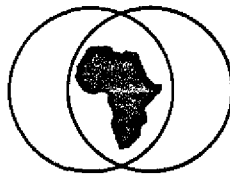


SOUTHERN AFRICA

RECORD

Number Two

The South African Institute of International Affairs



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S O U T H E R N A F R I C A

R E C O R D

Number Two

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut van Internasionale Aangeleenthede
The South African Institute of International Affairs

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, APRIL, 1969	1
EXTRACTS, CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE, FROM STATEMENTS BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AND THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION ON 30 AUGUST, 1974	8
ADDRESS BY H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA, DR. K.D. KAUNDA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERMENT OF THE DEGREE OF LL.D. (HONORIS CAUSA), UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, 26 OCTOBER, 1974	14
EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF BOTSWANA, SIR SERETSE KHAMA, OPENING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT, 18 NOVEMBER, 1974	22
SPEECH BY MR. VERNON J. MWAANGA, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ZAMBIA, AT THE 9TH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE O.A.U. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, 8 APRIL, 1975	23
DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, 10 APRIL, 1975	37
TEXT OF A LETTER, DATED 27 MAY, 1975, FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR. THE HON. H. MULLER, TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DR. KURT WALDHEIM, ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA	44
EXCERPTS FROM THE OPENING ADDRESS BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, THE HON. B.J. VORSTER, AT THE ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE AFRIKAANSE HANDELSINSTITUUT IN WINDHOEK ON 20 MAY, 1975, IN WHICH HE DEALT <i>inter alia</i> WITH THE QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA	48
EXTRACTS RELATING TO RHODESIA FROM STATEMENTS BY THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND THE PRIME MINISTER, IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, ON 25 JANUARY, 1966	53

THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA ⁺

1. When the purpose and the basis of States' international policies are misunderstood, there is introduced into the world, a new and unnecessary disharmony, disagreements, conflicts of interest, or different assessments of human priorities, which provoke an excess of tension in the world, and disastrously divide mankind, at a time when united action is necessary to control modern technology and put it to the service of man. It is for this reason that, discovering widespread misapprehension of our attitudes and purposes in relation to Southern Africa, we, the leaders of East and Central African States meeting at Lusaka, on 16 April 1969, have agreed to issue this Manifesto.

2. By this Manifesto we wish to make clear, beyond all shadow of doubt, our acceptance of the belief that all men are equal, and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, religion or sex. We believe that all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of the society, in their own Government. We do not accept that any individual or group has any right to govern any other group of sane adults, without their consent, and we affirm that only the people of a society, acting together as equals, can determine what is, for them, a good society and a good social, economic, or political organization.

3. On the basis of these beliefs we do not accept that any one group within a society has the right to rule any society without the continuing consent of all the citizens. We recognize that at any one time there will be, within every society, failures in the implementation of these ideals. We recognize that for the sake of order in human affairs, there may be transitional arrangements while a transformation from group inequalities to individual equality is being effected. But we affirm that without an acceptance of these ideals - without a commitment to these principles of human equality and self-determination - there can be no basis for peace and justice in the world.

4. None of us would claim that within our own States we have achieved that perfect social, economic and political organization which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for all our people and establish individual security against avoidable hardship or miscarriage of justice. On the contrary, we acknowledge that within our own States the struggle towards human brotherhood and unchallenged human dignity is only beginning. It is on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity, not on the basis of achieved perfection, that we take our stand of hostility

⁺Adopted by the Conference of East and Central African States, held in Lusaka in April, 1969. It was subsequently approved by the Heads of State and Government of the O.A.U. in September, 1969, and then endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly in November of the same year in resolution 2505 (XXIV).

towards the colonialism and racial discrimination which is being practised in southern Africa. It is on the basis of their commitment to these universal principles that we appeal to other members of the human race for support.

5. If the commitment to these principles existed among the States holding power in southern Africa, any disagreements we might have about the rate of implementation, or about isolated acts of policy, would be matters affecting only our individual relationships with the States concerned. If these commitments existed, our States would not be justified in the expressed and active hostility towards the régimes of southern Africa such as we have proclaimed and continue to propagate.

6. The truth is, however, that in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, there is an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality and national self-determination. This is not a matter of failure in the implementation of accepted human principles. The effective administrations in all these territories are not struggling towards these difficult goals. They are fighting the principles; they are deliberately organizing their societies so as to try to destroy the hold of these principles in the minds of men. It is for this reason that we believe the rest of the world must be interested. For the principle of human equality, and all that flows from it, is either universal or it does not exist. The dignity of all men is destroyed when the manhood of any human being is denied.

7. Our objectives in southern Africa stem from our commitment to this principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the administration of these States because they are manned and controlled by white people. We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exist as a result of, and in the pursuance of, doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all the people and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen.

8. Our stand towards southern Africa thus involves a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination. We believe that all the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of southern Africa are Africans, regardless of the colour of their skins; and we would oppose a racist majority government which adopted a philosophy of deliberate and permanent discrimination between its citizens on grounds of racial origin. We are not talking racialism when we reject the colonialism and apartheid policies now operating in those areas; we are demanding an opportunity for all the people of these States, working together as equal individual citizens, to work out for

themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society.

9. As an aftermath of the present policies, it is likely that different groups within these societies will be self-conscious and fearful. The initial political and economic organizations may well take account of these fears, and this group self-consciousness. But how this is to be done must be a matter, exclusively for the peoples of the country concerned, working together. No other nation will have a right to interfere in such affairs. All that the rest of the world has a right to demand is just what we are now asserting, that the arrangements within any State which wishes to be accepted into the community of nations must be based on an acceptance of the principles of human dignity and equality.

10. To talk of the liberation of Africa is thus to say two things. First, that the peoples in the territories still under colonial rule shall be free to determine for themselves their own institutions of self-government. Secondly, that the individuals in southern Africa shall be freed from an environment poisoned by the propaganda of racialism, and given an opportunity to be men, not white men, brown men, yellow men or black men.

11. Thus the liberation of Africa for which we are struggling does not mean a reverse racialism. Nor is it an aspect of African imperialism. As far as we are concerned the present boundaries of the States of southern Africa are the boundaries of what will be free and independent African States. There is no question of our seeking or accepting any alterations to our own boundaries at the expense of these future free African nations.

12. On the objectives of liberation as thus defined, we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence, we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors. This is why the signatory States participate in the movement for the liberation of Africa under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity. However, the obstacle to change is not the same in all the countries of

southern Africa, and it follows therefore that the possibility of continuing the struggle through peaceful means varies from one country to another.

13. In Mozambique and Angola, and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, the basic problem is not racialism but a pretence that Portugal exists in Africa. Portugal is situated in Europe; the fact that it is a dictatorship is a matter for the Portuguese to settle. But no decree of the Portuguese dictator, nor legislation passed by any Parliament in Portugal, can make Africa part of Europe. The only thing which could convert a part of Africa into a constituent unit in a union which also includes a European State would be the freely expressed will of the people of that part of Africa. There is no such popular will in the Portuguese colonies. On the contrary, in the absence of any opportunity to negotiate a road to freedom, the people of all three territories have taken up arms against the colonial Power. They have done this despite the heavy odds against them, and despite the great suffering they know to be involved.

14. Portugal, as a European State, has naturally its own allies in the context of the ideological conflict between West and East. However, in our context, the effect of this is that Portugal is enabled to use her resources to pursue the most heinous war and degradation of man in Africa. The present Manifesto must, therefore, lay bare the fact that the inhuman commitment of Portugal in Africa and her ruthless subjugation of the people of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea are not only irrelevant to the ideological conflict of power politics, but also diametrically opposed to the politics, the philosophies and the doctrines practised by her Allies in the conduct of their own affairs at home. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea are not interested in communism or capitalism; they are interested in their freedom. They are demanding an acceptance of the principles of independence on the basis of majority rule, and for many years they called for discussions on this issue. Only when their demand for talks was continually ignored did they begin to fight. Even now, if Portugal should change her policy and accept the principle of self-determination, we would urge the liberation movements to desist from their armed struggle and to co-operate in the mechanics of a peaceful transfer of power from Portugal to the peoples of the African territories.

15. The fact that many Portuguese citizens have immigrated to these African countries does not affect this issue. Future immigration policy will be a matter for the independent Governments when these are established. In the meantime, we would urge the liberation movements to reiterate their statements that all those Portuguese people who have made their homes in Mozambique, Angola or Portuguese Guinea, and who are willing to give their

future loyalty to those States, will be accepted as citizens. An independent Mozambique, Angola or Portuguese Guinea may choose to be as friendly with Portugal as Brazil is. That would be the free choice of a free people.

16. In Rhodesia the situation is different in so far as the metropolitan Power has acknowledged the colonial status of the territory. Unfortunately, however, it has failed to take adequate measures to reassert its authority against the minority which has seized power with the declared intention of maintaining white domination. The matter cannot rest there. Rhodesia, like the rest of Africa, must be free, and its independence must be on the basis of majority rule. If the colonial Power is unwilling or unable to effect such a transfer of power to the people, then the people themselves will have no alternative but to capture it as and when they can. Africa has no alternative but to support them. The question which remains in Rhodesia is therefore whether Great Britain will reassert her authority in Rhodesia and then negotiate the peaceful progress to majority rule before independence. In so far as Britain is willing to make this second commitment, Africa will co-operate in her attempts to reassert her authority. This is the method of progress which we would prefer; it could involve less suffering for all the peoples of Rhodesia, both black and white. But until there is some firm evidence that Britain accepts the principles of independence on the basis of majority rule and is prepared to take whatever steps are necessary to make it a reality, Africa has no choice but to support the struggle for the people's freedom by whatever means are open.

17. Just as a settlement of the Rhodesian problem with a minimum of violence is a British responsibility, so a settlement in Namibia with a minimum of violence is a United Nations responsibility. By every canon of international law and by every precedent, Namibia should now have been a sovereign, independent State with a government based on majority rule. South West Africa was a German colony until 1919, just as Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi, Togoland and Cameroon were German colonies. It was a matter of European politics that when the mandatory system was established after Germany had been defeated, the administration of South West Africa was given to the white minority Government of South Africa, while the other ex-German colonies in Africa were put into the hands of the British, Belgian or French Governments. After the Second World War every mandated territory except South West Africa was converted into a Trust Territory and has subsequently gained independence. South Africa, on the other hand, has persistently refused to honour even the international obligation it accepted in 1919 and has increasingly applied to South West Africa the inhuman doctrines and organization of apartheid.

18. The United Nations General Assembly has ruled against this action, and in 1966 terminated the Mandate under which South Africa had a legal basis for its occupation and domination of South West Africa. The General Assembly declared that the territory is now the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and set up an ad hoc committee to recommend practical means by which South West Africa would be administered, and the people enabled to exercise self-determination and to achieve independence.

19. Nothing could be clearer than this decision, which no permanent member of the Security Council voted against. Yet, since that time no effective measures have been taken to enforce it. Namibia remains in the clutches of the most ruthless minority Government in Africa. Its people continue to be oppressed, and those who advocate even peaceful progress to independence continue to be persecuted. The world has an obligation to use its strength to enforce the decision which all the countries co-operated in making. If they do this there is hope that the change can be effected without great violence. If they fail, then sooner or later the people of Namibia will take the law into their own hands. The people have been patient beyond belief but one day their patience will be exhausted. Africa, at least, will then be unable to deny their call for help.

20. South Africa is itself an independent, sovereign State and a member of the United Nations. It is more highly developed and richer than any other nation in Africa. On every legal basis its internal affairs are a matter exclusively for the people of South Africa. Yet, the purpose of law is people and we assert that the actions of the South African Government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity.

21. There is one thing about South African oppression which distinguishes it from other oppressive régimes. The apartheid policy adopted by its Government, and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens, is based on a rejection of man's humanity. A position of privilege or the experience of oppression in the South African society depends on the one thing which it is beyond the power of any man to change. It depends upon a man's colour, his parentage and his ancestors. If you are black you cannot escape this categorization, nor can you escape it if you are white. If you are a black millionaire and a brilliant political scientist, you are still subject to the pass laws and still excluded from political activity. If you are white, even protests against the system and an attempt to reject segregation will lead you only to the segregation and the comparative comfort of a white jail. Beliefs, abilities, and behaviour are all irrelevant to a man's status; everything depends upon race. Manhood is irrelevant. The whole system of government and society in South Africa is based on the denial of human equality. The system is

maintained by a ruthless denial of the human rights of the majority of the population and thus, inevitably, of all.

22. These things are known and are regularly condemned in the United Nations and elsewhere. But it appears that for many countries international law takes precedence over humanity; therefore no action follows the words. Yet even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid, it does not demand that the comfort and support of human and commercial intercourse should be given to a Government which rejects the manhood of most humanity. South Africa should be excluded from the United Nations agencies, and even from the United Nations itself. It should be ostracized by the world community. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient if it can. The South African Government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations. Certainly Africa cannot acquiesce in the maintenance of the present policies against people of African descent.

23. The signatories of this Manifesto assert that the validity of the principles of human equality and dignity extend to South Africa just as they extend to the colonial territories of southern Africa. Before a basis for peaceful development can be established on this continent, these principles must be acknowledged by every nation and in every State there must be a deliberate attempt to implement them.

24. We reaffirm our commitment to these principles of human equality and human dignity and to the doctrines of self-determination and non-racialism. We shall work for their extension within our own nations and throughout the continent of Africa.

EXTRACTS, CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE,
FROM STATEMENTS BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME
MINISTER AND THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION
ON 30 AUGUST, 1974

Made during the Debate on the Prime Minister's Budget Vote in the South African House of Assembly.

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff: I believe it would be wrong to assume that the present Portuguese Government is already committed to a policy of total withdrawal from Africa and the surrender of its authority to independent movements. But whatever the outcome, South Africa is going to have to live with it. After all, we are part of the continent of Africa. For that reason I welcome the statement by the hon. the Prime Minister a little while ago that South Africa has no intention of interfering, that it was interested in stable government in the neighbour states and ready to co-operate with one or more Black governments to this end. But, of course, this is not the crux of the problem for South Africa. Good relations with neighbouring States should not be difficult of solution, but what is disturbing is the long-term implication of continuing insurgent initiatives throughout Southern Africa. It is in this regard that the changes are so significant to South Africa, for whatever their nature may be and whatever may result from them, they will dramatically reduce both the time and the space which stand between us and possible insurgent initiatives against South Africa itself.

I believe that if the Portuguese Government succeeds in its intentions, it may buy valuable time for South Africa. The ideas which they have are, in the first instance, government by the consent of the African people to make them less vulnerable to insurgent warfare. In the event of independence and a Black majority Government, probably the same considerations will apply. Such a Government, while not hostile to South Africa directly, may yet willing or unwilling under pressure make itself a base for insurgent pressure against South Africa.

Fortunately for us the interdependence of South Africa and Mozambique in particular is so considerable that it could create strong disincentives even to such an independent Government to aid or sponsor insurgency across our common frontiers. We know of the great mutual advantages both to us and to Mozambique of the Mozambique Convention and the related agreements. We know that those advantages have grown over the years and they would not likely be jeopardized by any Government. We know about the arrangements in regard to labour, about the deferred payment of that labour and we know about the use of Lourenco Marques as a guaranteed port for the main mining and industrial areas of the Southern Transvaal. We know about the flow of trade and the high degree of interdependence. We know that

these are further being re-inforced by the Cabora Bassa scheme and the agreement in this regard. We know that with regard to Angola there is the Kunene River Basin Agreement. Whatever the new régimes in these territories may be, it is likely that these benefits are going to flow in the future more directly to the local Government and less to metropolitan Portugal as in the past. Obviously we shall have to seek to develop these mutual interests even further, because I believe that they provide a compelling inducement to retain political relationships on a sane and sensible basis.

What plans are the Government making; what have they in view? I believe it would be wrong to assume that our major defences against insurgency have already been dismantled or that the land spaces which act as a buffer between us and the insurgent bases of the North are of no further value. However, I believe it would be equally wrong - this is the point - to underestimate the reduced dimensions of space and time that must now be brought into strategic account, or to fail to learn the lessons of recent history in the countries to the north of us. One of the gravest errors of all would be to delay so long in reaching a just accommodation with your own population, that one will eventually be forced to seek agreement with the forces of insurgency and terrorism from outside.

The Prime Minister, the Hon. B.J. Vorster: Once again I want to make this very clear, and I am by no means saying this in a disparaging or reproachful sense: The policy of Portugal was a policy of assimilation. Sir, all over the world it is being said - and this reproach has often been levelled at us indirectly in this House - that assimilation is the magic word. It has been said, especially in the outside world, that assimilation is the magic word which will also solve South Africa's problems. But it has not safeguarded Portugal against terrorism. On the contrary, we are now in a position to learn lessons. The fact that these territories were situated far away from Portugal did not make any difference. If they had been situated next to Portugal, we would have seen exactly the same thing. Sir, one must not take a person's nationhood away from him. If one does, one is in for trouble.

We as the Government can be reproached with many things by hon. members opposite, and there may be some substance to some of them, but there is one thing in respect of which they cannot reproach us, and that is that we have suppressed the national feeling and the nationhood idea of people in this country. On the contrary, our policy is aimed at, and this is basic to our policy, our encouraging these things and trying to develop them along with these people. In the face of whatever weaknesses we may have according to the Opposition, we have cherished and pampered the preservation of language, culture and what is inherent in people. We have been doing this because we attach importance to what is our

own and know how we had to fight for these things: We also know how sensitive people are about these things if one should try to take them away. Even if those territories were situated next to Portugal. I foresee that those problems would have developed all the same.

We are now being confronted with that situation, whatever its causes may be. I could expatiate on that at length, but that would not take us any further and it is not relevant either. The fact of the matter is that we are being confronted with that situation. It is because the hon. the Leader of the Opposition commented on Mozambique that I am replying on the situation in Mozambique as I see it.

I want to say at once that since the time when these radical changes took place, this Government has allowed no opportunity to pass without maintaining liaison with those with whom it had to be maintained or without asking assurances from those from whom assurance had to be asked, and I want to state here that positive replies were given to the assurance that was asked. For reasons which hon. members will appreciate, I do not wish to take this matter any further.

At all times, on all levels, on all fronts and by all ministers involved in the matter, we have been maintaining the necessary liaison and trying to serve South Africa's interest to the best of our ability. Furthermore, we have planned for all eventualities. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition will agree with me that the position is extremely fluid, that command changes hands very frequently and that a person who is in command today may no longer be there tomorrow. Of course, this makes matters very complicated and very difficult. In spite of this position I want to assure hon. members and, through them, all our people outside that what could and had to be done in that regard was in fact done by the Government.

As far as Mozambique is concerned, there is in my opinion one fact which we can all accept, and that is that sooner or later - in view of the circumstances it is not easy to say that that time will come on such or such a date - an indigenous government will be established in Mozambique. I think it is reasonable to accept something of this nature, and I think it is reasonable to accept that everything points to the fact that this will indeed be the case. At the first opportunity that offered I stated my standpoint in that regard very clearly, and I honestly do not know on what grounds the hon. the Leader of the Opposition can make the accusation that "evasions" have now become a characteristic of the Government in regard to these matters. This is merely a statement that is made without its being motivated. What is more, it is silly, because in respect of every event we took up a standpoint the moment it was necessary to do so.

I want to tell the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, because he does not yet have any experience of governing, that there are times when it is much better for a government to keep quiet than to speak. After all, I did state my point of view very clearly, with due regard to the fact that a new, indigenous government could possibly be established. I did say everything that needed to be said in that regard, namely that it was not South Africa's policy to lay down what kind of government they should have there or who should serve in that government. The cornerstone of South Africa's policy is non-interference with the domestic affairs of its neighbouring states. All I was prepared to say was that South Africa and not only South Africa but also Mozambique, was interested in seeing a sound and stable government established there. Once that sound and stable government has been established, South Africa will co-operate with that government. It goes without saying that South Africa will take the first opportunity to make contact with that government and to reach an understanding with that government. It is not only in South Africa's interest to do so, but, pre-eminently, in the interests of that government as well.

Mozambique is a country with potential, a country which is already developing to a certain extent. I believe that far greater development can still take place there. But Mozambique is not a country which can stand on its own feet at the moment without co-operating with South Africa. I think any expert will agree that it is not only in the interests of South Africa, but also in the interests of Mozambique itself that the ports of Beira, Nacala and Lourenco Marques should be kept open, that there should be order in those ports, that there should be good administration in them and that the railway lines to those ports should be kept open. Mozambique obtains a great deal of revenue through those ports, mainly from South Africa and Rhodesia. It is therefore in its absolute interests that those ports should remain open.

Furthermore, it is in its interests that such law and order should prevail in Mozambique that it will once again be able to lure tourist traffic from South Africa, for that tourist traffic used to provide it with a considerable sum of money in revenue. There are hotels and other facilities which are geared solely to tourism from South Africa. It is in its interests to govern the country in such a sound manner that tourists will not be rebuffed but feel that it will be safe for them to go there.

What is more, as matters stand in Mozambique at the moment, it cannot employ all its people itself. Especially in view of the setback which its economy has probably received now, it is impossible for that country to employ all its people. From an economic and a human point of view, it is absolutely essential for it that it should find employment for its people. For generations and generations its people have found employ-

ment in South Africa. It is therefore in its interests that that arrangement be continued.

Under the old Portuguese régime millions upon millions were spent on the construction of Cabora Bassa. With the best will in the world Mozambique cannot use all that power, and the other neighbouring states cannot use that power either. If they do not want the biggest white elephant in Africa, and if they do not want to waste all those millions of rands, it is essential that Cabora Bassa be completed and that the power be sold to South Africa so that they may obtain that revenue, which is going to be considerable, for developing their territory.

I am only mentioning four points; there are many other matters which I could mention in that regard. I therefore sum up this position by saying that if and when an indigenous government is established, they can do one of two things. They can attach importance to and have appreciation for these economic facts which I have just mentioned, and they can organize their government in such a way that these things I have just mentioned may be done. Then, of course, we shall have no problems. Irrespective of the colour of that government, we shall then have the heartiest co-operation between South Africa and Mozambique in the economic sphere - even though there may be differences in the political sphere.

If, on the other hand, an indigenous government is established there which says that these things mean nothing to them, that Cabora Bassa may go to rack and ruin, that Lourenco Marques, Beira and Nacala may come to a standstill, that they do not mind about there being thousands of unemployed in their country and about their having to forfeit the revenue from tourism, then, of course, it will be a different matter. In that case it will, of course, be a matter about which I cannot do a thing. If they should have a government which adopts the attitude - and I do not think that such a foolish government will ever come into power there; I simply cannot conceive of that happening - that it will use Mozambique as a starting point against South Africa for attacking South Africa, it stands to reason that we shall have to defend ourselves. I need not elaborate on that. In that case it is self-evident what the consequences for Southern Africa may be.

I want to conclude with that aspect. I want to repeat what I also said in public, namely that people should be careful about drawing conclusions too prematurely. We should play the waiting game carefully and see what course matters are taking before we draw conclusions and before we take any steps. I want to make it very clear here - and I am pleased that this is by and large being accepted in the world outside - that it is by no means South Africa's objective to interfere in the affairs of Mozambique and that South Africa has no intention of invading Mozambique,

as is being propagated by people who are conjuring up spectres and making propaganda against South Africa. South Africa's policy in that regard is common knowledge, and the only thing South Africa will ever do is to defend itself with its full striking power in the event of its being attacked. This is something no country in the world can be denied by any person or any organization.

ADDRESS BY H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA, DR. K.D. KAUNDA,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERMENT OF THE DEGREE
OF LL.D. (HONORIS CAUSA), UNIVERSITY
OF ZAMBIA, 26 OCTOBER, 1974.

I have had many dreams and many brainstorm, dreams fulfilled, dreams unfulfilled. I had dreams about the struggle for independence, that Zambia would be free under a Black Government, that development would come to a greater number of our people, that Zambia would emerge strong but only after her neighbours were also truly free and independent. I have had dreams, beautiful dreams about the future of our youth as the pride of our nation and custodians of the heritage of which we are privileged to be the architects today.

But one idea that never crossed my mind was that the time would come when I would be honoured in the manner to which I stand the main witness today. If I had not understood the meaning of this award and the clear message of the public orator in his citation I would have been carried away, excited or embarrassed. But I realise that the achievements of the last few years of my public life, for what they are worth, are not and cannot be the result of one man. No, No!! No one general can win a war without the support of his colonels, majors, captains and other fighters. Real victory in life as in war is always the product of collective effort, born out of a sense of community and common destiny. This is what made the struggle for Independence possible, this is what led us to victory over the forces of evil and this is what will lead us to new victories in future over Zambia's enemies in whatever shape or form they may come.

Our achievements in this country, including those outlined in the citation, are the product of united effort, dedication and self-sacrifice among all the people of Zambia under the leadership of our Party.

So while thanking you for the great honour you have done me in conferring upon me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws of this University, it is my imperative duty to pass on the great tribute and the honour to the entire people of Zambia for whom I am only a servant. The people not only gave me the opportunity to help guide this nation to where it is today but also gave full spiritual, moral and practical assistance by their contribution in Nation-building. They are the vanguard of the revolution and the real architects of Zambia. Without the confidence and the practical support of the people of Zambia, we would not have overcome the wave after wave of crises which we have gone through in the last few years. So this honour is not mine alone. It also belongs to the people, the custodians of all the national honours and glory.

At this point I would like to express my indebtedness to Mrs. Kaunda and the entire family for their understanding, patience and helpfulness since the dark days of the struggle. Their readiness to make sacrifices always gives me moral strength to soldier along in the service of my fellowmen. I, therefore, pay tribute to them on this occasion.

The award is a recognition of our collective success as a Nation. But I regard it as a challenge. The eulogy of the public orator delivered in musical tones with professorial dignity is a solemn call to duty - grave duty to this nation. Let us not be dazed by the bright sunshine of the success of the glorious past which is now part of our history and the experience in our arsenal. We must always look to the future and chart the course our nation must take on the unbeaten paths of life to greater prosperity based on equality. So on such an occasion I would like to address myself to one of the greatest challenges ahead of us. We must build peace in Zambia on a very firm foundation. Freedom and development cannot be secure without a durable peace based on justice and equality.

But no matter how much we succeed in achieving our objectives internally, one problem continues to place constraints on the maximisation of our efforts. This is the crisis in Southern Africa. Through the dedication and great sacrifices of the people of Mozambique and Angola, these countries are firmly on the road to full independence. Colonialism has suffered a heavy defeat. We rejoice with the people of Mozambique and Angola in their success. But this is only the beginning of the new era. For winning and ending war is one problem. But maintaining and strengthening peace is quite another. However, Africa has reached another milestone in the struggle against colonialism. The events of the last few months have changed the course of 500 years of history, hopefully permanent and for the better in the interests of all mankind.

The search for peace in Southern Africa has often defied the efforts of the international community. Unfortunately the world has been involved in dealing with the efforts rather than the causes of the crisis in Southern Africa. Those of us who believe in peace in Africa, peace based on freedom, justice, love and co-operation and not merely in the absence of conflict understand that the problem of Southern Africa will only be resolved when the fundamental causes have been removed.

In the last few years since the outbreak of the wars of liberation in Mozambique and Angola, in Rhodesia and Namibia, and since the birth of a new national consciousness amongst the majority of the people in South Africa, the forces of democracy and independence have gathered momentum and are now beginning to blow with hurricane speed towards the

South. Change is not only necessary in the socio-political structures in Southern Africa, it is inevitable and urgent. In the past it was fashionable to fear what was called '*white backlash!*' It was a bug-bear to frighten the black majority into submission to further oppression. This does not make sense in this part of the world any more.

The world must be wary of a '*black backlash!*': We must work to guarantee that each and every individual in this part of the world irrespective of race, colour, creed or station in life, has an opportunity in shaping the destiny of his or her own country, in shaping the future of the country in which he or she lives. These are some of the ideals for which the people in this country whom the University has honoured today paid so much in human and material sacrifices in order to assist our fellowmen still living under oppressive rule to gain their Independence. Our people died and some are permanently maimed. That is the national scar left by the period of liberation wars which have raged on our borders.

In defence of our country, we have in the last few years built our army into an efficient and effective fighting force. Ours is an army with a philosophy and a national purpose. We have an effective air force. You have seen the boys up in the air, flying the national flag and its eagle with thunder, ready to defend Mother Zambia. The National Service is now part of our effective defence system and is expanding fast with the University of Zambia as an active participant. Here, we have the youth, the custodians of Zambia's future, ready to build and to defend the product of their gallant efforts. The police force, the home guards, para-military and the cadet corps, all under the leadership of the Party now stand ready to defend Zambia.

The Party, through its programmes of political education, has raised the National consciousness and vigilance of our people and increased their patriotism. Consequently, all the people of Zambia are now proud of the institutions comprising of our nation-wide defence system. We love the boys and girls in the armed forces whose march and fly-past we witnessed on our Independence Day. We will give them all the support they need in times of crisis.

But let me say that Zambia does not want war with any country in the world, neighbour or not. We want to live in peace with all countries provided they respect our territorial integrity and respect the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and the OAU. We will remain opposed to racial oppression because it is a fundamental cause of conflict in the world. We will continue to pursue anti-colonialist and anti-racist policies as they are causes of tension and war. We remain committed to the principles of majority rule because it is the only basis for durable peace rooted in freedom and justice.

The South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, speaking in the Senate in Cape Town on the eve of our Independence Anniversary pledged himself and his Government to work for peace, progress and development in Southern Africa. He declared his faith in the future and expressed his optimism about future developments in Southern Africa. This is the voice of reason for which Africa and the world have waited for many years. In April, 1969, in Lusaka, the Manifesto on Southern Africa was first adopted and later in the year accepted by the OAU and the United Nations General Assembly. In that Manifesto, Africa put the options for solving the problems of Southern Africa very clearly. The people of Southern Africa had to choose either a peaceful change or violent change to achieve peace, progress, development and justice for all. The choice to take up arms in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and Namibia was made in the early 60's after the avenues of peaceful change were closed to the vast majority of the people in Southern Africa. The armed struggle, therefore, was the natural response to armed repression used by those in authority to maintain themselves in power undemocratically.

Now, if the South African Government is ready to follow the way of peace to achieve for this continent and its people the best that is possible, then all I can say is that Africa, in accordance with the principles laid down in the Manifesto on Southern Africa, stands ready to help create conditions for peaceful change. The people of Southern Africa have little choice. *For the forces that have prevented the peaceful change in the past have made violent change inevitable.* This was proved in Portugal where reactionary forces for a long time stood in the way of progressive forces. *We do not desire to see an escalation of conflict in Southern Africa. The consequences of such an escalation are too grave both in material and human sacrifice to be permitted either by design or by default.*

As we have always declared, our struggle for independence in Zambia was not aimed against a particular racial group or colour. We fought against a rotten system, so did Frelimo in Mozambique, and the liberation movements in Angola that have just achieved peace for their people. Similarly the struggle in Rhodesia and Namibia is not against whites. It is aimed against a system of Government that is not only brutal in its oppression of the majority, that has brought economic stagnation, racial strife and war, but now fails completely to provide security even for the whites whom it claims to represent. This is the system whose end is not only necessary but very urgent if the gates to durable peace are to be opened widely and permanently for all in these two areas.

Rhodesia and Namibia, after the end of the war in Mozambique, are the major obstacles to peace and co-operation between the people of South Africa and the people of the rest of Africa. Unless these obstacles

are removed, then the basic causes of conflict will remain with all the consequences already familiar to all of us.

Consequently on Rhodesia I have the following to say: *A military victory for the Smith regime is impossible, but a black victory is inevitable in Rhodesia.* Victory cannot be too far off no matter how brutal the repression may be against the majority. The great danger which we must guard against is that the black majority may be tempted, if a solution is postponed further, to avenge the lives of their fellow-men after victory is won. This is unnecessary. It is the duty of all men of good will in Rhodesia to work together to build harmony in place of hatred. It is in the interest of the Smith regime to avoid a black backlash which could lead to panic and human suffering particularly among the white minority. *No army however strong and fascist in Rhodesia can defeat the idea of freedom because its time has already come. The time for Independence under majority rule in Rhodesia is overdue.* Zimbabwe must be born if not naturally then by a caesarean operation. If that should be the eventuality, then somebody will have to nurse the wound of a caesarean birth. This should then be avoided.

Mr. Smith must now opt for a political solution. If he should do so, he will find Africa ready to help work out an honourable formula which guarantees the interests of all in Rhodesia and also guarantees genuine peace founded on love and understanding. I have no doubt that such a formula can be found provided we all face the realities of the modern world. Mr. Smith should not invest his efforts in formulas which will not end the war and the current bloodshed, he should discard formulas which will result in an escalation of war. Intensification of armed conflict has characterized the events in Rhodesia since 1966 and the only thing that can stop it is the acceptance of a peace formula by Mr. Smith and his colleagues which accords with the will of the majority.

I hope that the last nine years have demonstrated that armed repression will not bring peace and security to the people of Rhodesia. Respect of the will of the majority will do so immediately.

Just as we pledged our efforts to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, so do we also pledge our commitment to help find a peaceful solution in Rhodesia provided it is based on criteria which meet the demands of the people. The world knows that we offered our good offices to the Portuguese Government many times in the past to end their colonial wars. We did it in good grace. *Now we offer our good offices to any one who wishes to use them to achieve peace based on justice and genuine freedom in Southern Africa. We will not compromise the principles of justice in search for peace and co-operation among the peoples of Southern Africa.*

Our interest is to end war and bloodshed and establish peace and prosperity in their place. We in Zambia paid a high price to help achieve peace in Mozambique and Angola. We are ready to face the realities of the future in the search for peace in Rhodesia. We, therefore, reaffirm our pledge to call upon the liberation movements to desist from armed struggle if Mr. Smith accepts negotiations with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the African people. 'Indabas' will not end the war. We are ready to support any efforts designed to facilitate the convening of a constitutional conference geared to work out a settlement acceptable to the majority of the people of Rhodesia. That is what will bring peace and honour to that country.

A time of decision for Mr. Smith has thus come. Rhodesians can no longer postpone that time. They cannot buy time because there is no longer any more time to buy. Already there lies before Mr. Smith and his supporters a storm in which their "state craft" is bound to be wrecked to pieces. All men of goodwill should help from the fear of the unknown.

Namibia is another area of controversy and an obstacle to understanding between the South African Government and the rest of Africa and the world. Namibia is an international problem. This position results from the decision of the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. World pressure on South Africa calling on her to withdraw from Namibia has grown tremendously. An independent Namibia is in the interest of South Africa, a country already crucified on the cross of apartheid. It is our submission that the question of Namibia is a clear case and it is my sincere hope and prayer that new initiatives announced by the South African Government will lead to a decision to accept the status of Namibia as an independent State. The South African Government Declaration that the future of Namibia should be decided by the people themselves is a welcome gesture. But we must avoid the danger of building a Namibia that will fall easy victim of strife in future. If we want stability in Southern Africa, then let it be built on very firm foundations. It is important to build Namibia on very firm foundations, otherwise the image of South Africa will grow worse if after withdrawal Namibia is torn by strife and division which can be avoided.

As for South Africa, she either is an African country with obligations towards peace, freedom and unity like other nations on the continent or a country in Africa which is European in its objectives. As we understand now the Government of South Africa has stated through the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, that South Africa should project its future within the context of Africa; that South Africa belongs to Africa and the peoples of South Africa, black, white, brown, yellow and so forth all belong to Africa and have as much right as anyone else to enjoy the fruits of this

continent. That is accepted. We do not quarrel about the rights of the white people who have chosen Africa to be their home. I believe all mankind will accept the existence of white people in Africa as the existence of black people in America and Europe as a matter of historical, political, social and cultural fact. *We do not question the rights of the whites in South Africa. What is at issue is their claim to have the right to dominate others on the basis of colour.*

The Manifesto on Southern Africa gives recognition to South Africa as an independent and sovereign State but she has compromised her position by supporting unjust causes in Rhodesia and Namibia. She also compromised her position by identifying herself with colonialist Portugal and her dictatorship under Caetano. But now the assumptions upon which the unholy alliance was founded have crumbled. *The time has come for the South African Government to make a choice. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Vorster, has recognised that his country is now at the cross-roads. The choice is either the road to peace, progress and development or to the escalation of conflict in Southern Africa. We say there is no external threat to South African security. So there is no basis for the South African Government to choose the road to conflict. There is no basis for South African involvement in a war outside her borders. This is why we have questioned her military involvement in Rhodesia. South Africa's withdrawal from Rhodesia is necessary and urgent and would open the way to the solution of the Rhodesian problem.*

If South Africa welcomes the establishment of a black government in Mozambique not as a tragedy but a challenge, the political change in Rhodesia cannot be otherwise. Mozambique and Botswana with their long boundaries are far more relevant to the security of South Africa than the unstable government in Rhodesia. We, therefore, would like South Africa to disengage from Rhodesia and allow political change that will guarantee peace for all and throughout the sub-continent.

We do not underestimate the importance of development and its role in strengthening stability within and among nations. But it is important that at this stage we have our priorities correct. We cannot separate development from peace and security. Development, real development, depends upon peace and security amongst all the people in this part of the world, as elsewhere. This is not a question of the egg and chicken, it is a matter of basic truth that instability in Rhodesia has brought economic stagnation to that country. We must therefore, establish peace and stability upon which development can be built. The same will be the case in Namibia if conditions for a peaceful transition are not urgently prepared.

This is a time of great challenge for the people of South Africa.

No one will solve their problems. African countries will not take up arms and fight a war against South Africa. This did not happen in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and in Zambia. We each fought for our own freedom and only received the necessary assistance from our friends. We were primarily responsible for winning our Independence. So the people of South Africa will face the primary task of shaping their own destiny and accepting the inevitability of change. We hope it will be a peaceful change. We want it to be a peaceful and speedy change so that the people of South Africa can all enjoy peace and freedom in prosperity and happiness rooted in love and justice.

This is a very important time for all of us and in this University as well. The Southern African crisis has affected us greatly since Independence. The achievement of peace in Southern Africa which is based on the will of the majority of the people is very important and very urgent. It is a very great challenge to us all. We certainly are determined to make our contribution provided those whom we wish to assist accept our offer in a genuine spirit.

So as I accept this award I am conscious of my obligations to my country, Africa and the world at large. The eulogy in the citation is a solemn reminder that I must not fail in my duties to my fellowmen - duties of national and international character which if I fail to perform I must be called upon to account by those who have given me the privilege of being their leader for the time being. But with our Participatory Democracy these duties involve all of us. For as I said at the beginning, no one man can win a war of whatever nature single-handed. The future challenges are a collective responsibility, the accomplishment of which will put us firmly on the road to more stable peace, progress and development not only in Zambia, but in the rest of Africa and the world.

To peace, progress, development in freedom and justice for all, I pledge my continued efforts. I pray that I continue to enjoy the confidence and support of my fellowmen in Zambia and elsewhere in the world. In Almighty God, I trust.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF
BOTSWANA, SIR SERETSE KHAMA, OPENING THE
FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT

Gaborone, 18 November, 1974

In the field of foreign affairs, my new Government will, as the ones before it, endeavour at all times to give its full support to the Commonwealth of Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-aligned Group of Nations. We are as convinced as ever of the value of these organisations, and we are prepared to honour all the obligations arising out of our membership of them.

Coming nearer home, there has been a great deal of international interest recently regarding the developing *détente* between South Africa and independent Africa. My Government welcomes the new situation which appears to be developing in Southern Africa. As I have said several times in the past, Botswana, like the rest of independent Africa, would prefer to settle the problems of white-ruled Southern Africa by peaceful means rather than through warfare. But we have always made clear that before there can be any prospect of a peaceful solution to the problems of this region of Africa, the governments of the white-ruled states of the region should first demonstrate positively a willingness to change their racial policies. Without such a commitment to change, violence will remain the only way to bring about change in white-ruled Southern Africa. This is the message which we put out to the world in the Lusaka Manifesto.

Now, at last, there are indications that the South African Government is not only ready to bring about the desired changes in South Africa itself, but is prepared to use its influence to bring about similar changes in Rhodesia. This, indeed, as President Kaunda recently observed, is the voice of reason for which we have long been waiting. Given this attitude on the part of Mr. Vorster's Government, there is every hope that the problems of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa will be resolved without further bloodshed. This, in turn, will open up unlimited prospects of stability, co-operation, and development in Southern Africa. For these reasons, I welcome the recent indications of possible change in this part of Africa. However, it is perhaps still too early to judge the sincerity of the South African Government on this matter. We are aware, for instance, of certain utterances on the part of some senior members of the ruling party in South Africa which seem to contradict Mr. Vorster's recent speeches.

For its part, my Government is committed to assisting in the peaceful transformation of the Southern African region. We cannot stand by and watch events around us, which so profoundly affect our own future and the future of Southern Africa. We are determined to play our full part in helping to bring about a new Southern Africa.

*SPEECH BY MR. VERNON J. MWAANGA, FOREIGN MINISTER
OF ZAMBIA, AT THE 9TH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF
THE O.A.U. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS*

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 8th April 1975

We meet in an Extraordinary Session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers to deal specifically with the Southern African crisis. This, for us, is a crucial meeting. The Southern African crisis for us is a matter of life or death. It is not an issue over which we draw up memos from time to time in preparation for some meeting after which we sit back and deal with domestic issues. It is a problem of every-day life in which a large number of the Zambian population is affected. Every day in one area or another of our borders there is action by the enemy. Our people are hurt or killed, property destroyed and borders violated. There are refugees streaming into Zambia for safety and whom it is our duty to assist. Freedom fighters have needs we must meet. The manpower, time, energy and material resources demanded of us - 4,5 million people - is incalculable. Yet, without urging, we discharge our obligations. Our objectives and the principles upon which they are founded remain unchanged. Our objectives are the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

So we are not discussing a hypothetical issue but a real crisis of tremendous proportions, which demands a clear understanding about objectives, strategy and methods employed. We in Zambia have for ten years recognized and lived through crisis. Ending the crisis is what we have come to deal with at this conference.

By our geographical location we are part and parcel of this crisis. Our principles and geographical position have made the management of this crisis our national and international duty. For we have a duty to find a solution based on justice and genuine freedom for all. Zambia has responded to that crisis unequivocally.

What is the nature of the Southern African crisis?

It is multi-dimensional in character, and the solution demands a clear understanding of each dimension, so that our actions fit in with the strategy for ending the crisis.

1st Dimension: This embraces minority and oppressive rule, racism, colonialism and imperialism, all rolled into one. The basis of power has been South Africa which has sustained the white establishment in minority

controlled areas. Without South African presence in Namibia and her support for Ian Smith, the crisis would have long ended; without U.D.I. designed to entrench white rule in Rhodesia, the crisis would not have developed to such serious proportions.

2nd Dimension: The second dimension relates to the reaction of the oppressed people against their oppressors. Their violent reaction to armed oppression is justified. Unity of the masses has either intensified the crisis or has made its management easier. Unity in Liberation Movements facilitates political mobilisation of oppressed masses and raises their consciousness in practical support of the liberation struggle guided by a unified and clear political line. Disunity leads to divergent political lines and to confusion in the liberation struggle. For we have learnt from experience that it is not arms alone that determine victory, but strength derived from unity and a clear political line based on sound strategy. Our brothers who have been engaged in the armed struggle know this better than us.

3rd Dimension: A unified and realistic African strategy backed by material support to those who are in need. So far it is a fact that, except for neighbouring areas, non-African Socialist countries have been the backbone for the armed struggle. It is not enough to have a sound strategy or a sound policy. The real determinant of victory against the enemy is the ability and the means to implement that strategy effectively and efficiently. The crisis cannot be managed with words alone, but above all by action. Frontline states have proved to be the instruments of liberation. No strategy, no policy can succeed without their positive response. Unless they are strong and ready to support an African strategy, all efforts are in vain. The question of how much actual practical support African States have given to the liberation struggle is one that can be answered honestly by individual members of the O.A.U. themselves.

International action to stop all forms of support to minority regimes and to increase the required support for the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa has not been successful. Mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia have been blunted by sanction-busters, some of them sitting around this table.

World response to the problems of Southern Africa clearly demonstrates that Africa must accept full responsibility for the crisis. Africa's success cannot depend on words, however revolutionary. Our success depends on the material contribution to the struggle, and facing the consequences for our actions.

Zambia faced the Portuguese fire-power on the Angolan front, with which we share over 1000 km of border, and the Mozambique front, where we have over 400 km of border. We face over 700 km of border with rebel Rhodesia, and over 200 km with Namibia. Yet we remained firm and undaunted in our anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle, and in our solidarity with our oppressed brothers and sisters.

It is our international duty to end the crisis in Southern Africa and to achieve immediate majority rule in Zimbabwe, independence for Namibia as a unitary state, and end of apartheid in South Africa. This remains our mission as a Party, as a people and as a Government.

It is our firm view that we must clearly identify the component elements of the crisis and deal with them separately with the means appropriate for each area. It is in this context that we welcome the Dar es Salaam Declaration and the historic opening statement by His Excellency Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, now in circulation as a further guideline for Africa's action.

What is the present position?

In April, 1969, Africa adopted the Manifesto on Southern Africa. We outlined the problems of each area and proposed the options for solving the Southern African crisis. We declared our readiness to talk to minority regimes, if they were ready to talk peace based on our objectives. But we were equally unequivocal about our readiness to support armed conflict if that was the only option open to Africa to achieve full national independence in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. When the minority regimes did not respond to Africa's call for peaceful change, the 1969 Manifesto was re-enforced by the Mogadishu Declaration, and we in Zambia went ahead to give practical support to all Liberation Movements, and our full weight to Frelimo and to the Angolan Liberation Movements as a matter of top priority. The Portuguese bombed our villages, killed our people, destroyed our property. But, as long as Liberation Movements were engaged in a genuine war against the enemy, no sacrifice was too high for Zambia to pay in the name of Africa.

When the events of 25th April, 1974, in Portugal, ushered in a new era, the balance of power in Southern Africa shifted in favour of majority rule, even in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

South Africa, herself the kingpin of white rule, began to accept the reality of her status in Africa. But the road to her acceptance by Africa has many hurdles. Ian Smith and his rebel minority regime, Namibia and apartheid remain in the way, and only South Africa herself can remove them, if she decides to do so. She has the power to do so.

The 1969 strategy has produced results.

So what is the next step?

Our policy objectives have not changed, our obligations remain the same; so is our commitment to achieve our objectives. But no-one must cheat themselves by wearing masks of revolutionaries, which hide their counter-revolutionary and reactionary policies and intentions. We are Africans, and let us work for the sole purpose of serving Africa. We should not cheat each other. We should not sell out one another. This, Zambia is committed to do.

We for our part hide nothing. Since our own independence, we have spared neither effort, time nor money in the struggle to achieve independence for our oppressed brothers around us. Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia have written the history of their independence struggle in blood. Zambian blood is part of the ink even today, with which that history is being written. Even when the late Herbert Chitepo, a gallant freedom fighter, was assassinated only last month, a young Zambian was killed with him.

What more concrete evidence can a country show to Africa and the world about its total commitment to the independence of other countries than the death of its own nationals, scores permanently maimed, millions of dollars worth of property destroyed by the enemy and the economy stagnated by channelling valuable resources to support the struggle? Yet we have stuck to our principles. I will not count the cost in millions of dollars, for part of the cost has been quantified in many publications, including those of the United Nations.

But let me restate what our President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda has said: "No struggle has been as costly for Zambia as that in Zimbabwe." This is a fact. The sacrifices made and resources we have poured in support of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe far outstrip in magnitude and consequence those demanded of us by the struggle in Mozambique and Angola combined.

Yet I am able to say with pride today, that we stand by the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle until independence based on majority rule is achieved. We stood by them all these years, we stand by them now, we will stand by them in future. Their struggle is ours, not in theory but also in practice. This has been our policy and our objective for years. It remains today and will be the same always.

So the next step is clear. We must solve now those problems which are clear-cut cases of colonialism first and foremost. With the independence of Mozambique and Angola, the area under minority control has shrunk. Let us end the colonial problems.

Zimbabwe

Our objective in Zimbabwe has been and still is immediate majority rule. Our policy has been to achieve this objective by peaceful means if possible, and by armed struggle if necessary. We stand ready for both. This double strategy remains our firm policy. We derive no joy in seeing people killed, be they White or Black; but if that is the only option left to Africa by Ian Smith, then we have no choice but to give the necessary support to freedom fighters, and we will, as we have done in the past, regardless of the sacrifices which we alone have faced, while having no more than sympathies and pious promises from Africa.

Our success as a frontliner depends on these factors:-

1. Unity among Zimbabweans and a clear political line which facilitates any agreed strategy against Ian Smith. We all know that no enemy can succeed against a united and determined people. Imperialism only feeds on and finds strength in divisions among the oppressed. Africa must understand us on this point. No country, no people can continue to make sacrifices in blood, if those being assisted turn their weapons against one another.

So Zambia is pledged to support the liberation struggle by whatever means. But we will not support, now or in future, liberation movements which are sowing seeds of civil war after independence. We will not allow now or in future the spilling of blood on our soil; otherwise no freedom fighter will feel free to seek refuge in our country. Zambia is not a battlefield. The enemy is in Rhodesia. We do not want majority rule in Rhodesia to become a Trojan Horse, because then our efforts and sacrifices will be fruitless, and the blood of our people will have flown in vain. No. We support unity against Ian Smith and his regime and unity for peace. For unity and freedom we are ready to pay the highest price.

2. Zambia is responsible for all freedom fighters while they are on our soil, and we will not abdicate from our responsibility. No sane person should expect us to do so.

Against this background, on behalf of the Party and Government, our President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda has established a Special Commission of Enquiry to investigate the events leading to the assassination of the late Herbert Chitepo. No-one doubts Smith's ultimate responsibility for the murder. President Kaunda made this very clear when making the announcement on the establishment of the Special Commission. But the dastardly act was perpetrated by agents and these agents must be investigated, found and punished.

President Kaunda has invited the O.A.U. Liberation Committee to be represented. This Council is requested to appoint some members of the Liberation Committee to the Special Commission. This is in addition to Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, Zaïre, Congo (Brazzaville) and Malawi. These countries are either neighbours or have dealt with Zimbabwe Liberation Movements directly or have experience in giving logistic and other material support to Liberation Movements over and above the normal contribution to the budget of the O.A.U. or the Liberation Committee. The Commission must start its work immediately.

Zambia wants to have a thorough investigation and deal with the problem with absolute honesty. We want to leave nothing hidden from the O.A.U. We want the truth to come out. In this way, we will rid the Liberation Movements of the enemy agents and thus strengthen the armed struggle under the leadership of the A.N.C.

3. We want South African security forces withdrawn. We have made this demand. Fortunately the A.N.C. have themselves had an opportunity to demand the withdrawal of these forces and have been told that they are being withdrawn. Prime Minister Vorster has now assured us that South African security forces will be withdrawn by the end of May, 1975. It is these security forces and equipment that have given Smith the comfortable feeling that he can still defy Africa.

On the future of Zimbabwe, our position is therefore, very clear. We want majority rule. How it is achieved is a matter entirely for the Zimbabweans. This is what we have fought for; this is the cause for which the blood of our people has been spilt and the development

of our economy held up. Our commitment cannot be questioned. We have fulfilled Africa's obligations, even in the darkest hour, without urging from anybody, not even the O.A.U. We vowed to give not merely verbal or token support to freedom fighters in Southern Africa, but practical support; not for one day, but every day. That vow we have honoured in spirit and to the letter. We want immediate majority rule, and this matter is not negotiable. What is negotiable is the method by which the objective is to be attained.

If the Zimbabwean nationalists want to try negotiations now, we will support them. If negotiations fail and they decide to fight, we will support them. But when chips are down, we know that few around this table will come to our aid when we face the consequences of the armed struggle. History bears us out. The people of Zambia know it. Those who are not guilty of careless handling of truth, also know it.

Namibia

Now let me turn to Namibia. Our position simply stated is this: We are working for the attainment of full national independence for Namibia on the basis of a unitary state. Namibia is a colony of South Africa. SWAPO is the only political party which is recognised by the O.A.U. and which is national in character, and whose objectives fulfil this important criterion.

What are the problems?

1. South Africa remains the *de facto* administrator of Namibia.
2. South Africa's administration of Namibia is illegal, as the *de jure* position is that Namibia is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.
3. The problem is how to secure the independence of Namibia against the background of these two rigid positions.

However the South African Government has now made it clear that:-

- (a) South Africa accepts the principle of independence for Namibia; that she does not want any part of that territory.
- (b) The timescale for achieving independence is irrelevant; as the South African Government is ready to grant independence to that territory as soon as

its inhabitants have decided on the form independence will take. The South African Government insists that the decision rests with the "peoples" of the country.

So there are two issues which we can say have been clarified, i.e. the principle of independence and the timescale. The outstanding problem is the formula and this for us is the most vital of all. Will Namibia be a unitary state, a confederation, a federation etc.? We will not allow independence on the basis of a confederation or Bantustan. We demand that independence be on the basis of a unitary state. This is in the interests of all the people of Namibia. This is SWAPO's aim and it has the full support of Africa and the world. According to South Africa, no definite formula has been decided. All options are open, including the concept of single entity.

But let me say this: Events are moving fast. Our SWAPO brothers must adopt a multiple-strategy approach which must strengthen their influence throughout the Namibian population. Africa must not find itself in a position where independence is granted, in which SWAPO is not an effective participant, in which case they could be forced to take up arms to fight a Black government in Namibia. We must avoid this situation, as it would create serious difficulties for all of us.

So our policy on Namibia is clear. But we must understand what the outstanding problems are, instead of spending time on what are now non-issues. If we do this, then we shall be wasting our time. Time is much too important, and we cannot afford to waste time at this crucial moment in the history of Southern Africa. We will not indulge in time-wasting exercises in such crisis.

South Africa

I now come to South Africa itself. I have this to say:-

1. We agreed in 1969 that South Africa is an independent sovereign state. We reaffirm this position. Britain should not have granted South Africa independence, but she did. Our problem is not one of colonialism, like in Rhodesia and Namibia. It is the ending of apartheid.
2. We reaffirm our strong opposition to apartheid. We condemn it and will tirelessly work for the elimination of this inhuman and abhorrent system. South Africa knows our stand. Africa and the world know our stand.

3. We recognize that with its military might South Africa is the key to the solution of the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia. We are today the frontliners in the struggle against oppression, but the day will surely come when leaders of free independent Zimbabwe and Namibia will learn quickly what it costs to be frontliners. Often you suffer more than the freedom fighters themselves. Unless we recognize South Africa as a power or real force in the new wind of change, the struggle will enter a period of a vicious circle too costly for us and Africa to endure.

4. Our contacts with South Africa are public knowledge; they were discussed by the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in January here and by the O.A.U. Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa in February. They have produced tangible results.

Africa must accept that the Southern African problem has taken centuries to build to its present proportions. Dealing with western interests - Britain, France, U.S.A., Italy, West Germany and even some of our friends - it would be unrealistic to think that the crisis built on such powerful and ruthless forces can be resolved overnight.

Against this background, I therefore state categorically, as I have said many times before, that Zambia and her friends have *not* been engaged in *dialogue with South Africa*. After all, one can also dialogue with a friend. The term *détente* is not in our vocabulary.

The initiative in the current exercise came from Prime Minister Vorster. The *sole* objective in our response was to liberate Zimbabwe, secure the independence of Namibia and demand the end of apartheid. This we have done. If Mr. Vorster was willing and ready to deal with the root causes, and not with the effects, of the Southern African crisis, then, in accordance with the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, we were ready to examine the *modus operandi* of ending the crisis by peaceful means.

We have been and still are conscious of the hurdles ahead. We are

conscious of traps which may have been laid in our way. We are not abandoning the armed struggle. No one is calling upon the freedom fighters to lay down their arms. The struggle has not ended. But at the same time we must not totally ignore the possibilities which might bring about peaceful change. I do not believe that there is any self-respecting African leader who is willing to kill other human beings for the sake of killing.

In the realities of power in Southern Africa, South Africa is the force behind Smith. If South Africa wills it, there can be peaceful change to majority rule in Zimbabwe and full national independence in Namibia. This is fact, not fiction.

For years we have urged Britain to quell the rebellion in Rhodesia. Agreements reached in the Tiger, and Fearless Talks between Ian Smith and the then Labour Government were a sellout. The Liberation Movements were not consulted. Only Smith's rejection of them saved the African people. The 1971 Angola-Rhodesian Settlement proposals agreed between Smith and the Heath Government were also a sellout from which the African people were saved by the gallant efforts of the African National Council. We pay worthy tribute to them.

Now Britain is without the will and apparently without the power to deal with Rhodesia. This is the reality we must face. Rhodesia is completely dependent on South Africa, which is the real power behind Ian Smith. It is this power we have to deal with to achieve independence for Zimbabwe and also for Namibia. In the last few months this has been well demonstrated.

What have we achieved in our contacts with Prime Minister Vorster, it may be asked.

1. We demanded the release of the nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe. Mr. Vorster assisted to secure their release.
2. We demanded the withdrawal of South African security forces from Rhodesia, who have given Smith the military strength to withstand the forces of liberation. These are being withdrawn, and officially the South African Prime Minister has given a date for the final withdrawal.
3. We demanded that he brings pressure to bear on Smith to negotiate directly with authentic and legitimate leaders of the African people. There is evidence that Prime Minister Vorster has used

his influence to get Smith to accept the A.N.C. leadership as the authentic and legitimate leaders of the six million people of Zimbabwe.

4. We urged that South Africa withdraws its support from the illegal regime. There is clear evidence that opinion in South Africa itself is no longer in favour of the illegal regime.

5. In the final analysis, the South African Government accepts the inevitability of majority rule and is ready to assist in the peaceful change which makes the achievement of the objective possible.

6. In co-operation with the A.N.C. we demanded the release of Rev. Sithole from re-detention. We secured his release.

These are only few among many indications which demonstrate that in the current exercise we have worked with concrete objectives in mind and have achieved them. To this extent we would be less than honest if we did not acknowledge that Prime Minister Vorster, regardless of our diametrically opposed position on apartheid, has honoured his word on the concrete issues we have dealt with under difficult circumstances. We know his limitations: We know our limitations, too.

But let it be made abundantly clear to friends and foes alike. We know we must move with caution and not give the enemy any advantage, and I assure you we have not and we will not. We know Ian Smith to be basically dishonest. We have a clear strategy to implement and objectives to achieve. We are very clear about the manoeuvres by minority regimes and the great care we must take in calculating every step. But quite frankly we are not sure of our friends. It is not the enemy who will divide Africa, but Africa itself, while imperialists merely use the opportunity already provided.

We seek no financial nor material benefits from our contacts with South Africa. We have no reason at all except the establishment of peace based on freedom and justice for all. We have shown this already. TANZAM railway is due for completion soon. Our routes to Mozambique ports are being improved. Independence for Angola means we will no longer be held to ransom. Zambia's future is very clear to us. We are not cowards; challenges are part of our daily life. They improve our capacity to face the future.

Have we abandoned the struggle against apartheid? The answer is a loud NO. Black, Brown and even White South Africans have not. They are

waging their struggle against the oppressive system. We will continue to support them in their struggle.

But let me say this: We, in Zambia never took up arms against Portugal in Angola and Mozambique. No other independent state did. We have not taken up arms against rebel Rhodesia and Namibia. Similarly, we will not take up arms to fight South Africa. That must be the conscious decision of the people of South Africa themselves. In the meantime our obligation is to give them moral and diplomatic support in their struggle to end apartheid.

Let me emphasize that it is easy for those of us in distant places to feel strongly, too. But strong feelings are not always the right feelings. We have a strategy. To implement it, we must have the means. We in Zambia, Tanzania, Zaïre, Botswana, Congo (Brazzaville) and Mozambique in the frontline have provided the means to facilitate the implementation of the intensified armed struggle. No-one urged us, and no-one knows the magnitude of the effort, manpower, money and time needed to implement the African strategy for the liberation of the continent of Africa. Only we know.

But we are also the means for implementing effectively the strategy for peaceful change, if there are opportunities for peaceful change.

Finally, let me say this with all the candour at my command:

1. Among African States, there are a few of us who are not being completely honest with ourselves and with our Organization. We must not be hypocritical about the struggle. Having been in contact with South Africa during the last few months, we are in a position to know who else is in contact with that country, and whose objectives are not designed to further the objectives of liberation in Southern Africa.
2. The term "armed struggle" is very sacred to us. It means loss of valuable life for a noble cause. We do not assist freedom fighters to wage war for the sake of killing. Most of us gained our independence by peaceful means, and it is our sacred duty to spare the blood of our brothers and sisters, if it can be avoided. It is our sacred duty to help them achieve independence by peaceful means first and foremost.

But now the armed struggle is being prostituted

into a mere political slogan, a cliché which even reactionary elements can repeat without shame. Chairman Mao says: "All imperialists are paper tigers." I dare say that this organisation could easily be a paper tiger, unless we do what we say.

3. I know that even after we have adopted the strategy for Southern Africa here, there will be some of us who will honour the declaration more in breach than in observance. Some countries will continue contacts with South Africa, which are solely for securing their interests and not those of liberating Zimbabwe and Namibia, and of ending apartheid. We call for complete honesty and not hypocrisy.

So let us have our priorities absolutely right. Let us have a clear understanding of the means we have for implementing whatever strategy or declaration we choose to adopt. If it is realistic and is based on honesty, Zambia pledges to give the best we have to support it in the name and in the interests of the people of Africa. We have made clear from the beginning that the struggle to liberate Southern Africa could be long and difficult. The process of peace and change in Southern Africa must be worked for. There are far too many people who want to be associated with victory and success. I can do no better than borrow a phrase from the late President John F. Kennedy of the United States who once said that "Victory has many fathers, but defeat is an orphan".

We do not want those who say they are behind us. We want those who are with us. We do not want those who jump on the first victory train, only to abandon it at the first sign of trouble.

Throughout the history of the world, we have witnessed many forms of revolution and many different interpretations of what constitutes a revolution. A very strange form of revolution seems to be emerging in our ranks and that is "microphone revolution" based on making nice speeches for public consumption at home. The Zambian people are true to their internationalist duty; the Zambian people, who have paid so much in terms of blood and human sacrifice, have rejected and will continue to reject "microphone revolution", because it does not solve the problems of the oppressed people of Southern Africa. The revolution we shall support is one which will enable the people of Southern Africa to exercise their right to self-determination and independence; the revolution which will enable them to come to this Conference, not as Permanent Observers, but as full and equal members.

I therefore formally propose that the speech delivered yesterday by

the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, as well as the Strategy on Southern Africa presented by the Government of Tanzania, be adopted as documents of the O.A.U.

DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

*Adopted by the O.A.U. Council of
Ministers on 10 April, 1975*

1. The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Dar es Salaam from April 7 - 10, 1975 in an Extraordinary Session has made an in-depth study of the developments in Southern Africa in general and the situation in South Africa in particular. This evaluation was made with the specific objective of devising ways and means of realising Africa's long cherished objective in the region, namely, the total liquidation of the twin evils of colonialism and racism.
2. Though Africa's position on these problems has repeatedly been made clear, the fast changing events in Southern Africa make it imperative for Africa to re-examine its strategy. Such reassessment is particularly crucial in light of deliberate and calculated attempts by Africa's enemies to sow seeds of confusion among our ranks, and employing diversionary tactics with the view to undermining Africa's stand. It is, therefore, to the re-examination of Africa's strategy for the liberation of Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as the abolition of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa, that the Ministers have devoted their Extraordinary Session in Dar es Salaam. And they accordingly declare as follows:-
3. The decisive defeat of Portuguese colonialism by the African liberation movements and the imminent independence of Mozambique and Angola has radically altered the balance of forces in Southern Africa. The resultant fatal blow inflicted on the "Unholy Alliance" of the government in Pretoria with the Smith regime and the Portuguese colonialists has seriously undermined the geo-political position of the South Africa regime. Freedom has come to the borders of South Africa and Namibia with the independence of Mozambique and Angola respectively. The buffer zones for the consolidation of colonialism and racism have ultimately crumbled.
4. Vorster's government is faced with intensified international isolation as demonstrated by the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to bar the South African delegation from taking part in the proceedings of the twenty-ninth Session.
5. Recognising that the liberation of Angola and Mozambique brings with it a radical change in the geography of the African freedom struggle resulting in the intensification of the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia and Namibia, South Africa has been forced to review its policies towards its client state of Rhodesia and Namibia. The apartheid regime of Vorster is, therefore, now engaged in new manoeuvres in an attempt to reduce, if not neutralise, the impact of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the region. It is desperately attempting to break its

isolation and to undermine international opposition to its illegal occupation of Namibia. South Africa is trying to camouflage the reality of the obnoxious system of racial oppression in South Africa. By resorting to such acts, the aim of Vorster's government in this exercise of white-washing apartheid is clear: to deceive world public opinion into believing that some radical changes are taking place in his Republic and thus reduce the regime's international isolation.

6. Africa's full commitment to the objective of total liberation of the continent is unequivocal and unquestionable. There can never be any surrender or compromise on this goal. But the developments in Southern Africa necessitate that Africa re-evaluates its approach for the purpose of achieving the desired goal. Such a re-examination becomes all the more urgent by the evidence of new tactics on the part of Vorster's regime in South Africa.

7. Above all, it is of the utmost importance that such a reassessment should have as its important pre-requisite the maintenance and strengthening of unity and solidarity of Africa in confronting the new situation in Southern Africa. The enemies of Africa realise that this unity is the most powerful weapon in the continent's arsenal. It is that unity and solidarity which Vorster, with his collaborators and supporters, are attempting to undermine. Therefore Africa's urgent need to close its ranks in facing South Africa's new tactics becomes self-evident.

8. There are two main areas of conflict in Southern Africa. The first is the confrontation with colonialism. The second is the conflict with the system of apartheid which has rightly been declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. But whether we are dealing with the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia or illegal occupation of Namibia or racist domination in South Africa the main opponent of Africa is the same; South Africa as a colonialist power, and secondly, South Africa as a racist society.

9. The OAU's objectives in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa have never changed. These objectives flow from OAU's commitment to achieve the total independence on the basis of majority rule with respect to the two colonial territories. Concerning South Africa, the objective has been, and still is, the ending of *apartheid* and the total elimination of racial discrimination. While the strategies and tactics in the attainment of this objective may change from one situation to another and from time to time, the objective itself is constant and non-negotiable.

10. Africans cannot, and will never acquiesce in the perpetuation of colonial and/or racist oppression in their continent. That is why any

talk of *détente* with the *apartheid* regime is such nonsense that it should be treated with the contempt it deserves. *For if the spirit of détente is to have any meaning at all, it must first and foremost be from within South Africa.* What the OAU wants is the dismantling of the institutions of oppression and repression against the non-white people by the racist minority. Otherwise, Vorster's outcries about *détente* can only have one meaning insofar as the situation within South Africa is concerned, and this is that free and independent Africa should co-exist with *apartheid* and thus acquiesce in the daily humiliation, degradation, oppression and repression of the African people in South Africa.

11. *Africa has on many occasions declared its desire and willingness to promote peaceful settlement to the problems of Southern Africa including that of South Africa. The liberation movements themselves have a long history of non-violent struggle. It is only the obduracy, intransigency and recalcitrance of the colonialist and racist regimes that forced them to resort to the armed struggle. Yet even at the eleventh hour, the OAU proclaimed the Lusaka Manifesto in order to seek once again a possible solution. That Manifesto was unambiguous in ascertaining Africa's preference to achieve freedom and human dignity for our continent by peaceful means. But the OAU has also made it clear that if peaceful progress towards its objectives is blocked the OAU will support the armed struggle carried out by the peoples of the oppressed areas. This remains the unshakeable position of the African States, as clearly defined by the Mogadishu Declaration.*

The OAU Strategy Against Colonialism

12. In recent years the OAU has adopted and carried out several strategies against colonialism. When in 1969, the racist and colonial regimes ignored the Lusaka Manifesto, the OAU member states adopted the Mogadishu Declaration in 1971 for the intensification of the armed struggle. This was followed by the Accra Strategy of 1973 concentrating on the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. The victory over Portuguese colonialism which vindicated the Accra Strategy led Africa, this year, to adopt the Dar es Salaam Declaration by which the OAU has resolved to take advantage of the victories achieved by the freedom fighters of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe for the advance of the freedom march further south with particular emphasis on the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers while unequivocally reaffirmed this Declaration wishes to highlight the following:-

13. The process of decolonisation has gained such momentum as to make it irreversible. The new situation now requires the OAU to retain the initiative in its own hands and intensify, not relax, the pressures on South Africa's *apartheid* regime which is now operating from a position of declining strength.

14. In South Africa lies the key to the complete decolonisation of Southern Africa. Therefore, the problem of the Liberation of Southern Africa must be examined within the context of a comprehensive strategy for the total liberation of the area, whilst recognising that the specific factors in the three territories concerned - South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe - may cause the Liberation Movements to adopt different tactics.

(a) Zimbabwe

15. *Africa's objective in Zimbabwe is independence on the basis of majority rule. This can be achieved either peacefully or by violent means. Either way Africa will lend its unqualified support to the freedom fighters led by their nationalist movement - the African National Council. As long as the objective of majority rule before independence is not compromised, Africa would support all efforts made by the Zimbabwe nationalists to win independence by peaceful means. This may mean a holding of a constitutional conference where the nationalist force will negotiate with the Smith regime. If that takes place, the OAU has the duty to do everything possible to assist the success of such negotiations, in constant consultation with Zimbabwe nationalists themselves. In the event that talks fail, the freedom fighters will have to intensify the armed struggle with the material, financial and diplomatic assistance of independent Africa.*

16. In considering the objectives of the OAU in Zimbabwe, it is important to properly evaluate the role of South Africa in that territory. South Africa has troops in Zimbabwe which help to maintain white minority rule. South Africa has consistently frustrated the efforts of the international community by being the major sanctions-buster. Both in its military and economic support of the Smith regime, South Africa continues to defy independent Africa and the United Nations opposition. The apartheid regime must forthwith withdraw its military, political and economic support.

17. *While the OAU accepts the task of helping in genuine negotiations in order to facilitate the transfer of power to the African majority, it must remain absolutely vigilant and undertake the necessary preparations for the intensification of the armed struggle should peaceful solution to the Zimbabwe conflict be blocked.*

18. The Council of Ministers expressed its satisfaction for the declaration of the ANC on the need for strengthening UNITY amongst the people of Zimbabwe as the most powerful weapon in their armoury in the struggle for immediate majority rule, and urges them to continue with vigilance employing the double strategy of full preparedness for intensifying the armed struggle while at the same time exploring the possibilities of

peaceful change.

(b) *Namibia*

19. The OAU and the United Nations position on the question of Namibia is unequivocal. South Africa's continued occupation of that land is illegal and all member states of the United Nations are under obligation to refrain from doing anything which implies the legality of its administration. Africa must fulfil strictly this obligation to abstain from any action which may be construed as recognition or acceptance of South Africa's right to be in Namibia.

20. The OAU's and the United Nations hold the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia *sacrosanct*. Both organisations are working to the independence of the territory as a whole and are totally opposed to its fragmentation. Both organisations recognise SWAPO as the legitimate and authentic representative of the Namibia people. Despite the specific and unanimous demand of the Security Council, South Africa has not yet withdrawn from Namibia. In fact the apartheid regime has consolidated its repressive rule in the territory and proceeded with its Bantustanisation.

21. The Council of Ministers reiterated their conviction that the only possible solution to the problem of Namibia lies in the implementation by South Africa of the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 17th, 1974. The OAU member states considering that the Security Council by its own decision is scheduled to convene on or about the 30th May, 1975 to consider the question of Namibia, call upon the Council to take the necessary measures including those envisaged under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to effectively overcoming South Africa's defiance and contempt of the United Nations decisions.

In the absence of South Africa's willingness to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia, Africa must assist the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, to intensify the armed struggle in Namibia. SWAPO should also be supported in every way possible.

The OAU Strategy on Apartheid

22. As regards South Africa, both the OAU and the United Nations are dedicated to the principle of full equality for all the people of the country, irrespective of race or colour. It is impossible for free Africa to acquiesce in the denial of human equality and human dignity which is represented by the philosophy and system of apartheid. Thus the OAU, like the United Nations, oppose the regime in South Africa not because it is white, but because it rejects and fights against the principle of human equality and national self-determination.

23. The OAU has repeatedly warned that the apartheid regime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. This threat assumes graver proportions as the apartheid regime feels insecure. Despite Vorster's claim at the end of last year that given six months or so the world would be surprised by the changes that would be initiated from within the apartheid republic, the situation has taken a turn for the worst as evidenced by the mass trial of students, the consolidation and strengthening of the "Bantustans" and the vast increase of South Africa's military budget. Clearly, Vorster's regime is not about to depart from the doctrine of apartheid. Indeed, if anything, Vorster's measures have been designed to strengthen the security of the system of apartheid within South Africa.

24. Confronted with this unabashed determination of the apartheid regime to maintain its white supremacist system, Africa's responsibility is clear. We must ostracise and urge the rest of the world to ostracise, the South African regime as at present organised. Africa must maintain the economic, political and cultural boycott of South Africa. Free Africa and the United Nations must work in concert for the extension of the boycott. We must, in brief, work for the total isolation of the South African regime. There is no justification at all for changing this policy.

25. If and when the leaders of the apartheid regime of South Africa decide to abandon their racist policy they should initiate discussions with the liberation movements of South Africa. The regime should immediately and unconditionally release the nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, and lift the restriction order on Robert Sobukwe as well as hundreds of other nationalist leaders who are now in South African jails or under restriction orders.

26. The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity resolutely reaffirms free Africa's total rejection of apartheid and all its ramifications including any so-called "independent homelands" within South Africa. Such so-called puppet leaders of homelands should not be invited by leaders of independent African States.

The Council underscores the importance of all independent African States to remain firmly united in the policy of isolating South Africa and ostracising its apartheid regime. The Council reiterates its support to the national liberation movements of South Africa in their struggle in all its forms. It also calls for the intensification of international efforts - with the co-operation of Governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations for the eradication of apartheid.

27. Unprecedented opportunities and challenges prevail in Southern Africa subsequent to the collapse of the 500-year Portuguese colonialism. Free Africa is determined to capitalise on the opportunities in order to bring closer the day when every inch of the African soil will be free from colonial

and racist domination. While being cognisant of the fact that South Africa stands as the final major obstacle to Africa's march to liberation, the Council of Ministers reaffirm their unflinching determination to realise the freedom and independence of Rhodesia and Namibia and the total destruction of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

28. The Council of Ministers, conscious of the important contribution made by African friends and supporters all over the world in its quest for the liberation of the continent, launches a fervent appeal to them or urging them to continue and intensify their support for *solidarity* with the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as for the ending of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa.

*TEXT OF LETTER, DATED 27 MAY, 1975, FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR. THE HON. H. MULLER,
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
DR. KURT WALDHEIM, ON THE QUESTION OF
SOUTH WEST AFRICA*

In reply to your telegram of 17 December, 1974, in which you transmitted to me the text of Security Council resolution 366 (1974), I have the honour to state the following.

As is well-known, the basis of the South African Government's approach to the question of South West Africa is that it is for the peoples of South West Africa themselves to determine their own political and constitutional future in accordance with their own freely expressed wishes. This presupposes that they should exercise their choice freely and without interference from South Africa, the United Nations or any other outside entity. All options are therefore open to them - including that of independence as one state if that is what they should choose.

In accordance with this approach any political group in the Territory is free to campaign for and propagate any constitutional changes it likes and to participate without hindrance in any peaceable political activities, including the election of representatives to the proposed conference on the constitutional future of the Territory, provided only that they do so within the requirements of law and order.

While it is the earnest hope of my Government that the inhabitants will indeed express their views on their future in as short a time as possible and while my Government will do everything in its power to encourage them to reach early agreement in this matter, it is clearly for them themselves to decide at what pace they wish to move. I am happy to be able to say that encouraging progress has been made in this direction. Following upon the initiative of the Executive of the ruling National Party in South West Africa towards the end of last year (U.N. Doc. A/9775/-S/11519), the representatives of more than 80% of the total population have already decided to participate in the proposed constitutional conference and present indications are that the conference will take place in the near future.

As far as the question of South Africa's withdrawal from the Territory and arrangements for the transfer of power is concerned, it follows from the policy enunciated above that South Africa will remain in and continue to administer the Territory only as long as the inhabitants so wish.

My Government has repeatedly stated that it recognises the distinct international status of South West Africa and that it does not claim one inch of the Territory for itself. Its sole concern has been to develop

the Territory in the best interests of all its inhabitants and to prepare them for the orderly exercise of their right of self-determination. In his statement to the Security Council on 24 October 1974, the South African Permanent Representative to the United Nations briefly outlined some of South Africa's major contributions in this regard.

He pointed out the following:

"An investment corporation for blacks has drawn up an economic programme with the object of creating 5 000 employment opportunities for the blacks of South West Africa during the period 1972-1977, entailing a capital investment of over R22 million.

A total of R139 million has so far been spent on 177 domestic water supply schemes constructed and operated by the State throughout the Territory.

The number of schools for blacks and coloureds has increased from 313 in 1960 to 592 in 1973; the number of teachers from 1 310 in 1960 to 3 453 in 1973; the number of pupils from 43 000 in 1960 to 140 000 in 1973.

There are 1 550 coloured and black nurses in the Territory.

Total investment in respect of fixed and movable assets of the South African Railways amounted in 1973 to R170 million. Total expenditure on roads from 1953 to 1973 amounted to R243 million. The value of telephone, telegraph and radio installations in the Territory amounted to R35 million in 1973.

The total cost of running the Territory now amounts to R341 million per annum. In evaluating these figures, it should be remembered that the total present population is only 850 000."

I would like to add that my Government is at present giving active consideration to assisting the inhabitants with the further development of the water resources of the Territory at an estimated cost of some R333 000 000.

In his statement the South African Permanent Representative also outlined the many efforts of my Government since 1951 to co-operate with

the United Nations in finding an acceptable basis for negotiation on the issue of South West Africa. Despite our efforts in this direction the attitude of the United Nations towards South Africa has become increasingly hostile and uncompromising and last year culminated in the illegal suspension of her participation in the proceedings of the 29th General Assembly. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that my Government is unable to accept United Nations supervision in respect of South West Africa, it remains prepared to negotiate with your personal representative - be it Dr. Escher or another mutually acceptable person - in order that he may acquaint himself with the development of the process of self-determination in the Territory.

Similarly my Government also remains prepared to welcome leaders of Africa, either personally or through their representatives, who may wish to visit South West Africa in order to acquaint themselves at first hand with conditions in the Territory.

Furthermore, if the African Chairman of the United Nations Council for South West Africa and the Special Committee of the Organization of African Unity are interested in discussing the progress and developments in the Territory with my Prime Minister, they are welcome to do so. The Prime Minister would in that case also be prepared to request the true leaders in the Territory to talk to them. On the other hand, should the Chairman and members of the Special Committee wish to receive these leaders in their own countries in order to obtain from them first hand information on conditions and the progress of self-determination in the Territory, my Government will do all it can to make such visits possible.

I would like to draw your attention to the real attempts being made to promote better understanding among all the peoples in the Territory. On 21 March 1975 the Legislative Assembly in Windhoek adopted a motion unanimously supporting the endeavours of its Executive Committee to promote good human relations, peaceful co-existence and human dignity among all the inhabitants of the Territory and requesting it to give attention to measures and practices standing in the way of the advancement of good relations between black and white. A study group which pursuant to this motion was appointed by the Executive Committee to review, in consultation with the leaders of all groups, other legislation which affects race relations, commenced its work on 2 May and it is anticipated that its recommendations will be submitted to the Executive Committee in the first week of June.

Apart from these developments, on 9 April 1975 various proclamations long in force in the Territory were repeated or amended because they were obsolete or embodied unnecessary restrictive or what might be termed discriminatory aspects.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the primary responsibility of the Security Council is the maintenance of international peace and security and that the only threat to peace and security in South West Africa derives from countries outside its border. South West Africa is part of the constellation of the countries of Southern Africa, whose leaders are earnestly seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of our sub-continent. My Government earnestly believes that given the necessary time and goodwill, the significant and constructive developments now taking place will be crowned with success and should be welcomed and encouraged by the leaders of nations everywhere and more particularly by those leaders of Africa who are equally concerned to find solutions by way of communication and co-operation and to avoid the forbidding alternative of confrontation.

For your further information I have the honour to enclose relevant excerpts from a speech made by my Prime Minister at Windhoek on 20 May, 1975. (See following article.)

(Transmitted on 27 May, 1975).

*EXCERPTS FROM THE OPENING ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE HON. B.J. VORSTER, AT THE ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE
AFRIKAANSE HANDELSINSTITUUT IN WINDHOEK ON 20 MAY,
1975, IN WHICH HE DEALT *inter alia* WITH THE QUESTION
OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA⁺*

I do not want to elaborate here on details of the internal political developments in the Territory. The Government's attitude in this connection is well-known, viz., that it is for the peoples of South West Africa themselves and for nobody else, to decide upon their own political future. With this in view the process of mutual consultation among the peoples of the Territory has already begun. Nobody, surely, is under the illusion that it will be an easy process, but the prospect does exist that agreement can be reached among all the population groups. In this connection I refer once again to the quotation, at page 49, from the South West Africa Survey of 1967 which was made available to the United Nations Organization and to many nations, and which reads as follows:

"Another important consideration is that as the political and economic organs and institutions develop amongst the non-White peoples, the importance of contact and consultation between them and the central governing authority must necessarily grow, and in increasing measure their wishes will have to be taken into account on matters of mutual concern.

However, at this stage it is impossible to foresee with any degree of accuracy the ultimate interactions of the various population groups. Circumstances will alter radically. What is considered anathema today may well become sound practical politics tomorrow, and vice versa. Nor is it necessary to embark on speculation as to what the ultimate future political pattern will be - i.e. whether and to what extent there may be amalgamations or unions of some kind, federations, commonwealth or common market arrangements, etc. The peoples themselves will ultimately decide. Meanwhile, South Africa's task and solemn duty is to help the diverse peoples of the Territory advance economically, socially and politically, to the stage when they themselves will be able to decide

⁺ Excerpts as transmitted to the U.N. Secretary-General by the South African Foreign Minister on 27 May, 1975. (See text of letter above.)

their own future wisely, protecting, guiding and helping them, in a spirit of trusteeship, until their emancipation has been attained."

You will take note that these words were written, printed and distributed in 1967.

Without wishing to anticipate the results of these consultations, I nevertheless want to put to you my firm conviction that the peoples of South West Africa will not be so shortsighted as to pursue a course which will disrupt the foundations of the economic system of the Territory, to the material detriment of all the population groups which have their homes there.

1. Then I want to state that although we have never at any stage acknowledged that the United Nations has the right to exercise any supervision over our administration (of the Territory), we have over the years repeatedly tried to find an acceptable basis for negotiations with the United Nations with a view to solving the problem. We have always been willing to furnish information on the Territory and its peoples to anybody who was really interested in circumstances and living conditions in the Territory. In his statement to the Security Council on 24 October 1974, our Ambassador at the United Nations set out some of the results of our administration of the Territory as well as South Africa's many efforts from early on to co-operate with the United Nations in finding an acceptable basis for negotiation on the issue. I need only mention in passing the Arden-Clarke Commission, the Carpio de-Alva Commission, invitations to U Thant, which he did not accept, and lastly Dr. Escher's appointment as personal representative of the Secretary-General, Dr. Waldheim, to which I shall presently revert.

The question may now be put to me :

2. Where do we stand at present? What in broad outline are the fundamental issues in regard to this situation and this problem as enunciated at the United Nations?

(a) Firstly, much emphasis is laid upon the separate international status of the Territory. We respect the separate status of the Territory. I again want to put it very clearly : we, that is to say South Africa, do not claim for ourselves one single inch of South West Africa's soil.

(b) It is demanded that the human dignity and rights of all peoples, irrespective of colour or race, be maintained and promoted. Once again, we agree. But I have every right on this occasion to ask : is it not

time that some of our critics should also do so? - particularly those who invoke these rights for themselves but deny to other peoples the right to decide upon their own future.

Indeed, an important recent development in this area was the adoption by the Legislative Assembly in Windhoek of a motion giving unanimous support to the endeavours of the Executive Council to promote good human relations among the inhabitants of the Territory. The Legislative Assembly furthermore requested the Executive Council to give attention to measures and practices standing in the way of good relations between white and non-white. Pursuant to this motion the Executive Council has appointed a study group consisting of five members of the Legislative Assembly to investigate this matter fully and to report on it to the Executive Council. We in South Africa welcome these initiatives because we believe that relations among all the inhabitants of the Territory can thereby be much improved. I would like to commend all those who are taking part and have taken part in this positive action and I do not doubt that their efforts will be crowned with success.

(c) It is required that the inhabitants of South West Africa should, as early as possible, be given the opportunity to express their views freely on their constitutional future. This too is in accordance with our policy. And, as I have said, we had already formulated it in 1967 in the clearest possible terms.

The South African Government earnestly trusts that constitutional discussions will take place as quickly as possible and also that the representatives at these discussions will decide upon their future as soon as possible. Indeed, we shall do everything in our power to encourage them to reach early agreement in this matter. But, I want to put it clearly : We cannot and shall not interfere in the taking of decisions on the constitutional future of the peoples of South West Africa. The inhabitants of South West Africa themselves and nobody else will decide upon their future. The indications are that the proposed conference will take place in the near future. We for our part have not brought and shall not bring pressure to bear upon them as to how they must go about this. Our sole interest is that they should freely and voluntarily reach agreement on their constitutional future as soon as possible.

(d) Another important point which is emphasized on the United Nations side, is that South Africa should withdraw from the Territory and that the arrangements for withdrawal and transfer of power must be made according to the wishes of the inhabitants. In regard to this matter I want to put it very clear : we do not occupy the Territory. We are there because the peoples of the Territory want us there. We do not force ourselves upon the peoples of the Territory and in this regard we take cognizance

only of the wishes of the peoples of South West Africa.

(e) Another demand which is made, is that all political groups be allowed to propagate their points of view and to participate without hindrance in peaceful political activities in the process leading to self-determination. With this too we agree. As a matter of fact, where elections have already taken place an open invitation was issued to all to participate therein. In the latest case of the election in Owambo even those abroad who wished to come peaceably to participate were invited, and the majority of the Owambo's freely elected their Government and appointed Chief Minister Elifas as their leader. There is thus no impediment in the way of anybody to propagate any constitutional form of government in a peaceable manner and to win majority support for his point of view.

(f) A further point which is insisted upon is that the Territory should not be split up in accordance with the policy of apartheid and that it should become independent as one state, unless the inhabitants should freely choose otherwise. Anybody who knows South West Africa will know that the different peoples in South West Africa were there long before the present South African Government came to power and it is my position that nothing will occur in the Territory which is not in accordance with the free choice of its population groups. It is for them and nobody else to choose - and, as I have repeatedly said : All options are open to them.

3. From this exposition it thus appears that in substance we are in agreement with the most important aspects of the points of view which are put in the United Nations. As far as the O.A.U. are concerned, in principle, and bearing in mind what I have already said, we have no quarrel with their points of view concerning self-determination, independence and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Territory. Where we do differ and differ very clearly, is in regard to the rôle claimed for the United Nations and SWAPO. We do not hide, nor have we ever been ashamed of, our administration of the Territory. Indeed, we go out of our way to make information concerning the Territory and its people freely available.

I also want to repeat here what I have said in the House of Assembly, viz., that leaders of Africa who may be interested in visiting the Territory in order to acquaint themselves with conditions there, are very welcome to do so, either personally or through their representatives. I would also be prepared, as I have said before, to exchange ideas with a committee of the O.A.U. on the basis of the points of view which I have expounded here, but as I have already stated in the clearest possible terms, I cannot accept the rôle which is proposed for SWAPO.

If the African Chairman of the Council for South West Africa, and the

Special Committee of the O.A.U., are therefore really interested in discussing with me in South Africa the progress of the peoples of the Territory, I shall also ask the real leaders of the peoples of the Territory to talk to them. Furthermore, if they would like to receive these leaders in their own countries in order to obtain from them first hand information, they are free to invite them, and we shall do all we can to help make the visit or visits possible.

For the rest, we entered into an agreement with the Secretary-General that he would appoint a personal representative. Dr. Escher was appointed. We are still prepared to negotiate further with him or, if he is no longer acceptable to Dr. Waldheim, to consult with the latter on the appointment of another acceptable person so that he may acquaint himself with the progress of the process of self-development here in South West Africa. It will be understood, however, that we will not accept United Nations supervision.

The peoples of South West Africa have already chosen their own leaders or are in the process of doing so. They are rightly proud of their leaders, their institutions, their traditions, their identities, and their rights. These cannot and may not be interfered with and South Africa will decidedly not be party to such interference - no matter by whom.

If then the countries and nations of the world are anxious to find a solution for this problem and to avoid confrontation in the matter, each and every one of these reasonable proposals which I have here enunciated must be accepted by them.

May I in conclusion make an earnest appeal from this platform to all countries and leaders not to disturb the peace and progress of South West Africa and without on this occasion mentioning names, I say to them : Just look at the chaos and misery in certain countries and be assured that South Africa, together with the leaders of the Territory, does not see its way to allowing such chaos and misery ever to occur in this Territory. I once again give that plain assurance to the Territory of South West Africa and to its people.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO RHODESIA FROM STATEMENTS BY THE
LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND THE PRIME MINISTER
ON 25 JANUARY, 1966

*Made in the South African House of Assembly,
during the Debate on the Leader of the Opposi-
tion's Motion of No Confidence in the Gov-
ernment.*

Sir de Villiers Graaff: I want to emphasize that in dealing with this subject, I am dealing with it from the point of view of "South Africa first", and I am dealing with it from the point of view of "South Africa Only". Sir we are faced with the accomplished fact of U.D.I. and therefore I do not intend expressing my opinion on the merits or demerits of the situation. [Interjections.] Sir, hon. members opposite seem to be very nervous about this subject. I do not blame them. They have no policy in this matter. I want to emphasize that I am dealing with this matter from the point of view of South Africa and I say that, faced as we are with an accomplished fact, I want to express no opinions and pass no judgment on the merits or demerits of this situation. I must say I would have preferred to see the dialogue continue longer but it was not our decision; the deed has been done.

Faced with that situation, we felt that we could not but express our sympathy with our Rhodesian neighbours in this time of trial; we felt also that it was to be hoped that Government policy would be such that there could be a bipartisan approach. Thirdly, we suggested that in the circumstances *de facto* recognition of the present Government in Rhodesia was inevitable sooner or later, and we felt that it would be wiser for it to be sooner rather than later. The hon. the Prime Minister dubbed this as irresponsible. Sir, when he makes a charge of that kind, one wonders just what he meant because, you see, recognition *de facto*, which can be expressed or implied, enables the recognizing State to acknowledge the external fact of political power, to protect its own interests, its trade and its citizens, without condoning irregularities or illegalities in the emergence of the *de facto* government, and in turbulent Africa and Asia we have seen many examples of *de facto* recognition of rebel governments by the West in recent years - and very strange examples they have been! *De facto* recognition is normally of a provisional or temporary nature and it can be withdrawn on several grounds which do not apply in the case of *de jure* recognition of another State.

I have said that recognition can be expressed or implied. It is implied from a number of actions, such as receiving agents officially from the state in question; such as retaining diplomatic relations with the state in question; such as treating with the new state as such. I must point out that some authorities say that the matter is essentially one of intention though the older authorities do not say

that. But, Sir, faced with these tests, where does the hon. the Prime Minister stand at the moment? If he has not given *de facto* recognition impliedly, it seems to me he has come very close to it indeed. It seems to me that he is teetering on the verge, whether he likes it or not. When I suggest that he should come into the open, he says that I am irresponsible.

The Prime Minister's attitude has been that this is a domestic dispute in which he will not interfere. But is it still a domestic dispute when the first thing which Great Britain did was to report it to the Security Council; when the British Prime Minister has called upon the United Nations Organization and has called for the support of the nations of the world to impose trade sanctions upon Rhodesia by way of embargoes and trade boycotts, is it still a domestic issue?

Sir, the Prime Minister quite rightly, I think, has refused to be associated with these boycotts and embargoes. He has indicated that he will continue business as usual with both Rhodesia and Great Britain. Does "business as usual" mean the exclusion of unusual help in the present circumstances? Does he rule out unusual assistance? It seems to me that the cardinal question with which the Prime Minister is faced, the cardinal question with which South Africa is faced, is something which was recognized by some speakers in the House of Commons, and that is whether we are prepared to stand by and see the Rhodesians forced to their knees and chaos created in a state in which law and order is being maintained at the present time and which, so far as I know, is the only state in Africa in which the police normally still go unarmed.

Sir, I know that Rhodesia is very important to Great Britain and to the United States of America. I want to say that they have my sympathies in the difficult position in which they find themselves in dealing with this matter at UNO and other international bodies. But the importance of this matter to Great Britain and the U.S.A. pales into insignificance when you look at the importance of what happens in Rhodesia to the Republic of South Africa. It could immediately and vitally affect the security of the Republic. Hon. members opposite do not appreciate that. May I therefore read to them the statement of the Suid-Afrikaanse Buro van Rasse-aangeleent-hede, which so far as I know has always been a darling of the hon. the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. Here is what they say -

Die aanvalle teen Rhodesië is nie teen Rhodesië alleen gemik nie maar teen die hele blanke beskawing aan die suidpunt van Afrika. Daarom is dit vir Suid-Afrika vanselfsprekend van fundamentele belang dat Rhodesië staande bly en daarom staan ons simpatiek en daarom is one bereid tot samewerking en nie omdat ons ons vereenselwig met hulle hantering van bevolkingsvraagstukke nie.

That, Sir, is a statement by SABRA on 18 January. I believe that this shows a clear insight by Afrikaner intellectuals. I wonder whether the hon. the Prime Minister shares their insight? In asking that question I want to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether you have ever thought what the situation would be if civilized government came to an end in Rhodesia and if we have the sort of situation developing there that you have seen in so many of the emergent African states? Do you realize, Sir, that you would have militant nationalism across the river from Messina? Do you realize that both Angola and Mozambique would be out-flanked and would be weakened? Do you realize that we would be in the position against which General Smuts warned so often, that the frontiers of the West will have been rolled back to the Limpopo River? Sir, when I say these things I am vividly reminded of a speech within the precincts of this building by a former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. MacMillan. He dealt with the winds of change, but he dealt with something else which, because it came from him with his winds-of-change ideas, interested me so much. This is what he said -

We may sometimes be tempted to say to each other "mind your own business", but in these days I would myself expand that old saying so that it runs "mind your own business, of course, but mind how it affects my business, too".

Sir, does the Prime Minister's policy remain one of non-intervention or neutrality, and is he going to remain inactive while the dangers for South Africa grow? It seems to me that the situation is becoming too serious for him to go on sitting on the side-line. It seems to me that the time has come for South Africa to use her influence with her trading partners, Britain and Rhodesia - and that influence could be very considerable - to bring about a re-opening of the dialogue between the two countries.

You see, Sir, I believe that our interests are so vitally concerned that we cannot allow matters to deteriorate further. Chaos in Rhodesia would have disastrous repercussions in South Africa, and chaos in Rhodesia will follow if the Rhodesians are forced to their knees. I believe that we are justified in taking risks to avoid chaos over the border, to protect our own interests and to maintain our civilized way of life. I want to say to the hon. the Prime Minister this afternoon that the people of South Africa will never forgive him if he sits idly by while civilized government and stability are destroyed in Rhodesia, as they have been in so many African states - despite the best intentions of the Colonial powers concerned and of the democratic governments vested with power in those states - on the withdrawal of those colonial powers.

I want to say also to the hon. the Prime Minister that I believe he is

misjudging the temper of the people of whom he happens to be Prime Minister at the present time, if that is his attitude, because I think they realize what is at stake, even if he does not. I think at the back of it all is the fear amongst them that if what is being done to Rhodesia to-day succeeds, attempts may be made to do the same sort of thing to South Africa to-morrow. Sir, this attitude of the Government towards Rhodesia does not surprise those who know them. Their policy has always been one of inaction, of weakness, of lack of planning. They have no consistent plans for South Africa except the concept of independent Bantustans, a concept which is going to weaken South Africa and undermine our security.

The Prime Minister (Dr. the Hon. H.F. Verwoerd): I wish to deal with a number of the arguments put forward by the Leader of the Opposition, some of them in the course of this debate and others in public speeches outside. In doing so I will state my own attitude. I will also deal with the Rhodesian situation in due course, which is the only new element in the whole of his speech requiring special consideration.

It is quite untrue, of course, that the Government is holding an early election in order to avoid embarrassment on certain issues. There are some of these issues which were not mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition to-day but I wish to refer to them in passing so as to make perfectly clear what our thinking is on these specific issues.

It is, furthermore, quite untrue that we wish to expedite the election because we anticipate a climax in Rhodesia. That has also been said. I will deal with the Rhodesian situation a little later on, but at this stage I state quite categorically that this accusation of seeking to speed the election because we anticipate a climax in Rhodesia is not in accordance with my estimation of the situation at all. Time will show us what will happen. If I have to judge the situation in Rhodesia, the attitude of the people and the resistance they will put up, by what we would do in South Africa under precisely similar circumstances - if our way of life were threatened; if there were an attempt to remove the supremacy of the White man here, even in the course of time; if we were subjected to sanctions or embargoes or boycotts; and if we had to put up a struggle for survival, in which we would have to fight to conquer or to die - then I am quite convinced that the Rhodesians in their own circumstances will show no less determination. Therefore, I do not expect a speedy climax, and I have no reason to speed up the election because of that.

Now I wish to deal immediately with the policy towards Rhodesia. I wish

to do so by looking at this matter from various angles. In the first place, I wish to deal with the accusation which has been made that we believe the White Rhodesians to be expendable. What a dastardly thing to say! An article in the *Cape Argus*, dated 21 January, 1966: "Why the Government wants an Early Election", by Mr. S.J. Marais Steyn, M.P. says -

It is clear that Dr. Verwoerd regards our neighbours as expendable as long as he can make (himself) snug in South Africa a little while longer.

What a dastardly thing to say! It is quite true that we have said very little as a Government about our feelings towards the Rhodesians in their predicament, because in many matters it is a fact that "least said, soonest mended". The whole situation is most delicate and dangerous for all who are or may become implicated, and so it was wise to say as little as possible. But I am forced on this occasion, by such expressions of opinion as we have heard and the clear indication of what kind of propaganda is going to be made during the next election throughout the country, to say what our feelings are. Then our stand will be understood.

In the first place, I can say quite clearly that nobody could be more sympathetic towards those people, White people, whose position is threatened than the members of this Government. Throughout the years when the Opposition has been attacking us when we defended the White man in Africa ... [Interjection.] Whether it was in South Africa or in Kenya or in Rhodesia, when we pointed out the dangers we were facing, we were always certain to be attacked by the Opposition. When Mr. Macmillan was here and I had to put up a case for the White man in Africa, on whose side were the Opposition?

Therefore, it must be understood that we, who differ from the constitutional system that the United Party defends, and from that which existed in the Federation between the Rhodesians and Nyasaland, and still exists in Rhodesia, because they are constitutions based on partnership, showed thereby that we are prepared to go even further in defence of the White man's rights than they are and were. Would we believe that the White man of Rhodesia is expendable when that is our basic policy? When we fought for the White man, whatever attacks were made on us at UN, we were not supported by the Opposition. How can we then take up an attitude now of our immediate White neighbours being expendable? Would we not be aware of all the dangers if the White man's rule were replaced?

Would we not be aware of the advantage to South Africa if a solution to this problem could be found in which the White man retained his supremacy, we who were always the foremost fighters for the supremacy of the White man? How dare anyone try to impress upon the public of South Africa that we believe such people to be expendable?

I say quite unambiguously that we believe that majority rule there, which means Black rule over Whites in Rhodesia, will lead to destruction and chaos. We think it would have been wise for all the Western nations concerned to realize that, and to realize that it would not only mean the destruction of the economy and chaos to the White people of Rhodesia, but also to the Blacks. The very people for whom they wish to put in their oar would perhaps suffer most. They are the masses; they are the closest to hunger and dangers.

I hope that the Opposition will realize that this is not only true of the immediate future, so that the differences can be solved by saying that there will not immediately be a situation of one man, one vote, and no immediate majority rule, but only at some undefined future time. It is irrelevant to my argument that this future might be a bit closer than even the British Government would wish to have, as happened in Kenya and elsewhere. That is why I say that in the case of Rhodesia we feel as Sir Alec Home evidently felt when very recently at the Economic Club of New York he referred to the experiences of the other states in Africa, quite clearly to warn against what could be caused in Rhodesia.

I do not generally talk about other people's business - I am now being forced to do so to a certain extent - but the British Government's attitude so far has been beyond our comprehension. They did not understand the situation as we see it. That can be understood to a certain extent in view of their general outlook. They have to deal with a situation which is theirs, and not ours, but surely we may say that many of the facts and realities have been brought to their attention, and they should have been impressed by them. The lessons of Africa must be properly learnt by the Western nations. We had hoped that it would not be in the hard way. We had hoped that when the situation became more involved, considerations of blood and of kith and kin would have prevailed. Nobody regrets, therefore, more than we do what has taken place there. But that is an expression of opinion on what is not in fact our business.

In past times we also did nothing in spite of our belief, on this side of the House, and long before U.D.I., that the policies (British policies, I must admit) followed in Rhodesia would ultimately lead to tragedy. We said so; but because it was the business of another state we always added that it was not for us to interfere or to do anything about it. If we wanted to safeguard ourselves we should have interfered long ago, not now. Because the members of the Opposition believed in partnership - they also believed in Federation - they believed in policies which have failed. I suppose they have a feeling of guilt, and that that is why they have over-acted in this situation. They have not done anyone a favour by speaking as they did. But we cannot just talk about these things; a government has to act. So, whatever our feelings and thoughts might have been, we had to

take into consideration in what way South Africa's interests could best be served at a stage when decisions had to be taken. And decisions will have to be taken at each stage of a developing situation.

I shall now discuss this matter from the angle of South Africa's interests. It was clearly in South Africa's interests not to be dragged into the conflict, if avoidable or as long as avoidable. It was clearly in our interests to try to have the conflict restricted to those directly implicated, the U.K. and Rhodesia. It was clearly in our interests and those of others to try to make it possible for the solution to be found by these two alone, amongst themselves, an attitude which was also taken, even in the UN by England. They told the others that, in spite of their approaches, they looked upon this as a matter for the U.K. and Rhodesia alone. That is the first point.

The second is that it was clearly in South Africa's interests not to make enemies unnecessarily. I want to remind hon. members at this stage that the one point of attack by the Leader of the Opposition continually is that we estrange possible friends, and that we should not do so but should be more statesmanlike. And now the Leader of the Opposition, who does not want us to estrange those with whom we are friends, was prepared to deliberately slap the United Kingdom in the face, in order, as far as I can see, to gain electioneering advantages. [Interjections.] The Leader of the Opposition was prepared not only to force the United Kingdom into a position which would have been anything but friendly, but also to add to the enmity of the African states or the remainder of the Commonwealth, as you wish. He was also prepared to make the position of the U.S.A., which has been supporting the United Kingdom, more difficult with regard to South Africa. This Leader of the Opposition is keen to tell us not to make enemies, while he himself is prepared to make as many as he can!

It is in South Africa's interests to uphold the principles on which its whole international fight has been fought. These principles on which its defence throughout the years, from General Smuts onwards has been based, have been clearly and often stated. One is that we do not allow such interference in our own matters and, if we do not allow such interference, then we should not interfere in those of others. The moment we interfere, we would sacrifice our own principles. We have no right to demand non-interference in our own affairs if we, especially when our interests are in the picture, are prepared to interfere in those of others.

The second major principle of our policy is this: Since we have been threatened over and over again with, and to a certain extent have experienced, boycotts and sanctions, we have taken up the clear attitude that under no circumstances, neither under pressure nor under force, will we participate in either boycotts or sanctions.

We had to uphold this major principle, and in fact did so, despite whatever pressure was brought to bear upon us. Naturally, in upholding such a principle, one has to uphold it equally towards all. I have been attacked for saying that we would be prepared to send coal to Zambia, if coal were ordered. But this is a symbol, a clear cut symbol, of our preparedness to uphold this principle towards all sides. You cannot say that you will not participate in boycotts or sanctions while you are prepared not to accept orders from a particular nation and to that extent to boycott such a nation. Nor can you allow yourself to be forced into participation in boycotts or sanctions in respect of any one nation. You cannot make exceptions. We were fully consistent in upholding this fundamental principle on which we shall have to stake our own claims in future in the event of others trying to attack us in such ways.

I should now like to deal with the point raised by the hon. Leader of the Opposition, again to-day, that we should have given the Rhodesian Government *de facto* recognition. The hon. member should be fully aware, and if he is not, he should be, that under international law or custom there is no necessity, in a situation which has not yet solved itself, to accord either *de facto* or *de jure* recognition. A nation is permitted to, and can, continue existing relations with another without any statement whatsoever on recognition, until the matter has come to a point at which it is prepared to decide one way or another. In this Rhodesian situation, where both nations concerned are our friends and trading partners, it was the only wise attitude to take in order to be able to continue existing relations, to continue trading and to continue contacts while waiting for the whole matter to be settled. We adopted this wise course instead of, just for some foolish reason of demonstration, according some form of recognition. Recognition is not necessary, it was just not done; and South Africa has been left in the position of remaining unimplicated in this situation.

The hon. gentleman also some time ago suggested mediation or deliberate aid, but such mediation or aid would have meant participation in the discussions and decisions; it would lead to taking sides. You cannot be a mediator or try to help one or the other without helping the one more than the other, without being more either on the one or on the other side. You cannot just sit in judgement. A mediator has to try and achieve some form of compromise. With both our points of view, as expressed by himself and by me, what kind of mediator between the parties in the dispute would he or I have been?

You cannot in such a case give aid without participating in the decisions, and in whatever happens afterwards you will either be on the one or on the other side. But, apart from that, what self-respecting nation would allow you to interfere in its business? Both Rhodesia and the United Kingdom are self-respecting nations, and do you think either of them would have wished for interference on the part of South Africa in what is a decision for them to take?

All these arguments make it quite clear that it was not in South Africa's interest to have done otherwise than the Government has in fact done.

Let me now look at the matter from another angle. The United Party is spreading the impression that the South African attitude means nothing to Rhodesia. It has been implied over and over again even in these last few minutes. Is it true? I need not go into details, but anyone will realise that maintaining regular relations, especially economic relations, with a neighbouring state means everything to a state which is isolated, as Rhodesia is to-day. South Africa would be acting fully within its rights if it refused to participate in any form of boycott or the application of sanctions. Everybody, including the Government of Great Britain, knows that such an attitude is of great value to Rhodesia. They adopted the realistic attitude. I am glad to say that they appreciated that South Africa found itself in a special sort of situation. Being a neighbour, having traded on a large scale throughout the years, and not wishing to become implicated in the constitutional quarrel which has arisen, South Africa, it is realized, is in a special position.

It is also realized that South Africa will stand by its principles. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is accepted as a fact that, as a realistic result of the South African attitude, South Africa is of great value to Rhodesia. By not having become implicated in this quarrel, and not having interfered in any way, it was inevitable that South Africa would be of great value to Rhodesia. We must remain of great value to that country if we continue present policy. Is it not of great value for Rhodesia to have this open door whilst other doors are being closed or have been closed? It cannot be said that nothing is being done by the Government of the Republic regarding the dangers which might flow from the situation across the border. By looking after our own interests in the way we do, great advantages are incidentally granted Rhodesia.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is quite wrong to attack us as has been done to-day. It has been suggested that we are inimical to Rhodesia, and that what we have done means nothing. I must say that this sort of argument that has been advanced here to-day by the other side can only be intended to attract the electorate of South Africa, which naturally has deep feelings for the White man in Rhodesia. The Opposition wanted to capitalize on this theme, and with that in view they were prepared to jeopardize the position of Rhodesia. After the clear statements which I have been forced to make, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I realise that certain dangers might arise because of these statements. If danger should materialize, I lay the blame for it at the door of the Opposition. What sort of friends of Rhodesia have we here, people who are prepared to jeopardize Rhodesia in order to gain an electioneering advantage! What kind of friends are these?

Mr. Speaker, what more would the Opposition have done than has been done by the Government of South Africa? Would they have led South Africa herself into a state of siege? Would South Africa in finding herself fighting boycotts and sanctions be a more valuable neighbour to Rhodesia than she is at present? Is it a sign of weakness to remain within our rights, even under pressure, if the correct stand we are taking also has advantages for our neighbours? Is that weakness, Mr. Speaker, or is it wisdom and strength?

I now come to the question of petrol and oil supplies for Rhodesia. Here we continue to follow - and I implied as much in my New Year's message - the fundamental principle we have laid down, namely that we do not in any way or form participate in boycotts or sanctions. If there are producers or traders who have oil or petrol to sell, whether to this country or to the Portuguese or Basutoland, Rhodesia or Zambia, then it is their business, and we do not interfere. We do not prevent them from selling. If we tried to prevent them, we would be participating in a boycott.

It is up to the oil companies and others to decide whether they have such products to sell. But I must add this: the South African Government has certain interests at stake in Rhodesia herself. We participate in their transport needs. For instance we operate the South African Airways there. We will see to it that our own interests are fully protected and served. We will provide for the needs of our own transport organizations. We will also furnish our ambassadors or representatives or our officials there with fuel they need. That is our business. The Government, and the South African Airways and South African firms are fully within their rights to ensure that their own operations can continue undisturbed.

Recently I saw in the newspapers - although I wish to say that we have not been approached yet - suggestions that there should be gifts of these commodities to Rhodesia. There again it is not for the Government to interfere, because, Sir, if we did not permit gifts to leave this country, no matter what kind of gifts they might be, whether sugar or butter or petrol or oil, we would then be applying a boycott. We are not prepared to apply a boycott. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, when such gifts of petrol or oil are made, the situation does not call for Government interference. Acting on the lines I have indicated, we would remain within our rights. Our attitude is clear and unambiguous.

But let us look at this matter from yet another angle, from Rhodesia's angle. Let us see what Rhodesia judges best for herself. Perhaps it is more than amusing to note that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition knows better than the Prime Minister of Rhodesia what is best for Rhodesia! The Prime Minister of Rhodesia has on two public occasions quite clearly stated that the South African Government's attitude in this matter is wholly and fully correct. He said he had no objections whatsoever to

the stand South Africa had taken. This is understandable, because he at least is wise enough to know that a South Africa in partnership with him would be of much less value. The open door which he has at present might then be shut on both countries. I do not think such a thing should happen, because it would be to the disadvantage of the Western world as a whole. I believe and hope that if we ourselves are able to act wisely, others will act similarly towards us. The Prime Minister of Rhodesia is wise enough to realize this, while the Leader of the Opposition quite candidly is not.

Even apart from this aspect, one can understand the Rhodesian Prime Minister's approval of our stand because our stand means that he and his country remain free from interference by a stronger partner, which would not be the case should we be involved together. If we became involved on Rhodesia's side, we would surely have to participate in any decisions that would have to be made. Surely, Sir, we would expect to influence decisions from the point of view of South Africa's interests? If our interests clashed with those of Rhodesia, would she not then be dragged along by us? What country which would become the junior partner would not seek to avoid involvement of that kind? We would. In fact, we did seek to avoid Commonwealth dictates in the recent past. We can, therefore, understand that Rhodesia cannot allow herself to become involved with a partner stronger than herself, a partner whose lead she might be forced to follow against her wish under certain circumstances. She naturally wishes to maintain a position where she can take her own decisions in her own interests alone, and she is perfectly correct in doing so.

Apart from that aspect, I also ask hon. members to consider what Rhodesia's position would be if all the attacks made upon South Africa throughout the years were now also held against her by those who attack her at present? Her colour policies are different to ours. In that sphere she should have an advantage over us in that, theoretically and constitutionally at least, her views are much closer to the British and United States view than ours are. Why, then, should Rhodesia allow herself to be attacked as if she also were a supporter of the apartheid policy, to call it by that name?

Indeed, from the point of view of Rhodesia, the Leader of the Opposition was a tempter who would have led that country into great difficulties. If the hon. the Leader of the Opposition were in power, he would already have increased Rhodesia's troubles.