

The Times - April 25, 1966

Mr. Arthur Wina, Zambian Finance Minister, announced a new tax on copper exports. The Government will take 40% of all income over £300 a ton received by the mining companies. The present selling rate is £636 a ton. The Government will receive about £3 million a month from this tax.

British reaction to the increase in copper price was sharp. It is said that the price of consumer products using copper will increase radically, and that copper substitutes will be sought.

The Times - April 27, 1966

Union Miniere du Haut Katanga raised its copper prices in accord with Zambia and Chile.

Week of April 28 - May 4

EDITORIALS

The Economist - April 30, 1966

"The Rhodesian crisis has not been solved: it has merely been made capable of solution. It has taken five months just to get talks about talks. . .

. . . it is Mr. Wilson who has now most room to manoeuvre. But not all that much room. If he insists to the end, on any return to direct rule by the governor then there will be no agreement. . . So Mr. Wilson should be prepared to concede Rhodesian independence in the final settlement. That he can do. But the terms of that independence will be what matter. (The question of the Black African advance, its timing and manner)

Last November he declared: " It would take a very long time based on achievement, achievement by African politicians as well as European politicians, to secure the kind of free-working democracy in Rhodesia that is needed." Mr. Wilson should be no less realistic in his timetable now. That timetable should be an entrenched part of any constitutional settlement, and it should be entrenched in a manner that allows the black Africans themselves to act in defence of their rights. This means that the 'blocking third' of black African parliamentary representatives must be established with legal independence.

. . . Mr. Wilson has been wise to recognize that Mr. Smith's government is the only body to talk to."

The Observer - May 1, 1966

Mr. Wilson could not very well have rejected Mr. Smith's initiative for unconditional exploratory talks. They will "clear the air" and deprive Mr. Wilson's Tory critics of their best weapon. The initiative came at a time, moreover, when it was clear that South Africa would not end its policy of undermining the sanctions. Mr. Wilson can count on no help from the U.S., France, or West Germany in a confrontation with South Africa. Mr. Wilson could not realistically ignore this fact.

If the talks succeed, the crisis will be solved and the showdown with South Africa postponed. But if they fail, it will be very awkward. Therefore there is fear that Mr. Wilson will compromise. Neither side has much room for manoeuvre: Mr. Wilson's concessions must be acceptable to the majority of all Rhodesians, and Mr. Smith's must be accepted by the Rhodesian Front.

The suspicions of African leaders of entirely understandable - in view of the fact that the talks involve only white leaders, each of whom has reasons for wanting to disengage now. . . "the political reputation of Western man in Africa and also in Asia may depend on Mr. Wilson standing firm".

Editorials(continued)

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

The talks about to begin will be on a position of equality, each knowing that they could hurt the other a great deal. In spite of the conflict in positions, some agreement may be possible. It should be remembered that neither side in the negotiations before UDI was concerned with racial supremacy but with the mechanics of a multi-racial state. Mr. Wilson said that he did not seek majority rule for a long time, and Mr. Smith stated that he was for a "meritocracy", not White rule as such. The reality behind these positions must be dealt with if the talks are to succeed.

SANCTIONS AND OIL

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

Portuguese troops are patrolling the shore and key points in Beira, in response to the British surveillance in the Mozambique Channel. Shipping entering Beira harbor has not been subjected to the interception and questioning that was practised earlier, however. The Angga, for example, a Swedish tanker carrying 10,000 tons of refined oil, was not intercepted on her trip from Lourenco Marques to Beira.

The Times - April 30, 1966

Portugal asked for a ruling on the validity of the April 9 Security Council resolution authorizing Britain to use force to prevent oil from being sent to Rhodesia through Beira.

The Times - May 4, 1966

The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs said that the April 9 Security Council resolution was a "true frontal attack on the principle of the freedom of the seas." He said it infringed principles of international law and internationalized a problem hitherto only British.

The South African "Petrol for Rhodesia" fund has sent £15,000 worth of oil to Rhodesia since January.

BRITISH POLICY

Talks between UK and Rhodesia:

New York Times - April 28, 1966

"Prime Minister Wilson triumphantly announced to the House of Commons today that talks between the British and Rhodesian Government would be resumed". The talks will be informal, directed only to see if a basis for negotiation exists, and without commitment on either side. Mr. Wilson argued that the success in getting talks meant that sanctions are working; Rhodesian sources think this unlikely, attributing Smith's willingness to strength rather than weakness.

The Times - April 28, 1966

The talks that are beginning are informal and involve no commitment. The Governor has played a leading role in getting them. Some Labour backbenchers see this move as a "sell-out" to Mr. Smith and Dr. Verwoerd. The Conservatives welcomed the news.

Die Transvaler - April 28, 1966 (from Press Digest)

"According to a British source Dr. Verwoerd had not acted as mediator between Britain and Rhodesia. It was possible that Dr. Verwoerd had used his influence

with Mr. Smith, he said."

Rand Daily Mail - April 29, 1966(from Press Digest)

"In the event of informal talks leading to a genuine basis for negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia, it is the present intention of the British Government, it is learnt from a reliable source, to end the sanctions clamp against Rhodesia to allow negotiations to proceed. ... It is being stressed in Whitehall that the demand for guaranteed advancement for Rhodesian Africans has not been abandoned."

New York Times - April 29, 1966

Neither side has yet conceded any points in the dispute between Wilson and Smith, although exploratory talks have been set. British principles, however, will be: (1) guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule, (2) no constitutional amendments to make it less democratic, (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the black population, (4) progress toward ending racial discrimination, and (5) acceptability of the conditions to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The Times - April 29, 1966

There are misgivings in the Rhodesian Front about the preliminary talks going on on an unofficial level, but it is felt that Mr. Smith can carry his party. Mr. Smith refused to comment on the prospect for a settlement.

The Times - April 30, 1966

Mr. Smith said today he would give no ground on "matters of principle or on promises given to the electorate" in the talks with Britain. This means, he said, that he does not relinquish independence, and Mr. Wilson does not recognize it. He said there is now a real will to solve the problems and ways to do so without either side compromising.

The Times - April 29, 1966

U Thant said today he hopes that the British Government sees that further steps are necessary to end the serious dangers inherent in the Rhodesian situation. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Heath attended the meeting U Thant addressed.

Stock markets were somewhat firmer in London - one factor being the talks between Rhodesia and Britain. There was an increase in Rhodesian bonds, and some buying of companies with interests in Rhodesia.

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

News of the exploratory British-Rhodesian talks were greeted in Lourenco Marques with huge relief. Portuguese there hope it will end the tremendous strain on Portuguese-British relations.

Die Transvaler - May 2, 1966(from Press Digest)

Dr. Verwoerd denied newspaper reports alleging that he had exerted pressure on Mr. Smith to agree to renewed talks.

New York Times - May 4, 1966

The Rhodesian delegation for the talks in London is headed by Sir Cornelius Greenfield, principal economic adviser to Mr. Smith. Other members are Stanley Morris, chairman of Public Services Board, and Gerald Clark, Cabinet secretary.

The Times - London - May 2, 1966

Mr. Smith is facing some opposition in the proposed talks with Britain. The government controlled TV and a Rhodesian Front official say that Mr. Smith will not let the (white) Rhodesians down. The Rhodesian Front right wing fear that Smith may give in to some of Wilson's five basic principles which concern land apportionment, race discrimination and African parliamentary representation. It is felt in Salisbury that talks will break down unless Smith will move forward from the degree of African advancement under the 1961 Constitution.

The Times - London - May 4, 1966

The Minister of Local Government, Mr. Mark Partridge, said regarding the forthcoming talks with Britain that she, Britain, "In selfish and unprincipled pursuit of her own short term ends, and regardless of obvious poverty, injustice and misery they bring in their train, seeks to impose upon our parliamentary and other Government institutions, and I include local government, her own solutions." He said that if South Africa and Portugal had not stood by Rhodesia, they might have lost their possessions, liberty and possibly their lives.

The Times - London - May 5, 1966

Mr. Ian Smith, Mr. Oliver Wright (for the British Government) signed a memorandum at Government House in Salisbury on April 22 which sets out the procedure for the proposed exploratory talks. The next stage will open in London next week and if all goes well will continue back in Salisbury in the middle of the month. The Rhodesian Government is taking the talks extremely seriously.

The Observer - May 8, 1966

"Africans still fear 'sell-out'" by Colin Legum (Commonwealth correspondent)

Talks between Britain and Rhodesia begin "in an atmosphere of growing African hostility to this form of negotiation." Even the most understanding of African leaders are looking for signs of a "sell-out," and British ambassadors are trying to reassure them. Mr. Wilson's main concern, however, is with the danger of a rift with Zambia, whose Cabinet will meet soon to consider steps to express its sharp disagreement with Britain. Two possible lines are being considered: breaking diplomatic relations with Britain, and giving support to ZAPU and ZANU. But such steps may also endanger Zambia's own stability.

B. Zambia's relations:

The Times - London - April 29, 1966

President Kaunda is sending a letter to Prime Minister Wilson on the Rhodesian crisis. The contents of the letter have not been revealed but it appears that it indicates Zambia's misgivings about the proposed talks with Rhodesia, fearing these are tantamount to a recognition of Smith's regime.

New York Times - May 1, 1966

"British Office stoned in Zambia to protest Rhodesian Killing"

Lusaka - An anti-British riot was held by university students in which they smashed windows of the British High Commission and tore up the British flag. Tear gas was used to break up the riot and over 100 students were arrested. The students and some Rhodesian nationals presented the High Commission with a memorandum condemning the British Government talks with Smith and it called for the use of force. The students demanded to see Malcolm MacDonald, the British special envoy to East and Central Africa, who was in Lusaka at the time conferring with President Kaunda. This audience was refused and the stone throwing began.

President Kaunda has condoned the proposed talks.

ZANU announced that in the clash at Sinioa the previous day 25 Rhodesian security police had been killed.

The Observer - May 1, 1966

"Kaunda hits at talks with Smith" by Colin Legum (Commonwealth Correspondent)

Africa's "key figure" in the Rhodesian crisis--Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda--yesterday strongly criticized the decision to reopen talks as "entirely uncalled for." His reaction was a disappointment to Mr. Wilson, who has been trying to coordinate his policy with him. Now Kaunda is considering independent action.

Zambia may reconsider its policy of not allowing either ZAPU or ZANU to use its territory as a base for guerrilla attacks on Rhodesia; recent guerrilla action has mobilized public opinion in favor of direct action. The ban on use of weapons by ZANU and ZAPU has been justified for internal security reasons, and also to avoid antagonizing Rhodesia.

Dr. Kaunda's criticism will make it more difficult for Mr. Wilson to head off a U.N. Security Council meeting the Africans are trying to convene for May 10.

The pro-Government South African press has now confirmed that Dr. Verwoerd used his "influence" (as opposed to "pressure") to get Mr. Smith to talk, against the advice of the latter's right wing.

The Times - London - May 2, 1966

President Kaunda said today that he highly disapproves of the British talks with Smith. He said, "It is out of place with the thinking one would like to attribute to the Labour Government of Britain." He said Zambia will take public action in a week or so.

Kaunda said he hopes and prays that African nationalists will continue to give their lives in the struggle in their country. He called for a minute of silence in honor of the seven men killed at Sinonia, and then led the crowd assembled at Chingola in a version of "Rock of Ages."

Students demonstrated in Lusaka against the British High Commission, smashing windows, tearing up the Union Jack and assaulting five policemen.

CONDITIONS WITHIN THODESIA

A. Nationalist Activity:

The Times - London - April 30, 1966

Seven African terrorists were shot and killed by Rhodesian security forces today near Sinioa, 85 miles from Salisbury. The men were said to be ZANU members, with a large amount of arms and equipment including Russian and Chinese weapons. Several arrested men said they had had terrorist training in China.

The Times - London - April 30, 1966

About 50 African students carried posters reading "We defy the Smith regime" in a protest demonstration on the university campus in Salisbury. They timed it to the opening of a meeting of the college council.

The Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

Washington Malianga, publicity secretary for ZANU, issued a warning that guerilla warfare would be intensified. He was speaking for the chairman Herbert Chitepo, who recently gave up a £2,500-a-year job as President Nyerere's director of public prosecutions in Dar-es-Salaam.

The Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

A report from Salisbury stated that Rhodesian police clashed with a force of guerillas near Sinoina. The band is believed to have numbered 30, of whom seven were killed. The police were supported by French Alouette helicopters of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. Weapons captured were reported to be from China and the Soviet Union. The guerillas themselves were members of the Zimbabwe African National Union.

The Times - London - May 2, 1966

ZANU officials in Dar-es-Salaam say about 25 white policemen were killed and 30 wounded in the recent Sinoina incident. A party statement said that ZANU fighters had shot down two Royal Rhodesian Air Force helicopters. ZANU also claims that 8 white settlers have been killed in the past week and much damage done to farms. A Times Commonwealth Staff writer says these claims cannot be substantiated, and that both ZANU and ZAPU have a reputation for "irresponsible exaggeration."

The Times - London - May 5, 1966

ZANU officials in Dar-es-Salaam say 5 white Rhodesian policemen guarding the power line from Kariba to Salisbury were killed by guerillas in an attack 25 miles north of Sinoina.

New York Times - May 4, 1966

"Guerilla Clashes denied by Rhodesia"

Rhodesian police denied the reports from the African Nationalists in Tanzania and Zambia that clashes between police and nationalists had taken place. The Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union (ZANU) party in Dar-es-Salaam had reported that 5 policemen had been killed while guarding the Kariba power lines on the Zambian/Rhodesian border.

Arrests in Zambia had been made of Africans after the clashes. Rev. Ndabasingi Sithole, leader of ZANU, announced that military activities against Rhodesia would increase and intensify.

B. Political conditions and economic conditions:

The Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

Mr. Smith is probably regretting the way in which he went about censorship, since the findings that some of the regulations were in conflict with his own Declaration of Rights. He might have been better advised to ask for voluntary censorship and kept a big stick in the background, rather than to impose direct government censorship with its authoritarian implications.

The Times - London - April 26, 1966

Rhodesian Railways has a joint ownership and administration between Rhodesia and Zambia. A higher authority, with two ministers from each country, determines overall policy. This body met before UDI to discuss the future development of the railway and consideration of the transfer of European workers to Zambia. The increased cost of running the railway in Zambia and the extent to which this increase falls on Rhodesian users was discussed. A cut-back in the oil supplies may lead to a decrease in the amount of export trade (copper) the railway can carry for Zambia. Rhodesia may act unilaterally to this effect, as the Rhodesian Minister of Transport implied in a recent speech.

The Times - London - April 28, 1966

Mr. Chad Chipunza, the African leader of the opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament welcomes the talks between Britain and Rhodesia. Rhodesian Front reaction could cause

a split in the party and the replacement of Smith by someone more of the right wing.

The Observer - May 1, 1966

"Businessmen warn Smith of grim prospects" by Roy Perrott

Pressure from businessmen is said to have been a factor in convincing Smith to reopen talks. They have been more open recently about their troubles; they cannot carry redundant workers much longer, and soon many businesses will be pushed to a point from which they could never recover. At the top, optimism has been replaced by anxiety, for there is no end in sight.

On the other hand, the rank and file appear to still be convinced by the propaganda and feel they have already won. They cannot understand why Smith is negotiating now, and there is fear that their position will be unnecessarily undermined.

The Times - London - April 30, 1966

Copper prices surged ahead today on the London market.

The Times - London - May 4, 1966

The British Government announced it had honoured the £535,000 worth of Rhodesia's debt to the World Bank. The Treasury says the money will be recovered "when constitutional government is restored."

C. University

New York Times - April 29, 1966

A report by Dr. Robert Bixley on the recent disturbances at the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia should soon be released. In October, black students and a handful of others walked out of a graduation ceremony as Sir Humphrey Gibbs rose to speak; following this incident the black and Indian representatives in the Student Union executive resigned. In March, the college gave the Student Union power to discipline students who brought the college into "disrepute," thus giving whites disciplinary authority over the blacks. The result was a march, and then a boycott. On March 17 the government acted under emergency regulations to forbid meetings of more than three persons. But the protests continued. Eventually the police withdrew. On April 12 Joseph Malulake, a black student escaped from Gonakudzingwa detention camp, arrived on campus to resume his studies. The principal, Dr. Adams, refused to turn him over to the police; then offered his resignation. The college council is unlikely to accept, since then other resignations would also be likely to be offered by up to half the college staff.

The Economist - April 30, 1966

"Defiant dons"

There are two distinct but overlapping rows at the University College of Rhodesia. The first mainly involves the student body of just under a thousand, of whom a little over $\frac{1}{4}$ are Africans. These, with their white liberal supporters, form a minority in the Students' Representative Council. Powerless to voice their opposition to Mr. Smith through the Council, they deeply resent its official resolutions of support for him; they equally resent being rebuked by the council for voicing their own opposition independently.

The second row is the more serious. It concerns Mr. Joseph Maluleke, an African trade union leader and economics student at the college since 1964. In February, after being acquitted of charges of sabotage, he was put into restriction and detention 400 miles from Salisbury. By April he had managed to escape and showed up at the University to resume his studies and attendance at lectures. The police put the responsibility of turning him in on the students and faculty. "Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of

the college, said he himself would not pass on any information and he offered to resign unless the college's governing body approves his stand; a difficult condition since many of its members support Smith." About one-third of the faculty stand behind Mr. Adams.

"A good many opponents of Mr. Smith in Rhodesia have criticized the university for making its stand on an issue only peripherally concerned with academic freedom as such. But those who have made this stand are fully aware that it may endanger the university itself; they felt that it was time someone in Rhodesia did make a stand on the important issue of personal freedom."

Perhaps Smith wants to discredit the university as "an institution harbouring a fugitive 'criminal.'" This could be a prelude to closing not the whole of the college, but the arts faculties where the liberals are notoriously concentrated."

Mr. Maluleke is claiming in the courts that the detention orders served against him are invalid because Mr. Smith's government was considered illegal before the orders were given. There are other similar cases facing the courts. "A legal authority here rejects the government's claim that it will be automatically entitled to legal recognition after six months' survival. But it does seem that the longer it maintains its position, the more recognition it is likely to be accorded by the courts."

New York Times - May 3, 1966

The council of the multi-racial University College called for a serious restructuring of the administration and discipline practices after evaluating recent weaknesses in discipline and breakdown in communications between the principal and the staff and the students.

The Birley Report said one of the basic causes for tension was generated by the University being a multi-racial institution in a society of practiced racial discrimination. Social mixing is lower among the races than a year ago even though an African girl was elected by the students. The student committee replaced her with a white girl because they felt certain she would lose financial support. Some staff members went on a strike over this action, because it infringed upon their human rights.

CONDITIONS WITHIN ZAMBIA

The Times - London - April 26, 1966

The strike at Nchango mine has ended. All mines are now in full production.

The Times - London - April 29, 1966

Effective supplying of fuel to Malawi and Zambia is now in operation from Mozambique by rail and road with rapidity, security and economy, and in quantities which satisfy the needs of those countries." This statement was made by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry in Lisbon.

The Times - London - April 30, 1966

U.S. and Canadian oil airlifts to Zambia end tomorrow. The British airlift by civilian operators from Dar-es-Salaam and by the Royal Air Force from Nairobi, is to continue.

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

Zambia may take the initiative from Britain on Rhodesia, said President Kaunda at an interview at Lusaka airport. His statement followed a pledge by ZANU to revenge the death of 7 Africans who died in a gun battle with police in Rhodesia. In earlier developments the British High Commission in Lusaka was stoned by student demonstrators.

Zambia (continued)

The President also reported that he had told Mr. Macdonald (the British representative in East and Central Africa) of his strong disapproval of Britain's decision to open talks with Rhodesia.

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

According to a high-level British source, the airlift of oil from Nairobi to Zambia is being sabotaged by British airmen sympathetic to Smith. All servicing is done in Nairobi, and airmen have been discovering "defects" when well on their way, and turning back to Nairobi for repairs. "Some of the faults have not been serious enough to prevent the planes carrying on to the dumping point, but they just doubled back to Nairobi just the same."

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

Johannesburg Star - April 30, 1966

A visit to Rhodesia by Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, is under consideration. It will probably be discussed in Salisbury by Mr. John Gaunt, the Rhodesian accredited diplomatic representative in South Africa, during his meeting with cabinet ministers this week.

The Observer - May 1, 1966

Any sign that the talks with Smith will lead to relaxing of sanctions will result in an immediate move by Tanzania to the U.N. The Talks are taken as a hopeful sign that Smith is becoming less confident of success, but there is fear that Britain will settle for less than majority rule. "Nyerere still wants a firm declaration from Britain that majority rule is her aim."

New York Times - April 28, 1966

Representatives of 36 African states decided to ask the Security Council to meet by May 10 to consider further action on the Rhodesia crisis.

New York Times - April 29, 1966

Representative Donald M. Frazer, Democrat of Minnesota, said today that the U.S. should press Britain to negotiate a transfer of power to the black majority in Rhodesia. In a House speech supported by six other Congressmen, Fraser said U.S. policy on Rhodesia and South Africa was inadequate. The U.S. should state its commitment to the achievement of governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa.

New York Times - May 2, 1966

A bi-partisan group of Senators and Representatives has been taking steps to press for liberal U.S. policies in Africa. This week, three Senators and ten Representatives will attend a four-day conference at Ditchley, England. Those participating are Senators Edward M. Kennedy, Frank E. Moss, and Frank Church, and Representatives Donald M. Frazer, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Ogden R. Reid, William S. Mailliard, John V. Tunney, Charles C. Diggs Jr., John Brademas, John C. Culver, Bradford Morse, and Peter Frelinghuysen.