

January 28

New Statesman

Rhodesia: The Basic Error,

Mr. Wilson's stress on a return to legal government in Rhodesia has primarily been directed towards the 200,00 white Rhodesians but his statements have failed to speak to the four million Africans. The proposal that power be transferred to Governor Gibbs and an Advisory Council of largely white Rhodesians once the Smith regime falls is very different from granting this coalition the full powers of an interim government. The author suggests that an Executive Council of former British civil servants with liberal backgrounds be substituted for direct rule from Whitehall, to which there is so much Tory resistance. This, in addition to the physical presence of Britain in Rhodesia to assure a loyal military group, as the loyalties of the Rhodesian police and army has not really been proven, will also be a necessity. Mr. Wilson's desire to return to the 1961 Constitution "as amended by some pretty fundamental changes" must eliminate the repressive aspects of that constitution. His pledge to release political detainees only if they agree to function within a constitutional framework is "absurb" if it means within the 1961 constitutional forms. It is also unthinkable that "reformed" members of the present Smith cabinet be accepted into the Governor's council.

"The basic error in British policy, to which Mr Wilson still adheres is to envisage the prospect of independence before majority rule." Most Africans want immediate rule but they would be willing to work under a different system if it was one protected from the control of an independent white regime.

The New Statesman points out that the end of the Smith regime via economic sanctions and the splitting of the Rhodesian Front leaders does not seem successful, and "one must hope that Mr. Wilson realises the need to have other and more direct shots in his locker if his present strategy fails to produce early results." There are many indications that Smith and his followers "expect to weather the storm." One is the fact that the Minister of Law and Order seems to be unaffected by Mr. Bottomley's announcement that the execution of the two Africans accused of arson or attempted arson would be murder in the eyes of the British, as both mens sentences were commuted by the Queen. The results of the sanctions seem to be debatable particularly since Dr. Verwoerd has given his support for the use of South Africa as a supply depot or channel to Rhodesia and because Sir Hugh Beadle himself didn't seem to know exactly what effect sanctions were taking in Rhodesia. This latter situation may merely indicate the strength of the Rhodesian censorship system.

James Fairbairn

Spectator

The Truth about Rhodesia by Sir Edgar Whitehead, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, 1958-1962.

Sir Edgar Whitehead states that, "Sanctions are no more likely to produce a change of government in Rhodesia than in Cuba," and they will

simply result in economic chaos and destruction for the country and the exodus of a large number of white Rhodesians. The general British plan that a "multi-racial government" could be established after sanctions forced a return to constitutional rule "never at any time had any chance of success." Sir Edgar feels that Smith and his followers, many of them former moderates who have been drawn to Smith in reaction to sanctions, will not fall until there is "total economic collapse." He asserts Africans will not accept another white-dominated government but that multi-racialism itself proved a failure in December, 1962. "The next Rhodesian government will either be white supremacist if sanctions fail or black supremacist if they succeed." British

Whitehead sees an impending split between the bi-partisan/approach to Rhodesia because the Conservatives, although most members have backed sanctions, want early negotiations with Mr. Smith and oppose the concept of direct rule by Britain after Rhodesia falls. Thus they will be against the complete success of sanctions and Sir Edgar predicts this will be a major political issue in party politics.

The author also stresses the repercussions of the fate of Rhodesia on the rest of Southern Africa and that if sanctions fail he thinks that the African states will turn more to the UN and Communist areas for aid. If the question also bogs down in British party politics it will also pass to the UN probably resulting in an economic breach between Rhodesia and Zambia and the closing of the Zambian copper mines.

Sir Edgar concludes that "Britain must either surrender to Smith with an agreement which will include some face-saving clauses or go on to destroy the political and economic stability of Central Africa for a generation." He then adds that this will occur unless there is a new approach to safeguard both sides which is an Act of Union between Rhodesia and Britain. It is a shame that Whitehead does not elaborate on this concept of an Act of Union.

#### Editorial of the Spectator

Governor Gibbs, Sir Hugh Beadle and Sir Edgar Whitehead all realize that the Rhodesian whites will not turn to a legal, moderate government on account of economic sanctions. The fall of Smith will not occur before the July deadline of the Lagos conference but will take a full year at least, "during which time Rhodesia and the Rhodesian economy will have been reduced to total chaos, and irreparable hardship will have been caused to Zambia and Mozambique." Therefore there must be negotiations with Mr. Smith as "head of a de facto, albeit rebel, Government," which must lead to "legitimate" independence without an interim of direct rule. P.M. Wilson avoids this step because of international and African pressure but he must resist this kind of "blackmail". Further splits in the Commonwealth or repercussions from negotiating with Smith would be of minute effect in comparison with the present or future chaos. Unless Wilson does talk with Smith, Governor Gibbs may speak out himself which would injure Wilson's own position. The Spectator expresses the viewpoint that the proven power of sanctions would ensure progress to majority rule in Rhodesia.

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#### Economist Still Consensus

The rumbles between Mr. Heath and Mr. Wilson are "tactically convenient" for both of them, but there is no basic divergence since both sides agree that the rebels must be made to fall, that measures must include oil sanctions and that after UDI there must be a period of white controlled minority rule.

The points of disagreement center around three issues. First is the shutting off of the remnants of trade relations with Rhodesia (which did occur after this article was written). This "psychological tactic" of Mr. Wilson's does not represent a "show of reasonableness" but it is relatively unimportant as white Rhodesian action will be based on what Wilson says will happen after UDI. The second point is that Mr. Heath does not advocate direct rule and that Mr. Wilson, although dismissing Mr. Bottomley's suggestion for Whitehall rule, has supported a policy of utilizing the Governor for direct rule. The Economist backs Mr. Wilson's position in that the cleaning-up and weeding-out process can only be accomplished by one man. But Rhodesians should be told that this type of rule will be only temporary. Yet the debate about this interim period is an academic one until UDI has ended. The last question then focuses on negotiations. Here the Economist supports Mr. Heath's "realism" about Rhodesian politics for by not talking with Smith Britain is just delaying any negotiations. Mr. Wilson has said he will talk to Mr. Smith but not to the "illegal regime" about the constitutional future of Rhodesia but the Economist points out that these two elements cannot be separated and that by talking with Smith does not mean Mr. Wilson is accepting the Nov. 11th rebellion.

Early negotiations are important at which Britain will call off sanctions for the dropping of UDI and the acceptance of a consensus about the future of Rhodesia. Independence could follow after a constitution is accepted that will lead ultimately to majority rule (with at least a "blocking third" for Africans in Parliament before independence) plus an international treaty calling for sanctions if there is any violation of the constitution.

### Johannesburg Star

#### Editorial

"Mr. Wilson showed a complete lack of understanding of this situation. He has himself said repeatedly in the last two months and before that he does not contemplate an early transfer of power; indeed he used the expression 'for very many years.' But on Tuesday /January 25/ his mood was very different and less realistic." Wilson's stress on the fact of "rebellion" and a multi-racial interim government just confirms the Rhodesian view that "the British are bent on his destruction" which is equated with early majority African rule. The Star believes that early negotiations are out of the question now.

South Africa should follow some of Sir de Villiers Graaff's suggestions and should go to the British government and to Smith's and point out "the consequences that will flow from a life-and-death confrontation in Rhodesia."

"For it may well become impossible for South Africa to maintain with any credibility the neutral posture which has so far been appropriate and wise. It is already visibly wobbling. South Africa would not be the only sufferer if it toppled, and Mr. Wilson must be aware that the whole precarious structure of Southern Africa would be threatened."

### Greek Ship shadowed by the R.A.F.

Two aircraft of the Royal Air Force stationed in Aden have been reported as watching the Greek tanker "Antzouletta" after it left Bombay. The British Defense Ministry confirmed that an air-sea watch was being kept on sea lanes going to Beira, as part of an "early warning system." Reports of suspected oil shipments reach the "Oil Ops. Room" of the Foreign Office from where a request is sent either to the com-

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pany which owns the oil or to the country where the ship is registered. Thus far Britain has received cooperation and the use of force does not seem to be part of Wilson's plans.

#### Graaff's call "South Africa must aid Rhodesia"

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the opposition United Party in South Africa, said that Dr. Verwoerd's fence-sitting position on Rhodesia was wrong. The people of South Africa will not forgive him if "white civilized government and stability are destroyed in Rhodesia." Therefore S.A. should use its influence to force a reopening of negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia. De facto recognition of Rhodesia by South Africa would permit S.A. to protect its own interests.

#### Verwoerd's Reply: S.A. attitude of value to Rhodesia

Dr. Verwoerd stressed that inspite of South Africa's sympathy for Rhodesia and opinion that black rule would be a disaster "we do not allow interference in our affairs, so we must not interfere in the affairs of others." Recognition of any type was not necessary in an unresolved situation he said. Continuance of existing relations with Rhodesia was stressed until the matter is settled and that South Africa's position was a proper one in the eyes of Mr. Smith as well.

#### Other opinions of the S.A. position

Mrs. Helen Suzman, the lone Progressive Party member of the S.A. Assembly, condemned the statements of both party leaders. She agreed with Dr. Verwoerd's statements somewhat but she disagrees with his reasons. The Smith regime is unworthy of support because it is trying to entrench white supremacy in Rhodesia and not because the regime advocates a policy of partnership antithetical to apartheid.

Mr. Wilson seems to be pleased with the attitude of South Africa. The two major companies responsible for supplying Rhodesia with oil are South African registered companies indicated Mr. Ian Lloyd (C.) and the Prime Minister responded that this problem had been lessened by the South African Government's attitude.

Rhodesians were pleased with Dr. Verwoerd's statement that the door was open in S.A. for private contributions to Rhodesia. The news came at an appropriate time to boost Mr. Smith's support. There are visions now of trainloads of oil coming from the south and even of tankers carrying oil from Durban to Beira for the pipeline to Umtali. There are reports of oil supplies going from Lourenco Marques to South Africa before being reconsigned to Rhodesia by a private concern.

Le Monde reported that Mr. Smith expressed thanks to those people contributing petrol to Rhodesia and he recalled that when South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961 it received condemnations from the Afro-Asian peoples and numerous western countries but due to the "determination of its people" South Africa had surmounted these difficulties.

#### South Africa oil line "not too difficult"

What is the feasibility of getting oil from private South Africans to Rhodesia? It is felt that a strong organization which would act as a go-between could succeed in supplying Rhodesia. Ideas include the formation of a private company at Messina near the border. From Beit Bridge on the Rhodesian border to West Nicholson the nearest railhead is a gap of 40 miles where costly road transportation would have to be used. A company to deal with this problem will probably be established by the Friends of Rhodesia Association. If such a company is estab-

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lished it could deal with oil companies and the South African Government which then would not have to deal directly with Smith's government. The railing of supplies through Bechuanaland is prohibited by the British threats to intervene along such a route.

#### Big Cheque for petrol campaign

The organization behind the "Petrol for Rhodesia" campaign, affiliated with the Friends of Rhodesia is now properly constituted it seems and has received contributions of varying sizes, one of over \$1,000. The campaign has snowballed from that of a symbolic one to actually try to alleviate the oil shortage in Rhodesia. Mr. Smith has indicated that oil or petrol gifts will not be subject to customs dues and that the distribution of the oil will be through commercial channels where the customs dues will be paid and the balance put into a relief fund.

#### Rhodesia's golfers succoured

The appeal from Mr. Bert Schoeman, a former manager of an oil company in the Free State and now resident of Rhodesia, to Mr. Dave Theron has been answered. The Free State Club in Bloemfontein sent 16 dozen new golf balls to Mr. Schoeman to be delivered personally to Prime Minister Smith for distribution to Rhodesian golf club groups.

#### Financial Notes

As of January 29 the Rhodesian pound will be valued in gold not sterling. The pound sterling is 2.488828 worth of fine gold in grams and the par value of the Rhodesian pound in relation to gold has been fixed at the same value, thus there is no change in the value of the Rhodesian pound. This move was the result of Rhodesia's expulsion from the sterling area.

The Standard Bank review reports that Rhodesia has made "not unsatisfactory" arrangements after its breakaway from the sterling bloc. The proper arrangements were made for Rhodesia dealing in non-sterling currencies. The S.A. Reserve Bank, after suspending dealings in Rhodesian currency for a short time, "resumed dealings because presumably it was satisfied that Rhodesia could meet her commitments." Standard Bank review commented that retail trade in Rhodesian shops had increased and that the shops seemed to have adequate stocks of goods and that there is little indication of stockpiling. The reduction of imports has led to a greater demand for locally produced goods. There is greater economic problems for the wholesalers and manufacturing industries which are dependent on sales to non-Rhodesian markets.

A report from the "Financial Times" claims that Britain recovered only the Rhodesia Reserve Bank's foreign assets which were held in London and that the sharp increase of £10 million to South Africa reserves is the result of a transfer of Rhodesian assets to S.A. Non-reserve bank interests switched some assets pre-UDI. "Since the United Kingdom's financial relations with South Africa are almost as close as those she had with Rhodesia, this is something we ought to think about."

The Rhodesian Minister of Finance, Mr. Wrathall, authorized the issue of savings certificates known as Independence Bonds which will sell for three years at a 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>% compounded interest.

#### Sanctions

##### Rhodesia ban worth £53.5 million

The ban now covers goods valued at the above figure or approximately half of the £119 million worth of Rhodesian exports in 1964, announced the Commonwealth Secretary Mr. Authur Bottomley. He also cited the

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100 percent effectiveness of the embargo on crude oil coming through Beira.

Mr. Wilson announced that the cost of government departments until December 31, 1965 due to economic sanctions was over £1 million.

The vice-president of the World Bank loans said that Britain would be held responsible as Rhodesia's guarantor if Rhodesia were to default in her payments. This has not occurred until the present.

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen Williams, said on Jan. 28 at a speech in South Bend, Indiana that Rhodesia's foreign exchange earning capacity had been cut by more than half due to British action. He also exclaimed that sanctions had been "remarkably effective." The United States, he said, does not consider Rhodesia a bulwark against Communism but rather that the continuance of the Smith regime would create factors favorable to Communism. The U.S. Government has asked American importers of chromite to cut off supplies from Rhodesia. This amounts to R3,500,000 in "vital dollars," or the second largest source of American chromite.

#### Resignations not allowed

The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation (Risco) has been made subject to "sweeping powers over employment" by the Rhodesian Ministry of Labour. This power extends beyond employment /if an employee fails to carry out orders or leaves Risco without ministerial consent he is subject to a fine of £500 and/or two years imprisonment/ into the right to demand information about the steel industry be made available to the Minister. Some furnaces of Risco will be closed due to market difficulties. The corporation's former prosperity was based on its pig-iron exports.

#### Deserters on why they quit Rhodesia

Two young Englishmen, who were part of the Rhodesian Police and fled via Bechuanaland to Scotland, said that the police had become "simply a political weapon" in Rhodesia. Another refugee who was a senior assistant of the Rhodesian Treasury Office stated that, "Many Rhodesians and immigrant Englishmen are against the Smith regime, but they prefer to keep quiet rather than act."

#### Rhodesia's air links dwindle

The overflying and landing bans imposed by Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania limit Rhodesia's air links with the outside world to two flights per week via South Africa Airways and one flight via the French airline, U.T.A. Rhodesians who want to fly BOAC jets will have to board them in Johannesburg. BOAC has withdrawn its five flights per week and Alitalia its two flights to Rhodesia.

#### Miscellaneous

The opening of the Rhodesian Parliament on February 2 will not result in any radical new legislation the Leader of the House, Mr. Harper announced.

The rationing of petrol in Zambia will go up 10 gallons a month for private cars.

#### "Punch" publishes Smith on Rhodesia

Ian Smith wrote in a recent article for Punch that UDI was declared because P.M. Wilson had shown the Rhodesians that independence would not be obtained "on any fair or decent terms . . . ." He accused

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Wilson of being partial to African leaders of "terrorist organizations" such as Mr. Nkomo and Rev. Sithole who were responsible for "the most appalling atrocities, bloodshed and violence against their own kind." Mr. Smith thinks that majority African rule leads to "appalling chaos" as evidenced in the rest of Africa as well as corruption, injustice, murder, dictatorship, inefficiency, suppression of any political opposition etc. "We were not prepared to set the stage for swift handover."

#### Tory's leader suggests a "way back"

Mr. Edward Heath gave these three points for a program to restore legal government in Rhodesia:

- a) Britain must talk with anyone willing to return to constitutional government, including Mr. Smith or members of the Rhodesian Front Government.
- b) There must be a return to immediate constitutional government without an interim period of direct rule.
- c) Britain must honor her offers for educational aid to Rhodesia and plan for economic developmental aid as well.

Mr. Heath said that "the trouble is that this has become a struggle between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith," and that his only concern was that when Rhodesians are ready to talk the British must be ready also. He admitted that the time may not be ripe right now.

#### Economist

##### South Africa: On the Fence

The scheme for sending petrol to Rhodesia is organized around a plan to hire road tankers to send fuel over the border at Beit Bridge. One can pay four shillings and receive a sticker indicating you have donated one gallon of petrol to Rhodesia. The Friends of Rhodesia Assn. is trying to raise £5 million.

Sir de Villiers Graaff's attack on Dr. Verwoerd's "neutrality" must be seen in the light of the March 30th general election in South Africa. The Prime Minister's retort to this attack was that active support of Rhodesia would simply antagonize Britain, the Commonwealth, other African nations and the United States. It would also harm Rhodesia by actually "closing the back door now open to Smith." The United Party's attack seems to be a case of "transparent opportunism" and it will not really alter the image of Verwoerd as the source of white power in South Africa. Verwoerd is unlikely to change this position either before or after March 30, since if Smith falls he will be commended for non-involvement or if Smith succeeds he will not be blamed. Fear of sanctions hangs over South Africa particularly at a time when the decision of the World Court on the South West Africa case is expected in the near future.

#### Le Monde

The High Court of Rhodesia declared on Thursday, Jan. 27, as "non-receivable" a request which implied the contestation of the validity of the independence proclamation of Rhodesia and thus the legality of the rebel regime. The Central African Examiner had raised the case asking that the Rhodesian desposition on censorship be declared illegal.

An air-lift between Beira and Zambia is being negotiated by 17 Royal Air Force officers in Mozambique to carry oil in British planes to Zambia.

January 30

The Observer

US buys Rhodesian Chrome ore

Chrome ore amounting for £2 million of US imports from Rhodesia and one half of Rhodesian annual trade with America is still being imported by Union Carbide Corporation and the Vandanium Corporation of America in spite of official government policy to the contrary. Both companies have completely Rhodesian-owned subsidiaries which has caused some problem. Other sources of chrome ore, such as the Soviet Union, have been rejected by the companies due to the heavy financial loss. The 50 tons of tobacco imported to the US is likely to decline due to State Department pressure. The government can legally control American exports to Rhodesia under the export control legislation, but thus far this has been applied only to the export of armaments, widely interpreted as oil, trucks and ammunition. An Order in Council in Britain banned all chrome ore imports to the UK last week.

Wilson's new move will freeze all trade with Rhodesia

The next step after Mr. Wilson's total restrictions on trade will be the Zambian announcement of a complete freezing of trade with Rhodesia which will not occur until the Zambian economy is bolstered enough to withstand the loss of coal and power.

The Observer predicted Wilson's measures would include a 100 percent prohibition of imports and a ban on all exports except for humanitarian goods or those affecting Malawi and Zambia as well as Rhodesia. Also the Treasury would apply stricter exchange control regulations.

Although the "average" Rhodesian's morale is still high there will be 4,000 unemployed white workers at the end of February. Mr. Wilson is pleased with the oil embargo and the "shadowing" operations in the Indian Ocean. There is very little worry over Dr. Verwoerd's approval of "voluntary oil gifts" to Rhodesia as they will amount to only 80,000 gallons per month or enough to last only 1 day according to the present rationing scheme. If this amount is increased it will be noticeable in the increased amounts of oil imported by S.A.

The Oil Leak

It will be somewhat difficult to discern if oil going from S.A. to Rhodesia is from the South African government or other sources. To prevent this Britain should ask the UN to make sanctions mandatory under Chapter 7 of the Charter. Verwoerd will want to avoid entanglement with the UN particularly at the time of the South West African decision.

January 31

The New York Times

The new British ban on the remaining 5 percent of imports from Rhodesia will be effective as of February 2 announced the Board of Trade. The Treasury announced that anyone who extended credit to Rhodesia might lose his money when legal government is restored. Export bans will not apply to "essential" goods for the functioning of the Rhodesian Railways, Central African Airways and the Central African Power Corp. The constitutional government after the end of UDI will not be responsible for financial obligations incurred by the Smith government.

Rhodesia Managing in spite of sanctions (Lawrence Fellows)

"The sanctions are being felt in Rhodesia; there is no question about that. But the end of Rhodesia is not in sight." This situation, explains the journalist, is due to the fact that certain industrialized nations as well as some African nations have filled the economic vacuum

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caused by British sanctions. Exports from Rhodesia rose in 1964 a quarter above the previous year's level. This rise was also due to the return of people who had left Rhodesia in 1963 with the breakup of the Federation.

One tanker carrying crude oil has been turned away from Beira by a British frigate and the refinery at Feruka in Rhodesia has been shut down but supplies of refined oil is coming into Rhodesia from South Africa and Mozambique. South Africa does not distinguish between exports and re-exports. Only 27 percent of the needs of Rhodesia for energy are supplied by oil; the rest is supplied by coal (63 percent) and hydroelectric power (10 percent). Oil is primarily important for the Rhodesian transportation system and "the prospect is that enough will get through if Rhodesia has the cash or credit to buy it."

Rhodesia transferred from £12 to £14 million from the reserve bank in London to banks in Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy before UDI. The Swiss blocked the account of the Rhodesian Reserve Bank in the Swiss National Bank (£200,000) but this move did not affect the money in "confidential accounts." (£3-4 million) South Africa is using the £7 million of Rhodesian government money "as collateral for the hard currency she is lending Rhodesia." Commercial banks in Rhodesia transferred their foreign currencies to S.A. pre-UDI. The government itself has £3.5 million in gold and is buying up more to serve as backing for the Rhodesian pound.

Tobacco will be marketed by one British company through a South African concern and the biggest new customer will be a French magnate Regie Francaise. Fellows also adds that one African Commonwealth nation which has vehemently denounced UDI will also purchase tobacco. Another member of the Commonwealth is exchanging wheat worth £2 million for Rhodesia's sugar crop.

The main effect of sanctions will fall on the small companies due to unemployment and the reduction in purchasing power. Risco has been doing so well that it will take until August to replenish its stockpile.

#### The Rhodesian Independence Crisis casts a long shadow over Africa

The talk of Africans in Africa is about Rhodesia and the possibility of the success of sanctions. Some say that UDI was planned to hurt the economy of Zambia more than that of Rhodesia. "In fact the subject /of Rhodesia/ has frequently come close to being exhausted. But it picks up again with news of a further tightening of sanctions ..."

#### Britain's Aid and Trade unhurt by Rhodesia Crisis

Exports and imports between Africa and the £60 million aid program of Britain will not be greatly affected by the application of sanctions. Trade will probably increase with South Africa. British aid to Rhodesia consists of only £250,000, a grant to the university in Salisbury.

Rhodesia exported six times more than she imported from Zambia resulting in an unfavorable unbalanced trade relation. The two nations have retaliated against each other already; Rhodesia by banning oil shipments to Zambia and demanding that Zambia must pay for goods in non sterling currencies. Zambia has stopped preferential treatment and demanded payments in dollars. Exports from Rhodesia to Zambia amounted to \$86.2 million and those from Zambia to Rhodesia, \$15.1 million.

February 1  
The New York Times

February 1 (Cont.)

Commons in an uproar over Rhodesia

Mr. Wilson's announcement of new sanctions against Rhodesia aroused the wrath of some Conservative MPs on the floor of the House of Commons. Mr. Heath avoided the Prime Minister's challenge to him to propose a motion of censure. Mr. Heath, amid the "angry shouts and cheering", said about the imposition of new sanctions, "Does it not indicate a complete failure of the psychological understanding of the present situation that you should have put forward a so-called peace offer and then followed it up with these minor measures when the major economic measures have already been taken?" Mr. Wilson's response was that all "munitions of rebellion" should be destroyed by sanctions.

Editorial

Wilson's statement to the Lagos conference in January that the rebellion would end "within a matter of weeks, rather than months" does not seem certain. ". . . the same confidence continues to gloss analyse in London." Change in Rhodesia will occur when there is a change by Smith or defiance of him, ". . . neither development seems likely in the near future."

February 2

Congo Halts Trade with Rhodesia

The Congolese Government (Leopoldville) announced the cutting of trade links with Rhodesia, ". . . a move that many believe would cripple the Congo's own shaky economy." The embargo includes all imports, the suspension of landing and overflying rights for craft going to or from Rhodesia and the refusal to honor Rhodesian passports.

Zambia Forms Military Unit at Ndola

A new military unit consisting of two regular battalions and one infantry reserve as well as other light artillery battery units will be, when it is at full strength, the largest formation in Central Africa.

February 3

The New York Times

Rhodesia Asserts Foes Form "Shadow Cabinet"

The Rhodesian Minister of Justice, Desmond Lardner-Burke, described a shadow cabinet of "Quislings" (Mr. Smith's opponents) had been formed, but would be dealt with harshly. Some of these foes are said to be in high places and are ready to take over the country if requested to do so, if Sir Humphrey Gibbs or P.M. Wilson asks them. Mr. Lardner-Burke announced these "nefarious works" in Parliament during the discussion of a motion to extend the state of emergency for three more months. This state of emergency was declared several days after UDI and the Minister of Justice said its renewal was a necessity. He mentioned that British troops in Zambia and in Bechuanaland are a threat. Dr. Ahrn Palley was the only M.P. who said that extension of the emergency would undermine the Parliament by granting dictatorial powers to the regime.

William J. Harper, the Minister of Internal Affairs, said that censorship would continue under emergency regulations in relation to newspaper rights to publish parliamentary proceedings, but not to verbatim reports. British reaction to the Rhodesian admittance of the lack of 100 percent approval of the Smith regime was favorable, although there is no indication that the government had any knowledge of the "shadow cabinet" before the Minister of Justice's announcement.

Rhodesia Said to Obtain Gasoline from South Africa

Despite the boycott of oil two companies are reported to have supplied Rhodesian agents in South Africa with refined oil which is transported in Railway tank cars from Lourenco Marques and Beira. Supplies could last Rhodesia another six months.

Portugal Offers to Help Zambia

The Portuguese government said that it was willing to supply oil to Zambia by airlift from Beira to Lusaka, "without political considerations." A Zambian delegation went to Beira which included nine government officials and four Royal Air Force technicians. This type of aid has been blocked thus far by the insistence that negotiations should occur on a high level. No specific agreement has been reached yet, presumably because Portugal wants to use this time to establish diplomatic relations with Zambia. Both governments deny that Portugal is trying to "blackmail" Zambia into this position inspite of reports to the contrary. The Foreign Minister of Portugal has stated that his government will cooperate with any land locked country in Central Africa if they are not actively hostile to Portugal.

No Road Progressing Lawrence Fellows

The building of a railway from the Copper Belt of Zambia to Dar es Salaam, which was one of President Nyerere's prime goals, has dropped out of discussions as the road from Mikumi, a Tanzanian railhead, to Broken Hill in Zambia is being surveyed and widened to carry oil to Zambia. Tanzania is receiving aid from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United States A.I.D. The plans now seem to include turning the trail into a permanent road.

London on Rhodesia: "Matter of Weeks" Anthony Lewis

The general estimates of the economic experts handling the oil embargo is that it has been successful. They claim that the stories of tankers going to Beira are not validated and while there is a "trickle" of lubricants from South Africa to Rhodesia evidence suggests that the oil supply cannot be stretched beyond the end of April. If the oil supply does diminish, Rhodesian transport system will come to a grinding halt and affect the movement of agricultural and manufactured goods.

Rhodesia has not been importing chemicals, machinery and fertilizers. The final British squeeze on exports from Rhodesia will cut the rebel countries exports to \$168 million as opposed to \$336 million worth last year. Zambia's imports of \$86.8 million from Rhodesia of coal and goods in 1964 has been cut to \$56 million. Foreign exchange currency seems to be running short as importers of goods worth as little as \$2,800 are able to pay only one third of the amount per month. Some suppliers to Rhodesia are still demanding cash which is a strain on the country.

Will all of these factors result in "drifting along in squalor" before too long? Inflation will be rampant as supplies diminish, unemployment will increase and the transportation system will crumble. Food for white Rhodesians in the urban areas will be short ---- yet in spite of all of these changes the alteration of the political system, that is the return to legal government, is problematic.

P.M. Wilson points to the "psychological turning point" when Gov. Gibbs will form a council, in fact there will be a "coup", but this type of move will only be a success if supported by force. This as well as Smith's renunciation of the rebellion seems doubtful --but hope is still held out that economic disaster and the exodus of whites will produce change.

## Editorial Comment

Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 5, 1966

"Rhodesia: sign of a crack"

"Any hope that the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia might have of defeating the British Government's stern efforts to get the white Rhodesian community to accept speedier political progress for black Africans has always depended on no whites coming forward more amenable to British views. . . It is understandable, therefore, that Mr. Smith's Minister of Justice should use such strong language to condemn those more moderate white Rhodesians who reportedly have formed a shadow cabinet in the wings ready to take over from Mr. Smith the moment he finds he might not be able to carry on. . . Given the strict censorship in Rhodesia and the police-state apparatus operating there, the fact that the Minister of Justice admitted the existence of this alternative to the Smith regime is even more significant than the words used to describe them. This is, in fact, the first political crack in a tough if thin facade--and is heartening to the British Government and those everywhere who support its policy in Rhodesia. . . But the real testing time for Britain will come--apparently soon--when efforts are made to secure an orderly transfer from the Smith regime to something better."

Further comments on Mr. Lardner-Burke's accusations

Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 4, 1966 (Robert McHallett)

The Rhodesian Parliament, in the first major meeting since independence, opened on a tone of stern resolve. Minister of Law and Order, D. W. Lardner-Burke said he had information that "certain misguided individuals" had formed "a shadow cabinet." He said that if they continue with "nefarious" works, "the government will have no hesitation in handling them in exactly the same way we have dealt with anybody else who has endeavoured to cause bloodshed in this country." (i.e. restriction or trial for subversion) In the debate on a motion to continue Rhodesia's state of emergency for a further three months, Mr. Lardner-Burke also cited acts of violence and sabotage against European farmers' property which he said had been incited directly by certain African nationalists "who have been given the facilities of Zambia radio."

The Economist - Feb. 5-11, 1966

"Out of the Bag"

Lardner-Burke on Wednesday "had to ask Rhodesia's illegal parliament for an illegal extension of his draconian powers. To strengthen his case, he revealed that certain 'Quislings' some of them 'in high legal places' were conspiring 'to cause bloodshed' by forming a legal government" Lardner-Burke has "provided a reminder that there are some loyal white Rhodesians and he has indicated what he means to do to anybody who tries to start any reasonable talk with the Governor or with the Government. The question can hardly be avoided any longer of what Britain can and should do to enable reasonable talkers to start talking without being promptly and of course illegally seized and gagged by Mr. Lardner-Burke and his policemen."

## Sanctions

New York Times - Feb. 8, 1966

"Rhodesia Target of another Curb"

It is a crime for anyone to export tobacco from the country. Any Rhodesian who deals in tobacco for sale abroad runs the risk of prosecution, with a penalty up to two years and/or an unlimited fine. The main purpose was to discourage buyers abroad from dealing in Rhodesian Tobacco. The 1964 Rhodesian sale of tobacco was \$103,600,000. Estimated purchases since Nov. 11, 1964 have been \$490,000 by the U. S. and \$4,233,600 by South Africa. Officials estimate that 90 % of the normal market has been cut. Britain has in the past bought 1/3 of the Rhodesian tobacco. The present move is made in the season for tobacco auctions in Rhodesia.

"U. S. Expected to Act"

The U. S. is expected to ask American companies not to purchase Rhodesian tobacco. The U.S. holds large reserves of Virginia flue cured tobacco that is the principal tobacco crop in Rhodesia, but the U. S. does purchase a Turkish-type tobacco (about \$500,000) annually from Rhodesia.

"Zambia Sets Price Control"

Nation wide price controls have been imposed by the country which is thought to preclude total break with Rhodesia. Only a few items are in short supply and businessmen are being urged to absorb cost increases that are likely to be temporary.

The Economist - Feb. 8-11, 1966

"Wheels but no Oil" (A Correspondent in Salisbury)

"On balance, what has happened in the last week or two has lifted the morale of Mr. Smith's supporters." The ban on all remaining Anglo-Rhodesian trade had been expected and the "effect is likely to be both small and long delayed." Labour's victory in the Hull North by-election was a worse blow to the Smith regime than direct measures. Fewer workers have been laid off than was expected a few weeks ago. Exceptions occur at the two extremes of the spectrum. Large firms such as Dunlop, BIC, and Ford which are geared to mass production have been hit by Zambian import restrictions as well as shrinkage in the home market and small businesses which have had their credit slashed have folded up; but in the distributive trades the estimate made two months ago that 4,000 white workers would be out of work by the end of February seems too high. It was thought that there would be a wave of unemployment as it came home to employers that no relief was in sight. The vital date would be April 1 when the second four month period of currency allocations for imports is to start. "Now with the unexpected news that allocations for April to July will be 20% above those for the first period there is at least a better chance that the holding action can be kept going for a few months longer." Oil is still the regime's biggest worry. Stocks are probably enough for another ten weeks at present rate of consumption and rationing. The regime's more thoughtful adherents are disturbed by a growing awareness that if sanctions do not work, this does not imply Wilson will give up. There is more talk about what might happen if Britain tries force.

## Sanctions (cont.)

Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 2, 1966

The Congo Government has banned all trade with Rhodesia and the Foreign Ministry said the ban will cut off 87% of the Congo coal and meat.

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Ark Royal Joins in the Petrol Blockade" (from Nairobi)

Britain has stepped up her naval strength in the Indian Ocean--main shipping lane to Beira and supply route to Rhodesia--with the dispatch of the aircraft carrier Ark Royal and four supporting vessels from the Far East. Now cruising off the East African coast, the 43,340 ton carrier is understood to have joined in patrols designed to deter "pirate" oil tankers from trying to deliver fuel to Rhodesia.

"Rhodesia: Car plants can carry on for Six Months." (Salisbury)

A spokesman for Ford's and B.M.C.--two of the firms which could be affected by the latest round of British sanctions--said last night that both plants could run for at least six months at present production levels on the strength of stocks in hand and on the water. Both firms, Ford's at Salisbury and B.M.C. at Umtali employ about 400 workers

A spokesman for the Associated Chambers of Commerce said that the new bans would not surprise local businessmen. They had been expected for some time and in the last few months importers had been making alternative arrangements for routing and in some cases for obtaining their essential supplies from other sources. One industrialist said that local industry was more worried by the threatened loss of the Zambian market than by the weight of the new British sanctions.

"Rhodesia: South Africa Seeks Business--Not Bonds"

The warning from London to South Africa against purchasing independence bonds from Rhodesia seems academic. South Africa's normal foreign exchange regulations would surely frustrate such intentions. A more relevant issue is discussed in the Foreign Bulletin of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa which explains that Rhodesian expulsion from the sterling area did not lead to its automatic attachment to the external area. "Each sterling country is relatively free to continue its dealings with Rhodesia as long as the interests of the sterling area as a whole are not harmed. While South Africa has chosen to maintain business as usual with Rhodesia, it must bar payments through its banking system to the outside world 'from which this country or other members of the sterling area would not benefit' The bulletin points out that the Reserve Bank had no alternative but to withdraw its permission to South African residents to engage in merchanting transaction on behalf of Rhodesian importers. . . Does this mean that South Africans are barred altogether from financing trade between Rhodesia and the outside world? In other words, if South Africa finances business with, say the United States on Rhodesia's behalf, would anybody lose as long as Rhodesia has the United States dollars to pay? The exchange control authorities might permit business on these terms. It is a question the interested businessman might put to his banker."

## Sanctions (cont.)

### Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966 (cont.)

Information from the Star's Africa News Service

Zambia's Vice-president, Mr. R. C. Kamanga, announced that Zambia has uncovered an alternate network of routes for imports of general cargo. Although this may bring the confrontation with Rhodesia nearer, when Zambia cuts off all trade with Rhodesia, the showdown will have to be "slick and quick, for the possibility always exists that this country will have to sit out the climax of the play without Wankie coal or Kariba power--and with 44,000 mine Africans out of work."

### Selwyn Lloyd's trip to Rhodesia

#### Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Tory Visit to Rhodesia - Lloyd will talk and warn Smith" (from the Star's London Correspondent)

"The real purpose of the forthcoming visit to Rhodesia by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, is to find a link for resumed talks between Ian Smith and Britain, according to informed sources here. Mr. Heath's decision to send Mr. Lloyd is new evidence of the Opposition's conviction that Mr. Wilson is not doing enough to try to open up talks with the Rhodesians." There is concern in London that Mr. Lloyd's visit will encourage the Smith regime into thinking that the Conservatives are pro-Smith. Although part of Mr. Lloyd's task will be to disabuse Mr. Smith of this idea, the London Times warned in an editorial "(Smith) and his supporters may feel--or may put it about--that Mr. Lloyd's visit implies that British opinion is moving in their favour."

#### The Observer - Feb. 6, 1966 (Colin Legum, Commonwealth Correspondent)

The Conservative Party's future stand on Rhodesia may be largely determined by the report Selwyn Lloyd brings back from his fact-finding tour of Rhodesia, for he represents the majority of the party's center and is its spokesman on Commonwealth affairs.

#### Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 5, 1966 (William H. Stringer)

The trip of Selwyn Lloyd, Conservative "shadow cabinet" spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, to Rhodesia is viewed in London as having a two-fold purpose. The first is to get some headlines for the Conservatives on an issue on which Prime Minister Wilson has been gaining prestige. The second, and more important, is to see what Ian Smith's position on negotiations presently is. The Conservatives are urging renewed discussions, a middle course, and a return to the 1961 Constitution plus amendments to reassure both Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia. The most recent statement of this was in an article by Mr. Heath in the current issue of Punch.

### Conditions Within Rhodesia

#### The Observer - Feb. 6, 1966 (Colin Legum, Commonwealth Correspondent)

Various sources indicate that unrest in the African tribal areas is increasing and that "it could become a serious problem for any successor Government to Mr. Smith's." Smith's Minister of Law and Order (sic) Mr. Lardner-Burke, in arguing last week for the extension of emergency regulations, abandoned customary denials of

## Conditions Within Rhodesia (cont.)

The Observer - Feb. 6, 1966 (cont.)

disorder and "gave a long catalogue of African attacks on the cattle crops and buildings of white farmers. . . ." The organ of Joshua Mkomo's ZAPU has "for months" reported a growing number of such attacks. Statements and affidavits by Anglican Church workers in Matabeleland describe beatings of Africans and destruction of their property by the Rhodesian police in efforts to track down anti-Smith activists. Since U.D.I. about 2,000 Africans in rural areas have been confined to "restriction camps," "most are held indefinitely." Mr. J. Mdhlovu of ZAPU has come to London to urge the British to deal with ZAPU as well as with the Rhodesian whites concerning Rhodesia's future.

New York Times - Feb. 9, 1966

"Rhodesia widens censorship curbs"

The de facto government has assumed sweeping new powers of censorship, giving power to the censor to alter articles as they desired. It is an offense to state or imply that censorship is made. All white spaces must be filled. The Central African Examiner a liberal monthly magazine, earlier challenged the censorship but the case was dismissed without the legality of the new constitution coming to the test. An appeal is to be made. Mr. van der Byl, deputy minister of Information, was asked in Parliament for assurance that censorship would not be used to cover the mistakes of the Government. He said constructive criticism will be acceptable, but not destructive criticism, which casts doubts on the validity of the present government.

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Rhodesian stamps in big demand" (Salisbury)

The demand for overprint of the Rhodesian standard issue of stamps bearing the words "Independence, November 11, 1965" has been so great that five times the number could have been sold, says the Postmaster-General, C. R. Dickenson. The British postal authorities declare the 2s. 6d. commemorative stamps to be invalid and receivers of letters bearing the stamp have had to pay a surcharge.

### South African Reactions

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Plea for Union with Rhodesia"

The Transvaal Provincial Council was told this week that Rhodesia could be "included" in South Africa without British parliamentary approval. Mr. Harry Schwarz, leader of the United Party in the Council, said provision for this was contained in the Act of Union, passed by the British Parliament in 1909. The relevant section had been retained in the Constitution when South Africa became a Republic in 1961 and was still law. Mr. Schwarz added that the Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd had said in Parliament in 1961 that this section of the Act was being retained in the Republic's Constitution because it affected a matter that "we cannot deal with unilaterally today. There are other interested parties and these portions of the Act must be retained until discussions can take place at opportune times with those who also have an interest in this matter." The subject arose when Mr. Schwarz was proposing an amendment which urged that the Province approve donations by local authorities to Rhodesia for its independence struggle. Mr. Schwarz' amendment was defeated in a division by 33 votes to 10.

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Support For Rhodesia - in Soweto"

Reports that some Johannesburg Africans are buying 'petrol for Rhodesia stamps' have surprised Soweto. Most residents claim that only African cronks could support Mr. Ian Smith in his bid to defy the British Government. It is claimed Africans, Indians and Coloureds who want Rhodesia to survive British oil sanctions are buying the stamps at a garage in Melville.

"Danger to South Africa if Smith falls"

"There was a grave danger that if the Smith Government fell in Rhodesia, the Afro-Asian nations would be encouraged to widen the use of boycotts, the Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, Sen. H.F.B. Oelrich, said this week. Sen. Oelrich, introducing a motion censuring the Government, said the first to be affected by extended boycotts would be South Africa. The Opposition believed the Government had missed a golden opportunity in not giving full support to the Rhodesian Government and in clearly declaring its support for White leadership." The Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, accused the Opposition of an "opportunistic reckless attitude" and said that in the past the White man in Rhodesia had meant nothing to the Opposition.

"Gambling with our Safety" (From the Afrikaans Press)

"The United Party has distinguished itself in masterful fashion by the way in which it has shown its readiness to gamble recklessly with South Africa's safety by demanding that the Republic should involve itself in the Rhodesian question. This would make it (South Africa) the prey of the Afro-Asians." - Vaderland leader.

"To make South Africa a full participant in the Rhodesian crisis is to play right into the hands of Rhodesia's and South Africa's worst enemies. Practical friendship towards Rhodesia is best practised by a South Africa which remains as free as possible from the kind of action to which Rhodesia is subjected. It is not difficult to foresee what reception a South African attempt to move the Rhodesian Government to accept a measure of subservience to Britain would have in our neighbour country. Burger leader.

British Reactions

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 5, 1966

"Use Force Says Canon Collins"

Canon John Collins, chairman of Christian Action Committee, which launched a campaign on the Rhodesian issue in London this week said that more stringent measures should be employed to bring down the present Rhodesian regime if sanctions fail. He defined more stringent measures as "such measure of force as is necessary to reach the object. . . The mistake in the past is that force should be Britain's responsibility. The world does not want a return to British imperialism. We want Britain to offer to the United Nations such forces as it has available to end the Smith regime."

Ecumenical Press Service, World Council of Churches, January 6, 1966

Missions say Smith regime cuts African Teacher-Training Programme

The Smith government has given orders to missions in Rhodesia to reduce by 25% their intake of Africans into teacher training colleges. "Over 90% of African education in Rhodesia is managed by British and North American missions which are being frustrated in every move they make in the field of higher education. "

The Smith government has also ordered that Africans enter the new multiracial Bulawayo Training College at the end of their primary course rather than at the end of their secondary course as Europeans do. This decision destroys the plan of the mission-sponsored school to offer equality in teacher training.

Note: Continued coverage of the London Times absent from this issue will continue in the next issue of the news summary.