

mayibuyye



BA 322.405
MAY
S. 89/173
1995 -11- 21
U.C.T. LIBRARIES

22

bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

P.O. BOX 1791 LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	1
Gold Miners' Wages	2
Apartheid In The Trade Unions	7
Settler Reaction In Rhodesia	10

ANCSWA

JUNE 26 APPEAL

You shall have played your part if you

- * establish immediately June 26 Solidarity Committees,
- * hold public rallies and demonstrations during the June 26 Solidarity Week,
- * approach your Governments to break diplomatic, trade and other relations with South Africa,
- * call upon your Governments to enforce UN resolutions against South Africa,
- * condemn all countries that supply arms and ammunition to South Africa and call upon them to stop such trade,
- * demand the Release of all Political Prisoners in South Africa who include Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Fischer, Goldberg, Sobukwe, Caleb Mayekiso, Mkwayi, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni, Billy Nair and thousands of others,
- * start fund-raising campaigns in support of our guerrilla war. Remember South Africa spends £120 million annually on its Defence Budget alone. Send your financial contributions directly to:

The Treasurer-General, A.N.C. of S.A.,
Box 680, Morogoro. TANZANIA.

- * Hold teach-in debates at schools, colleges and universities on the threat to international peace and security posed by the existence of White minority racist police states in Southern Africa,
- * demand the expulsion of South Africa from all international sports bodies,
- * subscribe to ANC publications obtainable from:
P.O. Box 2239, DAR ES SALAAM. Tanzania. P.O. Box 1791, LUSAKA. Zambia.
- * send your protests to the:
South African Prime Minister, Union Buildings,
PRETORIA. South Africa.

YOUTH ON THE MARCH

France, which General de Gaulle had hoped to make the strongman of Europe and a major third force in the East-West confrontation, is now convulsed in a major political crisis. It is noteworthy that the student movement was the catalyst in bringing the undercurrents of dissatisfaction with de Gaulle's social and economic policies to a head. Already the character of the French cabinet has been changed, parliament has been dissolved and it is certain that things will not end there.

But it is not only France that is affected. A wave of student and youth rebellion has been sweeping across Europe lately. Not long ago West Germany found itself face to face with student attacks against the Establishment. The Scandinavian countries are also undergoing a period of restlessness among their youth.

This is, of course, nothing new. Throughout history youth has played a notable and active role in human affairs. How could it be otherwise? The young, uncorrupted by worldly matters, undaunted by problems of supporting a family, uninterested in selfish material comfort, are generally full of ideals and bubbling with enthusiasm. To them a more civilised future is always visible and attainable; it is also something worth striving for, worth sacrificing for, worth dying for if need be, and also in a not always clearly defined form, youth is aware that tomorrow belongs to them; by their action today they hope and plan to shape that morrow.

The South African Liberation Struggle has always been fortunate in this respect. Our youth has always proved itself courageous, disciplined and zealously dedicated. They have always been in the forefront of struggle. So many of our youth have seen the inside of the racist prisons, so many of the flower of our youth are even now spending their 'best' years in the jails of the fascist; so many are no more with us having made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of freedom and justice. And yet they never hesitate. Today in the army of the African National Congress the youth are again proving their calibre by the manner and method in which they are prosecuting the Guerrilla War.

And here in Zambia too, youth has been true to its historic role. We speak of the students who have asked to be militarily trained so that they may be able to defend their homeland; we speak of the Zambia Youth Service which has asked not only to be trained in the handling of weapons but has agreed to go back to the land, to work it and generally make their contribution towards economic independence in Zambia. With the problems that beset Zambia, with the obvious dangers that the racist White South presents to her and Independent Africa, President Kaunda has correctly called upon the youth to rally to the defence and advancement of the country.

We salute the 200 Zambian students who spent the morning of Youth Day working at the site and service schemes at Mandevu and Marrapodi. In the historic tradition of youth they have shown their worth. We are certain they will not fail Zambia.

GOLD MINERS' WAGES

- By Veteran

The average cash wage of an African miner in South African gold mines is 5s.9d. a shift; that of a White miner is £5.17s., more than 20 times as much. If allowance is made for the food supplied to the African by mine owners (at a cost of 1s.8d. a day), the White miner's average wage is about 15 times as much as the African's. The gap was only 9 to 1 or less at the beginning of the century. Yet the mine owners are richer, while African miners are more skilful and productive, than they were 68 years ago. By any standard of comparison, the rate of exploitation of African miners is greater now than in the early period of gold mining.

When adjusted to changes in cost of living, the real wages of African miners reached a peak in 1895 with an average of 63s.6d. for 30 shifts. The mine owners then conspired to reduce the wage to an average of 48s.7d. in 1897, on a scale ranging from 1s.2d. to 2s.6d. a shift. Anticipating strikes and desertions, the Chamber of Mines asked the Kruger government to send policemen to the mines, and further, to instruct magistrates to 'forward as many natives as possible to these fields'. What the mining magnates wanted was an abundant supply of low-paid workers, hired and employed under compulsion.

During the South African war of 1899-1902, the British military command, acting at the request of the mine owners, slashed the African miners' wage by half to 1s. a day. His average wage fell from 47s.1d. per 30 shifts in 1898 to 26s.8d. in 1901. Men of the Cape, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and old miners of Mozambique, refused to work for the reduced rate. The total number of Africans employed on Transvaal mines dropped from 107,500 in 1899 to 64,500 in June 1903, although as many Africans were employed in other occupations as before the war. The owners thereupon restored the basic rates to 1s.6d. for surface and 2s. for underground workers.

Other factors, such as the suspension of recruiting and the dislocation of industry during the war, contributed to decline in the number of African miners, but the main reason was the wage cut. Instead of admitting this, the owners agitated for the introduction of Chinese indentured workers. The British government gave its consent, and agreed to a minimum wage of 1s. to 1s.6d. a shift for the Chinese.

The Chinese were withdrawn after the grant of responsible government to Transvaal Whites in 1907, while the number of Africans employed on the Rand mines topped the 300,000 mark a few years later. Drawn from territories throughout Southern Africa, they belonged to scores of different language and cultural groups. But they showed a capacity to organise, and pulled off boycotts and strikes, notably in 1914 and 1918.

About 15,000 men came out on three mines in 1918, in response to a call for a general strike by the Transvaal African Congress. Police and troops rushed to the compounds and drove the strikers down the shafts, after
overcoming/...

overcoming the resistance of men who fought back with pickhandles, jumpers, axes and iron pipes.

J.B. Moffat, the Transkeian chief magistrate, was appointed to investigate the men's grievances. He rejected their demand for higher pay. They had volunteered to work for 2s. a day, he said, and had no reason to complain of inflation. They should buy less if prices had risen.

'The whole trouble in the compounds', he reported, 'is due to the colour bar. A native may know his work very well, but on account of his colour he cannot obtain advancement'. The government ought to withdraw the colour bar clauses from the mining regulations and encourage men to settle permanently with their families at the mines.

Moffat made another observation which is worth recording. 'So long as natives are denied the rights of citizenship as Parliamentary voters there can be no real contentment in the country'. Wise words, but they fell on deaf ears.

The government preferred to start a witch hunt; and prosecuted the people's leaders for inciting to strike. For 'the first time in South Africa', commented T.D.M. Skota, author of the Black Folks' Who's Who, 'members of the European and Native races, in common cause united, were arrested and charged together because of their political responsibilities'.

D.S. Letanka, Vice-President of the Transvaal ANC, and L.T. Mvabaza, a Director of the Congress newspaper Abantu: Batho, were charged together with J. Ngojo, H. Kraai and A. Cetyiwe, leading members of the Industrial Workers of Africa, the first African Trade Union, and three members of the International Socialist League: S.P. Bunting, H. Tinker and C. Hanscome. The prosecution's case collapsed when its chief witness, Luke Masina, a government spy, admitted in cross examination to having given perjured evidence.

The miners organised another series of strikes in 1920 behind demands for a minimum wage of between 5s. and 10s. a day, a fair deal in the concession stores, and the right to do skilled work. The owners granted an increase of 3d., thereby raising the average cash wage to 2s.3d. for underground and to 2s. for surface workers, but refused to remove the colour bar.

Men continued to strike. Some 70,000 had stopped work by the end of February, 1920. This was 'a new phenomenon', reported Sir Evelyn Wallers, President of the Chamber of Mines; 'the first native strike in the true sense of the word. It was a sign that Africans were 'advancing more rapidly than we had anticipated', and would not remain satisfied for very long with their position in industry. Their ability 'to put into practice White organised labour's methods of direct action is an ominous sign'.

The Smuts government agreed to and used force to break the strike. Police and troops surrounded one compound after another, and drove the men out with rifle butts. Those who resisted were said to have 'rioted' and were....

were taken into custody. Strikers at the Village Deep compound barricaded themselves behind logs. The troops broke through with fixed bayonets and fired, killing three and wounding forty. Police and civilian Whites attacked a meeting of Africans at Vrededorp, killed eight and wounded eighty. The strikers went back to work at the old rates of pay and an extra hour of work per shift.

Some twenty years later in the Second World War, the basic cash wage of African miners was 2s., but its real value in terms of goods was much less because of inflation. Yet the government excluded the miners from the compulsory cost of living allowance paid by employers during the war.

The African Mine Workers' Union, then being revitalized under the leadership of its President J.B. Marks, launched a vigorous recruiting campaign behind a demand for a minimum wage of 10s. a day and Trade Union recognition. By 1944 the union claimed to have more than 25,000 registered members in good standing.

A Mine Native Wages Commission reported in the same year, and recommended an increase of 5d. a shift, a cost of living bonus of 3d., a boot allowance of 3s. per 30 shifts, and overtime rates at time and a half. These improvements, it was estimated, would cost the owners £2,642,000 a year.

The government and Chamber agreed to an increase of 4d. a shift for surface and 5d. for underground workers, undertook to pay overtime rates, and rejected all other proposals. The cost, said the Chamber, would be £1,850,000 a year. But the mines were then paying shareholders some £17 million a year, while the government drew more than £27 million annually from the mines in direct taxation and rent. 'The whole system of colour discrimination, segregation and oppression directed against the African people was powerfully supported by the Chamber', said Marks, at a conference attended by 700 union delegates and 1,300 working miners in August 1944.

A number of protest strikes broke out along the Reef and culminated in the great miners' strike of August 1946. Nearly 80,000 men struck work, and paralysed 21 mines. The police, as in the past, drove the men back to work, and fired on demonstrators. Nine Africans were reported to have been killed by the police, while 1,248 were injured, but the actual number of casualties was never disclosed.

Colour bars, police repression and a dictatorial system of control in the compounds (operating through police, informers, and tribalism) have succeeded in keeping African miners at the bottom of the industrial ladder. Their wages, writes Dr. Wilson in the Financial Mail (10/5/68) are lower than those of Africans in manufacturing. The minimum wage of an African steel worker is R1.52 for an eight-hour day, while the average African gold miner receives only 58c for a somewhat longer day.

It not surprising, he adds, that the proportion of home-born Africans working/...

working in the gold mines has dropped from 52 to 34% in the past 30 years, i.e. from 166,000 to 131,000 though overall African employment on the gold mines rose in the same period from 297,000 to 370,000.

It is the influx of low-paid workers from the outlying regions of South Africa's economic empire - from Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and Malawi - that enables the mining magnates to depress African wages in the interests of shareholders, the government and White supremacy.

When these territories have been liberated and are truly independent, when they utilise their manpower within their own boundaries, South African workers will be able to combine effectively against the colour bar on the mines and for a living wage. Our war for national liberation is a war against capitalist greed and ruthless exploitation. No better evidence of this need be looked for than the conditions of African miners in South Africa.

* * * *

What The Enemy Press Says

"KAUNDA'S PLAN TO USE KHAMA

Zambian President Offers Aid To Turn Botswana
Towards Black Africa

GABERONES, Saturday. The hot-gospelling President of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, this week layed the foundations of a long-term plan to use Botswana as a spear-head for Black "liberation" in Southern Africa.

He summed up it up when he said: "The geographical location of Zambia in the north and Botswana in the south, in a free Africa, places us on the thin edge of the wedge of the great movement for freedom and justice.".....

!.....Pressures Foreseen

His future lay in the Black north, at least for the time being, with Botswana as his advocate for liberation in the White south. He foresaw the day when Botswana and majority governments in South-West Africa, Mozambique and Angola would bring moral and other pressures to bear on South Africa to change her ways.

To what extent President Kaunda convinced the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, of the rightness of his cause will depend largely on the amount of aid he is able to give.

Possibly he will be able, as the rising star in Central and East Africa, to persuade other Black States to help. He made it clear that developing countries, even if they were poor, could get "quite a lot" done through mutual co-operation.

In his.....

In his condemnation of South Africa and his advocacy of non-racialism, President Kaunda projected the image of a vigorous and proud Africa. The crowds loved him for it.

'Thoughtless' Resolutions

Their own President, with his careful ways, seemed pedestrian in comparison. For all that, Sir Seretse stuck to his guns. He insisted that the destiny of Botswana was irretrievably bound up with South Africa and Rhodesia. He even condemned the U.N. for its "thoughtless" resolutions.

While he was adamant that he disliked apartheid, he was - out of necessity - well-disposed towards the white-ruled States. Sir Seretse ended the week with one foot still firmly in the White south and the other lifted - tentatively - towards the Black north.

When the flags stopped waving and the shouting died down, he found himself the only man in Africa courted by both sides."

THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE,
MAY 26, 1968.

* * * *

"...Reaction

More important perhaps than President Kaunda's speeches was the reaction of the audience at the party rally. The thousands present at first appeared surprised at Dr. Kaunda's outspoken and strong anti-South African sentiments. Such speeches are never made by Botswana Government leaders.

But soon they were cheering, with increasing enthusiasm and full approval of every sentence, every statement in which Dr. Kaunda slated the attitude of the White South Africans.

Botswana will never be the same again. President Kaunda, with his slogan at every meeting "One Zambia, One Nation," and "One Botswana, One Nation," cheer-led the crowds who chanted it after him.

He has given Botswana a greater awareness of its ties with the Black nationalists of the rest of the continent and great confidence and pride in themselves. It will enhance Botswana's prestige at the Organisation for African Unity (O.A.U.), where they have been under fire for their ties with South Africa.

Morally, if nothing else, it has forced Botswana right into the South African O.A.U. camp.

It is likely that, as a result, the ties between Pretoria and Gaborone be weakened."

SUNDAY TIMES,
MAY 26, 1968.

APARTHEID IN THE TRADE UNIONS

- by E.R. Matajo

White workers of South Africa have moved far away from the ideals that inspired the early radicals. They wanted to achieve working class solidarity - the unity of all workers of all races. Today, the movement is split into racial camps, partly because of government pressure and legislation, but largely because the White workers themselves have been infected by the disease of colour prejudice.

Of the 171 registered Trade Unions, 89 (with a combined membership of 265,363) are for Whites only; 37, with 48,409 members consist of Coloured and Indians; and 45, representing 175,772 workers, have no colour bar. Africans are not included in these figures because the law prohibits them from forming or belonging to registered unions.

A majority of the unions are affiliated to one or other of three co-ordinating centres: SACTU (the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions), TUCSA (the Trade Union Council of S.A.) and SACL (the S.A. Confederation of Labour). SACTU, the trade union wing of the Congress Alliance, has been persecuted and harassed by the police to such an extent that it has ceased to expand, but it continues to put up a stubborn fight for inter-racial solidarity against all forms of racial oppression.

SACL, on the other hand, is unashamedly racialistic. Claiming to represent 33 unions with 190,000 members, it is the trade union wing of the Nationalist Government. The Confederation consists of three sections: Die Ko-ordinerende Raad van Vakunies, centred in Pretoria; the Railway and Harbours Staff Associations; and SAFTU, the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions. All their members are white.

Leaders of the SACL identify themselves wholly with government policy. They support job reservation, oppose 'open', i.e. non-racial, unions, and reject the African's claims to full trade union recognition under the industrial laws. J.H. Liebenberg, SACL's Chairman, has said that African 'tend to use trade unions for political purposes' and that 'their general illiteracy and lack of development' prevent them from forming sound and stable unions (The Star, 24/3/66). This merely paraphrases the official government reasons for with-holding recognition, and ignores completely the long and excellent record of African trade unionism both in South Africa and in other parts of the continent.

TUCSA, in contrast, claims to be non-racial. Its programme calls for the establishment of open unions, rejects job reservation, demands equal pay for equal work, and welcomes the organisation of African workers in the interests also of White workers. TUCSA argues that the growing prevalence of unorganised Africans undermines the bargaining power of the registered unions. To safeguard these, says TUCSA, 'responsible Whites should organise and guide the African unions to prevent them from falling into the hands of 'subversive elements' and from undercutting Whites. (Arthur Robelaar, the General Secretary of TUCSA, in its Newsletter No.55 of Dec. '67) Yet TUCSA...

Yet TUCSA, when it was formed in 1954, erected a colour bar by limiting membership to registered unions, which naturally excluded all African unions. As a result of pressure from the International Labour Movement, a separate organisation was created in 1957 for African workers, known as FOFATUSA - the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa. Financed partly by the right-wing International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Federation operated in collaboration with TUCSA and was intended to counter-act the growing influence of SACTU. The latter objected successfully to TUCSA being recognised by the International Labour Organisation, and this led to a change in the constitution.

In 1961 TUCSA removed the colour bar and opened its door in principle to any bona fide union, including African unions. FOFATUSA was disbanded in January 1966, and its members were urged to join TUCSA. It was then able to claim that it represented all sections of the working class. That improved its international image, but brought it into disfavour with the racists. For instance, the Amalgamated Engineers' Union, with nearly 18,000 members, disaffiliated in 1966 as a mark of disapproval.

TUCSA tried to conciliate the racists by defending apartheid. A widely circulated pamphlet issued in 1965 condemned 'ill-informed' and 'unjust' attacks on South Africa, rejected boycotts and other forms of sanctions, and criticised labour organisations in Britain and United States for lending support to 'attempts of the Communist and Afro-Asian bloc to boycott South African goods'. "Africans were better off in South Africa", according to TUCSA, "than in the independent African States".

In another pamphlet, issued in 1966, TUCSA claimed to be in the forefront of the fight against communism. After slandering the socialist countries and independent African States, the pamphlet offered a recipe for the fight against communism. 'The underprivileged are always the first target of the Communist agitators. It is not accidental that some African unions have in the past fallen under Communist influence. This is the motivation for TUCSA's African Trade Union policy'. But the pamphlet contained no word of protest against pass laws, racial discrimination, and the fascistic treatment of political opponents.

Appeasement never pays. In spite of its snivelling endorsement of apartheid, TUCSA was attacked by Marais Viljoen, the Minister for Labour, in October and November 1967. He warned it to stop organising African workers who, he said, were not 'ready' for trade unionism, and used it as a political forum. 'We won't let the Trade Union Council undermine the industrial harmony which exists in South Africa'. (Sunday Times, 29/10/67 - TUCSA letter, Dec. 1967)

TUCSA responded by holding a special conference in Johannesburg after a fruitless attempt to persuade the Minister to withdraw his opposition. Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary of the National Union of Clothing workers, told the conference that it was the intention of the African unions to disaffiliate from TUCSA 'in order to save the Council any further embarrassment through our continued association'. At the same time, she identified herself/....

herself with TUCSA's policy of appeasement by declaring her opposition to boycotts 'or any other forms of active outside intervention'. (Garment Worker, Dec., 1967).

Few of TUCSA's 13 affiliated African unions followed this lead. The special conference held in Johannesburg, 11th-12th December 1967 thereupon decided by 51 votes against 13 to recommend to its affiliates that membership of the Council be confined to registered unions. (Sunday Times, 17/12/67).

A motion to this effect was placed before TUCSA's annual conference at Cape Town in April 1968, and was rejected by 123,566 votes against 32,871. That seems a courageous and welcome decision, and calls for an explanation.

The desire to retain TUCSA's image as an open, multi-racial and fully representative organisation undoubtedly played a part. W.G. Lawrence, of the British T.U.C. attended the conference as the I.C.F.T.U.'s observer, underlined the point when he said that if the resolution had not been defeated, it would have caused 'considerable adverse reaction from International Labour Organisations'. J.R. Altman, of the National Union of Distributive Workers, said that TUCSA would be 'finished' internationally if it decided to discontinue African affiliations.

Another, and more important consideration, was stated by T.P. Murray, the retiring President. He spoke about the 'perturbing rise in African employment in industry' and added: 'If we don't take the African with us, he will go it alone. We have seen it in the rest of Africa and must not allow it to happen here'. Mrs. C. du Preez, of the National Union of Tobacco Workers, took up the same stand. If Africans were alienated from TUCSA, she said, 'they would go to others who would use them to meet their own political ends'. (Cape Times, 25/4/68).

The dominant section of TUCSA recognises the growing power of Africans in industry, fears it, and wishes to harness it. There is no essential difference between TUCSA's aims and those of the white supremacy regime. If they disagree, they do so only as to method.

* * * *

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers; The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits; Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work; There shall be a four hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers; Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work; Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

- THE FREEDOM CHARTER

SETTLER REACTIONS IN RHODESIA

- Special Correspondent

The U.N. Security Council has called for a compulsory and total trade ban on Rhodesia. If all the member states carry out the decision - which was taken unanimously - Rhodesia will be isolated economically, except for the supply of medicines, educational material, and pensions due to Rhodesians.

The ban will not be enforced by all countries. South Africa and Portugal will continue to defy. Other countries in the 'Western bloc' will turn a blind eye to the shipment of goods from and to Rhodesia. But the stranglehold on Rhodesia's economy will be tightened, and that must produce more difficulties for the illegal Smith regime.

Already there are signs of strain in Rhodesia's relations with South Africa. Industrialists in the south have complained that the market is being flooded with low price clothing, radios, and canvas shoes from Rhodesia. The Financial Mail reported in its issue of May 17th that this 'cut-rate competition' was threatening to close down South Africa's three canvas shoe factories, and that the fault lay with the 1964 trade agreement which opened the door wide to almost duty-free imports from Rhodesia.

The trade pact is to be re-negotiated next year. South African manufacturers are already demanding protection. Limits have been placed on the quantity of Rhodesian-made clothing and radios allowed into South Africa. If similar protection is given by the revised trade agreement to shoe manufacturers, Rhodesia's Bata Shoe Company will lose a large part of its exports, now amounting to some two million pairs, to the south.

If the South African market is to be closed, even partially, to Rhodesian manufacturers, their future will be dismal as long as outlets to the north remain closed.

Other groups of settlers are also voicing discontent: farmers, now experiencing the long-term results of the tobacco crisis; shopkeepers, whose trade is falling because of price increase and reduced incomes; railway workers, for whom there are not enough jobs on the Rhodesian railway system; building trade artisans, who see the end of the building boomlet.

White Rhodesians are confident of being able to beat sanctions. Their friends in the south and Mozambique have assisted up to now, and can be relied on in the future. But there is less certainty about the fighting inside the country. The settlers now accept as a fact the repeated ministerial warnings that guerrilla operations by 'terrorists' are likely to increase.

The first official reports of the present guerrilla campaign were issued nearly three months ago. Yet the guerrilla force has not yet been 'mopped up', according to official communiques. The Whites believe that the guerrilla force consisted of between 150 and 200 ZAPU and ANC Freedom Fighters/....

ers, that they crossed into Rhodesia from December 1967 onwards but not detected until March, and that Rhodesian peasants knew of their presence but concealed it from the security forces.

Reports are circulating that eleven ZANU men were intercepted in north near the Portuguese border at Sipololo. All are said to have been captured or killed. The ZAPU-ANC Fighters, on the other hand, are said to have "entered" Rhodesia at points below Kariba and near Livingstone. This being so, the security forces have to patrol the whole length of Zambezi's border with Rhodesia.

The forces are complaining of being over-extended. Reservists, especially farmers, are increasingly reluctant to mount road blocks and spend long weeks on patrol away from their homes.

In contrast, the fighting has given a significant boost to African morale, resulting in more illegal political action underground. Leaflets and posters are being distributed in spite of informers and security guards. Some Africans working at the University library were recently arrested, charged, according to reports, with distributing illegal posters.

The erection of an additional security fence round Salisbury prison is said to be a precaution against any attempt by Freedom Fighters to release detainees and political prisoners. Another explanation is that the fence will seal off the prison in the event of demonstrations outside the prison against further hangings. But the government has made no further move to hang any of the 72 Africans still held in the death cells, nor is it known whether any will be reprieved.

Decisions on this and other important matters are likely to be held over until the constitutional issue has been settled. The ruling Rhodesia Front party is sharply divided, also at cabinet level, over the terms of the Whaley Report. A large section of the Front rejects any system that allows Africans to sit in the same legislative chamber as Whites; and favours apartheid, with an upper house of chiefs to preserve the fiction of a non-racial parliament. Other members of the Front accept the report, or want a constitution based on the report and on the existing constitution.

Smith has refused to commit himself until the Front holds a special conference, probably in August, to consider the constitution. His failure to give a lead has opened the way to much dissension in his party. Commander Chris Phillips, former Deputy Chairman of the Front, resigned in protest against the Whaley report and joined the extremist right wing Rhodesia National Party, led by Len Idensohn, another defector who condemned the report as 'just one more attempt to enforce integration and Black rule on Rhodesia'. Property and Finance, mouthpiece of the right wing, warned Smith that if he accepted the Whaley recommendations, the party would split. 10 cabinet Ministers and 26 out of the 34 backbenchers would oppose him, a journal estimated, if he adopted the report without major amendments.

For the/...

For the first time since UDI members of the Front are publicly criticising Smith. They accuse him of keeping facts from the voters. The critics belong to the right wing for the most part; but there are others, business men and former 'liberals', who want to maintain a bridge with Britain if only because of the bad economic situation. Smith has to keep a balance between these two sections if he wishes to avoid a split; but he will be forced to make a stand on one or other side.

Optimistic liberals point to the emergence of the Centre Party as sign of a tendency among some Whites, especially the younger people, to find a compromise with African claims. If the Front does break up over the constitution, the liberals think, a strong 'moderate' party may emerge.

But it is more likely that the gap between Whites and Africans will become wider, and that the future of Rhodesia will be decided by armed struggle under conditions increasingly unfavourable to the settlers.

* * * *

MERCENARIES REGROUP IN SOUTH AFRICA?

"Congo" Mueller in South Africa

"Berlin (ADN) - Major Siegfried Mueller, who has become notorious for the crimes he committed as leader of a mercenary unit in Congo, has found a new sphere of activity in Johannesburg, it was reported by the paper Neue Zeit in the German Democratic Republic. He now worked for a company which, on the instruction of industrial firms, had taken over the protection of gold mines and the supervision of black miners.

Neue Zeit wrote that, according to newspaper reports, Congo Mueller was willing to build up new mercenary units. He considered Vietnam, Yemen, and Nigeria as possible scenes for for new adventures, it said. He had already rallied young men who were willing to save the "occident". Most of them had only recently joined him, coming from West Germany. They frankly admitted that they wanted to create the "order lacking" in the newly independent states. His pay would be high, of course, the paper continued.

After Mueller's return from the Congo the German Democratic Republic had brought a criminal charge against him because of murder and looting, but the charge was rejected by the West German authorities."

* * * *

ADN Newsletter

21st May/68