

TOURISM TO RHODESIA: Breaking Sanctions

On December 16, 1966, the United Nations Security Council took the unprecedented step of imposing mandatory economic sanctions against Ian Smith's white minority government in Rhodesia. President Lyndon B. Johnson then issued executive orders implementing this decision (see ITEM I).

Yet on August 20, 1974, columnist Jack Anderson revealed that hundreds of travel agencies in the United States have for years been violating federal regulations on sanctions by arranging tourism to Rhodesia. Mr. Anderson's revelations were based on thousands of pages of documentation obtained by the Rev. Donald Morton of the United Church of Christ Center for Social Action.

This brief summarizes the story behind the documents. Also included are lists of major U.S. travel agencies continu-

ing to encourage tourism to Rhodesia and action suggestions to stop these practices (see ITEM II). The brief was written by Paul Irish of the ICCR staff and based on a paper by Janet Hooper, an editor of *Southern Africa* magazine.

Background

Rhodesia is a land-locked country in southern Africa about the size of the state of Montana (see map below). It is controlled by a small white minority. Since the present regime's illegal break from Great Britain in 1965 Rhodesia is the only country in the world that is not recognized as a state by any other nation.

Rhodesia is in a state of war. In December 1972 African liberation movements launched renewed attacks

against the regime. Casualties resulting from armed conflict in the northeastern section are now reported weekly.

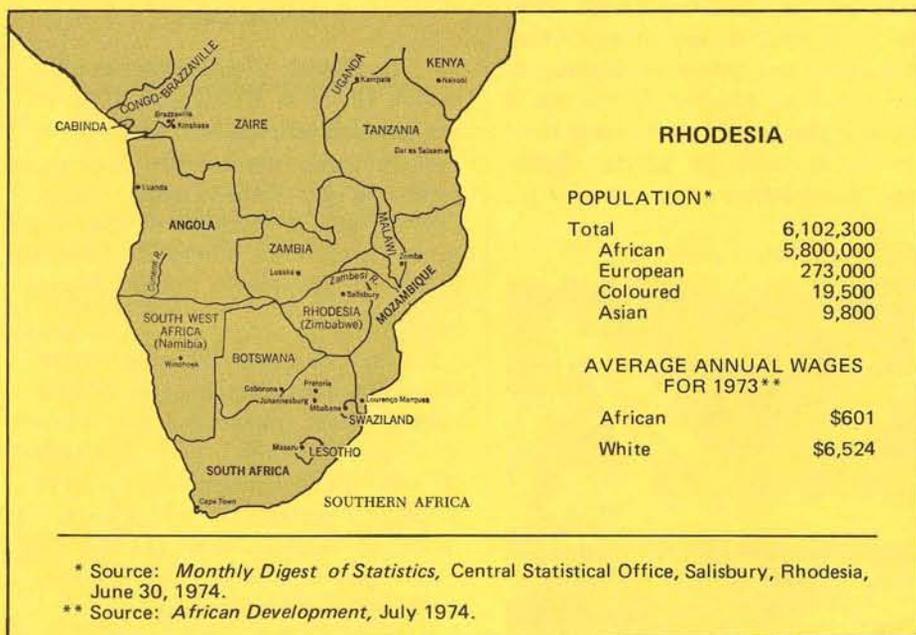
Rhodesia's military budget jumped 22 percent in 1973 and another 40 percent in 1974.¹ The military conscription age was recently extended to the age of 38, reflecting the whites' "state of siege" mentality.²

South Africa and Portugal have been Rhodesia's major allies in subverting sanctions. In particular, goods have freely flowed to and from Rhodesia through ports and railways in Portuguese Mozambique. Since the April military coup in Portugal, however, and the recent agreement providing a transition of government by June 1975 to the Mozambique liberation movement, Frelimo, the survival of the Rhodesian regime becomes ever more precarious.

Compounding the white government's problems is a mounting exodus of persons from the country, particularly young white men. The regime has launched an extensive "Settlers '74" campaign to attract new white immigrants.

Yet instead of the expected increase, a net loss of 20 white persons was officially recorded for the period from July 1973 through April 1974.³ This figure would be even higher if the government permitted emigrants to leave with their monies and possessions and if figures accurately reflected the numerous whites who leave "on vacation" but never return.

The Smith regime's retaliation against the mounting African unrest has been ferocious. Hundreds of Africans



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have been imprisoned without charges or trial. Thousands of African villagers have been forcibly uprooted and placed in "relocation camps." Laws meting out severe punishment for persons suspected of exposing the government to "ridicule or contempt" have been adopted. Courageous church leaders have distributed dossiers describing brutal torture and massacres of Africans by Rhodesian security forces.

Sanctions

Contrary to widespread belief, sanctions have hurt the white government and their detrimental effects are increasing. Referring to sanctions, Allwyn Calder of the Rhodesia Chamber of Commerce recently complained of the "inability under the present conditions of the economy to expand. . ."⁴ Growth in the gross domestic product has slowed considerably over the years, from 12 percent in 1969 to 6.5 percent in 1973.⁵ New capital and markets are increasingly difficult to find.

The importance of sanctions to African freedom was clearly stated by Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, head of the African National Council in Rhodesia:

The Africans accept sanctions as a price for their freedom and declare as our enemy any person who claims on our behalf that sanctions should be withdrawn to alleviate African suffering through lack of employment. The African National Council calls upon . . . all states which support the cause of human freedom to intensify sanctions.⁶

Tourism

Tourism represents the second largest source of sorely needed foreign exchange for the regime. Tourism has declined somewhat in recent years, reflecting the economic pattern. But with renewed fighting the number of visitors dropped dramatically, from 405,485 in 1972 to 288,105 in 1973,⁷ a decline of 29 percent.

Based on statistics from surrounding areas, U.S. tourists represent at least 20 percent of these visitors. Air Rhodesia computer printouts for March 1974 showed 16,406 persons booked by U.S. travel agents and airlines on flights connecting with Air Rhodesia for the rest of the year. The figure includes only those reservations made on charter flights. Using a conservative estimate of per

capita expenditure, such an influx nets Rhodesia at least \$16.3 million per year in foreign exchange. Tourism also generates local business and service industries.

Perhaps most important, tourism generates political good will. The government sponsors a program called "Meet the Rhodesians" for incoming businessmen where important white Rhodesians introduce visitors to Rhodesian business and political figures.

C. G. Tracey of the Rhodesian Promotion Council recently returned from an extensive tour in the United States. He explained the purpose of such programs was "to bring Congressmen and Senators to Rhodesia to help them reach a decision which would allow America to continue to have access to Rhodesian products."⁸ A number of influential Americans who helped Rhodesia evade sanctions received free travel and accommodations.

Rhodesian Presence in the United States

In addition to the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington, D.C., the Air Rhodesia office in New York City has been a major arm of the Rhodesian regime in the United States. Renten Cowley, general manager of the New York Air Rhodesia office, also acted in behalf of Rhodesia's United Touring Company.

The office operated under the guise of being a non-commercial tourist information office. Despite U.S. government investigations in 1965, 1968, and 1971, Mr. Cowley maintained a license from the Treasury Department to receive and send monies to Rhodesia under the "humanitarian" provisions of the federal government regulations on sanctions.

In fact, the Air Rhodesia office facilitated numerous commercial transactions between the United States and Rhodesia in violation of the law. For example, Mr. Cowley helped arrange the importation of trophies from hunting trips in Rhodesia, and he served on the Africa Trophies Committee of the American



One of three Boeing 720's sold to the Rhodesian regime in 1973.

Society of Travel Agents. He assisted with the export of Hertz Rent-A-Car uniforms to Rhodesia and facilitated the purchase of technical U.S. military manuals along with engineering and other equipment for the regime.

Perhaps most significant, Mr. Cowley was instrumental in arranging travel in the United States for his Rhodesian superior, Mervyn Eyett. Mr. Eyett met with executives of McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, and United Airlines to arrange the purchase of three Boeing 720's for Air Rhodesia (see photo on p. 3B).

Mr. Cowley similarly helped to arrange the sale of a DC-8 to the Rhodesian regime. Prior to becoming a vice president of United Aircraft, Clark MacGregor traveled to Rhodesia in November 1972 and discussed aviation needs with Ian Smith. Mr. MacGregor was then head of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Shortly thereafter the Rhodesians purchased the DC-8, which is presently being used to export Rhodesian beef. United Airlines trained the pilots for both the DC-8 and the Boeing 720's in Denver, Colorado.

Action by the United Church of Christ

Thousands of pages of documents on these transactions were obtained by the United Church of Christ Center for Social Action from a conscientious former employee within the Air Rhodesia office.

On April 10, 1974, the Rev. Donald Morton became the first representative of a nongovernmental organization to present testimony to the U.N. Security Council Sanctions Committee. Mr. Morton documented the fact that airlines in 22 countries maintained "interline agreements" with Air Rhodesia in violation of sanctions. Eighteen of the 22 have since taken action to halt these agreements.

Mr. Morton also presented evidence on May 17, 1974, to Federal Aviation Administration legal investigators in Washington, D.C., indicating that 21 airlines in the United States held similar agreements with Air Rhodesia. All the airlines involved subsequently received directives from the FAA to cancel the agreements.

As a result of these actions and

I T E M I

U.S. Laws and Rhodesian Sanctions

The foundation for U.S. laws relating to Rhodesian sanctions consists of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). Prior to mandatory sanctions, the United States ended Rhodesia's sugar quota, instituted an arms embargo, and withdrew its Consul General from Salisbury.

U.N. Res. 232 deemed the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority government a "threat to international peace and security." It called on U.N. member states to impose selective economic sanctions under Article 41 of the U.N. Charter. Presidential executive order 11322 (1967) essentially reiterated the U.N. resolution and assigned enforcement responsibilities to various U.S. federal departments.

U.N. Res. 253 further tightened and expanded sanctions, calling for an end to all trade with Rhodesia. Executive Order 11419 (1968) implemented the second U.N. resolution banning all imports from and exports to Rhodesia, except for humanitarian purposes.

All violations under the executive orders are subject to fines up to \$10,000 and/or prison terms up to ten years.

The executive orders are further spelled out in regulations issued by the enforcing departments. Regulations of the Department of Transportation's Federal Aviation Administration govern many aspects of tourism.

Special FAA Regulation 21 provides in section 2 that:

(c) No U.S. air carrier may operate any aircraft . . .

(1) To or from Southern Rhodesia; or

(2) In coordination with any airline company constituted, or aircraft registered, in Southern Rhodesia, whether by connecting flight, interline agreement, block booking, ticketing, or any other method of linking up.

(d) The prohibitions in this section apply to the owner, lessee, operator, or charterer of the aircraft, and any other officer, employee, or agent of any of them who participates in the prohibited carriage or operation.

(e) Any carriage or operation the purpose or effect of which is to evade any prohibition of this section is also prohibited.

The Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control is assigned to monitor any transfer of funds to Rhodesia. The office handles this through a licensing procedure to permit only legal transactions.

publicity about the Air Rhodesia office activities in the London *Times*, the Treasury Department finally suspended Renten Cowley's license on May 25, 1974, closing down the New York office. Yet in a recent letter to U.S. travel agents, Mr. Cowley stated he will continue to assist them in arranging Air Rhodesia's services by direct mail from Rhodesia.

Despite regulatory actions there remain ways in which travel agencies can arrange tourism from the United States to Rhodesia (e.g., via South Africa). The Treasury Department continues to issue licenses to travel agencies on behalf of tourists to expend monies within Rhodesia, as well as to transfer monies to ground tour companies in Rhodesia such as United Touring.

It is significant to note that the major U.S. travel agencies that arranged tours to Rhodesia in the past have all refused to state categorically that they would *not* arrange such travel in the future (see ITEM II).

It appears that only concerted action by concerned individuals and groups can insure that the white minority regime in Rhodesia does not continue to receive the benefits of American money to support its racial oppression.

Footnotes

1. *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, Central Statistical Office, Salisbury, Rhodesia, July 1974.
2. *Pretoria News*, April 4, 1974.
3. *Africa Confidential*, July 12, 1974.
4. *Rhodesian Herald*, May 4, 1973.
5. *Economic Survey for Rhodesia*, Salisbury, April 1974.
6. Speech before United Nations Security Council, January 1972.
7. United Nations Document S/1178, January 3, 1974.
8. *Rhodesian Herald*, September 7, 1974.

ITEM II

Action Suggestions

On August 1, 1974, the United Church of Christ Center for Social Action sent letters to over 1,100 travel agencies in the United States noting their involvement in arranging tourism to Rhodesia as indicated on Air Rhodesia flight computer printouts obtained by the center. More than 300 agencies replied to the letter. The majority thanked the center for bringing the law to their attention and promised to discontinue this practice in the future. Yet many of the largest agencies either did not respond or refused to discontinue the practice.

Ronald Harris, president of Travelworld in Los Angeles, wrote Mr. Morton:

You have caused a great deal of unnecessary turmoil [sic] and as a result of your actions I feel that not only we, a major operator, but also my competitors will strengthen their endeavors to that country [Rhodesia].

What to do:

The following is a partial list of travel agencies arranging tourism to Rhodesia. Many of these agencies operate in numerous cities around the country. For complete information on travel agencies in your area sending tours to Rhodesia and on responses to the Center for Social Action's letter, contact ICCR or the Rev. Donald Morton. Then write or phone the agency explaining your concern. Request a meeting. Urge your legislators, church representatives, and/or other travel agencies in the area to support "no tourism" to Rhodesia. Publicize your actions.

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"Ask Mr. Foster" Travel Service 31 Public Square Cleveland, Ohio 44113	Merriman & Finnerty Associates Travel 15 E. 48th St. New York, N.Y. 10017
"Ask Mr. Foster" Travel Service 1627 K St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006	Percival Tours, Inc. 5820 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles, Calif. 90036
Diners Fugazy Executive Travel Box 117A Detroit, Mich. 48232	Red Carpet Wares Travel and Tours 1051 E. Atlantic Ave. Delray Beach, Fla. 32074
Exprinter Tours 500 5th Ave. New York, N.Y. 10036	TRAVCOA 111 N. Wabash Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60602
Hemphill Travel Service 1201 W. 4th St. Los Angeles, Calif. 90017	Travelworld 6922 Hollywood Blvd. Los Angeles, Calif. 90028
Linblad Travel Service 133 E. 55th St. New York, N.Y. 10022	Unitours, Inc. 60 E. 42nd St. New York, N.Y. 10017
Maupintour Travel Service Box 13205 Commerce Tower 1905 Kansas City, Mo. 64199	World Travel Service, Inc. 624 W. Mitchell St. Milwaukee, Wis. 53204