

SOUTHERN AFRICA NEWS BULLETIN

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RHODESIA NEWS SUMMARY (Vacation Issue).

August and September, 1966. Summary from The Times, London

TALKS

August

6- - - The expected resumption of exploratory talks was seen as a "face saving" device for the Commonwealth meeting.

9- - - The official announcement was made that the "talks about talks" would be renewed. Mr. Wilson added that "there is at present no indication that a settlement is likely within the next two months."

15- - - Two points are expected to be central to the exploratory talks. One is the circumstances whereby Rhodesia could return to constitutional rule acceptable to the British Government; the other is the carrying out of the fifth British principle, the method whereby a proposed settlement could be seen to be acceptable to all the people of Rhodesia.

22- - - The third in a series of exploratory talks began in Salisbury. There was good evidence to support the view that, when the talks were first started, both sides misunderstood the motives of the other. Mr. Smith thought the British were prepared to make important concessions from their pre-independence position. The British were under the impression that Mr. Smith was prepared to make important concessions from his pre-independence position, having been forced into them by the Security Council oil embargo and problems of selling the tobacco crop. Neither view was correct.

26- - - The informal talks ended abruptly because of British opposition to the Constitution Amendment Bill, tabled in Rhodesian Parliament by Minister of Justice and Law and Order, Lardner-Burke, which seeks to amend some provisions of the Declaration of Rights, an entrenched chapter of the 1965 Constitution carried over intact from the 1961 Constitution. The proposed amendments would enable the Government to introduce wide-ranging preventive detention legislation, giving statutory backing to powers which at present exist only under emergency regulations. The Bill raised two important issues: for the first time the Rhodesian Government has sought to amend an entrenched provision carried over to the 1965 Constitution from the 1961 Constitution. Under the 1961 Constitution amendments to entrenched clauses could be made only by a two-thirds majority vote in Parliament, plus either the approval of the British Government or the approval of the electorate given by simple majorities in each of four racial referenda. Under the 1965 Constitution, an entrenched provision can be amended by two-thirds majority in Parliament, voted twice in separate sittings of Parliament. Apart from this principle, the British Government probably also objected, on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, to specific amendments proposed by the Rhodesian Government which presage tighter restrictions and detention measures. The Government would be able to retain its powers of preventive detention without the need to declare an emergency, which under the 1961 and 1965 Constitutions must be renewed by parliament every three months.

27- - - Speaking in second reading debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill, Lardner-Burke said that after necessary amendments have been made to the Constitution, a new Public Security Bill will be introduced incorporating features of the lapsed preventive detention legislation. But new measures which have been linked with Government's intention to introduce a Suppression of Communism Bill will not now be introduced.

29- - - Reaction: Mr. Wilson said the introduction of the Constitution Amendment Bill was "quite illegal and quite invalid" and he thought it would be considered by

many persons to be a very serious step in the wrong direction.

30- - - The Rhodesian Constitutional Association has written to all M.P.'s asking them to urge Government to withdraw the Constitution Amendment Bill and seek the resumption of the informal talks with the British Government. The Constitutional Association was formed May, 1965, after the elimination from Parliament of the European opposition Rhodesia Party and is largely made up of former Rhodesia Party members.

31- - - Mr. Wilson assured Conservatives that talks between officials on the future of Rhodesia had merely been adjourned, not broken off, but gave no indication that he saw a chance of the talks being resumed in the next few days.

31- - - When the Constitution Amendment Bill completed its second reading stage and was expected to begin the committee stage there was no formal count of votes because only two members of the African Opposition U. P. P. stayed in the chamber to oppose the Bill. Six other Opposition members walked out of the chamber with their leader, Mr. Chad Chipunza, after he had condemned the Bill and the Government for their failure adequately to consult the African people on its provisions.

HIGH COURT

September

10- - - Two judges of the Rhodesian High Court ruled that the present Government of Rhodesia is unlawful, but provides the only effective administration in the country. They dismissed applications for release made by two detained men on the ground of illegality of Smith's regime. Smith described the ruling as very good news. "It is our intention to press along the road that we started on November 11," he said. "We have no intention of bowing to appeasement and we shall maintain our standards and our way of live." They handed down three conclusions: 1) "On the basis of necessity and in order to avoid chaos and a vacuum in the law", the Court would support measures taken by the regime to maintain law and order and to preserve good government. 2) The Court should give effect to such measures of the effective Government "as could lawfully have been taken by the lawful Government under the 1961 Constitution." This point will presumably not apply to cases of preventive detention orders served under the proposed new public security legislation. The judgment suggests that a more serious clash between the judiciary and the Government may soon develop. 3) The extension of the state of emergency and of the Emergency Powers Regulation made thereunder are measures falling within the above category and neither in their purpose nor in their mode of enforcement in the present cases have they been shown to be hostile to the authority of the sovereign power or to have impaired the just rights of citizens under the 1961 Constitution or to have been taken with actual intent to further the revolution.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

August

1- - - Eight of the nine lecturers detained by the police were served with deportation orders.

5- - - The academic board after long meetings decided that the University should reopen on September 5.

12- - - The University's executive committee was split on the question of attributing blame for the disturbances at the College. By a majority 12 to 4 the committee issued a statement which protested "against the use by the Government of the power of the state to remove nine lecturers and a student and to restrict nine students without the bringing of specific charges against any of them". Four members who are Government nominees of the committee disassociated themselves from the statement primarily because of references to Government.

13- - - Twenty members of the staff resigned and a further 20 lecturers are understood to be considering resignation. If these resignations are carried through the College will be about 30% below its usual staff level and about 50% below its established level.

September

5- - - Professor Milton, acting Principal, disclosed that in addition to the arrest of Mr. John Conradie, a South African-born assistant lecturer in history, an African

laboratory assistant in the zoology department was also arrested. The college authorities had no information at all and had not been able to discover why or where he was being held. He had no access to a lawyer.

INTERNAL RHODESIA

August

3- - - Rhodesian Front member Owen-Smith said in Parliament that Anglican Bishop Skelton acted as the devil's advocate by writing a "most evil and vicious" article for a British newspaper. Minister of Justice, Law and Order Iardner-Burke said that Government was "keeping an eye on this gentleman," and if the Bishop gave cause for prosecution Government would prosecute. In his article the Bishop said there were many responsible Rhodesian Africans and they were to be found particularly in the Christian Church, but many of these moderate influences were now in restriction camps.

25- - - The second incident involving hand grenades in Salisbury's city center within two weeks was a grenade thrown through the bedroom of a ground floor apartment. Seven white customers and an African waiter were injured when a grenade was thrown into a Salisbury cafe on August 12.

27- - - Mr. William Harper, Rhodesia's Internal Affairs Minister said, "We have captured pretty well all the terrorists who have come to this country; I want to make this point: that we have shot whole gangs of these terrorists - - - not one surviving when they resisted arrest."

September

29- - - Ian Smith is meeting more opposition from the Churches to his appeal for thanksgiving services to be held on November 11, the first anniversary of the Rhodesian declaration of independence. So far only one, the Dutch Reformed Church, has said it will hold such services. The P.M.'s wish is that the people of Rhodesia should "rededicate themselves to those Christian ideals which prompted the declaration of independence."

AGRICULTURE

August

24- - - Minister of Agriculture Rudland announced in Parliament two Government bonus payments to Rhodesian farmers. Maize growers are to receive from the Government Grain Marketing Board a supplementary payment of 2s a 200 lb. bag of maize, on top of the basic price of 29s 6d a bag already announced. This supplementary payment will cost £500,000, which means that the present maize crop sold to the board has totalled a good-sized five million bags.

ECONOMY

August

9- - - Figures issued by the Rhodesian Central Statistical Office show that the cost of living in Rhodesia has risen by just over two and a half per cent since the unilateral declaration of independence. The main reason for the increase, which is much more rapid than in any previous comparable period, is the impact of increases in indirect taxation on retail prices.

10- - - The Zambian Government has authorized the copper companies to send a further 20,000 tons of copper through Rhodesia. This makes a total allocation of 40,000 tons since the Zambian decision of July 22.

18- - - Figures for two-way traffic handled at the port of Beira, Mozambique, in the first seven months of this year show a drop of nearly 20% on the 1965 figure.

POLITICAL

August

26- - - Seven of the 13 members of the African Opposition United Peoples Party have signed a declaration of no confidence in their leader, Mr. Chad Chipunza. They are

likely to elect Mr. Percy Mkudu as Mr. Chipunza's successor.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

August

31- - - President Kaunda said today that he will not attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He told a press conference that the Zambian delegation would be led by Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, the Foreign Minister, who would put forward certain proposals. Mr. Kaunda gave a warning that Zambia would withdraw from the Commonwealth if they were rejected.

September

7- - - Mr. Wilson spoke on British policy for Rhodesia. He regretted that his hopes for the early effectiveness of sanctions had failed, but insisted that they would become effective in time, especially if two loopholes were plugged: 1) Zambia's continued reliance on Rhodesian imports-- Wilson proposed a joint Commonwealth effort to enable Zambia progressively to cut off this trade. He suggested that the Commonwealth should take part in an expanded airlift/land transport scheme, contributions to be made in equipment or cash. 2) Oil--It was clear that he entered into no commitment to go to the United Nations for mandatory sanctions and reserved the right to put forward the objections to any proposals made by other delegations, in much the way that he dealt with demands for the use of force at the Lagos conference in January. President Obote emerged as a strong supporter of the argument that leaving the Commonwealth would help rather than harm the Smith regime. In this he was backed by the Kenyans, who feel that Rhodesia and the Commonwealth are wholly unrelated matters. Although this view is unwelcome to the Zambians, it finds much other backing notably in West Africa.

8- - - Mr. Kapwepwe put forward proposals for a fresh declaration of intent on Rhodesia's future. He suggested that the Prime Ministers should declare that they called on the British Government to announce that a) A period of direct rule by Britain will precede the granting of independence to Rhodesia. b) Rhodesia will not be granted independence unless and until it is ruled by a government elected by the majority of its people on the basis of one man, one vote. Mr. Wina said Zambia felt that there were many Commonwealth countries relatively poorer than Zambia in resources and Zambia would not wish them to take bread out of their people's mouths to assist Zambia to end a rebellion that Britain had every power to crush if it wished. Mr. Wina said that even if help of some kind enabled Zambia to phase out its Rhodesian trade in time, the Smith regime would grow stronger in the time interval, and could hang on indefinitely because of the other important loophole--aid from South Africa and Portugal.

9- - - Mandatory sanctions under the United Nations were strongly demanded by three African leaders. After the "African caucus" Mr. Murumbi, Vice President of Kenya made four points: 1) A clearcut declaration that before independence there shall be majority rule in Rhodesia.. 2) As Mr. Wilson has himself admitted that sanctions have failed, and as this is a Commonwealth and world responsibility, the Rhodesian issue should be taken to the United Nations with British support to seek the imposition of mandatory sanctions. 3) The Governor of Rhodesia should be empowered immediately to form a new interim Government. 4) British forces should be sent to Rhodesia in the event of a clash between the Governor and Mr. Smith, to uphold the Governor's authority and that of the British Government.

12- - - Mr. Smith was increasingly confident of his ability to maintain Rhodesian independence, and stated that the more Rhodesia was attacked the more the country would attack back, and the more defiant its inhabitants would become. Observers felt that this was a warning that there would be retaliatory measures from Rhodesia if the Commonwealth Prime Ministers decided to seek additional sanctions; Mr. Smith might: Decline to resume the informal talks with the British officials. Again serve notice on the British mission to leave Salisbury, as he did in April before it was decided to begin the informal talks; Take Rhodesia out of the Commonwealth; Declare the country a republic. Ever since UDI there has been a section of the Rhodesian Front which has argued for the declaration of a republic. The argument comes mostly

from people with no feeling for the British connection, a group which includes a number of former British Army regular officers as well as Rhodesians of Afrikaner origin, and is buttressed by the view that external recognition would be more likely if the country were a republic.

15- - - The Commonwealth Prime Ministers issued an agreed communiqué on Rhodesia with no dissentients, but differences of viewpoint made clear... Britain remains solely charged with responsibility for Rhodesia, but the communiqué details the steps by which the British Government will now try to restore constitutionality. Force is ruled out, but Britain is committed, if Mr. Smith's illegal regime does not respond to new proposals set out in the communiqué, to sponsor a Security Council resolution for mandatory sanctions by the end of this year. The British Government announced a five-year plan for a legal government. This will be appointed by the Governor, on a broad representative basis, and all political detainees will be released, and normal political activities permitted, so long as they are peaceful. The British Government will negotiate an independence constitution with this interim government, which will provide for majority rule on the basis of the six principles. No time limit is set for this. It will then have to be accepted by the people of Rhodesia as a whole in accordance with the fifth principle, and the method of testing will have to be accepted by the British Parliament as "fair and free". The British Government are pledged not to consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole, so tested, are in favour of it. This plan will be put immediately before all sections of Rhodesian opinion. If the illegal regime does not "take the initial and indispensable steps whereby the rebellion is brought to an end and executive authority is vested in the Governor" the British Government will take two further steps: 1) Withdraw all previous proposals for a settlement which have been made, and "they will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule." 2) Given the full support of the Commonwealth, "the Government will be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council before the end of the year a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia." The effect of these pledges is that if the Smith regime rejects the return to legality and the chance to work out a constitution to be submitted to the people fairly, mandatory sanctions will be applied in three months' time, but the scope of these sanctions remains at the British Government's discretion. The communiqué provides that Zambia and Malawi are to be given help to join fully in these sanctions. It records that sanctions so far had not achieved the objective in an "acceptable period."

16- - - Mr. Wilson said that the Commonwealth had survived the most testing time it had ever known. "It has been tested in the heat of flames this week", he said. "It will never be quite the same again. It may well be stronger. A lot will depend on what happens in Rhodesia in the next few weeks." Mr. Wilson said no specific limits had been placed on the time available to Mr. Smith to respond to the British invitation to return to constitutional rule. But the offer would run out before the end of the year while the General Assembly of the United Nations was still sitting if no satisfactory answer had been received and the necessary action taken.

17- - - Mr. Wilson rejected Mr. Heath's request for the recall of Parliament on the ground that there had been no change in Government policy within the terms of undertakings given to the Commons August 8.

20- - - Mr. Smith ruled out the idea of an early declaration of a republic by promising, with some qualifications, that there would be no republic without his first holding a referendum.

BOWDEN VISIT

September

19- - - British Commonwealth Secretary Bowden and Attorney-General Jones left for Rhodesia late because of a delay while clarification was sought on a statement made by Smith, when reportedly he said that he had agreed to Bowden's visiting Rhodesia on condition that they should have talks at Government level. "It should also be made plain that Mr. Bowden is visiting Rhodesia as an emissary of

the British Government and that as Commonwealth Secretary he no longer has any say in the affairs of an independent Rhodesia".... To avoid the trap of recognition the Governor was charged with the task of ensuring that Smith would be willing to show the visiting Ministers all due courtesy. Smith, though obviously a key figure in the moves that were planned, was not going to be treated as the head of a legal government.

22- - - - The Rhodesia Herald appeared with more than two-thirds of its front page blank. It is understood that the duty censor was told last night to allow nothing in the paper referring to the talks except the one-line statements issued by both sides. The Rhodesian Government was prepared to make concessions in some directions. It accepted the principle of ultimate majority rule. But it continued to insist that the present electorate, directly or through their parliamentary representatives, must be able constitutionally to slow or reverse the progress towards majority rule if it is thought to be approaching too rapidly. The British representatives took the view that whatever the other terms are in a constitutional settlement, there must be built into the Rhodesian constitution a mechanism of some sort which guarantees the fulfillment of the first of the six British principles, which calls for unimpeded progress towards majority rule.

26- - - - It is now clear that if Rhodesian FM Smith were prepared to accept the six principles as the basis of a constitution, and would agree to the formation of an interim Government including representatives of moderate opinion, he would be acceptable as a member of that Government.

27- - - - Commonwealth Secretary Bowden failed to get the agreement of Rhodesian P.M. Smith to a British plan designed to return Rhodesia to legal rule and then on to independence before majority rule. No arrangements have been made for a further meeting with Mr. Smith and the impression conveyed by the British spokesman is that another meeting will take place only if a request comes from Mr. Smith.

29- - - - Bowden said he was not very optimistic about the prospects for settling the Rhodesia problem in the next few weeks. He warned the Rhodesians that time was running out.

ADDITIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS

August

4- - - - Some of the deported lecturers said the problem would not be to find offers of places at universities in other countries, but to find means of getting the students out of Rhodesia.

20- - - - Rhodesia has prepared an official pamphlet, Murder by Radio. The so-called "murder" broadcasts beamed into Rhodesia from Zambia, the broadcasts from the British relay station in Francistown, and the British Government are attacked in the pamphlet.

September

South Africans read with relief the news that Mr. Wilson had given an assurance that the British Government will not hand over the Rhodesia dispute to the U.N. for settlement. All available information in Pretoria pointed to the determination of Dr. Verwoerd and his government to stand by Rhodesia. Although South Africa has become hardened over years to incessant, violent, and bitter condemnation of her policies by many members of the U.N., it still regards such attacks seriously and makes careful preparations to combat them. The campaign at this year's session of the General Assembly is expected to be specially virulent in view of Afro-Asian bloc's reaction to the International Court's ruling. It is also expected that the Rhodesia issue will be used in an attempt to strike a blow at South Africa by forcing her to take part in sanctions against Rhodesia, or be a victim of sanctions herself. The Government is believed to have made detailed plans well in advance to deal with this contingency.

3- - - - The Rhodesian Government announced that "a number of people have been detained under Section 41 of the Emergency Powers Regulations", declining to say how many people or the circumstances surrounding their detention.

6- - - - An allegation that a group of lecturers had possessed Russian made hand grenades, for use against the European community, and had maintained contact with terrorists infiltrating into Rhodesia, was made in the Salisbury magistrates court.