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# ANC-SWA

ZAMBIA GOES TO THE POLLS

There is no doubt that the first post-independence parliamentary elections in Zambia will bring the United National Independence Party (UNIP) once more into power with an overwhelming majority. This is cause for satisfaction not only to the people of Zambia but to progressives everywhere. The past four years, under a UNIP government, have brought very tangible fruits of independence despite the additional difficulties and complications resulting from U.D.I. In this context the courageous leadership given by President Kenneth Kaunda particularly his principled stand against racism and against the White minority ruled South have won him many admirers and proved him to be one of Africa's great leaders. The problems of economic development have been tackled with purpose; serious attention has been given to the need for involving the mass of the population in this development.

It is this difficult and thorny path taken by President Kaunda and his Government which has antagonised the racists and the imperialists; and this antagonism spells many dangers for Zambia. Already numerous acts of sabotage have been perpetrated and threats against Zambia made by the Vorster-Smith clique. Zambian villages have on several occasions been bombed by the Portuguese. We have no doubt that if the imperialists could find some method of ousting President Kaunda and UNIP from power they would not hesitate to do so.

Thus all the more reason for concern is the report that some Portuguese and their agents were responsible for the raids on the villagers in Mwinilunga. This brings sharply into the forefront the question raised by Vice-President Simon Kapwepwe at Livingstone. By questioning the role of the opposition Mr. Kapwepwe clearly exposed the danger of disunity in any developing African countries. President Kaunda also alluded to the total inability of opposition parties to play a useful parliamentary role in Africa. Here we come to the crux of the question. Can independent Africa afford the luxury of a multi-party parliamentary system. It may be all very well for Europe where clear social differentiation and class stratification exists. But in independent African countries the most urgent task is one of national re-construction and economic development for which the energies of the whole nation need to be harnessed and canalised by a truly representative and strong central government. Opposition parties which have little support in the country and which lack any clear policies only succeed in wasting the resources of the country. As far back as 1963 President Julius Nyerere wrote in "Democracy and the one Party System":

"To try and import the idea of a parliamentary opposition into Africa may very likely lead to violence.....or, at

least,/.....

least, it will lead to the trivial manoeuvrings of opposing groups whose time is spent in the inflation of artificial differences into some semblance of reality 'for the sake of preserving democracy'. The latter alternative, I repeat, is an over-sophisticated pastime which we in Africa cannot afford to indulge in; our time is too short and there is too much serious work to be done."

We fully endorse President Nyerere's views on the harmful role that opposition politics exercises in the development of the African Revolution; furthermore we look forward to the leaders of Africa to understand that such splinter groups as P.A.C. and Z.A.N.U. play the same dangerous role to the African Revolution as do the opposition parties in the independent African countries. Resources that are so scarce should not be wasted building and patching-up opposition groups for the yet unliberated territories.

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#### UK DENIES PLAN TO RELAX ARMS BAN

LONDON: Britain is not considering any change in its no-arms-for-South Africa policy, Defence Ministry sources said here.

The denial followed a Daily Express story which reported that moves were being made by British firms to supply South Africa with radar and other defence equipment worth up to £200 million in export orders.

The front page report by defence correspondent Chapman Pincher said: These surprise negotiations follow confidential advice from the Defence Ministry's arms sales department that the government was re-considering the terms of its ban on military exports to South Africa.

The ban, imposed in support of the United Nations' opposition to Premier John Vorster's apartheid policy, was reaffirmed by Prime Minister Harold Wilson a year ago after a proposal to relax it had split the Cabinet.

The Express report said the Government's re-think would provoke a violent reaction from Left-wing Labour Members of Parliament, including some in the Cabinet.

But it said Mr. Wilson might overcome these objections by restricting South African sales to equipment which could not possibly be used for subduing the local population. The newspaper said radar installations were an example.

THE WINDS OF TRADE

- Veteran

Years of hard, patient work by the Congress Alliance and the Anti-Apartheid movement have gone a long way to isolating South Africa's racists. The isolation is not complete. Nor will it be complete so long as imperialist States look to the south for military bases, markets and profitable investments. But the liberation movement has succeeded in tearing off the mask of benevolent colonialism that the racists wear to hide their ugly nakedness.

For one thing, the government has failed in its attempts to persuade the world that apartheid is a new kind of decolonisation, that Bantustans are really colonies on the way to self-government, that colour discrimination is only a passing phase, a kind of necessary evil out of which will come a multitude of independent national States.

The true face of apartheid has been unmasked. It is known for what it is: a police State, using fascist methods to terrorise and subdue four-fifths of the population, a White minority with one of the world's highest standards of living, a capitalism that degrades the workers and a system of racial discrimination that dehumanises people. Where else are all human qualities reduced to the single quality of skin colour, and where else does colour alone determine a person's position in society and his relations with the rest of society?

White racists, who treat people of colour as outcasts, have made themselves outcasts among the nations. Unable to advance on the ideological front, the government has launched a big campaign on the strategic front.

The Vorster regime is prepared to denigrate the country to win the favours of the imperialist States. South Africa, they are told, is both their loyal friend and valuable ally. She controls one of the great strategic seaways and undertakes to keep it open for the West. In return, the West must openly accept her as an ally and provide her with arms.

The strategic appeal has also failed. White racism cannot survive without imperialist support from Western countries. The South African regime is dependent on the West and therefore is in no position to bargain.

Individual States, such as France, Italy and West Germany, may be willing to trade armaments for hard cash. But no big power is prepared to defy international opinion by publicly condoning apartheid or by accepting South Africa as an ally. She is more of a political liability than an asset.

But where/.....

But where trade and profits are concerned, South Africa has much to offer. She ranks 17th in world trade, with nearly three billion dollars of exports and 2.68 billion dollars of imports. Her best customer is Britain, which takes 30% of her exports and supplies 26% of her imports. Next on the list are America and West Germany, which supply nearly 17% and 12% of her imports. Japan takes 13% of South Africa's exports and supplies 6% of her imports.

Trade is said to be the great leveller. The White minority has amassed great wealth by exploiting African land and labour; and uses the wealth to buy the support it needs to continue the exploitation. Capitalists who buy, sell and invest in South Africa want to secure it against revolution, which means African majority rule. Expanded trade is not only profitable but also a means of improving South Africa's international image.

Politics and profits are siamese twins in the capitalist world. More trade missions have visited South Africa this year than ever before, and they serve a dual purpose. The missions have come from Australia, New Zealand, England, Scotland, Holland and Malawi. In the coming year missions will go from South Africa to these countries and also to Angola and Malagassy.

South Africa exports capital as well as goods, and on this basis hopes to build a complex of economically linked nations in Southern Africa, which will provide an outlet for surplus manufactures and also form a barrier against the advancing tide of liberation from the north. Similarly, by multiplying trade connections with countries overseas, South Africa hopes to gain new allies in her defence of White supremacy.

This development confronts the liberation movement with new challenges, imposes on it new tasks. When it launched the campaign to boycott South African goods in 1960, few people thought that the campaign would make an impact. Yet great progress was made in spite of tremendous obstacles. The time has come to renew the effort, but on a greater scale.

Our movement has many friends in the countries where South African racists hope to expand their trade. Australia, Holland and Japan come to mind. Let us urge our friends to take up the cry: No trade with Apartheid! The racists must not be allowed to break out of their isolation by trading on greed and the profit motive.

UPRISING IN CAPRIVI

- Ndab'ezitha

For the past six weeks, leading Government officials have sounded the alarm about a little known part of Namibia - the Caprivi Strip. On the 12th October S.L. Muller, Minister of the Interior and the Police, said that 'terrorists' "had appeared in the Caprivi region and tried to use the inhabitants against South Africa. That was a new danger threatening South Africa." (Die Burger 14/10/68). And four days later, the Chief of Security Brigadier P.J. Venter, announced in Pretoria that as a result of guerrilla activity, 46 people had been arrested, including 5 headmen. (Die Burger 19/10/68). The same newspaper reported that one man had torn his trousers and hanged himself in the cell. This is yet further proof of Pretoria's nefarious and illegal administration which should convince the sceptics of Pretoria's unwillingness to administer the whole of Namibia in the spirit or letter of the mandate given her. Her administration is marked by the wanton destruction of African life and property, by the unmitigated harshness of colonialism at its worst. This is what our fellow-Africans in Caprivi are suffering and fighting.

But what is this Caprivi Strip? Why is it important to Pretoria and to the cause of liberation? In a nutshell, the answer is that this area is of vital strategic importance to her. So was it, also to the previous colonizer of Namibia, imperial Germany.

In 1890 Germany under the Chancellorship of von Caprivi (who gave his name to the strip), acquired S.W.A. through an agreement with Britain. This also gave her a strip of land some 300 miles long and not less than 20 miles wide stretching to the Chobe River and along it to the Zambesi River. Von Caprivi wanted this strip in order to gain access to the Zambesi River where Portugal, and Britain were asserting their influence. Naturally, Germany wanted to make sure that this was not at her expense hence the strategic value of the Caprivi Strip.

Later when S.W.A. was given as a mandated territory to S.A. the Strip did not mean much to Pretoria. It was only after 1957 with the rising tide of African nationalism and independence that it again assumed its old strategic value. S. Africa viewed it as an important defence outpost from which to launch attacks on African States, bent on ending racist rule in the Southern tip of the continent.

In 1965 it was established that Pretoria had built an ultra-modern air base at Mpacha some 16 miles from Katima Mulilo in Eastern Caprivi. There jet planes and helicopters are poised for action.

The armed struggle launched by S.W.A.P.O. and its allies has completely demoralised the Boers. The Freedom Fighters have skilfully

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operated in such a way as to nullify the air-power of Pretoria. They deal mighty blows to the enemy forces and installations and then vanish without trace.

In desperation, the Boers have unleashed a wave of terror against the civilian population, one of unprecedented savagery. Refugees have streamed across the Zambesi. In flight, they are bombed by the South African airforce, and hotly pursued by the police. Three of these over-zealous maintainers of "law and order" landed in Zambia and paid heavy fines for desecrating the soil of Zambia.

South Africa is fighting a desperate struggle to retain control of the Caprivi Strip. Her allies in iniquity, Rhodesia and Portugal, are naturally concerned at the outcome since Angola and Rhodesia, Botswana and Zambia all share a common border around the Caprivi.

It is this central geographical position which gives the Caprivi Strip such strategic significance to racist South Africa. As already pointed out she has built a large modern airbase there and considerable military force has been permanently based there. From this position S.A. can intervene not only in Rhodesia (which she has already done) but also in Angola should the need become urgent. She also hopes to keep out Freedom Fighters from S.A. and S.W.A. using this port of entry. Ultimately, of course, the Caprivi Strip is also strategically placed for aggressive attacks against Zambia. The racists have also built a hospital in the Caprivi to which their seriously injured soldiers are flown from the battlefield of Zimbabwe for transshipment to South Africa.

Recent report of the activities of Freedom Fighters in the Caprivi have been revealed by S.W.A.P.O., substantially confirmed by a U.N. Committee and grudgingly admitted by the S. African authorities. We quote from a S.W.A.P.O. statement of 5/11/68:-

"On the 14th October this year the South African Government made a statement through its Minister of Police and the Interior saying that, 'Thirty-three Political Agitators of which five of them are Chiefs had already been arrested in the area.' But because of their fascist attitude the Minister refused to disclose the names of the arrested victims. The arrest was caused because of the heavy losses inflicted on the South African Police by the Freedom Fighters. Mr. Muller admitted that during the month of July this year a Police Vehicle was fired at and an African Constable was wounded in the hand. On that point we challenge Mr. Muller to be honest

and tell/.



and tell the truth. The Minister is ashamed to disclose to his colleagues and the parents of the victims that their sons were killed by the Freedom Fighters. It is very true as the Minister admitted that on the 23rd of July our Guerrillas ambushed a Police Vehicle with five policemen in it, the vehicle was completely destroyed and all the police died on the spot. This is what resulted to the minister's claim that a vehicle was fired on from dense bush. Since that time the South African Police have been engaged in various fighting with Freedom Fighters, as a result they have created a state of terror and atrocity among the civilian population in the Caprivi Strip."

In the final analysis this is the only possible answer to Pretoria's nefarious schemes and designs. It is only in the course of a Revolutionary War waged on all fronts that the apparently mighty fascist South African military machine will be humbled.

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### THE TRANSKEI ELECTIONS

- Mbokoth'Gomvu

The Transkei 'elections' have been staged and the absurdity of the whole thing has reached ridiculous proportions. The stated functions of the Bantustan is to provide Africans with their 'homelands' where they can exercise full sovereignty which is denied them in the rest of South Africa. The Transkei was to be the first Bantustan in this negative exercise of 'separate development'. In 1963 the first so-called Transkei Parliament was instituted. It consisted of a legislative assembly made up of 109 members 64 of whom are nominated chiefs in the pay of the Government and only 45 elected members.

In the recent election at the end of October there were over 907,700 voters for the 45 constituencies and there were three parties contesting the seats plus a number of independents. The Transkei National Independent Party (TNIP) stands for apartheid and 'gradual' advance to independence. It is the party that is supported by the Government and the chiefs who as we have already said are employees of the Government. The Democratic Party stands for a 'one' South Africa and for non-racialism which policy is contrary to the whole philosophy of 'separate development'. In the 1963 elections the Democratic Party, to the embarrassment of the Government won the majority of the elected seats, which meant that the people of the Transkei rejected the Government policy. Then there is the third Party, the Freedom Party which

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hived off from T.N.I.P. and stands for independence now.

Given the preponderance of the chiefs in the Transkei Parliament the results were a foregone conclusion. The T.N.I.P. has the support of 54 out of 64 chiefs which ensures it (TNIP) an overall majority. The result is that whatever the voters' choice is, Matanzima, who is a Government chief would never be deposed. So the whole exercise is futile. The block of the chiefs who support Matanzima and his T.N.I.P. ensure this. This fact explains the result of the last election where the Democratic Party became a majority party even in the legislative. The Transkei people 'voted' for Matanzima giving him a majority of elected seats also. Given the vindictiveness of the chiefs people did not want to back a party which could not offer them "protection". The undisputed victory of Matanzima no doubt, weighed heavily with the voters. The pressure of the chiefs who are Government appointees is very heavy on the African people of the Transkei. In the Financial Mail (November 1, 1968) the outcome of the elections is graphically expressed:

"Not that the move has necessarily indicated a definite political pattern, because allegiances among the Transkei's electorate are still largely based on personal grounds, with chiefs and headmen, dependent on Government stipends, holding great sway."

Perhaps a word should be said about the programs of the D.P. and the Freedom Party (F.P.). The D.P. stands for a policy whose main plank is that South Africa is a single unit that cannot be split into parts. Therefore when the Transkei voters in 1963 overwhelmingly returned the D.P. in fact they were repudiating separate development. But a lot has happened in the 5 years. Matanzima could use the inflexibility of the D.P. to explain the problems of his Government. Since he 'made' the laws, was the head of the administration of the "State", had "command" of all the organized public authorities, and dominated public opinion it is not surprising that he now has the majority both of elected seats and of the appointed chiefs.

The Freedom Party which stands for immediate granting of independence accepts Bantustans and separate development. It is a demagogue party and makes appeal to the voters in the language which will not annoy the Government. The Freedom Party may be an annoyance but when stripped of its demagogy it is a reactionary right wing party even to the right of Matanzima.

Another reason why Matanzima and his T.N.I.P. had to win this election was offered by no better authority than the correspondent of the Burger, an Afrikaans newspaper. Writing two days before the election he said; "It can therefore be said this is more an election in which the chiefs are being canvassed than one in which the platform is being used for the masses." He went on to show how the influence of the chiefs was being exacted on behalf of the T.N.I.P. "For example," wrote the correspondent of the Burger, "one of the candidates of the T.N.I.P. in Mount Ayliff is C.N. Ndamse, a regional inspector and a former lecturer at Fort Hare, who was dismissed from the College because he criticised the Government policy. His opponent was a D.P. member who claimed to be of royal descent, but Ndamse had no doubt that he would win because as he explained he had the support of the local chief."

Further according to the same story many voters are illiterate and their votes were cast for them by two officials who made crosses on their behalf on the White paper next to the candidate of "their" choice. The officials we assume were White and employees of the Government, which cast suspicion on the overwhelming majority given to Matanzima.

The South African Government attached a great deal of importance to this election. According to them if Matanzima and his T.N.I.P. was elected it would show that the Transkei Africans had been converted to apartheid. M.C. Botha Minister of Bantu Affairs appealed to employers to allow African voters to go to the polls. But from what we have said, the result leaves much to be desired. Like other such bogus bodies set by the Government in the past to detract attention from the realities of the South African situation, the Bantustans are bound to fail. Let the special correspondent of the Burger give his own comment: "agriculture is at the moment, with education, one of the two main cornerstones on which the development of the Transkei rests, but it is scarcely advancing beyond the stage of subsistence economy. At least, there are no big agricultural undertakings in progress, and the main task, after 30 years of effort and planning still remains the instruction of the population in farming correctly and getting the best out of the land." The so-called homelands, then, will remain reservoirs of cheap labour for the mines and White-owned cash crop farms, and subsistence farming will ensure this.

The Bantustan philosophy stands no chance of success in any of the so-called 'homelands' of the African people; this is basically due to the fact that the essential purpose for establishing, 'Locations', 'Reserves' 'Homelands', 'Bantustans' or any other term used to

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define the compulsory regimentation of ethnic groups into tribal or racial ghettos remains the same - namely - to provide a reservoir of cheap African or non-White labour for exploitation by White capital.

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### SOUTH AFRICA BARRED FROM U.N. BODY

NEW YORK. - South Africa has been barred from the important U.N. conference on trade and development (UNCTAD).

The U.N. General Assembly's economic committee voted to exclude South Africa because of its apartheid policy.

After the vote, African delegates, who had largely instigated the unprecedented action, jubilantly claimed another victory in their political war against the republic.

The vote was 49 to 22 with 23 abstentions, a bare two-thirds majority. But many members were absent when the roll was called at the end of a gruelling debate and diplomats expressed little doubt that the Assembly would ratify the measure in plenary session.

The U.S., Britain and Canada were among those who denounced the committee action. They said they feared it might set a precedent.

Portugal, long a target of the African states because of her uncompromising colonialist attitude, could be the next in line. U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldschmidt said that if the benefits of U.N. membership were denied any member then none of the charter rights could be regarded as secure.

Reaffirming American opposition to South Africa's policy of apartheid he said: "Sitting down in the United Nations with members whose conduct we despise, and recognising their rights as members, implies no moral or political acquiescence in their conduct."

British delegate Mark Allen and Canada's Ambassador Bruce Rankin spoke in similar terms.

TIMES OF ZAMBIA (Lusaka)  
December 5, 1958

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