Flots continued in Bulawayo and an African was shot and killed while participating in an attempt to stop buses and their escort by stoning. Another African was shot in a township on the edge of Que Que when police fired into a crowd that was stoning their patrol. Black and white policemen using tear gas, dogs, and armed with shot guns were involved in containing the demonstrations. The police are still under order to use minimum force however to maintain order. Excesses of violence are attempting to be avoided as these would severely complicate Smith's position. He is attempting to give an impression of order and control throughout the country.

A general strike in Bulawayo has been attempted and a weaving mill and two bakeries were closed. However, unemployment among the Africans has made a strike difficult to pull off effectively.

Judith Todd, 22 year old daughter of Reginald Garfield Todd, arrived in Salisbury today. She has spoken on behalf of her father in New York and London as Mr. Todd, former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, is presently restricted to his ranch by the Smith regime. Miss Todd is said to have returned to dramatize the need for Britain to take effective action. She feels the only way to remove Smith is to bring in troops.

Rhodesia's Declaration of Independence has clarified the Labor Party's dilemma in Britain. Labor's position is as insecure that to act effectively regarding Rhodesia may mean loss of power at home. Prime Minister Wilson's action following UDI was praised by his own party and the opposition. Wilson remained amazingly non-partisan in the crisis and emerged, according to some observers, as a real national leader for the first time.

But, can he maintain this stance and be effective? Before the oil embargo was passed in the U.N. Security Council, the Economist was predicting that such an embargo would force Mr. Heath to break with Wilson. As they put it "the sanctions now proposed by the Government are the minimum that Mr. Wilson could hope to sell to world opinion and his own back-benchers, and are about the maximum that Mr. Heath could persuade the bulk of the Tories to accept."

The symbolic leader of the Conservative forces is Lord Salisbury. The capital of Rhodesia was read after his grandfather. More significant politically are the Tory members of the House of Commons who my number 100 out of 303 Commons Conservatives. This Right wing is opposed to sanctions of any kind. This places Mr. Heath in a real dilemma in his own party because his Left is demanding full support for all effective sanctions. Heath is somewhere in the middle, supporting "non-punitive sanctions".

A Tory consensus might sound like this however; sooner or later Smith is going to have to be dealt with. Smith will stay in power and strong sanctions will merely stiffen the whites to support him. The solution is to apply just
enough pressure to "make Smith more sensible".

Labour, on the other hand, has hoped to be able to remove Smith from office and place a more liberal administration in power which would make some concessions to the Africans. Sanctions are believed to be able to turn the majority of Whites against Smith.

As reactions to the U.N. oil embargo came in, both positions were clarified. The expected split came as the Tories warned Wilson not to adopt excessively harsh measures against Rhodesia and attacked the Labor Government for supporting the U.N. call to break economic relations with Rhodesia. Although not stated explicitly, the oil issue was the real concern. The Tories undoubtedly felt they had to take this stand in order to keep their right wing in line. But, the only happy response to this action came from Ian Smith.

Wilson's own position has been weakened because of an attempt to attain bi-partisan support. His position is hardly acceptable any more either. He has made it quite clear that he will not undertake the oil embargo unless other countries also participate. Thus the question is left open as to who initiates the embargo. The U.N. cannot because its resolution asks for, rather than imposes, such an embargo. Further Wilson has emphasized Britain's willingness to negotiate with Rhodesians "without any recrimination or anger about the past". Wilson has never been in favor of one-man one-vote, or of UDI. He had hoped to move the situation back to an acceptance of the 1961 constitution, with modifications to win the Africans. Yet his willingness to negotiate makes his stand sound very much like the " Tory consensus". The only ones who gain from such a stance are the revolting whites in Salisbury.

Sources: The New York Times
The Economist, Nov. 20-26th
The Observer, London, Nov. 21st

November 24:

The ban on Rhodesian tobacco is causing some concern in Salisbury. Minister of Agriculture, Lord Graham, warned the 3,000 tobacco growers not to do late planting and not to put too much stock in secret arrangements to sell tobacco in spite of the ban. He called on planters to put unplanted fields into other crops to reduce the goal from 280 million pounds to 200 million pounds.

This year's crop is already in Britain or on the way and most of next year's crop has been planted. Many farmers are relying on the Government to buy the surplus tobacco if the crisis isn't over and the ban lifted in time. Smith could not do this, however, without causing serious internal inflation. (The whole crop sold for 140 million this year, which is equal to about 13½ of the national income.)

One problem is that there are not obvious alternative crops to plant. Wheat and maize could each be planted in some areas only with expensive irrigation and other difficulties. In a normal year, the tobacco trade is largely financed by credit - i.e. the proceeds are spent before the tobacco is sold. This is true of 3/4ths of the trade. Such credit will be increasingly difficult to obtain.

The situation in Britain is not in favor of the Rhodesian farmer either. Britain has stock piles of tobacco to last for a year. It will be quite an easy matter for North American supplies to replace Rhodesian supplies. Higher prices would have to be paid because of the absence of Commonwealth preference, but the effect in retail prices would be minimal.
This means that perhaps in nine months at the end of the tobacco year, real protest will be heard from the tobacco farmers. But, by then it could be months too late to move Smith even a little.

170 Africans have been rounded up by police and 96 of them charged in cases of stone throwing and intimidation. The police seemed to have blocked the general strike called in Bulawayo.

November 25:

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has topped all military leave and announced plans for mobilization of Ghana’s armed forces because of the Rhodesian situation. Nkrumah believes that Smith’s government could be destroyed by an uprising organized by other African states.

Portugal has refused to participate in the international economic blockade of Rhodesia. The rationale for this position is that the “interests, stability, and progress” of the entire region of central Africa are at stake. Thus ports and railroads in Angola and Mozambique will be open to Rhodesian trade.

The Rhodesian parliament met for the first time since November 11, fulfilling a requirement called for when a state of emergency was declared Nov. 5. The session was chaotic according to reports from Salisbury. Chad Cipunza of the African opposition asked the Speaker, A. R. W. Stambles, whether the Parliament was properly constituted. Then Dr. Ahn Palley, a white independent rose and called for suspension of the sitting of Parliament. He called on the Speaker to give a ruling regarding the British order in council which called Smith’s regime illegal and stated that Parliament had no right to sit.

After much confusion, William Harper, Minister of the Interior, moved that Dr. Palley be suspended. The motion carried by a vote of 50 to 15. (Africans are restricted to vote for 15 M.P.’s, on the B roll. The restrictions are economic, but amount to racial distinctions.) Dr. Palley was removed under protest by the sergeant-at-arms. Josiah Gondo, leader of the opposition United Peoples’ party and eight other Africans including Chipunza, left in protest. They went to Government House and signed the register, “demonstrating their loyalty to Gibbs, and to Britain.

While there has been some displeasure with the extensive press censorship, the single white voice of opposition is somewhat indicative of White reaction to UDI, officially the “assumption of democratic rights.” White liberals are depressed, feeling that Britain is doing too little too late. The white population is generally not worried. There has been a run on European clothes, liquor, etc., but The Observer’s correspondent describes the mood optimistically: “The vague and unrealistic threats of economic pressure are simply seen as an excuse for a prematurely extravagant Christmas shopping spree.” The frightening fact is that the whites do have such unwavering faith in Smith. He will be able, most likely, to get away with whatever changes in the Constitution and law he deems necessary, just as he has gotten away with increased invasions of civil rights and the development towards a police state, experienced for example in phone-tapping, and his propaganda and censorship machines.

One location of opposition is the judges, who seem to be ready to refuse to acknowledge or work under the Smith Government. The probable plan will be for Mr. Driger to dismiss the present bench to appoint new judges. If the present judges refuse to be removed, the Government could easily set up a parallel bench, and the feeling is that they would be supported by most whites.

Among the Africans, however, the story is much different. The United Peoples Party expressed itself in the walk out. However, it cannot be seen as the real source of leadership for the African opposition. The major African Nationalist groups whose leaders are held in detention camps, have refused to participate in or recognize in any way the Rhodesian Parliament. Thus only 1,443 Africans voted on the B roll and Gondo himself was elected with only 124 votes. There are 4 African Africans in Rhodesia and they outnumber the whites by a ratio of 17 to 1.

Bulawayo has been the center of most of the African protest. So far this year there have been 393 cases of bombings, stonings, assaults and intimidation there. In the rest of the country 87 such incidents have been reported. In Bulawayo the police now seem to be in firm control. In attempted strikes only 10 of the 500 factories there were much affected. Much of the stoning of buses has been led by the unemployed. There is such a job shortage that it is very difficult to make a strike work. British support forstrikes has not been enough to be significant.
The guarantee of pensions rights is meaningless as the Africans receive no pensions.

The real centers of African nationalist leadership are the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), and the Zimbabwe African National Union, (ZANU). Joshua Nkomo, leader of ZAPU, has been banished, along with 241 of his supporters, to Gonkudzingwa. The Rev. Ndalaningi Sithole broke with Nkomo in 1963 and formed ZANU. He is presently being held, along with a number of his followers, at Sikumbela. The existence of two Nationalist groups, coupled with the banishment of both groups' leadership, has made African ability to oppose Smith quite ineffective.

Roy Perrott of London's Observer sums up the situation in Rhodesia quite well: "It is not yet the Third Reich here. Yet every day something happens strongly reminiscent in its general creepiness—the bonfires of overseas newspapers cut at the airport; the sudden disappearance and detention of an African trade union leader who was simply doing his job; the uneasiness you sense in a white liberal who expects to be picked up and taken away for no good reason. Quietly the Police State virus spreads."

Sources: New York Times, Nov. 26
          New York Times Magazine, Nov. 21
          The Observer, Nov. 21
          The Economist, Nov. 20-26.