

National Student Christian Federation Committee on Southern Africa
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December 19:

Pessimism About Oil Embargo:

The Christian Science Monitor reported that British officials are pessimistic about the possibilities of making an oil embargo work. This is why Whitehall has been slow in imposing the embargo. According to the report, Rhodesia only needs one tanker of oil a month to keep going and this should be relatively easy to secure.

Zambian Mission to London, Moscow, Washington:

A four man team headed by Zambia's Foreign Minister Simon M. Kapwepwe set out for London for talks with Prime Minister Wilson. The team will split up and on Wednesday head for Washington and Moscow. The purpose of the mission is to persuade Britain, and the U.S.S.R. and the United States to press for a United Nations resolution making sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory and allowing for the use of force against Rhodesia's rebel Government. The African states are in agreement with such a resolution but the support of the powers is needed. Both Britain and the United States have resisted the use of force.

Airlift to Zambia:

The first Royal Air Force Britannia planes arrived in Zambia, bringing oil from Dar es Salaam. The planes brought 8 tons of diesel oil. Thus, less than 48 hours after Britain announced her oil embargo on Rhodesia, help was being sent to Zambia. By the end of the week 12 transport planes are expected to be flying the 860 mile flight. Twelve planes a day from Dar es Salaam would be able to supply a third of Zambia's oil needs. The rest will come in by road from Tanzania and by rail from Angola. About 70 trucks are already bring oil in over the dirt roads from Tanzania. As the airlift goes into full operation, it is expected that British United Airways planes chartered by the Zambian Government will take over the airlift. Each plane will carry about 7 tons of oil from Dar to Ndola on the copperbelt.

In spite of Tanzania's break with Britain, Tanzania is cooperating fully with the airlift. However, the operations are being directed from the Canadian High Commission office. The oil embargo has had a positive effect on Zambian morale. However, Kaunda is still very worried about the possibilities of having power from Kariba cut off by Mr. Smith.

Iraq and Kuwait have joined the oil embargo on Rhodesia and Saudi Arabia is expected to do likewise.

Dec. 19 cont.

Coal:

Rhodesia has placed an additional royalty of L5 (\$14) a short ton on coal delivered to Zambia. The royalty was only about 14 cents a short ton. An export tax of L8 (\$22.40) a ton is being applied on coke. The royalty on coal was necessary, Ian Smith said on radio, "because of the economic sanctions initiated by Mr. Wilson." Rhodesia will receive an income of L10 million (\$28 million) from these new taxes.

Coal is one of Zambia's real worries. She receives some 700,000 tons a year from Wankie. If Rhodesia were to stop all coal shipments from entering Zambia, all the smelting plants on the copper belt would have to stop working. Zambia does not have large coal stockpiles, but stock piling is beginning. Some coal will be brought in through Mozambique ports, but the major route will be through the Angolan port of Lobito. If Portugal's territories were to cooperate in the supplying of coal to Zambia, as is expected, it would be a significant blow to Rhodesian morale. In Rhodesia, Portugal has been seen as a great friend. Zambia is also developing its own field at Kandabwe but it is not yet ready for production and will not be able to completely supply Zambia's needs.

Call for African Meeting:

President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda met in Nairobi to discuss the Rhodesian situation. They sent a cablegram to Diallo Telli, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, asking him to call an immediate conference of all 36 African heads of state. The United Arab Republic had earlier called for a meeting of O.A.U. foreign ministers. This proposal has been shelved.

Breaks with Britain:

Nine African nations have broken relations with Britain, or announced that they soon will break relations. These are: Algeria, the former French Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, the Sudan, Tanzania, and the United Arab Republic.

Talks in Malawi:

Britain's Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, and Malcolm Mac Donald, Britain's roving envoy in East and Central Africa flew to Blantyre from Lusaka. They talked with Malawi's Premier Dr. Banda on Dec. 18, about the effects of an oil embargo.

SOURCES: Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 18
New York Times, Dec. 20, 21
Observer, Dec. 19

December 20:

Canada and the Airlift:

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson announced that Canada would contribute 4 Royal Canadian Air Force transport planes to be used in the airlift to Zambia. Zambia's Prime Minister Kaunda had requested the planes. Canada also joined in the oil embargo on Rhodesia. Canada does not ship oil to Rhodesia, but the move has been made to prevent any shipment of oil in the future.

Zambian Mission in London:

The Zambian Mission arrived in London and called on Britain to place troops on both the Zambian and the Rhodesian sides of the Kariba Dam to protect it. Britain has opposed this act, refusing to put troops in Rhodesia.

The Oil Embargo and British Politics:

Prime Minister Wilson spoke in the House of Commons, explaining the decision to place an oil embargo on Rhodesia. He said it was done to head off "almost irresistible" pressures for military intervention. He stressed what he called "a very considerable gunboat mentality in Africa on the Rhodesian issue." He also said, "But fortunately not all have gunboats." He revealed that last week the intervention of foreign troops in Rhodesia was only "inches" away, but he did not explain this statement. He reiterated that Rhodesia was Britain's responsibility and that all Britain's action aimed to return the colony to constitutional rule. He also said that France and Italy had agreed to support the oil embargo.

The imposition of the oil embargo has brought Conservative misgivings out into the open. The leadership refrained from any open break today. Edward Heath merely said that the use of force was "entirely unacceptable" to the Conservatives and to the country. The leadership also asked for a clarification of the conditions on which the Government was willing to negotiate. However, a group of right-wing Conservatives came out strongly against the oil embargo. Seven Tories proposed a House of Commons motion rejecting the oil embargo as a "penal" sanction that could only lead to the use of force.

The Observer predicted that the Conservative leadership would force a decision against oil sanctions, before Parliament recesses on Wednesday. If this happens, it will be the first time since U.D.I. that the Rhodesian issue has been subjected to party politics.

Mercenaries to Rhodesia:

Reuters quoted the German newspaper Bild Am Sonntag as saying that German led mercenaries in the Congo have begun to move into Rhodesia in support of the white regime there.

Rhodesian News Summary
Dec. 20 cont.

PRESSURES ON RHODESIA:

Country Imposing Sanctions	Ban on Imports from Rhodesia	Ban on Exports to Rhodesia
United Kingdom	Tobacco, sugar, chrome, asbestos, copper, meat, tea, maize, vegetables	All goods
France	Tobacco	
Canada	Tobacco, sugar, chrome, asbestos, meat	
U.S.A.	Tobacco, sugar	
Australia	Tobacco	
New Zealand	Tobacco	
Norway	All goods subject to licence	Subject to licence
Denmark	All goods subject to licence	Subject to licence
Sweden	All goods	All goods
Japan	All goods except iron and steel	
Zambia	Non-essential imports	
Other African Countries	All goods	
Malaysia	All goods subject to exchange	Exports subject to control
Singapore	All goods	All goods
Jordan	All goods	All goods
Greece		Arms
Arab League countries (except Tunisia)	All goods	All goods
Egypt	No use of Suez Canal for Rhodesia	
Iran		Oil
Kuwait		Oil
U.S.S.R.	Tobacco	
Holland	Tobacco	Arms, oil. All trade subject to licence
Belgium	Tobacco, sugar	Arms, oil. All trade subject to licence
W. Germany	Tobacco	
Italy	Tobacco, Sugar	

46-49% of total Rhodesian export trade affected by sanctions

"The table above (from the Dec. 19 Observer) shows that if all trade sanctions so far imposed were totally effective about 47% of

Rhodesia's exports of L119 million (in 1964) would be cut off. But they are unlikely to be totally effective. Rhodesia may find some new markets; some countries may be unable to control their private importers effectively. In any case, it will be some months before sanctions already imposed can be fully implemented--that on tobacco, for instance, needs four months to take full effect. The result is that the sanctions so far imposed will probably reduce Rhodesia's exports by 25-35 percent--which might reduce her national income by 10-14 percent. But further sanctions may yet be imposed--most probably by Zambia, which takes over a quarter of Rhodesia's exports"

SOURCES: New York Times, Dec. 21
Washington Post, Dec. 21
Observer, Dec. 19

DECEMBER 21:

Conservatives Force Vote on Rhodesia:

The Conservative Party forced to a vote the Government's policy of Rhodesia. The vote was not directed against any particular part of the policy but rather was asking for "more conciliation" and for a flat rejection of the use of force. Prime Minister Wilson's policy was endorsed by a vote of 299 to 272, defeating the Tory motion. It was a substantial victory for Wilson as his Labour Government has a margin of only two. The nine Liberals voted with Labour and seven Conservatives abstained.

Later in the evening right-wing Conservatives forced a vote on the Government's imposition of oil sanctions. This however was defeated by a vote of 276 to 48. Most of the Conservatives abstained.

The very fact that the Conservatives forced the vote is disturbing. It will enable Ian Smith to claim broad sympathy for his Government among British Conservatives. It throws the whole Rhodesian issue into party politics.

Wilson has continually and emphatically rejected the use of force in Rhodesia. Thus, it becomes quite clear that the only reason for the Conservative action was political. Mr. Heath was attempting to find a point to unite his badly divided party. Heath was severely attacked because of his action. Mr. Jo Grimond, the Liberal leader said: "...In that situation it is wholly irresponsible to let it go out to the Rhodesians tonight that the Conservative party are convinced the Government is determined to use force. This vote tonight will not be about Rhodesia. It will be about the internal division within the Conservative Party."

Mr. Wilson spoke for an hour and a half. He repeated his refusal to use force and said, "he could not understand why Mr. Heath worked himself into such a passion'----except for political reasons."

United States Announces Airlift Plans

The United States announced its plans to supply oil and

gasoline to Zambia. The U.S. is now in the process of chartering a fleet of tanker and transport planes. They will fly from Leopoldville, capital of the Congo, to Elizabethville near the Congolese border with Zambia. The oil will then go 150 miles by truck to Ndola. British, Canadian, and U.S. planes may be able to supply Zambia with half her oil needs which amount to 180,000 tons a year.

Coal for Zambia:

Even with the tax of \$14 a ton on coal, it is still cheaper to import coal to Zambia from Rhodesia than it would be to truck it in from Tanzania. The 1,000 mile road from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka is in bad need of repair. A number of bridges need to be rebuilt in order for the road to be usable in the rainy season.

Rhodesia Reacts to Oil Embargo:

The Rhodesian Government informed some 1,300 employees of oil-refinery and petroleum distribution companies that they could not resign or be dismissed without permission from Ian McLean, the Labor Minister. This group includes about 45 British and Dutch employees of the Shell Oil Co. which operates the refinery at Feruka.

South Africa:

South Africa has frozen Rhodesian foreign assets estimated at \$16.8 million or 40% of Rhodesia's holdings of foreign reserves and gold at the time of U.D.I. The move was forced onto South Africa by Britain. South Africa is still part of the sterling area, even though she withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961.

On the question of oil, South Africa has not declared herself. However, Wilson did refute the argument that an oil embargo couldn't work because South Africa would supply Rhodesia with oil. Wilson said that argument was wrong, but refused to elaborate. It may be that Britain and South Africa agree, for very different reasons on the oil embargo. South Africa, like Britain would not want the embargo to become a United Nations responsibility. Further, while South Africa would not want an embargo to work, thus increasing the possibility of an embargo on South Africa, she is hardly prepared to fight the U.N. or even Britain on this issue.

Portugal:

Like South Africa, Portugal does not want the oil embargo to become a United Nations responsibility. So far, Lisbon has refused to have anything to do with it, declaring a policy of neutrality. That is, Portugal chooses to see the crisis as one between Britain and her colony alone. This means that the 180-mile pipe-line which carries oil from Beira, Mozambique, to Umtali, Rhodesia will be kept open.

December 21, cont.

Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi: End of Federation:

The Central African Federation made up of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, went out of existence politically two years ago. However, according to the Economist it is just now going out of existence economically. Rhodesia supplied expertise and customers to the "economic federation." Zambia, (Northern Rhodesia) supplied capital and customers, and Malawi, (Nyasaland) supplied labor. "Hence the Rhodesians' ability to boast that their economy had so marvellously survived the break-up of the Federation. In fact, its ability to survive the break-up will only now be tested.

Rhodesia appears to be the one who will lose from the break-up of the "economic federation". South Africa is already working behind Rhodesia's back to secure export orders in Zambia. Once established, the ties between Zambia and her new trading partners will be hard to break even after "normalacy" returns to Rhodesia. As the Economist says: "South Africa is the logical industrial centre for white southern Africa. Zambia is a logical centre for black central Africa and for a South African exporter the transition from selling in Zambia to manufacturing in Zambia is not an excessively long step. Where does that leave Rhodesia?"

SOURCES: New York Times, December 22
The Washington Post, December 21
The Observer, December 19
The Economist, December 18

DECEMBER 22:

Zambian Officials in Moscow:

Finance Minister Arthur Wina and Agricultural Minister Mudenda arrived in Moscow for talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. They will discuss all aspects of the Rhodesian crisis and its implications for Zambia.

Smith Announces Economic Plans:

Referring to Britain's take over of the Rhodesian Reserve Bank as "the great Caine robbery", Ian Smith announced his economic plans on a radio and T.V. broadcast December 18. (Sir Sydney Caine has just been appointed governor of the Reserve Bank by Britain.) Smith called the bank action a scandal and said, "The world's confidence in the Bank of England has already been seriously shaken, and now we hear that another great institution, Lloyd's of London, is unable to cover Rhodesian obligations. Lloyd's of London, a household word and the centre of the world's insurance market, has now had its good name besmirched because the United Kingdom Government has prevented it from meeting proved claims."

According to Smith Britain's action freed Rhodesia from the responsibility for servicing and repaying (1) their London market debt, except that portion which is owed to residents of Rhodesia; (2) the debt due to the British Government and its agencies; and

(3) the debt which is under British Government guarantee.

Smith announced that the funds released by not having to pay these debts would free Rhodesia from the need to borrow abroad immediately to finance development programs. These programs include: a plan to grow wheat under irrigation which will be undertaken immediately and L1,000,000 to be added to the permanent capital of the Land Bank. Commercial banks will be relieved of their undertakings to provide the Land Bank with credit. Also, the mining industry will receive L250,000 and L500,000 will be set aside for "special schemes in the tribal trust areas." Further, an additional amount of L150,000 will be provided during the current financial year for African education. Smith also said that the Government was completing the plans for "a new African education program which would enable the African people in the years ahead to play a greater part in the development of Rhodesia," the Observer reported.

Television Attack on Smith's Regime!

The first anti-Smith broadcast took place in Rhodesia. A 31 year old barrister, Mr. Ben Whitaker made the attack. He is a prospective Labour candidate in Britain and flew to Rhodesia on behalf of Amnesty International. He agreed to be interviewed on television only if the program went out live. He was able to speak for ten minutes before being stopped. The Observer reported that he said that, "the Smith regime was an illegal police State which resorted to censorship because it was afraid of the truth; that Smith obtained his emergency powers by 'a lying trick'; that the judges and many of the police and army were loyal to Britain." Whitaker also said that 16 of the Broadcasting staff had resigned in protest of the Smith regime.

Immediately after the broadcast, Mr. Whitaker escaped by a back door and left the country by plane. A police officer reported that Whitaker had broken 18 Rhodesian laws in his broadcast, such as the bringing of Ministers into disrepute and the mentioning of people in detention.

Tobacco:

Rumors are widespread in Rhodesia that Dr. Anton Rupert's South African tobacco group will buy up the entire 1965 Rhodesian crop. However, Dr. Rupert's resources are limited and his group denied any intention of buying the crop. South Africa has a tobacco surplus and restricts the importation of Rhodesian tobacco.

On the other hand, Rhodesian tobacco will be a real bargain. The tobacco, if bought, could be stored in South Africa until it is again possible to sell it on the market. Dr. Rupert controls 30 tobacco factories in 18 different countries so there would be plenty of outlets for the crop. Many countries are even now, finding it difficult to decide to exclude Rhodesian tobacco. Germany, for example has not done so. Countries will hardly be able to police their imports completely enough to exclude all of Rhodesian tobacco.

The demand for South African tobacco will increase as Rhodesian tobacco is blocked from the market. To meet these requests South Africa also might want to increase its importation of Rhodesia's crop. Rupert's buying of the crop would be a real boost to Smith. The Economist called on Britain to use all possible means to keep South Africa from sabotaging tobacco sanctions in this way.

SOURCES: New York Times, December 23
The Observer, December 19
The Economist, December 18

DECEMBER 23:

Zambian Mission to the United States:

Zambia's Foreign Minister Simon M. Kapwepwe and Minister for Mines, Alexander G. Zulu are in Washington seeking economic support from the State Department. They met with Thomas C. Mann, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Anthony M. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. On Monday, Kapwepwe will meet with Dean Rusk.

The Zambian officials are asking for economic aid and for support for an African-Asian move to make sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory under the United Nations Charter. The United States is most interested in financing an airlift to Zambia and helping to improve the road from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam. However economic aid was not ruled out. The United States is opposed to invoking the U.N. Charter to make sanctions mandatory.

There were reports from Moscow that the Zambian delegation there was asking for Soviet troops. This report was not taken too seriously in Washington.

British in Tanzania:

Tanzania has announced that the oil airlift to Zambia from Dar es Salaam, "must be completely civil and not military." Thus military personnel and equipment will not be allowed into the country. Tanzania is not however demanding immediate withdrawal of all British military personnel. These people will be phased out as civilian replacements arrive.

Zambia Rations Gasoline:

Gasoline rationing began in Zambia today. Private motorists are limited to an initial quota of one gallon a week.

Rhodesia Refuses British Planes Refueling Rights:

The Rhodesian Government has cut off fuel supplies for British commercial aircraft and placed a surcharge on telecommunications. British-registered planes will no longer be allowed to refuel at Salisbury.

December 23 cont.

African Militance:

In an article entitled "African Militance", Lloyd Garrison of the New York Times, analysed Tanzania's break with Britain. Tanzania's break was crucial because without it, it is highly unlikely that the other African states would have broken with Britain. Tanzania did this in spite of high cost to herself: the loss of some \$21 million pledged by Britain for her development program. According to Garrison, Nyerere made his decision to sever relations because of "his concern for the Organization of African Unity: if the O.A.U. keeps voting resolutions that no one is prepared to follow, who can possibly take Africa seriously?" The African states are not satisfied with Britain's action against Rhodesia.

Nine nations have broken with Britain. Africa as an identifiable power is beginning to be recognized. "Africa's message is not yet unanimous, but it is becoming increasingly clear: Britain may well choose to continue her 'no force' policy on Rhodesia--- but at a growing risk to her influence in the rest of the continent."

And the Rhodesian crisis will have meaning for more than just Africa and Britain. Donald K Abbott, United Church Board for World Ministries missionary in Rhodesia writes: "...Only if this rebel government can be brought quickly to its knees can there be any hope for a peaceful and happy solution to the problems that now beset this country...The cost of the struggle in Vietnam to the United States has been great and is still mounting. If the U.S. does not do all in its power to correct the conditions in this country today and the African states turn to the East for help, the United States may well find itself fighting another Vietnam type of war here in Central Africa."

ZAPU AND ZANU:

The Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union are the two African nationalist movements in Rhodesia. They have not been able to give strong leadership for several reasons: their leaders are in prison; their leaders in exile, according to Zambia's Kaunda, enjoy the privileges of power far more than the responsibilities; the two movements do not cooperate; and the labour situation is against them. That is, in order for strikes to be effective they must be close to universal. This is a real problem because out of a total African working force of 700,000, 250,000 are from Malawi, 117,000 are from Mozambique, and 70,000 from Zambia. These people have been more concerned about jobs than about Rhodesia's problems.

James R. Chikerema, second in command of ZAPU stated, "What's needed now is guerrilla action. We are entering a revolutionary phase." The time table of the revolution is open to much debate.

Rhodesia's Future:

Because of the negative effects of economic sanctions, The

Economist writes that even if Rhodesia is successful politically the country will be an unpleasant place to live for all concerned. On these grounds negotiations are called for. The Economist believes that Wilson will have to negotiate with Smith as head of a de facto government. The reasons for this are several but basically Smith or someone more extreme will be in power in Rhodesia.

Before U.D.I., the Rhodesian cabinet was deeply split. It was Smith who finally gave in to the extremists. It is unlikely that he would stand up to them now and "if there is ever a split in the Rhodesian Front it is likely to follow the usual pattern of southern Africa by producing an even more implacable leader."

(Those in the Rhodesia cabinet in favor of declaring U.D.I., "according to their degree of determination, were Mr. Dupont, Mr. Lardner-Burke, Mr. D. W. Rudland, Lord Graham, Mr. Philip van Heerden, and Mr. B.M. Mussett. Those against, in order of conviction, were M.J.H. Howman, Mr. J.J. Wrathall, Mr. Ian McLean, Mr. A.P. Smith and...Mr. William Harper, who is by far the best brain of the lot.")

The business community is not producing anti-Smith leadership. In fact, it is predictable that "hardship among those whites who remain here may produce an increase of the ugly attitudes displayed by men like Mr. Pieter van der Byl, Lord Graham, and Mr. Ivor Benson (the government's South African imported propaganda specialist."

Only the 9 judges of the Rhodesian high court have publicly opposed Smith. "They have indicated that they will go on upholding the ordinary law of the land but not measures specially aimed at aiding the rebellion. Thus, a man probably would not succeed in challenging the government's right to his income tax, but he might well succeed in challenging its right to take over his foreign shares portfolio as a "measure of economic counter-warfare." Test cases will be necessary, but no one seems eager to push one. And nine judges cannot really be expected to have a determining and decisive amount of influence.

The Economist concludes that Smith will have to be dealt with as the real leader of Rhodesia.

SOURCES: New York Times, December 24
Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 20
Economist, Dec. 18

DECEMBER 24:

Pressure on Ethiopia:

Ethiopia and other moderate African states are being encouraged to break diplomatic relations with Britain. If Emperor Haile Selassie does break with Britain, it is believed that a number of other nations will also sever ties.

Kaunda to Moscow:

Zambia's Finance Minister Arthur Wina announced in Moscow that President Kaunda would probably visit the Soviet Union next September.

December 24 cont.

He refused to comment on reports that Zambia had asked for Soviet troops to guard the Kariba Dam.

Extent of Zambian Airlift:

"If the economic sanctions, aimed at bringing Mr. Smith's downfall, increase, the squeeze of landlocked Zambia may become so severe that in time the airlift may well rival that to Berlin."

Next Move in Rhodesia?

An Observer editorial pointed out that regardless of the real motivation for British action against Rhodesia, it looks as if she has acted only under the pressure of events, i.e., when forced to act. For example, oil sanctions would have been seen as a much more significant act if Britain had applied them November 12, not December 17th. The Observer urged the Government not to lose the initiative in Rhodesia and to anticipate the next state in the crisis:

"If the sanctions stage of the campaign is to work, troops must be sent to protect Zambia against possible reprisals by the Smith regime: to safeguard the electric power coming from the Kariba Dam. Whether or not the presence of these troops would immediately involve the use of force---which Mr. Wilson once again unwisely went out of his way to repudiate in New York---would then depend on Mr. Smith. But if Britain doesn't send these troops, others will."

TREVOR HUDDLESTON ON AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE:

Trevor Huddleston who spent over a decade in South Africa and who is now Bishop of Masasi in Tanzania where he has been for the last five years, wrote an article for the Observer which draws on his experience in these two nations. The difference between a white dominated nation, South Africa, and an African nation ruling its own destiny, Tanzania, has much to say about the future of Rhodesia. Huddleston writes:

"...The end of colonialism in East Africa has brought life and purpose to the country. This is not to say that colonial administrators were bad or repressive men...But they could not be part of the new Africa, however hard they tried, however great their sympathy, however deep their understanding. They could not be part of it because foreign domination cannot co-exist with freedom. And colonialism, even at its most enlightened, is domination...It would be absurd and dishonest to claim that the changes have necessarily meant greater efficiency at every level...But one comes to see that there is a more important quality than mere efficiency in administration: and it is a sense of social power and purpose...It is the realization that, at last, administrator and people are part of one urgent drive to the building of a nation... And this...means life...

"It is this / life and purpose / which I now recognize to have been totally absent in my South African days... In South Africa, European domination was so complete in every area of life that even

to rebel against it was to acknowledge it... It is the escape from the inevitably phony relations between black and white in South Africa that is so refreshing and stimulating in Tanzania. It is the realization that every day that passes an African social order is emerging and that one is privileged to share in it...that is so exciting.

"To live in a country like Tanzania today is in itself an exhilaration just because it is in movement, in movement away from the dullness of the old British-colonial pattern to the rich variety of an African socialist State...

"I want to tell my fellowcountrymen...that if they really care about the future of white Rhodesian settlers they should tell them the truth. And the truth is very simple indeed. It is not that there is no future for the white man in Africa. It is that there is a future more exciting and more enriching than anywhere else for every man---European, Asian, and African alike---who will recognize that Africa is now, not tomorrow but now, in charge of her own destiny.

SOURCES: New York Times, December 25
Observer, December 19

DECEMBER 25:

Soviet Response to Zambian Mission:

The Soviet Union and Zambia issued a joint communique at the close of three days talk in Moscow. In it the Soviet Union pledged the "utmost assistance" to Zambia and other African states which oppose Rhodesia. The nature of the "assistance" was not specified. There was no mention of troops--that Zambia had requested them or that the Soviet Union had in any way offered them.

Zambia's Need of Troops:

President Kaunda wants troops around the Kariba Dam to prevent Ian Smith from cutting off Zambia's power. Smith is not likely to do this as long as trade between the two nations remains relatively normal. However, Kaunda is preparing his country for a complete economic break with Rhodesia. Such a break would be a severe blow to Rhodesia and could easily induce Smith to cut off Zambia's power. Thus troops are needed to protect Zambia when the break comes.

SOURCE: New York Times; December 26

THE FOLLOWING NEWS ITEMS ARE FROM THE DECEMBER 18 EDITION OF THE JOHANNESBURG STAR:

No Oil for Rhodesia:

While the South African Government has refused to make any public statement about the oil embargo on Rhodesia, it has said

from the Johannesburg Star cont.:

"unofficially" that it "would be reluctant to supply Rhodesia with as much as a can of petrol." This is because of South Africa's vulnerable position regarding oil for internal consumption. She must import heavily to supply her needs.

Censorship in Rhodesia, and Britain to Pay Pensions:

Censorship has been in effect for over a month but it still seems to be done with little pattern or standard criteria. It seems to depend on the individual who does each particular job. For example, immediately after U.D.I. was declared, any reference to Sir Humphrey Gibbs carefully deleted his title of Governor. "But in the story from London carried in 'The Chronicle' [Bulawayo] yesterday about the decision to resume payment to pensions, the censors allowed a British Government spokesman to be quoted as saying this was done on the advice of 'The Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs.'

Tobacco Ban on Rhodesia?

"Tobacco imports from Rhodesia have been banned by countries which took about L30,252,000 worth of her total export of L41 million last year. They are expected to be joined by others who imported about L6,453,000 worth last year, among them West Germany, whose decision is to be announced later today. Zambia--L830,000 tobacco imports from Rhodesia last year--is among countries still undecided about a ban. Between them they took L2,400,000 of Rhodesian tobacco in 1964. South Africa and Spain who are unlikely to ban it, took L1,900,000 worth last year. Britain has been Rhodesia's biggest customer, buying L20,670,000 worth last year.

"Other countries which have joined in imposing the ban are: Netherlands, L1,828,000; Japan, L1,527,000; Australia, L1,229,500; Malaysia, L655,000; Denmark, Norway, Sweden, L865,000; Belgium, L840,000; Hong Kong, L430,000; Singapore, L410,000; France, L340,000; Trinidad and Jamaica, L390,000; the United Arab Republic, L254,000; New Zealand, L250,000; Italy, L240,000; United Kingdom colonies (except Hong Kong) L90,000; and African states (Nigeria and Libya) L134,000.

"Countries expected to impose the ban besides West Germany (L5,456,000) are: Soviet Union, L257,000; Jordan, L189,000; East Germany, L151,500; Ghana, L99,000; Congo (Brazzaville), L151,500; Finland, L94,000; others, L100,000.

"The undecided countries besides Zambia are: Switzerland, L430,000; Persian Gulf States, L300,000; Austria, L228,000; America, L175,000; Luxembourg, L117,000; others, L320,000.

"All the figures are for 1964."

"Two of Britain's biggest tobacco companies--the Imperial Tobacco Company and Gallaher's--said this week that they would not buy any of Rhodesia's 1966 crop unless normal trading relations between Rhodesia and Britain were resumed."

from the Dec. 18 Johannesburg STAR cont.

Kenya Acts Against Rhodesia:

Kenya has suspended all postal services with Rhodesia. Letters mailed in Kenya bound for Rhodesia will be stamped "No Service" and returned to the sender. Letters from Rhodesia will not be delivered either.

Kenya has also banned air cargo to and from Rhodesia. This affects B.O.A.C., British United Airways, and Alitalia. All three have stopped accepting freight on Europe-Salisbury-Europe flights. Rhodesian bound cargo can be carried on South African Airways planes according to a B.O.A.C. spokesman. However, this will depend on the available space on S.A.A. planes which are unusually full during December.

There is real "danger", the South African airline men said, that other African nations will follow Kenya's lead, forcing goods bound for Rhodesia to go through Johannesburg. The Jan Smuts Airport is already inadequate for handling present freight and is not equipped to deal with large volumes of extra cargo.

Zambia to Build Hydro-Electric Plant:

In order to break its dependence on the Kariba Power Complex, Zambia is going ahead with plans to build a power plant on the Kafue River near Lusaka. Plans for such a project were begun during the period of federation and the plant could probably be completed in about three years. The Kafue Dam was proposed in 1953. It would have a 100 foot high wall and a 13.5 mile tunnel leading to two power stations. With 6 generators it would have a capacity of 516 megawatts. Zambia presently draws some 300 megawatts from Kariba, which has a 705 megawatt capacity.

World Bank Vice President to Visit Kariba:

Mr. J. Burke Knapp, Vice President of the World Bank is to visit Rhodesia and Zambia to discuss the security of the Kariba Dam. "The World Bank has made two loans totalling \$87,700,000 to the Power Corporation and both are guaranteed by Britain. Rhodesia and Zambia have each guaranteed one-half of the payments on these loans. The advantage of an approach by the bank is that protection of the dam can be done without the present Rhodesian regime being formally recognized."

Rhodesia has refused to pay interest on her debts so the bank is, or course, concerned. Smith however, will most likely agree to meet the bank's representative, not wanting to offend the World Bank. A large international force, even if all white, could secure the dam and ease the worries of both Smith and Kaunda over sabotage.

Star Editorial:

After a bitter attack on the African states which walked out on Wilson at the United Nations and which broke relations with Britain, the Star writes:

from the December 18 Johannesburg STAR:

"As a world power with a major role to play in the West's battle against Communism, Britain could not treat U.D.I. other than as a major event in this battle. However foolishly some African states may act, Britain and the West must still endeavour to keep them from the Communists."

from the January issue of Wind and Chaff:
American's Response to the Rhodesian Crisis:

"Put crudely, the Administration's chief interest in Africa is that Africa should stay quiet and permit the United States to get on with its urgent business in Asia, Latin America and Europe."

"So wrote the Economist in its first issue following Rhodesia's declaration of independence from Britain. The Economist's statement has been borne out in the following weeks. It became apparent that two of the realities of United States policy in Africa were dictating action. First, it is the European desk, not the Africa desk that has priority in the State Department. In fact, Africa now appears to have the lowest priority of any area in the world. Thus it was not surprising that, in spite of strong words to end 'the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia,' the U.S. action followed British action and took little initiative on its own.

"Secondly, much of United States interest in Africa is based on the desire to contain Communism. To contain Communism, the U.S. might get involved in playing a role in Rhodesia that it very much does not want to have to play. What emerges is a policy based more on what the United States abhors than on what the United States hopes for. It is a policy based on historical relation with Britain and ideological warfare with Communism.

"And once again Africa itself is given secondary consideration. When will the United States realize that Africa is just not going to 'stay quiet?'"

NOTICE:

In order for this News Summary to continue, financial resources must be found to pay for its production. It presently is being sent to some 300 people, but the number is increasing. Thus, we are requesting any contribution that you can make. Please make checks payable to the National Student Christian Federation Committee on Southern Africa. Any help, large or small will be greatly appreciated. Mail contributions to: N.S.C.F. Committee on Southern Africa, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 754, New York, N.Y. 10027