

R H O D E S I A

HMG RELATIONS

Comment 1) on the news that senior British official Sir Morrice James is sent to Salisbury to give Smith H.M.G.'s (Her Majesty's Government) terms for a settlement and 2) the Conservative Party annual conference's resolution on Rhodesia. (Commonwealth Secretary Bowden is willing to fly to Rhodesia again to discuss details. In London he stated HMG cannot wait without limit -- wanted an answer in a "week or two"; HMG proposals are well within the six principles.)

The Times, London - Oct. 14

It is right to negotiate, political realism does mean some compromise; but the basic requirement remains -- not to endorse unfettered control by the white Rhodesian minority over the present and future of the 4 million Africans. A limited trusteeship over their African wards, with safeguards, is negotiable for the sake of a settlement that would end the present grave risk of bloodshed in Central Africa. "To grant sovereignty in a form that gave the minority the powers of a jailer rather than a trustee over the majority is morally unacceptable....politically unfeasible. The Government (HMG) are in a bad fix, but the Opposition has produced no workable alternative."

The Guardian - Oct. 14

If there is any purpose in the visit, it can only be to prove once more that an Anglo-Rhodesian compromise is not possible and that other methods must be used. As for the Conservative resolution, it is completely contradictory. It supports the principles by which alone a settlement can be granted, yet it opposes handing over the problem to the U.N. Sanctions imposed by Britain et al with U.N. support have failed; how, then, can the principles stated equally by Labour and Conservatives be put into effect?

"The logic of asking the U.N. to make sanctions compulsory is that action must be taken against the countries -- mainly S.A. -- which refuse to join in. No one can foresee the end of such a conflict; but to make demands on white Rhodesians knowing that they will not accept them and leave it at that is diplomacy at its most supine."

The Daily Telegraph - Oct. 14

There can be no browbeating/bullying/threatening with specter of economic collapse and warlike gestures. Wilson committed Britain thus in order to buy time, and time is running out on him. His African taskmasters at OAU will meet soon to force his pace. In obliging him to resist such pressures the Conservative Party will have growing public support.

The Yorkshire Post - Oct. 14

(Agrees with Conservative Douglas-Home) - Three essentials for negotiated settlement are: no time limit, no reference to U.N., no mandatory sanctions. Wilson's threats have already gone off to Salisbury, but still time to stop them before presented to Smith. Reportedly Maudling (Conservative Commonwealth spokesman) regards present situation as stark choice between agreement and disaster.

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Washington Post - Oct. 11

Strong indications are that Smith's regime will reject Wilson's "last chance" offer to negotiate settlement, will spin out agony of defiance until last possible moment in hope of gaining every ounce of concession.

Sunday Mail, Salisbury - Oct. 9

Reported top RG source said Smith told Bowden: "I don't believe you can seriously expect us to accept your terms. They amount to unconditional surrender." (Smith regime also angered by speeches at British Labor Party convention and by "leaks" in London about September Smith-Bowden talks.)

London Observer - Oct. 9

Bowden apparently envisages interim British governor charged with drafting constitution which then submitted to the people as a whole through an opinion-testing Royal Commission which would have to satisfy itself that majority of Rhodesians were happy with the document. Majority rule would be achieved under such constitution reportedly Bowden said "perhaps after 2 or 3 elections" - after 10 or 15 years.

The Observer - Oct. 2

Britain insists Smith give up power before constitution is worked out, whereas Smith insists on at least prior offer of a constitution.

The Scotsman - Oct. 14

While Conservative Party leadership plainly opposed any resort to mandatory sanctions, why did conference resolution not say so directly/unambiguously, instead of merely objecting to handing over this British problem to the U.N. -- which is gross exaggeration of what Wilson actually intends if Smith spurns his latest/last offer of negotiated settlement?

The Times, London - Oct. 8

On B.B.C. interview Wilson said: it was positively understood that Smith and illegal RG were being given their last chance; Foreign Secretary Brown stated this at Labour Party Conference where HMG "had to shelter" Smith and had sheltered him from world opinion at U.N. from Commonwealth Conference, for not taking firmer action; sands of time had not run out completely for Rhodesia "but there is a timetable -- the world won't wait"; HMG will stand absolutely firm on principles laid down by previous government, by Douglas-Home and Sandys . . . principle of no independence except on basis acceptable to people of Rhodesia as a whole -- and principle that there must be guaranteed/unimpeded progress towards majority democratic rule.

New York Times - Oct. 5

In a speech to Labour Party Conference, Wilson reaffirmed HMG's commitment to securing rights of black majority in Rhodesia, and accused Conservatives of willingness to surrender those rights and to break up Commonwealth. Apparently Wilson has given up hope of successful settlement with Smith regime, probably is preparing to accept mandatory U.N. sanctions on certain products, including oil. Strengthening of Commonwealth ties at September meeting and impasse reached by last British mission to Rhodesia were likely responsible for strengthened position of Wilson. L.T. Oct. 8. Labour Party closing session was almost entirely devoted to Rhodesia question. Motion demanding mandatory sanctions through U.N. was defeated while National Executive statement was carried.

The Times, London - Oct. 10

British-Rhodesian gap remains wide and was emphasized in several speeches in Rhodesia. Minister of Information Howman said economically Rhodesia needs to resume relations with Britain, thus RG should continue discussion, but independence was not "for barter." Smith was in dialogue with HMG from position of strength not weakness.

Officer Administering the "Government" Dupont eulogized spirit of unity in Rhodesia in contrast to strife/tribal rivalry in rest of Africa, labeling these

countries as "rudderless fragmentations which were easy prey to the unscrupulous ideologies which seek to exploit them."

HMG AND THE U.N. - - -

The Times, London - Oct. 10

British Foreign Secretary Brown said at New York dinner, "We have now made it quite plain, with Commonwealth backing that there is short period of time which they (Rhodesia) have to use to recognize that this illegal regime must hand over to legal authority I hope those in Rhodesia will understand just what they are playing with, and that those in Rhodesia will comply with declaration of the Commonwealth Conference."

The Observer - Oct. 9

The U.N. delegates are looking for "precise assurances about Britain's actions," rather than "generalities about her intentions"; her projected peace-keeping role east of Suez will not be taken seriously while her will to act in Rhodesia is still in question. By accident of historical timing, Britain is left with Spain and Portugal among last of the colonial Powers; she is given large share of blame for survival of white supremacy in Southern Africa. Vietnam, African and Arab disunity and African promise made in London to give Wilson more time, have allayed pressure on the British at U.N., but it is growing. A relatively friendly Afro-Asian view is that Britain must either intervene effectively in Rhodesia, by force or otherwise, or she must admit that she cannot but will join with others in UN action. Otherwise the multi-racial Commonwealth is doomed. Differences from case of Algeria are obvious: Rhodesian nationalists are weak/disorganized, British army is not already in Rhodesia, crisis is less related to a domestic one. Africans acknowledge Britain's practical (economic/racial) difficulties while pointing out moral aspects-"do the Western Powers practise what they preach?"

- - - and the Opposition

The Times, London - Oct. 10

At meeting of Monday Club, (independent Tory group) guest speaker, Selwyn Lloyd, stated, "We have to find a way for Rhodesia to have her lawful independence. Any idea of going back to direct rule from Whitehall is absolute nonsense. Raikes said Rhodesia was not apartheid state but soon would be unless there were some understanding for RG. Lord Salisbury added that Conservative Party must oppose possible HMG action regarding mandatory sanctions.

SANCTIONS

The Economist - Oct. 8

Editorial, "What Sanctions Mean" - What would resort to mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia involve?

Some current notions are quite unfounded; Sanctions are a keenly controversial issue in a way they have not been for 30 years. Yet most public discussion has not given enough attention to complex question of what sanctions are. The League of Nations' half-hearted bid 1935/6 to use sanctions to stop fascist Italy's conquest of Ethiopia still affects much thinking -- though it is usually forgotten that sanctions did not prove ineffective then, but that nations as a whole refused to use them to any effective extent. Nevertheless, U.N. Charter's 'enforcement' provisions, Chapter VII, included article 41 specifically on non-military measures, and articles 39, 40, 48-50 as relevant to economic sanctions as to use of armed force. The bringing together in one chapter of military/non-military elements may have contributed to confusion of thought that marks much discussion about sanctions today. It is sometimes held that, once embarked on economic measures, the UN members are bound to proceed to military ones if purely economic sanctions do not completely resolve

problem. That view is quite mistaken. So is assumption that, because UN Charter's military provisions are still inoperative, the mechanism of economic sanctions is necessarily blocked. The words 'mandatory' and 'sanctions' do not appear in Charter VII. Article 41 refers to 'measures not involving the use of armed force' and of means of communication. If the Security Council calls on member states to apply such measures, they will be under binding treaty obligation to do so; Article 25 makes this clear, and that is the basic meaning of 'mandatory' in this context.. Non-members (eg. Switzerland and Germany) are not under such a treaty obligation; but Article 2(6) of UN Charter directs that UN 'shall ensure' that non-members comply with its principles 'so far as may be necessary' for maintenance of peace.

Articles 49, 50 are relevant to a question in some British minds: 'burden sharing' in any international action must prove more costly/hurtful to some states than to others. . . a member faced with 'special economic problems' is entitled to ask the Security Council to help solve them, but it would be optimistic for any nation (say Britain or Zambia) to count on the Council attempting this.

When the moment for an initiative in Security Council draws near, Article 39 (on determining existence of any threat to peace) may become focal point for dispute.. Even if it is agreed that a threat to the peace exists, it is still possible to argue that the proper target of sanctions is states that look like making the first resort to international violence, not those who provoke them to violence.

In San Francisco 1945 some governments thought UN Charter should provide clear definitions of what constituted a threat to the peace, but the majority rejected this (including SA) and insisted that Security Council be left free to decide.

"In sum, the mechanism of international sanctions, although so little used, is not too rusty to turn over at all; the Charter's framework is neither so restrictively narrow as some suppose nor so alarmingly open-ended as others fear."

The Observer - Oct. 2

There is now incontrovertible proof that 75% of Rhodesia's oil/petrol supplies are coming in by rail from Lourenço Marques, where refinery is supplied by French company, Total. Wilson must decide what to do about this clear defiance of the UN embargo, which originally was aimed at Beira.

COURT and CONSTITUTION -- and SECURITY

The Times, London - Oct. 11

In Jan./67 David Madzimbamuto and Leo Baron's case is to be appealed against High Court judgement that although the "Government" and 1965 Rhodesian "Constitution" are illegal, RG is de facto responsible for administration of Rhodesia and therefore detention orders against the two men would stand.

RG is placing cross-appeal against this High Court ruling: calling on Appellate Division to rule that RG is de jure administration and that 1965 Constitution is valid. Delay in the appeal hearing is due to illness of Chief Justice Beadle and means that RG may postpone introducing new public security legislation in order to avoid confrontation with the Bench and instead may extend emergency regulations when Parliament sits later Oct./66.

An amendment to 1965 Constitution acted on Sept./66 was preparation for planned Public Security Bill (This type of Bill would have been impossible under '61 Constitution.) RG plans to incorporate in new security legislation the preventive detention powers granted to Minister of Justice/Law and Order Lardner-Burke under present emergency regulations. Legal opinion is that, because of High Court ruling, a confrontation with the Bench would result if RG pushed through Public Security Bill before basic constitutional issue was solved.

There are 40+ (some say 50+) African prisoners under mandatory death sentence, for offenses which carried death penalty under 1961 Constitution. Dupont has not yet signed warrants which must precede actual implementation of death sentence. British Attorney-General Elwyn Jones has warned Dupont that if warrants were signed it would presage serious consequences for him.

** which may include complete/or partial interruption of economic relations

Manchester Guardian - Oct. 4

High Court sentenced 4 African nationalists to 18 years' gaol each, and a fifth to gaol 12 years, convicting them of possessing arms/ammunition. The trial was held behind closed doors "for security reasons" but the press was allowed to stay on condition certain details were not published, i.e. names of the nationalists, dates and places of their arrest, details of arms found on them, name of banned African nationalist organization to which they belonged.

The Times, London - Oct. 7

High Court Bulawayo gaoled African clerk Hezekiah Moyo for 7 years for allegedly supplying 2 men with "Russian made hand grenades" to throw at Smith. African witness, already serving 7 years on same charge, informed Court that Moyo asked him in March to hide the grenades which were going to be used to "disturb a meeting" at which Smith was speaking.

Sunday Mail, Salisbury - Oct. 9

RG report shows that security forces shot 12 terrorists, arrested several score more. The full report (still to be published) indicates planned atrocities; accuses HMG of helping these activities through financial aid to countries from which such operations are launched; states that terrorists' campaigns have been unsuccessful -- "Far from being welcomed as 'liberators', they find the local Africans detest and despise them and make no bones about giving them away to the security forces as quickly as possible."

Manchester Guardian - Oct. 4

University College history lecturer Conradie/ and Dixon, were committed for trial by High Court on 4 charges under Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and Unlawful Organizations Act. Charges arise from alleged discovery Aug. 31 of cache of Soviet hand grenades, primers and subversive literature at home of friend of Conradie, and Conradie and Dixon will face charges of possessing offensive weapons/materials and subversive documents. These charges carry possible, but not mandatory, death sentence. In alleged statement to police at previous hearing, Conradie admitted hiding boxes of grenades and ZAPU pamphlets at Dixon's house. No bail was allowed the 2 men.

AGRICULTURE

- - - All White

The Times, London - Oct. 8

Rhodesia Tobacco Marketing Board announced growers' deliveries of Virginia-type flue-cured tobacco to RG corporation will cease Oct. 17. Apparently this season's crop was average weight, about 250 m. lbs, of disappointing quality due to climatic conditions (drought, then heavy rain). The RG corporation operating Salisbury auction floors has been receiving tobacco since March and paying growers at fixed prices, depending on grade of leaf. (Information is difficult to estimate as corporation's dealings are kept secret.) Reportedly the tobacco industry will receive about £22m from RG corporation for this crop, and RG corporation receives its money from tobacco sales or from Government, the latter contributing the majority of payments. (SA has been biggest buyer of Rhodesian tobacco, but this plus sales to other countries through Beira have amounted to only 40% sale of total crop i.e. £8m revenues.) RG corporation is now looking for more storage space for unsold tobacco. "It is generally agreed here that the sanctions imposed on tobacco have been the most efficient of all the sanctions applied against the Rhodesian economy."

- - - Mostly Black

New York Times - Oct. 5

Sixty African farmers were scheduled to arrive Salisbury for African Farmers

Union annual meeting. They represent a large percentage of several hundred black Rhodesians who have moved/are moving into the cash sector of agricultural economy and are concerned about improving farming methods. A private group of white Rhodesians, the African Farming Development Co., and two public institutions, African Loan and Development Company, and Natural Resources Board, have been assisting in this modernization through pilot projects in irrigation, conservation, use of fertilizers, storage marketing and through extension of loans.

Z A M B I A

COPPER

Times of Zambia - October 14

The report of the (Brown) Commission of Enquiry into Pay and Conditions in Zambia's Copper Mining Industry, and ZG White Paper, were published simultaneously: report recommending 22% pay rise for African miners; White Paper accepting Commission findings, suggesting that unions/mines management negotiation should be along lines recommended. A 22% rise for every worker on local conditions would mean more than £27 monthly wage for lowest paid workers. Brown report does not estimate cost to mining companies, but apparently this could be approx. £6m per annum. Brown Commission calls for single wage structure for both Zambian/expatriate workers. (Expatriates to be paid inducement allowances, with approval of ZG, but recruitment from SA to cease.) Long-term Africanization plans require special ZG committee's approval, plus inspectors to provide effective measure of ZG control.

White Paper says ZG respects profit motive, welcomes/encourages private enterprise, and "does not intend to assume more responsibility in those areas already well served by private enterprise." But ZG notes 600% increase in Copperbelt strikes in 1966 over 1965, and states it is imperative to eradicate all racial discrimination in copper industry.

Minister of Labour Sipalo hinted at 4-year wage freeze after new pay review. He said ZG accepts the 22% figure as basis for negotiation but recognizing that such increase would lead to unrest in other sectors of economy ZG intends to reconvene all statutory wage boards to reconsider pay conditions for other workers. Wage increase now will mean virtual standstill for next 4 years, if Zambia is to avoid inflation.

New York Times - Oct. 10

ZG clamped down on all official information regarding copper, coal supplies/movements, and on figures for imports/exports. Details are classified and Ministry of Commerce and Industry is giving no information. Ostensibly this is to avoid giving "aid and comfort to the enemy," Rhodesia. Reportedly ZG may wish to save itself embarrassment, especially re. shortage of coal supplies and inadequacy of alternative routes to Rhodesia Railways for exporting copper. As late as August, Rhodesia Railways were carrying 20,000 tons copper a month, or 1/3 of total Zambian output.

New York Times - Oct. 9

ZG announced plans to purchase 26 diesel locomotives from American General Electric at cost of \$10m. The engines will help increase Benguela Railway's capacity - were originally part of an order for Rhodesia Railways.

ECONOMIC

New York Times - Oct. 12

ZG denied signing \$139.2m aid agreement with HMG to help solve Zambia's import/export crisis, but wording of the denial may indicate that such agreement is soon forthcoming.

New York Times - Oct. 9

According to a survey by US Embassy, Lusaka, US concerns have over \$53m invested in Zambia. Largest single investment is \$43m in Roan Selection Trust copper group, but US interests are also increasing in oil companies, Caltex and Mobil.

- - - SA Stockpiling Oil

New York Times - Oct. 4

SA is striving to remedy any vulnerability to future sanctions against oil: 1) by early 1967 she expects to have more than 1 year's supply in storage tanks in Durban and Cape Town. 2) Oil prospecting, particularly in Karroo area of northern Cape, continues and will be boosted by arrival of second giant rotary drill. 3) The Industrial Development Corporation is purchasing tankers to reduce dependence on foreign shipping. 4) One Cape Town company is negotiating to buy entire oil-field in Venezuela. 5) Possibilities for obtaining more oil from Angola and Mozambique are also improving.

- - - Item

Economist - Oct. 8

HMG's decision (for mundane reasons of expense) ^{to} withdraw from Simonstown Naval base, near Cape Town, which British have occupied for 152 years to defend the route, shook SA. Nationalist press reflected SAG surprise and anger; Vorster's Die Transvaler saw evidence of Britain dismally shrunken in prestige/power, recalled the fall of Rome.

- - - Item

New York Times - Oct. 10

White workers in the Mineworkers Union threatened to strike at midnight October 10th over SAG violations of Union constitution; it would be the first strike in South Africa since 1922. By October 14, a successful strike could shut down 85% of gold production and several coal mines.

B O T S W A N A

Bechuanaland became independent nation Botswana September 30, after 81 years as British Protectorate. Land-locked Botswana's population of 500,000 lives in drought stricken, economically deprived country which is heavily dependent on neighbouring South Africa, and whose budget deficits are met by British aid.

L E S O T H O

Basutoland, a British Protectorate entirely surrounded by South Africa, gained independent national stature Oct. 4. Even more than Botswana, Lesotho, as a member of the SA "band", will have to play it by ear.

New York Times - Oct. 10

Anton Rupert announced that he would take one/two years off to become unpaid industrial advisor to newly-formed Lesotho Government. Together with some assistants from his corporation (Rothmans) Rupert hopes to interest foreign capital in Lesotho's industrial development.