

SECHABA

official organ
african national congress
south africa

Commemorate
August 9
South African
Women's Day



VOLUME 4
NUMBER 8
AUGUST 1970

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Cover Picture

The Zulus of Zululand: The built-up hair of marriage showing the variety in style, according to district. This also applies in the type of bead-work, colour and design. Head bands are worn in respect for the father-in-law. Inset shows the first top-knot of marriage, about a century ago. Districts: Jameson Drift, Eshowe, Nongoma, Inanda.

Published in: "Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa"

Drawings by: Barbara Tyrrell

Fighting Talk

The Economic Imperative

Elsewhere in this issue we publish a leading article from the S.A. Financial Mail which betrays the very real anxiety of South African Big Business over mounting world hostility. In a moment of unusual perspicacity, the Mail uncovered the logical connection between sports disruption and economic boycott and concluded that the transition from action against apartheid sportsmen to an attack on economic links is not a difficult one.

The Financial Mail is the most authoritative journal in S. A. on such matters but other papers have also been discussing this question in some depth. The Rand Daily Mail, for instance, has noted that British exports to all Southern Africa including Malawi, the Portuguese territories, and the three former protectorates, were £326 million in 1969. Those to the rest of Africa were worth £414 million in the same period. Arguing that an increasing quantity of mineral wealth was being uncovered in Africa, the paper concluded that if the world anti-apartheid forces were to launch a major offensive, they might succeed in driving Britain to choose between Black Africa and the South.

These speculations of South African financial journalists are of considerable importance, both reflecting and contributing to the general insecurity of the white minority. They also reveal where the shoe pinches most. It is as well to recall that the boycott policy of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and its allies in that country and elsewhere have raised different issues at various times. We have had campaigns on consumer goods, the sanctions campaign, the call for arms embargo, and now the most spectacular of all, the sports protests.

Each of these did much to spread an understanding of the evils of apartheid and to stimulate opposition abroad, and few were untouched by the crescendo of protest. The accumulation of all this tireless campaigning, and the convergence of a number of favourable factors have now brought anti-apartheid sentiment to a peak in many countries. And, as the Financial Mail article shows, the effect in South Africa has been considerable.

Without wishing to spread illusions about the susceptibility of the racist rulers to outside pressures, it is nevertheless evident that there is widespread disquiet in business circles, and that white complacency has been undermined. How much more would this be if it was not only sport that was under general fire, but overseas collaboration in every form particularly in the economic sphere. For in the last analysis apartheid thrives only so long as it pays off. White supremacy is only a viable doctrine as long as it produces large daily helpings of prosperity. Conversely, much as the racist politicians may rave about the nobility of race purity, few whites would accept a condition of white exclusiveness in poverty. Fundamental to 'baasskap' is the easy life it brings, and the opponents of racialism and of white supremacy throughout the world must now seize on the Achille's heel of the South African success story.

Dependent as it is on international trade and finance the economy of Vorster's Government cannot survive alone in a hostile world. The efforts of anti-apartheid protestors must now be increasingly directed at the so-called 'outgoing' salesmen of South African economic wares. On the other hand, the overseas collaborators must be taken to task for their share in the dirty work.

Who would gain a sordid penny from the exploitation of the African farm worker, the Coloured factory labourer and the Indian sugar cropper? Those who do so, the tycoons in the comfort of Wall Street offices, in the finance houses of the London City or in the clubs of retired colonial coupon clippers, are the collaborators who keep apartheid going. It is time they were relieved of their burden.

THE CAPE ROUTE

British Strategic Interests Outlined by Tory Commission

The British Conservative Party set up a working party in February this year to investigate and report on, among other matters, Britain's strategic interests in Southern Africa. The group called the Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council had a large star-studded membership including three former Rear-Admirals, several Vice-Admirals, five former Major-Generals, Members of Parliament, and numerous other political and military experts. It is inconceivable that a committee of so

many prominent men were engaged on idle speculation. Our view is that their findings reflect the considered policy of Britain's Establishment. We publish a portion of the report to expose the intrigue of British Imperialism, and to provide the background for Tory insistence on the full resumption of arms supplies to South Africa.

Sechaba is indebted to the Morning Star for the material given below.

The Council met to consider three major questions confronting Britain's foreign policy makers: "The Gulf, where the British Forces may well be down to the absolute operational minimum; South East Asia, where, apart from the Hong Kong garrison, it is likely that any small remaining force will be both inadequate and lacking in credibility; and the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean waters which comprise the Cape Route."

initial reason. Were Suez to re-open, the Cape route would remain quite as essential to Western trade and strategic supply as it is now.

The analysis on the Cape Route is based on a study of British oil supplies and the document concludes that "the UK is relatively more dependent on oil supplies coming round the Cape than is Europe as a whole."

(b) The only major power with a contemporary interest in the re-opening of the Suez Canal is the Soviet Union as a quick way for maritime and naval vessels to get from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. For the Western Allies the transport of goods, and notably of oil in larger surface craft and tankers, has virtually rendered the Canal unnecessary.

After discussing possibilities of other supply routes, including the reopening of the Suez Canal, the report states, "The general conclusion is, therefore, that the Cape route is of special significance to the UK now, and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future . . ."

(c) A very substantial percentage of trade to the European allies of NATO travels by the Cape route; the UK share of this trade is probably the most important.

(d) The route leads to South Africa which is one of Britain's major partners in world trade.

THE CAPE ROUTE

"Defence implications and requirements of a permanent alternative route round the Cape on the assumption that the Suez Canal remains indefinitely closed, or at best of unreliable availability."

(e) It is the established route for the transport of oil by tankers from the Middle East to Europe and North America.

(f) It is the strategic route to Asia, Australia and New Zealand.

(g) It is a potential reserve strategic air route.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

(a) The route assumed increased importance with the closing of Suez. This importance has now far outstripped that

WHAT FORM WOULD THREATS TO BRITISH INTERESTS TAKE?

(a) Acts of aggression, below the threshold of declared war, might take place anywhere along the Southern African coast-line or in the hinterland without necessarily calling forth the immediate response which would result from an act of aggression in the NATO area.

(b) Given the fact that the route is the most vulnerable because it is outside a recognised area of Western Alliance, (except insofar as Portugal is historically an ally of Britain, apart from any NATO commitment) the threat to security might take the form of isolated warfare possibly through direct Communist-inspired and assisted aggression against e. g., Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia, South Africa. There could be attacks on British ships and/ or other forms of harassment well below the threshold of declared war – e. g., the Russians might declare a region of the Indian Ocean and the Southern Atlantic to be a large scale exercise area through which it would be dangerous for merchant shipping to pass. The Russians and possibly the Chinese might obtain base facilities for warships of all types at Zanzibar or again at Cape Verde. The latter could only come about if Communist inspired insurgency in Portuguese Guinea were to be successful. This currently appears unlikely; as happily applies also to the present situation throughout the rest of Portuguese Africa, East and West.

(c) Some threat is implicit in increasing Soviet trade rivalry with the West and marine competitions, bolstered by the rapid growth in Russian naval surface vessels and submarines. An estimate of the latter at present in commission, a proportion of which are nuclear powered, is 350 plus. The Soviet Navy is now on an oceanic scale and ships have Ship to Ship missile numbers which the Royal Navy has not.

ACTION REQUIRED AND PROPOSED

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY

(a) Politically a first step would be to restore relations based on the recognition of mutual interest with South Africa, to encourage trade and sell arms for external defence. The farce of Rhodesian sanctions should be ended.

The present situation is of a character to lead South Africa from enforced political isolation to adopt some form of uncommitted neutrality. An immediate consequence of neutrality would then be the denial of the Simonstown base facilities of the British Navy.

(b) Tory policy should foster already existing trends among the independent African States to encourage detente between those states on the one hand and Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa on the other. It should be made perfectly clear that such a policy is in the long-term interests of Africa, **as a whole**. If Malawi for instance can achieve such a detente without condoning apartheid surely we need be no less realistic? Above all there must be no repetition of Vietnam in Southern Africa.

(c) On the naval and military side, steps should be taken to re-activate the Simonstown agreement and re-negotiate the command structure including the re-appointment of a British Naval Commander-in-Chief for the area.

(d) The practice whereby submarines of the UK Navy have trained with the South African Navy should be restored and extended to other vessels. Stock-piling of Naval stores in Cape Town and Durban should be re-examined with a view to continuity.

(e) There should also be a friendly re-examination with Portugal of ways and means of utilising the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to establish mutually valid and workable de-

fence arrangements in the Southern Atlantic. It is pertinent in this context to think of naval port facilities at Beira (Mozambique) and Lobito (Angola) and Cape Verde.

(f) If the NATO area of commitment cannot be extended to this vital supply route transporting by far the greatest part of the NATO strategic oil requirements, then on both political and strategic grounds a case might be made for a regional pact for the defence of Southern Africa and the Cape route. Participants might be the UK, South Africa, the Argentine and Brazil.

Various suggestions have been advanced for consideration, in the context of re-inforcement of naval units from the UK along the Cape Route.

1) The maintenance of an aircraft carrier in the area while still in commission and possibly beyond the official date for withdrawal of aircraft carriers from service.

There is a strong argument for keeping the carrier in service. (See – **A presence East of Suez** (1969: CPC No 443.3s.)

(2) The maintenance of one or more nuclear powered submarines in support of the South African Navy.

(3) Consideration for the "floating island base" concept with vertical take off – "pycrete" facilities.

(4) The Royal Navy irrespective of any other commitment, must have enough escorts to look after the Cape route, both in war and in conditions short of war.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this Paper it has not been our aim – nor could it be – to advise specifically on the exact balance of forces required in any of the areas under examination. Nor has it been our purpose to define the precise political diplomatic measures to ensure such forces are welcome to the countries whose interests as well as our own they are intended to help to safeguard.

Whatever the final disposition of such British forces as are to be made available, we reiterate that we are convinced that the over-riding consideration is to convince those with whom they will be co-operating, and any possible antagonists, that in case of need our **will** as well as our **capacity** to act is beyond question."

In an appendix to the report the Council considered how British interests throughout Africa, could be secured.

PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF PORTUGUESE AFRICA EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL

by Patrick Orr

PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Perhaps the most serious immediate threat to the security of the Cape route lies several hundred miles to the north of South African waters – in Portuguese Guinea, the smallest of Portugal's African mainland territories (roughly the size of Scotland) and by far the most vulnerable. Consider Portuguese Guinea in isolation and the threat appears re-

lately minimal, but linked with the Cape Verde Islands with their operational naval base (San Vicente) and all-weather air-base (Sao) – the only facilities of this kind in the area controlled by a NATO power – and both these Portuguese provinces, which straddle the Cape route, assume a position of vital strategic importance.

It is therefore no coincidence that the nationalist movement, the PAIGC, stands for the "liberation" of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, an objective which has led to the communist powers, in particular the Russians, turning the PAIGC into the best equipped and trained revolutionary army in Africa with a fighting strength of approximately 7-8000 men.

Despite this, and the fact that Guinea is almost impossible to defend, surrounded as it is on two sides by the Republic of Guinea and on the other by Senegal, from which former French territories the PAIGC launches well-directed attacks, often under Cuban command, the Portuguese retain control in all but a few border areas and in the south east where they admit a limited withdrawal. In certain parts of the province, too, a system of "dual control" is recognised depending on which forces, the Portuguese or the PAIGC, are in the area.

On the other hand, the cost of defending Guinea (Portuguese forces number upwards of 30,000 men) for little return, contrary to the case of Angola and Mozambique, is prohibitive and PAIGC pressure is increasing. The nationalists, supplied with the latest Russian and Chinese weapons, are generally better armed than the Portuguese, whose equipment is often out of date. There is a shortage of helicopters, an essential in this war, modern amphibious craft for protecting Guinea's river-borne trade and communications. **The Portuguese feel strongly that the British arms boycott is seriously disrupting their war effort.** It is also in contradiction to the wider interests of NATO.

If the Portuguese withdraw or are driven from Guinea:—

(i) The Nationalist forces fighting in Angola and Mozambique would receive an enormous psychological boost which could unite many separate quarrelling factions. The wars there would certainly intensify and add to a rise in tension and to the general dangers of confrontation between black north and white south.

(ii) A valuable seaport, Bissau, the capital of Portuguese Guinea, and a modern airport, Bissalanca, near Bissau, would become available to the Russians.

(iii) The fragile stability of a number of West African states, including Senegal, Gambia and possibly Sierra Leone, would be threatened by the establishment of a pro-Soviet, revolutionary regime in Bissau. Western interests and influence could be seriously affected, particularly if another valuable port – Dakar – was to be drawn into the Soviet sphere of influence.

If Guinea was to be lost to the Portuguese, would the PAIGC and the Russians pose a threat to the Cape Verde Islands and if so, how?

(i) How many Cape Verdeans live and work in Portuguese Guinea. It would therefore be comparatively simple, following a Portuguese withdrawal, to infiltrate PAIGC sympathisers onto the islands in the general Cape Verdean exodus from Guinea which would take place at "independence."

(ii) It is not inconceivable that the Russians would, from Bissau, assist an armed landing of PAIGC forces on the islands to mount "Castro-style" military operations following a successful infiltration of PAIGC agents and the establishment of party "cells".

(iii) It is certain that, with the Cape Verde islands their main objective, the Russians have adequate contingency plans for taking the islands in the guise of a PAIGC "liberation".

ANGOLA

Angola, the largest of Portugal's African provinces, also has the greatest economic potential. The discovery of oil off Cabinda, the Portuguese enclave north of the Congo river, and the finding of fresh fields near Luanda could, in the long run, contribute towards solving the problem of southern Africa's oil needs in the event of an oil embargo. "The value of Angolan oil and iron ore output will be approaching \$100 million in 1970" reports the quarterly review of the Economist Intelligence Unit which goes on to state, including Mozambique, that "both provinces, but especially Angola, can look forward to a further period of steady growth". In January 1968, a mission from the British National Export Council (southern Africa) found that "the province of Angola offers an attractive field for British business and investment from the viewpoint both of economic promise and political stability".

The most obvious British investment in Angola is the Benguela Railway which is also the most obvious sign of the economic interdependence of Angola, the Congo and Zambia. Portugal's relations with the Congo are improving while the summer border tension with Zambia has been reduced. Despite the competition which the Chinese building of the Tan-Zan rail-link will bring, the Benguela Railway will still serve the shortest and most economic sea route from Lobito, for the shipping of Central African copper to Europe and will therefore continue to act as an important lever for the establishment of more normal and neighbourly relations with the Congo and Zambia.

Guerillas in Angola

It is on the Portuguese that the brunt of the struggle for southern Africa must fall, necessitating the expenditure of nearly half the national budget on defences and the maintaining of armies of roughly 50,000 men in both Angola and Mozambique.

Angola was the first Portuguese province to be attacked by nationalist guerillas in 1961 from across the Congolese border. Since that time, the threat of war has largely shifted from the far north of the province to the eastern area, bordering Zambia, and the nationalists make use of "staging" camps in Zambia while training and arming mainly in Tanzania. The Angolan nationalists are seriously divided. Two parties, the self-styled "Government-in-Exile" (GRAE) of Holden Roberto, based in Congo-Kinshasa, whose war effort in the north of Angola has largely petered out, and the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) based in Brazzaville with offices in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam, are recognised by the Organisation of African Unity. A Third, UNITA, has little military significance.

The most effective fighting force, the MPLA, launches hit and run attacks across the Zambian border, which has sometimes led to the disruption of the Benguela Railway and the halting of Zambia's copper traffic. Until recently the MPLA looked to Moscow rather than to Peking, but Chinese influence, particularly in the Tanzanian training camps, has increased following the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and the ensuing "third world" disillusion.

Strategic Position

The important strategic position held by Portugal in Angola (with three large ports capable of taking international shipping, Luanda, Lobito and Mocamedes) and the Cape Verde Islands for the defence of the South Atlantic (no less than the Azores for the North Atlantic) will be strengthened by the improved relations between Portugal and Brazil and perhaps manifested in the form of a defence pact in which South Africa might also share. Brazil and Angola face each other across the South Atlantic and the Portuguese have long considered the South Atlantic to be a "Luso-African-Brazilian sea". Sao Tomi in the Gulf of Guinea, too, is an important staging port.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique, no less than Angola, is a "buffer" for the defence of southern Africa. Not so obviously potentially wealthy as Angola, it has a perennial trade deficit which may improve when the power generated from **Cabora Bassa** enables the Portuguese to exploit the mineral resources of the district of Tete. The Cabora Bassa project, the most ambitious of its kind in Africa, could have enormous economic consequences for the province and for its neighbours, South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi.

Otherwise, the ports of Lourenco Marques, Beira and Nacala are of obvious strategic importance for the defence of the Indian Ocean trade served by the Cape route, though Beira has been seriously affected by sanctions. The port was originally built to handle Rhodesian trade. Nacala, now linked by rail to Malawi and a possible outlet for Zambia, has the best natural harbour in the East African coast.

Guerillas in Mozambique

Before the death in February of Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, appeared to be the most effective nationalist force confronting the Portuguese.

FRELIMO, may concentrate more now on Tete in an attempt to disrupt the constitution of the Cabora Bassa dam."

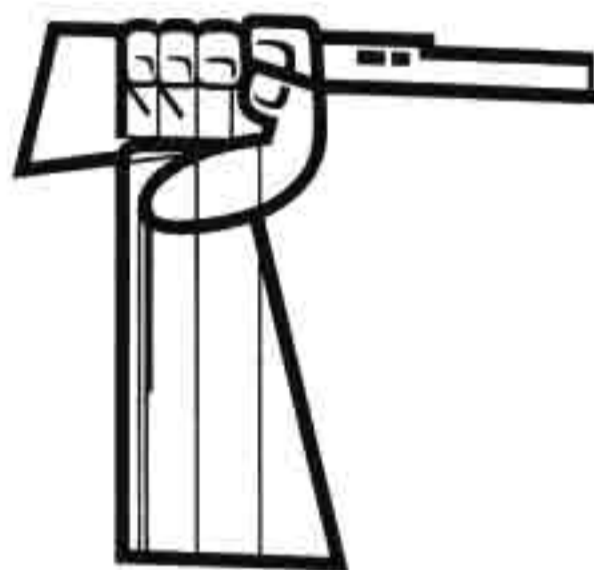
GENERAL CONCLUSION

THE DOCUMENT CONCLUDES:

"If Angola and Mozambique serve as military "buffers" for southern Africa, they can also serve as a line of communication between black and white Africa. Visiting African diplomats feel perfectly at ease in the Portuguese provin-

ces, which are interracial societies and no "special arrangements" have to be made as is the case when they visit South Africa. Portugal's close ties, too, with South Africa can likewise work towards a relaxation of that country's own racial tensions.

Therefore, should not British policy, unofficially, if necessary, concentrate on lessening the dangers of confrontation (which can only affect British interests adversely) by recognising the realities of the situation and by encouraging independent African links with Portugal and Portuguese Africa? British diplomats in independent African countries could work towards this end, if so instructed. It would also seem to be time to stop British participation in votes in the Security Council of the United Nations condemning Portugal for self-defence against external aggression. This happened on December 9th 1969 when Portuguese troops were censured for returning fire against hostile action from Senegal. The Portuguese representative pointed out that civilian casualties had been sustained from this type of action.



On the naval side, Portuguese resources are extremely small – naval personnel amounting to some 13,000 all told. In view in particular of the importance of the Cape Verde islands to the Cape route, it would seem fully appropriate to reverse the present unfriendly policy and come to some arrangement with our Portuguese ally for naval support more especially in the region of SAN VINCENTE."

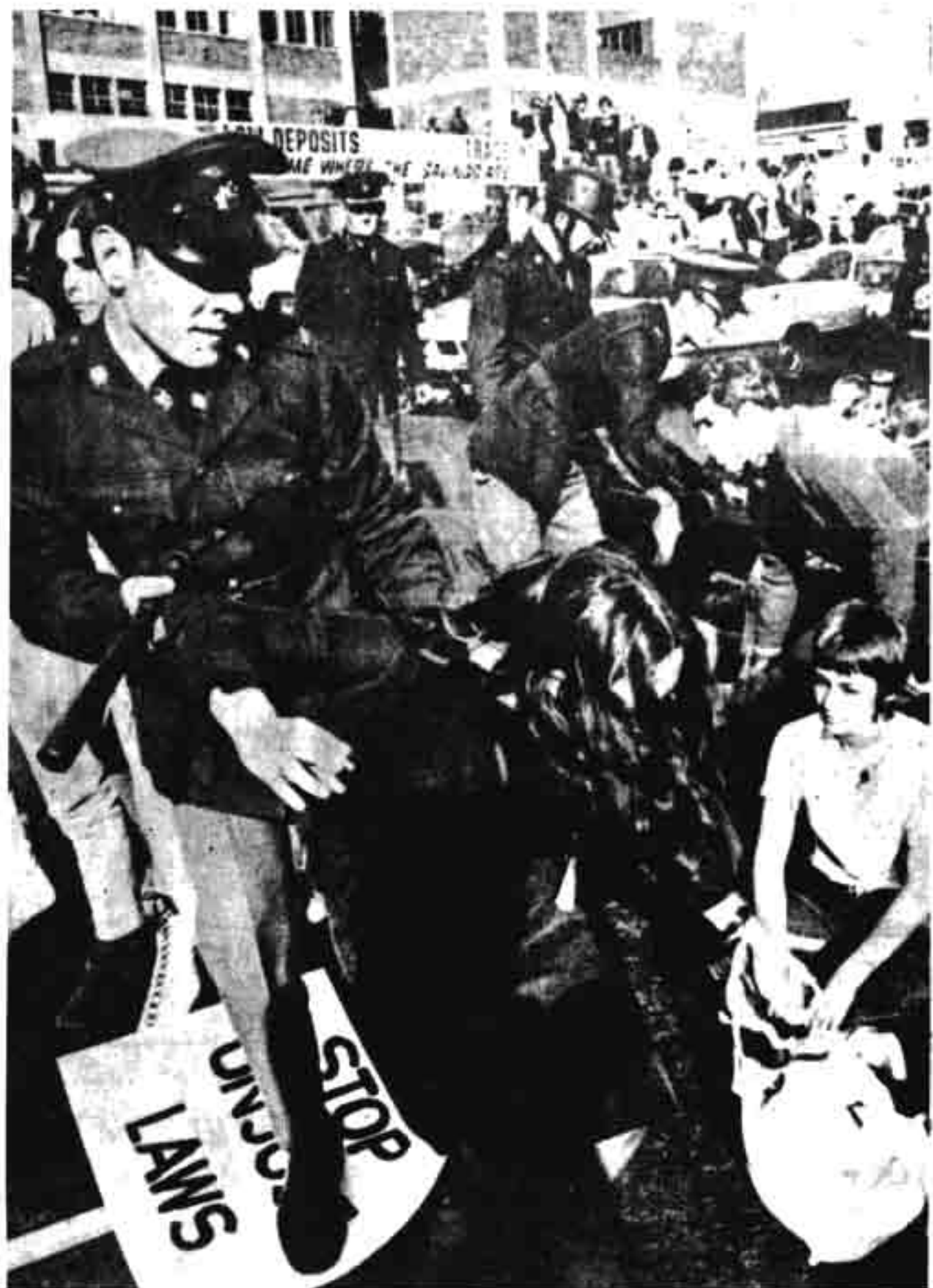
Confirmation

In its issue of 17 May 1969, the publication *Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens* wrote that Mr. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa had revealed before Parliament that the Republic of South Africa was holding top level talks with a certain number of foreign countries with a view to seeking to fill the vacuum which would be created in the Indian Ocean by the withdrawal of the Royal Navy from East of Suez.

The same publication noted that last year the South African Parliament had already suggested the idea of setting up a South Atlantic Organisation. The idea was "seriously" examined by the government and the South African navy subsequently established close relations with Australia, Argentina and Brazil. *Marches Tropicaux* added that there seemed to be other countries interested in this South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, including New Zealand, Portugal and even France.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS IN BOLD PROTESTS

Students defy police ban



South Africa has not escaped the wave of student protest now sweeping many parts of the world — angry students at some of South Africa's leading white universities have been conducting a concerted campaign directed at the release of people being detained under the Terrorism Act.

The climax of the protest coincided with the first anniversary of the arrest of Mrs. Winnie Mandela and 21 other alleged members of the underground African National Congress. After being held for 5 months under the Terrorism Act they were formerly charged in court. They were then acquitted but immediately re-arrested and held incommunicado.

The scale of the student protest sur-

passes any that has been seen in South Africa for several years, and it has encouraged leading academics, lawyers and clergymen to speak out against the law — including law professors from some of the Afrikaans universities. Starting like many other protests with poster pickets and vigils, this campaign rapidly snowballed. Soon mass meetings were being held at Witwatersrand University, Cape Town, Rhodes and Natal University in Durban. Lecture boycotts and teach-ins were organised. At Wits, in Johannesburg, an all-night torchlight protest outside the University was threatened by passing motorists and pelted with eggs and tomatoes by youths on passing lorries. But the protest continued — with reinforce-

ments being called for when attackers looked like approaching nearer.

Student Protestors Break the Law

Climax of the protests came when a march which had been planned to take place through the streets of Johannesburg with the authority of the City Council was banned by the police at the last minute. A large section of the mass meeting called to discuss the ban decided to continue with the march. 600 students, chanting "Join us, join us" to onlookers, took part in the march. Just short of

Jan Vorster Square and the police headquarters, where they were heading, they were stopped by hundreds of baton-carrying police. Many of them sat down in the road and had to be carried or dragged into the charge office – others followed them singing "We shall Overcome". Altogether 357 had their names and addresses and finger-prints taken by the police. Response from other centres was immediate. Students from South Africa's four other English Universities applied for permission from the City Councils in Durban, Maritzburg, Grahamstown and Cape Town to march. More than 400 medical students crowded into the physiology lecture theatre at the University of Cape Town to attend the first mass political meeting ever held at the medical school. Cape Town students stood at street-corners in the city distributing 35,000 pamphlets on the detentions under the Terrorism Act.

Later hundreds of students marched along Orange Street, 12 abreast after permission to march had been refused by the City Council. In Grahamstown three students were arrested for contravening a municipal regulation by standing with placards outside the University. Mass meetings and vigils inside the University continued and large numbers of students lobbied the Town Clerk in a continuous stream with petitions criticising the Council's refusal to allow a picket protest outside the cathedral. In Durban more than 1000 students attended a mass meeting at the university to protest at the detentions. Afterwards 200 students continued the protest on the steps of the city's Ce-

notaph – the first time since 1966 that it has been used for a student protest.

Officials Respond Rapidly

Official reaction to the rising militancy of the students was indecisive. At first it seemed that the Johannesburg students would be charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act or laws carrying even heavier penalties. Then the Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsers, announced that he intended to treat the matter "sympathetically". But a still later announcement revealed that 30 people were to be charged including the non-student participants such as clergymen and lecturers. At the same time, in a remarkable display of sensitivity to public opinion, Mr. Pelsers announced that the case against the 22 detainees was almost ready and those who might not be charged would be released.

Contrary to his hopes, this concession did not appease student opinion. While Witwatersrand students welcomed the fact that the 22 were to be charged or released, their leaders urged people not to forget the plight of the unknown numbers still in solitary confinement. They called on the Minister to disclose the number and names of people being held under section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

A Symptom of Deep Disquiet

How can the present upsurge of protest among students at some of



South Africa's leading universities be explained? Most of them were born and brought up under Nationalist rule and yet they are questioning its very basis. From the nature of this campaign, centred as it is around Winnie Mandela and 21 other alleged members of the underground revolutionary movement, it is clear that these students are no longer content with confining their protests to issues directly related to them as students, nor with being arbitrarily gagged by the Government:

"There comes a time", wrote one student to a Johannesburg newspaper, "when illegitimate government interference is impossible to bear. Then the voice of the man of honour must say so, sanctions or not. He may thereby contravene the letter of the law, but it is not he who commits the moral crime."

In the past actions such as this illegal march have led to immediate and harsh reaction by the Government and in the present sensitive atmosphere the marchers had every reason to expect a violent response from the ever jittery and over-taut police force. And yet they marched. Doubtless in doing so they were motivated partly by compassion for the detainees whose ordeal has already been shown in court to have been immense. But there are strong grounds for believing that it is one more expression of a deeper current of disquiet which exists in the country at present, centering on the secret and blanket repression by BOSS – Bureau of State Security – acting under direct orders from Prime Minister Vorster.

Police head off demonstration



Coloured Students Demonstrate

At the Cape's Coloured University students staged a demonstration against authoritarian rule at the college. About 500 of them marched to the rector's office and staged a sit-in-because officials had suspended a student for refusing to wear a tie. The police were alerted but there were no incidents.



AFRICAN SCHOOLGIRLS STONE SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND POLICE

The peace of the Transkei Bantustan was shattered recently when 200 high schoolgirls stormed the Shawbury Mission School, stoned the Mission Warden Mr. McKernan, and then turned on the police relief force. The police were summoned from Umtata some

40 miles away at four in the morning when the situation had become critical and beyond the control of the local police at Qumbu. The Principal feared that the school would be burned to the ground.

The girls began collecting stones in the afternoon and at midnight they started bombarding the school buildings breaking some 700 windows. In some rooms whole window frames were broken. The Principal could offer no explanation for the attack but it is known to be the third such incident since 1964.

When the mobile police squad arrived from Umtata, the girls were arrested and taken to Umtata. They were detained under Proclamation 400 which empowers the police to hold any person on suspicion and distributed to the various prisons in the area where they were questioned. Some forty-eight hours later 138 were released, 27 paid R5 admission-of-guilt fines, and more than 40 were waiting to be charged. Since education lies within the province of the Transkei Legislature it is the so-called Chief Minister Matanzima who will have to explain the incident. But the re-establishment of law and order was left to the Pretoria controlled and White officered police who remain the final authority in the Transkei.

Two new pamphlets published by the International Defence and Aid Fund.

"TRIAL BY TORTURE: THE CASE OF THE 22" is based on affidavits by some of the 22 persons, including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who are detained in South Africa under the Terrorism Act.

The other, "SOUTH AFRICA: RACISM IN SPORT" by Chris de Broglio, traces the history of the exclusion of South Africa from international sports bodies. Price 2/-

Obtainable from International Defence and Aid Fund, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4.

ALARM BELLS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS

OPPENHEIMER'S JOURNAL SEES THE AMBER

In a remarkably frank lead story the South African Financial Mail (May 27th, 1970 – Harry Oppenheimer's unofficial journal) discussed the threat posed by world anti-apartheid hostility to overseas economic links with South Africa. We publish a portion of the article to show how seriously South African Big Business views the boycott movement. Activists in the sports boycott campaign can now see their success in contributing to the uneasiness of a very important segment of the South African ruling class.

The article is headed: "It isn't cricket".

The cancellation of the cricket tour has given the demos a taste of blood. Economic ties could feel the bite next.

We have always comfortably assumed that economic self-interests would stop South Africa's detractors abroad from ever seriously disrupting their profitable trade and investment links with this country. The success of the "Stop the 70 Tour" demos, and the encouragement extremist critics of apartheid the world over have drawn from it, now make that assumption look at best an oversimplification, at worst a dangerous delusion.

Already the attack is shifting to new fronts. In Brussels the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has urged its affiliated organisations to discourage their 50m members in 60 countries from emigrating to SA. In London the Anti-Apartheid Movement has started organising demonstrations against British companies with SA interests. Some Barclays Bank branches have already been picketed, and an attempt was recently made to burn one down.

In Britain, too, the Federation of Film Unions has started a campaign to stop UK films from being shown here, and there is talk that printing workers might refuse to set copy for SA advertisements.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the US decision officially to discourage investment in South West Africa, while not

directly extending to the Republic is nothing to be complacent about.

None of these offensives amounts to very much – yet. But who would have thought two years ago that a Springbok rugby team would be made to feel unwelcome in England, and our cricketers would have the door slammed in their faces? These trends can clearly escalate at a terrifying rate.

Anyone who thinks this is alarmist talk should have listened to what the SABC has had to say in Current Affairs:

"Campaigns are already in preparation for an attack on our economic, financial and defence sectors. The enemy plans to disrupt South Africa's external trade, to cut off the flow of capital investment from abroad, and to deprive her of arms urgently needed for her protection.

"The struggle", it warned sombrely, "is going to become wider and more intense".

It is absolutely essential that South Africa survives and wins this coming battle. For no longer is one talking of tennis and cricket, but of the country's prosperity and the life blood on which all hope of peaceful social and political evolution so heavily depends.

The FM has already warned (April 24) that Pretoria's outdated labour attitudes could slow the rate of economic growth, increasing the risk of mass unemployment and thus of unrest, if not revolution. It is not inconceivable that hard hitting demonstrations against foreign companies with investments here could sap our net capital inflow (over R 1000m in the past five years) landing us with an almighty balance of payments problem, which would cut our growth rate even more.

Indeed, one leading SA industrial company, in which Swiss interests have a large shareholding, is already planning its capital expenditure programme on the assumption that Swiss residents might no longer be permitted to invest in SA after 1975. And if the Swiss are thinking along these lines, what of countries which don't think twice about slapping controls on foreign investment?

AND . . . DANGER FROM ANOTHER DIRECTION

On June 5th The Financial Mail carried another anxious article on the problem of getting skilled immigrants overseas. They said:

"South Africans in general, and government in particular, should not dismiss the actions of overseas trade unions as too remote to have any effect on immigration. The action of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in urging its affiliated organisations to discourage emigration to SA was reported in last week's FM. And it is significant that this new impetus to anti-South African action was provided by Dr Koornhof and his job-banning proclamation.

Particularly disturbing is the new militancy in Britain, which provides 30 per cent of the Republic's annual tally of 12-13,000 skilled immigrants.

The Draughtsmen and Allied Trades Association (105,000 members,) which recently merged with the powerful 1.25 m strong A.E.U., claims it has already persuaded at least five aircraft designers not to emigrate to SA.

DATA vice-president Michael Cooley (who calls himself a

Marxist) addressing a meeting in London last week, pointed to a contradiction in the government's banning Buccaneer aircraft if the designers then emigrated to South Africa. The union plans direct action in the form of pickets at South African recruiting offices.

If this action were to escalate to the "blacking" of union members, it could have considerable effect. The number of successful applicants for emigration to South Africa is already high, and even for those who plan permanent emigration under their own steam, the thought of being unable to return to their trade in a closed shop establishment is a considerable disincentive.

The plan could well be extended in September when the Trade Union Council meets for its annual congress. Last September it passed a resolution in much the same terms as the recent ICFTU motion. Nothing has been done about implementing it on a national scale, but DATA will raise the issue in an attempt to include all unions.

The closed shop principle is strong in Britain; most skilled workers arriving from the UK have been union members, and it could well be that the number arriving under the government's assisted passage scheme will diminish.

The need to refurbish the Republic's image daily becomes more pressing; and the cost of inaction and complacency is steadily mounting."

The President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. E. J. Smith, said: "It may be claimed the African mineworker is not earning enough to meet all his needs, but then are you and I paid enough to meet all ours?"



NATION BUILDING IN MOZAM- BIQUE



Mr. Peter Spacek a journalist of the German Democratic Republic, has just returned from a trip inside Mozambique with FRELIMO. Here are his impressions of the country's liberated areas, as printed in the Standard, Dar es Salaam.

I did not feel like a hero when we crossed into Mozambique.

My first thought was what would happen if Portuguese aircraft attacked us? I kept this to myself but my companions of FRELIMO must have been mind readers. "We never march at night", one freedom fighter told me. "We are the masters here, not the Portuguese. At night we sleep."

I knew that FRELIMO holds liberated areas. But I had not imagined what that actually meant. Is it deserted bush, not worthwhile for the colonialists to defend? Is there anything like "normal village life" – not only freedom fighters with a gun, but also people working on their

shambas, and children playing around? If there are any villagers – do they live in permanent fear?

Already, the very first miles inside gave an astonishing answer. I witnessed the strangest foreign trade I ever came across. The people of the liberated areas are hard workers and rapidly learning to master their environment. The free areas have developed the land and are producing important cash crops, mainly cashew nuts and agricultural products. Within one hour I met more than a hundred people carrying heavy bags on their heads over distances of dozens of miles. They exchange these goods for other essentials of life, textiles, shoes, soap, salt, batteries and pens. Other goods are stored which are used as barter for other requirements within the liberated areas. Not only essential goods, someone told me proudly. If people have brought their cashew nuts, and they wish some luxury for it, just for the sake of having it, FRELIMO provides even that. "Why not? They have worked for it, and we have to respect their wishes."

By chance I met the man who is responsible in FRELIMO for gardening. He showed me 5,000 pineapple plants and boxes of tins with mango seedlings which he had brought from inside Mozambique to plant them around a FRELIMO training camp in order to make it self-reliant in fruits. Certainly



Harvest in liberated territory

nothing very important for the liberation struggle. But it shows how everything is organized, to the smallest detail.

There are no passable roads in the liberated areas. Those which existed have been blocked to prevent the Portuguese troops from moving. When the armed struggle started in 1964, people living nearby had made them unpassable by cutting trees. They are now partly mined and nearly swallowed again by the bush. The only means of communication are narrow bush paths, covered against planes by trees and branches. On these paths the whole traffic goes on: the transport of goods which I mentioned above, the supplies for the front, the carrying of the wounded, the movements of the liberation army.

Marching Five Miles an Hour

During the first days I was more dead than alive. Commanders who had been abroad for military training told me that the usual army speed in other countries rarely exceeds three miles. But guerrilla warfare cannot be measured in the usual way. FRELIMO depends on marching. Speed and stamina are questions of life and death.

The northern part of Mozambique is traditionally less populated than Tanzania. Besides, many thousands have fled across the Ruvuma River to escape from the Portuguese bomb attacks. But we never marched more than half an hour without meeting people: Militia posts for controlling the traffic and as a warning system for surprise attacks, columns of carriers, and frequently peasant families living in huts. The first village we passed – about twelve huts – looked rather deserted. Later I saw why: nearly all the inhabitants worked on their shamba. It was a field of at least four acres – which I thought unbelievable for guerrilla war conditions. Rice, maize and cassava, mostly planted together. I have seen many fields like this one on our way. Because they are in the open, they are the most sensitive points in the liberated areas. During the dry season Portuguese planes drop napalm bombs to destroy the crops.

Most of the fields belong to co-operatives, some are individually owned. Nobody is forced into co-operatives. FRELIMO leaders are very careful on such questions. But also those who still work individually cannot but co-operate. When a peasant is on the way to carry goods, which happens very often – for himself, for the village or for the liberation army – the others work on his shamba. When we passed a large rice field with about 50 women working on it, I asked the soldiers marching with me for a rest to take pictures, they immediately took the hoe to join the villagers. I first supposed they just wanted to pose for my camera. But I was convinced that this kind of work was not unusual for them.

I found generally an atmosphere of understanding and mutual trust between freedom fighters and civilian population (if one can draw a difference at all).

Life with FRELIMO

The area I visited is Makonde area. I did not find many people doing wood carvings which this tribe is famous for. Only in one village I observed some men at this skilful art. Besides them their guns leaned against a tree indicating that they also have some other job to do. Most people I met – altogether several thousand – had the typical Makonde tattooing on their faces. Many women had small round disks grown into their upper lips, like little wheels of toy railways.

I mention these facts since there have been reports in Western papers that most of the Makonde fled together with their tribal chief Kavandame to the Portuguese. Concerning Kavandame, I recorded the sarcastic comment of the Makonde people on tape: one of their songs is a satirical one: "Kavandame has run away". The second verse with the same words, by the way, is about the former FRELIMO vice-president Simango, and it says "FRELIMO is able to swallow a lot".

But the Kavandame story has an important aspect of principle. Like other liberation movements, FRELIMO started on a more or less purely nationalist basis. During the struggle a process of differentiation developed, intensified by the needs of construction in the liberated areas which already now raise the question how the future Mozambique should look. Kavandame, representing conservative-nationalist tendencies, intended to keep the old social structure created by colonialism – only without the Portuguese.

As administrative secretary of Cabo Delgado Province, he sabotaged the formation of people's administrative committees until he was suspended from his post and took refuge in a Portuguese base.

The People Decide

When I met Samora Machel, the army chief, and now FRELIMO'S President, in one of the FRELIMO camps inside Mozambique, I asked him to explain the ideological conception of the liberation struggle. "We lead our struggle not only against colonialism, but also against the system behind it - capitalism. We had exploiters in our own ranks: Kavan-dame, Simango. They tried to tell us that we do not need any ideology. They thought it was only necessary to bring together all nationalist forces. But how can we fight for independence without saying which kind of independence we want? We did not liberate ourselves from parasites to create new parasites".

"We are not so keen on theoretical definitions", he continued. "We decide by actions. And it is the people who decide. We just give the orientation. But I think the decision is not so difficult. Each of us has his own experience with capitalism. And each of us know what we have achieved together - the new ways of production, our schools, our hospitals, our life in the liberated zones."

I found ample proof for these words. About two hours marching from the main training camp in Cabo Delgado Province - FRELIMO calls it "Beira" base - is the administrative centre of that area. Dozens of huts with all the activities of village life. Some hundred yards away is the "boarding school", several huts specially built for those children whose parents are fighting at the front. The class rooms consist of open huts with grass roofs, some are just a piece of open space where the pupils sit on trees. It was in the late afternoon, but each class room was overcrowded. Children of all ages, adult classes as well, sometimes even mixed.

I witnessed lessons in reading and writing, mathematics and geography. Everyone will understand how deeply moved I was when I saw that the exercise books the children were writing in had been solidarity gifts from my country, the German Democratic Republic. Previously, a teacher told me,

they had used dried cassava roots and carbonized pieces of wood as substitutes for chalk and blackboard.

Mozambique has one of the highest rates of illiteracy in Africa - about 98 per cent, I was told. Now where FRELIMO rules, each child has the possibility to go to school. Even one of the Portuguese prisoners was taught how to read and write when he was kept eight months in the liberated areas, before being sent to Algeria.

Another unforgettable experience was my visit to one of the bush hospitals, several huts, widely dispersed to protect them from air attacks. FRELIMO has no trained doctors, only medical assistants who remove bullets or bomb splinters, treat the civilian population or perform even complicated operations. And they do it with nearly nothing. All the Medicines and instruments I found in that hospital could be stored in two shoe boxes. What is especially needed are antibiotics and small surgical instruments.

Under Portuguese rule there was no medical service at all in rural areas. And even with the present limited possibilities FRELIMO was able to vaccinate more than 200,000 people against smallpox in Cabo Delgado Province alone.

It was peaceful in the area I visited. Were it not for the guns many people carry with them - even the medical assistants in the bush hospital and the students in the adult classes - one could easily forget they were living under war conditions. But there is a tough war on as I was soon to learn.

Mozambique War

It happened during the very first days after we crossed the border; we had marched for three hours when we suddenly heard machine gun shots from a distance. Then a messenger reached us with the order to stay where we were and take cover. Some time later I heard the explosions of bombs. I saw a helicopter, a French "Alouette", and a one-engined plane, a West German Dornier DO 27.

The same evening I learned what had happened: A company

A pause in a long day





A school in Niassa Province

of Portuguese soldiers, coming from the next military base, had tried to attack the FRELIMO camp we were marching to. It was the first attempt in five or six months, I was told. Maybe a specially arranged welcome for me. But FRELIMO seems to be well prepared for such occasions.

Villagers or militia posts inform the liberation army about all movements of the enemy – at least ten to 15 miles before they reach the area. On that day FRELIMO laid an ambush: two small detachments right and left of the Portuguese. The enemy marched straight into the fire of a machine gun and mortar a few hundred yards further away. When they retreated, the left detachment opened fire first. Trying to escape to the opposite side, the enemy got shot from there. An hour later a helicopter came to collect the dead and the wounded. The DO 27 gave cover and dropped bombs around the landing site to prevent FRELIMO attacking.

I inspected the place where the helicopter had landed, the slope of a romantic valley near a small lake covered by water plants. I saw blood stains on the ground and felled trees for transporting the wounded. As souvenirs I collected wrapping paper of Portuguese army bandages, also empty tins of emergency rations with an instruction leaflet in Portuguese how and when it should be used, and – printed in heavy type – that the remains are to be buried carefully. There was probably not time enough on this occasion.

I asked the combatants about the Portuguese losses. No one could give me an exact number. They reported that nearly all of the platoon in front of the company collapsed under machine gun and mortar fire, while the rest were hit by the detachments on either side. The FRELIMO losses I saw for myself: one freedom fighter was limping. He had dropped a mortar grenade on his leg.

"Just wait", one commander told me "tomorrow Portuguese planes will come to strafe our area. They do that when they fall into an ambush." He proved to be right. It was a DO 27 again. I counted eleven explosions. Since everything was covered by bush, they dropped their bombs at random. When I visited the FRELIMO hospital nearby, I saw two

wounded women. One hit by a bomb splinter in the head, the other in the shoulder. By bombs from West German NATO planes!

Nato Weapons

In the main training camp I found even more evidence of NATO support. A company of soldiers was lined up and the commander asked those who carried captured weapons – about one third – to step forward and to lay them down for inspection. Some were old acquaintances from the last war: German rifles "Karabiner 98" and machine guns "MG 42". I found also more modern arms: French mortars and hand grenades, and English rocket launcher "M 20" 8.6 inch. But most of them were automatic G-3 guns, manufactured under West German licence in the West German built arms factory of Braco da Prata, which now form the standard equipment of the Portuguese colonial troops. "Those weapons are now used against the enemy", the commander told me. "But they have killed our comrades and innocent civilians. When will the NATO countries stop their support for Portugal?" A question I could not answer.

When we marched back, I discovered big holes in the ground, partly covered by branches and leaves. "Air shelters for the villagers", I was told. I had not noticed them before as they were well camouflaged. They have to be. Life in the liberated areas is not as peaceful as appeared to me at first. The Portuguese bases scattered in the liberated zones are completely isolated and they have access by air only. But they still endanger the lives of people living there. The distance I marched together with FRELIMO does not look very impressive on the map. The liberated area in the North covers about one fifth of Mozambique. One of the many songs of the liberation army refers to the Maputo, the southern river. "When we have reached Maputo, Mozambique will be free". Many sacrifices have to be made. Many years of hard struggle lay ahead.

OFF THE CUFF



Florence Mophosho

Sechaba Interviews Florence Mophosho on WOMEN'S DAY - AUGUST 9

Mrs. Mophosho you are at present the African Secretary in the Women's International Democratic Federation and attached to the Headquarters in the German Democratic Republic?

Yes. I have been there for several years now.

The month August, and particularly the date August 9th has special significance for the women of South Africa and I would like to take this opportunity to discuss the status and role of African women in South Africa.

Yes, August the 9th has been observed by South African women as a day of struggle against apartheid and for the liberation of oppressed women. In the years gone by we had militant demonstrations and other actions on August 9th under the banner of the African National Congress Women's League which was affiliated to the Federation of South African Women. This year we shall also be observing August 9th both in South Africa and outside. It is a time to remember our struggle and commit ourselves to the total defeat of racist rule in our country. In the present situation it has become extremely difficult for the Federation to operate publicly since police interference is severe in South Africa, but the day will be observed despite that.

Can you tell Sechaba readers something about your own life at home?

I was a factory workers for many years and suffered the difficulties of all workers, particularly African women workers, in our country. African women are exploited not only as workers but as women too, and they work for depressed wages. Not only are you underpaid, but conditions are also very bad. And life is hard. You have to get up early in the morning in the Township, far from your place of work, standing in long bus queues without shelter, and then travel a long way to the industrial area where you are employed.

At work the supervisors bully the women workers who have

no rights at all, and particularly those who take part in politics find that the employers are totally hostile to them. I have been dismissed from several jobs merely on suspicion.

What was your pay as a factory worker?

I was paid £ 2.15 a week, which was wholly inadequate to keep body and soul together in expensive Johannesburg.

And the conditions? For instance did the Factory Act Provisions apply to you?

Certainly not. This Act was ignored by my employers and the inspectors only paid attention to the facilities for white workers. We had no cloak room and nowhere to eat our lunch. We were forced to go into the street and eat our fish and chips in the street.

We were not allowed to belong to a trade union and when officials from the South African Congress of Trade Unions came to visit us it was always secretly. If the police got wind of some trade union activity or even if a number of women came together to lodge a complaint to the employers the police were immediately informed and an arrest was likely. The police found the employers very cooperative and by working together they made factory organisation very difficult.

Mrs Mophosho were you born in Johannesburg?

Yes, I was born there and have never been in the so-called 'homelands' that the Government talks about. Furthermore my family has always lived in Johannesburg.

What can you tell our readers about life in an African township in Johannesburg.

I lived in Alexandra Township which has a long political history. Many militant actions, particularly those involving women, found their origin in Alexandra.

The Burden of Passes

But let us start with the conditions there. What was the housing like?

The majority of the people in Alexandra Township live in great poverty at present. Originally our parents were thought to be better off because they had been able to acquire some property there. But as the Nationalist Government entrenched itself in office things went from bad to worse, our property was taken away without compensation. It was, in fact, a matter of force and our people were deprived of the houses which were their only security and comfort for their old age.

An important point is that at that time African women were not obliged to carry passes: only the men had to do so. But as time went on the authorities used every trick they could to force passes on women. They used their powers as the owners of the people's property to make passes for women obligatory. There was the question of rent. When the rent inspectors called one had to be in possession of a pass in order to pay the rent and if you did not pay, the authorities were quick to eject you. So, women were obliged to take passes out in order to protect their homes.

So carrying a pass was both obligatory and an enormous burden.

Yes. Passes for women meant that there was never any peace. That the home was no longer secure against demanding policemen, who frequently carried out raids to check up on passes. Today men and women and even children over fifteen have to carry passes. It sometimes happens that a whole family may be arrested because the passes are out of order. Because of the pass people cannot sell their labour where they wish, they cannot move freely and permits are required for what people in other countries regard as a natural right.

How do the police behave towards African women?

With extreme brutality. Women are often humiliated by the police, particularly in the mass pass raids. It is terrible to

A woman militant



see police move into an area, seize those women whose passes are not in order and load them on to trucks for deportation.

The pass is also a compulsory bond within your family life. Women have absolutely no security unless their passes indicate that they are married to a man who is in lawful employment. When the husband loses his job then the whole family is in danger of deportation. On the other hand if the woman finds it difficult to get on with her husband she cannot leave him, since she is subject to immediate removal from the area as a single woman.

Can you tell our readers about the activities of women in the liberation struggle? You were a leader in the ANC Women's League?

Yes, I was a member of the Executive and the Branch Secretary in Alexandra. Our women have made a magnificent contribution to the struggle for liberation. They have participated in militant anti-pass campaigns during which hundreds of women have been arrested. During the Alexandra bus boycott women played a very important role. We organised meetings every evening and when D day came along a large contingent marched to the bus terminus where we organised pickets. Of course everyone in Alexandra was affected by the penny increase in bus fares. People were living in great poverty and could neither afford the extra penny nor were they prepared to allow the Company to dictate terms and so women marched nine miles every day to Johannesburg and nine miles back again after working all day in the factories. It taxed the people greatly but we won and Alexandra township established its place as a centre of great militancy once again.

The Revolutionary Woman

How do you view the role of women in the revolution?

Women have a very important role to play. Some of our finest cadres have joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and are ready to play their part in the armed struggle. On the other hand our women at home are waiting for the development of guerrilla warfare so that they can assist the guerrillas in the struggle. Our women have always been imbued with a revolutionary spirit and they can be depended on as the struggle sharpens. Even now there are five women accused in the Winnie Mandela trial, while two women refused to testify in that case.

How will our revolution affect the place of women in society?

I think the revolution will help to liberate women. The old tradition that a woman merely belongs in the kitchen will pass away in the course of the struggle as we take our rightful place in pursuing the dangerous tasks that a revolution will impose on us. It will then be realised that women are not inferior to men and can do anything that men can. Without doubt the women are going to prove themselves in the revolution. They are going to learn many skills which they have never had the opportunity of learning before and this will give them a new status. Speaking for myself I would say that politics has given me experiences which have helped me to overcome the weaknesses women have to put up with. I have gone through many hardships. I have even jumped over fences just as men have done. In the course of political work I have forgotten that I am a woman. Politics is the best school for the development of true comradeship and equality between men and women.

THE CHIEF LUTULI MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

A Biography of the Director

MASSABALALA BONNIE YENGWA

Was born at Mapumulo, Natal, South Africa, on the 5th December 1923. He is married with four children. His wife is a graduate teacher, she taught at Inanda Seminary, African Girls High Schools for many years and became its first African Head Teacher. She later taught at St. Michaels Girls High School, Manzini, Swaziland. He is a lay preacher of the African Congregational Church. He joined the African National Congress in 1945 and became the Secretary of the Congress Youth League in Natal in 1948. In 1951 he became Secretary of the African National Congress in Natal, at the time when Chief A. J. Lutuli was elected the Natal President of Congress. He was a member of the National Executive Committee from 1951 and his close political association with Chief Lutuli started at this time until his death. He was Volunteer-in-Chief for Natal during the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

In 1953 he was banned from attending Public gatherings and restricted from entering specified towns for one year. In 1954 he was again banned and banished from Durban where he was serving his articles as a Solicitor and was confined to the district of Mapumulo for two years. In 1956 he was arrested and charged with others on an allegation of High Treason. The trial was held in Johannesburg and Pretoria. He was acquitted on this charge in 1959. In 1960 he was detained in nationwide arrests of leaders of the liberation movement, and spent three months at Durban Central Gool.



M. B. Yengwa in Durban

Detained under 90 Day Law

In 1963 was detained under the 90 Day clause, and spent 43 days in solitary confinement, after which he was charged for being a member of the African National Congress and carrying out its activities. He was convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Whilst awaiting trial he was admitted as an Attorney by the Supreme Court of South Africa. He was released from prison in 1965 and immediately placed under 24 hours house arrest and deported to Mapumulo. After remaining in Mapumulo for 5 months he fled to Swaziland in April, 1966. He was soon admitted as a Solicitor, Notary Public and Conveyancer and practised as such for a period up to February 1970. He holds a Bachelor of Commerce degree of the University of South Africa. This was conferred on him in absentia whilst detained during the State of Emergency.

He came to London in February, 1970 and is now a Director of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation. The Foundation has been established to perpetuate the memory of Chief A. J. Lutuli who was President General of the African National Congress from 1952 until his death on 21st July, 1967. The Foundation has been established as a result of the demand of his followers and supporters in South Africa and of the world governments who support the ideals for which he struggled to his death – the fight for the overthrow of white domination and the establishment of freedom and democracy in South Africa. The Foundation will concern itself amongst other things, with humanitarian and educational projects and also with publicity of the ideals for which Chief Lutuli strived and assist in their attainment.

BANTU EDUCATION FOR MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL SLAVERY



Third in a series by P. V. Mbatha

You tell me to sit quiet
When robbed of my manhood,
With nowhere to live
And nought to call my own,
Now coming, now going,
Wandering and Wanting.
No life in my home
Save the drone of the battle!
So tell the drooping grass,
Frost bitten and pale,
Not to quicken when roused
By the warm summer rains.

By Dr A. C. Jordan, Author of "INQUMBO YEMI NYANYA", formerly Lecturer, University of Cape Town, died in political exile in U.S.A.

THE FORBIDDEN GREEN PASTURES

A casual reading by an overseas opponent of apartheid of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 would not wholly reveal the far-reaching and deadly grip cloaked in the enabling act. To understand its nefarious ramifications and implications the reader needs to know what went on immediately before and after the evil legislation.

THE BROEDERBOND STAMP

Bantu Education bears the unmistakable stamp of that all-powerful and sinister secret cult, the Broederbond (Society of Bretheren), founded in 1918, which has been the dark and dominating force in the Afrikaner-Nationalist Cabinet; and her influential daughter, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultur Verenigings (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies - F.A.K) established in 1936 and whose handmaid and adopted aunt is the Insituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys (The Institute for Christian Nationalist Education - I.C.N.O.) which came into prominence in 1904. It is not by accident that the largest professional group within the shroud of the Broederbond are teachers, professors and educationists. The tentacles of the octopus have spread far and wide into the whole fabric of the Boer-Afrikaner laager including the Dutch Reformed Churches, the Trades Unions, SABRA and the Afrikaanse Studentbond.

ICNO BRAINCHILD

From 1939 to 1948 the Institute for Christian Nationalist Education under the auspices of F.A.K. studied its line of assault on the whole of education in South Africa and then issued its policy-statement in fifteen articles in February 1948, shortly before the Boer-Nationalist unexpectedly came to power. When I addressed a teachers' conference in 1952 I described it as, "the most insidious and diabolical attempt to tamper with education" and as "a scurrilous chauvinistic document which is neither Christian, nor national nor an education but a fanatical isolationist indoctrination." I still believe the indictment holds true. All the 15 sections have by now largely been implemented in white schools with the exception of pockets in Natal, and of course, that is what the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965 are all about.

"NATIVE" EDUCATION

I do not have space to quote and comment on all the 15 articles, but those who wish to read the whole lamentable business may look up a booklet entitled "Blueprint for Blackout" published by The Education League, Johannesburg. But I want to quote an extract from Article 15 on Native Education: - "Native Education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee."

"The mother tongue should be the basis of native education but the two official languages should be learned as keys to the cultures from which the native will have to borrow in order to progress. Owing to the cultural infancy of the native, the state, in cooperation with the protestant churches, should at present provide native education. But the native should be fitted to undertake his own education as soon as possible under control and guidance of the state. Native education should lead to the development of an independent, self-supporting Christian-nationalist native community.

"Native Education should not be financed at the expense of white."

This was an accurate forecast and is a classic summary of both the Eiselen Commission Report, Dr Verwoerd's Bantu Education speeches, and the Bantu Education Act itself. No wonder, the Supreme Boss of the Broederbond and the F.A.K Prof. J. C. van Rooy of the most tribal Afrikaans University of Potchefstroom wrote in ecstatic jubilation congratulating I.C.N.O. "We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the medium struggle. The struggle for the Christian and National School still lies before us". In 1970 that so-called struggle has been almost completely won.

EISELEN COMMISSION GREEN LIGHT

In South Africa, as in other Fascist states, the ruling clique first decides what it wants and then appoints a hand-picked Commission of Enquiry to provide the respectable gloss and the quasi-scientific stamp of authority for the go-ahead. If the Commission dares to depart from the line on basic issues, it is then contemptuously dismissed and another more pliable one appointed. That is what happened to the Fagan Commission on Urbanization of Africans of 1946 and the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid of 1954.

Similarly, Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs appointed the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51 commonly known as the Eiselen Commission. Typically, the Commissioners did not include a single representative of those who would most intimately be affected by their report and recommendations, namely: the Africans and the missionaries who were then running the majority of African schools. As Brian Bunting has pointed out in "The Rise of the South African Reich", "The very framing of the Commission's terms of reference indicated the Government's intention to implement the C.N.O. programme for African Education." (P. 258).

In my view, the most crucial recommendations were those contained in paragraphs 776 and 1052 of the Eiselen Report, and the Bantu Education Act was merely a legislative vehicle for the propagation of the poisoned seed. It will be noted throughout that Boer Nationalists have an almost pathological obsession for mother tongue instruction. This is partly a historical manifestation of their own language struggle against anglicization dating back to Lord Charles Somerset in 1819 and Lord Alfred Milner soon after the Anglo-Boer War. They now go round fighting shadows and they therefore presume that Africans too ought to strive, above all else, for their vernaculars if they are to retain their Africanness and, of course, the ultimate outcome would be for the benefit of the Boer-Nationalists since there are several African vernaculars. This would help bolster up decaying tribalism and that would in turn vindicate their own apartheid policies of "divide and rule."

THE LANGUAGE PHOBIA

The language struggle has left an inferiority scar in their souls and Africans often make fun of this. It is wellknown that if an African or any other "uitlander" wishes to invoke favourable reponse in a Boer-Afrikaner he only has to mutter a few Afrikaans sentences, even if they are in broken grammar it does not really matter much. Such an effort immediately bears surprising fruit. But let the petitioner utter exactly the same sentiments in broken English then the game is lost, and he immediately becomes a "cheeky Kaffir" or "a Black Englishman", and that applies not only at the lowest levels of that peculiar society but also in the very highest strata. We experienced just that when the Teachers' Federal Council went on deputation to Pretoria to see Dr W.M.M. Eiselen.

THE HIGH PRIEST RENOUNCES

In his Second Reading Speech on the Bantu Education Bill on the 17th September 1953 and his Senate Speech on the 7th June, 1954, subsequently published cynically in booklet form for world-wide guidance and consideration the Arch Apostle and Master-Architect of Apartheid education, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, himself, supplied all the blood-chilling sophistries on the impending plague to be inflicted by Bantu Education on the recalcitrant African masses. On the earlier occasion the world press was heavily represented and on the latter occasion the booklet did the trick. We did not need to engage propagandists to demonstrate the evil intentions. The blunt and brutal psychologist did that for us. All we needed was to quote the appropriate extract from the long-winded speeches and make some small comment.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORACLE OF 17.9.53.

"What is the use of subjecting a Native child to a curriculum which in the first instance is traditionally European... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live... If my Department controls Native education it will know for which type of higher profession the Native can be trained... in accordance with their opportunities in life... and this is very important - that their education should not clash with Government policy..."

"Racial relations cannot improve if this wrong type of education is given to the Native. They cannot improve if the result... is the creation of a frustrated people, who as a result of the education they received, have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them... Therefore good race relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations... if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say, for example, a Communist gives this training to the Natives. Such a person will by the very nature of the education he gives... create expectations in the minds of the Bantu which clash with the possibilities in this country..."

"If the Native... is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake... we on this side are not in favour of equal rights... Should the S. African Government spend money in order to send into the world an ever-increasing number of dissatisfied persons..."

VERWOERD'S SENATE BLOOD-CURDLING DECLARATION OF 7. 6. 1954

For brevity, we shall exclude, on this occasion, those parts of the diatribe that specifically refer to African teachers as a whole and some of the administrative side. After castigating African education as it had been run up to then by the Provinces and the Mission schools, he pontificated, "By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community despite the country's policy of 'Apartheid'. This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy 'White collar ideals' and the causation of wide-spread frustration among the so-called educated Natives.

"The general aims of the Bantu education are to remedy the difficulties... by transforming education for Natives in

to Bantu education... Arrangements have already been made to provide school books and school furniture on a more economical basis. Instructions have also been issued to change the hours of attendance of children in the sub-standards so that a large number of beginners can be admitted to the schools. The provision of instruction in Afrikaans in schools where it has not hitherto been offered is receiving attention... The school must equip him (the Bantu pupil) to meet the demands which the economic life of S. Africa will impose upon him... The curriculum in... lower primary stage cannot go much further than the teaching of the "three R's" through the medium of the mother tongue, the beginning of the study of Afrikaans and English, religious education and singing... If 'fundamental' education can be obtained on the farms, the trek from the farms will be combatted... To permit the establishment of farm schools, the transfer of land for the building of expensive schools will no longer be required. Bantu mothers can, in accordance with the local methods, erect walls where farmers allow it, and the Department will provide the windows, doors and roof. If the farmer withdraws his permission these can be removed. Female teachers will, as far as possible, be recruited locally, to combat the danger of unsuitable teaching in these schools... Care will be taken that the Native population in the cities will no longer be privileged in educational matters and they have to make equal sacrifices with their brothers elsewhere... There is no ground for preferential treatment of the Bantu parents in the urban location over those in the reserves... My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society.

... There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community... and mislead him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

BANTU EDUCATION CLASSROOM CONGESTION 1970

The Verwoerdian pronouncements above give a decisive emphasis on numbers and economy. In other words, quantity at the expense of quality which is always false economy, but as an astute politician, Verwoerd was concerned with the political propaganda of inflated statistics as part of window-dressing for the benefit of the hostile world which he wished to placate. In a limited way, the pictures above, taken at the opening of schools in South Africa early in 1970 are a graphic illustration of the quantitative educational philosophy. What learning can take place in grossly congested "Bantu-mother" built hovels with some children permanently squatting on the floor? In Bantu Education, sub-standard pupils go to school merely for the record, to provide apartheid braggarts with new figures to be trumpeted in official glossy publications and for the ears of uninformed tourists and apartheid apologists overseas. In the coming issues we shall study some of the implications and consequences of the Verwoerdian declarations.

DEADLY SOAP AND EDUCATION

May I conclude this article by giving the readers food for thought by citing an epigram by the well-known humourist, Mark Twain. It was quoted by Bishop T. Hudleston in the introduction to his public lecture on "Education and Human Rights" in June, 1969, "Soap and Education are not as sudden as massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run."

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OBITUARY

Comrade Elijah Jara

We regret to announce the untimely death last week of Comrade Elijah Jara who died from a blood clot in the lung and a stomach ulcer. Comrade Jara was one of a group of nine students who left South Africa early in 1962 under the auspices of the underground African National Congress for study abroad. After a brilliant student career he obtained a Master's Degree in Economics after which he successfully pursued a Doctorate in Economics which he completed at the beginning of this year. He completed both degrees in the University of Kiev, USSR.

During his Youth and Student days both in South Africa and abroad Comrade Jara was noted for his active participation in the heroic struggle of our people. It was indeed encouraging to receive reports that he and his other colleagues with whom he left South Africa had raised high the banner and prestige of our organisation through their dedication to the cause of our people and their depth of understanding of the struggle of the oppressed peoples elsewhere in Africa and in other parts of the world.

Consistent with his dedication to our movement, Comrade Jara decided after completion of his studies to join the heroic ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe - the Spear of the Nation. His untimely death overtook him whilst he was together with other dedicated South African Youth, undergoing training to master the skills necessary for the present armed phase of our struggle.

The African National Congress and the oppressed people of our country have suffered a grievous loss in his death. He joins the ranks of those of our comrades and many militants of Umkhonto We Sizwe who have already fallen heroically during the course of our glorious struggle.

Amandla Matla!

APARTHEID AND

JAZZ

by Peter Sinclair

I suppose my appreciation of jazz was inevitable. You see, I was more or less weaned on it, my father being an enthusiastic fan of traditional jazz, who produced radio programmes on the subject in Kenya.

While others were listening to the emergence of pop in the form of Elvis Presly and Bill Haley, the top of my hit parade was Louis Armstrong's "Give me a kiss to build a dream on."

On my arrival in South Africa some ten years ago I followed the course of my interests. This path led me to a building known as Dorkay House in Johannesburg, where I was privileged to be able to hear 'live' the type of music I had previously only heard on record. Dorkay House is the centre for Union Artists, a privately sponsored organisation that

Chris McGregor, the white pianist/composer and leader of the 'Blue Notes' an African group which escaped S. A. in 1964



attempts to aid music and theatre for Africans in South Africa. A difficult task that daily grows even more difficult.

At that stage 'King Kong' a brilliant musical with an all-African cast had just been produced and was receiving much acclaim in both Black and White circles. The show later went on to London where it played successfully for some time and was the breeding ground (and escape route) for such artists as Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba amongst others. Today in South Africa it would be impossible to produce a 'King Kong' to play before White or integrated audiences. At best the show could be taken around some tatty township halls (African compounds).

Steadily, blow by blow, the SA government kills any possibility of communication between the two main race groups – and consequently the possibility of any racial harmony. A number of years ago, in Capetown particularly, where Apartheid regulations were less stringent partly due to the large coloured population and more 'liberal' Cape tradition it was still possible to go to a club and hear African jazz. Concerts at city halls were possible (even with integrated audiences at one stage) and at universities. New laws were brought in first prohibiting mixed audiences and then any non-whites from performing in a white area without a permit. To get a permit is virtually impossible, believe me I have tried it. It is common practice for the authorities to let you know 24 hours before the show is due to go on that in terms of section . . . by power of section . . . permission is refused. It is all part of the system, anything that might show that a non white can also be a capable, intelligent human being is against the law.

At one stage about five years ago we thought things were looking up. An African jazz group known as the 'Soul Giants' were contracted to play at a plush Durban 'Five Star' hotel. But not for long – a law was soon passed prohibiting non whites from performing in licenced premises and the group's contract was terminated mid-way. Recently in Johannesburg I persuaded a non-licenced club to use African jazz groups. Advertising had to be more or less 'underground' so as not to alert the authorities. The results were staggering, the club was always packed to near capacity and the music received with wild applause. People approached me saying 'Its fantastic, where do they come from?' Actually they lived just around the corner in an area known as Soweto – a huge sprawling African township some 15 miles from the centre of Johannesburg. But it was not much joy for the musicians who had to sit aside from the public when not playing and to whom I had to slip drinks because the management would have objected. One jazz musician, Kippie Moeketsi, actually wrote a number about this type of situation, it was called 'Scullary Department' because the musicians inevitably landed up in the kitchen. However even this has come to an end. Jointly with the announcement of the new horrific 'job reservation'



Denis Mpali an outstanding talent trapped in S. A.

Dudu Pukwana - alto saxophonist who left S. A. with Chris McGregor



acts which are putting thousands of Africans out of employment as clerks, counter-hands, telephonists and receptionists, the police moved in on the club and told them to close the show. The management did so, it would be pretty pointless to try and fight them - if there isn't a law they can soon make one. Such is life in a police state.

NO MUSIC SCHOOLS

Music comes naturally to Africans and most musicians are self-taught, as indeed they must be as there are no music schools for a non-white in South Africa excepting Union Artists. Barely existing on minimal funds, its teachers poorly paid, its students not able to pay, it is doomed to failure. Now Group Areas Acts are forcing them to close their offices in the city.

Once penny whistle groups added colour to the city. These groups consisted usually of one or two penny-whistlers, a one-string bass made from an old tea box, a guitar and a vocalist used to entertain people on street corners, but now the police have driven them away.

But still the music exists, chain gangs of Africans digging a road, chanting in time to the fall of the pick. A powerful hum which can be heard far away and you think of hills and mountains and how Africans could speak to one another sometimes over a distance of many miles.

The only hope for an African musician lies in escape to another country where his talents can be appreciated, respected and paid for. This is no easy matter. Apart from requiring a record that shows 'no political misbehaviour' either on his part or on the part of any relative, he must pay £ 100 to the SA government before he can acquire a passport. (Fee for a White being 30 shillings)

And a host of talent exists, accomplished musicians like Kippie Mokeetsi, Chris Schilder, Winston Mankunika, Count Judge, to name a few, are trapped in this country where it is forbidden to succeed if you are black.

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