



Their Rhodesia MARION KAPLAN

A TRANSITION SPECIAL REPORT

The streets of Salisbury were silent, but not in memory of Armistice Day. It was shortly after 1 o'clock on Thursday, November 11th. An occasional car would swing round a corner and disappear into the glittering mediocrity of First Street. The pavements, normally crowded with lunchtime shoppers, were almost deserted. 'The only cemetery in the world with lights' is a favourite description by many bored residents of Rhodesia's capital. Now the atmosphere, despite bright sunshine, was heavy and menacing.

Along Stanley Avenue, where tall poles topped with coloured Christmas decorations had already been planted in the concrete, it was as if it were Sunday. Then sharply, the silence broke. From every other doorway came the garbled echo of a radio. In the dark recesses of small shops assistants were gathered into waiting huddles. Behind the window of a butcher's shop two expressionless redfaced men in striped aprons leaned across the counter, a radio between them.

In Cecil Square, a few steps away, the Union Jack hung limply over the monument to the handful of pioneers from whose exploits seventy-five years ago stem the pride, fervid self-interest and ferocious bitterness of all but a fragile minority of the 220,000 present-day white Rhodesians. The pioneers are all that these Rhodesians have of a history, a tradition. Even for immigrants from Liverpool, Southend or Purley—and newcomers form the bulk of the white population—the pioneers are powerfully meaningful.

At 1.10 on November 11th the only white people near the monument were a few journalists, a number of photographers and two policemen. For all of them the focus of interest was a group of 40 Africans hunched on the grass under the jacaranda trees shading the square. The Africans, indifferent to their observers, were listening to a radio, conspicuously propped on the grass. At precisely 1.15, in a voice husky and thick with 'flu, Prime Minister Ian Smith began to speak.

He talked at some length. When he had finished, Rhodesia was independent, the endless opening and closing of doors was over, the ball had been hurled out of court.

The Africans in Cecil Square rose relaxedly to their feet. Without exchanging a look or a word, they sauntered away. Another act in the tragi-farce was over.

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"My soul, sit thou a patient looker-on;
Judge not the play before the play is done:
Her plot hath many changes; every day
Speaks a new scene; the last act crowns the play."

In Rhodesia, the last act is still conjectural. The play itself is a tragedy in which the leading characters are villains whose every move receives the acclaim of a shrill chorus. There are few heroes in the cast of millions but, as the play flickers on—alleviated by moments of farce—vast numbers of players wait silently in the shadows. Much of the action takes place offstage.

Perhaps to raise the play's poor standard of writing, Smith, who takes the leading role, chose to borrow a prime piece of Shakespeare at a banquet late in October.

"That he who hath no stomach to this fight,
Let him depart, his passport shall be made,
And crowns for convoy put into his purse.
We would not die in that man's company,
That fears his fellowship to die with us,
This day is called the feast of Crispin . . ."

The first words in his November 11th speech were equally full-blooded but they did not add lustre to the play's only exceptional aspect: its plot.

"Whereas in the course of human affairs history has shown that it may become necessary for a people to resolve the political affiliations which have connected them with another people and to assume amongst other nations the separate and equal status to which they are entitled. . . ."

Bloodless rebellion, treason in the name of the Queen: the stage should sparkle, the lines ring loud and clear. But the set remains tawdry, the actors glum, the phrases plaintive and repetitive, an endless string of clichés.

His proclamation made, Smith began to justify it: ". . . the end of the road has been reached . . . negotiate to the bitter end . . . leave no stone unturned . . . striven with might and main . . . leant over backwards . . . deepest heart-searching . . . days in ceaseless confer-

ence . . . state of uncertainty . . . bitter lesson of the Federation . . . noble concept of racial harmony . . . opportunities which our African people have to advance and prosper . . . in consultation with the chiefs . . . independence on the basis of the present Constitution . . . assuming the rights . . . neighbours in Africa . . . hand of friendship . . . the people of Britain are the kith and kin . . . fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy . . . loyalty to the Queen . . . no solution to our racial problems . . . African nationalists . . . irresponsible rule . . . impeccable record for over 40 years . . . short-term economic disadvantages . . . masters in our own house . . . possible hardship . . . prosperous and better future for everyone . . . talks of threats and sanctions . . . appeasement to the United Nations . . . mantle of the Pioneers . . . profoundest confidence . . . determination of our people . . . the safety of our homes . . .”

The phrases were familiar, their context unique. But for all the emotion, the sense of purpose, the cold dignity, the speech rang hollow. To those in the wings and the mass of players herded to the back of the stage, the concluding words brought the final bursting irony:

“We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity, and in the spirit of this belief we have this day assumed our sovereign independence. God bless you all.”

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The line between tragedy and farce was already tenuously drawn. As subsequent events piled one on the other, the line snapped so that they quickly became interwoven.

Following the declaration of independence, the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, announced that he had been instructed by the Queen to suspend Mr. Smith and the Government. Smith, in a message to the Rhodesian Army, Air Force, Prison Service and Civil Service, said that any “claims that may be advanced by Sir Humphrey Gibbs, or persons purporting to speak in his name” should be disregarded. Sir Humphrey, called upon to resign, refused to do so. The only defection in the armed services was that of Captain Christopher Owen, third-generation Rhodesian and personal aide to the Governor. It is he who, without ceremony, each day raises and lowers the Union Jack in the grounds of Government House.

Sir Humphrey Gibbs remains virtually a recluse behind the Cape Dutch facade of Government House. His telephones were cut off, his honour guard withdrawn, his staff transferred. When the deputy prime minister, Clifford Dupont, was appointed Acting Officer Administering the Government, Sir Humphrey’s Rolls Royce, with its distinctive crown on the bumper, was unceremoniously taken away and handed over to Dupont. The first public engagement at which Dupont and his new car appeared was the annual dinner of the Central African Deep Sea Angling Society. When Government circles in London described Smith’s recommendation to the Queen that Dupont be appointed Governor-General of Rhodesia as “an unusual piece of effrontery”, Salisbury punsters suggested it might equally have been called a fishy business.

With Dupont’s appointment as Acting Officer, there started the ‘battle of the books’. Following UDI hundreds of disturbed Rhodesians went to Government



Do you shape up as a Rhodesian?

MOTOR CAR DEALER’S ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE “RHODESIAN HERALD” OF NOVEMBER, 13 1965. “DO YOU SHAPE UP AS A RHODESIAN ?” COPY STATES “WE EMPLOY 152 EUROPEANS AND 152 AFRICANS (THAT’S A COINCIDENCE) AND PAY AN ANNUAL WAGE BILL OF £190,000 . . . NOT A PENNY GOES OUT OF THE COUNTRY.”

House to sign their names in the Governor’s visitors’ book as an expression of sympathy or in loyalty to the Queen. Smith’s régime reacted by setting up visitors’ books in all the main towns of Rhodesia to enable residents “to pledge their loyalty to the Queen”. Malicious delight was taken in comparing the results in this uneven contest.

There are few Rhodesians involved in this conflict of loyalties. For most, the only loyalty they are able to evince is to themselves. They see no cause to make any ‘agonising choice’. A number wish that Smith had gone the whole hog and declared a republic so that “we would only have to be loyal to Rhodesia, not any one person or group of people”.

Sir Humphrey, accused by Smith’s régime and its supporters of attempting to split the country, has his defenders. “He cannot be accused of splitting the country when the country has split around him and he alone of all of us has stayed firm and unchanged.” And again: “The present Government has persistently tried to equate loyalty to the ruling political party with loyalty to Rhodesia. This is an equation which must not and

will not be accepted by thinking people. It will be increasingly realised as time goes on that the opposite is true."

But overwhelming the voice of sanity are the shrill cries of the 'true Rhodesians': "One can hardly cavil at UDI whereby we still enjoy a reasonably peaceful country under control, and without any of us suffering any indignity or hardship"; "It seems so ridiculous that one little place like Rhodesia should have so many enemies. We are a peace-loving country and try to mind our own affairs, so why all this interference? Others should put their own house in order first, then tell us what to do. God bless Rhodesia!"; "Having to place her signature to a document sanctioning such punitive and vindictive measures against Rhodesia must have caused the Queen great sadness and regret. Royalty should not be expected to perform such tasks"; "The attention of Mrs. Philip Mountbatten is drawn to the fact that the alleged 'rebel' Government of Mr. Ian Smith has been appointed by democratic principle . . . It is recommended that the brainless, spineless, gutless, pointless financial drain which is the monarchy today, dissociates itself from the Victorian era and move with—not against—the speed of world events and trends. Signed: A Loyal Rhodesian."

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Loyalty is too abstract a quality for most white Rhodesians but even in their reaction to the announcement of independence, they showed only apathy. At 2 o'clock they returned to their routine activities; in the evening they went home to watch the same old TV shows. Several bottle stores announced they had sold out of champagne, but it was drunk in private. After dark, the streets were as empty as usual with only a rare hooting car to disturb the peace. Hotel bars did a good business. One drunk lurched into the street, bumped into a woman passing by, and yelled after her: "Everything's free, everything's free . . ." This was the only visible expression of jubilation to come from white Rhodesians on the evening of their independence. There were no flags, no banners, no parades or celebrations, no joy, nothing.

In the three African townships of Salisbury, Harari, Highfield and Mufakose, the night was as any other night—except that police patrols were doubled. Only the children were unaware of the day's significance. Those who had not heard the 1.15 broadcast had heard one of several repeat broadcasts put out during the afternoon and evening. Wherever there was a radio, groups of Africans stood and listened, non-communicative, without expression. One man, briefcase in hand, who had heard Smith's bland announcement from a radio blaring from a fish-and-chip shop by the market, was asked: "What do you think?" "What do I think?" he replied quietly. "I think nothing. It is done now."

It was not unexpected. Six days before UDI, a state of emergency was declared throughout Rhodesia to last three months. The Minister of Law and Order said it was because there was a threat to security—this following frequent boasts of his government that Rhodesia was the most peaceful country in the world.

The proclamation gives the police wide powers to arrest anyone they suspect has acted, or is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and the preservation of peace. All gatherings—and a gathering is three or more people—may be prohibited. So may communications between people in Rhodesia and others



CECIL SQUARE, NOVEMBER 11th, 1.15. ALL QUIET UNDER THE WATCHFUL EYE OF TWO POLICEMEN AS AFRICANS LISTEN TO RADIO BROADCAST OF UDI BY SMITH.

outside the country. It is an offence to publish, or say anything that causes "alarm or despondency". This was quite a firecracker for Ian Smith to drop on Guy Fawkes day but, after an all-day session with his Cabinet, he said the state of emergency had nothing to do with UDI.

On Wednesday, November 3rd, the Minister of Finance announced a general import control to limit, he said, the strain on Rhodesian reserves. Although import control was an essential prerequisite to independence, it was made clear that this had nothing to do with UDI either. Nor had the sudden cancellation on Thursday, the 4th, of BBC news bulletins in Rhodesia.

On Saturday, November 6th, practically the last words on the aborted Royal Commission were spoken. Mr. Smith bitterly criticised Mr. Wilson's demands and conditions and ended his statement by saying: "It would seem you have finally closed the door which you claimed publicly to have opened." Simultaneously, the Government prohibited the publication of restrictees' names or of any statements or utterances attributed to them: a regulation which effectively deprived the men of Gonakudzingwa, Sikombela and Wha Wha of the last shred of human contact with the people of their country.

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In his long speech at the brief session of Parliament on November 25th, the Minister of Law and Order reported to the House his reasons for the proclamation of a state of emergency. "In the early part of this month," he said, "it had been made more clear than ever before that the African racialist organisations intended to attain their political objectives by violence and subversion."

He reminded the House that 55 trained saboteurs had been caught and convicted. It seems these sabotage

activities were part of a Communist plot against Rhodesia. Elsewhere in his statement the Minister claimed that "Rhodesia is now the fulcrum upon which the defence of Western democracy in Africa is based." He quoted Tanzania. "That unhappy land is rapidly slipping into the hands of the Chinese Communists. One part—Zanzibar—is already firmly in their grip. The remainder will surely follow."

However, he was comforted that there existed "a vast fund of sympathy for Mr. Smith and his people. Apart from a few sanctimonious poltroons, there is no sympathy at all for the militant African countries clamouring for United Nations intervention in Rhodesia."

In the same report the Minister gave the position with regard to restrictees. "Since July 1, 1965, 380 restrictees have been released, time expired, and there has been an upsurge of political violence of all kinds in various parts of the country. Some of the persons involved in organising these crimes have been prosecuted, others have once again been restricted. There are at present 276 persons restricted in restriction areas and 47 persons are detained."

The Minister's figures no doubt included the 34 people served on November 12th, the day after UDI, with restriction orders ranging from one year to five years. Their names, under law, were not made known.

The session of Parliament was short but eventful. Dr. Ahrn Palley, an Independent and the only white Member of the Opposition, contested the legality of the Government and the new Constitution. He was escorted from the Chamber by the Serjeant-at-Arms for refusing to give way to the Speaker who had ruled that he must withdraw if he opposed the validity of the Constitution. Government Members distinguished themselves by shouting down Dr. Palley whenever he attempted to speak.

He was followed by nine Members of the Opposition, the United People's Party, including two former Independents, Mr. I. H. Samuriwo and Mr. P. E. Chigogo who had joined the UPP only that morning. The remaining four Opposition Members remained in their seats. A statement issued by Mr. Josiah Gondo, Leader of the Opposition, said: "The present political situation is a challenge to all Africans to unite and fight the evil within our borders."

Despite their stand on this occasion, Mr. Gondo and his eight supporters will not resign their seats. When Parliament sits again on February 22nd they will be present with a fresh "line of action". Dr. Palley's plans are not yet known. "I am still a Member of Parliament, constitutionally elected under the 1961 Constitution." His is the sharpest, most capable voice of the Opposition, but whatever protests he and his colleagues make, the fact remains that, against 50 Members of Smith's Rhodesia Front, the Opposition is pathetically impotent.

Its futility even as a token critical force is summarised in a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald*. "I suggest that the ringleader, Dr. Palley, and the African Opposition MPs who walked out of the House must resign as Members of Parliament and we, the taxpayers, refuse to pay the salaries of those who do not recognise our Government. We true Rhodesians recognise the present Government as the Government of Rhodesia."

Whatever judgment is passed on the new Constitution by Rhodesian judges—and they are not likely to be called upon before February, if then—the last and most incongruous word comes from William Harper, Minister



IN 'THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS', SOME RHODESIANS SIGNED GOVERNOR HUMPHREY GIBBS'S VISITING BOOK, SOME DUPONT'S—AND SOME BOTH.

of Internal Affairs. As Leader of the House, moving the adjournment of Parliament, he said this was a historic occasion "when we have cast off the last shackles of colonialism."

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The events in Parliament were fully reported in the Rhodesian press but, in other circumstances, the public is not so fortunate. Minutes after the declaration of independence, strict censorship was imposed on all publications "in the interest of public safety." Censors stopped the *Rhodesia Herald*, a conservative newspaper opposed to UDI, from publishing an independence extra. And when the *Herald* appeared next morning almost every page was studded with large white gaps.

The leader column, speaking volumes, was blank—leading the saturnine Deputy Minister of Information, P. K. van der Byl, to comment that "some people say it was the best editorial they have read." Numbers of readers grabbed the opportunity to make their own empty cracks at the newspaper, which courageously tried to print the news as it saw fit. With the censors' scissors sharply at work, this leads to many a non sequitur which reveals more than it hides.

Wherever Sir Humphrey Gibbs is described as Governor, a small gap appears in the line of type. Wilson's reaction to UDI came across with the headline "Wilson Warns of Blue Berets". The very mention is now anathema. The rebel régime ordained that it be replaced by ADR—Assumption of Democratic Rights. Where newspapers ignore the ruling, foolish and easily fillable gaps appear. The two censors who sit in at the *Herald* office—one, a South African known as 'the Goebbels of South Africa', the other with a record that includes a conviction for fraudulent conversion—have both been cleverly and calmly put in their place.

But even so, the newspapers cannot win. A *Herald* reader points out: "The blank spaces in your paper can create a feeling of resentment in its readers, not towards the Government for censoring, but towards you for causing them to do so."

Journalists from abroad have had their full share of harassment. One American, quietly eating lunch at a city restaurant, was approached by the manageress. "Excuse me, sir, would you mind if I asked you something?" she began politely. She wanted to know if he worked for the *Times*, or *Time*—clearly, she was not sure which she meant. When the American identified himself and his publication, she drew herself up to her full height. "Liar," she screamed—and smugly walked away.

Air hostesses have involved helpless journalist passengers in political argument, and the old familiar accusations have been freely hurled by blindfold Rhodesians at all journalists. When Dr. Palley was hustled out of Parliament, to be followed by nine indignant Opposition Members, a bystander was heard to say: "All these journalists are sure to misrepresent the facts."

Photographers have been questioned, taken to police stations, had their film confiscated and been banned from even unrestricted areas. Officialness may constantly assert itself but there are still moments of humour. One photographer, banned from a certain area, was handed by the police representing the local "Protecting Authority" a typed notice prohibiting him "from taking any films or photographs of C . . . Farm in the area or of any Police establishments or of any Police erections . . ."

One widely travelled and experienced journalist had his own theory to account for the bitterness with which he and fellow members of the profession had been received. "I have found," he said, "that the insults and revilements showered on the foreign press by the people of a country are in equal proportion to their guilt, conscious or unconscious, for the acts which they so aggressively defend."

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The Church, too, not usually known for an activist role in Rhodesian affairs, is quietly spreading the word as it sees it. And, by doing so, inevitably brings upon it the familiar arguments. From an unspecified ex-Church member comes this comment: "It is time ministers stopped interfering in politics. If they wish to go in for politics, they should become politicians . . . I also feel that as these ministers are supposedly here for the benefit of the people of this country and also prepared to accept the amenities of this country they must abide by the people's choice of Government and not try to stir up trouble."

A citizen of Salisbury, referring to the controversial comments of the Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "In order to avoid a repetition of such dangerous and inflammatory remarks, the perpetrators of which can protect themselves behind their cloth, all matters should be so censored and/or scrutinised before they are served to an unsuspecting public."

The Salisbury citizen has his way for statements and broadcast sermons must indeed be approved by the censors. The Dean of Bulawayo was forced to submit his sermon in this manner, although a sermon by the Bishop of Mashonaland on November 14th, in which he said he believed the Government's declaration of independence was wrong, was published in the Anglican Church's newspaper, *The Link*—having failed to pass the censors for use in the *Rhodesia Herald*.

The pastoral instruction of the Catholic Archbishop of Salisbury and the four Catholic bishops throughout Rhodesia was banned by the censors. Entitled "A Plea

for Peace", the statement makes the bishops' position clear. Quoting from an earlier pastoral instruction, "Peace through Justice", they say: "An immoral state of affairs exists when nationalism or race or economics or any other similar thing becomes the dominant norm of behaviour and is placed above man, considered as an individual or as a group." They continue: "There is no place in Christianity, properly understood, for such a situation, and the political theory which professes to uphold Christian and western civilisation by upholding exclusiveness and the privilege of the few, makes a hideous mockery of these words."



Towards the end of the document, they make another relevant comment. "Yet after all this time, the two major groups of Rhodesians, the Africans and the Europeans, have made little significant contact. They converse little with one another and not only convention, but the very laws of the country themselves, preclude any immediate hope of their achieving greater understanding. In fact the possibility of such an attempt at mutual comprehension grows daily more remote."

There is nothing the Church can do, and whatever it tries to do, or say, is resented. Ian Smith invokes the name of God in his unilateral declaration of independence. The churchmen can only do the same. In the *Church Times*, the Bishop of Mashonaland asks fellow



Christians throughout the world to pray for Rhodesia. "Pray for all who for the time bear actual power of government in Rhodesia, whatever history says, (and I believe it utterly wrong myself) about UDI. Please pray for us all, the saintly Africans and the wicked Europeans, the wicked Africans and the saintly Europeans."

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Of all white Rhodesians, it is probably the industrialists and businessmen, in the main firmly opposed to UDI, who are praying hardest—for what is now an unpleasant, and what will surely become, a perilous situation. Understanding the need for import controls in the present circumstances, they are keeping as cool as they can. But even for those ignorant of the intricacies of economics, there is menace in the December 2nd announcement that gold and foreign assets fell by £1.5 million in the last week. Buried in the report that follows is the news that the commercial banks' deposits were down to £1,630,000 on November 26th from £5,400,000 on November 19th.

With virtually all financial transactions between Britain and Rhodesia at an end, with sanctions on Rhodesian exports declared by every country that matters except Portugal and South Africa, the Rhodesian financial experts are taking every step try to maintain business—almost—as usual. Administrative machinery has been set up to combat the effect of economic sanctions, tobacco farmers—with already 80 per cent of their crop planted—have been warned to turn the remainder of their land to other crops, and Ian Smith has consoled his followers with the news that the Wankie colliery could be converted to the production of oil within six months.

British businesses in Rhodesia will probably be among the first organisations to suffer from lack of funds. Worst hit by the present regulations are British people who have retired to Rhodesia and are dependent on regular incoming pensions. (Smith, calling Britain's action on these pensions "daylight robbery . . . immoral". is getting political capital from his assurance that pensioners will not suffer.) Rhodesia's national bank, the Reserve Bank—whose governor and directors were "suspended" and replaced by Britain, has adopted tough measures on bank lending.

For several firms, import control has already meant cutbacks in staff and many more have said it is only a question of time before they are forced to similar action. There is as yet little sense of panic, and a few importers are enjoying a heroic role. Two brothers, managers of one of Salisbury's biggest importing firms said there would be no cutbacks of staff in their company "until we are starving. Import controls affect 75 per cent of our business, but we shall do everything in our power to get by. If there is any belt tightening to be done, my brother and I will face hardship before we allow the staff to suffer."

Other businessmen are more realistic, "I'm unable to get any goods into the country," said one, "but I'll probably be able to hold out another couple of months. Then the staff will have to go. But you know what it is when large numbers of Africans are unemployed—there'll be trouble."

In the townships of Harari, Highfield, Mufakose and Mabvuku, African shop owners and managers are thinking ahead. Many have increased their stocks with tinned goods such as fish, milk and jam. A Highfield general dealer said he was ordering an extra 100 cases of con-

densed milk because "I have no doubt we shall be scrambling for tinned milk very soon."

At the moment, it is not tinned milk that white Rhodesians are scrambling for. Whisky, up 4/9d. a bottle to 39s., is already being rationed, and duties were increased on tobacco, cigarettes, wine, beer and all spirits.

The price of sugar went up 2d. a lb. on December 1st and, two days later, sweets and chocolates added 2d. a lb. to their prices. For reasons that may or may not have been connected with the present economic crisis, rent for houses in the municipal African townships is to be raised "to an economic level." Under the present pool rental system many families rent houses with lounge, kitchen and three bedrooms for £19.0 a month.

If many people are holding back their spending, through choice or circumstance, there are others who are rushing to get rid of their money in fear of devaluation. Motor cars are considered a good investment, but dealers say it is still too early to tell what effect, if any, there will be on car sales and prices. At a sale at the end of November of an exceptionally good antique collection, prices were high and custom plentiful.

White Rhodesians, with their backs to the wall, are convinced they can beat the sanctions, and they take childish glee in kicking back wherever they can: "Preferences for U.K. Goods Abolished" heads one statement. "Sanctions against Rhodesia could be awkward for Japan" announces another. Considerable publicity was given to the report of a £500,000 steel order from Spain, very little to the speedy denial of the order by the Spanish Government.

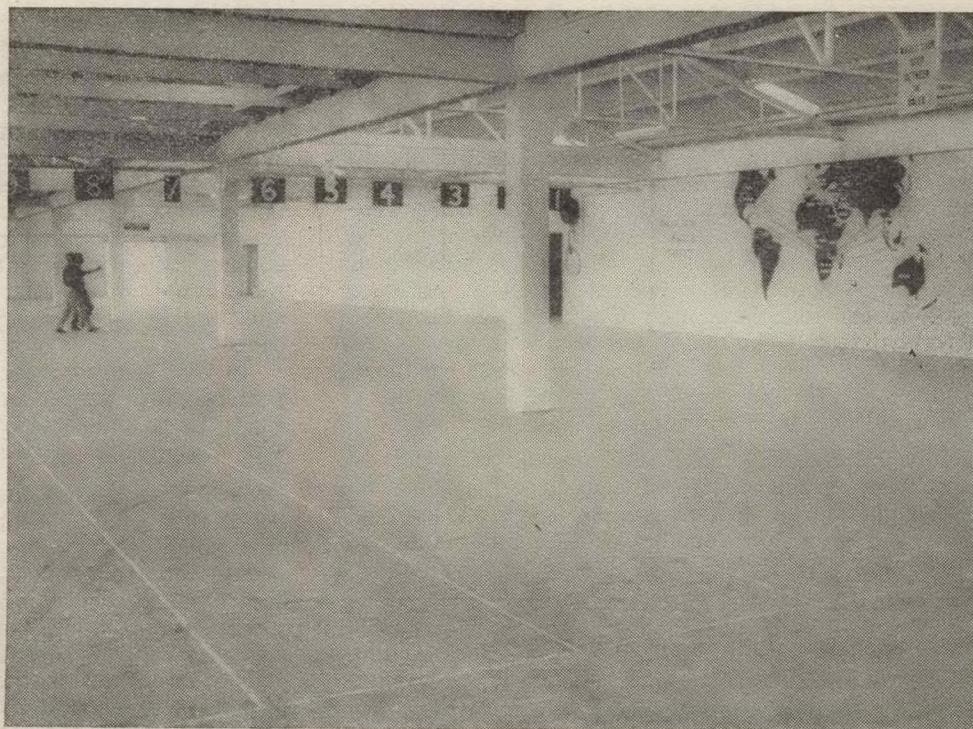
"Shortages will be a blessing in disguise" is the professed attitude of some. "For a long time I have felt that there is far too much luxury to be bought in Rhodesia by people whose bank balances are bigger than their souls . . . Drastic cuts in these things will be a sure way of sifting the grain from the chaff, when those who can't willingly and cheerfully take a reef in their belts and then another reef and yet another are far away in their own cushy little Utopias. We of all races who are left will be free to fashion this lovely land into a country that will draw praise and admiration from the whole wide world. God save the Queen and God save Rhodesians from ever becoming a nation of luxury loving softies."

Other hardy types appear positively to look forward to the challenges sanctions may impose: "If we are not allowed to sell all our sugar and dear Mother England plots to deny us petrol, we can still carry on." And the suggestion is that cars can be kept running on "cane spirit with a very small addition of petrol, I think it was 1 in 8."

A Bulawayo farmer, clearly preferring petrol to cane spirit, decided to stockpile petrol supplies against possible rationing. He bought £165 worth of petrol from a city garage and transported it in barrels to his farm. Telling his African employees to dig a large hole and store the petrol in it, he returned to town for another load. The labourers, through misunderstanding or sheer cussedness, promptly poured the petrol into the hole they had dug—straight out of the barrels.

Much is made of the fact that golfers are among the first to suffer from sanctions. They are being rationed to one ball each month at Salisbury sports shops. Some rabid golfers, it seems, had been buying as many as

THE AUCTION FLOOR OF ONE OF THREE HUGE TOBACCO SALE HOUSES. IT IS OFF-SEASON AND THEREFORE GLOOMILY DESERTED. FOR RHODESIAN FARMERS — AND THE WHOLE COUNTRY—THE QUESTION REMAINS: WHAT IS TO HAPPEN TO THEIR TOBACCO CROP IN MARCH WHEN AUCTIONS ARE DUE TO BEGIN? THE INSCRIPTION SURROUNDING THE MAP OF THE WORLD READS: "RHODESIAN TOBACCO MARKETS COVER THE WORLD".



three balls before the rationing came into force. Yet there is consolation for such sufferers as these: as all moneys, including postal orders from the public, had been paid into a non-resident account in a city bank, football pools will not be affected.

Four million Africans, their leaders removed to prisons and remote camps by a white supremacist government; four million Africans who have no voice in the running of their country, on whom a sly independence with all its consequences has forcibly been thrust, will surely be heartened by the news.

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The rebel government, smugly dominant, its woefully weak constituted opposition, the Church, the Press, the worried business world—each group, articulate and voluble, has asserted, disputed, challenged, made a stand. But from the four million politically subjugated and economically exploited Africans there have come no statements, no slick comment, nothing that expresses in quotable phrases their reaction to the events that so deeply concern them.

Through the weeks preceding UDI, Rhodesians, black and white, displayed a calm that was extraordinary to outsiders. But what was apathy among the whites ("leave it to good old Smithy") was helplessness among the blacks. Only in the week of Mr. Wilson's visit were the voices of the masses raised in protest.

Two demonstrations—at the airport when Mr. Wilson arrived and outside Government House when the word spread that Joshua Nkomo was there—were the only tokens of African awareness that their future hung in the balance. Both demonstrations were contained by thickly-packed police, police dogs well in evidence. The Government chose to take the view that demonstrators, far from acting spontaneously, had been "intimidated" to make the effort. An intimidator, charged and convicted the day after Wilson's arrival, was given a 5-year sentence, probably the fastest case ever to go through the normally slowmoving channels of the law.

During the days following UDI the passivity continued: a state of euphoria for the devotees of Smith and blank silence from the black majority that disguised the realities of the Rhodesian Government's act of treason. The silence, the continuance of ordinary day-to-day affairs, was taken by some commentators to mean that "African extremists were either totally unprepared for the announcement, or that they lacked sufficient means or support to make their influence felt."

It hardly mattered whether people were prepared or not. The powers given to the police through the proclamation of the state of emergency were sufficient to restrain any isolated outbursts. The Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, under which anyone could be restricted without any reason being given, had already ensured that nationalist leaders were in no position to give guidance to their followers. And when UDI was declared, it was not known where these men were being held.

Wild rumours were circulating concerning the fate of Joshua Nkomo, leader of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union. His name—which may not be printed anywhere in Rhodesia—still gives hope to numberless followers. Before UDI, he was restricted to a camp in the Gonakudzingwa area, near the Portuguese border, far from anywhere else. Then rumour said he was in a Salisbury prison, in a Gwelo jail, even locked away in an underground mine. No-one, not even his wife, knows where he is now.

No news is published—or may be—concerning the men in the other camps. Wha Wha, near the midlands town of Gwelo, where Mr. Nkomo's lieutenant, Josiah Chinamano, and about thirty others were restricted, is said to have been taken over as a police camp. Sikombela, the restriction area of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and his Zimbabwe African National Union following is equally beyond contact. It is as though they had vanished without trace. Yet somewhere they are singing "Zimbabwe shall be free": the hope that is all

they have to live for.

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Four days after UDI, the calm broke. A series of strikes closed seven factories in Bulawayo. About 1500 Africans walked out of the factories at the lunch break and refused to return to work. A police spokesman said 24 arrests were made for intimidation. Armed police had frustrated a general strike. In Gwelo there were strikes at two factories. The managing director at one of them reported the next day: "I think most of them were sorry about what happened yesterday morning, and it is clear that they were intimidated." At the other factory, the manager said: "Up to about 15 are still absent and it is likely they will lose their jobs." He knew, as all employers and employees know, that for every man who leaves there are twenty to take his place.

In Salisbury's Highfield township, the same day as the strikes, a group of sixty Africans chased 500 African schoolchildren from their classrooms, then ran to another school and threw stones and bricks through the windows. There were several instances of stoning of buses in Highfield, Harari and Kambuzuma. At a petrol station, the glass of four pumps, an office window and a sign were broken. The mail train from Bulawayo to Salisbury was stoned at Gwelo.

Two days later, on November 17th, 2000 Africans failed to turn up for work at ten factories in Bulawayo. Early in the morning a protest march began—many marchers still in their pyjamas. When they were within two miles of Bulawayo, they were turned back by police. Later, police would make no comment on reports that tear gas had been used in one township. At 6.30 in the evening an explosion shattered the windows of a building in Bulawayo. Members of the Press were refused permission to inspect the damage. A bus which was observed in the yard of a Salisbury police station with many windows broken was said to have been stoned in Mufakose the night before.

In Gwelo, at a special magistrate's court, 239 African students aged between 15 and 21 pleaded guilty to a contravention earlier that day of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. They were charged with having taken part in an unlawful procession. Banners were displayed in court. One read "Down with Smith". The men were dealt with in batches of fifty. They said they had no leader and no-one had told them to form the procession. The magistrate imposed sentences ranging from four to six cuts on the juveniles, and on those aged 19 and over one month's imprisonment suspended for three years conditionally, plus six cuts.

On November 18th, there were a few isolated stoning incidents. Police in Salisbury boarded all homegoing buses in the evening and accompanied passengers until they reached the end of their journey. In Bulawayo it was reported that an estimated 2000 railway workers did not return to work after their lunchtime break. At a clothing factory about 250 workers downed tools for morning tea and did not return.

For a few days the situation returned to normal. In a slip of the tongue an announcer on the South African broadcasting service reported that everything in Salisbury was treasonably quiet.

In the afternoon of November 22 disturbances broke out again. About 2000 Africans lined a road in Bulawayo's Mpopoma township and, chanting and shouting,

hurled stones at passing cars. Armed police, in and on top of five trucks, shuttled backwards and forwards through the mob. African bystanders were ordered by police with dogs to pick up stones and dustbins which had been thrown on to the road in the way of the trucks. When crowds of Africans taunted the police, several tear gas shells were fired at them. A full-scale police operation in all Bulawayo townships, beginning at dawn, defeated what appeared to be a determined effort to bring about a general strike in the city's industrial area. Many Bulawayo families went without their early morning milk and bread after a partly successful strike at one bakery and shortage of staff at the dairy.

In Que Que, an African was shot in the foot when a police patrol was stoned. The man was detained under guard. Large numbers of arrests were made in connection with disturbances in two townships over the weekend.

At 7.15 in the morning of Tuesday, November 23rd, police shot dead 20-year-old Joel Tebe, an employee of a Bulawayo clothing factory, after a bus had been stoned in Mpopoma township. This was the first known fatality since independence was declared. The partial strike continued and absenteeism in the industrial area was between 15 and 20 per cent. Intensive police patrols circulated the townships and arrested about fifty strike organisers. Hotels and stores were worst hit by absent labour. Guests at one plush hotel were forced to make their own beds when thirty of the staff did not appear for duty.

In Salisbury the same day two Africans, whose names were given as Richard and Jowell, were found guilty under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of stonethrowing and were each jailed for five years. Jowell, who was charged with robbing a bus conductor, was found guilty and sentenced to a further twelve months and six cuts.

On November 25th thirteen Africans appeared in the courts at Bulawayo on charges under the Act, bringing the total handled since Monday, November 22nd, to 188. Armed police patrols, with shotgun guards perched on the roofs of mesh-covered Land Rovers, continued to tour the townships. A Bulawayo manufacturer sacked sixty African employees following the strike for walking out and breaking other disciplinary regulations. A spokesman for the firm, which employs about 800 Africans, said the men had not been replaced and that there were "no immediate plans to replace them."

No further incidents were reported in Bulawayo and Salisbury remained completely calm until Monday, November 29th, when police reported five stoning incidents and one arrest. On the Saturday before, an African placed a petrol 'bomb' in the men's department of Barbour's, Salisbury's most expensive store. It failed to explode and the culprit has not yet been found. In the Government Gazette published on December 3rd appeared a notice that nine Africans including one woman had been restricted for five years, and three more restricted for twelve months.

A leaderwriter, deploring the unrest among African labour, said: "Were hooliganism, intimidation and violence allowed to take over, chaos would replace order, and jungle law that of the rule of law." Whose law is not stated; justice is not considered.

In the weeks following UDI, outbursts of violence have been sporadic and quickly suppressed. What is still to come is uncertain. No-one wants violence, but un-

employment, hunger and frustration are its breeding-grounds. In Salisbury the Christmas decorations which line the main streets provide a facade of colour and cheerfulness. Shop windows tempt buyers with 'ideal gifts' from gold cloth evening dresses to five-guinea ice buckets to luxury foods, while the *Herald's* woman's page leads off a story: "African girls taught to feed family economically".

Smith has his white Christmas, numberless black Rhodesians not even a pay packet. White Rhodesians, careless of the outraged cries of the outside world, are in festive mood. The terrible fear, the poverty, the helplessness, the 'incidents' and the watchful police patrols play no part in their suburban, cosy lives. United behind the rebel regime, they are proud that little Rhodesia can cock a snook at the great powers. For the Africans, "violence must be opposed". In an ominous silence only occasionally disturbed by rumbles of thunder, they wait.

* * *

Smith has won the first round. He has the approval, even adulation, of most white Rhodesians. The split hoped for by Mr. Wilson's Government has not come about. It is a dangerous assumption that there will be one when the economic squeeze takes effect. The anti-Smith group is not so much a group as a tiny handful of moderates, rendered ineffectual by censorship, propaganda and emotional patriotism.

For all the furore taking place beyond Rhodesia's borders, few believe that Smith will lose his war. White Rhodesians, incessantly telling themselves that their 'kith and kin' in Britain are almost solidly behind them, watch with delight for signs of weakness in British party solidarity. Wilson to them is a heinous villain. His visit to Salisbury "was without doubt made to impress the British public that he was doing his utmost to negotiate a peaceful settlement while he had no intention of doing anything of the sort. I am afraid that during and after the discussions, while Mr. Smith came through with his reputation as a man and a gentleman untarnished, Harold Wilson could still lay claim to neither title." A customer of a Salisbury department store is sending the British Prime Minister a special Christmas present—a 14-inch high wall plaque depicting Ian Smith.

That black Africa is beating the war drums disturbs white Rhodesians not at all. The OAU Addis Ababa conference with its threat to cut all communication with Rhodesia provoked little more reaction than a communal sneer. The Rhodesian Government has long inferred that countries to the north of the Zambezi are communist, and therefore a threat to Rhodesia's "civilisation and standards." In an interview late in November, Mr. Smith said he wanted friendly relations with African states; more specifically: "We have not for one moment contemplated taking measures against our neighbour country, Zambia."

Zambia for its part, and under pressure from fellow OAU countries, is acting as un-neighbourly as it knows how, in the circumstances. With independence, both Rhodesia and Zambia littered their common border with troops. On orders from President Kenneth Kaunda, however, the Zambian troops were withdrawn after having twice almost moved into Rhodesian territory as a result of alerts. The first turned out to be nearby blasting operations, the second nothing more alarming



QUICKEST CONSEQUENCE OF UDI—WHISKY 'RATIONING', AND AN INCREASE OF 4/9 A BOTTLE. IN THE LIQUOR DEPARTMENT OF THIS STORE, ALL WHOLE BOTTLES VANISHED FROM THE SHELVES.

than a group of camera-draped American tourists who were seen moving about the border.

With an RAF squadron now escorted in Zambia, both countries feel more secure. Even Mr. Smith said in a televised interview that he could not take exception to a token force or British troops in Zambia. "It is in our interests to have law and order maintained in Zambia," he said.

In the same interview he stated that Rhodesia had received a great deal of support from governments and individuals in many parts of the world. Much of the support from governments, however, could not be made public because of the possible repercussions to these countries. He thought Rhodesians would understand this and the fact that "they could not be told all the 'good news'."

Who the governments are is cause for speculation. So far, only South Africa and Portugal have come out with any public comment from which Rhodesians could derive comfort.

Shortly after UDI, South African Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd said that it was of exceptional importance for South Africa that its normal intercourse with its Rhodesian neighbours should continue as in the past. The Republic would not participate in boycott measures. There were glowing words, too, from Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff. To committee members of his United Party, he said: "I think that the hearts of all of you go out to our Rhodesian neighbours." A 'Friends of Rhodesia Association' was quickly formed in South Africa which aims to raise a £5 million liberty bond from private sources to help Rhodesia "in her struggle for survival." From Portugal's Foreign Minister, Dr. Albert Nogueira, there came a long statement which he said could be interpreted in more than one way. In effect, it meant—no sanctions.

In such good company, the Smith regime feels at ease and confident. Only Zambia holds a threat, and with vital links like Kariba Dam and the railways binding the two countries together, danger from that source is not considered likely. Moreover, only three days after UDI, President Kaunda gave Mr. Smith a



bonus. At a UNIP provincial conference in Broken Hill, the President lashed out at the Rhodesian nationalist leaders in Lusaka—ZAPU has five members of its executive based there. “They are idiots, idiots, idiots,” he said. “I have grown tired of talking to these gentlemen who are so fond of chicken-in-the-basket. I say they are stupid.”

He told the crowd that on October 23rd he had invited leaders from the nationalist parties in Lusaka to consult with himself and his Ministers, but the offer was not taken up. “They insult us. They shout from Cairo, Moscow, London, Peking and America and Lusaka. What good is this ? . . . I say again they have betrayed their people.”

These must have been sweet words to Whites south of the border, but for black Rhodesians another fragment of hope was shattered. The nationalists themselves had nothing to say.

* * *

If Rhodesian nationalists in Zambia held their peace, white ‘patriots’ within Rhodesia were vociferous: “Those to whom ADR (Assumption of Democratic Rights) does not appeal have the alternative of living in any of the ‘peaceful’ countries to the north who have independence under majority rule”; “To those of you in doubt, you have my sympathy as it must be

degrading to bite the hand that feeds you, but even more so to see that hand fight to preserve your livelihood and your very life. As thousands of others, I am behind you all the way Mr. Smith, and as long as you say ‘God Save the Queen’ I will repeat it, but in my heart I will say God save our Prime Minister and should you ever consider forming a women’s military corps, please enrol me as the first volunteer.”; “Those who wish to live under black rule have several places in Africa to go to—let us keep Rhodesia under white rule. People seem to forget what has been done for the African millions by the whites. Churchill’s words could be aptly quoted: ‘Never has so much been owed by so many to so few.’

Comparisons between Smith and Sir Winston Churchill are sickeningly common. Curiously, these words from a 1939 speech of Sir Winston’s are addressed to white Rhodesians: “Still, if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed, if you will not fight when your victory can be sure and not too costly, you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance to survive. There may be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory and it will be better to perish than to live in slavery.” Others in a world of their own are more specific: “With our Rhodesian Churchill, we might prove to be

in years to come the Mother Country of an African Empire."

Then there are the 'political scientists': "To give the majority of people the right to vote for a government does not make that government a democratic one." And the 'sociologists': "Once upon a time the people of this country depended almost entirely on the ox and the ass for transport. In the fullness of time certain thoughtless or possibly misguided fair-skinned people introduced into this dark land the Christian religion and the bicycle. A minority of the inhabitants sincerely endeavoured to absorb the former but soon rejected it as the precepts were foreign to their "religion" and in direct conflict with tribal ways and customs. The majority, however, became intrigued with and completely absorbed by the bicycle. Any misanthropic action at this critical time aimed at the imposition of additional responsibilities on these people such as a vote, could result in serious mental aberration with no resulting benefit to themselves or the bicycle."

White Rhodesia, however, is usually more direct—and more adoring: "Let all loyal Rhodesians stand firm and prove worthy of our Prime Minister. I would like to see his portrait on every cinema and TV screen so that we, the public, can show our respect to the man destined to lead our wonderful country safely to prosperity"; "Take the founder's name of Rhodes, and the creator of our new State's Christian name, Ian. Link these together and the result gives us "Rhodesian". Is this not rather a coincidence?"; "Nothing is really changed here, except that Rhodesia is ours now and what a wonderful heritage it is. Mr. Smith has done so much for us I only wish those overseas could have someone to guide and lead them as he has guided and led us"; "I love people who do things for the good of all mankind."

In this context, it is startling to hear voices that frankly and courageously take the opposite view. When 23-year-old Judy Todd, daughter of the restricted ex-Prime Minister Garfield Todd, returned to Rhodesia, she spoke in tones that had an almost outrageous clarity. She had come back, she said "to emphasise the role Britain must play in Rhodesia to protect the people of Rhodesia who oppose the Smith regime." Facing a barrage of journalists, several of them hostile, she answered with a freedom that had listeners looking over their shoulders for the ever-present security police.

Garfield Todd is restricted to his farm for a year. Lawyer Leo Baron, who had earned bitter enmity for his defence of Joshua Nkomo and other nationalists, was the only other white restrictee—until the day when independence was declared. As he was listening to the announcement, police came to his house and arrested him. Now he is in prison, detained for the duration of the emergency or until the order of his arrest is revoked.

PHOTOGRAPHED FOR TRANSITION BY MARION KAPLAN

He cannot demand a public trial, or any trial. A minister's signature is all that is needed to enforce immediate imprisonment. Like other restrictees his name may not be published or publicly spoken in Rhodesia. Like them, he is out of sight, out of mind.

* * *

This is Rhodesia where "merit and ability and not race are the criteria for advancement"—and restriction and imprisonment. This is Rhodesia where "the franchise is open to all races on an equal basis"—more equal if you are white. This is Rhodesia where "industrial legislation has established the principle of equal pay for equal work, on a non-racial basis"—where the black man's work is menial and his pay mean. This is Rhodesia which has "far exceeded the achievements of every African country, except South Africa, in advancing Africans educationally, economically and politically"—achievements which have tragically deprived black Rhodesians of self-determination in their own country.

"This is a free country," says Ian Smith—a free country in which aspiration and human rights have been denied to the majority of its citizens, where might is right—and white.

It is hard to be fair to those who had no say in the choice that was made for them, those who did not give Smith a "blank cheque" for UDI. Forced to take sides, nearly all would have spoken as Sir Roy Welensky did: The British Government "must not forget that people like myself, with our roots dug deeply into this country", faced with the choice of continuing under the present regime or of living under a nationalist government would not hesitate to choose Mr. Smith's.

There are those who are managing to have their cake and eat it: 103 students at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland issued a message expressing their support for "Mr. Smith and his Cabinet as the Government of an independent Rhodesia." The United Kingdom is to continue giving financial help to the University, however—at the rate of £250,000 a year for three years. And there are still professors and students at the University who would reply, as one professor did at a recent independence seminar, to the question: how could Rhodesian opinion be tested? "Let every adult vote."

When these students graduate, what will Rhodesia be like? Will Smith's rebellion have succeeded? Will pan-Africanists have found another cause to take up? Will the rest of the world care at all? Or will it, as Arnold Toynbee has warned, have been pushed into a worldwide race conflict and race war "fought with atomic weapons (in) an ordeal that mankind could not hope to survive"? White Rhodesians are inward-looking, concerned only with themselves. If they care so little for their fellow countrymen, they trouble themselves even less with the future of mankind.



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