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A TRAGEDY OF OUR TIMES

The past ten days have once again brought the cruel story of American aggression in Vietnam before the public eye. The war has taken a swift turn against the U.S., suffering the highest casualties since it started. Although previous instructions from the Pentagon were that figures should be given only for Vietnamese losses and theirs being given as "slight" or "heavy", this practice has been thrown to the winds. The magnitude of their losses has forced the U.S. Command to publish their casualty figures, however reduced they may be. The big lie that 367 Americans contrasted with 14,997 "Vietcong" killed during the week has only made the U.S. propagandists look even more ridiculous. It is the civilian population they are murdering and choose to call "Vietcong".

Nearly every major U.S. military installation has been attacked and there is fierce fighting in 35 major cities. In Saigon, stiff fighting has been going on and a pitched battle for the control of the airport raged on for hours between the National Liberation Front and the U.S. forces. The Americans lost control of their own Embassy when the N.L.F. besieged and shelled it for 6½ hours. It was a surprise attack which was so strong that the American Ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, had to be clandestinely and hurriedly whisked off to a secret hide-out set up for such emergencies. The U.S. Commander-in-Chief himself, General William Westmoreland, was forced to take refuge in a windowless command centre. It's not surprising that his forces got such a trouncing!

A number of U.S. "experts" on Vietnam have drawn false consolation that the new offensive by the N.L.F. backed by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a demonstration of strength before the Vietnamese agree to meet America on the conference table. This erroneous line of reasoning has been blasted by a leader of the N.L.F. who said:

"It is the common duty of all the 30 million Vietnamese people to fight. The Americans think the North Vietnamese army are foreign invaders. This is not so. Vietnam is one. Rivers may run dry and rocks may wear away, but not the Vietnamese fatherland. Therefore we have Northern troops. But not Chinese or any other foreigners.. The only condition for starting talks is the recognition of the Front as the sole representative of the South Vietnamese people."

This, in a nutshell, sums up the whole argument of the Vietnamese people against America. It demonstrates that the U.S. has no justification whatsoever to call the Democratic Republic of Vietnam aggressor. For indeed there is only one Vietnam and the Vietnamese people want it so. Who has the right to split that country?

America's.../

America's presence in Vietnam cannot be explained in any other terms outside the realm of blatant aggression.

Back in the U.S. a lot of soul-searching and re-assessment is taking place behind the scenes. Richard Nixon, Republican Presidential candidate, commenting on the explosive Pueblo affair said that it was a "tactical blunder... when you have already more war in your hands than you can handle." The C.I.A. is blamed for failure to foresee the present offensive in the South. Johnson, on the other hand, commenting on peace initiatives in Vietnam said, "I don't want to prophesy on what is going to happen and why.. we feel reasonably sure of our strength."

The truth is that Johnson is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. In order to improve his fortunes in the coming presidential elections he will have to minimise his blunders in handling the Far East situation, in particular. Pulling out of Vietnam will be "dishonourable", in fact "disgraceful" for the U.S., yet there is no guarantee that further escalation of the war will introduce any change in favour of the U.S. In the circumstances, President Johnson has decided to open a new front of aggression against North Korea by letting the Pueblo spy-ship violate North Korean territorial waters. To re-inforce the 525,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam the Pentagon has dispatched to South Korean bases aircraft carriers, a support and an attack carrier, a guided missile cruiser, eleven destroyers and an un-announced number of war planes and troops. The ultimate destination of these troops and armaments is Vietnam but Johnson fears to announce it lest it jeopardises his election campaign. North Korea is now used as a cover

But as Ho Chi Minh has repeatedly said that the Vietnamese people will fight for the next 20 years, if need be, the present escalation by the U.S. only gives the Vietnamese people a chance to make what the French experienced at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 child's play.

For us in South Africa the Vietnam situation is even more relevant. We are fighting the strongest power in Africa and many mis-informed people, pessimists and ill-advisers don't believe that we can defeat the enemy; some even make public statements to that effect. The South African armed forces are boys scouts compared to the U.S. forces yet the tiny but heroic Vietnamese people have scored brilliant successes against this World Power. Why can't we do it? And besides, South Africa's strength is based on shifting sands. It is as a result of the super exploitation of the African masses who are in the process of staging an armed uprising against the enemy. We contend that this strength is, in fact South Africa's weakness; it cannot see the racists through the coming struggle. In Matabeleland it has been proved that the enemy is not that strong after all and in a moment of truth he failed to conceal his panic.

We of the African National Congress on behalf of the oppressed millions in our country salute the valiant Vietnamese people and wish to assure them of our unfailing solidarity in their principled struggle in the worst tragedy of our times.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL

OLYMPIC COUNCIL

The question of international affiliation for South African (White) sporting bodies, which have been the sole representatives of the whole of South Africa, to the exclusion of the South African non-Whites has escalated since the International Table Tennis Federation withdrew its recognition from the White South African body and the subsequent registration of the non-White body. This was followed in 1963 by F.I.F.A.'s suspension of the all-White Foot-ball Association of South Africa and this was followed in 1964 by the suspension of the all-White South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) from participation in the Olympic Games that took place in Tokyo that year.

The political repercussions of these actions were quite obvious and various government officials were forced to comment. The position of the South African Government on sports can briefly be stated to be as follows:-

1. In South Africa White and non-White sportsmen must not compete against one another.
2. South African sportsmen may compete outside the country with sportsmen of other races who are not South African. But sporting bodies may not send mixed teams to represent South Africa as a whole in international events. If Whites take part in tournaments overseas, they must do so as representatives of the Whites of this country (South Africa) and non-Whites of South Africa. (This requirement has been altered a little. Though no mixed competitions will be permitted in South Africa, those selected may now go as one team to represent South Africa).
3. The Government will help any non-White sports association as far as possible, but not where their purpose is to force the country to depart from the government policy of apartheid.
4. Non-White associations should develop along-side the corresponding White associations. The White executive committee should co-ordinate the work of both, and representatives in the corresponding world organizations should be through members of the White body.
5. One or two members of the White executive committee may attend meetings of the non-White committee when requested, to
maintain/....

maintain liaison. If this method appears impracticable in a particular instance, one or more members of the non-White body can be elected or co-opted to the White executive committee in an advisory capacity when matters are discussed. (Race Relations Survey 1964).

The position of the non-Whites can be stated very briefly as follows: They say that sports and politics do not mix, sportsmen must be able to participate freely in the sports of their country without racial discrimination. Their case is based on the Olympic charter itself. On the other hand the South African Government wants South African men to conform to its policy of separation. Early in 1963 the Minister of Interior (Assembly Hansard 3 of 1963 Col. 753) said:

"If sporting bodies did not comply with Government policy, legislation would be introduced to force them to do so." From the above it is quite obvious that the South African Government not only thinks that it has the right to maintain racial restrictions in its domestic sport, but it wants to impose its parochialism on the international sports in the sense that it wants to maintain international affiliations for its sportsmen and to have visiting teams to South Africa exclude non-Whites. In the past New Zealand has had to humiliate its Maori sportsmen on a few occasions.

In 1967 it was announced by the South African Olympic Council and the South African Prime Minister that in future a South African team for the Olympic Games would go as "one contingent under the South African flag". The Prime Minister further stated that "the four population groups would nominate representatives for the team". Mr. Vorster did not of course flinch on the question of mixed trials. He added; "that inside South Africa there would be no mixed sporting events, irrespective of the proficiency of the players."

All this of course is nothing new in the South African set up where the government has used all kinds of subtle attempts to foist a unilateral decision on the non-White groups as to their needs and limit of their opportunity. This latest manouvre by the Government was intended to hoodwink the international sporting committee into lifting the ban on South Africa's participation in the 1968 Olympic Games. Unfortunately the Olympic Committee sent to South Africa to investigate the question of South Africa's participation in the 1968 Olympic Games seems to have fallen prey to these manouvres. According to the Evening Post Stop Press, dated 30/1/68 an I.O.C. report states:-

"NO MIXED TRIALS

Mr. Vorster told Lord Killanin he would not agree to holding mixed trials to select South African Olympic team. 'Prime Minister said he would/....

would not agree to mixed trials outside South Africa. He said also there could be no mixed trials in private in South Africa.' (Commission's report stressed word "private" by underlining it).

Lord Killanin pointed out it was very difficult to assess merits without trials, but Mr. Vorster said judgement of selection committee must be trusted. 'The Prime Minister said if selection committee could not be trusted, they would not crawl.'

"I.O.C. REPORT

GRENOBLE. - Report of I.O.C. Commission said it received no positive evidence of any South African sports official disagreeing in principle with mixed Olympic trials. Report said sports officials emphasised it was their duty to obey laws of South Africa even if they did not agree with them."

The White Administrators of sports in South Africa are past masters at obtrusive hypocrisy. They have tried by all possible chicanery to escape responsibility for apartheid in sports. Until the non-White sportsmen, on their own initiative, sought international recognition, they showed no interest whatsoever in non-White sports. The "concessions" or the new moves by the South African Government are designed to be balm for the international Community, especially those countries which have been embarrassed in the past when their sportsmen played against segregated South African teams. The offer to help non-White teams is intended to placate non-White Uncle Toms whilst "discrediting" the militant representatives of non-racial sports, some of whom have suffered extreme persecution. All such stop-gap measures are ultimately unsatisfactory because the bigoted, immoral premises on which they based are ultimately untenable for both the victim and the oppressor.

At this point we may just point out the implications of South Africa's exclusion from international sports, in particular the Olympic Games and there is no better testimony than a sentimental appeal made by Mr. Braun, the Chairman of SAONGA, to the International Olympic Committee at Teheran. He stated:-

"South Africa has been in the doldrums of exclusion from the activities of the I.O.C. since before the Olympic Games. During this time we have paid dearly. Expulsion from the Olympic Games has deprived us of the very reason for our existence. Despair, frustration, and disillusionment have been deeply felt at all levels of sport in South Africa and among all sections of the population. The stigma of being looked upon as an outcast has not been an easy cross to bear."

One can only say to Mr. Braun: WHAT ABOUT THE NON-WHITE SPORTSMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA? They have been outcasts for too long. Don't you think you should be man enough to integrate all sports in South Africa!!

In This Issue:

WE REPRODUCE IN AN ABRIDGED FORM HIS EXCELLENCY
PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA'S SPEECH
ON THE OCCASION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY
MEETING HELD AT THE CHILENJE WELFARE HALL
4TH - 6TH FEBRUARY, 1968

ON HUMANISM

"This is the first National Council Session we are holding in this year 1968. This too is the first opportunity I have to make a few important pronouncements, some as policy matters which I would like discussed here, and others will I hope serve as a guide to the young nation.

I have already made public the fact that some changes in our Government administration were imminent.

This exercise is designed to give me more time to devote to the organisation of our agrarian and industrial revolution based on the philosophy of humanism; and to enable me to supervise more closely than I have done ever since I became President, the affairs of the country as a whole.

Ever since the philosophy of humanism was propounded, I have been giving some serious thought as to how best it can be implemented, and I have come to the conclusion that the surest way of doing this effectively, and without it suffering at the hands of those who might use it to further their own selfish interests, is for me to go all out and see for myself what those in offices and those in the field were doing to understand this properly in theory as well as in practice....

ON THE COMMON MAN

Let me now take this opportunity to refer to the all important issue of human relations. Needless for me to say that as men and women who firmly believe in the importance of man and, since around this importance of man hangs the whole philosophy of humanism in Zambia, we must from time to time discuss this all important question of human relations frankly and I cannot let this opportunity slip by without touching on it.

Now, friends and comrades, ever since we defined the meaning of the common man I have watched with disgust the various dirty jokes which are designed more to ridicule than enhance the importance we
attach/....

attach to this phrase. If we continue to ridicule this phrase "the common man" we must know that we undermine the whole basis of our philosophy.

I say to you we must adhere to this phrase "the common man" with religious or, for that matter, ideological and philosophical fervour. I repeat, if we do not, let us write off completely the whole philosophy. We have defined the meaning of the common man in the pamphlet on Zambian humanism as, and I quote - "He who is strangely and inexplicably the other man as well as myself".....

ON EDUCATION

The second thing I would like to talk about is our system of education. So much has been said about this in public and I choose this moment to tell you my own thinking about it.

Ever since Independence, the work of the Ministry of Education has grown beyond recognition. Their achievements have been tremendous, something to be proud of, something that perhaps has not been achieved before in a comparatively short space of time in many parts of the world, not just Africa.

This, however, has brought in its trend other problems. While the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation has more or less determined that African countries should achieve universal primary education by 1980, our present plans, if funds are available, will provide in Zambia universal primary education by 1975. I repeat, Comrades, this is no mean achievement....

ON MINORITY REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

"May I now turn to Foreign Affairs. Again I have given some considerable thought to this question.

By destiny rather than by choice we find Zambia getting more and more involved in world affairs. I say this is by destiny rather than by choice because what we are being called upon to do in the international sphere is partly because within Zambia and through the interaction of various forces we have been given an opportunity to look at our problem from a human angle.

By destiny rather than by choice because Zambia geographically is on the front line. Well within her own borders she has a very complex racial set up. Under divine guidance, the problems involved in
this/.....

this complex racial set up, which we inherited from the colonial past, are being solved.

She is faced on the border by minority racist regimes who are formidable adversaries. These adversaries are well armed materially but, of course, are morally bankrupt. Here, determination to bring pressure on these misguided minority oppressors directly and through the United Nations and other suitable world bodies is, of course, an important addition.

The reorganisation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will emphasise the fact which we have stated from time to time that we are not isolationists. Positive non-alignment means positive participation in all human activity, with the right to support or condemn where this is called for, but never on a permanent basis.

The presence of South African troops in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola is the second of this double-pronged offensive, and I am sure all of us in here know precisely what this means.....

A word or so on Rhodesia. Ours has been a very consistent voice on this issue. Constantly we have told Britain that only the use of force could bring down the rebellion.....

Dear friends, this leads me to another point and this is South Africa proper. Here we see man's ability to invent, man's ability to discover, man's ability to organise running him riot. Here we see that man has rioted against himself and he needs to be arrested. Who is going to be the policeman to do the job?

Here we see one of the worst forms of oppression through effective organisation and control meted out by man against man. The problem in South Africa is fear - fear of one man by another. This is at the bottom of all the apartheid policies we see developing in that country...

Blatantly, and here like Mr. Smith and Mr. Salazar, Mr. Vorster speaks of defending the Western civilisation, Christian values, etc. Does he realise that the cardinal point in Christ's teaching was "do unto others as you would have them do unto you?" Does Mr. Vorster honestly believe that what he does against the non-white people, he would like them to do unto him?.....

Words alone are not enough, it is action, both individual and collective that is called for - FOR UNITED WE STAND AND DIVIDED WE FALL!"

THE ANC AND THE STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE (PART I)

Vorster's invasion and occupation of Zimbabwe should not lull the world into connivance at this dastardly act. But succeed he may - certainly in some Western circles where his propaganda line is that he is fighting terrorists who are Communist inspired and controlled. This is one of those red herrings which progressive forces should dismiss with contempt. The truth is that Vorster and his cohorts are in Zimbabwe because there is, and always has been, an identity of interests between South Africa and Rhodesia. These are two birds of the same plumage, engaged in the same nefarious schemes of dehumanising Africa. To check this, we must pluck them in the same ruthless manner. And we are doing so. In other words, the Smith-Vorster collusion is foundering against the onslaught unleashed by the alliance we announced last August.

But there is nothing new in this alliance of resistance to racist rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe. It has a rich history, though little known and largely unwritten. In this series we shall tell it. Ours is a history of wanton aggression meeting heroic resistance from our people. Ours is a history of the insatiable ogre of industrial capitalism suffering reverses from a foe with a just cause and increasing strength.

In our history, both the Boers and the English have always cast their covetous eyes across the Limpopo. By means of the Grobler Treaty of July 1887, the Transvaal tried to lay claim to parts of Rhodesia. Their move was soon thwarted by that swindler Cecil Rhodes whose agents rushed from the Cape and hoodwinked King Lobengula into granting them the notorious Rudd Concession of October 1888. Imperialist Britain blessed this act with a Royal Charter to Rhodes, and in September 1890, the Pioneer Column marched in and annexed the country in Queen Victoria's name.

We must note that Vorster's invasion is copied from these so-called Pioneers. Like them, he comes from South Africa. Like theirs, his troops are specially picked for their hatred of Africans. Like them, he has a mission to justify his aggression. They wanted to spread the British Empire from Cape to Cairo. Vorster, too, has expansionist aims - to spread his evil doctrine and to subvert independent Africa.

Almost from the start, African resistance to this invasion was strong. However, its form varied with circumstance. Initially, it took a tribal shape. Thus in 1893 the Mandebele rose alone. They failed, but their efforts met the sympathy of their Nguni relatives in South Africa: the Xhosas and the Zulus. For example, a missionary, one John Booth visited Natal where Zulus booted down his religious schemes because they distrusted the "blood-stained white men, who had slain thousands of Zulus and their Matabele relations." Despite their joint uprising with the Mashona in 1896-1897, which has been brilliantly analysed by T.O. Ranger in his Revolt in/....

Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-97 (London, 1967), the Mandebele retained their links with the South.

And then the ANC was formed in 1912. With its birth, the base of our two struggles changed. Henceforth, all tribes in South Africa became concerned over the lot of their fellow-Africans in Rhodesia. They all realised that they faced common problems from a common source: the land-hungry Whites. Thus the ANC delegation which protested and petitioned in London against the Native Land Act of 1913 also put the case of the Rhodesian Africans. Among this history-making delegation were John Dube (President), Sol Plaatjie (Secretary-General), Walter Rubusana, Saul Msane and Tom Maphikela. Maphikela was better known as "Map of Africa". This was no mere play on his surname. Far more significantly, it expressed his conviction that "the whole of Africa - not just the south - belongs to us Africans."

On their return from an unsatisfying trip, Dube announced that he was going to make enquiries "among the Natives of Southern Rhodesia in order to ascertain whether any of them wish to proffer a claim of the unalienated land on behalf of the natives in their collective or tribal capacity..." Sensing danger to their position, the Settlers denied him entry into the country. But this was belated action, the ANC had been aroused.

In 1918 we sent Advocate Mangena to help. He was soon deported. Equally fast, we despatched another lawyer, Richard Msimang who formulated a brilliant two - pronged strategy. On one front, he argued court cases on African land grievances. On the other front he engaged the services of religion. Realising that he might suffer the same fate as Mangena, he encouraged those churches rooted in our soil, the so-called Ethiopian Movement, to appeal to the authorities on purely religious grounds. His reasoning was that since the Settlers wanted the Africans to worship in their own way, they would probably be sympathetic to appeals for more land for worship. These appeals would, of course, be known among the Africans of Rhodesia, and the whole issue would remain alive. He was right.

At this time our first National Chaplain was H.R. Ngcayiya, a staunch champion of the Africanisation of Christianity. He followed Msimang's strategy. As a man of the cloth, he was let into Rhodesia by the unsuspecting Settlers. There he listened to African grievances, then joined the 1919 ANC delegation which in London and Versailles petitioned for us and our fellowmen in Rhodesia. Although they again failed, their effort was not in vain.

It marked the end of delegations to London and the start of organised militancy in Rhodesia and South Africa.

FIGHTING TALK:

WHERE IS THE FRONT LINE?

"South African paramilitary units - Johannesburg calls them "police" - have been helping White dominated Rhodesia stop African nationalist infiltrators and now have been spotted in Southern Angola assisting Portuguese forces. The main role of the South Africans is to block guerrilla bands attempting to cross into Angolan territory from Zambia into South West Africa. South African newsmen who have got wind of the story are prevented by their Government's defence regulations from printing it."

- Newsweek 5th, February 1968.

Did you hear that? Did you hear that? That was the informed American Magazine Newsweek reporting. I hope that that bit of news will sink in the minds of everyone and it will be treated with the seriousness it deserves. It should be treated with utmost gravity infact.

Of course to those of us who have been grappling with the critical political situation in Southern Africa, this is stale news. Only six weeks ago, Dr. Agostino Neto, President of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), announced in Brazzille that he had received information that the hard-pressed Portuguese troops were intending to import South African White mercenaries to come to the rescue. Now there it is.

And how will the South African propagandists explain the doings of its army in Angola? 'Hunting for South African terrorists, who are said to be carrying ANC cards in their inside pockets?' That's what they said, isn't it?, when they rushed troops to Zimbabwe. But we thoroughly demolished that lie of the enemy. We showed that the great alliance of the ANC and ZAPU was dictated by history, by objective conditions - particularly the fact of the unholy alliance of the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and above all by the common interests of our peoples. Yes...And our people wholeheartedly welcomed that move and so did the overwhelming majority of progressive mankind.

But we must confess that there were one or two discordant voices which came from unexpected quarters. A certain East African newspaper, which ought to know better, screamed, "Let black Rhodesians fight in Rhodesia!" That stupid nonsense was said whilst our guerrillas were locked in battle with the common enemy. On the other hand these armchair howlers sat cosily in their newspaper office desks. Then and now, besides talking, they have not lifted a finger against the South African aggressive forces which are flowing across the Limpopo and have even had the audacity to launch incursions into free Zambia.

However/....

However, one or two or slightly more respectable comrades in Africa expressed some anxiety when truck and plane loads of South African troops arrived in Zimbabwe. Some cautiously asked us whether we did not think that the transit through Zimbabwe of A.N.C. guerrillas might have attracted Vorster's forces there. "Damn It!", we thought inwardly, with some embarrassment; "The South African propaganda machinery is claiming some victims, hey?". We were embarrassed a bit. Embarrassed because Rhodesian history says that that country was colonised by South African colonialists in the first place. The very name Rhodesia -- it is named after Cecil Rhodes -- the arch imperialist South African mining magnate.

I suppose that when quiet political and economic penetration of a country takes place, no one takes much notice (or very few people do), but it is the drama of the arrival of uniformed soldiers which raises alarm.

It is six years now, to be exact, since we drew the attention of the world to the formation of an imperialist alliance among Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal. Then we drew the attention of the world to South Africa's feverish arms build-up. We said, "Look at that!" "Those fellows are spending in peacetime a fantastic amount of £115 million on armament." At that time, the then Defence Minister of White South Africa, Jim Fouche, said:

"Do not think we are arming to fight an external enemy;
We are not. We are arming to shoot the black masses."

But, we tirelessly pointed out to Africa and the world that the type of arms the South African racist regime was stock-piling, the sub-marines, the long-range bombers, the guided missiles were not intended just for internal use. I don't know if anyone still recalls a boast made by the late Premier Verwoerd. After being shown the armoury by the same Jim Fouche (now appointed State President), he pointed out to the Defence Minister that it seemed that a weapon he was inspecting was not defensive. The Defence Minister agreed. Verwoerd then bragged that this was the spirit in which South Africa's Defence strategy should be understood. **IT WAS NOT DEFENSIVE!**

Then for some time we engaged in a dialogue with some O.A.U. members over the strategic theory for the liberation of Southern Africa. There was a view held by some that before a full scale struggle for South Africa is embarked upon, the neighbouring territories such as the then British Protectorates, the Portuguese territories and Zimbabwe should be freed first. And then.....

We held a different view. Objective reality has clearly demonstrated that South Africa is the bulwark of imperialism in Southern Africa. Vorster, shamelessly announced that "S.A. troops will fight 'terrorists' whenever and wherever asked to do so."

We, who have for decades fought the South African racists know that they are not in the habit of making empty threats..The S.A. racist army is on the march. It has crossed the Limpopo and deployed itself along a wide front covering Portuguese territory and Rhodesia.

I am convinced that the militant continent of Africa will not take this aggressive outrage lying down. If nobody else is prepared to send these tickey-line mercenaries scurrying into their hiding dens and beyond, **THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL !**
