

EDITORIALS, COMMENTS AND LETTERS

The New York Times - Feb. 18, 1966

"Editorial"

"This refusal /of the Rhodesia Herald, Chronicle and Sunday Mail/ to knuckle under to expanding controls is in line with the high standards in neighboring South Africa shown by The Johannesburg Star and other papers belonging to the same ownership group (Argus), as well as by Laurence Gandar's Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg. . . . Their courageous voices may not survive the next phase of political development in Rhodesia and South Africa, but they will have earned the admiration of free journalists and the gratitude of free men."

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 17, 1966

"Editorial"

Advocates of negotiations with Mr. Smith ignore the fact that Smith himself would be unwilling to talk and he has attacked Mr. Wilson bitterly. But "sooner or later commerce in Rhodesia will cease to be a worthwhile job;" and at that point negotiations may become possible.

"Rhodesia: what of the Africans?" (Dr. Skelton, the Anglican Bishop of Matabeleland)

Admittedly what the visitor sees of the Africans looks like apathy; and without question they are patient. They have been ruled for 70 years by the whites, and any improvement in their lot has depended on their continued submission. It is hard for the Africans to understand the present situation; it looks "like a sort of game played by the whites. But in spite of this, "there is a far keener and more mature political concern among Africans than among a comparable cross-section of Europeans. The political leadership is in exile or behind bars; no known political leader can show himself. "Moreover, the police are extremely efficient, and due to their measures there has developed "a complete mistrust of the police which augurs ill for the future." In sum, the African has suffered a great deal.

Yet "so much of the talk of 'negotiations' seems to suggest some sort of rapprochement with the present white regime -- and little else. Indeed, some would have the present constitution, which permits such evils as those perpetrated by the regime, made the basis for settlement. White Rhodesian bitterness towards Mr. Wilson must be acknowledged, "but account must be taken of African bitterness too. There is little sign of a determined effort to deal sympathetically with what is likely to be an even greater obstacle to the future peace and happiness of all races in Rhodesia."

The Economist - Feb. 19-25, 1966

"Under Selwyn's nose"

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd during his eight days in rebel Rhodesia made few public statements and no public meetings. He had three sessions with Mr. Smith and three with Governor Gibbs. "For the rest, Mr. Lloyd trod the well worn fact-finding path through industry, commerce, agriculture, and 'all shades of Rhodesian opinion.' It is safe to assume that he came away as bewildered as any of his predecessors. Mr. Smith did not allow him to see the detained Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole or their lieutenants 'for security reasons' though it was not made clear whose security was at stake. . . . Mr Lloyd did not see the African chiefs either, but he did see a few African nationalists who had not suffered detention,

The Economist - Feb. 19-25, 1966 (Cont.)

African trade unionists, and Mr. Gondo and his colleagues in the official opposition."

"Mr. Smith is still in a position of considerable strength, whatever may be his position in the months to come when the full effects of sanctions are felt. The state of the oil reserves is being kept secret, but the ration is being maintained without difficulty . . . The big stuff /oil supplies/ is coming from the south in regular tankers with company names painted out, and it is evident that, even if indirectly, the big oil companies are involved. . . . There is no evidence of a change in Dr. Vorwoord's official policy of neutrality in the Rhodesian conflict; but if South African exporters can cash in on the Zambian markets lost by Rhodesian businessmen -- as they are doing on a large scale -- the oil companies in South Africa may see no reason why their products should not be sold to Rhodesia. . . . The whole South African attitude to the Rhodesian situation has been that sanctions and embargoes will not work. If, however, it turns out that they do work, can Dr. Vorwoord, in the long run, allow Mr. Smith to go under, and thus lose his own cordon sanitaire against Black Africa?"

New Statesman - Feb. 18, 1966

from

"A Rhodesian Plan" (Letter to the Editor, /Roland Langdon-Davies, DR)

"It is highly probable that if, after UDI, a couple of British battalions had been dropped on Rhodesia there would have been no rebellion. If there had been, it would have collapsed without any loss of life. But now the alternatives are long-term suffering . . . or military intervention with rather more loss of life than would have been the case formerly. Even so, the latter course seems the more merciful and humane. He suggests a "voluntary Commonwealth force, mainly European, . . . followed at once by an interim government, frankly arbitrary, of whites and blacks (say, Todd, possibly Whitehead, Nkomo, Sithole, Shamuyarira, Gitepo, and others), directed from this country /England/." He thinks that a 12 year program costing 150 million per year (from Commonwealth sources backed by the UN), of economic, social and educational development would precede an African majority government. "In the strict sense of the word it would not be a 'multi-racial' government, but an African one, with due regard paid to the rights of the European minority."

/The author was a former missionary-educator in Rhodesia for 14 years/

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966

"South Africa's tottering neutrality"

Sir de Villiers Graaff's stand for strong South African support for Rhodesia is probably the general public sentiment as well. There is probably both Government and public belief that "South Africa and Rhodesia stand or fall together," but the former is unwilling to commit itself for fear of worsening relations with Britain and a renewal of the debate on sanctions against S.A..

"It is, however, Government policy that is now in some danger of getting out of hand." There is the belief that the campaigns to aid Rhodesia are "only the top of the iceberg of South African aid that could indeed make the difference between Mr. Smith's success and failure." The Government will have to make some decisions about "the question . . . /of/ at what point 'normal trade' becomes abnormal aid, and whether official neutrality is in fact a sufficient cover for an unofficial intervention that might be decisive in the dispute."

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966 (Cont.)

"South Africa will not, in the last resort, stand by and see Rhodesia crushed, whatever the dangers of intervention. If this is made clear to the British Government (in private), the prospects for renewed and realistic negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia must be improved."

"Simultaneously, Rhodesia should be warned of the dangers both countries will face if the present struggle is prolonged. If ever there was a passionate peacemaker, it should be South Africa now."

"South Africans generosity is appreciated" (Letter from Roy L. Anderson)

"This . . . is to say to all South Africans how much we in Rhodesia appreciate the sympathy and warmth shown by our neighbors and to assure them all that sanctions will never work in Rhodesia as long as our country is controlled by moderates, and we have their help and sympathy."

"U.D.I. was not forced on Rhodesia" (Letter from "Charity Begins at Home")

"For no reason at all, South Africans have gone hysterical over the plight of our poor rich Rhodesian neighbors."

"Funds are being collected for them when we have poverty and malnutrition on our own very doorstep. Thousands of African children are fed on a chunk of mealie pap every day."

"After all, U.D.I. is their own brain-child."

SANCTIONS

OIL

The New York Times - Feb. 17, 1966 (Joseph Lelyveld)

"Heavy Oil Flow enters Rhodesia"

The Rand Daily Mail reported that 35,000 gallons of oil were going into Rhodesia per day in a "regular shuttle agreement" from South Africa, carried mostly at night. The paper also said that equal quantities of fuel were coming from Mozambique as well, which is loaded on 8 tank-trucks able to hold 5,000 gallons each. The trucks come to Beitbridge. The Mail published a photograph of one of the trucks. It had Rhodesian license plates but its markings had been painted over. Investigation revealed that it was a British Petroleum (BP) truck, a company in which Britain holds 56 percent of the shares.

It is obvious that this amount of oil could not be provided by the private fund raisers, and their first shipment amounted to only 17,500 gallons. Some people thought that the heavy shipments were only a special order, but it seems that this amount has flowed into Rhodesia for a week or so. "It appears certain that the shipments could not have taken place without the knowledge of the South African Government, which up to now has been following a line of "noninterference""

" . . . There are a dozen rumors for every fact" about the source of this oil. The trucks get the supplies from depots nearer a line coming from Lourenco Marques than from one coming to Johannesburg. The depots are in the northern Transvaal. In Lourenco Marques there is a French-owned refinery from which the oil may have been purchased and imported into S.A. only for re-exportation to Rhodesia. Or it could be coming from companies in S.A. although this would require a vast overhauling of their supply and distribution systems, while the companies deny that they are selling to Rhodesians. The oil could also come into S.A. ports.

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 17, 1966

Sanctions (Cont.)

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 17, 1966

Cheering crowds filled the streets of Salisbury to greet the second shipment of gift petrol from S.A.. Mr. Smith told a group of visiting US journalists that the situation was improving: "If plans we have made are fulfilled, we will lick the embargo."

The Times, London - Feb. 17, 1966

"London Denies Big Oil Influx"

The Foreign Office and Commonwealth Relations Office continue to deny that the supplies of petrol to Rhodesia were in fact destroying the effectiveness of the oil embargo. The F.O. estimates that 8,000 gallons are entering Rhodesia per day, as opposed to the Rand Daily Mail's estimate of 35,000. If the latter is correct than the rebel colony would be getting 2 million gallons per month which coincides with Mr. Smith's rationing plans for from 2 to 2.5 million gallons per month. Die Vaterland reported that three British officials are at Beitbridge to observe the tankers and lorries carrying oil to Beitbridge where it is transferred into Rhodesian tankers. Whitehall believes that Salisbury is actually spreading the rumor of greater oil inflow, in order to give the impression that the embargo has failed. Sir Hugh Stephenson, British Ambassador to South Africa, made a call on Dr. Muller, South Africa's Foreign Minister. It is presumed they discussed the oil leak, in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Feb. 18, 1966 - "British Concern on Petrol Leak"

The Foreign Office announced that there will be "further contacts between us and the South African Government on this question" besides the Wednesday encounter between Sir Hugh Stephenson and Dr. Muller. "We have no indication of any change in the attitude of the South African Government to the oil embargo."

Feb. 19, 1966 - A report from Johannesburg said that at least 35,000 gallons entered Rhodesia every day throughout the entire week in unmarked tankers or drum-carrying lorries. Most of the tankers are from Rhodesia while the lorries from S.A.. Some observers felt that this estimate might be too low. Most of the oil is sent commercially and only a small part via the various gift schemes. "Its exact source however, remains a mystery."

Die Burger commented that this increased flow of petrol to Rhodesia may cause friction between S.A. and Britain. It has been confirmed that the British Ambassador in S.A. did express Britain's concern to Dr. Muller, the South African Foreign Minister in a meeting on Wednesday.

An advertisement in the Rhodesia Herald, placed by an independent oil company, offered bulk supplies of petrol to interested buyers.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966

"One fund gets petrol there quickly"

The U.D.I. Petrol Fund (Johannesburg) has sent nearly 1,000 gallons to Beitbridge in 4 days. Mr. Hauser, one of its founders, stressed the importance of getting the petrol to Rhodesia quickly, referring to a quarrel between the Friends of Rhodesia and the Petrol for Rhodesia Fund. This latter group just sent 17,500 gallons to Rhodesia, but one spokesman said that more could have been sent if not for the Pretoria Branch of the Friends of Rhodesia.

"Sanctions are terrible, boss" -- African view"

A Salisbury African taxi-driver is working only three days a week instead of his usual six. "The taxi-driver was confirming what almost everybody has seen from the beginning of Britain's economic war. The first to suffer is the African." Unemployment has risen among the

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966 (Cont.)

sector of the community, while the whites have not really been touched by sanctions except for the lack of certain foods (breakfast cereals, cookies.) The African in the city will be most hard hit, but in the Reserves Africans will have at least enough to eat.

The New York Times - Feb. 19, 1966 (Joseph Lolyvold)

Little prospect is seen for curbing the heavy supplies of oil now being sent across the Limpopo into Rhodesia. Estimates are that 25,000 to 45,000 gallons a day are crossing, roughly half of Rhodesia's rationing requirement.

Official British spokesmen in London have dismissed the reports as "far-fetched." However, three British diplomats have maintained a round-the-clock vigil at Beitbridge. It is thought that they reported that the oil flow was large enough to throw the success of the embargo into question.

Die Transvaaler reported that the S.A. Foreign Minister had complained about this "spying." The observers were withdrawn on Wednesday afternoon after a meeting the British Ambassador and the Foreign Minister. It is doubtful that Dr. Vorwoerd will bow to British concern over the oil leak, especially in the midst of an election campaign.

The Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 19, 1966

"Gasoline inflow fuels guessing game" (Robert M. Hallett)

London sources say that only 4,000 - 8,000 gallons are going into Rhodesia across the Limpopo per day. The British also say that Rhodesia needs 125,000 gallons per day while Rhodesians say only 70,000 gallons under the present rationing scheme. "The Rhodesian Government is close-mouthed about the whole affair."

Besides the reports in the Argus papers in S.A. Dagbreek, a Sunday Johannesburg paper, reported that Rhodesia had received 500,000 gallons of petrol by train from Lourenco Marques since UDI, and another 650,000 was expected soon. Lourenco Marques is linked by rail with both S.A. and Rhodesia.

The Observer - Feb. 20, 1966 (Colin Legum)

The South African Ambassador in London was summoned by Mr. Wilson on Feb. 19th to discuss petrol supplies for Rhodesia. Wilson's bypassing the Foreign Office in this way is intended to emphasize how seriously he regards the matter. The British are still not sure about the extent of the oil flow from S.A.. A Rhodesian based organization, G.E.N.T.A., is financing the commercial shipments by road tankers under the cloak of Dr. Vorwoerd's permission for "token" shipments to Rhodesia. The shipments seriously jeopardize the effectiveness of the oil embargo, raise white Rhodesian morale, and strengthen all those who feel that sanctions are ineffective. S.A. may openly defy the sanctions, and Portugal may well follow her lead. (It has just been revealed that oil refined in Mozambique is being sold in South Africa.)

The Times, London - Feb. 21, 1966

"Protest on Oil to South Africa"

Dr. Carol de Wet, the S.A. Ambassador to England, visited Mr. Wilson on Saturday. Although London still denies that the oil leak is ruining the boycott, "one official comment is that although a large quantity might go in one day, the Rhodesian economy could not long be sustained on varying and unstable supplies." London also has no "official

The Times, London- Feb. 21, 1966 (Cont.)

knowledge confirming reports that the Rhodesian tobacco crop is being bought in advance." If this is true, Britain hopes that Governments would hold the tobacco in bond and consider the sales as illegal.

"Loss Petrol goes across border"

A report from Mossina (Transvaal) said that on Feb. 20th there was only a trickle of oil going into Rhodesia. Until the weekend there was a number of grey-painted Rhodesian-registered tankers crossing the line. There is a rumor in Mossina that the S.A. police are searching for British representatives who are "spying" on the oil traffic. It is believed that after the withdrawal of the three embassy officials from Beitbridge the British have devised more subtle means of investigation.

The New York Times - Feb. 21, 1966

The Johannesburg Sunday Times reported that more than 250,000 gallons of gasoline had reached Rhodesia from various sources in the last 2 weeks.

Feb. 22, 1966: The supply of oil moving past the border post of Beitbridge has slackened, evidently because of pressure on the oil companies. But an aerial survey also revealed that greater attempts are being made to conceal that flow. During one half-hour period last week four out of five major oil company trucks were observed on the road between Louis Trichardt and Mossina. There is no sign that South African authorities are doing anything to curtail the traffic.

The Times, London - Feb. 22, 1966

After the weekend the flow of oil from S.A. into Rhodesia has risen again.

The Times, London - Feb. 23

"Mr. Onassis denies tanker report"

The oil pipeline from Beira to the Umtali refinery in Rhodesia may be reopened again if oil tankers manage to break the boycott. In Pretoria there is a report that Mr. Aristotle Onassis, the Greek shipping magnate is sending two 20,000 ton oil tankers to Beira with oil for Rhodesia. Mr. Mussett, the Rhodesian M. of Commerce, announced recently that an oil tanker would soon come to Beira with oil for Rhodesia, a remark which jibes with the Onassis rumors. Mr. Onassis has denied the rumors that he plans to break the British embargo.

"British envoy again meets South African Minister"

Sir Hugh Stephenson met with Dr. Muller, the Foreign Minister of S.A. for a second time, at the request of the latter. Today 12,500 gallons of petrol moved across the border at Beitbridge only two hours after the border opened.

A South African firm Katco, Ltd. has asked British Petroleum (BP), S.A., Ltd. to deliver to it 2,400,000 gallons of diesel fuel destined for Rhodesia. It has asked the Supreme Court for an order compelling BP to supply the oil. Katco had an agreement with BP for a 21,000 gallon per month supply, but its demands had been considerably less than this until recently. The BP Board of Directors seemingly does not want to have to fulfill so large an order simply because Katco didn't consume its monthly quota in the past. The hearing will be held on March 9th.

ZAMBIA and SANCTIONS

Zambia and Sanctions (cont.)

London Times - Feb. 19, 1966

"Internal Oil"

The Zambian Industrial Development Corporation announced that a London company, Lonrho, had been selected to survey the establishment of a crude oil pipeline from Dar es Salaam to Zambian copper-belt, about 1,100 miles long, with plans for an oil refinery at the end of the line. This would reduce the cost of oil coming from Beira through Rhodesia from 1/6d. a gallon to 9d a gallon. The estimated cost of the pipeline is L18 million.

"E.A.F. Lift Banned by Portuguese"

Presumably the termination of this plan of an airlift of oil from Mozambique to Lusaka was stopped because the Portuguese only wanted civil aircraft used. There is difficulty even getting charter craft for the airlift and the Zambian government said that rail and road traffic from Beira to Zambia will increase.

Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 18

The Secretariat of the British Commonwealth has circulated to its members a list of essential commodities prepared by the Zambian Government for the Commonwealth's sanctions committee. Zambia seems assured of continued supplies of airlifted oil and petroleum products but is requesting additional road transport and about 200 other essential items which Zambia normally obtained from Rhodesia.

"A Ride on the 'Leo to E'ville' run" by David Anable - Feb. 22

Three times a day, six days a week since Jan. 4, Pan American Clipper 794 has flown back and forth between Leopoldville and Elisabethville. TWA has operated similar flights, also financed by American aid. One estimate puts the cost at about L1 or \$2.80 for every gallon lifted. Since Dec. 19, new oil routes have grown out from Lusaka and the copper belt like sinuous tentacles. Road, rail, lake, river and air have been linked to form temporary supply lines. The black drums loaded at Leopoldville are filled with diesel fuel pumped along the 250 mile pipeline from Latadi, the port at the mouth of the Congo. The Leo to E'ville airlift brings in about 900 tons of diesel fuel a week. To landlocked Zambia this is a welcome flow.

"Zambian trade dilemma" David Anable - Feb. 23

Rumors abound as to when and how the shutdown on trade with Rhodesia (the "crunch") is likely to come. No one is sure of its effect on Rhodesia. Few seem to be aware of its possible impact on Zambia. The Zambian Government may act regardless of British advice. At present, apart from the oil embargo, trade between Zambia and Rhodesia is flowing as normal. Loss of cheap Rhodesian coal would deal a stunning blow to Zambia's copper belt. About 70,000 tons of coal are needed each month to keep the mines in production. If Kariba electricity were to be cut off as well, the mines would be brought to a standstill. It is estimated that such a crunch would cost Rhodesia L30 million in lost exports. Of Zambia's L163 million total exports in 1964, copper accounted for L148 million. Every month of halted copper production would cost Zambia more than L12 million. If the crunch did not topple the Smith regime quickly, there would be some heavy sums required to restart the Zambian economy, let alone the Rhodesian.

Zambia and Sanctions (cont.)

The Economist - Feb. 19-25

"The Cost to Britain"

"How much is it costing Britain to scueeze Mr. Smith? On a recent Treasury estimate, the actual budgetary outlay seems to be running at around L9 million a year at present, mostly the cost of air-lifting oil into Zambia. . . . On its balance of payments, Britain is forfeiting about L35 million or 1% of its annual exports, an unknown but probably small amount of which may find other outlets. The net loss of invisible earnings is running at about L8 million a year. Moreover, much of Britain's L30 million of imports deflected from Rhodesia, notably tobacco, must now be paid for in dollars. On top of that, the distribution of normal supply routes is adding something like L8 million a year to the cost of copper imported from Zambia. However, "measured against the cost of Suez, Britain's last remotely comparable venture, the cost seems modest."

The Observer - Feb. 20 (from Richard Hall)

In Zambia morale has been raised by plans to construct a L 20 million oil pipeline and refinery, to be owned and operated by Lonrho, the company which owns 63% of the Beira-Umtali pipeline. Other efforts to reduce Zambia's economic dependence on Rhodesia are being made daily; the Government is "implacably resolved that Rhodesia will never regain the markets it is now losing north of the Zambezi."

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19

"On Way to Zambia - 200 Fuel Tankers"

The emergency campaign to send oil and other supplies to Zambia has been undertaken by various contracts between companies and the British Government which has allocated a L8.5 million fund. The Leyland Motor Corporation has ordered 220 road petrol tankers and lorries while another contract was given to Japan for 30 rail tankers from Malawi.

"South Africa sells more to Zambia"

Most of the goods formerly imported from Rhodesia into Zambia are coming from South Africa directly rather than being re-exported from Rhodesia. "Although no official Government confirmation is available, businessmen say that practically no Rhodesian goods are being allowed into the country. The main exceptions are Wankie coal, Kariba power and mining equipment. . . . Businessmen are also working on the assumption that Zambia will cut its trade with Rhodesia to a trickle through import restriction but that no official trade break will be announced."

International Reactions

London

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19

"Disaster to risk quarrel with South Africa"

The Daily Telegraph has argued in an editorial that Britain could not make existing sanctions against Rhodesia more effective without risking a quarrel with South Africa. This Conservative London newspaper warned that such a "quarrel" would be disastrous to Britain. "In imposing sanctions, we can go no further." the editorial said.

International Reactions (cont.)

London (cont.)

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19

"British protest on 'criminality'"

The Confederation of British Industry and leading tobacco manufacturers have lodged a strong protest with the Government about the wording of its Statutory Instrument No. 41, which concerns tobacco exports from Rhodesia. This is the first time since the Rhodesian crisis began that employers in Britain have made such a concerted and sharply voiced attack on British policy towards the Smith regime. The statutory instrument complained of was concerned with sales of chrome and tobacco. It forbade people to carry out any contract if they had reason to believe that the goods involved were to be imported to or exported from Rhodesia.

"All will end hating Britain"

Mr. Patrick Vall, Conservative M. P. does not believe the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Smith, will surrender by Easter through lack of oil. "If, however, Mr. Wilson continues his refusal to compromise or negotiate, such a hatred of Britain will have been built up both among European and African that negotiations after Easter may become impossible."

"Cost to U. K. of Rhodesia at least R113 million"

A supplementary estimate of L4,300,000 to meet expenditure by the British Government arising out of the Rhodesia crisis represents only a small part of what sanctions will ultimately cost the United Kingdom. There is little support in London for Mr. Smith's estimate of L300 million cost to Britain for a full year. Sources say it is impossible to put a precise figure on the total cost. Certain approximate figures can, however, be given on an annual basis. They are

- 1) Loss of British export market to Rhodesia - L33m
- 2) Loss in invisible exports - L13m
- 3) Oil lift to Zambia - L8.5m
- 4) Radio station in Bechuanaland - L500,000
- 5) Loss of Lloyds Insurance Premiums - L1.5m
- 6) Probable subsidization of the Zambian economy if cut with Rhodesia - L32m
- 7) Non-payment of profits by Rhodesian companies - L1m
- 8) Other charges against the British government for losses of premiums in South Africa - L5m

London Times - Feb. 17

Leaders of the Confederation of British Industry condemned the British Government's Statutory Instrument 41 treatment of Rhodesian Tobacco growers which makes it a criminal offense to be a party to exporting or importing certain articles if you live in Rhodesia. This in fact would include all tobacco growers as they have no home market for their crop. "To have visited upon them from afar the heavy imputation of criminality is, we think, a terrible thing to do"

International Reactions (cont.)

South Africa

Christian Science Monitor - Feb. 18 (Hallett - Cape Town)

"Friends of Rhodesia" groups are springing up throughout South Africa. Most South Africans see Rhodesia as fighting the white man's battle and, therefore, feel a kinship. Only a small liberal and progressive group and the English-language press backs the Verwoerd government's cautious policy of avoiding entanglements. The United Party is trying to take advantage of public feelings in the campaign for the March 30 elections. U.P. leaders bluntly criticize the government for refusing to reorganize Rhodesia or assist her. Observers feel that the Nationalist Party will maintain its strength, however, because the overriding political issue in South Africa remains its own internal race policies.

Germany

Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19

"German stand on Rhodesia questioned"

The leading German financial newspaper "Handelsblatt" says that Bonn will soon have to decide on an extension of the licensing system to all Rhodesian imports into the Federal Republic (with the exception of copper) which would immediately hit the import of pig iron, chromium ore, asbestos, hides and skins. The paper then states: "With all due appreciation of the political obligations which Bonn has regarding London, the question arises whether after such a rigid application of sanctions in the Rhodesian case, the Federal Government should not act with more reserve in future." . . . Moreover, we do not believe that the British economic blockade alone can make Salisbury give in within a foreseeable time." The paper also added that all experts on Africa agree that "if it came to war, the example would be set on how quickly one of the very few properly working economic structures in Africa could be destroyed."

CONDITIONS WITHIN RHODESIA

CENSORSHIP

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 17, 1966

On February 15th, for the first time in weeks, there were no white spaces in either the Rhodesia Herald or the Bulawayo Chronicle. The Herald carried a picture of Sir Humphrey Gibbs talking with Selwyn Lloyd. This easing of censorship is perhaps due to the presence of Mr. Lloyd.

The Times, London - Feb. 19, 1966

Mr. Howman, the Rhodesian Minister of Information, announced guidelines for the Government censors. Material should be censored if it,

1. Was likely to undermine the actions of the Government,
2. Might create alarm and despondency,
3. Might lead to contraventions of the law or a break of law and order,
4. Divulged any industrial, commercial or financial dealings with other countries which the Government for obvious reasons wished to keep confidential.
5. Might endanger the security of the state.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966

"Do you slant it some more?" (from the Cape Times)

Mr. John Gaunt, the Rhodesian diplomatic representative in S.A. said that Africans in Rhodesia "have not the capability or the background" to know if news is slanted or not. Mr. Gaunt was questioned at a meeting of the Institute of Citizenship in Cape Town. After his statement that many Africans are illiterate someone interjected, "Then why censor if they cannot read?" Mr. Gaunt replied then that many Africans did read but could not judge the news. He said the Press had tried to put the Government in a bad light and since the Government had received majority support in the last elections Whites were best able to judge the news. Mr. Gaunt said that he thought the Press was dictated by "certain financial interests."

"Rhodesia's Press"

The Rhodesian whites probably have little sympathy with the struggle of their newspapers to preserve freedom of the Press as they want to believe that they are right and that "Rhodesia can and will survive the pressures being put upon it." Without any effective opposition, the Press has been one of the few dissenting voices. "If it was un-Rhodesian to say that U.D.I. was folly, they /the Press/ were un-Rhodesian."

"In the euphoria of U.D.I. this has not gained them many friends, and public opinion is content to stand by and see both freedom of speech and the right to report the truth suppressed. . . . The outcome of the Press's struggle, no less than Rhodesia's, is still in doubt. But it may yet be seen, if only after they have been reduced to a subservience worse than silence, that the newspapers stood between Rhodesia and the very kind of calamity its politicians profess to be protecting it from."

The Times, London - Feb. 23, 1966

"Tribute to Courage of Editors"

The Council of the Commonwealth Press Union issued a statement expressing admiration for the courage of Rhodesian editors who "have defied the most tyrannical of the censorship regulations."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Times, London - Feb. 18, 1966

"Rhodesian attacks on Britain"

The Rhodesian Minister of Finance, Mr. Wrathall, said that British policy toward the non-payment of pensions left no funds in the Pensions Agency with which to pay obligations stipulated under British law. He challenged the British Government to prove "the old maxim that an Englishman's word is his bond."

Feb. 22, 1966: Mr. Wrathall announced that his Government would honor the payments due to pensioners of the Central African Federation if they chose to accept Rhodesian currency on retirement.

"Five-Month Survey of New Railway Link" - Feb. 19, 1966

P.M. Smith has asked the Rhodesia Railways to survey a link between South Africa and Rhodesia. The survey will take five months to complete, and the rail link approximately one year to build. Controversies have evolved over the choice of the route from within Rhodesia to Beitbridge, S.A. and the effect of each choice upon various segments of the Rhodesian community. The link would be financed by South African sources in its initial stages. Since Zambia has part ownership in the Rhodesia Railway it must approve of the scheme unless Rhodesia is willing to pay Zambia compensation costs.

Manchester Guardian, Weekly - Feb. 17, 1966

The Board for Industrial Expansion in Rhodesia has set up a new organization called "Market Place" to promote local industries and the manufacture of goods that were previously imported.

STATEMENTS BY RHODESIAN OFFICIALS

The Times, London - Feb. 19

"Back Door Pressure Smith Says"

A member of the African opposition asked Mr. Smith in Parliament just how many countries recognized UDI. P.M. Smith responded that "practical recognition" was given by many countries in that they continued to trade and had sympathy for the Rhodesian situation. But said Mr. Smith British pressure "through the back door" prevented open de jure recognition of Rhodesia. Mr. Gondo then asked him how many countries traded with Rhodesia? Mr. Smith declined to comment since such information would simply be helping the enemy.

A bill to make the 1965 UDI Constitution into law was passed in its final stage by the Parliament. It was motioned to go to Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government. The opposition MPs boycotted the bill and Dr. Ahrn Palley and Mr. B. Gowan, independent European and Asian members, voted against the motion. When Mr. Dupont signs the bill it will become law.

"We will never surrender," says Mr. Dupont" - Feb. 23, 1966

Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Officer Administering the Government, spoke out against Rhodesia's enemies at a meeting to note the passage of a bill which legalized the 1965 Constitution. He said to these enemies, "You may perhaps attempt to destroy us but you will never obtain our surrender." He said that the slandering of Rhodesia was led by "communist-inspired evil-doers." In spite of these evil attempts to destroy Rhodesia, he said that there is evidence of sympathy for Rhodesia not only in South Africa, but America, New Zealand, Australia, France, and even Britain. The British people, he said, ". . . are disenchanted with the attitude of their Government in its handling of the Rhodesian issue."

Mr. Dupont predicted these friendly signs as indications that ". . . our struggle is at last being seen in its true perspective. This is growing and will grow until its final conclusion of world recognition of independent Rhodesia and world acceptance of its Government, not only as the de facto but also as the de jure political administration of the people of the country."

He said that peace and order in Rhodesia is greater now after UDI than ever before. "I venture to say that with the removal of the root cause of intimidation among the African people racial harmony here is greater today than it has been in the last 20 years." He said that the African people, as individuals and through tribal authorities, support the Government and feel "tremendous relief at having escaped the horror of rabid and brutal 'black nationalism.'"

SELWYN LLOYD'S TRIP TO RHODESIA

The Times, London - Feb. 17, 1966

"Mr. Lloyd bringing back ideas for negotiations"

During his 24 hour stay in Zambia Mr. Selwyn Lloyd spoke with the British High Commissioner, leading business men, banned members of Rhodesian nationalist parties living in Lusaka, and Mr. John Roberts, leader of the National Progress Party of Zambia. At a press conference in Salisbury before leaving Rhodesia Mr. Lloyd said that a solution is possible in Rhodesia and that he was returning to London with certain ideas about negotiations. He did not comment on his talks with P.M. Smith or the effects of sanctions in Rhodesia, but he did say that discussion could probably be held if no preconditions for such talks were laid down. He said that Mr. Smith agreed with this view.

"I think one of the misfortunes has been that so many people in Rhodesia regarded this matter as one in which there had to be either a declaration of independence or else African rule on a 'one man one vote' basis in a very short space of time — a middle course of gradual evolution has never really been considered."

The Times, London, - Feb. 18, 1966

The Rhodesian Minister of Education, Mr. Smith, criticized Mr. Lloyd for saying that the Rhodesian voters had never been shown the alternative of a "middle course" toward majority rule. He said that the supporters of the Federation had this in mind and so did the Rhodesia Party, but that all their candidates had been defeated in the last election.

The New York Times - Feb. 17, 1966

"Tory is Hopeful of Rhodesia Pact" (from Lawrence Fellows)

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said ". . . he had impressed on everyone he met /in Rhodesia/ the fact that he thought Rhodesia was wrong to have proclaimed her independence and that the white minority could not expect forever to rule the black majority." Mr. Lloyd visited with Mr. Smith three times, but he did not get into "tribal areas" because of the rains and he did not see restricted nationalists. Many Rhodesian politicians think that Mr. Lloyd's visit will enable the Conservatives in Britain to start a new tact in the policy towards Rhodesia, one "that seems advantageous for the general election that is now expected in Britain in the spring."

"Resilient Tory"

In a portrait of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, former Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer under Conservative Governments, he is described as "calm, loyal, discreet, and above all resilient." He is one of the few men who has the confidence of the majority of his own party and only causes slight "rumbles" from the Labour Government.

The Times, London - Feb. 18, 1966

"Mr. Lloyd meets East African Leaders"

Selwyn Lloyd met with President Kenyatta of Kenya and the P.M. of Uganda, Dr. Obote in Nairobi. President Nyerere of Tanzania is expected to arrive tomorrow for a meeting of the East African Common Services Organization. All three leaders have made it clear that force will be necessary to stop the Smith regime.

On Monday, Feb. 21st, Mr. Lloyd will report his findings to the Opposition Party's Shadow Cabinet and to Mr. Heath, before he sees Mr. Bottomley or makes any public statements.

"Mr. Lloyd thinks Rhodesia settlement is feasible" - Feb. 19, 1966

Mr. Lloyd said that he was certain that talks had to occur between Britain and Rhodesia and that negotiations with an illegal regime had not been a barrier in the past for Britain and it did not have to be now. He said that he told Rhodesians that UDI was wrong and that racial discrimination must be undermined. "If these principles are accepted, and I think they are by most Rhodesians, it should be possible to have useful talks." He did not comment on his confidential talks with African statesmen in Lusaka and Nairobi.

"Talks with Rhodesia urged" - Feb. 22, 1966

Selwyn Lloyd's report to the Shadow Cabinet of the Conservative Party on Monday evening revealed his belief in the need for renewed talks with Rhodesia "as quickly as possible." His conviction is based on the 300 interviews which he held with Rhodesians, 60 of which were with Rhodesian Africans. "There should be no prior conditions on either side, he said, provided the talks were undertaken with a sincere intention of reaching agreement on a constitutional settlement." "No prior conditions" means that Britain should not demand that Smith withdraw the declaration of independence and he should not insist on British recognition of UDI. Thus far both sides have taken the opposite stands.

Mr. Lloyd said that talk of the emergence of an alternative government in Rhodesia was a lot of "nonsense," as even those people who were opposed to UDI do not expect any change to occur. He said that sanctions did have a serious effect on Rhodesia

The Times, London - Feb. 22, 1966 (Cont.)

but not enough to bring about a quick collapse of the government. "They did represent, however, a powerful influence on Rhodesians toward a settlement."

Mr. Lloyd said he could feel "a great tragedy was unfolding" over the Rhodesian question and that "neither side could win." "Only harm, both economic and emotional, would come to both sides."

As a result of his report there will probably be increased Opposition pressure to have talks, especially since Mr. Lloyd said that there was no sign of the Smith government weakening or of economic disintegration. Some members of the Shadow Cabinet think that Mr. Lloyd's trip helped to "create a better atmosphere . . . /but/. . . It remains to be seen whether that implies Mr. Lloyd . . . detected any disposition /of Mr. Smith/ to move back to a constitutional path if London gives him the necessary encouragement and help."

THE UNITED STATES & RHODESIA

The Times, London - Feb. 17, 1966

"Troops Offer' by Rhodesia"

It seems that Mr. Smith's offer of tangible help to the United States in Vietnam is in fact in the form of a troop offering, that is in return for understanding and sympathy from the United States. Dr. Robert Wyckoff, president of a "Friends of Rhodesia" group, disclosed this offer at a Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce meeting. Mr. Wyckoff has been apparently in correspondence with P.M. Smith.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966

"Smith's aid offer to U.S. in Vietnam"

Mr. Smith released statements in Salisbury and at a meeting in Los Angeles, which offered "tangible help" to America in Vietnam. The message also said that Rhodesians had fought under American commanders in the last war and presently Australia and New Zealand were committed to the fight against Communism in South-East Asia. "Mr Smith asked if it was not significant that the 'British Socialist Government balked at the idea of committing troops to fight our common enemy in Vietnam.'"

The Observer - Feb. 20, 1966

A "Rhodesian Information Office" has recently been opened in Washington. African diplomats have expressed "strong concern" at this implicit recognition of the Smith regime. The Office was registered on Feb. 1st under the Foreign Agents' Act. Mr. John Hooper, who runs the office, was with the British Embassy until last November, when his diplomatic status was withdrawn. His right to stay in the country is under consideration by the Immigration authorities.

The Johannesburg Star - Feb. 19, 1966

"Ghana hits at U.S. over Rhodesian centre"

Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, delivered a protest note to the American Ambassador in Ghana. A later official statement said that the American excuse that the opening of the centre "could not be legally refused was 'not a very good reason.'"

The Philadelphia Inquirer - Feb. 21, 1966

"Africans Assail U.S."

"Attacks on the United States in Nigerian and Ghanaian publications and broadcasts are the harshest since race riots in Los Angeles last year," over the opening of a Rhodesian information office in Washington. "Several officials who declines to be named termed the U.S. decision hypocritical," in view of the fact that the U.S. claims that it will not recognize the Smith regime and supports economic sanctions. Nigeria has also delivered a protest note to the American government.