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ANC-SWA

THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

One of the myths current among White racist circles in South Africa is that Africans are a childlike people for whom everything must be simplified if they are to understand it. This idiotic notion, no doubt, has its origins in the ignorant arrogance of the White man when he first set foot in Africa. Unable to comprehend the culture and way of life of the indigenous people, he labelled them savages who needed to be "civilised" by the White man. History is witness to the guidance of the White man who brutally murdered and pillaged for his own selfish end; he justified this by constant references to Christian civilisation.

The tragedy of South Africa is that this stupid nonsense has, by sheer repetition, become part of official policy. So much so that even Government leaders believe it. Thus Nationalist leaders, in their dealings with Chiefs (the only Africans they are prepared to deal with) constantly indulge in picturesque imagery and amusing analogies. Recently the South African Defence Forces carried an anti-guerrilla exercise at Sibasa in the Northern Transvaal. De Wet Nel, "Commissioner-General of the Venda-Tsonga national units," speaking to a gathering of 100 Chiefs at Sibasa told them that "Chinese coolies" who worked on the Rand gold mines at the beginning of this century,

"slaughtered and ate so many Bantu children that the Government had to send them back to China."

The purpose of this particularly grisly bit of nonsense was to pretend to the Chiefs that,

"the Chinese communists who are now arming the the 'terrorist' enemies of both Black and White in South Africa are the same kind of people."

The Chiefs, being paid servants of the government, did not question this. No doubt, they had private thoughts of their own.

The effrontery of the racist South African regime is that it seeks to carry this kind of thinking into relations with independent African countries. Thus Muller, the South African Foreign Minister, speaking recently in Malawi extended a hand of "friendship" to Zambia and Malawi calling upon them to join with South Africa in resisting the "communist danger." What arrogance! Muller equates the principled Governments and peoples of Zambia and Tanzania with his own stooge Chiefs and thinks they can be won over with children's fairy tales.

Everyone knows that successive racist regimes of South Africa have

maintained...../

maintained themselves in power by force; they have denied the African majority even the most elementary human rights; and they have violently suppressed every form of opposition to apartheid justifying their brutality on the ground of anti-Communism. It is now common knowledge that the fascist White minority regime in South Africa regards every demand for freedom and democracy as equivalent to a demand for Communism.

Does the fascist Vorster regime think its wretched appeals for "friendship" to the Governments and peoples of Zambia and Tanzania could ever deceive these revolutionary countries. Zambia and Tanzania have based their Government and state-policy on the firm basis of democratic principles accepted by the rest of progressive mankind. The demand for a settlement of the problems of fascist-dominated countries of Southern Africa on the basis of universal adult suffrage and majority rule cannot be manipulated to suit racist theories of White supremacy.

The struggle in Southern Africa is for liberation from the colonial yoke of oppression; it is for the destruction of apartheid and White-minority rule; above all, it is for the establishment of non-racial democratic states. Communism is a red-herring which the racists draw in to try and confuse the people. The "Red" bogey can hardly frighten people who suffer racial humiliation and indignity at the hands of the South African fascists. The hand of South African "friendship" is in reality a claw which seeks to destroy the freedom of independent Africa and to grasp its wealth.

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GEORGE NYANDORO, Secretary-General of the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES' UNION (ZAPU) on the armed struggle being waged in Zimbabwe:

"We know what we are up against. But we also know that whatever the imperialist enemy may be prepared to do, in the end we must win, because the people are behind our struggle, and they will settle for nothing less than their complete freedom.

"OUR REVOLUTION WILL BE A COMPLETE SUCCESS."

THE PRESENT PHASE OF STRUGGLE

Address of our Acting President, Comrade O.R. Tambo to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in Stockholm, Sweden, June 1968.

The people of South Africa have sustained irretrievable loss in the passing away of its most distinguished sons in the last ten months. Last July, Chief Albert John Lutuli, President-General of the ANC, and Nobel Peace Prize Winner, was killed in a train incident. It will be remembered that our beloved Chief made his last public address to his people, to Africa, and to the world, in Scandinavia. Before the nation had recovered from this loss we learnt of another. I refer to the death last month of Professor Z.K. Matthews, Speaker of the ANC and Ambassador of the Botswana Republic to the United Nations and Washington.

It is impossible to over-estimate the contribution of these two colleagues and friends to the political developments in our country in the last thirty years. The vast majority of the people in our country of all races mourn the loss of these most highly respected, wise and internationally famous men. History may yet record the regret of the powers that be in South Africa who for decades paid scant regard to the warnings of these great statesmen.

"From its inception in 1946 the United Nations Organisation and its agencies have been concerned with the racial policies of the S. African Government. And it is right that the world organisation should have concerned itself with the situation arising from the policies of the South African Government. Sometimes the plaintive cry arises in S.A. from supporters of White supremacy that in some way that country is being singled out unfairly when there is injustice in other parts of the world. The truth is that S.A. is the only country in the world which boldly, unshamedly and expressly, in its constitution and laws, acts in contravention of all declarations against racial discrimination. In this respect S.A. is unique, and justly deserves the wrath of all freedom-loving people the world over.

It should be said that the situation of the oppressed people in S.A. is no better today than it was twenty years ago. If anything the position is far worse. The S. African regime has ignored all resolutions of the United Nations. It has become more strident and defiant in the face of international opinion. Not content with carrying out its pernicious policies within the confines of the S. African state, the regime is now seeking to create an empire of its own. By a mixture of threats and economic blandishments S.A. seeks to create a bloc of client states in Africa subservient to and exploited by it. And should any African state be so bold as to assert its independence S.A. is ready to use its military machine as a basis for the most unscrupulous sabre-rattling. In other words, twenty years of international attention has not done much to prevent S.A. becoming a seedbed of war and aggression and a threat to the peace of Southern/....

Southern Africa. Are we justified in concluding that the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies have been useless?

Much depends on what was expected of international action in the first place. We in the African National Congress have always believed that the honourable task of freeing S.A. rested firmly with the people of S. Africa themselves. The task of international organisations was to assist the liberation movement. This still remains the fundamental position of principle from which all international action should be appraised.

As a result of the actions at the United Nations and in other international organisation there is now an articulate, well-informed world public opinion on the apartheid issue. Many states have broken off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refrained from establishing them. In many countries legislation has been enacted boycotting all trade with S.A.; closing ports to vessels flying the S. African flag and refusing landing and passage facilities to all S. African aircraft. In many international organisations S.A. is debarred from admission or participation. Cultural and sports bodies have in various ways reacted against the policies of apartheid.

To the extent that these actions did not achieve more, the world is also aware of the reasons. The trading partners of S.A. - those states and financial interests that benefit from the continued oppression and exploitation of the African people have been thoroughly documented and exposed. The ANC Memorandum presented to the United Nations Seminar in Kitwe, Zambia, last year, was a detailed and systematic exposure of these countries and interests.

It is five years since I last addressed a committee of the United Nations. The occasion was the 379th meeting of the Special Political Committee on the 8th October, 1963. It will be recalled that we were then faced with the grim crisis of the Rivonia Trial at which Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other eminent leaders of the liberation movement were on trial for their opposition to apartheid. That those men are still alive today, albeit incarcerated on Robben Island, probably owes much to the manner in which the United Nations and indeed our friends all over the world responded to the challenge on that occasion. Since then a lot of water has flowed under the bridge.

This committee is meeting shortly after the celebrations in which the fascist Nationalist Party was marking its twentieth year in power in our country.

The celebrations were held under a cloud caused by the growth of the national revolutionary armed struggle now enveloping the whole of Southern Africa. In August last year armed guerrilla units of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress engaged the security forces of South African and Rhodesia. The fight for freedom in Angola and Mozambique; the struggle against Ian Smith in Zimbabwe; and the struggle against apartheid in South West Africa and South Africa itself/....

itself constitutes a new and fateful phase. I believe it is essential that the United Nations, the international community and all our supporters in the fight against apartheid understand and appreciate the meaning and significance of events in Southern Africa today.

It need hardly be said that the decision of the African National Congress and its allied organisations to call on the people to armed resistance was not arrived at lightly. We are more aware than anyone that the S. African regime is ruthless in its desperation to maintain White supremacy and privilege. The vast military machine built up from the wealth created by a large African labour force will be utilised without compunction against our people in the days that lie ahead. But we have learnt from bitter experience that our only way out is to fight with arms in hand against our oppressors.

The S. African Government in its constitution, laws and practices exclude the majority of the people specifically from all participation in the government at legislative, executive and judicial levels. The law passed at the last session of parliament abolishing representation of the Coloured people means that both in theory and in practice the parliament of S.A. represents only the White minority.

The time has arrived to challenge the right of the present regime in S.A. to represent the S. African people at the United Nations. The Vorster clique has no credentials to represent the people of S.A. in the councils of the world. The liberation movement of the S. African people led by the African National Congress has more political and moral right to represent the people internationally than the Vorster group. In a very meaningful way our armed struggle is a process for the creation of a state based on democracy and non-racialism to replace the present White autocracy.

It is also now necessary more than ever to perceive the connection between the apartheid issue and that of freedom in the whole of Southern Africa. A few years ago it required expert study to see that the destiny of the whole of Southern Africa hung together. Today it has become a matter of practical politics. The position in South West Africa and particularly the events following the UDI declared by Ian Smith in Zimbabwe have demonstrated that the defeat of apartheid in S.A. is essential for the freedom of all the countries in Southern Africa. S. Africa openly defied the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia and will continue to do so. S. African troops who have been stationed in Rhodesia since before UDI were dramatically reinforced to assist the Ian Smith regime against the guerrillas of ZAPU and the ANC. S. Africa has been loudest in its threats to the Republic of Zambia in respect of events in Rhodesia - a territory that has nothing to do with S. African territory.

When we urge that the situation in Southern Africa be seen in its Southern African setting this is not to argue that the position in each country is the same or that the strategy and tactics that must be followed in each is the same or indeed that they must be jumbled up and treated/....

treated as one. This would be to give a wrong emphasis. The issue is one of conception - of looking at the situation in Southern Africa as a whole. A notable event in this connection is the historic alliance of the ZAPU, the organisation representing the people of Zimbabwe, and the ANC, which represents the people of South Africa. Some people who are always slow to learn from the liberation movements but proffer advice with alacrity imagine that this alliance allegedly "complicates" the situation in Rhodesia. We believe it has considerably assisted the development of the freedom struggle and our experience has already confirmed this.

The ZAPU-ANC alliance has very old traditional and historical roots. Close-co-operation has existed between our movements for a long time. Furthermore our enemies have worked closely together as is obvious to everyone. The ZAPU-ANC alliance has also had the effect of showing up the disreputable role of Britain in the Zimbabwe events.

According to Britain herself the Ian Smith regime is one that has rebelled. In days gone by Britain would have put down such a rebellion by force. They are not prepared to do so today presumably because the rebels are their kith and kin. But even on their own argument it would be perfectly proper for any citizen subjected to the rebel regime to resist its commands and rule by force if necessary. The Ian Smith regime is maintaining itself in power by the exercise of illegitimate force. Yet Britain seeks to prevent the people from overthrowing such a regime by force and condemns our Freedom Fighters. Naturally we do not even accept that either Britain or Ian Smith have the right to govern Zimbabwe now or in the past. This is a right of the majority indigenous population of Zimbabwe who have always resisted colonialism and racial discriminatory rule.

Of vital importance to us is the recognition we demand from the international community regarding the legitimacy of our struggle. Our guerrilla fighters are deliberately referred to as "terrorists" by countries and groups hostile to our aspirations. The implication is that we are not entitled to fight for our freedom with arms in our hands. Our guerrilla forces are uniformed combatants engaged in a war of liberation. They are entitled to all the rights and privileges of combatants in accordance with the Geneva Convention. The execution of guerrillas as common criminals is a grave international offence fraught with dangers for the Rhodesian and S. African regimes. The United Nations must draw the attention of these regimes to the consequences of their illegal acts against our guerrillas."

Comrade Tambo concluded by saying:-

"We are fully aware of what we are up against. This armed struggle begins as always in such struggles with the oppressed people weak materially although powerful in the justice of their cause. We confront a wealthy and materially well equipped enemy able to count on the help of many great nations. The struggle will be protracted and bitter. We are not engaged in an/.....

in an exhibition, a demonstration or a campaign to draw attention to our grievances. We are beginning a struggle for power. We wish to create a state and society in South Africa along the lines laid down in the historic Freedom Charter - the programme of the oppressed people of our country. We have been slow to anger as the record shows. We will not compromise with the oppressors. Apartheid must go! The people must be free! In our struggle we know we can always count on the members of this Committee, on the majority of the states in the United Nations and on progressive people the world over."

NOTE:

The views expressed by Comrade O.R. Tambo in the foregoing article fell under heavy attack in a repeated radio commentary broadcast by Radio South Africa (External Service in English, Afrikaans and French) as from July 30, 1968 to July 31, 1968. - EDITOR

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TEXT OF RSA BROADCAST:

PRIMING THE GUNS OF TERRORISM

Sweden's capital Stockholm has had the doubtful honour of receiving the United Nations' Special Committee on Apartheid for its annual meeting. One of the guests of honour was the President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Oliver Tambo. A South African Bantu, Mr. Tambo came to Stockholm to give the members of the Committee on Apartheid his views on the situation in South Africa.

Things like the amazing growth of her economy, her readiness to co-operate with her neighbours to develop the potentially rich resources of Southern Africa, the stability and friendliness of her race relations! But that is not South Africa as Mr. Tambo sees it. As an avowed Communist he sees all things South African through the red-tinted spectacles of Communist theory. South Africa being opposite of the Communist country, it must by definition deserve all the abusive words which the masters of subversion have thought out for their declared aims: capitalistic, totalitarian, racialistic, fascist, anti-democratic, reactionary. The members of the U.N. Committee on Apartheid listened attentively and approvingly as Mr. Tambo told them that the S.African police convinced that every unemployed Bantu was a potential revolutionary, deported each of them to already over-populated reserves. In every Bantu village, Mr. Tambo said, the police confiscated all knives, spades, axes, even ploughs because these were considered to be weapons. The situation, Tambo told the delegates, is dangerously explosive. War, bloody, racial war was in the point of breaking out. Mr. Tambo's picture of South Africa, as he painted it in

lurid colours /

lurid colours was one of unmitigated terror. Not strangely enough in Tambo's speech there was never any mention of a rising by the South African Bantu population. All he talked about was infiltration from outside, the smuggling in of weapons and explosives, the forming of guerrilla armies in certain countries close to South Africa. In other words the explosive situation was only a creation of Tambo's Communist mind, a trumped-up excuse for interference by means of violence and terrorism.

Police State South Africa - the notion has been bandied about now by Communist agitators for years on end. South Africa is nothing of the kind, if anything, it is a polite state because it affords its different population groups the freedom to develop to the full potential of their capabilities. And that freedom should be maintained and defended against all-comers, most of all those Communist schemers whose so-called love of Africa finds its only expression at most and (word unclear) priming the bands of Terrorism. (End of Commentary.)

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PRESS RELEASE:

YET ANOTHER ATTACK BY RSA.

Radio South Africa (RSA) in its external services now makes a regular point of hurling abuse at African leaders. To some extent this is a manifestation of the brutal arrogance with which White South Africa dominates every sphere of life and contact with Africans inside South Africa. The only Africans upon whom this foul treatment is not imposed both inside South Africa and abroad are those who allow themselves to be used as puppets in support of the wicked apartheid regime.

Recently when President Dr. Kaunda returned from a triumphant overseas tour, the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha had the effrontery to advise Zambia on the art of choosing friends and the practice of co-operation between neighbouring States. Dr. Kaunda rapped the Vorster regime over the knuckles for this hypocrisy and challenged them to make friends with Sobukwe and Mandela who are unjustly held on the Robben Island prison.

A few days ago, RSA was mischief-making again. This time they distorted the speech of the Zambian representative at the U.N., Mr. Mwaanga. They all but described Dr. Kaunda in malicious, disrespectful terms, casting aspersions on his integrity regarding statements he has made on Freedom Fighters.

Now the full blast of this campaign of mendacity and vilification by radio has been directed at Mr. O. R. Tambo, Acting-President of the

African National...../

African National Congress of South Africa. On July 30, in its 6 p.m. broadcast, apart from describing Mr. Tambo as an avowed Communist there was nothing new in the fascist propaganda of RSA. One might ask whether Tambo's leadership of a national struggle for the establishment of a democratic non-racial State in South Africa constitutes Communism. Whenever South Africa raves about Communism, she is ideologically appealing to the Western imperialist countries and their allies everywhere in the world to rally to the defence of the fascist apartheid regime in power in South Africa. Apartheid is so bankrupt politically, morally, socially and economically that to justify its continued imposition on the majority of the South African people can only be done by naked force and violence accompanied by a barrage of anti-communist propaganda.

In this situation all opponents of apartheid are deemed Communists. South Africa cannot deny the unmitigated terror by which our people are suppressed. In the Transkei as from 1960 there is a State of Emergency in force under the provisions of Proclamation 400. Settled Indian communities are removed by force from businesses and homes which they have occupied for many generations. They are thus economically ruined and rendered destitute through the implementation of the cruel Group Areas Act.

There are dozens of prisoners detained in jail under the 180-Day No Trial Law which can be renewed and re-imposed as soon as each period of detention is over until the prisoner makes a "confession." There is no redress in the courts of law to this assault on individual elementary civil liberties because recourse to the judiciary is prohibited.

The Criminal Procedure Act has been amended in South Africa to place the onus of proof upon the arrested person who is required to establish his innocence. Every arrested person is thus assumed guilty until he can prove his innocence.

A special law enables the fascist South African regime to keep a prisoner in jail even after he has completed his sentence. That is how Robert Sobukwe is for years now still being imprisoned on Robben Island. All these violations of fundamental human rights by the Vorster regime are well-known. The International Commission of Jurists after an exhaustive analysis of the apartheid laws of South Africa unequivocally described South Africa as a police state.

Unless South Africa heeds the serious warnings of such eminent statesmen as Dr. Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Emperor Haile Sellassie etc., the internal mass resistance that now confronts her in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa will grow into a mighty inextinguishable fire. There is still time to hearken to the wise words of African leaders and the fascist White minority regime will be well-advised to take the initiative to do so.

A.N.C. (S.A.),
LUSAKA, Zambia.

July 31, 1968

THE REBELS' NEW CONSTITUTION FOR RHODESIA

A Look At The Rhodesian Front's Plans for
a republican constitution.

- by Fairplay

Constitution-making seems to have become a habit with White Rhodesians - a meaningless habit. A long process of devices to maintain White rule has been produced - the 1961 Whitehead Constitution, Smith's 1965 adaptation, the Tiger proposals of 1966, 1968's Whaley Commission, and now the Rhodesian Front's proposals for a republic. Indeed, since 1961, no Rhodesian constitution has lasted more than 4 years!

The reason for this is that each of these constitutional gimmicks has been stuck on the horns of a dilemma: They have wanted to show Whites that their monopoly of power will never be threatened - even in the longterm future. But, at the same time, they have wanted to convince Britain and world opinion that the African majority would have a significant and increasing share in political power.

No constitution can do these two things simultaneously. Thus the Whites accepted the 1961 Constitution because it still entrenched their power for the time being. And for this same reason, ZAPU rejected it. In 1965, the Whites had to modify it because they were faced with rising internal and international opposition. Their bankrupt answer was more force, new censorship, increased detentions. Since the 1961 Constitution made these difficult, it was replaced by its 1965 edition. The Whites still cannot face the ultimate possibility of large numbers of Africans qualifying on the upper common roll, and so winning power. So the 1965 and Whaley Constitutions are to be scrapped. The great virtue - in White eyes - of the 1968 Rhodesian Front republican Constitution is that it excludes the possibility - even in the distant future - of Africans winning political power in the present, White-owned areas of Rhodesia. Yet - mindful of the advantages of a deal with Britain - it retains the fiction of Africans sharing in central political power and it promises within 5 years a Mashonastan and a Matabelestan.

ZAPU - mindful of its responsibility to the interests of the peasant and urban masses - has rejected each one of these frauds. For each and every one of these constitutions has shared three basic features:-

1) White Minority Rule

Each includes a formal commitment to political integration. Yet each also includes a variety of tricks to ensure that the African 95% of the population never achieves sufficient power to abolish the racialist system.

Thus, since 1961, 14 Africans have been sitting in the Rhodesian legislature - out of 65 MP's. Their numbers are not sufficient to block constitutional/...

tutional amendments - let alone ordinary legislation. As for the Upper 'A' Roll which elects 50 MP's, the device of high income and education qualifications has always excluded some 99.8% of the potential 2 million Africans of voting age. As late as January 31, 1965 there were only 2,330 Africans on this roll - as opposed to 92,405 Whites¹. Moreover, the White-controlled legislature can always raise these qualifications - as it did in 1957 and 1961. And it can perpetuate white dominance on this upper roll by ensuring that apprenticeship regulations and education facilities are such as to always prevent all but a handful of Africans from getting sufficient income or education to qualify for an 'A' Roll vote. Thus - between 1961 and 1965 - the number of White voters increased by 4,688; while African voters increased by 933².

The 1968 Rhodesian Front proposals continue these two tricks. And to make assurance doubly sure, they introduce a new device - the nomination of African MP's by chiefs.

The legislature will consist of an almost powerless Senate composed of 10 Whites elected by the White MP's; 10 chiefs (5 Matabele and 5 Mashona) nominated by the Council of Chiefs; and 3 persons appointed by the White Head of State. The lower house will have 68 members.³ 34 will be Whites elected on a racial roll of Whites only (plus a handful of Coloureds and Asians) 18 persons will be elected on a common roll dominated by Whites as before. Finally, there will be 16 African MP's. 10 of these (5 from Mashonaland and 5 from Matabeleland) will be nominated by an electoral college of chiefs, headmen, and Council representatives (all of whom are liable to dismissal by the White government if they fail to act in accordance with its wishes). 2 will be elected by African Purchase Area farmers. And 4 will be elected by Africans in the urban areas.

Even if the chiefs stick by their people, the whites retain a 13-10 majority in the Senate, and a 52-16 majority in the important lower house. Amendments to the entrenched clauses in the Constitution will be by the S.A. device of a two-thirds majority of Parliament and Senate sitting together - i.e. 61 out of 91 members. Yet even if the chiefs vote against the Whites, they will only command 26 votes (10 + 10 + 6) - while Whites will have 65 votes (34 + 18 + 13) - or 4 more than is needed for amending any clause of the constitution. Further, only 6 of the 91 are in any way people's representatives, chosen by the people. So white control over legislature and constitution is ensured forever.

¹ See Barber, "Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion". page 319.

² ibid

³ There is an alternative suggestion for only 64 MP's. A White majority sufficient to control amendment of the constitution still exists.

ii) Race Discrimination:

The second feature which the 1968 constitution shares with all its predecessors is that it nowhere reverses existing race discrimination. The distribution of land remains such that a few thousand White farmers carve up one-half of Zimbabwe into huge and profitable ranches. Also remaining is the exclusion of Africans from the Whites only, compulsory, and superior education facilities provided by the State. Discrimination in apprenticeship regulations continues. Exclusion from all senior posts in the Civil Service will go on. So will exclusion of non-Whites from many public amenities and the smart residential areas. Above all, systematic wage discrimination which gives White Rhodesians an average income some 25% higher even than White South Africans¹ will continue while African Rhodesian farmworkers² earn an average wage of only £71 a year.

iii) Police State Oppression:

The final feature which all these constitutions share is the absence of secure limits to the State's authoritarian powers. Particularly since UDI, Rhodesia has been notorious for its detentions, banishments, censorship etc. The 1968 RF Constitutions will allow this by "simplifying the Declaration of Rights" (in the 1961 Constitution) and "making the basic rights so retained to be non-justifiable"³ i.e. fewer rights for the people. And the Courts will not be able to stop the Government from trampling even on those rights that remain! Such are the fascist methods which White racialists need to keep their power and their privileges.

The ingenuity and duplicity of these efforts of the rebel regime to keep itself in power must shock the civilized world into a new awareness of the nature of this racist State. For the Freedom Fighter who has seen it all before, these constitutional contortions can only be boring. Yet, in our unremitting struggle to free Zimbabwe and South Africa so that they can take their rightful places alongside the nations of Africa - we must examine every new development to see how it affects the morale and power of the White regimes.

The 1968 constitution has one significant proposal. As soon as the Whites accept the constitution, a start will be made (to be completed within 5 years) to abolish its Senate and lower house. Instead, a Race Federation System will be erected. Three Provincial Councils will be set up - one White, one Matabele, and one Mashona. They will have legislative power which will increase over the 5-year period. After the 5 years, a Federal National Parliament will be added which will retain control over "national finance, defence, internal security, justice, law and order, international

¹ See B. Cockram - "Rhodesia - May 1968". page 5.

² Financial Mail 2/8/1968.

³ Rebel Mouthpiece - Rhodesian Commentary - 5/8/1968.

affairs, and indivisible national affairs such as communications, power, major irrigation projects, etc."

Obviously, the Federal National Parliament will be White-controlled. This is secured by determining each provincial council's representation in it on the basis of its income-tax contribution to the national revenue. Since almost all Africans are poor, they pay very little income tax and so will have almost no representation in this federal legislature. Indeed it is for this reason that income tax, and not the total tax contribution of Africans was taken as the deciding factor.

Equally obviously, the Mashona and Matabele Provincial Councils will have almost no funds of their own, and very few powers beyond education, health, and certain agricultural matters. The crucial question of control over the urban areas, over wage levels, and over jobs remains vague.

The constitutional proposals then continue: "In the unlikely event of co-operation, trust, and goodwill between the races breaking down, a two-thirds majority of the members of the National Parliament should be empowered to authorise complete partition."

Rebels' Confidence Dropping:

This is the first sign that the rebels are losing confidence in their ability to maintain White supremacy over all Zimbabwe forever. Their constitution admits they will never gain the consent of the African majority to the prospect of everlasting oppression. Their talk of partition shows that they realize their security forces will in the future be unable to throw back the rising tide of Freedom Fighters' offensives. So the rebels are contemplating partial surrender in advance. Their constitution is a post-dated notice of surrender. It is the Freedom Fighters alone who can turn it into a Notice to Quit.

Rhodesian Whites bow to Big Brother-South Africa

The second lesson of this constitution is its embrace of the S.A. Government's Bantustan ideology - of a string of numerically weak, economically poverty-stricken, geographically tiny tribal States surrounding the large, industrialised, 'White' heartland of S.A. The rebels know that they must rely on S.A. economic and military aid more and more. Yet it was Dr. Verwoerd at the time of UDI who said that S.A. could not be wholeheartedly for the rebels so long as they still professed to believe in partnership and integration.

But, with the recent Freedom Fighter offensive, the Smith regime desperately needs increased S.A. aid. Radio Zambia (13.8.1968) reports that 5,000 S.A. troops have taken up positions in Rhodesia. The price the English Whites of Rhodesia are having to pay is to lick the ideological boots of the Afrikaner baas. So the RF's proposals formally accept

Apartheid/...

Apartheid. Chiefs become the agents of domination. Divide and Rule tactics are increased. Mashona and Matabele are not to be recognised as a single nation yearning for freedom. Two Bantustans are planned for implementation within only 5 years' time, if necessary.

So the Rhodesian Whites are paying the ideological price for South African aid. They are on the run now - and running straight into South Africa's arms. The unity of the Southern African struggle is revealed once again. Whenever the scent of victory comes near - whether it be in Rhodesia or Angola or Mozambique - South African troops will be there rushing to the rescue - not just of itself, but of the system of regional domination on which Apartheid increasingly relies.

* * *

"In education, science, culture and information, apartheid violates, both in principle and in practice, the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the standards which have been set by the international community in conventions, recommendations and declarations which have been adopted within the United Nations system. Moreover, "separate development", as practised within the Republic of South Africa, does not mean equality between various ethnic groups in any of the spheres with which UNESCO is concerned. The practice of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination constitute a threat to international peace and security, since, as the group of experts established by the Security Council resolution of December 4, 1963 warned, a race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, creating a world danger of first magnitude."

Conclusion of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) Report on "The Effects of APARTHEID on Education, Science, Culture and Information in South Africa."

SOUTH AFRICA'S STAKE IN ANGOLA

- Ndab'ezitha

Since the armed struggle in Southern Africa began gathering momentum, South Africa has shown unusually keen interest in the anti-guerrilla operations of Rhodesia and Portugal. Whereas her stake in Rhodesia is widely known, her interest in the Portuguese colonies is less well known and understood.

Examples of this concern are many. Earlier this month United Party Leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff issued a policy statement which warned that if the Portuguese troops failed in their operations in Angola and Mozambique, South Africa could be faced with a guerrilla war within weeks. He then urged that the Portuguese be given help since "in a sense they are fighting our battles and they are acting as most effective buffers for us." (Sunday Express, 4/8/68). Was the U.P. man exaggerating or was he trying to outflank Vorster?

The fact is that he did not do his homework well. Vorster and Co. have long advocated this line. Since last year, one of Vorster's close associates has been prominent in this respect. In November 1967, Theo Gerdener, the Administrator of Natal, initiated the Mozambique Soldiers' Comfort Fund. Using the same words as Graaff, he said that if Portugal withdrew her 80,000 soldiers South Africa could become involved in a "terrorist" war within weeks. (Dagbreek, 26/11/68.)

How does this concern apply to Angola? First of all, Angola is the fascist Republic's next-door neighbour because Namibia (South West Africa) is virtually the fifth province of South Africa. The Republic thus fears that if Angola became free, she herself would be exposed to attack on this flank. For her security South Africa, therefore, supports Portugal against the guerrillas. In short, Angola is one of South Africa's strategic buffers.

Secondly, Angola produces a highly strategic commodity: OIL. Since the United Nations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement began advocating sanctions against the racist regimes, South Africa's greatest worry has been her vulnerability to an oil embargo. Highly industrialised she cannot do without oil. Frantic searches and prospecting within her borders have proved fruitless. Then, this precious liquid was found in Angola - in fact, in the enclave of Cabinda, separated from main Angola by the Congo River. There, the Gulf Oil Corporation of Texas discovered rich offshore deposits. By 1970, Angola is expected to pump out 150,000 barrels of oil a day! And by 1971 she will be getting 25% of her foreign-exchange earnings from oil.

Obviously, this oil is a godsend to the Unholy Alliance. As the

U. S. News & World Report (10/6/68) said, Angola "is the only country with major oil reserves, and in a showdown with African nationalists this would be vital to the White-ruled nations." It is clearly in Vorster's interest to be on good terms with Salazar.

The third point is related to the previous one. Angola's wealth finances Portugal's anti-guerrilla operations in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and, of course, in Angola itself. This, too, is in the Republic's interest. And Angola is a country rich in mineral and other resources!!!

Since 1960, Angola has been enjoying an economic boom. In the year 1962/63, her exports were valued at 135,440,000 U.S. dollars; and the imports, 112,240,000 dollars. This is a favourable trade balance of over 20 million dollars. Also in 1962, her Industrial Production Index stood at 100; by 1966 it had soared to 222.

In the industrial sector, Angola has sizable deposits of diamonds, iron and copper. Plans are afoot to open a tyre factory (U.S. capital), and a motor-car assembly plant. And a whole range of secondary industries is sprouting.

In the agricultural sector, Angola is just as well endowed. She is the fourth biggest coffee-producer in the world, and her fishing industry is said to be the fourth largest in Africa. No wonder then that foreign corporations are tripping over one another in their haste to invest there. These come mostly from Britain, West Germany, U.S.A., Denmark and South Africa.

Two examples clearly show the Republic's economic stake. Defence and Aid Information Service (Jan-June, 1967, p.9) published in London reports that in 1967 a South African manufacturing firm, Bondcrete, Ltd. won a contract for laying a thirteen-mile pipeline from the Bengo River to Luanda. Moreover, in 1966, South Africa's imports from Angola were worth R3.5 million, whereas her exports were worth R2 million. That is, South Africa got more from Angola than did Angola from her.

"Add all this up, and it is clear Angola is a land far richer in resources than Portugal itself. It is not to understand why Portugal is making such an effort to hold it." So commented U.S. News and World Report (10/6/68).

Now, Portugal's plunder of Angola does not merely fatten her. More importantly, it enables Portugal to fight our brothers in her colonies, and to perpetuate the rule of doddering Don Salazar and his cohorts. And, on the ability of this regime to fight the guerrillas depends South Africa's security from attack. (To be continued.)