

NON-CENTRAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN
SOUTH AFRICA TODAY.

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ANC(SA) IN-HOUSE SEMINAR ON CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES FOR A
FUTURE DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

1 - 4 MARCH , 1988. - LUSAKA.

PLEASE NOTE:

The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not
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PREFACE.

Like in every aspect of life in South Africa, the categories of race and ethnicity play an important role in the area of second and third tiers of government¹ which we intend to discuss in this paper. We are therefore much constrained to use these categories for purposes of our discussion, for they especially serve to explain the status of and the relationship between these structures of government and the central organ of power.

For particular political and economic reasons and purposes, each race is, as a matter of state policy, law and practice, having its own local structures of government. Needless to say, in the context of apartheid reform, the apartheid regime has effected some cosmetic and superficial reforms in this area in order to further entrench apartheid colonialism in the face of the ever-deepening crisis the regime is trying to wriggle out of. In our discussion, we shall examine some of these and also try to explain why they have become necessary.

Non-central structures of government are generally divided into two categories, namely local and regional structures. These are referred to as third and second tiers of government respectively. The third tier has further sub-divisions such as counties, rural districts and villages, as is the case in the United Kingdom for instance.

We shall begin our discussion with the third tier of government, and shall, as we have indicated above, look at these along the lines dictated to us by the existing situation.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICANS:

We hasten to assure the reader that we are using the term "African" in its narrow sense with reference to the indigenous majority of the South African population. As the regime has balkanised our country, we shall be compelled to confine our discussion to the position of the Africans living outside the bantustan creatures of apartheid colonialism. We shall allude to the issue of the bantustans when we discuss the second tier of government in South Africa.

At the local level, the position of the "urban African" is basically governed by the Black Local Authorities Act, Number 102 Of 1982, which came into effect on the first day of August 1983. This Act replaced the Community Councils Act, Number 125 of 1977, under which the regime had set up Community Councils. Their place was taken by town and village councils.²

The Black Local Authorities Act arose out of the recommendations of the Riekert Commission on local government. According to the regime, the main aim of the Act was to establish local government structures for Africans that would resemble, as closely as possible, those for whites. In terms of the Act, the Community Councils set up under the 1977 Act would be phased out and replaced by new structures, namely the town and village councils. The Act was to confer certain powers directly on the new structures and thus, it was stated, give them greater status and autonomy than was enjoyed by their predecessors, the Community Councils.³

The powers that the Act conferred upon these structures were the following:

- responsibility for services such as waste disposal, sewerage and electrification;
- preventive health programmes and control of health hazards;
- sport and recreational facilities;
- housing administration, including prevention of illegal occupation;
- welfare services, including granting of educational bursaries, maintenance of institutions and relief for the poor;
- construction and maintenance of roads and
- employment of staff.

Anyone who knows anything about the areas that would fall under the jurisdiction of these structures will realise that the incumbents would indeed preside over vast empires of poverty, squalor and deprivation created by the regime of apartheid colonialism. They would take over the policing functions of the administration boards that previously performed all the functions mentioned above and would also be granted by the regime the power to maintain their own police forces.

It is to be noted that though the regime has since abolished the administration boards (which had already been converted into development boards under the Black Communities Development Act of 1984), their functions have been transferred to the new provincial administrations, certain central government departments and the black local authorities. Though it is envisaged that eventually all these functions will be performed by the black local authorities themselves, the new provincial administrations exercise overall control over these functions currently.⁴

Basic functions such as the making of bye-laws, the drawing up of budgets, the determination of levies to contribute to their running costs, the investing of money or trading in securities and the proposal or acceptance of donations are performed by the councils subject

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to the authority of the central government where the entire indigenous overwhelming majority is deliberately excluded as a matter of state policy, law and practice. On the pretext of decentralisation, power has thus been centralised.

We have above referred to town and village councils which have been established under the Act. We need to explain that the town councils have a higher status than the village councils and can be established for an area consisting of one or more African townships or a portion or portions of a township. These town and village councils are manned by councillors who are ostensibly elected. Where vacancies occur, they are, according to the Act, supposed to be filled by appointees of the provincial administration until further elections are held.

The central government exercises tremendous power over these puppet local regimes of oppression and repression. Where, for instance, they fail to exercise proper control over their finances (this is indeed a euphemism for theft and corruption which are rampant in these institutions) the provincial administrations may even dissolve (as happened in Thokoza Township near Germiston and Diepmeadow near Johannesburg) and replace them with government-appointed administrators.⁵

As is wellknown, these structures which are unpopular and are regarded (rightly so) by the victims of apartheid colonialism as an extension of the policy of apartheid intended to deny them access to real political power, in a number of townships became targets of the wrath of the masses of our people when the current turmoil in the country began. In Soweto, for instance, even today the councillors who refused to hearken to the call of the masses are still living "behind razor wire in specially guarded elite housing complex on the outskirts" of the township. In the process of rendering the country ungovernable and the apartheid system unworkable, our people began to create their own local structures of people's power (the street and area committees) which the regime has tried to smash.

Because of the obvious failure of these structures of apartheid, the regime has set up secretive Joint Management Committees (JMCs) which are part of the country-wide web of security structures. They are regional "organs of the National Security Management System, a secretive security-dominated structure central to the government's hearts and minds campaign. Their function is to assess security problems in each region and recommend to the authorities appropriate 'solutions', ranging from security force action to the upgrading of living conditions". Though these are not, as such, structures of local government, they have increasingly become involved in matters of local government in the townships, and share with the vigilantes a history of violent opp-

colonialism.

Various other laws have been passed by the regime in the context of the reform programme the regime is peddling around as an earnest display of their good intentions. Many of these are not important for our discussion as they introduce nothing essentially new. However, we believe we need to mention just one of these, the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act of 1983(as amended in 1984). This Act established the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs which would advise the regime on the development of local government. Before the 1984 amendment, only the white, Indian and Coloured communities were represented on this council, but since March 1985, "full membership of the Council has been extended to the Urban Councils Association of South Africa(UCASA)", an organisation of puppets of the regime who operate its local government machinery created for the African majority. This organisation, the president of which is one Steve Kgane of Dobsonville near Roodeport who has faced a total of nearly a hundred and ten charges of bribery, has undertaken to participate in the National Council proposed and peddled by the regime as the answer to its crisis of legitimacy.

POLICY:

The standpoint of the apartheid regime regarding local government is that each racial group should have "self-determination" with regard to its own affairs and co-responsibility for matters of common concern. It has therefore set up local authorities for the various groups and Regional Services Councils to render services at metropolitan or regional level. These will be discussed later in this paper.

INDIAN, COLOURED AND WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

To save time and space, the local governments of Indians and Coloureds can be put together with that of the whites for purposes of our discussion. There are hundreds of white local authorities ranging from city and town councils through village to health committees which are, generally, elective bodies. In towns and cities that include substantial Indian and Coloured communities, consultative or management committees constituted from these communities on a racial basis have been established.

In terms of the regime's reform package, provision has been made for consultation on local government matter among the racial groups. This situation, as we remarked above, is governed by, among other laws, the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act, Number 91 of 1983, which established the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, the chairman of which is the regime's Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

P.T.O...../like the Africans

Like the Africans, the Indian and Coloureds are not represented and do not participate in the affairs of city and town councils which are in charge of virtually all the resources in the territories falling under their jurisdictions. As is the case with the African councils, their councils preside over vast areas of poverty, squalor and deprivation. The white city and town councils and the resources they have been endowed with by the regime of apartheid colonialism by virtue of their race and colour (which categories are used by the ruling class par excellence to ensure continuous white collaboration) are a preserve of whites and are out of bounds for these communities. Indeed, these communities have nothing to lose when apartheid goes, but their chains of poverty and other attendant circumstances.

REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS:

The regime has since established Regional Services Councils, the upper level of the third tier of government intended to cater for "general" as opposed to "own" affairs on a metropolitan level. According to the regime's propaganda, these structures represent a horizontal extension of the local government system for greater efficiency. They may be established in any region in South Africa and (significantly) may include even parts of both the "independent and non-independent" bantustan creatures of the regime. These structures were created by the Regional Services Councils Act of 1985, and many have since been established, e.g. the Transvaal had 12 such structures by the end of 1987.

These structures are non-elective. They consist of nominated or designated representatives from the various racial local authorities in a given metropolitan region. The number of representatives designated by each race-based local authority is determined by a formula based on the cost of services a local authority buys through the RSC. In other words, each representative represents 10% (or part thereof) of RSC-provided services his race-based local authority consumes. It is to be noted, however, that no local authority is allowed more than 50% of the total number of RSC votes, for, according to the regime's propaganda, decision-making by consensus is to be promoted and guaranteed. It is pretty obvious though that the white city and town councils, which dispose of most of the RSC-provided services, will have the greatest say in the affairs of any given RSC. This is intended to ensure that power essentially continues to reside in the hands of the white minority, whilst the regime pretends to be committed to some form of power-sharing of some sort.

The intention of the regime is, that the RSC's should be self-financing structures that will facilitate the withdrawal of the central state from the provision of public goods and services.

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The RSC's will have basically three sources of finance, namely:

- the "profits" from the sale of bulk services such as electricity and water to the various local authorities;
- the regional establishment levy on all business and industrial turnover in the region which is not added on to the prices of goods in the same way as the General Sales Tax;
- the regional services levy which is a tax on wages and salaries paid by all employers, including the public sector, in a given metropolitan region.

As can be seen from this, the revenue collected by the RSCs will not accrue to the central treasury for use on a country-wide basis, but will be the property of each RSC. The implications of these are manifold: The four major metropolitan areas of the country (namely the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereniging; Durban-Pinetown; Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and the Cape Peninsula areas) which, together, account for about 80% of all industrial production, will be in control of substantial resources and the more well-to-do local authorities (naturally the "white" cities and towns) WILL PLAY THE ROLE OF GOOD Samaritans and dispense charity to the black areas where the levies and poverty.

The central state will be relieved of the duty to provide goods and services and the political demands of the majority will be redirected to the lowest level of government where ostensibly they shall be having a say. The tax on turnover and the increased labour costs will either compel the employers and business to increase the prices of their commodities to induce them to relocate to other metropolitan areas where the levies are lower or to the decentralisation and deconcentration points where the regime offers numerous incentives. We now wish to look into the second tier of government in apartheid South Africa.

THE SECOND TIER OF GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA:

In terms of the Provincial Government Act of 1986, the apartheid regime has since abolished the provincial councils which were uni-cameral legislative structures elected by whites only and replaced them with multi-racial provincial executive committees comprising appointees of the state president of the racist regime and headed by administrators. The intention of this, according to the regime's propaganda, is to enable all racial groups living in a given province to participate in managing many matters affecting the "general" interests of all the inhabitants of the province concerned. In three of the provinces, namely the Transvaal, the Cape and (even) the Orange Free State, black puppets and marionettes of the apartheid regime have since been appointed to serve on these provincial committees.

This process of regionalisation of power has political and economic objectives: ⁷

At the political level, it is hoped that some degree of stability of South African society will be achieved through the incorporation and co-option of black middle class elements who are prepared to sell their birthright for a sop. At the economic level, the regime and the ruling class hope that this will facilitate a relatively stable and evolutionary transformation/transition to a new constitutional order capable of restoring social peace and arresting anti-imperialist, radical pressures for anti-capitalist and fundamental change. It is also hoped that the process will rationalise the fiscal and administrative system, promote growth, ameliorate the socio-economic inequalities generated by the system of apartheid and thus pacify the middle class elements among the oppressed majority.

In a nutshell therefore, the process is part of the efforts of the ruling class to save South Africa for capitalism. The struggle and all the pressure that is being brought to bear upon the regime, it is hoped, will be deflected to the lower levels of government, away from the central state. This is in keeping with the idea of certain reformists who are selling some form or the other of federalism and limited government.

The Joint Executive Authority for Natal and KwaZulu has since been launched. Half of its members represent the KwaZulu bantustan and the other half the Natal Provincial Executive Committee. Provision for the establishment of joint executive bodies (such as this one) comprising representatives of a provincial administration and the non-independent bantustans (which the regime calls national states) located within a province is made by the Provincial Government Act of 1986. However, a new and special Act has been passed, establishing the Natal-KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority.

What the South African Institute of Race Relations hails as "the most important development in the closing months of 1987", and as "the first governmental body set up on the initiative of others rather than imposed by government", is indeed very ridiculous; it does not at all represent "a first away from unilateral constitution-making" as both the KwaZulu bantustan and the Natal Provincial Administration are creatures of the apartheid regime. Gatsha and his Inkatha (whose commitment to capitalism and therefore to apartheid itself for their survival as a political entity within the body politic of South Africa is far beyond doubt) cannot be said to be representing the "others"; neither can the Natal Provincial Executive Committee which comprises appointees of the Botha-Malan clique.⁸

The Joint Executive Authority is a product of capitalism.⁹ Though there may seem to be no great measure of consensus between the players in

this political and constitutional charade and the racist regime on issues such as the scale and objectives of this exercise and on the role of ethnic and cultural diversities existing in our society, there is consensus on the basic needs of all of them which are dictated by the interests of capitalism of which they are all devout followers.¹⁰

Again, it must be noted that they all exhibit a fervent hostility towards majority rule - hence their commitment to federalism. They all see federalism as a resolution to the problem of incorporating the black majority into the system while at the same time saving South Africa's capitalist way of life. To them, a state dominated by the black majority, especially the working masses of our people, is indeed anathema; it represents the greatest evil ever and heralds the beginning of socialism. Therefore, as one of their political gurus, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer once remarked, the "ultimate guarantee against black majority rule would thus be the disappearance of the majority itself". They are all committed to minimal or limited government which will render the central state in the future (which will be dominated by the black majority, especially the workers and the landless peasantry¹¹), incapable of effecting the fundamental changes spelt out in the Freedom Charter.

This process of regionalisation of conflict also has, as we earlier on remarked, an economic role in the immediate scene. It is intended to rationalise "cross-border" planning by linking bantustan development to metropolitan areas as it is no longer in dispute that the bantustans have proved to be a political and economic disaster.

BANTUSTANS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

At the beginning of our paper, we said we would allude to this issue. Bantustans do have or are supposed to have their own local government structures, as well as regional structures. There is some evidence for instance that in 1977 municipal elections were held in the Transkei and both blacks and whites participated.¹² In most of the larger towns during these elections, multi-racial councils were elected, apparently. This, however, does not change the nature of the bantustans, the reservoirs of black cheap labour and a means to divide and deny the African majority access to power.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER PERSPECTIVE

The right of every man and woman in our country (regardless of race, sex, colour or creed) to participate in the government and administration of our country at all levels, the right to participate in the exercise of power and sovereignty, shall be guaranteed by the constitution and the post-apartheid legal system. It is stated in Clause One of the Freedom Charter that all bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils
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and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government. In elaborating this position, the analysis of the Freedom Charter adopted at the Morogoro Conference in 1969, says: "The bodies of minority rule shall be abolished and in their place will be established democratic organs of self-government in all the provinces, districts and towns of the country".¹³

The revolutionary masses of our country cannot, after such a long and bitter struggle to rid themselves of all forms of colonialism, merely take over d existing state and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place.¹⁴

In practical terms, all the structures of government described above and the bantustan system will have to be dismantled completely. "No part of the government structures should be predicated upon the categories of race and colour."¹⁵ "New territorial administrative regions should be established, enjoying full powers of local government corresponding to the wishes of the people of each area, but conforming to the overall charecter and laws of the people's democratic state."¹⁶

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGES ENVISAGED IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER

In order to understand the implications of the thorough-going changes that our people through struggle seek to effect at the third and second levels of post-apartheid government, we have had to study and compare the situation in various jurisdictions both in the East and the West, while at the same time bearing in mind that historical development and evolution of each situation. While we are not going to be attempting to invent the wheel in our efforts to make a constitution suitable to our conditions, we will at all times have to bear in mind and take into account the history, traditions and institutions (such as the one of traditional rulers) of all our people as well as current developments where our people have taken the initiative and set y up street and area committees.

On the basis of our study of the issue of non-central structures of government, we noe proceed to raise the following issues in this regard which we wish the seminar should address :

1. Provision should be made in the constitution for territorial and political division of the country into local and regional/provincial levels of government; the local level may further be sub-divided as is the case in numerous other jurisdictions.¹⁷
2. The position, powers, competence and functions of these structures and how these two levels relate to each other and also to the central state, should be clearly defined in the constitution. In some jurisdictions these are independent of the central government

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in terms of their functions, while in others they are the central government acting at these levels, i.e. they are administrative subdivisions of the state. An example of the former is the United States of America where, while each level of government is an integral component of the established constitutional order, each acts directly on the people and exercises by right authority that cannot be taken away from it by the other.¹⁸ This approach, needless to say, is favourable to the interests of big business and the hangers-on of capital.

Examples of the latter are the German Democratic Republic and, next door to us, the People's Republic of Mozambique where, while these structures are in charge of developments at their respective levels, they are, strictly speaking, agents of the central government. They are responsible for carrying out such orders and policies as the central government may issue. We prefer a modification of this approach as it does not exclude the central state from the fiscal and political responsibility for development at these levels.

3. Provision will have to be made for the creation of councils or assemblies which will be elective (and subject to recall?) as well as executive organs responsible to such councils/assemblies. The participation of particularly the workers and the landless peasants at these levels will have to be encouraged by the new state.
4. In some jurisdictions (e.g. Portugal) these levels of government are allowed by law to have their own assets and financial resources, while in others (e.g. the German Democratic Republic) they allow them to have certain enterprises, institutions, etc. subordinate to them for the fulfilment of their tasks. To ensure quick and even development of the entire country, it may be advisable for the new South African State to adopt the latter method/approach; otherwise the four metropolitan areas currently dominating the country will maintain their position at the expense of the whole country and exacerbate the political and socio-economic problems that currently face our people and their country. In such a case, decentralisation of power would be a disaster - a bane and not a boon.
5. While it may not be advisable to allow these structures to compete with the central legislative organ of people's power in the area of legislation, these levels may have to be allowed to make and issue ordinances, bye-laws and regulations within the ambit of the constitution and the law to enable them to fulfil their tasks in conditions peculiar to their own area or region.
6. Where the new state opts for the large-scale, planned development of the country's economy, controlled and directed by the central P.T.O...../state, the law

state,¹⁹ the law will have to clearly define the position and role of these two levels of government.²⁰

7. The seminar will have to discuss the place and role of the institution of traditional rulers, taking into account the recent emergence of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESAs) for instance. In some jurisdictions such as Guinea, Benin, the Congo and Tanzania, traditional institutes used by the colonialist for artificially preserving and sustaining disunity among the colonised have been fully liquidated.²¹ Yet, in others such as Zambia and Zimbabwe,²² the institution of traditional rulers even has a place in their constitutions. The British themselves have preserved an archaic institution, namely the House of Lords.

CONCLUSION

The levels of government discussed above are extremely important: they bring government closer to the people and they will be very important in ensuring the engagement of all our people in the implementation of the Freedom Charter; they will be very important in the consolidation and defence of the revolution and its gains.

The new state will have to ensure that the masses of our people are involved in the exercise of power at all levels, especially at these two levels. These too, like the central level, should be based on and be a reflection of the will of the majority of our people. These levels too, should be used by our people to destroy the imperialist system of colonialism and racism in our country and establish a predominantly but not exclusively black, democratic and essentially workers' and peasants' government. They should be utilised to ensure that during this crucial phase of our struggle, the struggle does not abort, but indeed proceeds relatively smoothly to a non-exploitative society, a future without exploitation of man by man.²³

Lastly, these structures in particular can play a crucial role in the resolution of the national question. They can be used to unite all our people into a single family in the process of the abolition of national inequalities emanating from centuries old colonial domination and capitalist exploitation.

I THANK YOU ALL.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Item 6, Schedule 1 to the Republic of South Africa Court Act 110 Of 1983; Supplement to SA Ddigest(week ending August 15, 1986),page V; seealso Race Relations Survey 1984 page 148 and Race Relations Survey 1986 where the regime's policy in this regard is spelt out(Part One, p.111)
2. Race Relations Survey 1986, Part One, p.114: "Because of considerable dissatisfaction among Africans about the title 'village councils', the act designated the following titles for local government structures: greater city councils, city councils, town councils, town committees and local authority committees."
This reform(so-called) was brought about by the Black Local Authorities Amendment Act of 1986.As can be seen,this is no fundamental change but a mere change of name.
3. Race Relations Survey 1983, p.253. Refer to note (2) above as well regarding the new titles of these structures.
4. Race Relations Survey 1986 Part One, pages 98 and 199. Note that the second tier which now controls African local government affairs is manned by appointees of the regime's state president to whom they owe allegiance.
5. ANC News Briefing Issue Number 2, Volume 12, 1988,page 12. See also ANC News Briefing Issue Number 39, Vol. 11, 1987, page 13 for a detailed report on the crimes committed by these puppets.
6. The Provincial Government Act of 1986 makes no stipulation as to the race of the administrators and members of the new provincial executive committees appointed by the racist state president. See Race Relations Survey 1986 Part One,page 98 for the names of the first members to be appointed as such. The black puppets are by far out-numbered by the whites who are representing the white minority whose system they are used to shore up.
7. Transformation 2, p.19 et sequitur, where Daryl Glaser discusses the phenomenon of regionalisation and its objectives.
8. This is an example of birds of a feather flocking together. The Daryl Glaser article referred to above is generally instructive reading in this regard.
9. The Daryl Glaser article(p.15)shows the role of capital in the so-called Kwa-Natal initiative. See also The African Communist, Issue Number 110, Third Quarter 1987, p.72.
10. See ANC News Briefing, Issue No.1, 1988 Vol.12, p.11 for a concise and yet sufficiently detailed account of Inkatha and capitalism. Inkatha's aversion to any form of pressure for change is well-documented and need not be discussed here. It in effect is now an integral part of the totalitarian apartheid colonial state machinery,suppressing all opposition even violently.
11. Selected Writings On the Freedom Charter(a Sechaba Commemorative Publication)p. 52: "In the South African liberation Movement, it is a generally accepted view that the national mission of the South African people - black and white - is the destruction of
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imperialist system of colonialism and racism in our country and the establishment of a predominantly black, but not exclusively black, democratic and essentially workers' and peasants' government."

12. Race Relations As Regulated By Law In South Africa(1948-1979). page 20.
13. Selected Writings On The Freedom Charter, p.8.
14. South African Communists Speak (1915 - 1980),p.315.
15. See speech by Cde Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, entitled "Economic and Political Perspectives of the ANC for a Liberated South Africa", page 2(delivered in Bonn on April 8, 1986). See also page 630 of Third World Quarterly, Vol. 9, Number 2, April 1987 where the author says the existence of Bantustans as administrative and political units cannot be ignored in post-apartheid South Africa.
16. See South African Communists Speak(1915-1980),p.316. See also The African Communist, Issue Number 107, Fourth Quarter 1986, p.24, where Slovo, J, says: "The emphasis on the single source of sovereignty based on the will of the majority democratically expressed, is not in conflict with the delegation of certain powers to regional authorities. This occurs in every unitary state."
- *17. See for instance the following constitutions:
 - Articles 81-85, read with Articles 41-43, GDR Constitution;
 - Article X, sections 1 and 2, Constitution of the Philippines;
 - Articles 145-150 of the USSR Constitution.
 No provision is made in the USA constitution for local government, though it does exist - see Michael Engel:State and Local Politics, pages 161/2.
18. See Lewis Lipsitz: American Democracy,p.79 for consequences of this. The Federated Chamber of Industries(FCI)recommended this in one of their reports to the Kwa-Natal Indaba and this is also advocated by Leon Louw and Vendall in their book, S.A: THE SOLUTION.
19. This is advocated by the South African Communist Party. See the ff:
 - 2 South African Communists Speak, p.316;
 - President Oliver Tambo's speech in Bonn(referred to above)p2.
 - Selected writings on the Freedom Charter,p.9.
20. See articles 41-43, GDR Constitution and Article 146 of the USSR Constitution.
21. See V. Chirkin and YU. Yudin: "A Socialist-Oriented State",p.116.
22. Section 95(1), Zambia Constitution, specifically states that there shall be a House of Chiefs for the Republic of Zambia. Section 33(1) of the Lancaster House Constitution of Zimbabwe provides for the inclusion of ten chiefs in the composition of the senate (5 from the Mashonaland Council of Chiefs and 5 from the Matabeleland Council of Chiefs).
23. Selected Writings On The Freedom Charter,p.53"v...the struggle for national liberation of the black people in South Africa is not an end in itself, but a stage, or one of the stages, to a non-exploitative society, a future without exploitation."