

mayibuyye



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ANGLSVA

We make no apologies for the inverted commas. As the leading organisation of the oppressed Black majority of South Africa we, of the African National Congress, are becoming somewhat tired of the attitude adopted by some of the governments of independent African countries on the doorstep of the racist South. Their words and their actions belie their nominally independent character.

For a long time now Africans have agreed that no part of Africa can be free until all of Africa is free. Certainly the people of Africa know and believe this to be true. We are happy to say, and grateful too, that so many of the people and Governments of independent Africa are doing so much to assist the liberation movements in Southern Africa. Of course, more can be done and more needs to be done but that is another chapter.

But the exceptions to this general truth are noteworthy and notorious. Adjoining, as they do, the borders of S.A. they are fully aware of the indignities, humiliation and cruelties heaped on their Black bretheren in the land of apartheid. Nay, more, their own people have been victims of racial oppression at the hands of the colonialists. They, of all people, can do much to inspire and assist in the liberation of S.A. from oppressive White minority rule. But, if they do not feel up to this glorious task, the least they can do is to maintain a kind of silent neutrality and refrain from sabotaging the struggle for liberation. Instead they go to great lengths to please their racist masters, they ridicule the efforts of the O.A.U. and of truly independent African countries, they intimidate and threaten Freedom Fighters, they even arrest and gaol them, and they prattle the same kind of claptrap about "good neighbourliness" as the racists. The most degraded and detestable among these are Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho and Banda of Malawi.

We must hasten to point out that we are not unmindful of the difficulties facing these countries. Centuries of colonial subjugation has left them backward and poverty-stricken with their economies tied to that of the White South. Without question they have to act with care and circumspection or as the Prime Minister of Swaziland was so anxious to point out "with acumen". But Zambia faces similar difficulties, compounded by UDI, but despite this Zambia has unflinchingly taken her stand squarely on the side of the African Revolution at great cost to her economy. No amount of threats from the racists, and there have been many, have deterred Zambia from her principled stand.

In welcoming Swaziland to the comity of independent African nations we are beset with numerous doubts. Swaziland is a relatively rich country with promising natural resources and a vast economic potential. She has the least excuse of all in kow-towing to the racists.

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Yet the pronouncements of the Head of State and of the Prime Minister suggest that the government has already embarked on the dirty path treaded by the Jonathans and the Bandas. Freedom Fighters have been warned about interfering in the affairs of neighbouring countries (meaning South Africa). Sobhuza has threatened to sign a military agreement with South Africa (against whom?).

The armed struggle in Southern Africa is gathering momentum. With Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia already on fire who can doubt that South Africa is next? The whole of Southern Africa will soon be a battlefield. A choice must be made - for or against the Revolution. War is a serious business and the scope of a guerrilla war has no place for "gentlemanly" behaviour and the niceties of the drawing room or the conference chamber. We are engaged in the sacred task of liberation at great cost and sacrifice to our people. We warn our enemies and those who stand in our way that we shall not be deterred from our goal. We have been patient for truly a long time - we shall not be patient forever. Certainly not when our freedom and our lives are at stake.

We congratulate the people of Swaziland on the attainment of political independence. The road to prosperity and economic independence will be arduous and thorny with many pitfalls. We are sure the people of Swaziland will find proper solutions to the problems they will be faced with in the future. Above all, if anyone tries to betray this newly won independence we do not doubt that the people of Swaziland will know how to deal with such traitors. The final resting place of traitors is always the same - the rubbish dump of history.

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THE TAZAMA PIPELINE

- Thoboko Sebina

The completion of the Zambia-Tanzania oil pipeline, which was recently opened by Presidents Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, is a great achievement of significance not only to the two countries but to Africa as a whole. It clearly demonstrated that anything is possible if there is unity of purpose and determined action. The opening of the pipeline was the crowning symbol of the unity that has steadily developed between Zambia and Tanzania. For Zambia it marks the end of thirty-two months of hardships and fuel shortages.

The pipeline, snaking through 1058 miles from Dar Es Salaam to Ndola, is not only a symbol of unity but a living monument to the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism. As President Nyerere said it is:

"....a weapon in our struggle, a shield against threats, and a symbol of our unity."

When the..(p.16)

ROBBEN ISLAND*

- Dennis Brutus

The ill-treatment of political prisoners (prisoners of conscience) has been a standard practice of the South African authorities. Gruesome and heart-breaking reports filter through the various jails where opponents of apartheid are incarcerated. Cases of healthy men and women, Black and White, young and old, serving long sentences for their beliefs being beaten, tortured and in some instances murdered have appeared in the S. African and world press (denied of course by the authorities) from time to time outraging the conscience of world public opinion.

Outrage, anger and condemnation is not enough. To ensure the health, safety and humane treatment of our comrades in jail we again appeal to men of goodwill the world over to intensify their efforts and embark on positive campaigns for the improvement of prison conditions and the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

We reproduce an article by a former political prisoner Dennis Brutus, now Director of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, with the hope that it will, in some measure, help in this noble crusade. - EDITOR.

Always so much to say. And always so little space. Like cramping your fingers around a pencilstub and staring at the single sheet of prison paper for the six-monthly letter; the brain cramped by the effort to say all in that space and short time. And then to ask what is essential to say? As now I ask, what was universal in my experience - mine and the thousands of other prisoners? What is central to being on Robben Island?

For most, it begins a long way before. For me at the Fort, a thousand miles away, travelling down to Leeukop prison in chains after being sentenced in Johannesburg. And then later the other long journey from Leeukop to the Island, 120 in our batch, in chains, travelling squeezed in four trucks. A few half-hearted attempts at resistance songs, some desultory dispute between African Nationalist Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress; but generally the quiet faces in the dusk of the truck, their faces grim or strained with foreboding.

Leeukop, halfway house for most of us, where we were observed and

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classified before being sent on to the Island, has for most of us special memories - Kriel the young warder who had stood in the entrance of our cell and aimed vicious kicks at the genitals of prisoners after quietly ordering them to come within kicking range; Chief Warder Venter who dismissed my complaints of assaults on our cell's thirty-five: "Evidence? Blood on a tunic is not evidence! In this prison all the tunics are stained with blood." And a personal memory: being made to exercise until I dropped and then complaining to Dr. Solomon of the prison that I was not yet over the effects of my bullet wound - "But Brutus, you should be fit. After all, you're the Olympic sports man."

But the horror etched most deeply in my memory of Leeukop is of Billy Nair, one of South Africa's leading Trade Unionists, hourglass covering of hair from chest to loins, and all his group from Durban, newly arrived with sentences of roughly twenty years, running in wild circles round the concrete quad, circumcised penises jiggling while the warders' batons fell with joyful-sounding thwacks and Lieut. van Zyl urged them to greater effort. That I remember vividly. That and the chains. From the Fort to Leeukop. From Leeukop to the Island.

Then our arrival on the Island, where we cowered in blankets - clothes having been removed with the chains at our wrists and ankles - and the warning shout: "You think you've come to Robben Island. But you'll find this is Hell Island." We found it in the next few days.

On the very next day all hell broke loose. As newcomers, we watched from a cell as the Masondo group were brought in from the quarry for alleged defiance. (Later Andrew Masondo was to win an action for assault as a result of this). We saw dozens of prisoners running wildly or crawling vainly under barbed wire fences while the batons, staves and pickhandles of the warders fell indiscriminately and mercilessly after Lieutenant Fraser had quietly given the order for the carry-on. Masondo, brilliant mathematics lecturer at Fort Hare University College, had been convicted together with two of his students of attempted sabotage and sent to Robben Island where, perhaps because of his standing, he became the target of a special hostility from the warders which led to protests from him and others who were working with him in the quarry. What we witnessed was the rest of these protests.

And later on the same day we found ourselves in the thick of it when we were forced to join the Masondo group in carrying stones at high speed at a quarry under a gauntlet of blows from warders - building workers' planks being used as freely as batons - and the warders who were off duty came along to help out, or join in the fun.

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But on the Monday things were worse. I do not think I will ever be able to erase from my mind the images of that day of terror and violence by the sea with the bright water and the bright sunlight, and the men struggling with slimy masses of seaweed and on the sharp slippery rocks. We carried rocks from the sea. Or dug up sand and stones and wheeled off barrowloads of it - building embankments or sealing off inlets around the shore. And all the time men were beaten and kicked and the batons thwacked. For some it was worse than others; those who had been schoolteachers, or had applied for permission to study were generally singled out; and I was both. Of the sixty who had arrived with me, (the short-termers in our party had been left at Kroonstad in the Free State - until some followed later on further charges) not one escaped assault. Many ended in hospital for cuts on the slippery rocks - the bruises from warders' blows did not count.

For me, the treatment had climaxed with a kick in the stomach which brought me to hospital in Cape Town months later - not, though, from a warder, but from one of the criminals who were used as bossboys over us. Days later warders were coming over from other sections to whistle at my naked body - my entire back, comparatively light-skinned, having turned green and purple with bruises. I masked the injury I felt and showed them the spectacle of my body. Their attitude was much the same as those who asked earlier to see the bullet marks on the front and back of my body; "What an awful job. They should have made a clean killing."

Horror. Physical and intellectual. Horror upon horror. But for some, memories infinitely more horrible than mine. Youths beaten until they submitted to sexual assaults. The sight of gang warfare among the criminals; of prisoners kicked to death on the order of the Big Five - the criminal gang which ruled the prisons with the cooperation of the warders.

Some of this horror is common to prisons in many parts of the world. The torture under interrogation was often worse than anything after sentence. But the hostility towards prisoners because of their political beliefs was special. And so was the fact that these prisoners were men who had risked prison for their beliefs.

But there was no doubt that, in spite of official denials, there was a distinct difference in attitude - for the worse - towards political prisoners; officially, they insisted that we were all criminals; no such category as political prisoners existed. But often the politicians - Poqos, they called us all - were the victims of special traps, or of special punishments.

What I have described here has been the common experience. For some

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worse, for some less so. Not the whole experience. For one also remembers periods of comparative quiet, of decent treatment by warders, of reasonable officers who were too soon transferred. What the basic pattern was is hard to say. My guess is that it depended on the temper of the current commanding officer - we had several charges while I was there and each new officer seemed to find it essential to prove to the warders just how tough he was - or how loyal he was to the regime which had thrust us on the Island. Sometimes it was possible to talk to other prisoners with comparative freedom - just as there were times when it was punished by "three meals" - the standard punishment by which you lost your meals for a day. And there were bored warders who would chat during the long night hours, or dropped snippets of news from outside, or gave their cigarette butts to prisoners who toadied.

A dangerous business. For from it came the "bombs". The special system by which prisoners are bribed to set traps for others who have become specially disliked. It could be cigarette butts or marijuana - in which some warders traded - or (popular against politicians this) newspaper clippings of political news. For this one could get "three meals". But usually it was much worse. Generally spare diet on rice water, often for 18 days. As an extreme, there were lashes with a cane after you had been stripped and tied to a frame. The scars were permanent, the freshly-lashed flesh open and dark red like a freshly bitten plum. I remember the courage with which Indres Naidoo took his, after allegedly refusing to work; and the quiet calm of Johannes Mlambo, framed as punishment for having earlier smuggled out information of ill-treatment, including having a warder urinate in his face.

An evil place. A vicious place. Of this one was aware daily, in a thousand ways. For some, it was the appalling depravity of the criminals, the forced sodomies, the boots lashing out, the self-made knives flashing. For others the viciousness of the warders, their apostolic zeal in defence of their fascist regime, their anxiety to break the spirits of the men who opposed their society. And for some, simply the horror of the sterility and barrenness of existence in those concrete grey walls and roofs and passages; an entirely grey existence. And the knowledge that men have been condemned to live out their lives amid this stone. That they would serve a life sentence here - here literally be asked to end their lives.

For crimes of conscience. The men who were condemned to end their lives in prison were men who had already elected to give their lives to the service of the country. In as many ways as there were different ideologies and methods; but all of them had opted to serve our country. Which had meant fighting Verwoerd and Apartheid. And

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it is these men who must now live out their lives in the desperately sterile concrete of the Island.

For this they were paying. And this was the life they were asked to endure.

Asked? They are still there. The brave smiling men who were my friends. Who could still joke and keep their courage. Who most of them refused to be bitter or feed on thoughts of revenge. Men of courage. Of indomitable hope. And they are still there.

The knowledge of Robben Island, of the men who are there and of some of the conditions on the Island may not stir the world to action. But it is necessary that the world should know. That I should not rest until I have done what I could to make the truth known.

Down the grey corridor at night one heard, at odd intervals, time and again a loud involuntary explosive sigh.

Men dreaming. Hoping. Despairing.

Of them all, this is my last, most terrible, most enduring and most constant memory.

Men dragging out their lives. In hope and desperation.

It is why I cannot rest, it is why I must go on.

The men on the Island wait, and the years of their lives drag by.

* Acknowledgements to CHRISTIAN ACTION.

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SWAPO FIGHTS ON

Freedom Fighters, according to Al Venter, London Daily Express correspondent, have attacked an air strip on the South African controlled Caprivi Strip, South West Africa. According to his report: "Some (White) South Africans were killed, and two police helicopters crashed during the chase through semi-desert bush country.

"The 'terrorists' are known to be part of the exiled South West Africa Peoples Organisation. They attacked a post near South Africa's big airforce base at Katimo Mulilo. Another attack was made near the South African administrative centre of Runtu, some miles to the west."

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- Ndab'ezitha

The previous article (Mayibuye Vol.2, No.33) attempted to show South Africa's relations (economic and otherwise) with Angola. In this article the writer develops on the theme and poses the question:

Can Portugal hang on indefinitely in Angola? The answer is a big NO. This is not just because the cause of our brothers is just and victory certain. Fresh and convincing evidence has come to hand - from the enemy itself.

Earlier this year, a South African journalist, one A.J. Venter, visited Angola and returned with a remarkable story. It was published by News/Check (12.7.1968), the Sunday Tribune (14.7.1968) and the Sunday Express (14.7.1968). It should be remembered that these publications support White supremacy in Southern Africa and abhor armed struggle as the only means left by which we can attain power and human dignity.

What did Venter discover in Angola? With regard to our comrades-in-arms, he learned from Portuguese officers that their calibre has improved tremendously. "The type of 'terrorist' we get these days knows exactly what he is doing," a colonel told him. This skill appears in the character of the war itself. Venter describes it as "thrust by the enemy and swift counter-measures by the Portuguese... only the thrusts are becoming more commonplace and more widespread, while Portuguese counter-measures are proving more difficult against a better-trained, better-equipped and more tenacious enemy." As a result, he says further, "the Angolan war has taken a dramatic turn for the worse."

What liberation movement is responsible for this "dramatic turn" in Portuguese fortunes? Venter was told: M.P.L.A. which he describes as "by far the more effective, efficient and better organised." And, "M.P.L.A. is looked upon by the Portuguese as the deadlier of the two factions." (May the O.A.U. note the admissions of the enemy on the revolutionary war waged by M.P.L.A.).

What about the calibre of the 60,000 Portuguese troops? Their morale is not terribly impressive. The biggest problem is that they spend "two years at a stretch without wives or families." One officer frankly remarked that this period is "a long time for a man to be away from home - but they seem to manage even though their morale drops a litte towards the end." (or emphasis)

Concerning equipment, Salazar's boys lack "heavy equipment, vehicles
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and helicopters," and see a role for South Africa in this regard. However, Portugal views the Republic with jealousy and fear. Some officers felt that South Africa might be willing to help but that "it could be Lisbon which was not eager to see South Africa increase its influence in this part of Southern Africa." In other words, the ranks of the Unholy Alliance are not made of solid granite.

Of course, Lisbon's fears are justified. South Africa is itching to fight in Angola, just as she is doing in Rhodesia. She regards it as militarily and economically sensible to fight guerrillas outside rather than inside her borders. Being heavily industrialised, she can suffer immense damage from our forces. To prevent this, she would rather fight in Angola to the last Portuguese.

In short, Angola is of vital importance to South Africa. And now, she is beginning to doubt the staying power of Salazar. But he in turn fears his stronger ally. The two countries are imperialist plots. Such contradictions hasten the downfall of the enemy.

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"The launching of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe is the most important backing we could get from our South African and Zimbabwean brothers. We are faced with an enormous challenge that does not only concern South Africans against Vorster, Zimbabweans against Smith, and Angolans against the Portuguese. We have common borders and common traditions. A large number of Mozambican and Angolan workers go to South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Some militants have been working with South African and Zimbabwean workers not only through an analysis of the situation but also from the basis of a common tradition. Since the beginning of the national liberation movement, Mozambicans have been concerned with the struggle of the South Africans and Zimbabweans. I feel sure that in the future we will arrive at much stronger cooperation, and our common struggle will be victorious. After all, our enemies are united in oppressing us - and our fight is therefore against them as a whole. There should be no opportunity for them to concentrate their united front forces on a single front only.

JOSE MONTEIRO, FRELIMO
(Mozambique Liberation Front)
Representative in Algeria.

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A MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE STRUGGLE
FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Some Memorable AUGUST Dates in Our Country's History

* 1925 - Many of the major demonstrations of Africans against the hated pass system in South Africa have been spearheaded by women. Such was the case in 1925 when an attempt was made by the authorities to impose pass requirements upon African women in Johannesburg. In August the women answered by marching through the streets of the city, voicing their defiance of the pass regulations. Arrests were made, but the A.N.C., sponsors of the demonstration, fought the case through the courts and won. In September, soon after the protest march, when Prime Minister met with African leaders at King Williams-Town and Alexandria, he was handed a resolution protesting against the application of pass regulations to women in Johannesburg.

That was not the first anti-pass demonstration by African women, nor the last either. Twelve years earlier, on May 29, 1913, some 400 women had assembled in front of the police station in Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, where they proceeded to tear up their passes. Although they were promptly arrested, their fight was taken up by "black suffragettes", as they came to be called, in Winberg, Jagersfontein and other towns in the province. With the failure of arrests to silence the protest or stop the submission of anti-pass petitions, Government was finally forced to withdraw the pass regulations for women, as proposed by the Bloemfontein Town Council.

* 1941 - Following unsuccessful efforts in 1931 and 1932 to promote the organisation of African mine workers - a development opposed by maximum vigilance and ruthless violence on the part of the mining companies, whose huge profits depended upon the maintenance of a ready supply of grossly underpaid Black workers - there was a conference held in Johannesburg on the 3rd August 1941 which took the first step toward establishing a strong trade union for these exploited workers. The Conference, attended by representatives of all the major existing African trade unions in the country, elected a committee of 15 members, headed by J.B. Marks, "to build up an African Mine Workers' Union in order to raise the standards and guard the interests of all African mine workers." By January 1943 the Union had grown in strength to the point where it was able to put forward strong demands for the redress of their grievances, and this led to the Government's appointment of a Native Mine Wages Commission to make an inquiry. In its report issued in April, 1944 (by which time the A.M.W.U. claimed 25,000 registered members), the Commission recommended some small wage increases which were whittled

down before being accepted by the companies (see MAYIBUYE, June 1, 1968. p.4). The African mine workers remained far from satisfied and continued to press for better wages.

* 1945 - A new level of African trade union advancement was marked by a conference in August of delegates of 75 non-White trade union organisations in South Africa, called together by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. The conference decided upon launching a national campaign to win full legal recognition of African trade unions and of African workers as "employees" as defined in South African law.

* 1946 - This was a tumultuous year in South Africa, and the month of August in particular is memorable for one of the most dramatic and significant events in the history of the African liberation struggle there, the great strike of Black mine workers. But there were also other notable events, such as what happened on Sunday morning, the 4th August, at Langa, a Black settlement outside Cape Town. A large crowd of African men and women gathered there stood motionless, listening intently to the resolution being read aloud: "We are determined to rid ourselves of the pass.....We are resolved not to carry passes any longer, and, if arrested, not to pay fines." Hands on all sides were raised in the air, endorsing the resolution. Passes and service contracts were passed up to the platform, and there the chairman of the meeting gathered them up and called on a Black woman standing beside him to put fire to them. The murmur sweeping the crowd rose to a roar as this act was performed. As the smoke and flames rose from the scraps of paper burning in a large iron drum, the crowd sang "Mayibuye" (Come Back).

Later in the same month the students at the African educational institution at Lovedale, then a missionary school, having complained long and in vain about the poor food rations and other grievances, went on strike. The White principal called in the police, who arrested and jailed 150 of the students on a charge of rioting, arousing wide-spread indignation among the African population. And about this same time, ironically, the National Union of South African Students, at its conference in Johannesburg, was endorsing a resolution declaring, in part: "It is essential to South Africa's well-being that the employment of undergraduates, especially in the fields of medicine, science, agriculture, engineering and teaching, should not be conditional on race."

Overshadowing everything else was the strike of the African mine workers which exploded on Monday, the 12th. It shook the country and might have precipitated a general social upheaval. But the sad fact is that, outside the ranks of the mine workers themselves, there

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were few even among their friends and supporters who did not have doubts about whether the strike should be attempted or whether it could in fact happen. Therefore the progressive forces in the country were not truly prepared to rally support for the courageous mineworkers when they stopped work as planned, and the potential allies of the strikers quickly found themselves outflanked and immobilized by the Government's swift and massive repressive measures.

After the small wage increases won in 1944 in consequence of the Government's Commission of inquiry, the A.M.W.U. found further progress in negotiations completely blocked. The Chamber of Mines simply ignored its communications as though the Union did not exist, and Government officials refused to meet with the Union's representatives. Undaunted, the members of the A.M.W.U. at their annual conference in April, 1946 decided to demand a 10s. a day wage. When there was continued refusal even to negotiate, the decision was made at a meeting in Johannesburg on 4th August, attended by over a thousand delegates, to call a general strike on the gold mines as from the 12th of the month. J.B. Marks, President of the Union at the time, in addressing the gathering emphasized the gravity of the strike decision. "You are challenging the basis of the cheap labour system," he told the workers, "and must be ready to sacrifice in the struggle for the right to live as human beings."

It was said officially that 75,000 took part in the strike, but probably over 100,000 men downed tools on the mines in the course of the five days that the strike lasted. The great majority of the 45 gold mines on the Rand were affected and several were completely shut down. Thousands of armed police were hastily mobilized and rushed to the area. They fired on and broke up a peaceful procession of mineworkers marching toward Johannesburg. They clubbed, bayoneted, and shot down the men in the mine compounds, forcing them back down into the mine shafts. There is no reliable record of how many men were killed and seriously injured in the suppression of the strike, but some estimates gave as many as 30 killed and the number of badly wounded as in the hundreds. The bitterness of African feeling about all this was evidenced by even the respectable members of the Native Representative Council, who voiced their protest and unanimously resigned on the 15th August. But the manifestation of any effective mass support for the strikers was thwarted by police raids on the offices of African trade unions, the Communist Party, and progressive organisations in general, together with the arrest and prosecution of their leaders.

One South African magazine commented, "The African mine strike has revealed the face of a Fascist South Africa in all its ugliness. Scenes have been witnessed reminiscent of Nazi Germany or Fascist

Italy - trade union leaders arrested, police bands swooping down on trade union headquarters and removing files, pamphlets and printing machinery, a ceaseless stream of propaganda intended to arouse the maximum of fear and race prejudice, and to cap all, an actual exaltation and glorification of brutality as 'strong measures'."

* 1948 - While the Nationalist Party was vigorously campaigning on an openly racist platform of apartheid and baaskap, which won them, in coalition with the Afrikaner Party, the election victory over Smuts' United Party, the A.N.C. in August was launching campaigns and demonstrations in Cape Town and Johannesburg against racial segregation and discrimination on trains and in post offices. The action continued to December.

* 1956 - On August 9th there was written another chapter in the long history of the African women's fight against the carrying of passes. On that day some 20,000 of them, under the leadership of the Federation of South African Women, converged on Pretoria from all sections of the country and sat down in front of the Government buildings. They were demonstrating their refusal to submit to the Government's renewed plans to force them to carry passes. August 9th has since come to be celebrated annually as South Africa Women's Day.

* 1959 - In the wake of defiant African demonstrations and clashes with the authorities all over Natal (there had been revolts in the Transvaal reserves in the previous year), an estimated 600 African women in the province were jailed during August. Fines imposed on them totaled £13,000 and alternative jail sentences 228 years. Contradicting government charges that A.N.C. "agitators" were responsible for the trouble, Chief Lutuli, A.N.C. President-General, revealed the real causes: forced removals and destruction of homes, passes and other restrictions on freedom of movement, increased taxes and rental charges, the imposition of forced labour without pay upon women, and the general hunger and want resulting from the people being caught in the crushing vice of low wages and high prices.

* 1967 - A new and decisive stage in the struggle for the national liberation of South Africa was opened in the month of August when a unit of African Freedom Fighters, in an offensive operation backed by the African National Congress of South Africa in co-operation with the Zimbabwe African People's Union, launched the first guerrilla attacks upon the armed forces of the illegal government of Rhodesia, partner of the White oligarchy in South Africa and of the colonial overlords of Angola and Mozambique in their common objective and joint endeavour to maintain the status quo of White domination and Black slavery in Southern Africa.

THE M.C.C. AND D'OLIVEIRA

- Mbokoth'ebomvu

The Times of Zambia in its front page cartoon of the 10th September 1968 showed two elderly English Gentlemen engrossed in a puzzle as to what the letters M.C.C. stand for. One explained that M.C.C. stood for "missing Cape Coloureds." This of course would be funny were it not such a sad commentary on the M.C.C. decision to exclude one of the finest cricket players because he was Coloured and from South Africa. By their actions the leaders of the M.C.C. showed the worst form of moral bankruptcy. The excuses that have been made by the M.C.C. as to why they decided to exclude D'Oliveira are nauseating. The M.C.C. selectors are guilty both of racial prejudice and of allowing apartheid to influence their decision.

From every available evidence, it is quite obvious that the South African Government had made it plain enough that D'Oliveira was unacceptable and the M.C.C. knew this. For instance a report in the Johannesburg Sunday Times of July 14 suggested that Basil D'Oliveira would be left out of the M.C.C. The Sunday Times based its conclusion from an interview with a Mr. Isaacs who had returned from England and predicted that D'Oliveira would not be chosen. The reason given that D'Oliveira was left out because of his current form is nonsense.

Writing in the Dagbreek of 1.9.1968, Dirk Richard, the editor tells us that he could not go to sleep on Wednesday night before the names of the M.C.C. chosen to tour South Africa had been announced. And that he was a very relieved man after the news of the exclusion of D'Oliveira had been announced. He goes on to say that the whole of South Africa was relieved including the most conservative. "Now we knew that the M.C.C. would come. Sports had triumphed. Politics had been bowled out."

The question is why was the editor of the Dagbreek so nervous? Was he afraid that if D'Oliveira was selected the South African Government would reject him and thus cause the cancellation of the tour? The selection of D'Oliveira and the sure veto by the South African government according to the editor of the Dagbreek would have jeopardized South Africa's relations with New Zealand and might have resulted in the cancellation of the New Zealand tour. Thus the actions of the M.C.C. selectors has prejudiced the campaign to isolate South Africa until such time that sport is played without regard to race, colour or creed.

The African National Congress has often pointed out that the South

African/.....

African Government is guilty of insisting on apartheid in sport and that those countries who continue to send teams and players to South Africa are guilty of encouraging her intransigence. The men of the M.C.C. are in our eyes condemned as racialists and if the British Government should sanction the departure of the M.C.C. to play in S.A. without D'Oliveira, their moral stature will be further tarnished.

From all available evidence D'Oliveira is one of the finest cricket players today. According to the Guardian Weekly, September 15, 1968, "There is no case for leaving out D'Oliveira on cricket grounds. Since the last M.C.C. tour in S.A., test pitches have become grassy, ideal for seam bowlers, of whom S.A. deploy five. So England's tactical need is for a Test class batsman who is a reliable bowler of medium-pace, or above, to make the fourth seam bowler: Only D'Oliveira, of our current players, meets that demand. He was top of the English batting averages in the series against Australia just completed, and second in the bowling."

This statement makes nonsense of the argument that the M.C.C. was guided only by merit in its dropping of D'Oliveira. Even if it was guided by such merit it does not absolve them from the real issue of whether or not they would always make their teams lily white when they toured S.A. The M.C.C. like the Olympic selection committee which decided to include S.A. in the Mexico Games this year have always tried to maintain the myth that sport is "above politics". In this they fool no one and hence they should not make such silly excuses as "building bridges with cricket". Like the Olympic Committee, we ask them to "burn the bridges" and thus introduce a period of total sport isolation until racism is destroyed in S.A. At the present moment it seems that the British sporting bodies are eager to bend over backwards to accommodate S. Africa's racialism in sport.

At the time of going to press news was received that South Africa would not allow D'Oliveira to cover the M.C.C.-S.A. series as a press correspondent. "Dolly", it is presumed, would be an embarrassment to the Establishment. White South Africa has indeed a peculiar way in honouring her famous personalities: if not banned, house-arrested or imprisoned they are declared persona non grata.

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When the idea of a pipeline was first mooted cynics and the enemies of Africa jeeringly called it a pipe-dream. The answer to that was given by President Kaunda:

"It is a good thing we are able to prove that pipedreams can be turned into pipelines. We have yet another dream - a railway dream - which I am confident will be turned into a railway line."

Given the will and purpose already demonstrated in the case of the pipeline who can doubt that the railway dream too will be realised? Zambia's declared policy is to disengage herself from the racist and hostile South, and to quote President Kaunda again:

"The projects which are now underway and the completion of the pipeline in particular, are all geared to ensure the early realisation of this goal."

This is a clear demonstration of the determination to break with the hostile forces that surround Zambia, forces that are viciously working to undermine the independence of the African people. There are the constant threats that are forever being mouthed by the racist regimes in the South, not only against Zambia, but against the whole of independent Africa. In Zambia sabotage has been committed on several occasions. The Portuguese have committed murder both in Zambia and Tanzania. This is a perpetual threat to the sovereignty and integrity of all the countries that find themselves close to these hostile forces.

The opening of the historic pipeline - a milestone marking the end of a most difficult era in the history of this young country - is also an indication of the great things that a determined growing nation can do and achieve in the struggle against the ever persistent threats of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

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VICE-PRESIDENT KAPWEPWE ON VORSTER

"He is merely protecting his own evil ideas on behalf of imperialists.

"He knows very well that there is no state in Africa which is being controlled by Communism."

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