

WEEK of March 17-23

EDITORIALS LETTERS

The Observer, March 20, 1966

The March 21st issue of the "influential Commonwealth review, The Round Table, urges the British Government to commit itself to a substantial period of direct rule in Rhodesia." Difficult as military intervention may seem, Britain "has no option but to stand by the legal position and bring the facts of power into line," states the editorial. "Britain's ultimate responsibility for Rhodesia -- now so clearly reaffirmed before the world -- cannot be surrendered to any group which can be expected to deny any substantial part of the population its proper rights. There is, therefore, no good alternative to direct British responsibility for the Government of Rhodesia for a substantial period of time."

The Times, London - March 22, 1966

"Editorial"

"Rhodesia and immigration are two issues in the election which have a common root in the unresolved question of Britain's future relations with the Commonwealth." The immigration question has been kept out of a "national debate" because both parties have taken the "same reassuring and restrictive line." But with the bipartisanship on the Rhodesia question ended "the major parties are going to the public with a choice." The choice is between Wilson's refusal to talk with the Smith regime until Rhodesia returns to constitutionality and Mr. Heath's desire to start talks without the Smith government asking for formal recognition before talking. "This parting of the ways in a manner of method is the result of the mishandling of the Rhodesian situation by both parties since November. By miscalculating the results of sanctions Mr. Wilson "has been forced to add one measure to another, until any distinction there may have been between persuasive and penal sanctions is lost." No doubt his refusal to deal with the Smith regime was based on his belief that oil sanctions would bring down the government, but this refusal (called the demand for "unconditional surrender" by right wing Conservatives) has placed the Prime Minister in an awkward position. On the other hand the Conservatives have had to repudiate their backing of the Government's policy. "By falling out among themselves they helped Mr. Wilson. By re-forming raggedly under the banner of 'negotiations without prior conditions on either side' they encourage Mr. Smith. Now they risk bringing emotion and prejudice into play rather than reason . . . ."

"To argue about how the debate with Mr. Smith -- or Rhodesians as a whole -- is to be resumed obscures the real problem. The real problem is that both Government and Opposition have agreed on conditions for granting (or validating) Rhodesian independence which Mr. Smith's government have so far shown no signs that they will accept." The principles outlined by Sir Alec Douglas-Home and developed by Mr. Wilson in his speech of January 25th, in essence "the unimpeded African advance to majority rule under what would become transitional white rule", have not been accepted by Mr. Smith. "If the Conservatives could start talks they would run straight into Mr. Smith's refusal to sell this pass. When this is accepted by Smith or his successors then talks even for Mr. Wilson will emerge."

"If Smith is given what he wants, the Commonwealth will be put in danger of imminent break up . . . the alternative is to go on with sanctions . . . until white

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

Rhodesia is ready to talk on the five principles. It means living with the risk that sanctions could precipitate the use of force against 'kith and kin' which has become a term of ridicule but remains a political and emotional fact."

The editorial points out that Labour's policy on limiting immigration is founded on color and that within the Conservative party the Commonwealth lobby is in rout. "Both parties have contributed to a perceptible setback in race relations within Britain, and to the erosion of Commonwealth (especially West Indian) good will towards Britain. A national mood of exclusiveness and introversion will help neither party's plan for the next five years."

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

"Rhodesia: Rescind U.D.I." (letter from 'Now is the Hour')

"In reply to Mr. D. Salford, who asked in a letter in The Star on March 3, whether Britain would declare the rebellion in Ghana illegal and apply full sanctions, I should like to point out that Ghana is independent and has been for some time . . . Her people can be admired for trying at last to sole their own difficulties in their own way. Rhodesia was not, and is not, independent."

"Mr. Smith had warning of sanctions."(letter from 'Common Logic')

The writer remarks that, "Thousands of South Africans are blindly shouting the odds in favour of Mr. Smith and getting emotionally involved in childish petrol schemes when few of them have the slightest idea what this Rhodesian business is all about, much less the common sense to sit down and think about it intelligently . . . Without my going into the rights and wrongs of the Rhodesian business, the fact remains that Mr. Smith went into U.D.I. knowing full well what it would mean and after ample warning in the matter of sanctions." The Smith technique has reversed the British plan for the "gradual development towards full emancipation" in her former colonies.

"Kenya as example of 'logic'" (from A.E. Green)

In response to 'Common Logic's' statement that, "If there should be a Black revolution in Africa in years to come, who would be the first on the scene to protect the Whites? I can tell you now, the British," the letter writer comments: He "obviously bases his essay into logic on the behaviour of the British in Kenya. Having had Whites butchered, the British then saw fit to acknowledge the self-confessed leader of the butchers by giving him the blessing of Britain to take over the country. . . And the Congo?"

"Dr. Verwoerd has earned credit." (Comments from J. du P. Fourie)

"Dr. Verwoerd's handling of the Rhodesian affair is earning him a great deal of credit in Britain -- almost to the point of his emerging as one of the coolest and more astute statesmen of the day. Compared with the hysterical clamourings of the African states to the north, the calm but firm (and very clever) policy of non-intervention commands respect, if only for its maturity." Because of this policy "it will be difficult for Mr. Wilson to do anything more than appeal to the South African Government to intervene . . . it can hardly afford the loss of trade with Rhodesia. It would be economic suicide to attempt sanctions on South Africa... Dr.

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

Verwoerd, armed with these strings to his bow, stands a good chance of defeating to some extent the effects of sanctions on Rhodesia --- an important exercise for him --- with a fair chance of coming through with little risk of reprisals to South Africa."

Excerpt from Star Editorial on the "Nationalist Manifesto"

"It proclaims a policy of neutrality of Rhodesia because that is the sensible -- and only responsible --- thing to do. But it seems to take it for granted that its public are not going to accept this, and it leaves the door wide open for neutralism to be flouted."

SANCTIONS AND OIL

The Times, London - March 17, 1966

"Royal Navy intercepts Cargo Ships off Mozambique"

The shipping company, Safmarine, reported that a British frigate had stopped two of its cargo ships flying South African flags en route between Durban and Beira. The company did not say that the vessels, the South African Transporter and the British-registered Saldura, had actually been "buzzed" by any aircraft, but a report from Durban claims that north of Lourenco Marques an unidentified aircraft had swept down on the ships.

The first of five R.A.F. aircraft has landed at Majunga airport, northwest of Tananarive, Malagasy in order to begin the British intensified watch on the Mozambique Channel. The aircraft carrier "Eagle" has now replaced the "Ark Royal" and it will continue the latter ship's job of watching Beira. It is estimated that the "Ark Royal" stopped and questioned the identity of about 100 ships (tankers) going through the Channel. About 7 ships pass through the Channel per day, one quarter of which are tankers.

"No 'Phantom Tanker' carrying oil to Rhodesia" (from Salisbury)

Mr. Bernard Mussett, the Rhodesian Minister of Commerce and Industry, announced over Rhodesian TV that petrol rationing will have to continue as there was no 'phantom tanker' coming to Beira with oil for Rhodesia. He took time to praise Rhodesian business concerns for rallying behind the Government, although for "security reasons" he avoided citing individual business successes.

March 18, 1966: The new British Order-in-Council making sugar exports from Rhodesia illegal will probably less effective than the one covering tobacco sales. The sugar crop is sold by the Rhodesian Sugar Association which needs less working capital from Rhodesia in order to function. This year's surplus will be 270,000 tons (out of a crop of 320,000 tons) which is such a small amount of the total world market that its source will be less identifiable than that of Rhodesian tobacco.

"Portugal trying beef from Rhodesia" The Principe Perfeito line has just unloaded 133 tons of Rhodesian beef at Lisbon to be consumed on a "trial basis." The major Portuguese contract to buy beef went to Argentina, one for 400 tons.

March 19, 1966. "American embargo extended" The U.S. has extended its embargo on exports to Rhodesia to include: rubber, petroleum products, chemicals, explosives

The Times, London - March 19, 1966 (Cont.)

iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, machinery and transport equipment, radios and telephones, motor vehicles and aircraft.

Mr. Smith, in a speech to the chamber of commerce at Fort Victoria, expressed confidence that Rhodesia would beat the sugar embargo as it has done for the tobacco and chrome embargos. He assured his listeners that "some day our ship will come home, make no mistake," no doubt referring to the oil tanker so long overdue at Beira with oil for Rhodesia. He said that there were plans for getting more oil but that he could not divulge them. Mr. Smith commented that the greatest tragedy of the sanctions was that they hit the Africans. He said that he was sure that most Africans supported the present Government and that it was a pity that foreigners would not take the time to see how racial cooperation really worked. He did not reply to the criticism of Mr. Blake, President of the chamber of commerce, which was that the rationing of petrol had been handled very badly by the Government. Mr. Blake had also commented that the strong powers held by the Government were rather "un-Rhodesian."

"Protest by Sweden on 'Buzzing'" The Swedish consul in Beira, Mr. Martin, complained to the British consul, Mr. Taylor, that British aircraft had "buzzed" a Swedish merchant ship, Madeleine, in the Mozambique channel. This ship was one of the 32 "phantom tankers" presumably bringing oil to Beira for Rhodesia. There has been no official complaint from the Swedish Government on this matter. The R.A.F. Shackletons, now stationed in Madagascar, have instructions to fly past the sterns of ships in order to identify them but not to make any mock attacks.

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

"Beira blockade: Portuguese Frigate is sent to the scene."

There is a report that the Portuguese have sent a navy frigate to the area of Beira in order to "watch for any infringement of Mozambique territorial waters." The move follows the alleged boarding of a Dutch vessel, Roggeveen, by the Royal British Navy offshore from Mozambique. There has been no comment from the Roggeveen's master, while in London the British Admiralty has denied that any such boarding took place. The Dutch ship is in Beira now and "strong sources" say that the British boarding did take place.

"Greeks doubt that Ban can be enforced"

The Financial Times reported that shipping quarters at Piraeus question whether vessels with a Greek flag going to Rhodesia via South Africa or Mozambique can be banned effectively from carrying oil. The problem will arise with ships whose official destinations are Mozambique or South Africa. The Greek Government has no authority to enforce the ban on Greek-owned tankers flying other flags, but in some cases such governments, like Liberia or Honduras, will enforce the embargo themselves. Sapa-Associated Press reported that President de Gaulle is trying to resist the British request for R.A.F. landing rights at Malagasy.

The Times, London- March 21, 1966

"Protests at British 'buzzing' off Mozambique"

A.N.I., the Portuguese news agency, said that a number of foreign shipping companies had complained to the British consul in Beira that their ships were

The Times, London - March 21, 1966

"buzzed" and boarded by the British. The report referred specifically to the two South African vessels and the Swedish ship cited above. The Ministry of Defense in London denied that the two South African ships had been boarded. It also explained that "buzzing" could not mean a mock attack but only the process of identifying a ship by coming close to the stern.

March 22, 1966: "Denial of 'Buzzing' Claim" An official of the British Government in response to complaints from the Swedish consul in Beira said that "British vessels and aircraft are really just identifying ships coming to Beira." When asked if oil was going into Beira he said that it was, but only oil destined for Mozambique's consumption and not for Rhodesia. He said that the Foreign Office did not know of any oil that had been pumped from Beira to Rhodesia.

#### CONDITIONS WITHIN RHODESIA

MR. WATSON'S TRIP AND GENERAL CLIMATE

The Times, London - March 17, 1966

Mr. N.D. Watson, assistant Under-Secretary at the Commonwealth Relations Office, has come to Salisbury. It is said that he is in Rhodesia to "examine the present organizational structure at the High Commission" and to discuss the finances of the University College whose principal, Dr. Walter Adams, will leave for London soon. Mr. Watson is to inform the Commonwealth Secretary about the state of the High Commission. Mr. Wilson and his colleagues are reconciled to the fact that there is not likely to be any change in the attitude of the Salisbury regime before the result of the general election is known."

The Rhodesian Finance Minister announced that £600,000 worth of "independence" bonds had been sold in six weeks, a record-breaking achievement. The Government has also floated a medium-term loan of £5 million.

March 18, 1966: It is reported that Mr. Watson's visit to Rhodesia was prompted by a threat to declare British members of the High Commission as "persona non grata". It seems that some members of the Rhodesian Front Government support such a step.

"London visit by Rhodesia's former representative" Mr. Evan Campbell, a former High Commissioner in London and a possible choice for Prime Minister of Rhodesia if a return to the 1961 Constitution ever occurs, came to London today for "business reasons." He is the chairman of Standard Bank in Rhodesia and Fisons Fertilizers.

March 19, 1966: Mr. Duncan Watson met with members of the Rhodesian Ministry for External Affairs to discuss the staffing of the "residual British mission" in Rhodesia.

"Mr. Smith deplores Britain's 'Destructive Attitude'"

At a speech in Fort Victoria P.M. Smith called Mr. Wilson "a man generating hate" and said that the British Government was guilty of "the most puerile, the most immature, the most destructive behaviour we have seen for a long time from a so-

The Times, London - March 19, 1966 (Cont.)

called responsible people." He spoke about sanctions and then travelled to a Church mission and into Mucheke township where he spoke with some chiefs. He informed them that the Government wanted to work with them and that he was happy to know that peace and quiet reigned in the reserves.

The Economist - March 19, 1966

There is speculation that the visit of Mr. Duncan Watson, a senior official in the Commonwealth Relations Office, is a tentative approach to some kind of talks between the British and Rhodesian governments, since he is the first senior British official to set foot in Rhodesia since the declaration of independence.

Mr. Smith's overriding concern is to prevent Mr. Wilson from knowing just how much Rhodesia is being hurt by sanctions. There is a gigantic smokescreen of silence on all facts of the country's economy. Each bit of the economy is kept in ignorance of what is happening in the other segments. The only real link between them all is the cabinet anti-sanctions committee, manned by key ministers and top civil servants. Only this body knows what is really happening. Civil servants and businessmen must keep quiet on pain of prosecution and heavy punishment.

Thus there are no facts or figures to back anything up, and no surface signs of rising discontent against the Smith regime. Since the shops are becoming empty of imported goods, people have more money to spare. This week there was a sale of £600,000 worth of independence bonds. The extra expense of sending petrol up from South Africa has not been passed on to the buyer. The tobacco sales will begin in two weeks under heavy security. Some has already been bought by South Africa and countries rumored to have buyers in the field are France and Holland and with South Africa possibly buying for West Germany. The Rhodesian Tobacco Corporation may buy up the rest with the £20 million it has in order to keep the 3,000 tobacco farmers afloat.

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

"Rhodesians will fight to the end: UK Paper"

R.D. Kernohan of the Glasgow Herald writes after his recent trip to Rhodesia that if an armed invasion occurs the whites will fight to the bitter end. "There is no doubt that in the last few weeks the hatred of Mr. Wilson's policy has developed into hatred of Britain." He mentions that some consumers don't even want to buy British goods which are supplied to Rhodesia via South Africa or still on the store shelves. There is even criticism of the Queen, particularly after her Jamaican Speech. Kernohan writes that P.M. Smith, with whom he talked, does not believe that the failure of sanctions will lead to the use of force, but there are other Rhodesians who do not have this confidence. The writer goes as far as to conjecture that in defense of Rhodesia to outside intervention "the sympathies of Sir Humphrey Gibbs and his remaining supporters would be with Mr. Smith." He found that even people with the strongest ties to Britain say that they will fight.

"New Sithole-Nkomo Fight"

It seems that at the same time that Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere are trying to unite the factions of Rhodesian nationalist parties a "new row has occurred." The chairman of ZANU in Lusaka, Mr. Herbert Chitepo, secretary for external affairs, has submitted a memorandum to the OAU which accuses ZAPU of wasting £50,000 given to

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

the party by the CAU. Mr. James Chikerema, the ZAPU deputy president, has denied the charges as "rubbish" and has challenged ZANU to show it spent the £20,000 given to it by the CAU. The ZANU memorandum also said that Mr. Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU, is willing to compromise on majority rule in Rhodesia. Mr. Chitepo who recently arrived in Lusaka said that he would try to foster unity between the two parties, presumably inspite of the accusations.

UNIVERSITY AND PRESS

The New York Times - March 17, 1966

100 African and 5 European students stood in the corridors of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland shouting and chanting African nationalist songs.

The Times, London - March 17, 1966

More than 100 undergraduates at the University demonstrated outside the lodge of the principal, Dr. Walter Adams. He agreed to see a delegation of three Africans, 2 Asian, and 1 European students. The purpose of the demonstrations is to criticize the staff of the college for not coming out against U.D.I.

March 18, 1966: Demonstrations continued today by more than 200 students, most of whom are Africans. They held a meeting to hear from the six-man delegation that met with Dr. Adams. The demands of the students include: that the authorities of the college condemn U.D.I.; the release of four former students from restriction; the withdrawal of college rules which ban political activities by students. Most students boycotted lectures, so that lecturers unsympathetic to the students' demands stood up before all-white classes. The faculties of arts and social studies passed resolutions supporting the students' actions. This includes about one-third of the college staff, or 35 members.

March 19, 1966: The principal, Dr. Adams, was told by the police that all public meetings other than teaching activities would require special police permission. This order came after two days of demonstrations. Using alsatian dogs the police broke up a demonstration. Professor William Taylor, dean of the faculty of social studies, was refused a permit to hold a staff meeting but Dr. Adams was allowed to address the entire university staff of 130 people. At the close of his speech about 20 lecturers walked out in a show of sympathy for the students. The lectureres insist that police order be eliminated before they return to work. It is thought that the demonstrating students will be allowed back to classes on Monday without fear of recriminations.

March 21, 1966: Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of the University College in Salisbury, arrived in London. At the airport he commented, "I do not regard this present situation as more than a temporary one. But if the controls were to become a normal part of our life, then we could not continue." He denied the rumors that the Rhodesian police were in actual control of the University and said that they had come only on Saturday to disperse student demonstrators. He said that he had told the students that the college could not declare itself against U.D.I. as a matter

The Times, London - March 21, 1966

of policy. Dr. Adams has flown to London to discuss the University finances.

Over 100 students of the social administration department of the London School of Economics sent a telegram of support to the students in Salisbury. The National Union of Students have also sent telegrams.

The Christian Science Monitor - March 21, 1966

"Rhodesian unrest"

30 teachers at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have supported the students demands that the college administration issue a public condemnation of the Smith government and U.D.I. The statement issued by teachers in the art and socio studies faculties said they deplored the restrictions placed on students and said that most teachers were in sympathy with them.

The Times, London - March 22, 1966

"Rhodesia call for stand over restrictions on College"

Mr. Ian Henderson, acting-head of the history department at the University in Salisbury, came to London to urge Dr. Adams to support the striking lecturers' stand against the police restrictions at the college. He said that one his main purposes of following Dr. Adams to London was to impress on him the "deteriorating situation" at the college. Mr. Henderson was accompanied by Mr. Ishmael Mulambo, an economics student at the college. Thus far 23 lecturers have joined the strike and Mr. Henderson commented that many more lecturers were in sympathy. "They are like so many people in Rhodesia. They did not accept U.D.I. at first. They hemmed and hawed and wavered, but now they prefer to play along with it because they want a quiet life." He also said that sanctions are not working in Rhodesia.

"Academic Freedom in Danger"

Lectures were delivered as usual by most of the university teachers although most of the 230 African students stayed away and the number of striking lecturers increased to 28. The teachers have submitted letters to the college council that they are going to seek legal aid before deciding whether to return to work. The college council has demanded an answer to this question. One spokesman for the striking lecturers said that they had walked out of Dr. Adam's speech because they could not participate in discussions "in which the principal's interpretation of the college charter and of academic autonomy was so widely divergent from ours." One lecturer approached Sir Humphrey Gibbs on the matter of intervention but the Governor said it was a matter for the college council to decide. The spokesman said that only when the police order which bans meetings is revoked will the strikers reconsider their positions.

The Times, London - March 17, 1966: Mr. L.A. Slater, Chairman of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, challenged the Rhodesian Minister of Information, Mr. Howman, to instigate a judicial enquiry into the Rhodesian Press. This was in response to the publication of a Government pamphlet which stated that the Press slanted the news for the purpose of destroying Rhodesian independence.

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966 : Mr. Slater disputed the charge in the Ministry of Information pamphlet. He said that his newspapers' policies had been to support Rhodesian independence but that they "have always maintained that this shou-

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

be by negotiations." The pamphlet also calls censorship "benevolent" and Mr. Slater commented that a judicial inquiry would disprove this since censors followed party lines and even kept ordinary happenings out of the news.

CONDITIONS IN ZAMBIA

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

"A 10 million plan to truck copper out of Zambia"

Operations of the Zambian Government and the Italian Fiat Motor Corporation with its 400 motor vehicles will take out half of the Zambian copper through Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. A lot of work will have to be done to the Great North Road in paving, etc. and the Dar es Salaam harbor expanded. A parallel road operation which would go through the Malawi road head at Selina and then to Beira is under consideration. Until the development of the road system, the copper from Zambia was carried to Beira on the Rhodesian Railways system.

"Copperbelt economy threat stressed"

Sir William McFadden, chairman of British Insulated Callenders, said that there is a danger to the copper economy due to the Zambian government's royalty policy and Rhodesian troubles. The price of copper is at a critical level (L450/ton) "No one here is prepared to forecast the precise effect on Zambia's copper if a final break with Rhodesia is either made or forced. But such a step is popularly known here (Lusaka) as 'the crunch' and contingency planning by both mines and government is taking into account varying degrees of 'crunch' down to a 50% reduction in copper production." Sir McFadden sees the only solution to the problem in price stability and greater production.

"Price of copper may get too high."

The possibility of substituting aluminium at L196 per ton for copper at L450 a ton is being considered by British firms. The causes are due to supply and demand, "although the Rhodesian troubles have played a small part." Also Chilean labor problems and the miners in Zambia "work-to-rule" have raised the price of copper.

The London Times - March 18, 1966

"New Zambia Mine Venture"

The Anglo-American Corporation announced it will build a mine to produce 32,000 long tons of copper a year. Production won't begin for two years, and capital expenditure will be between L 5-6 million. It will employ 450 persons.

March 22: "Zambia Business Boom through Mr. Smith's action"

Most Zambian business men hope for a Labour victory at the British polls because they expect this Government to continue aid to their country, i.e. the continuation of fuel air routes which costs about L 1 million per month. Britain has spent L4 million in equipment and other items to improve the road routes. The hope is that the proposed transport plan with Fiat to bring goods from Dar to Zambia will be as economical as the Rhodesian Railways. Zambia is beginning an independent air line and the use of coal so that the future of related services with Rhodesia is questionable.

Conditions in Zambia (Cont.)

The London Times - March 22, 1966 (cont.)

Zambian Government and businessmen think that the Rhodesia crisis has "enhanced the landlocked republic's economic independence and prestige." By now, as opposed to soon after UDI, people have adjusted to the import and labor restrictions. There has been an increase in small factories and there are a lot of inquiries to the Industrial Development Corporation from prospective investors. A Swiss firm, Laurer Textiles, with the support of Chase Manhattan Bank, will utilize Zambian cotton, and Japanese-Zambian interests are planning a fertilizer factory by using Zambian coal from its first coal mine or gas. Several new hotels are planned. The Government is spending heavily and will probably announce a new four year plan at the time of the next budget. There seems to be confidence in the copper prices. Minerals account for 90% of Zambia's exports and thus they are heavily dependent on these prices.

New York Times - March 20, 1966

"Zambia bids U. S. Help on Rhodesia"

President Kaunda of Zambia has asked for economic and political support from the U.S. against the existing Rhodesian Government. He urged U. S. support for mandatory sanctions under the U. N. Charter.

The U. S. can also help to win the battle against Rhodesia by providing some of the products Zambia now buys from Rhodesia. Zambia also needs to develop highway communications systems which the U.S. could support financially.

The first step, President Kaunda said, "is to have the British government after the election, come out strongly in favor of majority rule. Finally, independence for Rhodesia would be determined by the Africans." The future of Zambia, once Rhodesia has gained majority rule, will be closely associated with Rhodesia, Tanzania and Bechuanaland.

The Chicago Daily News (from Richard Scott Mowrer) - March 19, 1966

In an interview, Portuguese Foreign Minister Alberto Franco Nogueira, said that Portugal is willing and ready any time to help relieve the plight of Zambia. Neither Zambia nor Malawi has diplomatic relations with Portugal, yet last month they sent a joint delegation to Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, to discuss Portuguese cooperation in setting up an airlift from Beira.

The airlift idea has since been dropped in favor of exploring ways to develop the freight capacity of existing rail communications. The Benguela Railway offers one of the best ways for getting copper out of Zambia if Rhodesia were to close off her routes. This line runs from Lobito on the Angola coast 300 miles inland to connect with rail systems in the Congo and further in Zambia. Not only could this line carry out Zambian copper, but it could bring in needed oil. The expense of flying 2,400 gallons of oil from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka is nearly \$9,000. The same amount could be carried by rail from the Angolan coast to Zambia for about \$560. The complication is that the line has a limited capacity and already carries heavy loads from Angola and Katanga. Increasing its capacity would imply considerable investment which the Foreign Minister said Portugal is "not ready to make."

SCUT AFRICA

The Johannesburg Star - March 19, 1966

"Campaign falters"

A survey of garages in several South African towns reveals that the petrol for Rhodesia campaign has declined and the sale of coupons is minimal.

"Thirty-eight orphans to visit Rhodesia"

Thirty eight orphans will visit Bulawayo for a week where they will stay in private homes and travel to places of interest. This trip was planned by Bulawayo's people in gratitude to the South African Friends of Rhodesia.

"One hundred and twenty branches of Friends of Rhodesia"

Mr. Fred Barnard, chairman of the fund of Friends of Rhodesia, said that there are 120 branches in South-west Africa and South Africa with more than R250,000 worth of coupon books throughout the twenty-two regional authorities. There is cooperation with the Petrol for Rhodesia Fund and a "streamlined banking system for the flow of funds to the central account in Pretoria." He said that subscriptions have come in from the U. K., U. S. A., Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Zambia and Malawi.

"Rhodesia issue 'Danger to South Africa'"

Sir de Villiers Graaff said that South Africa should worry more about Rhodesia than Britain and the U.S.A. He urged de facto recognition of the Smith regime. He urged the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, to act as a mediator on the basis that he has already "impliedly" given de facto recognition. The British Conservative Party has done the same by urging talks with Smith. Sir de Villiers Graaff pointed out that Dr. Verwoerd is getting support because his people realize he is helping Rhodesia "under the lap" but in fact he is doing very little. He pointed to the fear of revolution or chaos in Angola and Mozambique if there is trouble in Rhodesia. As for the United Party in South Africa, he said "We are not prepared to accelerate one man-one vote in any circumstances. The European electorate wants to maintain control to ensure that Western standards will be maintained."

The Minister of Lines, Mr. Hoak, said that Sir de Villiers Graaff could never be a mediator in the Rhodesian issue because it required impartiality and "South Africa could not be impartial."

"Look at U.D.I. calmly," says Mrs. Suzman, Progressive candidate in the Houghton election, Mrs. Helen Suzman said that the view of many South Africans that Mr. Smith is "holding back the Black hordes of Africa" was not true for in Rhodesia before U.D.I. there was not an imminent threat of a black take-over and in fact the declaration of independence has increased the black nationalists. She said that the same thing would happen if South Africa followed the United Party policy of open aid to Rhodesia. She insisted that the alternative to Smith was not chaos since once the rebel regime ends the world will "restore Rhodesia's markets and supplies."

## International Reactions (Cont.)

### South Africa (Cont.)

The Economist - March 19, 1966

"Just What Verwoerd wanted" (From a South African Correspondent)

"Four months after Rhodesia's declaration of independence, South Africa has still not recognized the Smith Regime; yet it is apparent to everybody that the regime's continued survival is due almost entirely to South African support . . . This formula of official neutrality and unofficial support is difficult to assail and is precisely what Dr. Verwoerd has sought from the outset. His first concern over Rhodesia is to ensure the failure of sanctions. If sanctions, especially oil sanctions, work against Rhodesia, the pressure for their use against South Africa as well will intensify; conversely, if they fail against tiny Rhodesia, the case for there ever being used against the relatively powerful South African economy will be greatly weakened."

"The United Party has tried to capitalize on the wave of pro-Smith emotionalism that has swept white South Africa . . . it is now being massacred with the evidence of help given with no risks involved. . . The tactic of trying to appear more Nationalist than the Nationalists is not intended to win over the right-wing Afrikaner so much as to staunch a haemorrhage of the United party's own traditional English-speaking support." So, in spite of the apparent electoral pressures on him, all Dr. Verwoerd has needed to do about Rhodesia is a careful nothing. Neutrality on an issue like sanctions means that they are not applied. It is "business as usual . . . Put simply, it is a policy of making life safe for the bootleggers."

### PORUGAL

#### London Times

The British Embassy in Lisbon denied the report from Beira that the British radio station in Francistown, Bechuanaland was beaming at Angola and Mozambique.

### GREAT BRITAIN

The London Times - March 18, 1966

Sir Douglas-Home faced hecklers at a Conservative meeting in Salisbury. When he began to talk on Rhodesia the four demonstrators started to chant "Force first--talk later." Sir Alec asked that they hear him out. He said "We must seek a settlement which is just both to white and black in Rhodesia." The jeerer shouted, "One man--one vote," and Sir Alec retorted, "Do you have that in Ghana? Do you have that in a great many other countries?"

March 19, 1966: "Come Clean on Rhodesia"

Mr. Heath accused Mr. Wilson of slandering the Conservative party for their "Rhodesian attitude" He demanded that Mr. Wilson should "come clean" about why Mr. Duncan Latson, an assistant under-secretary at the Commonwealth Relations office is in Salisbury. If he is in Salisbury to start talks with the Rhodesian regime, Wilson should admit it, said Mr. Heath, "because the people ought to know that he is now adopting the policy which we have urged."

## International Reactions (Cont.)

### Great Britain (Cont.)

#### The London Times - March 21, 1966 "Mr. Wilson Lashes Tories over Rhodesia"

The Prime Minister accused the Conservatives of making the resistance of the Smith regime stiffer and that they were hoping for a Tory victory. In a speech at Guildhall, Mr. Wilson inferred that the hope in Rhodesia of Tory victory was that of hoping for an easement. He called the Tory overthrow of a "national policy" as "irresponsibility without parallel," and that tragedy would occur if the Conservatives came back to power "with responsibility for handling the crisis with which they are so unfitted to deal." He outlined the history of the Rhodesian situation and questioned why Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had been sent to Rhodesia. It was not to find a solution but rather a "compromise formula" with which to unite the Conservatives in opposition to the British Government. When Mr. Lloyd returned from his trip to Rhodesia a censure motion was tabled but never debated and when Mr. Heath had an opportunity in Parliament to initiate the subject of Rhodesia it was not done. Wilson stated that Lloyd's report indicated that Smith had not changed his mind but that if he had and would "advance and safeguard" the five principles of British solution he was free to offer his ideas which the Government would consider.

"What we will not do -- and I am shocked at a Conservative Party which has always stood for the rule of law even proposing this -- is to legalize an act of rebellion against the Crown, the British Parliament, against world opinion, and, I believe, against the conscience of mankind." The only justification for the Tory decision to break from national policy was simply to unify themselves and to provide their local candidates protection against extremists.

Mr. Heath's response was that since Mr. Wilson had no policy he was reduced to slandering his opponents. "He is deadlocked. He has repeatedly misjudged or misled the country and the Commonwealth about the timing of the effects of sanctions and now, finding himself in an impossible position, all he can do is make slanderous statements about the Conservatives." He said sanctions would not lead to chaos in Rhodesia in spite of their effects, and that there were no Rhodesians ready to accept the "unconditional surrender" offer of Mr. Wilson. Sanctions had pre-disposed the Rhodesians for only an "honorable settlement". He said that Mr. Duncan Watson's trip is probably "to find out for Mr. Wilson what the situation is . . He is not just a furniture inspector."

#### March 22: "National Unity on Rhodesia Broken"

Mr. Heath said that Mr. Wilson's speech at Southampton broke the remaining unity on Rhodesia by "descending to accusing the whole of his opponents of aiding and abetting rebels. It is a false accusation for which there is absolutely no justification." Heath was particularly incensed by the remark of Wilson's that "Even Mr. Smith said to me on the phone on the morning of U.D.I. that their decision was not in any way to be laid at my door. Indeed, he said repeatedly that the fault lay not with our Government, but with our predecessors." (The statesman went on to say, "I felt that neither we nor our predecessors were to blame for the position in which Mr. Smith and his Government found themselves.") Mr. Heath commented that the British Government Blue Book collating all the British-Rhodesian talks before U.D.I. did not record Smith's blame of the Conservative Government. Mr. Heath questioned the P.M.'s memory or whether the transcript had been changed.

## International Reactions (Cont.)

### Great Britain (Cont.)

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

Mr. Heath pointed out that at other times Wilson said he was just continuing the policy of Sir Alec Douglas-Home vis-a-vis Rhodesia, and he criticized Mr. Wilson for suggesting that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's mission to Rhodesia was purely political.

Mr. Pottoroff, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said in a speech at Hull, "Either they (the Conservatives) should support us wholeheartedly in what is, after all, an international problem, or they must say clearly that they would be content to let the Smith regime get away with it, and having said that, they must be prepared to accept the consequences for our international position that would follow."

### UNITED STATES

The Christian Science Monitor - March 19 (from David Willis)

Washington is caught in a dilemma over Rhodesia. Some officials believe sanctions will not work; others still think they will succeed. The latter group is waiting for March 29 when the tobacco auctions begin just outside of Salisbury.

London and Washington are hoping that tobacco buyers will stay away. The latest State Department pronouncement of policy says the American Tobacco Association has "indicated that it would comply" with the sanctions.

March 22: (also from David Willis)

In an interview G. Bennett Williams, retiring Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, admitted uneasiness about the future of Rhodesia. He and other Washington officials are haunted by the possibility that Africa may turn to Washington for military action against the Smith regime. Officials want to stay from any military involvement in Africa, especially at this time.

### NOTES OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

McKay, Vernon, "Africa and the American Right," The New Republic, March 26, 1966.