

NEWS BULLETIN

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NEW CONSTITUTION REJECTED THROUGH ELECTION BOYCOTT *****

The Coloured and Indian communities have flatly rejected the new Apartheid Constitution through their boycott of the parliamentary elections on August 22nd and 28th. Voter turnouts of 18% and 15% respectively (with some polls as low as 4.5%) give the new three house parliament no legitimacy in the eyes of the vast majority of potential voters.

In addition to the low turnout, allegations of widespread fraud add to the illegitimacy of the election results. In the riding of J.N.Reddy, leader of the Solidarity Party, where a maximum of 7,000 people could vote, 11,000 votes were cast.

Stepped up police violence was evident as they manned all polling booths and used rubber bullets, tear gas, batons and rubber truncheons to attack anti-election demonstrators.

More than 200 leaders and followers of the U.D.F. were arrested without charge on the eve of the election day. The South African Government has been using the arrests as a scapegoat saying that U.D.F. intimidation was the cause of the low turnouts. It is clear that political rejection by the Coloured and Indian communities is the root cause of the boycott.

The successful boycott campaign by the U.D.F. has meant a major victory for the unity of the democratic movement in South Africa.

The Coloured and Indian communities have accepted the true nature of the New Constitution which, rather than sharing power, consolidates it for the White Nationalist Party. They have rejected the racist structure of the new Parliament which is based on segregation. They have stated that there is no future in a constitution which enshrines the exclusion of political power from the South African majority, thus strengthening apartheid.

Through violent reaction to peaceful demonstrations and opposition, the South African Government has affirmed that the New Constitution is not the basis upon which genuine democracy can be built.

CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA *****

The planned Conference in Solidarity with the Women of South Africa and Namibia has been rescheduled from September to November 16-17, 1984. Expected international guests include Ruth Mompoti of the ANC (S.A.), and Lucia Hamutanya from SWAPO. A public meeting will be held on Friday evening. Saturday events include films, presentations by Ruth and Lucia, and workshops on various topics. For more information, contact CCSA † which is one of the many groups helping to organize the event.

MONTREAL SEMINAR

The United Nations sponsored North American Seminar on the Efforts by the International Community to End South Africa's Illegal Occupation of Namibia was held in Montreal from 23rd to 27th July. The purpose of the seminar was to assess the current critical situation regarding Namibia, given South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its refusal to implement the U.N. plan for the independence of Namibia. The Seminar also examined recent efforts by the international community to bring to an end South Africa's illegal occupation, and practical measures that could be taken to increase support for SWAPO. Paul Lusaka, who heads the Council for Namibia, chaired the session, which was attended by both diplomats and representatives from the NGOs. CCSA was represented by Joanne Naiman.

A fair amount of attention was given to the important role played by NGOs in the international community. At the initiation of participants from this sector, the Council for Namibia agreed to hold a conference specifically for NGOs doing support work on the Namibia issue. It was proposed that the conference be held in New York some time this fall, and be geared to improving and better co-ordinating solidarity work in support of SWAPO.

NEW PAPER AVAILABLE FROM CCSA

Copies are now available of "Relations Between Canada and South Africa, 1948 - 1983", a paper prepared by three CCSA members for the North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid, held in New York in June 1984. Topics covered in the paper include recent Canadian government policies, Canada's position at the U.N., Canada and the Arms Embargo, economic collaboration with South Africa, and Sporting Contacts with South Africa.

Papers can be ordered from CCSA at the cost of \$1.00 per copy, with discounts available for bulk orders.

GROUPS MEET IN TORONTO

Two new groups have recently formed in Toronto. Artists Against Apartheid held its first meeting in Toronto in August. The group was initiated by two women in the arts community after they learned about the group Artists Against Apartheid which is active in New York. Long term goals of the group include an anti-apartheid event which would include all sectors of the arts community (dance, drama, visual arts, etc.). The group is hoping to make contact with artists across the country.

A second group, Health Watch - South Africa, also held a meeting recently in Toronto. Membership is open to anyone concerned about the adverse effects of apartheid on the health of all inhabitants of South Africa, although primary emphasis is on reaching those in the medical professions. At the August meeting, slides were presented by a doctor recently returned from the Transkei, which graphically depicted the abysmal state of medical care in the "homelands" or bantustans. The group discussed possible future actions which might raise awareness of the situation in Southern Africa amongst health care personnel.

More information on these two groups can be obtained from CCSA.

MATERIAL AID SENT

Material aid collected last winter was shipped to the SWAPO refugee camps in late May. Close to six hundred boxes were collected - more in fact than could fit into the shipping container. Goods collected included diapers, children's clothes, women's underwear and clothing, children's toys, towels, and so on. Material aid that could not fit into the container will be passed on to the ANC unit in Toronto which is sending a shipment to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania this fall.

Many thanks again to all those who contributed to the campaign.

UNREST THREATENS PRETORIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

As unrest in black townships grows, hardliners within South Africa's National party have called for a crackdown to curb disturbances before they cripple Pretoria's new constitutional scheme.

The week of September 2 saw clashes between Black demonstrators and police which left at least 32 blacks dead in the Transvaal region. The official report of 32 killed and 48 injured is regarded as much too low by reporters who have visited the crowded hospitals. Although some white policemen were injured, all of the dead are blacks.

The mass unrest has been caused by a complex variety of factors: general opposition to the constitution, anger at trigger-happy police actions in recent weeks, arbitrary rent increases, price increases, long standing student grievances and rising unemployment.

The Government response to the demonstrations so far has been violent police actions and the banning of all meetings by blacks including gatherings commemorating the death of Steve Biko. National Party hardliners want Prime Minister Botha to ban the United Democratic Front for its opposition of the new constitution and for its success in building both internal and international support.

The Constitution, in creating a three chamber Parliament with three separate assemblies for white, mixed race and Indian deputies, has maintained the majority of power for the National Party and has given only token power to the other two assemblies. The Black majority continues to have no representation in Parliament. The growing unrest within the black townships can be seen as a refusal by the black majority to allow apartheid to become fully entrenched in the Constitution.

S. African non-whites urged to resist

CAPE TOWN (Reuter) — Exiled leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa have called on the country's non-whites to make themselves ungovernable and to escalate resistance to Government-imposed segregation, the ANC's Radio Freedom reported yesterday.

The call came as members of South Africa's first multi-racial parliament were sworn in as the country pushed ahead with political reforms which continue to exclude the 73 per cent black majority.

"Having rejected the tri-racial parliamentary system by boycotting the elections, we shall not allow it to rule over us," Radio Freedom said. "We do not want it. We must ensure that it ceases to exist."

The ANC is the most prominent black guerrilla group fighting white rule in South Africa.

"We call upon the trade unions and civic organization leaders. We appeal to students and professional organizations, we invite all our people from all walks of life to unite in action against this new scheme intended to entrench apartheid."

The new parliamentarians selected an electoral college which analysts said would certainly

appoint former prime minister Pieter Botha today as Executive State President, a post created by the country's controversial new constitution.

For Mr. Botha, 68, his election to the powerful post will crown a career spanning three decades in the ruling Nationalist Party.

The swearing-in coincided with a wave of violence in black townships which has left at least 26 protesters dead in the worst rioting in South Africa since 1976. More than 500 people — almost all of them black demonstrators — were killed that year.

The constitution gives South Africa's Indians and people of mixed race a political say for the first time, but leaves the national system of apartheid — segregation — clearly intact. The country's 73 per cent black majority is still excluded from government, which remains firmly in white hands.

Members took their oaths in separate chambers.

Under the new parliamentary system, the Indian and mixed-race chambers will pass laws effecting their communities only.

S. Africa bans protest meetings

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) — The South African Government has ordered a strict clampdown on its opponents, banning all protest meetings following two weeks of riots in black townships in which about 40 people died, a Government spokesman said yesterday.

The ban, which started at midnight and continues until the end of September, will also coincide with the seventh anniversary of the death of Steven Biko, a 30-year-old black activist who became a martyr for the black cause when he died in police custody.

A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria said Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange had banned all indoor

gatherings critical of the Government.

Outdoor meetings have been banned in South Africa for the past five years under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Veteran white opposition member of Parliament Helen Suzman denounced the ban as "a violation of civil rights . . . a vast over-reaction" that amounts to "the most far-reaching of all prohibitions falling short of a full state of emergency."

She said she could not remember such a drastic clampdown since 1960, when a state of emergency was declared after police shot dead 69 blacks at Sharpeville during a demonstration against apartheid.

Earlier this week, 31 people died in riots and police shootings in Sharpeville.

It was also announced yesterday that the number of people detained indefinitely without trial in South Africa is growing.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee said 572 people have been detained so far this year, suggesting that the total for 1984 may prove the highest since 1977, when police detained Mr. Biko.

Max Coleman of the DPSC said 453 people were detained in 1983, and 264 in 1982. Ten detainees have died in custody in the seven years since Mr. Biko's death provoked an international outcry, he added.

Globe&Mail, Sept 18

S. African ministers retreat before crowd

SHARPEVILLE, South Africa (Reuter) — Senior South African Cabinet ministers who tried to tour a riot-torn township near here yesterday retreated before hundreds of blacks who blocked the road, witnesses said.

The Ministers of Defence, Law and Order, Internal Affairs, and National Education drove into Sebokeng in two buses sandwiched between armored personnel carriers, but turned back before the crowd and retreated to a helicopter.

Police moved in and the crowd moved back without incident, the witnesses said.

Sebokeng, along with the neighboring townships of Sharpeville and Evaton, erupted in violence on Monday as local blacks protested against rent increases and the poor quality of black education.

The death toll from this week's rioting reached 31 when a youth was stabbed in a township near Johannesburg and the body of a black man was found at Sebokeng on Wednesday.

Sharpeville was the focus of an international outcry in 1960 when police shot dead 69 blacks who were

taking part in a protest over race laws.

Police said the townships were quiet yesterday, although police maintained a strong presence. Witnesses said police had been clearing Sharpeville of barricades while local people looked on.

A line of about 150 people formed at a food shop outside neighboring Sebokeng, the witnesses said, after widespread looting this week emptied the shelves of township stores.

On Wednesday, five hours of talks between representatives of Sharpeville tenants and local officials ended with the tenants saying their main demands had not been met.

The tenants said they wanted total rents and charges cut to \$19 a month, and the resignation of local black councillors. Officials said the current rents were just under \$26 with metered water and electricity charges extra.

Education officials said more than 100,000 pupils stayed home from school throughout South Africa yesterday, either because of the rioting or because of school boycotts.



Globe&Mail, Sept 7

Canadian envoy snubs S. African parliament

By Michael Acott Special to The Star

CAPE TOWN — The Canadian government ordered its ambassador in South Africa to boycott the opening of South Africa's new parliament yesterday in a protest over the country's new constitution.

The constitution replaces the all-white parliament with three separate chambers for white, colored and Indian people but excludes the black majority.

Canadian Ambassador Edward Lee was among a number of foreign diplomats who failed to attend the formal opening and listen to the speech by President Pieter Botha.

An External Affairs spokesman in Ottawa, who asked not to be identified, told The Star's Jim Emmerson that Lee had been asked not to attend the opening of parliament.

"The ambassador was instructed to attend the inauguration of the new president (last Friday) as a diplomatic courtesy," the spokesman said. But because the constitution makes no allowance for rights of blacks in South Africa (70 per cent of the population), the ambassador was told not to attend parliament.

Turner carry over

The Canadian boycott was a carry over from John Turner's Liberal government, the spokesman said.

"It would be a mistake to attribute it" to the new Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, he said.

But, he said, under the Conservative government of Joe Clark, now External Affairs minister, there was a bipartisan attitude toward South Africa and Canada's stand against racism.

Asked whether the Canadian ambassador would be withdrawn from future parliamentary openings, the spokesman said there was no plan at this time to do so.

Only Canada and Sweden stated openly that their boycott was deliberate and for political reasons.

Other countries not represented at the opening include Denmark, Belgium and Austria. The Finnish consulate was unable to confirm whether its ambassador had attended the ceremony.

The External Affairs spokesman denied a report that Canada had sent South Africa a diplomatic note protesting government-ordered detentions of people speaking out against the new constitution.

Star, Sept 19

Press boycott of S.A. goods

The Halifax Committee of Oxfam Canada is urging groups which support the boycott of South African products to pressure the provincial premiers to boycott South African wines and liquors.

In a letter to the various groups the committee asked them to write the premiers and request the subject be included on the agenda of the August Premiers' Conference.

In its letter the committee said it had taken the cue from Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford who had expressed sympathy with the idea of a nation-wide boycott on these products. Premier Peckford had also asked for the matter

to be discussed at the Conference which will be held on Prince Edward Island.

A proposed draft letter which the committee sent to the groups, noted that the sale of wine and liquor is one of the major forms of indirect economic support for the South African Government. The letter suggested that the provincial governments withdraw these products from the shelves of provincial liquor stores.

Quoting former South African Prime Minister John Vorster, the committee noted that "every sale of a South African product . . . is another brick in the wall of our (South Africa's) continued existence."

Share, Aug 7

UN condemns S. African constitution

UNITED NATIONS (CP) — The UN General Assembly yesterday voted overwhelmingly to declare South Africa's new Constitution providing for a segregated Parliament "null and void." But several Western countries, including Canada, questioned the legality of the action.

The Assembly voted 133-0 in favor of a resolution sponsored by Botswana condemning apartheid policies entrenched in the Constitution, which

creates separate legislative chambers for Asians and people of mixed race but denies voting rights to the black majority.

Only Britain and the United States abstained, as both did on Aug. 17 when the Security Council passed a similar resolution 13-0.

They argued that it was not within the competence of the United Nations to void any country's constitution.

Canada had similar reservations but

voted for the resolution in keeping with past government opposition to policies that perpetuate apartheid and racial discrimination.

Canada and other Western delegations objected to the language of an paragraph of the resolution which condemns South Africa for persisting "with the further entrenchment of apartheid, a system declared a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security."

Globe&Mail, Sept 29

Envoys shelter apartheid foes

From AP and NYT

JOHANNESBURG — Six opposition leaders on the run from South Africa's security police took refuge in the British consulate in Durban yesterday and asked Britain to intervene on their behalf. The request was denied, but officials did not force them to leave the consulate.

Police, meanwhile, shot and killed a man who threw a gasoline bomb at a police bus in the black ghetto of Soweto near Johannesburg. He was the 41st person killed in rioting against the white-minority Government this month.

Near downtown Durban, a bomb shattered an electrical substation, but police said there were no casualties.

Western diplomats said the latest incidents threatened to eclipse ceremonies surrounding the inauguration today of Pieter Botha, formerly prime minister, as the country's first executive state president.

But since the Constitution came into effect on Sept. 3, embracing people of Indian and mixed racial descent but excluding the black majority, public attention has been directed more toward the manifestations of black dissent — riots and killings, school boycotts, detentions and the banning of political meetings.

Five of the six men who took refuge in the British Consulate were initially detained with

out trial along with 12 others shortly before elections began on Aug. 22 for the Indian and mixed-race chambers in the new Parliament.

They were released last week when a judge ruled that the detention orders were unlawful because they did not explain the reasons for their loss of liberty. Authorities then issued new orders and the police were told to rearrest them, but could not find them.

At mid-morning yesterday, the six men walked into the consulate. They included Archie Gumede, a president of the two-million-member United Democratic Front and Mewa Ramgobin, a leader of the anti-Government Natal Indian Congress. His wife, Ela, is a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, the man who founded the NIC 90 years ago.

Also in the group were Monty Naidoo, George Sewpershad, Kader Hassim and Billy Nair, all of the NIC.

The six presented the British with a dilemma; Britain is the biggest foreign investor in South Africa and the fourth-largest supplier of goods after the United States, West Germany and Japan.

British officials reluctantly agreed to let the six men stay. "We made it clear that we were not going to force them to go if they refused," spokesman John Hedley said, adding: "We would prefer them not to be there."

In a statement, the

fugitives said they viewed their detention as unjust because they had not broken any laws by opposing the new Constitution.

The fugitives belong to groups who say the

low turnout in mixed-race and Indian elections for the new Parliament reflect massive non-white opposition to the changes and thus strip them of legitimacy. None of the 17

opponents of the new Constitution detained last month are white.

The British Consulate refused the fugitives' request to intervene, saying it had no standing in the dispute.

Globe&Mail, Sept 14

Jackson denied visa to visit South Africa

From Associated Press and Reuter

WASHINGTON — South Africa has denied Rev. Jesse Jackson's application for a visa to visit the white-supremacist country, a spokesman for the South African Embassy said today.

"Much to our regret, a visit to South Africa during 1984 by Rev. Jackson will be inopportune," spokesman Pieter Swanepoel said.

"Should he, however, wish to apply for a visa at a later date, the application will be considered on merit, taking into account prevailing circumstances."

When asked if that statement was meant to suggest a reason, Mr. Swanepoel said: "The exact reasons are not given in the statement and I'm afraid I'm not at liberty to comment."

Mr. Jackson, the black civil rights leader who failed in his effort to capture the Democratic presidential nomination, has been highly critical of South Africa's apartheid policy.

This summer he visited Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, and

said he planned to visit the Soviet Union and South Africa as well. He said his visit to South Africa would focus attention on the policy of keeping races separate.

Mr. Jackson said he wanted to "see what is actually taking place" in South Africa during the election period.

Within the past month, South Africans of Asian descent and those of mixed race have voted on a new Constitution that would establish separate parliamentary chambers for the two groups but not for the black majority, which numbers about 20 million. Voter turnout was low.

Mr. Jackson has also been critical of President Ronald Reagan's policy of maintaining normal relations with South Africa, saying U.S. businesses should be pulled out of that country.

By visiting South Africa, Mr. Jackson said, he hoped "we can facilitate a dialogue and hasten the day when our country will play a continued role in change We're concerned about human rights around the world."

Globe&Mail, Aug. 31

South Africa implements austerity program

By JIM JONES

South Africa has been living beyond its means for the past three years and now faces the day of reckoning.

Inflation is still in double figures, the currency has steadily weakened, the balance of payments remains obstinately in deficit, interest rates are at record highs and Government spending is soaring.

Last week the authorities acted. The Reserve Bank increased its rediscount rate by 3 per cent to 21.75 per cent, the commercial banks promptly lifted prime overdraft lending rates from 22 per cent to a record 25 per cent and hire purchase terms were tightened.

It was a dramatic start to the reign of the Republic's new Finance Minister, Barend du Plessis, who took over from Owen Horwood in June. Unmolested by the inevitable protests from businessmen, bankers and consumers, du Plessis set out his objectives: To curb consumer spending, cut imports, reduce inflation and strengthen the rand.

This move to austerity could hardly have come at a worse time. South Africa is embarking on constitutional reforms based on a tricameral parliament requiring an expensive new infrastructure for Indians and Coloreds (mixed-race) who will expect a greater share of the national cake — notably improved education, health and social services.

For black South Africans these constitutional changes mean little. For them, the only

constitutional outlet remains the 10 so-called homelands. But even maintaining this facade of independence is an increasing burden on central government.

Further afield, there is no early prospect of a settlement in Namibia (South West Africa) which receives 370 million rands a year in direct budgetary aid and where the 18-year-old guerrilla conflict now costs an estimated 800 million rand (\$560-million U.S.) annually in defence outlays.

Nor has the non-aggression pact signed with Mozambique last March brought a reduction in over-all defence spending, which rose to 21.5 per cent of this year's budget.

The economic woes can in part be blamed on two uncontrollable factors: gold and the weather.

No single factor determines the Republic's economic health as much as the price of gold, which provided 49 per cent of export revenue last year. Put another way, for every dollar the price changes, South Africa gains or loses 30 million rands a year. Hence the fall from the 1980 peak of \$850 an ounce to the current level of \$350 has proved highly damaging.

The gold mining industry itself has been cushioned by the rand's steady fall. Back in 1980, when the average London gold price was \$612.94, the gold mines generated record revenue of 10.19 billion rands. By 1983, when the price was 30 per cent lower at \$424.31, the mines' revenues were only slightly down at 10 billion rands.

However, the declining rand failed to pro-

tect the balance of payments from a growing propensity to imports. The country's 2.82 billion rand current account surplus in 1980 was converted into deficit in the following two years. This was reversed briefly in 1983, but since late last year, South Africa has again been registering regular monthly current account deficits.

Ever since the price plummet began, South Africa's planners have placed their hopes for economic recovery on the belief that gold would bounce back. The government was also counting on increased demand and higher prices for South Africa's other raw materials as the major industrial nations emerged from recession. But neither transpired.

The consequences might still have been manageable had it not been for the second major blow — the worst drought of the century, which in one way or another has cost over one billion rands this year alone.

In normal years, South Africa is a net exporter of agricultural products and earns almost 1 billion rands annually from foreign sales of unprocessed products, including maize and wool.

For the past two seasons, the drought has almost destroyed the maize crop, forcing the import this year of some four million tonnes of this staple food for the country's black population at a cost of about 800 million rands.

The disaster has raised the farming sector's debts to nearly 10 billion rands, largely in the form of govern-

ment subsidized loans from co-operatives and land banks.

The strain of the gold slump and the drought has been borne by the currency. Three years ago the rand was worth more than \$1.30. Since then it has almost halved to around 65 cents.

But nature and the market were not solely responsible for the drop. In February last year, the authorities decided to abolish the spread that existed between the commercial rand and the financial rand — the latter being a special investment rate for non-residents. The financial rand discount encouraged foreign investors to keep their capital in the republic.

Once the two rates were merged, some foreign investors decided to liquidate all or part of their South African assets. This outflow added further pressure on the rand. But instead of allowing interest rates to rise to counteract the negative effect of the capital outflow (500 million rands), the Reserve Bank steadily relaxed constraints on the lending ability of the commercial banks, while simultaneously pegging maximum interest rates.

The outcome was predictable: a consumer spending boom which sucked in imports, helped create a major balance of payments deficit, and has reversed a decline in inflation.

In contrast to most of South Africa's major trading partners, inflation has picked up. After peaking at 16.2 per cent in May 1982, it dipped briefly below an annual increase of 10

per cent last February, the best for several years.

But in June this year the inflation rate was running at an over-all 11.7 per cent, with the food index even higher at 13.7 per cent. July's rate will almost certainly be higher because the index will incorporate the effects of a July 1 increase in the general sales tax levied on many goods, from 7 per cent to 10 per cent.

Government spokesmen have attributed part of the blame for inflation's advance to the rand's exchange rate decline. Critics in the business community say there is more to it. The Reserve Bank, they point out, has failed in all its attempts to halt the growth in money supply.

© Financial Times

Globe&Mail,

Aug 13

Southern Africa: Oliver Tambo's View

Defeat or victory? And for whom? These are the questions southern Africa is asking after the signing of agreements between the apartheid state and its neighbours. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, gave AFRICASIA his opinion in Paris.

By Colm Foy



Following the signing of the agreement between South Africa and Mozambique, the African National Congress (ANC) has found itself increasingly under pressure, both from the apartheid regime itself and from governments formerly tolerant of an ANC presence in their countries. The most serious effect has been the harassment of the ANC in Swaziland after that country revealed that it, too, had signed a non-aggression pact with Pretoria. But it is Mozambique which has attracted most attention internationally, both for its expulsion of most ANC members and its publicly expressed opinion that its deal with South Africa represented a victory for the Frelimo-Party government and for peace in the region.

Oliver Tambo takes a different view, both as far as Mozambique is concerned and the others who have signed similar agreements: "Now that these agreements have been signed," he says, "the security of these countries will be taken over by South

Africa." He thinks that the South Africans never intended to honour the commitment they made at Nkomati to curtail the activities of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) terrorists in Mozambique. "They never admitted that they were behind the MNR," he observes, "so their bona fides were questionable in the first place. If their good faith was questionable, then there was no guarantee that they would honour the terms of the agreement. We never thought they would and they haven't. The agreement is clear in that it calls upon Pretoria to stop the activities of the MNR. It shows in our view that in having this non-aggression pact, the South African government had regard to its own interests, not those of the other party to the agreement, and if it's a question of South Africa's own interests then South Africa's sense of obligation to the terms of the agreement will also be governed by what South Africa perceives to be in its own interests."

He denies that the problem with Pretoria's observance of their side of the bargain is that there is some kind of a split in the ranks of the ruling South African clique. From an historical point of view it has always been South Africa's intention to destabilize socialist Mozambique, and this has not changed with the signing of the accord at Nkomati, believes the ANC leader. The MNR aggression "was an act by the apartheid state and it was up to the apartheid state to stop it if they wanted to. If it continued and is continuing, it's because the apartheid state has not taken a decision to stop it. I don't think it can be blamed on individuals, I don't think we can say that Botha (South Africa's Prime Minister) is not really responsible. When Botha signs an agreement, he is not engaging in an individual exercise, he does so as the leader of a government. As a government they have taken a decision and everybody, presumably, will be governed by what the government says—i.e. Botha cannot be saying that he cannot rule his country."

'Absurd Pressure'

Indeed, in the eyes of the veteran leader, the Nkomati accord is only a part of a much wider strategy aimed at getting all the states in the region to sign similar "non-aggression pacts." "They are bullying Lesotho into signing one," he says, "and they have just produced one they signed with Swaziland. Some two or three years ago they signed non-aggression pacts with the bantustan so-called 'independent states.' They have been clamouring for the signature of these pacts all the time and whenever they were signed, the South Africans have claimed a victory." Oliver Tambo and the ANC do not believe that Nkomati was the result of internal economic pressures inside South Africa due to the cost and disruption caused by the destabilization and South African-inspired wars in the region.

"The ANC is interested in what South Africa is doing and why it is doing it," says the ANC leader. "We are quite clear about why the regime has been demanding these non-aggression pacts . . . To take a case in point: what economic benefit can they get from a non-aggression pact signed with Botswana, signed against Botswana's will? What economic benefit is there in Lesotho's signing a non-aggression pact? . . . They are placing absurd pressure on Botswana to sign. They have told the Botswana government that they have the capacity of sending bandits against Botswana and therefore to prevent that from happening the Botswana government should sign a non-aggression pact with them. This is absurd." So, far from using the pacts to resolve economic problems caused by the wars, Pretoria is even ready to start new wars with the express intention

of achieving such pacts. For the ANC, the reasoning is clear: "We know what benefit there is for South Africa in these deals. They give Pretoria the right to police the region by converting these countries into extensions of their own security system. That's why they are insisting: it's part of the battle for the survival of the apartheid regime."

The case seems to be well made out for the agreements concluded by South Africa's neighbours, but does the same logic apply to the cease-fire agreement signed with Angola in Lusaka? President Tambo suddenly looks tired and grave at the question, agreeing that this comparison has been made forcibly in the West and particularly in the American media, which he denounces for not condemning the South African invasion of Angola in the first place. That invasion, however, was not the success the South Africans had been hoping for and anticipating. "South Africa failed to conquer Angola as it had wanted to," says the president. "Instead they had to agree to withdraw, although they have since dishonoured that agreement." The cease-fire signed in Lusaka "is an achievement of the Angolan people who have resisted throughout the invasion. And the Angolans indicated, which is very important, that they see the Lusaka agreement as not just covering South African withdrawal but also the setting in motion of a process for bringing about freedom and independence for Namibia. Of course, independence for Namibia has been stalled like the withdrawal of South African troops."

This was a situation very different from the one which brought about the Nkomati accord. Nkomati, says the president, "was about the ANC and the MNR. It is untruthful on what Mozambique was doing for the ANC and what South Africa was doing for the MNR. South Africa had a whole military structure which made the MNR part of the South African army. Mozambique had no such thing." At this point, Oliver Tambo showed us a document which detailed the connections between the South African Defence Force and the MNR. It gave clear evidence of the complete integration of the terrorist organization into South Africa's equally terrorist military forces.

"MNR was supplied, equipped, trained at camps, provided with transport and crossed the South African border into Mozambique." The ANC never crossed this frontier, never once. It was never supplied with any weapons by Mozambique. Mozambique didn't train ANC cadres, didn't transport them, didn't do anything—none of the things South Africa did for the MNR. The MNR was given a broadcasting station in South Africa, the ANC had none in Mozambique—and the ANC never launched any actions in South Africa from Mozambique." Thus, the two situations

simply were not analogous. "Yet, the Nkomati agreement presents Mozambique as having assisted the ANC to the same extent as South Africa supported the MNR. It is in the terms of that agreement that so many ANC members had to leave Mozambique and this does not seem to have been the same with SWAPO in Angola under the terms of the Lusaka agreement."

While it has always been true that the ANC has never used Mozambique's territory for military training or infiltration of militants back into South Africa, the Nkomati agreement and the similar deals worked out by South Africa with neighbouring states must have had an effect. For young people forced to flee the repression of apartheid, Mozambique in particular had been seen as an attractive refuge. With the new situation, surely there had been new difficulties? President Tambo responds with characteristic optimism. "We have always had this problem," he assures us. "It's never been easy for countries sharing borders with South Africa to give us base facilities, for instance, or even to participate in our movement through their territory, and we didn't ask this of them. As far as the ANC is concerned, we have always recognized the weakness of these countries and therefore we have based ourselves on what could be done within South Africa and have placed very little weight on the neighbouring countries. We've welcomed the assistance they have given us, but we have always considered that this will naturally be of a very limited nature. We don't think, however, that they can escape being adversely affected, militarily, economically, by the growing struggle inside South Africa—I believe they are ready for that, but it is not something we can do anything about. As a matter of fact, we have sometimes restricted our activities in the interests of the neighbouring states, wanting to make sure that we didn't give Pretoria an excuse to attack them."

A Temporary Setback

"This development—the signing of these agreements—merely adds to the problem, but it is not new. Our people, even the young ones, understand the problem because they are part of the solution and we are all confident that it will be overcome. In any case, all this takes place, this closure of borders, or attempts to do so, when we are already inside the country, when we have used what facilities there were to build a presence within South Africa and to build a political force inside the country. So we are not weakened by this and don't see it as any different, just a temporary setback." Oliver Tambo is acutely aware of his movement's historical difficulties in finding outside bases and the fact that this has forced the ANC to find different ways of carrying on the struggle. "We have solved a lot of pro-

blems from the fact that we could not use, say, Mozambique the way Frelimo used Tanzania, we could not use Zimbabwe as ZANU or ZAPU used Mozambique and Zambia, and so on. We have had a peculiar problem and now we've learned how to deal with that."

So the ANC is not going to be discouraged by the new developments operating in favour of the apartheid regime in southern Africa and has every hope of uplifting and extending its struggle. In spite of the difficulties, South Africa's youth has continued to flee the country in search of the ANC banner. They have been accepted gladly into the movement's ranks and many rapidly move up to take important positions in ANC offices abroad. The president stresses, however, that those who remain behind are also important for the wider struggle to liberate their country. "If such people stay," he says, "there is a cause for struggle there at home. But we are not saying that they should stay or go, because our basic position is that the struggle must continue and it has got to continue and reliance must be placed on what we are going to do within the country instead of proceeding with the erroneous assumption that neighbouring countries are going to do a whole lot of things which they may not be able to do. In other words, the effect of placing reliance on ourselves which has characterized our strategies and our activities is merely being emphasized by the recent developments." Thus, the ANC will continue to draw on its ever-refilling reservoir of young recruits to replenish its ranks both inside and outside South Africa.

On the wider international plane, Oliver Tambo is convinced that the recent European tour by South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha has not adversely affected his movement. Pointing out that, with the single exception of Portugal, Botha was received almost in secret by European leaders and that the only significant concession he might have won—the closing of ANC offices in Europe—was denied.

In southern Africa itself, the combination of the European diplomatic offensive and the non-aggression pacts has alerted the countries grouped in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to the danger of renewed economic pressure on the member countries. At the time President Tambo spoke to us in Paris, he had just returned from the SADCC meeting held in Gaborone (Botswana). He had found their resolve as firm as ever. "They are aware of the South African attempts to incorporate their economies into the South African economy . . . but they stressed and asserted their determination to build SADCC in spite of South Africa's efforts . . . therefore they will attend to all the attempts by the friends of the South African regime to undermine the growth of the SADCC. We in the ANC support that spirit." ▲▲▲

Travesty in South Africa

The white masters in South Africa threw that country's mixed-race and Asian populations a political crumb this past week — and fewer than one voter in five bothered to stoop to pick it up. That is a remarkable moral triumph by downtrodden peoples. Not only does South Africa's new constitution lack legitimacy, it even lacks credibility.

The new constitution comes into effect next month. It for the first time entrenches apartheid as a permanent feature of the country's life; hitherto for 35 years it has just been a detestable racist policy of successive governments. The constitution also formally settles the country's reins of power in 4.5 million white hands, relegating 2.8 million people of mixed race and 800,000 Asians to second-class political status, and freezing out entirely the country's 22 million blacks.

Prime Minister P. W. Botha will no doubt bob and weave in order to claim that the recent voting has been a credible exercise, and that the new parliament will be a credible institution. But the only votes that count were cast last November, when the white community decided to impose the constitution on the country. Abroad, Botha is trying to sell the exercise as the first step to dismantling apartheid; internally, whites know that it is a move to tighten their stranglehold on the country.

South Africa's racist architects hope to weld the country's non-blacks into a white-dominated economic and military coalition of 8 million people that will stand a better chance of surviving de-

mands for majority rule by a disenfranchised black community that now numbers 22 million, and which will number 37 million by the turn of the century. As The Star noted when the constitution first was proposed, it is a cynical sham designed to preserve the cocoon of white power and privilege.

The "new" South Africa will be run by a president who will wield far more power than does the prime minister today. The president will be chosen by a white-dominated electoral college. The parliament will be made up of a permanent 4-2-1 ratio of white, colored and Asian members, however the country's racial make-up may shift; that will ensure perpetual white rule.

The president, for good measure, will be empowered to settle any disputes that may arise among the three parliamentary groups with the advice of a council which he will mostly hand-pick. The courts will have no power to overturn such decisions.

The Botha government hopes to be able to co-opt the country's coloreds and Asians by giving them a limited say in such matters as education and health care. And perhaps under the pressures of life in a racist state it will succeed. But the government has not succeeded in getting what it desperately hoped for: a meek and unquestioning acquiescence to the new constitution. Four in five eligible voters were silent in a silence that speaks volumes of rage.

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