

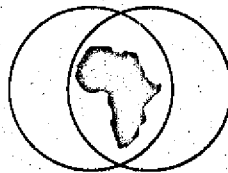
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SOUTHERN AFRICA

RECORD

Number Three

The South African Institute of International Affairs



SOUTHERN AFRICA RECORD, which is issued by the Institute on an irregular basis (the first number having appeared in March, 1975) contains the original texts of, or extracts from, important statements by political leaders, government representatives and international organisations, concerning international relations in the southern region of Africa. In addition to statements on issues of current concern, some significant statements made in the past are included in the *RECORD* from time to time. The reproduction of these policy statements of the past and present, is intended for information and reference purposes, not only for students, but for all those who are concerned with the relations, political and economic between the countries of Southern Africa.

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R E C O R D

Number Three

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*EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS IN 1959, BY THE SOUTH
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ENTITLED
"THE UNION AND THE EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA".*

Although the theme of this congress is "Africa", I intend to confine myself to that part of Africa which lies south of the Sahara.

That the reasons for this geographical division are not generally realised, appeared from a recent debate in Parliament. And then there was the editor of a leading South African newspaper who angrily wanted to know why the Union was not diplomatically represented in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya. He had apparently never heard of the C.C.T.A. (Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa, South of the Sahara) and its affiliated bodies, the C.S.C. (Council for Scientific Co-operation) and F.A.M.A. (Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa, South of the Sahara). The work and activities of these organisations are confined to that part of Africa that lies South of the Sahara, and for very good reasons.

Firstly, the northern countries of Africa on the Mediterranean littoral, have from the earliest times been, and still are within the European sphere of influence.

There is the further fact that the largely uninhabited Sahara desert forms a natural boundary between the northern countries and those South of the Sahara. True, the airplane has made these countries easily accessible to each other - at any rate for passenger traffic - but the natural boundary is still there - just as the narrow English Channel still separates Britain from the Continent of Europe, or the Pyrenees mountains separate France from Spain.

Apart from this natural boundary there are racial differences between these two parts of the Continent. The peoples of the countries situated on the Mediterranean littoral are mainly Arabs, or of Arabian extraction, whereas South of the Sahara they are ethnically of the Negroid type.

Further difference is that the peoples North of the Sahara are almost without exception Mohammedans. While it is true that the Muslim religion has penetrated to the countries South of the Sahara, the difference is that here it is not the prevailing religion, and that in most cases the converts date back only one or two generations. Moreover, a great part of the indigenous population are converts neither to the Christian, nor to the Muslim religion. They are pagans.

† Prior to 1961, when South Africa left the Commonwealth, the official designation was "Minister of External Affairs".

Finally, the economic interests and technical needs of countries North and South of the Sahara differ considerably.

There are, of course, exceptions to every rule. The Union has for years maintained diplomatic relations with Egypt, now part of the United Arab Republic, and which in ancient history was the most civilised country in Africa.

Another reason for maintaining a Minister Plenipotentiary at Cairo is that the Union's lines for communication with Europe - particularly by air - pass through a large part of Egyptian territory. There are also trade relations between the Union and Egypt. Furthermore, until the Sudan became an independent state, Egypt exercised condominium rights over that country.

It is probable that future developments on the Continent of Africa may have the effect of diminishing the importance of the geographical demarcation between the countries North and South of the Sahara respectively, but even then I very much doubt whether there will be sufficient community of interest to justify the maintenance of diplomatic relations between the Union, situated as it is at the southern tip of the African Continent, and the countries on the Mediterranean littoral - except Egypt. On the other hand, I am not inclined to regard the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somaliland in the same light as the African Mediterranean countries.

In so far as the Continent of Africa is concerned, which is to be the theme of this congress, differences of opinion are to be expected. After all, the congress will be dealing with a complex subject, which includes the sociological, economic and particularly the political problems of the vast area of our Continent which lies South of the Sahara and which, together with Ethiopia, Somaliland and the Sudan, is inhabited by approximately 160 million people belonging to the black or negro races.

The problems are complicated by the fact that these Black peoples belong to widely differing racial or ethnic groups, speaking different languages, having a different background, and observing different racial or tribal customs. These many groups or peoples have, in fact, only one main racial feature in common, viz. the pigmentation of the skin, and to some extent certain facial characteristics.

But even in these two respects they differ - and differ considerably - as would be clearly apparent if for instance a West African Negro, an Ethiopian, a Kikuyu and a South African Bantu were to be seen together. In fact, the racial differences are even more diverse than represented

by the four cases that I have cited. In his authoratative work, "African Survey", Lord Hailey deals with this diversity of races in Africa, South of the Sahara.

These are factors which Western protagonists of the Black man do not take into consideration - be they Governments or politicians; be they dedicated and sometimes fanatical exponents of the aims and theories contained in the United Nations' "Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms"; or be they starry-eyed and well-intentioned "do-gooders". I am here not referring to some of the Asian and Near Eastern countries, whose representatives at the United Nations, and at the Bandung conference have damned "colonialism", and urged - I might say "incited" - the Black man of Africa to demand freedom and independence. Their consideration and concern for the Black man in Africa is more often than not motivated by political and racial considerations.

In passing, it is both interesting and illuminating to note that Negro students in Indian universities have on more than one occasion complained bitterly of the discrimination practised against them by their fellow-students - and not only by the higher or Brahmin-caste Indians. This is yet another case of precept not being followed by practice.

And may I add that this applies equally to political leaders, organisations and the press of certain Western countries that are so quick to condemn South Africa's policy of separate development, but in whose countries racial discrimination is observed in practice.

People in certain Western countries (be they political leaders, dedicated integrationists or "do-gooders") when urging self-government and independence for the "Black races of Africa", completely disregard existing ethnic and other differences between those races.

They themselves would probably strongly protest if, for political or similar purposes, the peoples of Europe, America and Canada, i.e. Anglo-Saxons, "Latin", Scandinavian, Teutonic, and also certain Slav peoples, were all to be grouped together merely because of the fact that they are "White" peoples. The absurdity of such a classification is patent.

But these same people have no hesitation in "lumping together" - If I may use a slang term - the Black peoples of Africa, South of the Sahara.

For the moment, and for the furtherance of their own purposes and ambitions, the various indigenous peoples of Africa are willing to be

"lumped together" - as at Accra - but it is not unlikely that once their political aims have been realised, and independence been achieved, there may be a recrudescence of old animosities or rivalries which up to the present have been kept under control by the much maligned "colonial" powers.

Political leaders and organisations in Western countries, who have taken the lead in the anti-colonial campaign, as well as in the anti-South African campaign, have little or no knowledge of Africa, South of the Sahara. They do not know - or refuse to admit - that it was the White man, and the White man's government, that brought peace and development to areas and territories in Africa where rival tribes and factions were engaged in continual internecine and tribal wars and were busy decimating each other and destroying the productivity of their respective territories.

Not only did the White man bring peace and restore order - often out of chaos - but developed and built up the territories entrusted to his care. The White man brought the benefits of civilisation to the indigenous peoples of Africa. He combated disease, particularly the tropical diseases that had annually killed off many thousands - men, women and children. The White man brought education and Christianity to the peoples of Africa. And having done all that, he is now being told by those who have no knowledge of Africa, or of the conditions that existed there in the past, that he must clear out and hand over the fruits of his labours to those, who, in many cases, are not yet fit or ready to take over the responsibility of Government. Not only do political leaders in Western countries, ultra-liberalistic organisations and newspaper editors tell the White man that he should get out of Africa, but what is much more serious, they have been actively encouraging the Black masses to get rid of the White man.

And now they are watching with dismay the results of their encouragement and incitement, as shown by recent disturbances in the Belgian Congo, in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, in Brazzaville, and by trouble brewing in Kenya and Tanganyika.

While writing the above, I recalled some passages in Stuart Cloete's *The African Giant*.

In a chapter dealing with the Belgian Congo, he gives a glowing account of everything that was being done for the native inhabitants, in the way of housing, education, social and medical services by a sympathetic, by what one might term, a "paternalistic" administration. I, myself paid an official visit to Elizabethville and Leopoldville

about eight years ago and was shown everything by the officials. I can personally testify to the correctness of Cloete's description. Everything that could possibly be done for the welfare of the native inhabitants was done - and more so.

The writer then proceeds to tell of a talk that he had with the then Governor-General, M. P. Petillion, with whom I also had the pleasure of discussing problems common to the Union and the Belgian Congo. The talk turned to the political future of the territory, and the Governor-General then made the following significant statement:

"Just now things are going well, but the troubles will come as the number of 'evolved' and the 'evolving' increases.

"Ah monsieur, there are great anti-colonial factions in the world. The United Nations, America and India can see no good in what we do - even some people in England. But as you see, we do a lot and continue to do more and more. But, the more industrial schools and hospitals, the quicker will the African demand the right to self-government. We forge weapons against ourselves. And what those who criticise us forget, is that one does not destroy the mysticism of a thousand years in one generation....The African here, as elsewhere, remains at once too eager and too recalcitrant - eager for the outward semblance of civilisation, and recalcitrant as far as its inner meaning and ethics are concerned."

I come now to the even more revealing part of this conversation. M. Petillion was asked:

"Your Excellency, what would happen if the White man were to leave the Congo? How long would it last?"

"A few years," he replied, "because we have built well. The buildings will stand."

"And then?" he was asked.

"Then, monsieur, the forest will return."

Cloete's only further comment is:

"This is the classic reply, all over the Continent. There is no other answer."

This conversation took place almost four years ago, but in the light of recent happenings in the Belgian Congo, and elsewhere in Africa, one realises how correct M. Petillion's judgement was.

For better or for worse, the emergent states of Africa are becoming independent. To adapt the well-known saying of Lord Grey in 1914, it can be truly said that one by one the lights of European colonial rule in Africa are going out. The guiding hand and the judgment of the Colonial Powers, derived from long years of experience will no longer be there, and the new young states may have to find, and perhaps even to grope their way in the forest (M. Petillion's words) of inexperience.

If they are wise, they will retain the services of some of the white officials during the first difficult years. There is, however, the danger that the younger leaders, or aspiring leaders may, as M. Petillion put it, "at once be too eager and too recalcitrant", and lacking the necessary maturity and experience, will lead the brave new state into pitfalls from which it may only with difficulty be able to extricate itself.

There will of course be on hand self-appointed advisers from outside, whose main purpose will be financial gain for themselves and for their principals, or the promotion of the political and economic interests of the country, or countries, that sent them. Their objectives will be more easily attained, because the newly "emerged" state will have neither the technologists, nor the capital, both of which are indispensable for developing the natural resources of the new state. But no foreign financier is likely to provide the necessary capital, unless a satisfactory return is guaranteed, especially in the shape of valuable mineral or other concessions. And if assistance is granted by a foreign Government, a political *quid pro quo* will be demanded (or at least be expected).

Faced with troubles and difficulties, experience has shown that rulers of the new young state are likely to quarrel among themselves, resulting in dissatisfaction and even an uprising, which will be easy to foment, in view of the fact that in most of the African territories the great bulk of the people are as yet living in a primitive state, while the ruling class is a comparatively small educated group - a sort of intellectual aristocracy or oligarchy.

In an emergent African state it takes some time before the people become acquainted with democratic processes, and before the ballot-box acquires a real meaning for them, which is not surprising in a country where the voter indicates his preference by marking a ballot-paper which bears the pictures of well-known animals.

What I have said must not be interpreted as a discouragement for the attainment of independence. This must come in time. I am pointing out, as I did earlier, that it is unwise for a colonial power to withdraw its

guiding hand, and to grant full independence to a country where the people are not yet sufficiently matured and ripe for independence - or to a country which, in addition, is not economically viable.

Such a newly established state, when exposed to the stresses and strains already mentioned, may crumble before the onslaught of a dissatisfied populace - or it may become the prey of a neighbouring and stronger state, and find itself back in the bad old days of tribal wars and internecine strife, before a European power stepped in and restored order, and then proceeded to build up and develop the territory to the mutual advantage of itself, and of the people of the said territory.

Perhaps I have painted too pessimistic a picture. I sincerely hope so. I wish to state clearly and definitely that we in South Africa fully appreciate that the territories of Africa must eventually grow to nationhood and independence. But then it must be an orderly growth, not unduly hastened either by internal pressure, or by external influence which latter, more often than not is actuated by selfish motives - either political or economic.

South Africa has a vested and also a sympathetic interest in the Continent of which we have for more than 300 years formed a part and in which we have, in the course of years, built up a commanding position. I have only to remind you that the Union of South Africa is today the most highly industrialised country in the whole of the African Continent, and occupies a leading position in the spheres of agriculture, mining, transport, social progress, scientific research, medicine and education.

It therefore stands to reason that South Africa is not only interested in the rest of the Continent, particularly South of the Sahara, but is equally interested in the orderly development of those countries. Furthermore, our interest in the progress of those countries and territories, whether independent or not, is accompanied by a sincere desire to live in harmony with, and to maintain friendly relations with them.

May I, in this connection, quote the words of our late Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom. He said:

"One after the other, independent Non-White states are coming into being in Africa.....We acknowledge those states as part of Africa. We must not regard them as enemies, but together with us, they should realise that there is place in Africa for Non-White states, and place also for White states".

This is the policy also of his successor, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd.

This brings me to an important question.

Mr. Strijdom said that we in South Africa regard the new and also the older independent states "as part of Africa", and he later in the same speech expressed the wish for friendly relations and co-operation between South Africa and the Non-White states in regard to matters of common concern.

But the maintenance of friendly relations is not a "one-way street". This traffic should flow both ways. The maintenance of such relations is a "two-way street".

The Union Government's sincere desire is to maintain friendly relations with the Non-White states of Africa, and I could further point to what we have done to implement that policy.

In the C.C.T.A. and C.S.A., the Union delegations have played a leading part, and have maintained the friendliest relations with their Non-White fellow delegates. We co-operated in the establishment of F.A.M.A. - the mutual aid organisation. In accordance with that aim, we have on different occasions given practical proof of our desire to be on friendly terms and to co-operate with the Non-White states, by offering the assistance and specialised knowledge of South Africa's experts in animal and plant diseases in specific cases where certain of the Non-White states had need of such assistance. There is much truth in the old and somewhat hackneyed saying that "a friend in need, is a friend indeed".

The next question follows upon the first. South Africa, having shown a genuine desire to be on friendly terms, what then is it that is standing in the way? It is, of course, clear that there is an impediment. It has been clearly stated by leaders of the emergent African states and again at the recent provocative Accra conference, that the impediment is the Union's traditional policy of separation between the White and Non-White peoples in our country - a policy which is, in fact, one of "separate development" - generally known as the policy of apartheid.

I repeat today what I said at the formal opening of an hotel for Coloured people in my constituency, namely, that it is perhaps a pity that the word "apartheid" was coined, even though the intention was a very good one, namely, to find a term which would have a softer and less stringent connotation than the term "segregation" which is used in the

United States of America. Unfortunately, the word "apartheid", as the result of misleading and often malicious reports appearing in foreign newspapers and publications, has acquired the meaning of fanatical racist ideology. I found that to be the impression of a leading statesman of Europe, with whom I discussed our policy a year or two ago, and who, in fact, is very sympathetic towards South Africa.

The misapprehension regarding South Africa's policy has for the last 12 years been accentuated by the acrimonious debates, and attacks made on South Africa at meetings of the United Nations, such attacks generally being made by delegates who have never set foot in South Africa, and whose knowledge of conditions in our country is mainly derived from false and misleading newspaper and other reports. It is ironic that many of these attacks come from delegations in whose own countries there is not only discrimination on the ground of colour, but where the principles contained in the Declaration of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms are not observed in practice.

I have started to gather information about practices in certain countries - including leading countries - which would cause considerable uneasiness if read to a plenary session of the United Nations. In fact, these revelations would come as a shock to certain Western European nations that have joined in the attacks on South Africa.

When the terms of the Bill providing for the progressive granting of self-government to the Bantu territories in the Union are studied, it will be realised what the policy of separate development really means, and that it, in fact, is largely in line with what is happening in French West and Equatorial Africa.

I have stated that the Union's apartheid policy is the reason why the emergent states of Africa are not willing to reciprocate the desire of the Union Government to maintain and to develop friendly relations. It is also fairly clear that these African states are not willing to accept the dictum of the previous Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, that "there is place in Africa for Non-White states, and for White states".

What is not appreciated by the leaders of the emergent states of Africa is that the Black, or Bantu inhabitants of South Africa do not, by virtue of occupation, have greater rights in South Africa than the Whites - that their ancestors crossed the Limpopo River at approximately the same time that Jan van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay, to found the first White settlement in South Africa. According to the historians, the only inhabitants of the Southern portion of the present Union of South Africa were at that time the Hottentots and Bushmen, ethnically

an entirely different race from the Bantu who came from the Eastern part of Central Africa. It is clear that the leaders of the North African states do not appreciate the significance of this historical fact.

That was apparent when I brought it to the attention of Dr. Nkrumah in the course of a long discussion which I had with him over a luncheon table in my private suite at a London hotel about two and a half years ago. He was obviously surprised at what I told him. Although Dr. Nkrumah and I agreed that the details of our talk were not to be made public. I am sure that he will not mind my mentioning this one point in our long discussion, particularly as I am hopeful that an appreciation of the historical facts may lead to a better understanding of South Africa's claim to be regarded as a White state. Once this claim is recognised, then I believe a serious impediment in the way of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the Union and the Black states of Africa will have been removed. It will then be possible to remove also the prevalent idea that the Union is a type of colonial power.

In the past, South Africa was itself a colony - first of Holland, and afterwards of Britain - but like Ghana, we later emerged from colonial status to become a self-governing dominion, and afterwards a sovereign independent state. We are an African power, in the same sense that Ghana is today, and Nigeria will be next year.

South Africa's desire to maintain friendly relations and to co-operate with the so-called emergent African states in regard to matters of common concern have been clearly stated. Attention has been drawn to certain impediments in the way of friendly co-operation - impediments arising from misconceptions prevailing in the African states and territories.

There is, however, the other and an important factor which has largely contributed to the feeling of hostility in the African states and territories towards the Union. That is the campaign of vituperation carried out in the United Nations against the Union. This campaign was launched by the Government of India in 1946, and has continued ever since.

It has now acquired all the features of a vendetta. Other Asian and South-East Asian states lustily joined in the attack. In those days there was only one African state, i.e. a "Black" state, that qualified for membership of the United Nations. As other Non-White states joined the United Nations, they were persuaded, I might say "roped in" by India to join in the game of attacking South Africa. It, however, soon became evident that this was merely part of a much more serious campaign that was being set on foot by India and its associates

against the White nations of the world, and particularly against the colonial powers - with South Africa in the role of the "whipping boy". I will go further and say that in my view the campaign is, in fact, a preliminary exercise or skirmish in the struggle that is likely to come in the future, namely, that of East versus West in which Soviet Russia will be found ranged with the East.

In that struggle the Continent of Africa will be an important factor, not only by virtue of its strategic position, lying between East and West, but also because of its huge manpower and as a potential supplier of strategic raw materials.

Thus, for tactical and other reasons, every means has been employed to secure the support of the Black nations of Africa. They were told "to shake off the yoke of White imperialism"; they were told that they were quite capable of managing their own affairs; and above all, India and her associates played on the feelings of the black peoples of Africa by stressing the evils of colour discrimination, and by lauding the beautiful precepts contained in the Declaration of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms, but which they themselves generally did not observe in practice.

In this anti-White and anti-West campaign, South Africa was always held up as the "horrible example". The fact that in other countries discrimination on grounds of colour is carried out in practice, was seldom or even never mentioned. The fact that Non-Whites in the Union are better off, and their needs better cared for, than in most countries in Africa, was, of course, carefully concealed. South Africa was, and still is, the "whipping boy" of the world!

The plans and preparations for the East-West struggle of the future, led to the establishment of a common front, and to that end the Bandung Conference was held in 1955, where the Afro-Asian combination was established. This was followed in January of 1958 by a so-called unofficial Afro-Asian conference at Cairo, where a Solidarity Council was established. A significant feature of this second conference was the presence of Soviet delegates, and the prominent part played by them in the discussions. One of these delegates was subsequently elected a member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council.

Soviet Russia's interest in Africa is confirmed by information in my possession, emanating from an authoritative source.

The 20th Soviet Party Congress decided that the various research institutes should give special attention to Africa, and that they should

compile material necessary for carrying out Russian policy. Among the matters reported on by these institutes were: "Africa's place in the colonial system of imperialism" and "The struggle for the liberation of the African peoples". The latter study dealt more particularly with the political situation in the French African colonies, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo and South Africa.

A plan for more intensified research was later discussed at a conference of "African specialists", held in February, 1957. The "plan" there evolved, including studies of "The imperialistic partition and repartition of Africa". This was described as "the unmasking of the fiction that the Europeans had played a civilizing role in Africa", and was intended for dissemination in countries of Africa.

The political significance of these studies was stressed by the conference, and it was pointed out that they would provide Russia "with a better vehicle for propaganda among African tribes". The theme of the plan evolved at this conference was termed "The African liberation movement since the Second World War".

It is interesting to note that Potemkin, who took the lead at this conference, last year visited Ghana, where he gave lectures on the Soviet Union, and also spoke on the radio.

Members of Sabra are, of course, aware of the radio propaganda conducted from Moscow, and directed to the peoples of Africa. At present the broadcasts are in Swahili, but broadcasters are being instructed in the use of other languages. According to monitored reports of these broadcasts - also in English and French - received by my Department, virulent attacks have recently been made on South Africa, consisting almost entirely of falsehoods and distortions.

These are the tactics that are being employed by India, Russia and others who seek a permanent foothold in Africa. And by this process, African nationalism, instead of being left to develop in its own way, and in the interests of the people of Africa, is systematically being crystallised into an anti-White and anti-Western force. This is happening, not in the interests of the African peoples themselves but for the purposes of those who would use Africa and its people for the furtherance of their own selfish interests, and as pawns in another, and much bigger game.

Curiously enough, the White man in Africa receives little support from the majority of the Western nations. The nations of the West are not feeling at all happy about a mighty future combination of India,

Communist China, and Eastern and Near-Eastern states - and including Russia, which since the Cairo Afro-Asian conference, is now formally recognised as an Eastern power.

The policy of many of the Western powers appears to be that of "keeping sweet" with the East, which I think accounts for the lack of sympathy with, and support for the White man in Africa, who seems to be regarded as a probable impediment in the way of promoting East-West harmony. In fact, I have heard it said in responsible quarters that in the interests of maintaining that harmony, the White man in Africa - including South Africa, the Federation and East Africa - is "expendable".

And now I return to the emergent Black states of Africa, and I wish to pose the question frankly, whether they realise that their interests, as also the interests of the permanent White population of South Africa, lie in the Continent of Africa - and Africa alone?

Do they realise that the so-called concern for their progress and welfare, shown by "outside" states, is not always altruistic? I told the United Nations Assembly last year that nations act, and react like individuals. It is a well-known characteristic of the human race that most people in the first instance look after their own interests - and the interests of their families. The same applies to larger human groups, including the nation and the state.

May I in all friendliness suggest to our fellow-states in Africa to bear that in mind and, as regards offers of financial assistance, they might also do well to take heed of Laocoon's advice, viz. "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*".

And finally this suggestion. When facing dangers, or possible dangers, from outside, I think it is good policy for those who are "inside" to face such dangers together. The Union of South Africa is an African state, as are the emergent states in the North. Let those states recognise that fact, and in so doing accept South Africa's offer of friendship and co-operation in regard to matters of common concern.

The maintenance of friendly and co-operative relations between nations and states can be likened to traffic in a two-way street. It must come from both sides. It was in accordance with that principle that in March 1957 an offer of friendship and co-operation was made to the independent and emergent states of Africa. But what has been the response?

Up to the present the response has certainly not been encouraging, if one is to judge by the unfriendly, and even hostile attitude shown towards South Africa by African states during the past two years - at the Bandung Conference, and repeated at the follow-up Afro-Asian Conference held at Cairo at the beginning of last year. There are also the attacks made on South Africa by delegations from African states at meetings of the United Nations.

And then there was the recent Accra Conference, which was not only an anti-Colonial, but also an anti-White demonstration. It was sponsored by the Government of Ghana, which contributed a substantial sum to the conference expenses. The proceedings were opened by the Prime Minister of Ghana, and in the course of the discussions a member of his Cabinet made statements which did not evince any desire to be on friendly terms with South Africa. On the contrary. Apart from the usual attacks on South African policy, a resolution was passed to boycott South African products.

According to a statement contained in a report issued by the United States Information Office at Pretoria, Dr. Nkrumah, while on his visit to the United States, warmly commended the work done by an American organisation in collecting funds for the defence of persons in South Africa, who, as Dr. Nkrumah put it, "are accused of contravening the apartheid laws".

About five weeks ago, a very prominent member of the Ghana Government was reported to have stated in public that there could be no friendly relations between Ghana and the Union while the South African Government continued with its policy of racial discrimination.

I leave aside that the statement to which I referred constituted an interference in South Africa's domestic affairs.

True, South African officials visiting or passing through Ghana, are treated with courtesy and friendliness. At the C.C.T.A. conferences, the discussions take place in a friendly and co-operative spirit. Also outside the conference-room, friendly relations are maintained. In other words, such relations are confined to C.C.T.A. discussions and to personal relations. For the rest the official attitude of the African states towards the Union of South Africa is not only unfriendly, but often hostile. Unfortunately, South Africa's desire for friendly relations on the higher level - as between states - is not reciprocated.

In this connection, I would repeat what I said in a statement published in the "Digest" of the S.A. Information Service in January of last year. The statement referred to the leading part played by India and her associates in convening the first Afro-Asian Conference, held at Bandung, where the Afro-Asian front was formally established. It said:

"The fact remains that Africa has an important place in the plans of India and her associates."

After stating the various reasons for India's interest in Africa and its peoples, I continued:

"These important facts and considerations must be borne in mind when we in Africa...try to assess the significance of Bandung. I further suggest that the indigenous peoples of Africa - whether already independent or not - would do well to guard against being led up the garden path by India, and some other Eastern countries, who are concerned only with their own interests, and who will not hesitate to use and to exploit the Black peoples of Africa for the furtherance of such interests."

I should at the time have included Russia with India and her associates, in view of the prominent part later played by Soviet delegates at the Cairo Afro-Asian Conference, and the recognition of Russia as an Eastern, or Asian power.

I now come to what seems to be regarded in certain quarters, and by a number of newspapers, as a sort of "64,000-dollar question", and that is, what is the attitude of the Union Government in regard to an exchange of diplomatic representation with the Black states of Africa?

For the information of this Congress, and in order to refresh the evidently short memories of certain journalists, editors and M.P.s, I will repeat what I have said on previous occasions, namely, that the exchange of diplomatic representatives with the African states is bound to come in the future, but that "it would not be in the near future", and that it is not something that can be "forced" or done prematurely.

For many generations the custom and tradition of social segregation between White and Non-White has been observed in South Africa; old established conventions cannot be changed overnight, and a period of preparation will be necessary, even though the change will be only in respect of Non-White diplomats from other states in Africa.

A leading member of Dr. Nkrumah's Cabinet is reported to have said that there could be no friendly relations between Ghana and South Africa while the Union Government continued with its policy of race discrimination.

nation. In this connection I have pointed out that the establishment of diplomatic relations presupposed the existence of friendly relations, even though there might not be agreement as regards the internal policies of the countries concerned.

I venture to suggest that this policy will be supported by most unprejudiced White South Africans of both language groups, namely that the time is not yet ripe for a sudden change in South Africa's traditional conventions. The time will come for such representation, but a period of preparation is necessary. And it will have to be done gradually.

The Government is now asked to send diplomatic representatives to all the independent African states. There are already five such states, including Ethiopia and the Sudan. (I do not include the Arab states north of the Sahara.) If the newly-liberated French African states are included, it would mean nine independent states. And in 1960, Nigeria, and probably the present Belgian Congo, will be added to the list - a total of 12 African states. And there are more to follow.

I repeat, exchange of diplomatic representatives with Africa will come in due course, but it must not be hurried, and when the time arrives for such representation, it should be effected gradually.

Before leaving the question of diplomatic representation, I would like to point out that while such representation is desirable, and also necessary in cases where states must maintain direct contact with each other in regard to political, international, commercial and similar matters, it is not so necessary purely for the purpose of maintaining and promoting friendly relations. South Africa has no diplomatic representation in Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Israel, New Zealand, nor in the great majority of the South American countries. But in spite of the absence of diplomatic representation, South Africa maintains friendly relations, and in most cases also trade relations, with these countries.

In the case of the independent African countries South of the Sahara, the main justification for exchanging diplomatic representatives would be that they are fellow-states in the African Continent. It is not generally appreciated that the Union's membership of the C.C.T.A., C.S.A. and F.A.M.A. where our delegations play a leading role, is of great practical value in promoting friendly relations and maintaining contact with the African states. So also the Union's readiness to render assistance in the scientific and technological fields, particularly as regards animal and plant diseases, and housing problems, has been much appreciated - probably more so than the prospect of receiving diplomatic

representatives from the Union.

In conclusion I wish to repeat what I said at the graduation day ceremony of the University of Pretoria early in 1957, namely, that a question-mark hangs over the Continent of Africa. Would Africa in the future be associated with the Western nations - or would the Continent fall under the influence of, and eventually be dominated by the East and by Russia? I repeat that questionand by Russia?

The answer to that question will profoundly affect the future destinies of the countries and peoples of Africa. For South Africa there can be no doubt as to what the answer will be. One can only express the fervent hope that the other countries South of the Sahara, which were opened up and developed by Western nations, will realise that also their future lies with the West.

If the African states to the north are willing to accept South Africa as a fellow-African state and as a permanently "White" African state and if, in addition, they are willing to accept our co-operation in matters of common concern, then the Union of South Africa can usefully serve as a link between the Black states of Africa and the West, for the purpose of furthering our common aims and protecting the interests of our African Continent.

At the moment, the prospects of this suggestion materialising are decidedly dim. One can only hope that the time will come when the independent and emergent states of Africa will realise that it is also in their interests to co-operate with the Union of South Africa in defence of our common heritage - Africa.

This Address was made in 1959 as the Opening Address of the Annual Congress of SABRA (The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs) and is reproduced from the Journal of Racial Affairs, Vol. 10. No. 4, July, 1959.

ADDRESS BY THE RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,
TO MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, CAPE TOWN,
ON 3 FEBRUARY, 1960. ("Winds of Change" Speech.)

It is a great privilege to be invited to address the members of both Houses of Parliament in the Union of South Africa. It is a unique privilege to do so in 1960, just half a century after the Parliament of the Union came to birth. I am most grateful to you all for giving me this opportunity, and I am especially grateful to your Prime Minister who invited me to visit this country and arranged for me to address you here today. My tour of Africa - parts of Africa - the first ever made by a British Prime Minister in office, is now, alas, nearing its end, but it is fitting that it should culminate in the Union Parliament here in Cape Town, in this historic city so long Europe's gateway to the Indian Ocean, and to the East.

As in all the other countries that I have visited, my stay has been all too short. I wish it had been possible for me to spend a longer time here, to see more of your beautiful country and to get to know more of your people, but in the past week I have travelled many hundreds of miles, and met many people in all walks of life. I have been able to get at least some idea of the great beauty of your countryside, with its farms and its forests, mountains and rivers, and the clear skies and wide horizons of the veldt. I have also seen some of your great and thriving cities, and I am most grateful to your Government for all the trouble they have taken in making the arrangements which have enabled me to see so much in so short a time. Some of the younger members of my staff have told me that it has been a heavy programme, but I can assure you that my wife and I have enjoyed every moment of it. Moreover we have been deeply moved by the warmth of our welcome. Wherever we have been, in town or in country, we have been received in a spirit of friendship and affection which has warmed our hearts, and we value this the more because we know it is an expression of your goodwill, not just to ourselves but to all the people of Britain.

It is, as I have said, a special privilege for me to be here in 1960, when you are celebrating what I might call the golden wedding of the Union. At such a time it is natural and right that you should pause to take stock of your position, to look back at what you have achieved, to look forward to what lies ahead.

In the fifty years of their nationhood the people of South Africa have built a strong economy founded upon a healthy agriculture and thriving and resilient industries. During my visit I have been able to see some-

thing of your mining industry, on which the prosperity of the country is so firmly based. I have seen your Iron and Steel Corporation and visited your Council of Scientific and Industrial Research at Pretoria. These two bodies, in their different ways are symbols of a lively, forward-looking and expanding economy. I have seen the great city of Durban, with its wonderful port, and the skyscrapers of Johannesburg, standing where seventy years ago there was nothing but the open veldt. I have seen, too, the fine cities of Pretoria and Bloemfontein. This afternoon I hope to see something of your wine-growing industry, which so far I have only admired as a consumer.

No one could fail to be impressed with the immense material progress which has been achieved. That all this has been accomplished in so short a time is a striking testimony to the skill, energy and initiative of your people. We in Britain are proud of the contribution we have made to this remarkable achievement. Much of it has been financed by British capital. According to the recent survey made by the Union Government, nearly two-thirds of the overseas investment outstanding in the Union at the end of 1956 was British. That is after two staggering wars which have bled our economy white.

But that is not all. We have developed trade between us to our common advantage, and our economies are now largely interdependent. You export to us raw materials, food and gold. We in return send you consumer goods or capital equipment. We take a third of all your exports and we supply a third of all your imports. This broad traditional pattern of investment and trade has been maintained in spite of the changes brought by the development of our two economies, and it gives me great encouragement to reflect that the economies of both our countries, while expanding rapidly, have yet remained interdependent and capable of sustaining one another. If you travel round this country by train you will travel on South African rails made by Iscor. If you prefer to fly you can go in a British Viscount. Here is a true partnership, living proof of the interdependence between nations. Britain has always been your best customer and, as your new industries develop, we believe that we can be your best partners too.

In addition to building this strong economy within your own borders, you have also played your part as an independent nation in the world.

As a soldier in the First World War, and as a Minister in Sir Winston Churchill's Government in the Second, I know personally the value of the contribution which your forces made to victory in the cause of freedom. I know something, too, of the inspiration which General Smuts brought to us in Britain in our darkest hours. Again in the Korean crisis you played your full part. Thus in the testing times of war or aggression

your statesmen and your soldiers have made their influence felt far beyond the African continent.

In the period of reconstruction, when Dr. Malan was your Prime Minister, your resources greatly assisted the recovery of the sterling area. In the post-war world now, in the no less difficult tasks of peace, your leaders in industry, commerce and finance continue to be prominent in world affairs today. Your readiness to provide technical assistance to the less well-developed parts of Africa is of immense help to the countries that receive it. It is also a source of strength to your friends in the Commonwealth and elsewhere in the Western World. You are collaborating in the work of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, and now in the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Your Minister for External Affairs intends to visit Ghana later this year. All this proves your determination, as the most advanced industrial country of the continent, to play your part in the new Africa of today.

Sir, as I have travelled round the Union I have found everywhere, as I expected, a deep preoccupation with what is happening in the rest of the African continent. I understand and sympathise with your interest in these events, and your anxiety about them. Ever since the break-up of the Roman Empire one of the constant facts of political life in Europe has been the emergence of independent nations. They have come into existence over the centuries in different forms, with different kinds of Government, but all have been inspired by a deep keen feeling of nationalism, which has grown as the nations have grown.

In the twentieth century, and especially since the end of the war, the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power. Fifteen years ago this movement spread through Asia. Many countries there of different races and civilisations pressed their claim to an independent national life. Today the same thing is happening in Africa, and the most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.

Of course, you understand this better than anyone. You are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism, and here in Africa you have yourselves created a new nation. Indeed, in the history of our times yours will be

recorded as the first of the African nationalisms, and this tide of national consciousness which is now rising in Africa is a fact for which you and we and the other nations of the Western World are ultimately responsible. For its causes are to be found in the achievements of Western civilisation, in the pushing forward of the frontiers of knowledge, in the applying of science in the service of human needs, in the expanding of food production, in the speeding and multiplying of the means of communication, and perhaps, above all, the spread of education.

As I have said, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact, and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we must come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends. The world today is divided into three main groups. First there are what we call the Western Powers. You in South Africa and we in Britain belong to this group, together with our friends and allies in other parts of the Commonwealth. In the United States of America and in Europe we call it the Free World. Secondly, there are the Communists - Russia and her satellites in Europe and China whose population will rise by the end of the next ten years to the staggering total of 800,000,000. Thirdly, there are those parts of the world whose people are at present uncommitted either to Communism or to our Western ideas.

In this context we think first of Asia and then of Africa. As I see it, the great issue of this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government that are now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom, and order and justice?

The struggle is joined, and it is a struggle for the minds of men. What is now on trial is much more than our military strength or our diplomatic and administrative skill. It is our way of life. The uncommitted nations want to see before they choose.

What can we show them to help them choose right? Each of the independent members of the Commonwealth must answer that question for itself. It is a basic principle of our modern Commonwealth that we respect each other's sovereignty in matters of internal policy. At the same time we must recognise that in this shrinking world in which we live today the internal policies of one nation may have effects outside it. We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other 'Mind your own business,' but in these days I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs: 'Mind your own business, but mind how it affects my business, too.'

Let me be very frank with you, my friends. What Governments and Parliaments in the United Kingdom have done since the war in according independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and Ghana, and what they will do for Nigeria and other countries now nearing independence, all this, though we take full and sole responsibility for it, we do in the belief that it is the only way to establish the future of the Commonwealth and of the Free World on sound foundations. All this of course is also of deep and close concern to you for nothing we do in this small world can be done in a corner or remain hidden. What we do today in West, Central and East Africa becomes known tomorrow to everyone in the Union, whatever his language, colour or traditions. Let me assure you, in all friendliness, that we are well aware of this and that we have acted and will act with full knowledge of the responsibility we have to all our friends.

Nevertheless I am sure you will agree that in our own areas of responsibility we must each do what we think right. What we think right derives from a long experience both of failure and success in the management of our own affairs. We have tried to learn and apply the lessons of our judgement of right and wrong. Our justice is rooted in the same soil as yours - in Christianity and in the rule of law as a basis of a free society. This experience of our own explains why it has been our aim in the countries for which we have borne responsibility, not only to raise the material standards of living, but also to create a society which respects the rights of individuals, a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature - and that must in our view include the opportunity to have an increasing share in political power and responsibility, a society in which individual merit and individual merit alone is the criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or economic.

Finally, in countries inhabited by several different races it has been our aim to find means by which the community can become more of a community, and fellowship can be fostered between its various parts. This problem is by no means confined to Africa. Nor is it always a problem of a European minority. In Malaya, for instance, though there are Indian and European minorities, Malays and Chinese make up the great bulk of the population, and the Chinese are not much fewer in numbers than the Malays. Yet these two peoples must learn to live together in harmony and unity and the strength of Malaya as a nation will depend on the different contributions which the two races can make.

The attitude of the United Kingdom towards this problem was clearly expressed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, speaking at the United Nations General Assembly on 17 September 1959. These were his words:

In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well being of these countries. We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. Our policy therefore is non-racial. It offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations.

I have thought you would wish me to state plainly and with full candour the policy for which we in Britain stand. It may well be that in trying to do our duty as we see it we shall sometimes make difficulties for you. If this proves to be so we shall regret it. But I know that even so you would not ask us to flinch from doing our duty.

You, too, will do your duty as you see it. I am well aware of the peculiar nature of the problems with which you are faced here in the Union of South Africa. I know the differences between your situation and that of most of the other states in Africa. You have here some three million people of European origin. This country is their home. It has been their home for many generations. They have no other. The same is true of Europeans in Central and East Africa. In most other African states those who have come from Europe have come to work, to contribute their skills, perhaps to teach, but not to make a home.

The problems to which you as members of the Union Parliament have to address yourselves are very different from those which face the Parliaments of countries with homogenous populations. These are complicated and baffling problems. It would be surprising if your interpretation of your duty did not sometimes produce very different results from ours in terms of Government policies and actions.

As a fellow member of the Commonwealth it is our earnest desire to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect. I think we ought, as friends, to face together, without seeking to apportion credit or blame, the fact that in the world of today this difference of outlook lies between us.

I said that I was speaking as a friend. I can also claim to be speaking as a relation, for we Scots can claim family connections with both the

great European sections of your population, not only with the English-speaking people but with the Afrikaans-speaking as well. This is a point which hardly needs emphasis in Cape Town where you can see every day the statue of that great Scotsman, Andrew Murray. His work in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape, and the work of his son in the Orange Free State, was among Afrikaans-speaking people. There has always been a very close connection between the Church of Scotland and the Church of the Netherlands. The Synod of Dort plays the same great part in the history of both. Many aspirants to the Ministry of Scotland, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, went to pursue their theological studies in the Netherlands. Scotland can claim to have repaid the debt in South Africa. I am thinking particularly of the Scots in the Orange Free State. Not only the younger Andrew Murray, but also the Robertsons, the Frasers, the McDonalds - families which have been called the Free State clans, who became burghers of the old Free State and whose descendants still play their part there.

But though I count myself a Scot, my mother was an American, and the United States provides a valuable illustration of one of the main points which I have been trying to make in my remarks today. Its population, like yours, is of different strains, and over the years most of those who have gone to North America have gone there in order to escape conditions in Europe which they found intolerable. The Pilgrim Fathers were fleeing from persecution as Puritans and the Marylanders from persecution as Roman Catholics. Throughout the nineteenth century a stream of immigrants flowed across the Atlantic to escape from the poverty in their homelands, and in the twentieth century the United States have provided asylum for their victims of political oppression in Europe.

Thus for the majority of its inhabitants America has been a place of refuge, or place to which people went because they wanted to get away from Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that for many years a main objective of American statesmen, supported by the American public, was to isolate themselves from Europe, and with their great material strength, and the vast resources open to them, this might have seemed an attractive and practicable course. Nevertheless in the two world wars of this century they have found themselves unable to stand aside. Twice their manpower in arms has streamed back across the Atlantic to shed blood in those European struggles from which their ancestors thought they would escape by emigrating to the New World; and when the second war was over they were forced to recognise that in the small world of today isolationism is out of date and offers no assurance of security.

The fact is that in this modern world no country, not even the greatest, can live for itself alone. Nearly two thousand years ago, when the whole of the civilised world was comprised within the confines of the

Roman Empire, St. Paul proclaimed one of the great truths of history - we are all members one of another. During this twentieth century that eternal truth has taken on a new and exciting significance. It has always been impossible for the individual man to live in isolation from his fellows, in the home, the tribe, the village, or the city. Today it is impossible for nations to live in isolation from one another. What Dr. John Donne said of individual men three hundred years ago is true today of my country, your country, and all the countries of the world:

Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

All nations now are interdependent one upon another, and this is generally realised throughout the Western World. I hope in due course the countries of Communism will recognise it too.

It was certainly with that thought in mind that I took the decision to visit Moscow about this time last year. Russia has been isolationist in her time and still has tendencies that way, but the fact remains that we must live in the same world with Russia, and we must find a way of doing so. I believe that the initiative which we took last year has had some success, although grave difficulties may arise. Nevertheless I think nothing but good can come out of its extending contacts between individuals, contacts in trade and from the exchange of visitors.

I certainly do not believe in refusing to trade with people because you may happen to dislike the way they manage their internal affairs at home. Boycotts will never get you anywhere, and may I say in parenthesis that I deprecate the attempts that are being made today in Britain to organise the consumer boycott of South African goods. It has never been the practice, as far as I know, of any Government of the United Kingdom of whatever complexion to undertake or support campaigns of this kind designed to influence the internal politics of another Commonwealth country, and my colleagues in the United Kingdom deplore this proposed boycott and regard it as undesirable from every point of view. It can only have serious effects on Commonwealth relations, on trade, and lead to the ultimate detriment of others than those against whom it is aimed.

I said I was speaking of the interdependence of nations. The members of the Commonwealth feel particularly strongly the value of interdependence. They are as independent as any nation in this shrinking world can be, but they have voluntarily agreed to work together. They recognise that there may be and must be differences in their institutions; in their internal policies, and their membership does not imply the wish to express a judgement on these matters, or the need to impose a stifling

uniformity. It is, I think, a help that there has never been question of any rigid constitution for the Commonwealth. Perhaps this is because we have got on well enough in the United Kingdom without a written constitution and tend to look suspiciously at them. Whether that is so or not, it is quite clear that a rigid constitutional framework for the Commonwealth would not work. At the first of the stresses and strains which are inevitable in this period of history, cracks would appear in the framework and the whole structure would crumble. It is the flexibility of our Commonwealth institutions which gives them their strength.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen, I fear I have kept you a long time. I much welcome the opportunity to speak to this great audience. In conclusion may I say this? I have spoken frankly about the differences between our two countries in their approach to one of the great current problems with which each has to deal within its own sphere of responsibility. These differences are well-known. They are matters of public knowledge, indeed of public controversy, and I should have been less than honest if by remaining silent on them I had seemed to imply that they did not exist. But differences on one subject, important though it is, need not and should not impair our capacity to co-operate with one another in furthering the many practical interests which we share in common.

The independent members of the Commonwealth do not always agree on every subject. It is not a condition of their association that they should do so. On the contrary, the strength of our Commonwealth lies largely in the fact that it is a free association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for ordering its own affairs but co-operating in the pursuit of common aims and purposes in world affairs. Moreover these differences may be transitory. In time they may be resolved. Our duty is to see them in perspective against the background of our long association. Of this at any rate I am certain - those of us who by grace of the electorate are temporarily in charge of affairs in your country and mine, we fleeting transient phantoms on the great stage of history, we have no right to sweep aside on this account the friendship that exists between our countries, for that is the legacy of history. It is not ours alone to deal with as we wish. To adapt a famous phrase, it belongs to those who are living, but it also belongs to those who are dead and to those who are yet unborn. We must face the differences, but let us try to see beyond them down the long vista of the future.

I hope - indeed, I am confident - that in another fifty years we shall look back on the differences that exist between us now as matters of historical interest, for as time passes and one generation yields to another, human problems change and fade. Let us remember these truths.

Let us resolve to build, not to destroy, and let us remember always that weakness comes from division, strength from unity.

*SPEECH OF THANKS BY
THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER,
DR. THE HON. H.F. VERWOERD,
TO THE RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,
ON 3 FEBRUARY, 1960.*

Mr. Prime Minister, you have set me a considerable task. We have problems enough in South Africa without your coming to add to them by making such an important statement and expecting me to thank you in a few brief words.

There are two ways in which one can approach a motion of thanks, as you very well know. The first is practically to repeat and endorse every statement that you made. But that, of course, presupposes that one can endorse all you said, which I cannot do in all instances, but it also presupposes a somewhat boring repetition that I do not wish to inflict on you. A second possible method is to comment on every point you put before us. That would be worse still. It would mean a debate between you and myself on this occasion, which is certainly not suited to that. Therefore I will not inflict that upon you either.

All that I wish to do is to thank you very heartily for coming to South Africa and putting before us here your point of view - your philosophy, as you see it - as that philosophy may be applicable particularly to the areas for which you are responsible. I am glad you were frank. We are a people who are capable of listening with great pleasure to what others have to say even though they differ from us. I think it is an attribute of civilization that one should be capable of discussing matters with friends with great frankness and even in spite of differences, great or small, remain friends after that and be able to co-operate in all that remains of mutual interest.

May I say that we can understand your outlook on the picture of the world and on the picture of Africa in that world. I also do not find fault with the major object you have in view. South Africa has the same objects; peace, to which you have made a very considerable contribution and for which I also wish to thank you to-day. The survival of Western ideas, of Western civilization; throwing in your weight on the side of the Western nations, in this possibly increasing division which exists in the world to-day - we are with you there. Seeing Africa as making possible balance between the two world groupings, and hoping to develop the mind of man as it exists in Africa in the abovementioned direction - that too can be of the greatest value in your search for goodwill between all men and for peace and prosperity on earth. It is only a matter of how that can best be achieved. How can Africa be won?

There we do not see eye to eye very often.

You believe, as I gather, that policies which we deem not only advisable for South Africa but which we believe, if rightly understood, should make an impact upon Africa and upon the world, are not to the advantage of those very ideals for which you strive and we strive too! If our policies were rightly understood, we believe, however, that it would be seen that what we are attempting to do is not at variance with a new direction in Africa but is in the fullest accord with it. We never presume to criticize the application of other policies in the areas for which you are responsible, but when on an occasion such as this, on which we are perfectly frank, we look at them critically, then we see, differing from you, that there may be great dangers inherent in those policies. The very object at which you are aiming may be defeated by them.

The tendency in Africa for nations to become independent and, at the same time, the need to do justice to all, does not only mean being just to the black man of Africa, but also being just to the white man of Africa. We call ourselves Europeans but actually we represent the white men of Africa. They are the people, not only in the Union but throughout major portions of Africa, who brought civilization here, who made possible the present development of black nationalism by bringing the natives education, by showing them the Western way of life, by bringing to Africa industry and development, by inspiring them with the ideals which Western civilization has developed for itself. The white man who came to Africa, perhaps to trade, and in some cases, perhaps to bring the Gospel, has remained and we particularly, in this southernmost portion of Africa, have such a stake here that this has become our only motherland. We have nowhere else to go. We settled in a country which was bare. The Bantu too came to this country and settled certain portions for themselves. It is in line with thinking on Africa to grant them there, those fullest rights which we with you, admit all people should have. We believe in providing those rights for those people in the fullest degree in that part of Southern Africa which their forefathers found for themselves and settled in. But we also believe in balance. We believe in allowing exactly those same full opportunities to remain within the grasp of the white man in the areas he settled, the white man who has made all this possible.

We also see ourselves as part of the Western world, a true white state in Africa, notwithstanding the possibility of granting a full future to the black men in our midst. We look upon ourselves as indispensable to the white world. If there is to be a division in the future, how can South Africa best play its part? It should both co-operate with the

white nations of the world and, at the same time, make friends with the black states of Africa in such a way that they will provide strength to the arm of those who fight for the civilization in which we believe. We are the link. We are white, but we are in Africa. We have links with both and that lays upon us a special duty and we realize that.

I do not wish to pursue this matter any further but do wish to assure you that in the Christian philosophy which you endorse, we find a philosophy which we too wish to follow. If our methods should be different, let us try to understand one another and may we at least find in the world at large that trust in our sincerity which must be the basis of all goodwill and true understanding.

I wish to thank you for coming to South Africa, not in order to commit yourself to our policies, not in order to become either the mediator or the judge in our problems or between the various racial groups, which we have in this country. We thank you for coming to see us simply because that shows that you wish to be our friend, as we wish to be yours. It also shows quite clearly that between us and Great Britain there exists now, and should, and I hope will exist in the future. The best co-operation on those many matters in which we can co-operate. You mentioned the economic relations which exist between our two countries. We know they are very good; we know they go very far. We, members of the present Government, would be the last to wish to deduct in the slightest from that. We wish to increase our prosperity and yours by good co-operation, and I can truly endorse the wise words you uttered when you said: "Nothing can be gained by trying to harm each other economically, in the political or theoretical fields".

Here, at least, we have a sphere of activity in which we not only think fully alike, but in which we are equally interested: the economic world, the prosperity of South Africa, the prosperity of Great Britain, the prosperity of Africa. I pledge myself and my Government to the fullest co-operation in seeking that prosperity and happiness for all.

If you have done no more by coming here than to make it possible for that principle to penetrate everywhere: that no one can do any good by trying to hurt somebody with whose point of view he differs, but that only good can come from trying to do good to others, then your journey so far southwards will have been very well rewarded.

I thank you from the depth of my heart for your presence in South Africa. I bid you on behalf of the Parliament of South Africa Godspeed on your return. May you find in Great Britain less problems to deal with than we, unfortunately, have here.

MOGADISHU DECLARATION

*Adopted by the 7th Conference of East and
Central African States, in October, 1971. +*

PREAMBLE

1. At the 6th Ordinary Session of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, the leaders of independent Africa adopted the Lusaka Manifesto. The Manifesto which was prepared by the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of East and Central Africa and adopted at Lusaka in April 1969 made known to the world the position of the independent African States on the racist policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.
2. The leaders of independent Africa intended, through the Lusaka Manifesto, to dispel any misunderstanding by the international community, of Africa's reasons for its united opposition to the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. It was also intended to reaffirm their conviction of the equality of all men and women and of their inalienable right to human dignity and respect without regard to colour, race, religion or sex.
3. The Lusaka Manifesto was presented to the United Nations Organization at the twenty-fourth Session of the General Assembly by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, H.E. Ahmadou Ahidjo as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. After its discussion and debate it was adopted and made a United Nations document. The voting at the United Nations was overwhelmingly in favour of the document with only South Africa and Portugal voting against. In other words, out of one hundred and twenty-six members of the United Nations, these were the only two countries whose policies were under scrutiny and attack who opposed the contents of the Lusaka Manifesto.
4. Having defined the objectives of the liberation of Southern Africa, the leaders of independent Africa made it known to the whole world and in particular the Republic of South Africa and Portugal - that there

+ This Conference was held in Mogadishu, Somalia, and was attended by Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo People's Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Somali Democratic Republic, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia. Since the Conference did not have formal records, it is not known which participating countries supported the Declaration.

could be no compromise or concession made about the freedom, dignity, and respect of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa. Consequently, the only alternative left to Africa is to use all means available to them to change the abominable and hateful policies of *apartheid*, colonialism and racialism.

5. For the Portuguese colonialist Government and for the minority racist Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia there was also a choice to be made: to abandon their colonialist and racist philosophy and to negotiate other questions related to the political, economic and social well-being of the populations of those countries or to maintain the status quo and thereby breed eventual large scale violence and wanton destruction of lives and property. The possibility of independent Africa's participation in a peaceful solution of the problem of Southern Africa also depended on the way that the governments of South Africa and Portugal would have treated the Lusaka Manifesto, for, as the African leaders said then "as long as a peaceful evolution is hindered by the men who are in power in Southern Africa we have no choice but to give to the peoples of these territories all the support that we can muster in their struggle against their oppressors".

6. After the adoption by the International Community of the Lusaka Manifesto, the South African Government began its so-called "outward looking policy" the result of which has been the opinion held by a small group of some African leaders that dialogue with South Africa is a way to assist the oppressed people in that country to liberate themselves. The "outward looking policy", however, should not fool anyone about South Africa's intentions. Indeed, Vorster has time and time again told the South African white population that his policy in no way deviates from the official *apartheid* policy. Vorster's so-called policy of friendship with independent Africa has been motivated by his Government's growing isolation in the whole world and the necessity therefore to want to change that situation without, however, removing the cause for that isolation. With promises of aid or with the threat of "hitting them so hard that they will never forget it" Vorster is using blackmail to divide the African States. While the South African Government rejected and continues to reject the idea of dialogue with the African people in South Africa, the African Governments should not have been deceived about the real reasons for the "outward looking policy" of Pretoria.

7. In the territories under the Portuguese colonialist domination, the wars of national liberation have continued to expand. The African peoples in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have won many and important victories against a more ruthless enemy with a vastly expanded war programme.

Indeed the victories of the national liberation movements in the three countries have led to vast areas being completely liberated from Portuguese colonial authority in whose places peoples' governments have been set up. In response to these victories, the Portuguese colonialists have increased the use of napalm, of defoliants and other chemical and gaseous substances in their wars of suppression which have resulted in more deaths. Hence, the need of the liberation movements for assistance of all kinds which will be instrumental in bringing about the total liberation of their territories.

8. In Mozambique, the Portuguese colonialists with the assistance and participation of imperialist countries are frantically going ahead with the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam. This dam whose objective is eventually to make it possible to settle one million White emigrants from Europe and to provide power to the racists in Southern Africa is opposed by all freedom loving peoples of the world as evidenced by the withdrawal from participation in the financing and construction of the dam by several European firms and banks or the refusal by their governments to guarantee their investments in the Cabora Bassa Dam project. The front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has opened and carried out successful operations against the construction site of this dam in Tete Province.

9. The struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Guinea Bissau, in Mozambique and in Angola is winning great victories and the Conference of East and Central African States takes pride in these victories as its own and warmly congratulates the national liberation movements in those areas for these victories. The gallant people of French Somaliland are also with their brothers and sisters in countries under foreign domination, struggling for their freedom and independence.

10. In Rhodesia, the situation has deteriorated. The British Government is currently engaged in yet more talks about a solution which does not advocate independence based on majority rule. The Conference of East and Central African States condemns from the very outset any solution of the Rhodesian problem which contradicts or in any way changes the principle of *NIBMAR* (No Independence Before Majority Rule).

CONCLUSIONS

11. We, the leaders of the African independent States of East and Central Africa meeting in Mogadishu from 18-20th October, 1971, have reviewed the situation with regard to the question of Decolonization of Southern Africa. We have noted with regret the concerted support given by certain NATO countries to South Africa and Portugal in their wars of suppression of the peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau.

This assistance in military, economic and other forms is extremely important in the execution of the vicious wars being waged against the peoples in the territories under consideration. It is, therefore, a hostile act against the African peoples as a whole and in particular the States and peoples of this region who, by their proximity to the areas under colonialist and minority domination have on numerous occasions in the past, been victims of military and other forms of aggression.

12. We, the leaders of East and Central Africa have also examined the question relating to the establishment of diplomatic and other relations by some of its members with South Africa and Portugal contrary to the OAU and United Nations resolutions. We, in particular, have examined the implications of the visit by one of the Heads of State of this region to South Africa and to Mozambique and of the exchange of visits between the racist regime of South Africa and some other member states of the OAU.

13. We, the leaders of East and Central African States, therefore, do declare at this meeting in Mogadishu that there is no way left to the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle to which we already give and will increasingly continue to give our fullest support; that the policy of dialogue advanced by a small group of African leaders which had already been rejected by the OAU is again rejected because it is a play to deceive the African peoples. The policy of dialogue as has been stated by member States of the OAU individually must start with the peoples of the countries of Southern Africa to be of any meaning and consequence to Africa. We condemn the African countries which in establishing diplomatic and other relations with South Africa and Portugal have betrayed the African freedom struggle. We, therefore, strongly urge the African leaders concerned to break off these relations and to desist from any action which would make their membership in this Conference incompatible with its aspirations.

14. (a) We, the leaders of East and Central African States strongly condemn all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism anywhere in the African continent and particularly in Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. The Conference reaffirmed its solidarity with the peoples of French Somaliland, Comoro Islands and the so-called Spanish Sahara in their struggle to gain freedom and independence. We also condemn those monopolies and firms which continue to give financial aid and support to South Africa and Portugal and in this respect urge the OAU in co-operation with the East and Central African States, to study the activities of these monopolies and firms at present engaged in Southern Africa and in independent African States with a view to imposing sanctions against them.

14. (b) We, the leaders of East and Central African States having reviewed the dubious activities of mercenaries in Africa, reaffirm our support for the Resolution and Declaration endorsed by the OAU Council of Ministers and the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa in June 1971, concerning mercenaries in Africa. In this connection, we condemn the governments, organizations and individuals that assist the mercenaries in their activities against the independent African States.

15. We also condemn, without reservation, those NATO powers which continue to assist South Africa and Portugal in their wars against the peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau.

16. We whole-heartedly support the just struggles of the oppressed African peoples under colonial and racist domination. We have resolved to increase our assistance, both material, diplomatic and moral, to the national liberation movements in accordance with the UN and OAU Resolutions until final victory is achieved.

17. We, the leaders of East and Central African States also appeal to the International Community to take urgent and strong measures towards the liquidation of all forms of colonial oppression and to uphold the fundamental principles of self-determination and the inherent rights of all peoples to freedom and liberty in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and as reaffirmed by the Charter of the OAU.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, MR. SAM NUJOMA

In an interview, which appeared in the March-April 1975 issue of "Africa Report" (published by the African-American Institute), Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the "South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia" (SWAPO) stated the following, "fundamental principles" which would have to be "unconditionally accepted" before SWAPO would participate in talks with the South African Government:

- "(a) That South Africa recognizes - and states publicly - the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty.
- (b) That Namibia's territorial integrity is inviolable and must be respected.
- (c) That South Africa recognizes and accepts the fact that SWAPO is the only authentic representative of the Namibian people."

In addition to the above principles, Mr. Nujoma stated the following "pre-conditions" for "meaningful talks to solve the Namibian question":

- "(a) Release of all political prisoners who are currently held in Namibia as well as in South Africa itself.
- (b) Return to Namibia of all those Namibians in exile without fear of arrest or any form of victimization.
- (c) Prior commitment by the South African Government that she will withdraw all her troops and police from Namibian territory."

*STATEMENT BY THE RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER, THE HON. IAN SMITH,
IN THE SENATE OF THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT*

Salisbury, 8 July, 1975.

For some time the Government has been giving consideration to the removal of certain aspects of racial discrimination but we have held back because it was generally accepted that this would form part of any agreement and would therefore help the African negotiators in arriving at an internal settlement. Inherent in the agreement we reached with the British Government in November 1971, was the setting up of a commission to examine and report to the Government on all aspects of racial discrimination in Rhodesia. That agreement was frustrated by the ANC.

Hon. senators will recall my statement to the House of Assembly on 19th June, 1974, when I referred to the agreement which I had reached with Bishop Muzorewa. Again in keeping with the Home Agreement of 1971, the commission on discrimination was an integral part of that agreement but, regrettably, it was rejected by the ANC executive. Following its rejection there was a hiatus which was ended on 11th December, 1974, by the Government's release of detained African leaders on condition, firstly, that they joined in a constitutional conference in Rhodesia and, secondly, that there would be an immediate cessation of terrorism. /

As hon. senators are aware, neither condition has been fulfilled. For the past seven months the enlarged ANC have found one excuse after another for not coming to the conference table and there has not been any real diminution, let alone a cessation, of terrorist activity. In both respects the principal sufferers from this delay have been the main body of law-abiding and peace-loving African citizens of our country. On the one hand, their social and political aspirations have been frustrated by the failure of the ANC to join in negotiations with the Government, and on the other hand, they have been the chief victims of terrorism.

For too long Africans have been denied by the ANC the benefits which would flow from an internal settlement and Government considers that the time has now come when positive action should be taken. Therefore, in regard to racial discrimination, it has been decided that a commission should be appointed to study and report on ways of removing unnecessary or undesirable discrimination. This is a highly emotional and complex issue which needs to be examined in a calm atmosphere and for this reason Government considers that a commission would be the appropriate body to carry out this important task. Its membership and its terms of reference will be announced as soon as these have been determined.

I have said that the main victims of terrorism are Africans. It is as well that I spell out the facts, for they are conveniently forgotten by those who condone terrorism in Africa. Since December, 1972, more than 270 African civilians have been murdered by the terrorists, mostly in circumstances of extreme and bestial brutality. Seventy-five of these murders have taken place since 11th December, 1974, the day on which, according to the solemn undertakings I was given, terrorist activities were to cease. The aim of these atrocities is to terrorize the African civilians, particularly the rural tribesmen, into submission and they must lead thinking people to question very seriously the validity of the claim of the ANC to represent African opinion. If this claim were true it would not require a prolonged campaign of murder and intimidation to sustain it.

I would like to quote, if I may, from two sit-reps which are security reports from Rhodesia.

The first one says - and these came in two succeeding days - terrorists went to a certain farm in the African purchase area. They apprehended the owner and took him with them to another nearby farm where they apprehended a second owner. Thereupon the terrorists bound these two farmers together face to face and placed a stick grenade between them which one terrorist activated. They then went on and shot dead five head of cattle and wounded another three.

On the following day the terrorists went to another farm in the African purchase area. They apprehended one of the farm employees and accused him of being a sell-out. They thereupon blindfolded him and beat him to death with a pole.

This is the sort of activity which receives support in certain quarters in our country, and I regret to say from certain Africans who claim that they fill responsible positions.

The methods used by the terrorists are insidious and vicious. Not for them the merciful and humane considerations which civilized countries recognize in time of war. They rely on their unbridled cruelty and barbarity for such successes as they gain.

In the past two and a half years these successes have been limited and have fallen short of their objective because our security forces have proved to be more than a match for them. Once again the facts speak for themselves. Since December, 1972, our security forces have killed over 500 terrorists for the loss of 56 of our own men. Nevertheless, we do suffer certain disabilities in trying to combat terrorism - which knows no laws and observes no rules. The responsibility of Government to protect the most vulnerable section of our population is clear and incontestable. It is therefore our intention to take certain measures, strong measures, which will increase the effectiveness of our anti-terrorist operations and which will be a further indication of our absolute determination to stamp out the scourge of terrorism from the face of

our land. These measures will be made known to you in due course and I am confident that they will be supported and welcomed by all who share our determination.

I would like to add, if I may, that on numerous occasions over the years I have received approaches from the Chiefs' Council asking me to set up just such a commission to look into and advise on the elimination of unnecessary and undesirable discrimination in Rhodesia. I am therefore happy to be able to assure all hon. senators of this House that the recommendation which I have now put forward to-day has the full backing and the full support of our Council of Chiefs in Rhodesia.

*EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS BY THE RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER,
THE HON. IAN D. SMITH, AT THE ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE
RHODESIAN NATIONAL FARMERS' UNION*

Bulawayo, 22 July, 1975.

One other thing I am sure you will be both interested and pleased to learn - our plans for an increased security effort are well advanced, and we will start bringing them into force in the near future. I regret that this has been made inevitable, because our opponents in this détente exercise have failed to comply with their part of the bargain. We know all too clearly from history, recent as well as past, that in this game if only one side plays according to the rules, then that side finds itself heading for complete disaster.

After everything that we have been through, and the great successes which we have achieved over the last ten years, we have no intention of allowing ourselves to be hoodwinked like this. It looks as though once more there are people in this world who are misinterpreting our reasonableness as weakness - if so, they will have to learn the hard way.

Let me reiterate that the Rhodesian Government has leant over backwards in an effort to assist the détente exercise. We have even been prepared to take chances when our own better judgment indicated to the contrary. There is, however, a limit at which reasonableness ceases to be a virtue.

Let me be frank. These new measures will bring problems to Rhodesians. However, they are problems which we have faced before, and overcome.

Today our difficulties are magnified by the world recession, and the resultant shortage of foreign exchange which has hit us. Usually a recession is not associated with high rates of inflation, in fact the reverse. This is another aggravating factor which has complicated the world economic scene. Although our rate of inflation is still amongst the lowest in the world, it is nevertheless higher than we would hope for. Fortunately, there is clear evidence that the world is pulling out of the trough. According to statistics which have been placed before me, in certain countries (principally the USA), the depression hit bottom and started levelling out in February and March of this year, and then from April onwards the graph has been going up. There are today clear indications to show that this trend is strengthening. Therefore unless some unforeseen disaster presents itself, next year can only be better for Rhodesia.

Clearly the road before us is still going to be tough. It could even become more difficult, before we are finally through. If ever there was a time for Rhodesians to have faith in themselves and their country, it is now: faith which is clearly justified by any impartial, unemotional assessment of the facts before us. If anyone has doubts, I suggest he visits any other

country in this world which he cares to, in order to observe and compare for himself; it will not be long before his doubts have dissipated. It is our doubts which are traitors, insidiously working from within, undermining morale and determination. This is nothing new, it has always been part of life. Those who allow themselves to be paralysed by their own fears, will always be eliminated.

On the other hand, those who are never prepared to give up trying, or to concede defeat, will in the end win through. If we are honest, deep down in our hearts we know that there is no defeat except from within, no insurmountable barrier save our own weakness of purpose, our own lack of courage. This applies to men, it applies to nations.

We, in Rhodesia, are privileged to live in the midst of one of the most glorious examples to be witnessed in contemporary times, of a small number of people making a stand on principle against almost overwhelming odds. However, lest we allow ourselves to be lulled into any sense of false complacency, it is necessary to stress that this must be a continuing exercise, as long as we are part of this world, occupied by its inhabitants with their fallacies and weaknesses.

It is as true today as it was centuries ago when it was first spoken, that: "The price of freedom is eternal vigilance". History abounds with examples of great nations which rose to dizzy heights of power and prestige, and through complacency and lack of vigilance allowed themselves to be outmanoeuvred and undermined. Inevitably they crumbled into ruins and dust. I don't believe there is much chance of Rhodesians becoming soft and decadent with all the challenges which confront us. It could turn out that much of this is a blessing in disguise - only time will tell.

*STATEMENT BY THE U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, MR. NATHANIEL DAVIS, BEFORE A HEARING OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, IN WASHINGTON, D.C., CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA, ON 24 JULY, 1975.**

I am pleased to join with Assistant Secretary Buffum in representing the Department of State before the subcommittee which today is considering U.S. policy toward South Africa and Namibia. We consider that South Africa and Namibia are separate although related issues, and therefore I propose to discuss first South Africa and then Namibia.

The United States strongly disapproves of the South African Government's policy of apartheid or separate development and seeks to encourage the South African Government to end it and establish the basis for a just society and government. (Our policy derives from our heritage as a multi-racial society, our interests elsewhere in Africa, and our efforts to promote respect for human dignity throughout the world.) The United States has adopted a policy toward South Africa of imposing restraints in our bilateral relations and communicating with its Government and people, making clear our non-acceptance of apartheid.

Foremost among the restraints has been our careful adherence over the past 12 years to a comprehensive arms embargo, encompassing all military equipment. In addition, since 1967, we have banned visits by U.S. Navy ships to South African ports except in cases of emergency.

Other restraints in our relations concern U.S. investment and trade; we neither encourage nor discourage private American investment. We seek to ensure that prospective U.S. investors are fully aware of the political, economic, and social problems relating to investment in South Africa. We do not engage in the full range of trade promotion activities in South Africa that we undertake in other countries. Only limited Export-Import Bank facilities are available for trade with South Africa and direct loans are specifically prohibited.

In implementation of our policy of communication without acceptance, we maintain our diplomatic mission in South Africa; we engage in systematic contacts with all elements of South Africa's population; we carry on an active cultural and educational exchange-of-persons program; and we encourage American firms located in South Africa to adopt enlightened employment practices for all of their employees.

Within South Africa there is at present much talk of significant changes taking place in the apartheid system. The recent opening of the Nico Malan theatre in Cape Town to all races, Government plans to permit certain Blacks to buy their own homes, but not land, in the Black townships near urban centers, and the participation of Blacks in some international sporting events are cited as examples of change. Certain aspects of what is called petty apartheid are being abolished, but we do not see substantial evidence that the South African Government has changed or intends to change the fundamentals of apartheid. Prime Minister Vorster has declared that the Whites will continue to rule South Africa and that "separate development" (apartheid) will remain the bedrock for his Government's racial policy. Since South African leaders intend to maintain their basic policies, it is our view that the possibility of future racial conflict in Southern Africa remains real. We therefore believe that our present policy of restraints and communication without acceptance of apartheid should be maintained, and that it offers the most effective means at our disposal to approach the problems of Southern Africa.

Turning to Namibia, U.S. policy toward that international territory is based upon our belief that the people of Namibia should be allowed to exercise freely their right of self-determination. Given our support for U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2145 of October 27, 1966, which terminated South Africa's League of Nations mandate over Namibia, and for the conclusions of the 1971 International Court of Justice advisory opinion regarding Namibia, which upheld the legality of U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2145, we take the view that South Africa is illegally administering Namibia and should withdraw from the territory which is properly the responsibility of the United Nations.

We have repeatedly made clear to the South African Government our deep concern over violations of human rights in the territory. For example, last month we sought to persuade the South African Government to revoke or stay the expulsion from Namibia of the Anglican Suffragan Bishop of Damaraland, Richard J. Wood and his U.S. citizen wife. We also expressed our displeasure to the South African Government when Mrs. Wood was evicted from the territory when she refused to obey the expulsion order.

Because of South Africa's illegal administration of Namibia and South Africa's refusal to acknowledge UN responsibility for this international territory, the U.S. Government has since May 1970 officially discouraged

private American investment in the territory and has denied Export-Import Bank guarantees and other facilities for trade with Namibia. Since May 1970, we have also warned potential U.S. investors that we would withhold U.S. Government protection of U.S. investments, made on the basis of rights acquired through the South African Government after the 1966 termination of the League of Nations mandate by the World Court concerning Namibia. We have encouraged the few American firms with investments in Namibia to conform their employment practices to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since the Portuguese coup in April, 1974, there appears to have been some movement away from political deadlock in Namibia. South African leaders have repeatedly asserted that the South African Government policy in Namibia is aimed at preparing the people of the territory to exercise their right to self-determination. However, the South African Government has not stated when and under what conditions the exercise of self-determination will take place. It maintains that the peoples of Namibia, and not South Africa nor the United Nations, must determine their own future and all options, including unitary independence, will be open to them. The South African Government, acting through the ruling White National Party of South West Africa, called in September 1974 for the leaders of the various ethnic and tribal groups to meet together to discuss the future of Namibia. These constitutional talks have not yet been held, as efforts to persuade all the various groups to take part have apparently not been successful so far. However, there are strong indications that the talks will begin in September. Political party leaders who are not also ethnic and tribal group leaders will not be permitted to take part in the talks. Therefore, political parties, including the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) recognized by the OAU and the UN as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, will be excluded from the talks.

At present Black opposition to South African rule in Namibia is somewhat divided on some issues. SWAPO leaders and other more militant Black nationalists favor the immediate establishment of a majority rule unitary state and reject participation in the constitutional talks unless a number of conditions, such as the release of Namibian political prisoners are met. Some leaders of minority ethnic and tribal groups are concerned at the possibility of domination of an independent Namibia by the numerically superior Owambo tribe from which SWAPO draws its support.

Regarding the future of Namibia, we hold the following views:

(A) All Namibians should within a short time be given the opportunity to express their views freely and under UN supervision on the political future and constitutional structure of the territory; (B) all Namibian political groups should be allowed to campaign for their views and to participate without hindrance in peaceful political activities in the course of self-determination; (C) the territory should not be fragmented in accordance with apartheid policy contrary to the wishes of its people; and (D) the future of Namibia should be determined by the freely expressed choice of its inhabitants.

We have expressed these views to the South African Government, and we are now considering what further actions we might usefully take to persuade the South Africans that it is in their own best interest to move rapidly to resolve in a satisfactory manner the Namibian issue. Assistant Secretary Buffum will discuss the UN aspects of the South African and Namibian issues.

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*PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER OF POLICE,
THE HON. J. T. KRUGER, ON 1ST AUGUST, 1975, CONCERNING THE
WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FROM RHODESIA.*

As repeatedly stated in Parliament and in public, the South African Police were sent to Rhodesia to stop South African terrorists on their way to South Africa. It has always been the Government's policy that it does not expect others to pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

It was never the purpose nor was it in the interests of Rhodesia or South Africa to get involved in internal struggles between Rhodesians. That was the point of view of both the South African Government and Mr. Smith's Government.

Gradually the original necessity for the South African Police presence grew less. It was also felt that their presence should not become a disturbing factor in the process of negotiations.

The stage has now been reached that the slightly more than 200 men, that are still in Rhodesia, can be withdrawn to the Republic, and such an order has been issued. In any case, these men, for the last few months, have been confined to their camps, and have not performed active duties.

EXTRACT FROM A STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT BY THE LESOTHO
FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. J.R. KOTSOKOANE

*Introducing the 1975/6 Budget Estimates for the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Maseru, 16 April, 1975.

As guardian of Lesotho's interests abroad and chief executing agent of Government's foreign policy, my Ministry has to date successfully adapted itself to the frequent changes which characterise international relations. Even though our national interests never change, relations between and among states are always in a state of flux. For this reason, our foreign policy has to behave like a living organism which, for the sake of self-preservation and perpetuation of its species, has to react to changes in its environment in a manner which will guarantee its survival. In short, our foreign policy must be dynamic not static.

We believe that permanent peace in the world can be achieved only through peaceful means. However, our definition of peaceful means implies neither blind acceptance of other people's ideas nor abject submission to pressure and blackmail. True international peace, we believe, can be secured only through mutual respect, mutual trust, honest negotiation and full commitment to the principles of human equality and justice. We categorically reject domination of the weak by the strong and exploitation of the poor by the rich.

In order to preserve and enhance our independence and sovereignty, we have become members of the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth and Organisation of African Unity. We are also members of many international organisations, including the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations. Through these organisations, we are able to participate in numerous cultural, social, political and economic conferences designed to strengthen international understanding and co-operation.

As members of the international community, we have a status and voice equal to those of countries far larger and richer than ourselves. On several occasions, we have piloted important issues at international conferences and have often represented the African region. For example, we are members of the drafting committee of the Conference on the Law of the Sea currently meeting in Geneva and we were on the drafting committee which produced the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa.

In the current climate of international relations, it is not only unwise but positively dangerous to put one's diplomatic eggs in one basket. We have therefore embarked on a programme of diplomatic diversification designed to protect us from political and/or economic pressures by one particular country or group of countries. We have already established contact with countries whose social, political and economic systems differ from our own. We have decided to be masters of our own destiny rather than mere pawns in the international chess game. This, we feel, is the pinnacle of diplomatic maturity.

We now have diplomatic or consular relations with over 30 countries. But for financial constraints, this number could be appreciably increased to our advantage, for it is no exaggeration to state that our international image has never been better than now. For the doubting Thomases, we quote below from an article in the February issue of Africa, a reputable magazine on African affairs :

"As part of his policy of minimising dependence upon South Africa, Jonathan in 1974, forged closer ties to the north with the OAU and especially with Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda. It was one (year) in which distinct gains could be recorded both on the economic front and in terms of foreign relations which broadly, as usual, means in terms of dependence upon or lessening of such dependence upon South Africa."

In Southern Africa, we have noted with extreme satisfaction the decolonization of the former Portuguese colonies. This development should not, however, lead us into assuming apologetic or complacent postures regarding the political and essentially human problems of the region. We still believe in constructive discussions (formerly called dialogue but now called contacts) involving the oppressed people themselves and aiming at equality and justice for all irrespective of race, colour or creed.

Because it manifests symptoms of complacency, abdication, resignation and acceptance of the status quo, the current fad of détente is a dangerous aberration of dialogue as defined in the Lusaka Manifesto. So-called détente does not harmonise with the freedom struggle in this part of the world and is therefore unacceptable to Africans who only recently, in Dar-es-Salaam, restated their unequivocal opposition to an accommodation with racism and white minority rule.

Because of our good international image and the satisfactory progress we have made in the economic field, many countries are either participating or willing to participate in our economic development programmes. Only good could come from the current meeting in Maseru of actual and potential aid donors. Our diplomatic missions played no small role in the groundwork which preceded the meeting.

Apropos of aid, it is important to draw the attention of Honourable members to the fact that in most aid-giving countries, the fraction of resources allocated as foreign aid is a purely political decision. It would therefore be to our advantage to establish more embassies in strategically situated world capitals. In this way, we would be in a better position to influence those who provide the ever-decreasing amount of foreign aid available to non-industrialised countries.

*EXTRACT REFERRING TO LESOTHO FROM A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN
PRIME MINISTER, THE HON. B.J. VORSTER **

*During Discussion of the Prime Minister's Budget Vote in the House
of Assembly*

Cape Town, 18 April, 1975.

*(After references to the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration, ++ adopted by
the OAU Council of Ministers on 10 April, 1975, and related OAU
Resolutions)*

I am devoting considerable time to these resolutions, because I know the circumstances and because I was aware of the circumstances under which that meeting took place. I reject the allegations which were made unconditionally. In fact, in my personal contacts with representatives and African leaders in the past, I rejected these with the contempt which they deserve. These are not going to divert me from my course of holding discussions with those African States which desire discussions with South Africa. The reasons are obvious. If it is necessary, I shall elaborate on this.

But it is also my duty to tell hon. members in this regard that according to information I have at my disposal there were four states in particular who carried the case against South Africa to extremes. It was in the first place, as one could expect, Libya. This country is not only at loggerheads with us, it is also at loggerheads with Egypt, its colleague. Then there was Sekou Touré of Guinea, a supporter of Communism. To my surprise Kenya was another, as a result of new dispensations which are apparently taking place. And to my regret, the fourth was Lesotho.

I have to report to this House - it is my duty - that in this entire regard, Lesotho went out of its way to impede South Africa's case. It was clear at the meeting of the OAU at Addis Ababa already that Lesotho was playing an important role in this regard. It was to a very great extent the efforts of Lesotho at that stage which led to the meeting at Dar-es-Salaam. Hon. members are aware of the role they played in that regard.

It will surprise hon. members - and I am mentioning these things because I want the people of Lesotho, with whom we have no problems, because the utmost goodwill exists between the people of Lesotho and South Africa, to realize on what course their Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kotsokoane, is directing Lesotho - to know that it was in fact Lesotho that carried to extremes the argument that our homelands are not viable. If one compares Lesotho's current Budget, as I shall do in a moment, with the Budget of the Transkei and with the Budgets of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Lebowa, then one is surprised that this is the case, but one is all the more surprised, Sir, because South Africa had no obligation whatsoever to Lesotho, and yet it was South Africa which came to its assistance. I am saying, Sir,

* Fuller extracts from this statement to be included in a subsequent issue of Southern Africa Record.

++ See Southern Africa Record, No.2, June 1975.

that I want the people of Lesotho to take cognizance of the standpoint and the attitude of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for which Chief Jonathan has to accept responsibility. It is very clear to me that these leaders are completely out of touch with the feelings of their people and that they would do well to take cognizance of the feelings which exist among their people.

Lesotho is angry with us, inter alia, over something with which we had nothing to do, which is that we are negotiating with representatives of Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania, and let me say at once, at the outset, that Swaziland and Botswana conducted themselves correctly throughout, and that I have no complaint whatsoever to make about them. I maintain that this was the result of the fact that we conducted negotiations with representatives from Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania. It is not we who constituted the representation; that was their own affair. But Lesotho is aggrieved now because they were overlooked by those people.

Now you can understand, once again, why I spoke at the outset of the oversensitiveness of certain people. But this does not detract from the fact that I have to be satisfied with their having to hit out at me now, because they are angry with someone else.

For the sake of the record it is a good thing that I mention these figures to you. Here African States have insulted the leaders of the Black peoples of South Africa, and I have to take up the cudgels for them, whether they agree with me now or not. Whether Chief Minister Buthelezi agrees with me or not, he is the leader of the Zulu and I have to recognize and respect him as such. And this is being done by countries, the Budget of one of which in particular is only R10 million. These are now party to a resolution which states that our homelands cannot be viable. Now I want to reiterate for the record that, whether one considers it from the point of view of territory, or from the point of view of the size of the population, or whether one considers it from the point of view of the total Budget, or the per capita income, or if one considers it from the point of view of literacy - one can apply any test one likes - it is and remains a fact that the majority of our homelands are already at this stage more viable in every sense of the word than at least 30 countries that have representation at the UN. These are the facts of the matter.

And Lesotho? According to the Statesman's Year Book for 1974-75, Lesotho had an income of R12 409 000 for the 1971-72 Budget year. It is now more: its current Budget is now in the region of R17 million. As against this, that of the Transkei is R17 million; of the Ciskei, R34 million; of Bophuthatswana, R49 million; of Lebowa, R37 million; of the tiny Venda R17 million; of Gazankulu R13 million; of QwaQwa, R7 million, and of KwaZulu, R92 million. Therefore you can understand that in all fairness I have to adopt a standpoint when these States are disparaged, and more specifically when their leaders are disparaged. I have to make it very clear now, and I am doing this in the full realization of all my responsibility - in fact. I have put it in this way to all

with whom I have held talks up to now; I hold talks on the basis of the policy of separate development, the policy of this Government; I hold talks on the basis that the Black homelands will become independent, and I hold talks in the hope of clearing the way for those homeland leaders, as and when they become independent, to take their full and equal place in world organizations. But if there is any person who believes that he can conduct talks with South Africa on the basis that Nelson Mandela is the leader of the Black people of South Africa, then I want to tell them now that they should not waste their time discussing this with me.

Just as I am now speaking here, I spoke in the rest of Africa, and hon. members would have observed this from the leakage which occurred in respect of my talks in Liberia. If someone wants to hold talks with me on South West Africa on the basis that Swapo in South West Africa and Sam Nujoma is the leader of South West Africa, then I say : "Forget it!"

REPORTED STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF LESOTHO,
DR. LEABUA JONATHAN

Butha-Buthe, Lesotho, 19 April, 1975.

As Reported in Mochochono, Maseru, 24 April, 1975.

The Prime Minister, Dr. Jonathan, says the Government cannot leave unchallenged the unsubtle suggestion attributed to the South African Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, by the S.A.B.C. that the Basotho should turn against their Government. Addressing a national pitso attended by many people at Butha-Buthe on Saturday last week, the Prime Minister said this is a serious and unwarranted interference in Lesotho's domestic affairs, which was publicly denied by South Africa at the United Nations last year.

Dr. Jonathan said the fictitious allegation that the leaders of Lesotho have lost touch with their people is contradicted by the fact that the Basotho fully support the stand taken by Lesotho at the recent meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, in Dar-es-Salaam.

The Prime Minister said if this were not so, the Basotho would have spoken their mind, and not waited for somebody else to comment on their behalf.

He said that any talk that Lesotho is against dialogue is false. Lesotho's initiatives on this issue were well-known from the days when the Lesotho's Prime Minister met the late Dr. Verwoerd and subsequently his successor, Vorster.

The Prime Minister said even if Lesotho had been invited to join the current détente moves, it would have been contrary to the resolutions of the OAU, the Lusaka Manifesto and the wishes of the Basotho

.... Commenting on Lesotho's foreign policy, Dr. Jonathan said Lesotho wished to see good relations between herself and her neighbour, but that he wished to make it clear that Lesotho cannot be held responsible for any deterioration in these relations.

He said, rather, relations were being strained and vexed by legislation enacted by Lesotho's neighbour, which discriminates against and humiliates Basotho because of the colour of their skin. He asked how efforts to find peace can be successful when the Basotho were continually being subjected to humiliations at the South African border posts. The Prime Minister blamed the white-owned South African newspapers like Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Tribune for their distorted reports.