rhodesia and to
attend to matters at home. To the Africans, it seems as though Wilson moves more in reaction to events than he does in relation to any clearly thought out policy. Thus they distrust his intentions.

No Negotiations With Smith:

Today Wilson strengthened his position against Rhodesia. He said that Britain would not negotiate with Smith's regime, that Smith could not be trusted.

The question of trust grew out of an event that preceeded U.D.I. Before November 11th, Smith had asked the British Governor of Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, to grant the Rhodesian Government emergency powers. At that time, Smith assured Sir Humphrey that the emergency powers would not be used to declare independence. The powers were granted. Smith did in fact declare independence shortly thereafter. This episode caused Commonwealth Secretary Bottomley to call Smith a liar and Wilson's action essentially backs up that accusation.

The Conservatives strongly protested Wilson's action. The Opposition leader, Edward Heath, accused Wilson of demanding "unconditional surrender" by Smith.

British Reaction to the Sending of Troops:

It seems to be generally agreed that in order for Britain to maintain the initiative in the Rhodesian crisis, she had to send troops. However, there has been real criticism of the lack of clarity about the role the troops are to play. The Economist believes that if Zambia's President Kaunda invites in African troops then Britain will immediately have to reevaluate her role. In other words, the Royal Air Force detachment should not be used as protection for an African military force which would move against Rhodesia.

The Observer sees the role of troops in three ways: theoretically they are going in to protect the Kariba Dam from attack by Rhodesia. They could also be used to help maintain order in Zambia if the white population there begins to get out of hand. Thirdly, the force could easily become involved in indirect support of saboteurs and then have to move into Rhodesia itself to restore order. All these possibilities need to be acknowledged. The Observer sees Britain's role in the following way: "to move fast enough to keep the initiative, but to consult now with Zambia on how best to involve other forces acceptable to her---preferably drawn from other Commonwealth countries with the blessing of the United Nations---in dealing with the crisis.

Kenya and the Commonwealth:

President Jomo Kenyatta today said that Kenya would "not be panicked into" breaking diplomatic relations with Britain Dec. 15, even if Britain had not defeated Smith by then. Kenya has already announced a complete trade ban against Rhodesia.

Rhodesian News Summary

DECEMBER 11:
African States and Britain:

As the 15th of December draws nearer, the African states are beginning to commit themselves regarding the called for break with Britain which the Organization of African Unity initiated. Zambia's President Kaunda has gone to Tanzania to talk with President Nyerere to persuade him not to break with Britain. Nyerere has already warned Britain that he would break relations if Smith is not defeated by the 15th.

The Rhodesian crisis is seen as the greatest threat to the Commonwealth since the Suez Crisis of 1956. However, it is believed that if Kaunda can persuade Nyerere not to break, the 11 other African members of the Commonwealth will not break either. Those most likely to go ahead and sever ties with Britain are Ghana and the Sudan.

The states most likely to break with Britain are the non-English speaking states of Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali, and perhaps Mauritania. These countries have no significant economic ties with Britain. Algeria has announced that she will break diplomatic and consular relations. Ethiopia has called for a delay of the action because the break would not really help the African Rhodesians. Kenya will not break because of a belief that Zambia would suffer more than Rhodesia.

Diplomatic Missions in Salisbury:

There were 14 diplomatic missions in Rhodesia before U.D.I. and not one of them has shut down since then. The South African and Portuguese missions have maintained normal relations with Rhodesia although they have not formally recognized her. The Australian and Canadian missions are the only two that seem to be preparing to close.

The rest have followed the lead of Britain. This means that the head of the mission is sent home, the staff is cut, and a waiting process is entered into. The United States consulate for example, is still operating but with about 1/3 of its regular staff.

"A European diplomat, asked what he does when businessmen arrive from his country and request help in making appointments with Government officials, replied, 'We always help them—indirectly.'"

Rhodesian Christian Council Rejects U.D.I.

The Christian Council of Rhodesia, which includes the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches has declared its loyalty to the Queen and the British Governor, and has pledged itself to work "for the rapid restoration of constitutional Government" meaning the 1961 Constitution. It also called on all men, "to abstain from violence and bloodshed," and called on its own people to "pursue their daily duty peacefully and to share what privations and difficulties may come to us."
France Denies Secret Oil Deal

The Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, denied charges that Total one of its subsidiaries, was negotiating behind the scenes with South Africans, through Belgium bankers to supply crude oil to Rhodesia. The Company said its policy was the same as all the other companies involved and that unless there was complete participation in an oil embargo it would be ineffective.

Visas for Zambia:
Zambia is requiring all Rhodesians who wish to enter the country to have visas and to sign a declaration renouncing the Smith regime. The Rhodesian Government has decided to ignore such renunciations.

News From South Africa:
Die Volksblad, an Afrikans paper reports the following:
"The merciless manner in which Zambia and other Black African States are asking for the head of the Smith Government on a platter, is naturally the result of the unbroken hate campaign which is being conducted in the world against the Whites of Southern Africa. The scrape in which this has caused Britain to land herself, is part of the price which must be paid because the Western countries so merrily contributed to it. Mr Wilson's Government is in such a difficult position that it almost no longer knows how to withstand the pressure of the African states for her to send a military force. Should Mr Wilson do this and a force for the sake of show is stationed in Zambia without achieving anything further, it can place Britain in a somewhat ridiculous light. The Smith Government will simply go its way and Britain will be exposed to further irritation by being urged not to let the force sit still."

Die Transvaler reports: "The Rhodesian crisis has created a gulf between the English press and the overwhelming majority of English-speaking people, which can surely not be bridged easily. These papers have always succeeded in carrying the English-speaking people of South Africa along with them on the path which Britain has chosen. Today they however find it impossible, because the acceptance of liberalism amounts to their committing suicide. This the English-speaking people of Rhodesia as well as of the Republic refuse to do. For the first time in history these English-speaking people do not see in Britain their protector but indeed one who could bring about their possible downfall...One could, in connection with the future of South Africa honestly not express a better desire than that the estrangement between the English-speaking people and the English press will remain permanent."

Statement by the Christian Council of Rhodesia, Nov. 26
London Times, Dec. 3