

R H O D E S I A

UDI - - FIRST ANNIVERSARY

November 11 was a day of parties, prayers, scattered effusions of patriotism. At independence ball Smith rang in Rhodesia's new year on 250-pound replica of America's Liberty Bell inscribed with motto, "I toll for justice, civilization and Christianity." He told his white fellow countrymen: "This is the beginning of a wonderful era." He also indicated a desire for face-to-face talks with Wilson and his tone was conciliatory.

Smith attended independence day service at Salisbury's Dutch Reformed Church and listened to a sermon in which opposition to Rhodesian independence was equated with opposition to will of God. Shortly before he arrived, police car removed a woman picket from church entrance. She was carrying placard reading "Ban Press Censorship" and faced angry worshippers who called her "a horrid bitch" and tried to tear away placard. She is Aileen Smith, wife of Malcolm Smith, editor of the Rhodesia Herald, the country's main daily newspaper, which appeared Nov. 11 with a blank space where RG censors had cut out its editorial.

Besides color portraits of Smith, copper engravings of Rhodesia's independence proclamation, birthday cakes bedecked with flags and slogans, sales have been brisk of new independence record released by Ministry of Information.

Aside from balls and parties, no special celebrations were held. In segregated African townships that ring Salisbury's southern edge, beer halls were crowded and atmosphere was similar to any quiet Sunday.

Manchester Guardian reported that in past few days 3,000 people went to residence of Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, to sign visitor's book. Washington Post and New York Times - Nov. 12

Mood of unconcerned reality marked both blacks and whites during independence celebrations. The odds in favor of success seem much higher than last year. Economic activity has been reduced by 10%; white unemployment (2,000-3,000) has not precipitated mass emigration: only 3,000 whites have left. Internal security is high, the cost of living is bearable, the rains have broken and Christmas is coming.

Businessmen, although by and large opposed to Smith, have helped keep him afloat. Whites in general see no alternative to Smith; they mistrust Britain and fear black rule, almost pathologically. RG is still respected, due more to civil servants than to Cabinet. Above all, Smith has attained statesman-like image; people feel he can do no wrong.

Preparations for further sanctions are under way; 40 new petrol tanks in Rutanga Valley should be ready by Christmas - - 2 months' supply for whole Rhodesia. Sanctions are not feared; but pressure could come on minerals/tobacco. Observer - Nov. 13

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"NEGOTIATIONS" CREAK ON

Difficulties are being made for Britain in UN by delays of Smith in delivering his reply to British offer on independence issue. Commonwealth Office is now laying plans for a "no" answer from Smith, when it would call the sanctions committee to consider British draft resolution on mandatory sanctions. SAG may be trying to persuade Smith to accept British proposals, which SA believes would allow Rhodesian whites enough power for long enough time to enable SA to "complete its plans to defy any world blockade arising out of the South-West Africa dispute or apartheid." The Times, London - Nov. 3

HMG extended section of Southern Rhodesia Act 1965 which enabled economic and other sanctions against Rhodesia. It became law Nov. 16, 1965 and has been renewed for 1 year. The Times, London - Nov. 3

Smith replied to Britain's latest proposals. Text was not made public and reportedly Smith made no substantial changes, but tone of his message was conciliatory. New York Times - Nov. 5

Smith indicated Rhodesia had made definite proposals to settle crisis with Britain and next move was up to London. New York Times - Nov. 7

Several British Ministers described Smith's latest proposals as fraudulent -- somewhat surprising, as British proposals sent to Smith Oct. 15 were not as firm as many hoped: independence on basis of 1961 constitution; preconditions included acceptance of Gibbs as Governor and his right to call in troops to maintain order during transition, as well as guarantees of political rights. Key to proposals was demand that British troops be free to move into Rhodesia; presumably to assure other countries that Britain had full control of situation.

HMG "is on public record (though its private intentions may be sturdier) as running away from the consequences of the policy it proclaims." Bowden's statements in Parliament Nov. 8 suggest Britain does not intend to enforce mandatory sanctions: use of force (e.g. bombing Rhodesia's oil supply routes) is still not envisaged; yet at same time possibility of economic confrontation with SA was termed "rather hypothetical" by Bowden. Other governments likely to conclude that Britain simply wishes to be seen making gesture.

In contrast to SA, Rhodesia is still legally a British colony. Britain must decide what will be least harmful in long run: making sanctions work by force against Rhodesia; supporting sanctions against SA; or resigning struggle altogether. Manchester Guardian Weekly - Nov. 10

Nothing in Smith's reply seems to nurture any last hope that Britain need not proceed, in 2 or 3 week's with tightening of sanctions through another resort to Security Council--and with final ruling out of all formulae that might permit Rhodesia's white minority to retain its political mastery after granting of legal independence. Economist - Nov. 12-18

HMG spokesman dismissed suggestion by Smith that he might meet with Wilson. British Cabinet is studying RG "final offer" for compromise, and response is expected shortly, but probably will reject RG offer as not going far enough to meet British demands.

British opinion on Rhodesia now falls roughly into 3 groups: 1) Most Conservatives favor prompt settlement giving RG legal independence on terms generous to white minority. 2) Most Liberals, some Laborites, feel HMG should take more vigorous steps to crush the rebellion, using force if

necessary to bomb railways/roads feeding into Rhodesia. 3) Bulk of Laborites and some Conservatives support, with doubts/misgiving, HMG strategy of using stick of sanctions and carrot of compromise offer that would postpone full African suffrage for 10-15 years. Washington Post - Nov. 12

HMG "has given up all hope" of reaching agreement with Smith regime, and Wilson is waiting another 10 days to ensure break will be seen to be Rhodesia's fault. HMG thinks Smith is filibustering in his request for another meeting. Britain's final offer (Oct. 15) envisaged crash program African education, immediate increase number of African MP's (who would be able to block changes in Constitution), progressive increase number of African voters. Britain also demanded that Smith resign; Governor would then appoint inter-racial government. British troops would support him, perhaps remaining even after end of negotiations with intermediate government and agreement on independence. In his reply Smith assumed that he would stay in office and supervise the transition.

Although HMG is resigned to the break, little has been done to prepare next steps, partly because the Africans distrust Britain while contacts with Smith continue. After the break, Britain expects they will be ready to endorse limited sanctions (excluding oil) which will avoid collision with SA (an essential British stipulation). Britain does want substantial Afro-Asian support for a UN initiative. Commonwealth Sanctions Committee would pass on the proposals first; oil sanctions would remain voluntary, with increased diplomatic pressure. SA is felt to be an American responsibility, because American pressure would be far greater.

Pressure from within Labor Party has been high but still most would be reluctant to use force. Whitehall rejects Thorpe's (Liberal) proposal to bomb oil routes as "utterly impracticable". Most Labor MPs are resigned to Rhodesia inevitably moving into SA orbit. Observer - Nov. 13

If talks collapse, UDI will almost surely be followed by UDR. Secret contingency plans are now being made for SA-style republic; Senate will include elected tribal chiefs, and much of 1965 UDI "Constitution" will be included. First President (above politics) likely to be Clifford Dupont. Smith stated that breaking point would come if Britain hands Rhodesian issue over to UN. UDR would be reluctant, but republic would induce even more aid from SA and Portugal. Manchester Guardian Weekly - Nov. 10

Garfieldd Todd, a former Prime Minister, recently released from restriction, outspokenly attacked British handling of Rhodesian situation. Todd specified failure of Harold Wilson as one whose "mishandling" of negotiations with Rhodesia has permitted Smith's administration to operate without great problems. Todd himself could see only bleakness in coming months for justice in Rhodesia, largely because of impossibility of finding avenues for improvement in a "one party state" which utilizes methods of censorship and detention to retain its stability. Johannesburg Star - Oct. 22

OUTSIDE - - LOOKING SOUTH

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia said "We oppose the secessionist regime in Rhodesia for refusing African majority rule. . . We also condemn Portuguese policy in Angola and Mozambique because it withholds from Africans the full exercise of their rights as free men." He denounced S.A., adding "We shall not rest until these regimes have been swept from the African continent." The Times, London - Nov. 3

UN Trusteeship Committee adopted resolution demanding that Britain take all necessary measures, including force, to end Rhodesian rebellion. The US, Britain, and most West European nations abstained. New York Times - Nov. 11

Friends of Smith regime in London turned commemorative service for Rhodesian dead in the two World Wars into a political demonstration of support. About 1500 supporters sang and cheered for Smith and Lord Salisbury. New York Times - Nov. 14.

INSIDE - - LOOKING IN

In interview with Lisbon Diario de Noticias Smith said both black and white Rhodesians would participate in future economic progress. Rhodesia would never forget Portugal's support in UN and said, "There have been many lies told about what was going on in this country. As you can see, we are not in a state of war, nor have we given up our normal way of life, for whites and Negroes are working and going about in peace." . . . No one has been imprisoned, or rather, the only prisoners are those British who are shut up in the High Commissioner's building." The Times, London - Nov. 8

The Council of Chiefs, in statement issued through RG Ministry of Information, pledged support for Smith "in any steps which he decides to take." . . . "We support the Government of Rhodesia and we do not accept the claim by the British P.M. that he has continuing responsibility and authority for and over our people." Chiefs condemned injury which Britain was imposing on people of Rhodesia and for British support of Zambia which was destroying Rhodesian economy. RG finds these statements satisfactory for it "has always attached great importance to demonstrating that the chiefs, representing more than 2m. Africans living in the tribal trust areas, support its policy moves." Times, London - Nov. 3

Mrs. L. F. Pariss, a European housewife, demonstrated outside Rhodesian Parliament against lack of schools for African children in a Salisbury suburb. With her were her daughter carrying sign "I have a future" and the 6-year old son of her garden servant carrying placard, "I have no future." Times, London-Nov. 3

SECURITY

RG stated that there were 80 acts of sabotage Nov. 65 - May 66, (court records show hundreds of scattered incidents of violent protest) and claimed that of 150 terrorists infiltrated into Rhodesia over past year, only 4 had not yet been captured/killed.

RG crackdown on infiltrators reached climax September, when motorized patrols backed by spotter planes and helicopter-borne reinforcements began thorough sweep through Zambesi border area.

RG believes at least 600 Rhodesian nationalist guerrilla are standing by in Zambia/Tanzania; to discourage them. It published new pamphlet "Nowhere to Hide," which describes fate of those who crossed border, explains how indigenous African population helped in their capture.

In African townships of major cities like Salisbury and Bulawayo, there have been scattered ineffectual incidents of violence from moment of UDI. Occasionally this kind of terrorism has seeped into downtown/European areas, eg. Agusut grenade attack on Greek cafe in which 8 whites were injured. Washington Post - Nov. 14

ZANU strongly denied RG's claim that all freedom militants in Rhodesia

have been killed/captured. Nationalist Dar es Salaam - Oct. 25

ZANU stated that a ZANU guerilla unit had killed several Rhodesian troops and downed seven helicopters in a battle Oct. 20, 2 miles south of Chirundu border post. Standard, Dar es Salaam - Oct. 29

Zimbabwe guerilla units have killed 36 soldiers and downed 7 helicopters in the past month, said chief representative of ZANU Chihota in Dar es Salaam. Nationalist, Dar es Salaam - Nov. 2

The Rev. Charles P. Blakney, United Church of Christ missionary, is to be tried (for speaking out against torture of African prisoners by Rhodesian police) under the 1960 Law and Order (Maintenance) Act dealing with alleged statements or acts likely to engender hostility to police or expose them to "contempt, ridicule or disesteem."

Blakney preached a sermon in the Congregational Church, Salisbury, July 24 in which he described the torture of an African member of his congregation by police: "an African member of the congregation was taken to a police station and placed in a small cell, three feet square, naked and standing on a concrete floor with a live electric wire hanging down into the cell, which was wriggling around so that it touched the African. The African was shocked and lost consciousness. This cell is known among local Africans as the room with the snake."

Although Blakney might be fined or jailed, it is thought likely that he will be expelled. New York Times - Nov. 8

ECONOMIC

Minister of Commerce/Industry Mussett said RG intended encourage supply of motor vehicles from local assembly plants rather than from imports of built-up vehicles.

As initial step, no allocations of currency would be made for importation of built-up vehicles after April 1, 1967.

Reportedly, Japanese Isuzu trucks will be assembled in Rhodesia 1967, apparently under license by British Rover group, and light commercial vehicles will start coming off assembly line after April. Financial Times - Nov. 11

Peugeot asked for planning permission to establish assembly factory in Rhodesia (already has plants in Nigeria and SA); but tentative nature of announcement contradicts reports that Peugeot was about to make an immediate decision. The Times, London - Nov. 4

UNIVERSITY

Letter to Editor from Dr. Robert Birley: Commenting on ISE students' pamphlet on Dr. Adams, Birley said references taken from his Report on University College (April 28, 1966) were abstracted in such a way to "obscure" full intent of his report. The pamphlet's comment on whether Adams is racist or not should be understood in light of fact that "Dr. Adams's work in founding the College has been one of the few constructive pieces of work on behalf of multi-racialism during recent years on the continent of Africa . . . To suggest that this multi-racial College could have been established, in spite of great difficulties, by a "racist" is absurd." Birley pointed out that multi-racial character of University has outlasted recent troubles.

The Times, London - Nov. 4

Z A M B I A

President Kaunda addressed UN General Assembly, criticizing Britain's handling of the whole Rhodesian crisis and those powers supporting the SA economy and SAG. He stressed possibility of a sell-out of 4 million blacks to a ruthless white minority and evoked very favorable response from non-African as well as African members of the UN. (Dr. Kaunda flew to Canada Nov. 17 to visit Prime Minister Lester Pearson.) New York Times - Nov. 16

Kaunda and 6 experts will visit Chile end Nov. to study that government's "Chileanization" program and explore possibilities for establishing joint Zambian-Chilean pricing/marketing/production by 1970 and steady transfer of ownership from primarily US companies to Government. President Kaunda's visit will coincide with signing of a pact to transfer 51% of the stock of the Kennecott Copper Corporation's subsidiary in Chile to new, Government-dominated company, which will then operate El Teniente, the world's largest underground copper mine. Zambia and Chile are the second and third largest copper-producing nations, coming after the USA. New York Times - Nov. 13

COPPER

Zambia produced 43,000 tons refined copper October, 78% normal output. (Refined copper production was cut back 25% during October. On Nov. 5 it was cut back 33% to 40,000 tons per month, due to coal and oil shortages. However, ore production continues normally.) New York Times - Nov. 6

Kafue Bridge Plot:

The Israeli security agency and FBI arrested 5 people in Israel, 2 in the US, and charged them with plotting to destroy Kafue rail bridge near Lusaka in effort to drive world price of copper higher. US citizen Elliot married to an Israeli, and German-born naturalized American Duenbier, both work for Friedrich Zoellner Corporation, a metals company; and for the job they had promised \$25,000 plus expenses to 2 Miami men who informed the FBI. (New York Times - Nov. 8, 9)

Kaunda stated (before departure to US) bridge plot was political in nature and not designed to push the price of copper up. Zambia, informed of plot by Israeli authorities, is seeking to uncover any other conspirators.

Transport:

Lockheed Aircraft Corp. and Zambian Air Cargoes announced new 2-year contract for airlifting petrol into Zambia/taking copper out. (RAF Britannia airlift of fuel into Zambia has ended.) New agreement calls for 4 Lockheed Hercules to fly daily between Copperbelt and Dar es Salaam, beginning Dec. 16, to carry about 3,000 tons freight per month. Price of Zambian copper will probably rise due to recent production reductions and thus make the airlift economic. (Times, London - Nov. 3)

ZG announced new measures to aid copper industry: coal will have priority over other goods on both Benguela and Rhodesia Railways, and permits will be required for all shippers of general goods. New York Times-Nov. 5

Difficult decisions will have to be made soon on how many African miners to lay off as copper concentrate stocks increase: coal for smelting is in very short supply. Observer - Nov. 6

Kaunda warned FMC that if it did not begin to dissolve jointly-owned Zambia-Rhodesia railways within 7 days, Zambia would do the job herself. New York Times - Nov. 14

DEPORTATIONS - AND RIOT

ZG ordered 25 people (23 whites, 2 Africans) to leave Zambia within 24 hours, because "closely involved in racial or industrial unrest," and threatened Kaunda's policies of nonracialism. Most were Copperbelt mine employees. Times of Zambia - Oct. 23

In light of Kaunda's recent actions, whites fear increasingly that destructive nationalistic trends, including "witch-hunting," might ensue. Kaunda's criticism of white racialists, coincident with the legal accessibility of expulsion of British citizens, points towards greater racial tensions. Reportedly, his recent criticisms might be encouraged by pressure from UNIP in Zambia. Following deportations announcement, ZG stepped up cold war against Britain by indefinite postponement of trip by members of goodwill British Parliamentary group to Zambia. Johannesburg Star - Oct. 29

Fire swept through a Kitwe petrol depot, igniting 175,000 gals. (a week's supply). Rumours of European sabotage - as retaliation against deportations - spread among Sunday crowds watching the fire. A riot started and one European woman was killed. Times of Zambia - Nov. 1

Three senior white police officers handed in their resignations from Zambia police because African police constables disobeyed orders during riot; instead took orders from UNIP officials. Times of Zambia - Nov. 2

Two Britishers, Thixton and Foy, challenged their deportation orders successfully in a Kitwe magistrate's court, but soon afterwards were presented with new orders to leave Zambia--the 2 men plan to continue challenging deportation orders. The Times, London - Nov. 2

Kaunda said British mining shift engineer Cook had been wrongly deported; ZG Minister of Home Affairs invited Cook to return. Commenting on Copperbelt racial incidents, Kaunda said that dry season had caused hot tempers, "so please cool your tempers down". Zambian troops continue to guard key places. The Times, London - Nov. 4

On the surface, things are back to normal after the Kitwe riot, "But the always fragile links between white and black on the Copperbelt are lying in pieces." In Kitwe offices of UNIP officials still refuse to admit that any of them incited the riot. Kaunda has called for discipline in UNIP, whose officers are mainly inexperienced, the senior politicians having entered government upon independence 1964.

Some whites are reluctant to give information about the riot for fear of Zambian reprisals. Others, key technicians in the mines, are resigning and urging others to do so. Replacing them will be difficult. ZG has urged whites to stay and assured them of their safety, but it may have to assist the mining companies in recruiting new personnel. Seven Ministers are now on the Copperbelt working for calm. William Cook has accepted Kaunda's invitation to return with full compensation. There remains a world of difference between Kitwe and Lusaka, the capital. Lusaka condemns the Copperbelt as a "cultural and social wasteland"; there, Africans called a newspaper office to express their shock at the Kitwe riot; these calls could not happen in Kitwe. Observer - Nov. 6

However much one may deplore the expulsion of white miners from Zambia, signs of racial strife are serious. Tension between white miners and black Zambians who work under them has made the task of creating a non-racial society very difficult, and Britain's ineffectiveness in Rhodesia has made the task almost impossible. Observer (Editorial) - Nov. 6

Many European miners resigned -- by Nov. 10, resignations totalled 182. The Times, London - Nov. 11

Racial situation is causing concern to mining companies. The British High Commission in Lusaka has sent an official to investigate those British subjects (19 of the 24 recently expelled). The Times, London - Nov. 3

Items:

Vice-President Kamanga announced ZG would protest to Britain over recent shooting of a Zambian woman on Rhodesian-Zambian frontier. He accused Rhodesian troops of attacking Mrs. Maina Soko when she was in a canoe on the Zambesi River, only 4 yards from Zambian bank. Kamanga also said Britain was responsible for death of Mrs. Myburgh, European killed in Kitwe riot, because Britain was "responsible for all that is happening in Rhodesia." The Times, London - Nov. 8

DOMESTIC

Kaunda stated Zambia is considering financial aid from China in move towards economic development. (ZG has not yet decided upon £14m offer of British aid which ZG regards as compensation for Zambia's losses in sanctions battle against Rhodesia. Johannesburg Star - Oct. 29

Zambia published its first 4-year Development Plan which "appeared hopefully bold". Much of the plan shows how Zambia intends extricating itself from effects of UDI, while reducing its economic dependence on southern Africa. But the projected £429m. public/private capital investment between now and 1970 may be too big to load on to under-equipped economy threatened with inflation. Education, housing, factories, roads, agricultural development, import substituting industries and electricity are chief targets of the programme, which aims to raise gross fixed capital formation to over 20% of GDP.

Biggest latent threat to Zambia's development plan possibly lies in sphere of wages which is dominated by cantankerous African Copperbelt labor force. Wage projections in plan's manpower survey assume average yearly increase for wage-earners of 5%. ZG talks of wage freeze, but hard to force this on the miners without loss of political standing.

Transport, skilled manpower availability, wage demands, price stability will be factors governing success of this ambitious expenditure programme--and perhaps above all the ability of an overloaded and not very efficient governmental machine to cope with the plan. Today's signs, with racial tensions rising in Zambia as inevitable result of Rhodesia's UDI, are not reassuring. Economist - Nov. 5

I T E M S

UN General Assembly and Security Council filled 5 vacancies on International Court of Justice. Elected to 9-year terms were Ammoun (Lebanon), Anyeama (Nigeria), Bengzon (Phillippines), Lachs (Poland), Putren (Sweden). Of retiring judges, 3 voted against consideration of Liberia/Ethiopia case on SWA July 1966. African delegates seemed pleased with results of elections, there was talk of new appeal to the Court. New York Times - Nov. 4,5

King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho told OAU session that although his nation was surrounded by SA, it rejected apartheid, would refuse to recognize Rhodesia, would give political asylum to political refugees from SA. New York Times - Nov. 9

S O U T H A F R I C A

Vorster informed American newspaper that there was not "any substance at all" in talking of white man's alliance between SA, Rhodesia, Portugal. The Times, London - Nov. 8

"Pretoria has obvious reasons for wanting to do all it can, short of head-on collision with Britain or US, to prove trade boycotts/sanctions unworkable. But diplomatic acrobatics will be harder if selective mandatory sanctions under UN auspices are applied against Smith regime. Apparently Vorster discussed possibilities of imminent crisis with Cabinet. Minister of Finance said SAG was making contingency plans against possibility of mandatory sanctions. Reportedly, SAG is not only urging Smith to reach agreement with Wilson, but is probably also using its influence with HMG to modify demands sufficiently to make them acceptable to Rhodesians. But, "however much SA wants to keep out of trouble, could it in fact do so if and when the crunch on Rhodesia comes?" A nationalist Sunday newspaper pointed out that international sanctions could not be applied to Rhodesia without SA being involved in dangerous way - - gravity for SA is obvious and public would be stupid not to regard situation seriously. SA is on eve of painful decisions, which could be decisive for our immediate future. "May our leaders be blessed with great wisdom." Economist - Nov. 12-18

Businessmen are persuaded to hold heavier stocks against possible risk of economic sanctions against SA. Key material is petroleum and SAG is operating on 3 fronts: accelerating prospecting for oil on land/ sea by offering attractive tax concessions/other rewards to successful prospectors; building up SA-owned tanker fleet; expanding local storage capacity. SA uses about 4 1/2 m. gals. petroleum products a day, and consumption, growing 8 - 9% p.a. is expected to reach around 2,200 m. gals. annually within 19 years. Up to 1966 oil companies with local refineries (Caltex, Shell-BP, Mobil) have stored only about 13 weeks' consumption of crude oil while those without (Esso, Total) have always stocked more. To reach target stockpile of, say 2 years' requirements of crude (which might be rationed out for 3 years) would mean expanding storage facilities to around 117 m barrels/4,095 galls. Immense construction programme is now under way. Once storage is available accelerated imports will be substantial drain on foreign reserves which are, however at record levels and seem easily able to take strain through 1967. Economist - Nov. 12-18 -387-