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south africa**

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**VOLUME 4
NUMBER 5
MAY 1970**

Angry crowds stone South African Police

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U. S. Imperialism and the S. A. Liberation Movement

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SECHABA

Vol 4

No 5

May 1970

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SECHABA

Annual Subscription Rates
15/-Europe, Africa and Asia.
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Air Mail Copies
£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia.
6 dollars U.S.A. and
Canada Includes postage

Price per copy 1/- .33¹/₃ % commission for 12 copies or more.

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REVISED ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
Africa, Asia and Europe £ 2.10.0
The Americas and Canada \$ 6.00
AIR MAIL EDITIONS: £ 5.0.0. and \$ 12.00.

Fighting Talk

Africa Freedom Day

by T. X. Makiwane.

Deputy Director of External Affairs, A. N. C.

When Africa Freedom Day arrives on May 25th this year, it will provide the Sons and Daughters of the soil and many more, an opportunity to take a long meditative look at the African continent. Looking back over a short twelve years, the picture is vivid in our mind's eye of that mighty gathering of Africa Fighters for Freedom which met in Accra Ghana in December 1958. It met under the banner "People of Africa Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a continent to regain."

Since then, Africa has chalked up many major victories: but there have also been some severe shocks. Neither the excitements of the former nor the disappointments of the latter ought to disturb those who from the start saw the struggle as a long drawn out war. We did not then concern ourselves solely with immediate individual battles though we appreciated the sacrifices made in each case; nor did we wholly place our fate on the rise and fall of fortune of individual personalities. Indeed, our only yardstick has been whether the masses were gaining total freedom from oppression and exploitation.

When Freedom Day was toasted in both Guinea and Malawi, we wondered. When a coup d'etat overthrew Farouk in Egypt it led finally to the instalment of President Nasser. More recently, a coup has taken place in Lesotho with less favourable results. With coups in Sierra Leone, and other countries, wracking Africa, north and south, we seek for one criterion to judge these events and we find it only in the condition of the masses.

In every corner of Africa, behind all the happy and sad scenes of the African drama, there remain only two issues which should concern us: the genuine freedom of the masses, and the freedom of Africa as a whole. The numerous conferences of Africa culminating in the formation of the O. A. U. in 1964 and all the subsequent public commitments to the goal of the total liberation of Africa ought by now to have settled our perspectives clearly. But can we say that this is so for everyone? Have we not heard in recent years some voices, few but troublesome, calling for the appeasement of the racist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia. Others are far too tolerant of the persistent imperialist intrigues undermining our unified will. Above all, and perhaps most important for the future of Africa, what is the proper stand to be taken by those of us who are still groaning under the yoke of oppression?

What emerges as tall as Mount Kilimanjaro is that it is time for the liberation movements to seize firmly the destinies of their own countries in their own hands. The 70's must be seen as a great challenge for winning our own freedom.

The time has come to make the battlefield, the total arena of armed struggle, replace the conference hall as the testing ground of whether we in Africa are to slide abjectly backwards, or march forward to a great and glorious future.

MORE MASS VIOLENCE

Crowds . . . Stones . . . Police . . . Shooting . . .

Once again South Africa has given a reminder of how close to the surface lies mass violence. Daveytown, Benoni. African train passengers crossed the tracks at ground level, instead of using the overhead bridges. Railway police intercepted them, characteristically choosing the direct confrontation — two sergeants, six constables like Horatians across the path. Crowds, disembarking from two trains which arrived simultaneously, bore down on them.

The Rand Daily Mail reports that some of those crossing the tracks feared "a possible stampede on the overhead bridge" in view of the crush of people. However it was, those in front pressed on the police cordon across the tracks; those behind, in the way of crowds, pressed on those in front. **The police forced back, opened fire.** They claimed the people started throwing stones, that the first shots fired were in the air "as a warning". And that when those failed to deter the crowds, shots were fired at lethal height. **Two children were hit.** "After the shooting the crowd dispersed" say the laconic, South African press reports.

That was February 19th. Four days later, in Ceres, Cape Province, police arrested a man said to be drunk. A protesting crowd followed them back to the police station. Demonstrators outside the police station voiced their protest. The police formed up armed, backs against the wall. The crowd could have retreated; it chose not to. **The police opened fire. Four men wounded.** Characteristically, the police claim the first shots came from the crowd, that bottles and stones were rained down on them.

On the same day, at Klerksdorp, Transvaal, several hundred African gold miners gathered on a farm near the Buffelfontein mine, contract labourers, away from their homes, families and womenfolk, seeking some recreation in tribal dancing, perhaps some drinking perhaps some high-spirited horse-play. Police were "called in", it is not clear by whom, or why.

Characteristically, no questions were asked. The police ordered the men to disperse, Police Commissioner de Waal Brandt says that they merely "Taunted the police and refused to disperse despite repeated warnings." **Police opened fire** — to quiet the noise perhaps? Or just because this is how it is done in South Africa — might must not only ride unchallenged, it must be seen to ride, roughshod. **Police fired, and four men dropped.**

A week of South African law and order.

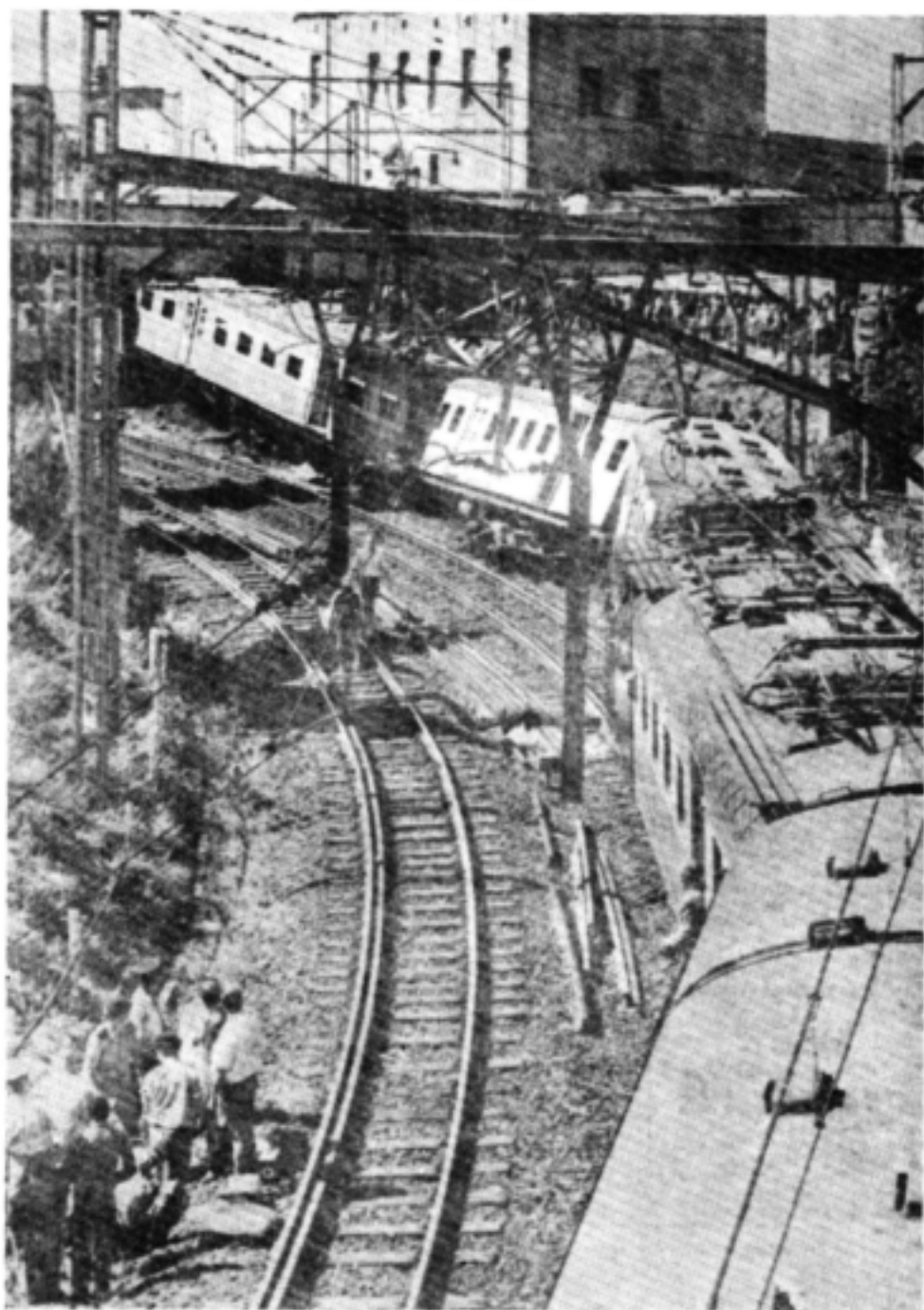
It might be asked whether any single shot was necessary. But the very question evades the truth. For police shooting in South Africa is **never** occasioned by the immediate event. It is determined in advance, by the philosophy of state — that the majority will remain subdued only if overwhelming force and violence is ever present, palpable in every moment of crisis, every confrontation however petty. It is for this reason that policemen are always armed; that crowd control never calls forth batons, tear gas or riot-shields, but only guns.

It might be asked, too, why the crowd, with this knowledge of South African reality bred into their marrow, did not back down on any single occasion, retreat wisely before the bullets rained. Perhaps, to this, there is only one answer. There comes a time in every man's life when he says — "Thus far, and no further!" — when he will stand and, if needs be, die; but he will not retreat any further.

He will cry "Enough!" And, if need be, reinforce his cry with whatever weapons come to hand — taunts, gibes, bottles or stones.

This is how it has been three times in a month in the violent land. This is how it will be, over and over, while the white baasskap state survives. And this is how it will be, too, when the whole people cries "Enough!" and turns to the weapons at hand to end that state. As they surely will. Of that certainty, these events are the testimony.

Train accident



And Yet Again – An Angry Crowd Attacks Police

An armed posse of police were attacked by a crowd of about 200 Africans in violent mood at the scene of another major rail crash in Durban in March. The police were on guard near the wreckage when a crowd gathered some hours after the accident. They started abusing the workmen clearing the wreckage on the line which has been frequently condemned as unsafe. When the police at the scene of the accident tried to intervene the crowd turned on them and stoned them.

Police reinforcements with dogs were rushed in and they moved against the people who continued throwing stones and half-bricks. Several police were injured though on this occasion they did not open fire. Fourteen Africans were arrested.

In this the latest of serious train smashes in South Africa the casualty list is once more to be measured in scores. Three passengers and the driver were killed and more than 70 passengers were injured. Feeling at the scene of what amounts to a crime was explosive, recalling the violent reaction of crowd and passengers at previous crashes when the people retaliated against railway officials. The frequency of these accidents and the large number of people who are killed and injured confirms repeated allegations that South African Railways are guilty of gross neglect and overcrowding on those lines serving African areas.

This particular smash which was on the notoriously dangerous line serving the Kwa Mashu African township involved a passenger train which was derailed and crashed into an overhead bridge in central Durban. The train was entering Msizini Station at the corner of Durban's Umgeni Road and Soldier's Way – just a mile outside the main Durban railway station. Hundreds of terror-stricken passengers leapt from the wrecked coaches after the impact. There were bodies strewn over about 50 yards of the track and platform among the mangled coaches and shattered glass.

Chaos followed the accident as thousands of people milled around the station crowding into the bridge which had been torn in half and was sagging dangerously. **Police used dogs to clear the area but people remained in the vicinity. They were to vent their pent-up anger later.**

Man shot dead



In the Case Against

Allegations of Torture

State Will not Produce Detainees

The following are extracts from 2 reports in the 'Rand Daily Mail' of 21. 2. 70 and 20. 2. 70:

The state will in future oppose applications for Supreme Court orders relating to alleged assaults on and torture of detained political prisoners, the Supreme Court in Pretoria was told yesterday. Senior counsel told Mr Justice Theron that in future these applications would not be allowed to go through by consent because of the way the overseas Press had claimed that consent was proof that assaults in fact did take place. The matter arose while argument was going on before Mr Justice Theron on an urgent application for an order protecting 22 Africans who were detained immediately after they had been acquitted on Suppression of Communism Act charges this week.

Mr David Curlewis, S. C., who appeared for the State, said that the State opposed the application and would no longer allow such applications to go through by consent. The papers before the court alleged assaults in May and June last year but there was nothing to suggest any assaults since then – if any assaults really did take place. There was nothing in the papers to suggest that the detainees could be assaulted again. If in fact any assaults did take place there was no reason to fear that there would be any reassaults. Mr. S. Kentridge, S. C., instructed by Mr Joel Carlson of Johannesburg, who appeared for the applicants said the detainees had been redetained under the Terrorism Act for the same reasons. They would therefore be interrogated again under Section 6 of the Act and it could be assumed that they could be assaulted again.

Evidence of Torture

Miss Madikizela said in papers before the court that her sister was arrested last May and was kept in solitary confinement until a court appearance on October 28.

The trial had brought to light evidence by several witnesses that they had been made to stand for long periods without sleep. This had also happened to the accused. Miss Madikizela said her apprehensions would be strengthened by her belief that the cruelty meted out to detainees was part of an interrogation method adopted by certain members of the security police under Major T. J. Swanepoel.

Miss Madikizela and the 14 other applicants asked for an order instructing the Minister of Justice, as the first respondent and the Minister of Police to produce the detainees to give evidence of the allegations.

She also asked that affidavits in the possession of the detainees relating to their treatment while in custody be taken from them by an attorney of the Supreme Court and for the evidence to be taken on commission. One of the written statements is by a detainee, Mrs Rita Anita Ndzanga, who described her interrogation at Compol Buildings, Pretoria, after she had been detained in May last year. After some initial interrogation on Friday, May 16, had taken place, she was hit by a policeman.

"I fell on the floor. He then said 'staan op' (get up) and attempted to kick me while I lay on the floor," she said in the statement. The man who slapped her instructed another policeman to pour water on her face. It was about midnight and the interrogation had started at 10 a. m. It was Saturday morning by the time she began to make a statement.

In June she was again asked to make a statement. She was asked to take off her shoes and stand on three bricks. "I refused to stand on bricks. One of the White Security Police climbed on top of a chair and pulled me by the hair" she said in the statement.

"He dropped me on to the bricks. I fell down and hit a gas pipe. The same man pulled my hair again, jerked me and I again fell on to the metal gas pipe."

Winnie Mandela and Twenty-one Others

"The man who pulled my hair, had his hands full of my hair," her statement said. She was hit as she stood on the bricks and she fell. Water was poured on her.

Beatings While Tied Up

Part of the statement by another of the 22 Africans, George Mokebo, says that at one stage of his day-long interrogation, after he had been hit on various parts of his body and made to stand on bricks and hold another above his head, he had had his hands tied up and attached to the railings above his head.

"I was then told I shall not sleep and that each brick would be removed hourly" (from under his feet), his statement said.

"They kept hitting me on the shoulders saying that they were massaging me. The bricks were removed until I was left touching the ground with the tips of my toes.

The unsworn statement of 17 of the 22 detainees appeared in papers lodged with the court. All of them dealt with interrogation by the Security Police.

Mr Joel Carlson said later the accused were in possession of certain defence documents when they were re-arrested. These documents, he said, were statements made by the accused and were intended for use in the defence case. Mr Carlson added that the defence had been refused access to the 22 former accused and that the defence had been told that they were being held in terms of the Terrorism Act for further interrogation.

Miss Shanti Naidoo an Indian of Fordsburg, Johannesburg, and Mrs Brysine Nondwe Mamkahl, an African of Port Elizabeth, were due to appear before Mr Justice Bekker again yesterday after previously refusing to give evidence as State witnesses. They were each sentenced to two months' imprisonment, due to expire yesterday, and were due to appear again yesterday under section 212 of the Criminal Procedure Act if they again refused to give evidence. The Deputy Commissioner of Police said that both were being held in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

27 Bruises on Moslem Leader who died in Intention

The 'Rand Daily Mail' of 17. 2. 70 reported:

Twenty-seven bruises were found on the body of Imam Abdulla Haron, the Moslem leader who died while in detention under the 180 day clause, an inquest court was told yesterday. The inquest on the Imam who died in the Maitland police cells on September 27, is being heard by Mr J. S. P. Kuhn, with Professor L. S. Smith, senior State Pathologist in Cape Town, as an assessor. Lieutenant Colonel C. J. F. Pienaar, head of the Security Police in the Western Cape, said he saw the Imam's body in the Police mortuary the day after his death. Cross-examined by Mr W. E. Cooper, S. C., for Mrs Haron and her children, Lieutenant-Colonel Pienaar said he saw bruises on the Imam's body. There were blue-green marks on his arm and at the back of his hips and thighs.

He asked the officer in charge of the Imam's case, Major Dirk Genis, about the bruises. Major Genis sent him a report in which he explained that the Imam had fallen down some stairs the week before. Lieutenant Colonel Pienaar said he last saw Imam Haron alive on September 17, when he interviewed him in his office for 2½ hours. The Imam was tense and rubbed his hands together continuously he said. He was worried about his family especially his daughter in London. He said his nerves were finished and he wanted to come before court soon because he could not take the tension. He appeared to be in good health physically.

Mr Cooper (acting for the Imam's wife and children) asked Major Genis whether the Imam had ever been assaulted during interrogation.

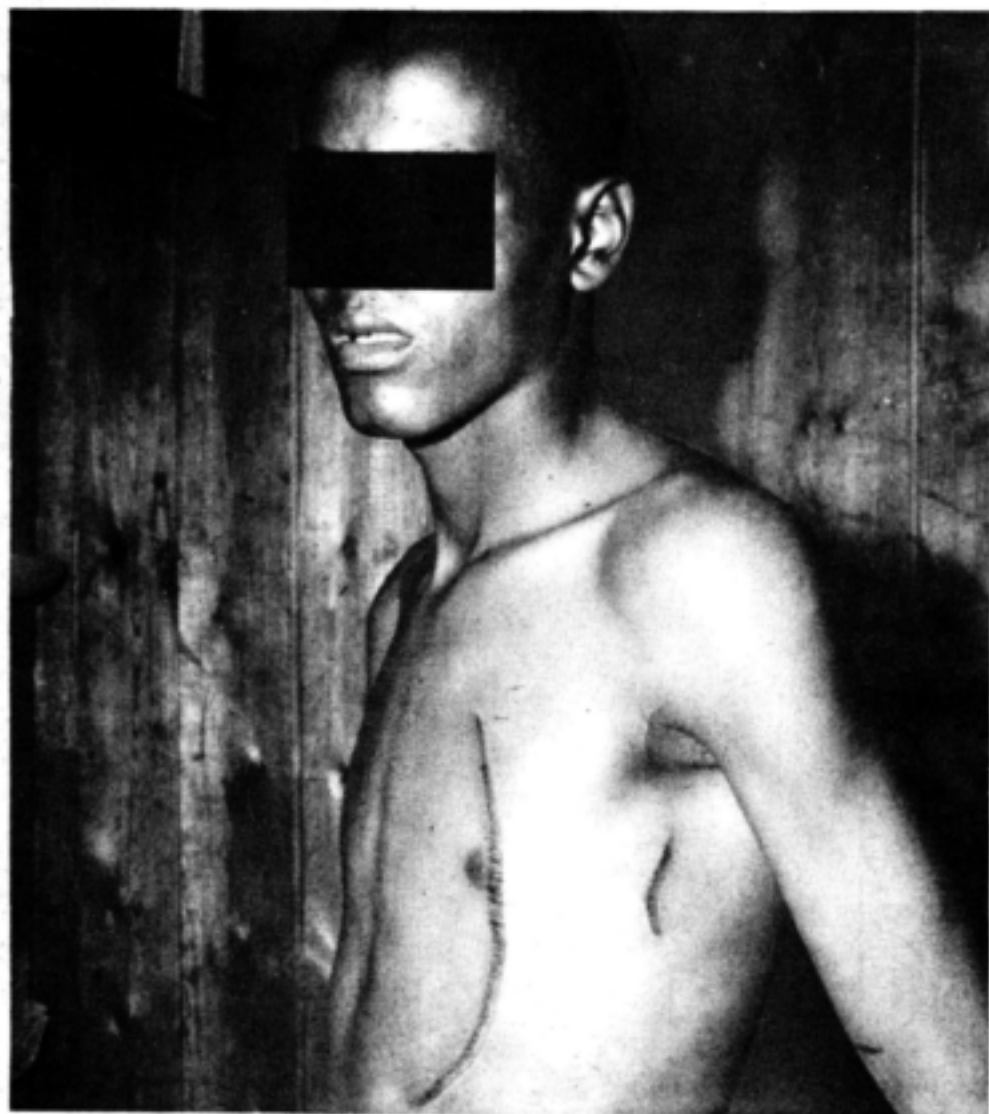
Major Genis: Not in my presence.

Mr Cooper: Was he ever alone for questioning by anyone else? Possibly, for short periods.

There were 27 bruises on his body?

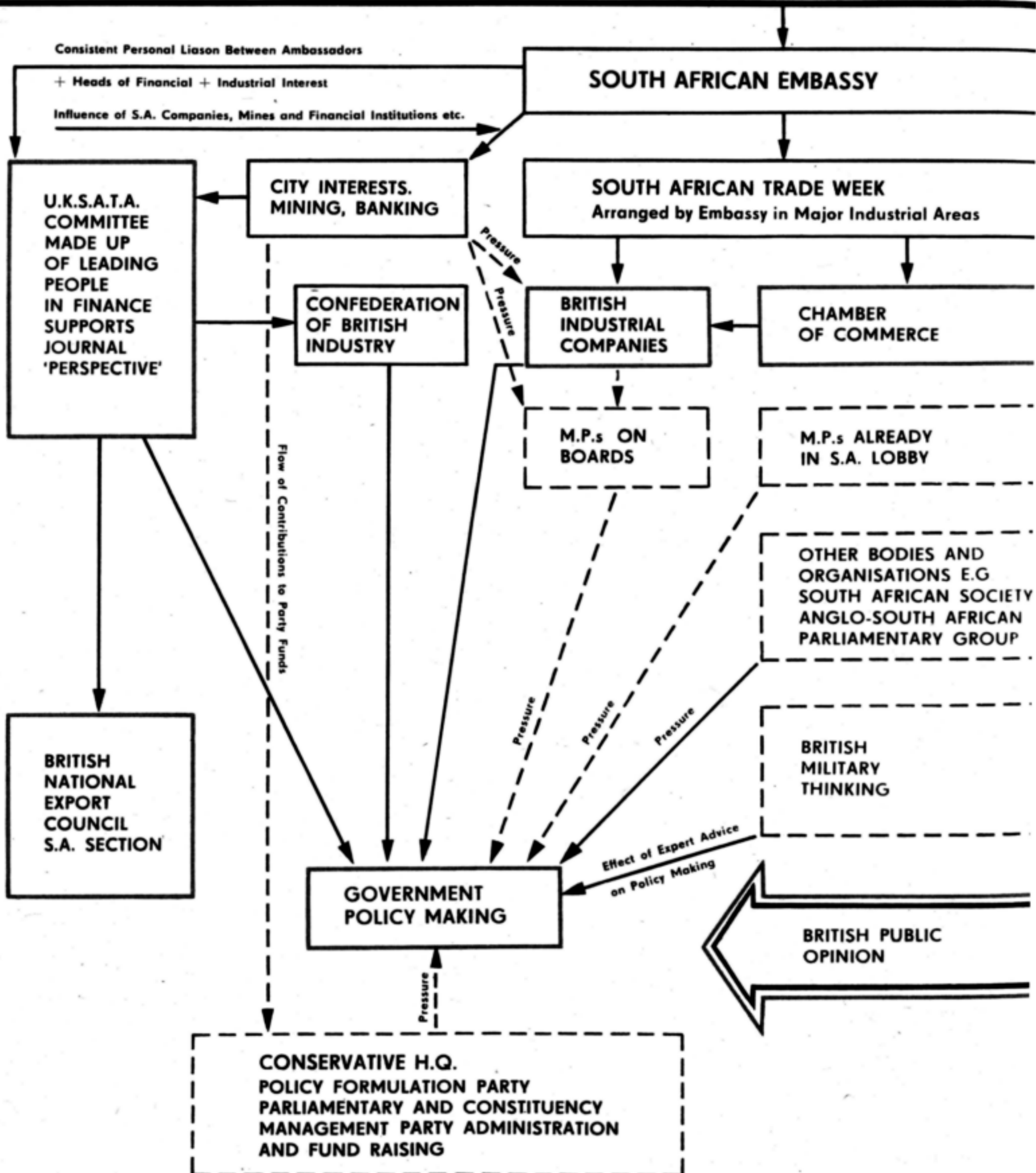
That I cannot explain.

Police victims



THE SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT



n LOBBY

Notes on Business and Politics

The Government of the Republic of Zambia recently had occasion to issue a statement on the fact that the Chairman of Barclays Bank D. C. O., and Barclays Bank were, in the Zambian Government's phrase, 'indulging in political activities to the prejudice of the interests of Zambia.'

This statement refers to the membership of the Chairman of Barclays Bank D. C. O. in the Committee of the United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association Ltd (UKSATA), and to the fact that Barclays Bank D. C. O. has for a considerable period been the main advertiser, and as such, the largest source of funds to the politically-oriented journal 'Southern Africa', published in London.

In a Press Release issued by the Zambian High Commission in London, extremely interesting information is contained about the role of the South African lobby in London. We believe that the information it contains is of vital interest to all those concerned with the manoeuvres of South Africa's White - Supremacy regime . . . and its overseas supporters.

AND AGENCY

Direction and Aid Fund

SOUTH AFRICA FOUNDATION

Annual Budget Approx. £ 250,000. Arranges Indoctrination + Visits to S.A. for Chamber of Commerce Personnel, MP's + Other Important People

Influence
Influence
Influence

Liaison by Ambassador with Parliamentary Lobby

Indoctrination and Influence

Liaison by Ambassador. Indoctrination and Influence

Normal Efforts by Military Attaches to Influence Thinking.

Efforts to Influence Thinking of British Military Reps. in S. Africa.

Ambassador's Personal Efforts: e.g. Lectures at Staff Colleges and

Contacts with past and present Military Personnel, Personalities.

Note: Number of Retired Service Heads Now on City Boards.

Normal Efforts of Press Attaches to Influence Press.

Normal P.R. Activity - Preparation and Distribution of Pamphlets etc.

Special P.R. Activity - Promotion of Propaganda Articles,

Advertising Government Controlled and Commercial Companies.

Sponsors Journals Government Controlled and Commercial Companies

ACTIVITY BY SOUTH AFRICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

Explanatory Notes to Diagram

The diagram has been laid out to show the general network which South Africa has set up in Britain for applying political pressure on the Government.

The red lines denote activities carried out under the auspices of the South African Embassy or other official or semi-official agencies. The black dark arrow indicates British persons or bodies and the hyphenated lines indicate relationship to the Conservative Party.

Special note should be made of the following points:

(a) South Africa's efforts to influence British military thinking characterised by addresses to British Service Staff Colleges for indoctrination purposes. Influential British business personalities are also wooed. Prominent among these have been the heads of a number of major British groups which stand to benefit from a resumption of the South African arms trade. The importance attached to influencing British industrial leadership is exemplified by the scale and the manner in which South African Trade Weeks are organised in major British centres. Other activity in this section which is indicated by the diagram, supports a contention that the South African objectives extend further than ordinary trade promotion. A study of the diagram at this point will show how efforts exerted in this sphere, applied directly or through local chambers of Commerce, could be converted into pressure on local M.P's to use their position for influencing Governmental policy formulation.

(b) The South Africa Foundation

The role of the South Africa Foundation is adequately summed up in the words of an article which appeared in "The Illustrated London News" on 5th April, 1969: "No economic confrontation with South Africa" - a forthright answer to those who wish to see the Rhodesian blockade spread South - is the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government. In more positive terms the Government is anxious that mutual trade relations be actively encouraged. To this end the British National Export Council, which is partly state-financed, formed in January 1966 its Southern Africa Committee which works in close liaison with the Board of Trade and the Confederation of British Industry.

It also operates hand-in-glove with the privately financed UKSATA, United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association, founded some three and a half years ago by a group of British businessmen, with an interested stake in South Africa's continued prosperity. UKSATA has a sister organisation in the Republic - SABRITA - and both have close links with the South Africa Foundation, which exists to spread favourable information about South Africa abroad. It has sponsored visits to the Republic by leading politicians.

This is a closely knit and efficient network of associations. One indication of their success is a record number of British Trade Missions queuing up to visit South Africa this year; another, the buoyant trade figures themselves. Among the prominent politicians who have made visits to South Africa are Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who have repaid this hospitality by writing strongly pro-South African articles in the British press.

Pressures on Members of Parliament

It should also be noted that, apart from M.P.'s who might be pressured in the above manner and those other M.P.'s who have already positioned themselves in the pro-South African lobby, a number of M.P.'s belong to the Boards of companies which have South African connections and are, therefore, likely to be influenced by South African pressure exerted through the City. Prominent among these are: Mr. Reginald Maudling; due to his directorship in the City bankers Kleinwort Benson, with their considerable South African connections. Incidentally, Sir Frederick Bennett, another Conservative M.P., also sits on the Board of one of the Kleinwort Benson companies.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who, apart from his connection with South Africa through the Rank Organisation, also belongs to the Board of the Sun Alliance Insurance Company, a company controlled by Sir Nicholas Cayzer, whose extraordinary involvement with South Africa will be mentioned later.

Sir Anthony Barber - through British Ropes Ltd.

Sir Tufton Beamish - through Tyresoles (Overseas) Ltd.

Sir Cyril Black - through Beaumont Property Trust

Mr. John Boyd-Carpenter - through his association with London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties Ltd., which has interests in Rhodesia.

Sir Henry D'Avigdon Goldsmid - through Mocatta & Goldsmid and Hambro's

Mr. Simon Digby - who sits on the Board of Sun Alliance with Mr. Selwyn Lloyd

Mr. Nigel Fisher - through his connection with Bayer Pharmaceuticals

Mr. Quinton Hogg - through the Wellman Smith Owen Group and many others, not forgetting, of course, Mr. Julian Amery.

United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA)

Among the pressure groups that exist in the City, the one that stands out as being most active in promoting South African interests is UKSATA. UKSATA is an association of prominent British businessmen and British companies and was formed ostensibly for the encouragement and promotion of trade between Britain and South Africa. As an instrument for furthering the cause of South Africa in Britain, it is used to mobilise British industrial and commercial interests for the purpose of exerting pressure on the Government and the Conservative Party leadership. Its current primary concern appears to be the lifting of

the South African arms embargo. The President of the Committee of UKSATA is Sir Nicholas Cayzer, Chairman of British and Commonwealth Shipping Ltd., of which Union Castle is a subsidiary. The association between Union Castle and Safmarine, the South African Government-controlled shipping line, gives at least one possible explanation for the nature of his opinions and for his activity in support of the South African cause in Britain.

It is known that some members of UKSATA have been encouraged to approach their Members of Parliament and Chambers of Commerce with a view to promoting pressure for a lifting of the arms embargo. However, it is not necessary to go into details as to the Association's day-to-day activities, as the overall political involvement of the Organisation is clearly expressed in the following extracts from the Chairman's statement to the Annual General Meetings in 1967, 1968 and 1969.

1967: (The A. G. M. was held on the 12th June, prior to the mounting interest of the lifting of the South African arms embargo which occurred in the latter part of the year and which finally culminated in a debate in the House of Commons which took place in December.)

"Continuous contact has been maintained with the Government and Opposition at the highest level. The President and Chairman have briefed the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Trade and the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Opposition both verbally and in writing of the extent of the British stake in South Africa and the effects on the British economy and people of any confrontation with the Republic. The Prime Minister has said in the House of Commons and in writing to the President that the quarrel with Rhodesia "must not be allowed to develop into a confrontation whether economic or military, involving the whole of Southern Africa." The President and Chairman have also discussed all the problems affecting two-way trade with Mr. Heath, leader of the Opposition and Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Your Executive Committee has been concerned with the effects of the arms embargo on our trade with South Africa, and it is hoped that there may be a possibility of some successful influence being exerted."

1968: The President and I have been in direct touch with the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Trade, the Foreign Office, the Leader of the Opposition and Sir Alec on the arms embargo issue and on other matters affecting our trade with the Republic. It may also not be appreciated that very effective pressures are continually exerted through C. B. I. and BNEC on both of whose Councils I serve. I believe that the battle on the decision on supply of arms for external defence to South Africa was within an ace of being won and that the four Cabinet Ministers mainly concerned were, in fact, all on our side.

Sanctions and South Africa

Our friends in the SABRITA (our South African Counterpart to which I shall refer again later) have continuously advocated moderation there despite unpopular political decisions and I think they have achieved some success. I was able to see the Minister of External Affairs and the Ministers of Finance and Economic Affairs while I was in the Republic and have reason to believe that the South African Government will delay the placing of contracts for naval craft and accessories and air borne weapons with other countries as long as possible in the hopes of a change of Government here or a change of heart by the Socialist Government. It is obviously not to their advantage to switch their source of supply. The President of the Board of Trade has recently published the Government's



firm intention to avoid the spread of sanctions to South Africa and re-emphasised the importance which is attached to our normal trade with South Africa. We can only hope that these pledges are adhered to despite the dangerous escalating Rhodesian problem. There is growing alarm in South African Government quarters that the latest action of H. M. Government in putting down a resolution in the Security Council calling for mandatory sanctions will have serious repercussions on South Africa's relations with the Western world and more particularly Great Britain itself."

1969: "During the twelve months since my last report, there has been quite considerable press coverage in relation to the arms embargo and Rhodesia and stemming from the the question of possible sanctions on South Africa itself, continues to create unwanted and, if the Prime Minister means what he says, unwarranted tension. On October 30th 1968 the British delegate to the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Colonial Committee replied to the UNO Staff Resolution on Rhodesia. In his reply he included a statement that "Britain will not countenance further support of violence in South Africa nor is she prepared in any circumstances to contemplate an economic war with South Africa."

Afro-Asian Demands

In view of the inadequate press coverage given to this statement, I wrote a personal letter to the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade. In a reply made by Sir Paul Gore-Booth (at that time Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office), I was assured that "H. M. G. has always set themselves against an economic confrontation with South Africa, and no question of sanctions against South Africa has been proposed or contemplated

by H. M. G.". Sir Paul also expressed the hope that his assurance would be accepted by pointing out that the Government do, and would continue to do, all they can within "the limits prescribed" to ensure that the British Government policies are given due publicity. Finally, within the context of this part of my report, I would mention that the President of the Board of Trade when speaking at the Annual Council Luncheon in October last year, again emphasised this Government's firm intention to avoid the spread of sanctions and re-affirmed its awareness of the importance attached to continuing trade with South Africa. One comfort in all this is the consistency of the British attitude in its opposition to the vociferous U. N. Afro-Asian demand for increased sanctions and militant action. It is obvious to me, however, that arms embargo is now a deeply entrenched part of the present British Government's policy towards South Africa. The South African attitude to this was covered in the report of my visit to the Republic in January this year, and on which I shall touch again later.

An article published in "The Times" (24. 1. 1969)"written by Charles Douglas-Home contained comparison between South African Government's treatment of its Black races and Nazi Germany's treatment of its Jewish citizens. Our President objected to this in a letter to the Editor of "The Times" which was published on 30. 1. 1969. You will have seen the gist of all this action reported in the UKSATA monthly report of February.

In December an attempt by the Afro-Asian caucus to get South Africa suspended from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was rejected by the General Assembly."

Further inferences as to the political links of the Organisation with South Africa may be drawn from the fact that half the shares of Perspective Publications Limited are

owned by UKSATA and half by the South African Foundation. The registered office of the company is shown as 7 Buckingham Gate, London, S. W. 1, which is the London office of the South Africa Foundation. Perspective Publications Limited publishes a pro-South Africa propaganda journal called "Perspective". During its financial year, UKSATA contributed some £8,200 towards the cost of producing and distributing the magazine "Perspective".

As a sidelight, it is of interest to know that when a certain gentleman called at the office of UKSATA at 21 Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1, recently, for the purpose of obtaining copies of the Association's periodic reports, he discovered that it was shared with the clerical staff of the BNEC's South African Committee. On his arrival, he found the woman in charge was absent, so he addressed his request to an assistant. The nature of her reply was to the effect that it was more than her job was worth to let him have the material he asked for, as some anti-South African people were trying to get their hands on it. One might speculate as to why a purely export promotion body should be so concerned with the fact that its reports might fall into the wrong political hands, that is, of course, if it is purely an export promotion organisation. One might also speculate as to whether any inferences might be drawn from the fact that UKSATA shares office space with the BNEC's (a Government-sponsored and partly supported Organisation) South African Committee.

British National Export Council

The British National Export Council is a body sponsored by and mainly supported by Government funds, through the Board of Trade. Its purpose is to assist exporters and potential exporters to develop new export markets or develop existing ones.

A number of UKSATA Committee Members sit on the Council's Southern Africa Committee. Here, they are well able to push their views on Southern African problems on to senior officials from those departments where the Government would look for expert advice, due to the membership on the Committee of Mr. William Wilson (Head of the Southern Africa Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Mr. T. H. Sinclair (Assistant Secretary Commercial Relations and Exports Department, Board of Trade). In any case, the manner in which the Chairman of UKSATA is using the Organisation for political purposes is clearly admitted by the following remark from his statement to the A. G. M. in 1968:

"It may not also be appreciated that very effective pressures are continually exerted through CBI and BNEC on both of whose Councils I serve."

Contributions to Conservative Party Funds

When it is related to the fact that nearly one half of the declared contributions by companies to Conservative Party funds in 1968, was made by companies having subsidiaries or associates in South Africa, the flow of money into the Party's funds, as shown on the diagram, becomes significant. It is not unreasonable for the Party leadership to be loath to adopt policies which would annoy such contributors. On the other hand, it would be reprehensible indeed should they be swayed in their decisions by pressure jointly exerted, directly or indirectly, by contributing companies, so that absolute consideration, for the wider interests of Britain as a whole or the Commonwealth countries, was lost.

BERTRAND RUSSELL- FREEDOM FIGHTER

Bertrand Russell's death is a great loss to mankind and to movements for national liberation all over the world to whom he gave active unstinting support.

We publish a letter of Russell on his attitude to violent change in South Africa as our tribute to this great man. Russell's replies to a correspondent who is opposed to the Apartheid regime in South Africa but who is equally opposed to violent forms of struggle.

November 27, 1964

Dear Mr Hougham,

Thank you very much for your letter which I read with care. I think it probable that non-violent action will not succeed in altering the regime in South Africa. As with most industrial totalitarian countries, organised revolution is extremely difficult and non-violent resistance even more so. The regime in South Africa makes open opposition impossible and therefore, minimises the opportunities of organised non-violent opposition. Having said this, however, I should point out that it is very difficult to stop violence once it begins. The Algerian revolution cost one and a half million lives out of a population of 8 million. Comparable disaster in Britain would involve the lives of 6 million people and a devastation of the entire country. The end result is a government dependent upon its army and it is because victorious revolutions invariably succeed through the discipline of a determined guerilla army that they soon enter a Bonapartist phase. To answer your queries specifically:

1. It is presumptuous for those of us not faced with conditions such as those which obtain in South Africa to determine the form of struggle. I believe our efforts in Britain should be concentrated on making known the nature of the regime and on mobilising public opinion so that the British Government can be induced to apply pressure. I do not believe anti-apartheid organisations should dissociate themselves from nationalist movements advocating violence.

2. In the event of outbreak of violence in South Africa, the campaign for external pressure of an economic order should be stepped up. United Nations intervention is rarely beneficial because the U.N. itself is so much the centre of Cold War power politics. Until this ceases to be true, intrusion of the U.N. will mean little more than the introduction of American power into the area concerned. This was evident in the Congo. If Nationalist movements seek assistance from Cold War powers, it will without doubt, increase the danger of world war. There is no remedy other than seeking economic sanctions against the offending governments. The longer pressure against the government of South Africa is delayed, the more dangerous and violent the explosion will be. There is no escaping this. Western investments in South Africa are colossal. If the government is tolerated by those who hold these investments until the final explosion of violence, the situation will be even more grave.

In short, the task of those seeking to oppose apartheid is to work for the maximum pressure against the regime from the outside. There is no way to remove the spectre of violence short of that. Violence is endemic where governments of this order hold sway.

Yours sincerely
Bertrand Russell

From *Dear Bertrand Russell* . . . A selection of his correspondence with the general public, 1950-1968. Introduced and edited by Barry Feinberg and Roland Kasrils. Published by George Allen & Unwin, 1969, at 35s.

U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In this analysis of Nixon's foreign policy speech and Roger's African tour, U. S. posturing on Rhodesia and on apartheid is shown up as a hollow sham. U. S. imperialism has in fact strengthened its relations with South Africa by way of a new gold agreement which is part of a wider political understanding between South Africa and the U. S.

The withdrawal of consular and other diplomatic offices from Salisbury by the major western imperialist countries, following the institution of a republican apartheid constitution by the Rhodesian Smith regime, has turned out to be a particularly notable and apparently successful diversionary act. It is meant to smother the swelling demands of African and world opinion for decisive action to remove the Smith regime and establish an independent Zimbabwe based on majority African rule.

It is the imperialist countries - Britain in particular - who have conspired towards bringing about the present situation in Rhodesia. With the Rhodesian republic constitution, the imperialist conspiracy now reaches its final stages. The leader of the Conservative Party in Britain has already announced his party's intention (on being returned to power in the next general election) to open talks with the Smith regime and seek a settlement. Talks about what and what kind of settlement?

Clearly the British objective is to formally accept the post-UDI status quo in Rhodesia, which they themselves had plotted in bringing about, and to secure certain suitable

sops for British public opinion through acquiring for the British Queen a renewed ceremonial role in Rhodesia's government. Furthermore, the British arms embargo against South Africa will certainly be lifted soon after the general elections. This will, as a matter of course, be followed by the abandonment of economic sanctions against the Smith regime.

By this time next year the imperialists hope to have pulled off their greatest coup in southern Africa: the legitimisation of a new apartheid state and the creation of a fully-fledged Southern Africa colonisation complex in partnership with South Africa. This British enterprise has the undoubted active support of US imperialists. The closing of the US consular mission means nothing in this context, for as the US News and World Report notes, "what is historically important (for the US) is that Rhodesia is winning its battle for independence - diplomatic recognition won't affect that at all."

US Policy in Southern Africa

For much of the post war years the American imperialists have tended to leave the political initiative in Southern Africa to the old colonial powers and to S. Africa, while steadily and quietly penetrating the region with capital exports, increasing their trading links and securing special mining and other concessions in support of the long term raw material requirements of the growing US war economy. The major American mining and oil monopolies have, in co-operation with British and other foreign interests, expanded their economic stake in the region, to make southern Africa the concentrated point of US investment expansion in Black Africa. In more recent years this investment expansion has not been confined to mineral and other raw material industries.

In South Africa, US capital is entering the manufacturing and service as well as the banking sectors such as to powerfully enlarge the American political interest in strengthening white apartheid and the overall colonial system of government and control in the region.

According to US sources, American direct investments in South Africa in 1956 amounted to \$288 million out of a total over \$700 million in Africa as a whole. By 1968, these US investments in South Africa reached almost \$700 million and if account is taken of indirect US investments and minority ownership of S. African enterprises, the aggregate stake amounts to around \$1,000 million or considerably more than one-half of the US aggregate capital stake in Black Africa. This is by no means all. A sizable part of US economic interests in southern Africa, especially in Rhodesia, is hidden by the complex forms in which American corporations employ multi-national and in particular British based companies to direct and manage their investment activities. The leasing of industrial patents, the sale of technology, the agency system etc., all represent forms of US economic interest and these abound in South Africa.

US Private Direct Investment in South Africa, 1968
(\$ million)

Industry	Value	Earnings
Mining	78	31
Petroleum	147	●
Manufacturing	332	37
Banking, Finance etc.	38)	} 52
Trade	96)	
Total	692	120

● Combined with Banking etc.

Source: Survey of Current Business, US Department of Commerce (Oct. 1969)

Hollow Rhetoric

This economic stake has been a determining factor in US political policy. Of course, the US government has regularly condemned apartheid: the US imperialists have never known any limits for political rhetoric, especially when it comes to exalting the principles of democracy and human rights. What is remarkable is that despite the exposure of the hollowness of this rhetoric in recent years, the spokesmen of US imperialism never cease their wordy hypocrisy. This was particularly apparent in the speeches of the US Secretary of State, William Rogers during his visit to Africa in February and in the Nixon report on "US Foreign Policy for the 1970's" issued around the same time.

During his African tour, Rogers spoke alluringly about the "unfinished business" of liberation in Africa, about US recognition of the "depth of feeling" on the Southern African crisis among such leaders like President Kaunda of Zambia, that the US always "opposed racism" and so on. And yet when the question of American deeds were raised, Rogers proved to be characteristically ambiguous, diversionary and negative.

The entire visit proved to be part of a major public relations exercise, designed to improve the already tarnished image of the Nixon administration and aimed at defusing what the Americans recognise as the emerging crisis in Africa over southern African colonialism. The American Secretary of State employed what is now a regular diversionary technique with respect to this American crisis: the offer of economic aid.

When he visited the Organisation of African Unity headquarters in Addis Ababa he was reported to have refused to even discuss the southern African problem, while in a statement to American ambassadors operating in Africa he explicitly declared that the US will "not become involved with liberation movements" and that the southern African problem could only be resolved through a programme of "peaceful change". The offer of economic aid was in itself conditional – "finding ways to increase private capital investment" rather than outright official grants.

Starve the Liberation Movements

As for the offer, or more correctly, non-offer of "peaceful change" in southern Africa, Rogers added the critical rider that the African continent should be effectively removed from the cockpit of international competition between the great powers. For this purpose the US to seek agreements with the other major powers involved, on the undoubted assumption that the status quo in Africa and above all, in southern Africa (which the US finds to its satisfaction) can be best served in this way. The hope is that through such understandings the liberation movements will disappear for want of international support and assistance, and that the crucially linked states of Zambia and Tanzania will lose interest and become inward-looking to the point of accepting the overall situation, reach accommodations with the apartheid states, engage in trade and invite South African capital and technology.

This inter-connected set of approaches and policies – of opposition to the liberation movements and "peaceful change", of withdrawing Africa from what the New York Times calls the "strategic battleground of the cold war", of conditional economic aid – all this is grounded in a single American objective; safeguarding southern Africa as a critical base area for international imperialism in the

African Continent. And this features strongly in the Nixon report.

President Nixon claims that the "primary challenge facing Africa" is not the expansion of the area of African Liberation but of "economic development" and "regional co-operation". The report recognises the "deep-seated tension in the southern sixth of the continent", but then, as President Nixon puts it – ". . . the racial problems of the southern region will not be solved quickly. These tensions are deeply rooted in the history of the region and thus in the psychology of both black and white . . . we cannot agree that progressive change in southern Africa is furthered by force".

Nixon's advice to Africa

Here we see the most violent imperialist state in history – a country which has not only oppressed and suppressed the Black Americans into a permanent colonial condition in their own country but has engaged in systematic counter-revolutionary wars on a world scale, advising the nations and peoples of Africa that their "economic development" precedes the completion of the liberation of the continent, the "regional co-operation" is more important than the overthrow of colonialism in southern Africa, and that the exploitive system of apartheid is more an accident of history and of psychology than the super-profits enjoyed by imperialism, particularly US and British.

Little wonder then that both the Vorster and the Smith regimes, as indeed the Portuguese colonialists, have welcomed the statements of Rogers and the Nixon report. The S. African Foreign Minister has now described America's policy in Africa as "realistic" and "refreshing". What was most welcome to these perverse southern African regimes was the Nixon promise to free Africa from international rivalry. The Washington Post noting that both S. Africa and Rhodesia will be less apprehensive about US policy, went on to explain that President Nixon was in any case under strong pressure within the United States,

". . . to maintain a friendly attitude towards the white regimes . . . The massive American investment in South Africa and the NATO alliance with Portugal are factors inhibiting American support of black liberation".

The Gold Agreement

The practice of American policy, under Nixon, has been one of close co-operation with the southern African regimes and this is particularly evident in the completion of the long and difficult negotiations on the gold question between the United States and South Africa. If anything, the international gold crisis which broke out in March 1968 did provide the United States with a premier opportunity to "blackmail South Africa over its apartheid policies", as the Economist put it. But this was never the American intention. The agreement reached in December last provides instead for a far-reaching diminution of S. Africa's rights to market its new gold production internationally without actually closing the market; the agreement goes a long way towards satisfying American objectives to subject the international monetary system to the hegemony of the US dollar without going all the way towards demonetising the role of gold and excluding the latter as a component of national monetary reserves. That South Africa was able to strike such an agreement thus effectively barring foreign central banks from buying newly-mined gold (direct from S. Africa) was undoubtedly

a major concession to the Americans. This has virtually closed the door to South African hopes, which were considerable in 1968 and 1969, to secure a rise in the gold price in the immediate future. The agreement has specified the rate at which S. African gold can enter international monetary reserves and through what international channels and under what conditions, thus reducing S. Africa's ability to manoeuvre in all gold markets and above all to enjoy its old prerogative as a monopoly international supplier of gold.

A New Political Understanding With the U. S.

These South African concessions on the gold question, technical as they seem, are of sufficient substance to suggest that they must be part of a wider and more politically based understanding with the United States. All the destructive results of the permissive society." that South Africa was not without strength in its negotiations with the United States; that all the other major capitalist countries who themselves held some \$ 30,000 million of gold in their national reserves did not want to see gold disappear as a reserve asset, and the United

States with its persistent balance of payments deficit was in itself in a weak bargaining position in international monetary relations.

For S. Africa, the viability and security of the gold mining industry has always been critical for the stability and the development of the apartheid economic structure: despite the country's rapid industrial development, gold mining remains the base of the inverted pyramidlike structure of the S. African economy. Hence for the Vorster regime to concede vital interest in the form contained in the gold agreement can only make sense as a price for a wider political understanding with US imperialism. This understanding is now fully revealed in the Nixon report and in Rogers' African tour.

The US government is now committed to assist the regimes concerned in their struggle to hold tight the reins of power and privilege which they enjoy in southern Africa. The American "low profile" posture in Africa is more apparent than real. It's effect will be as the New York Times declared in its analysis of the Nixon Report, "to help S. Africa and Rhodesia", and to give sanction to the Pentagon to proceed with their reported plans to treat the stability of Southern Africa as a strategic interest of the United States which in effect will call for more explicit collaboration with the Southern African regime in the military and political fields.

VORSTER'S FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

In his New Year broadcast from Port Elizabeth, the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, paid tribute to the United States moon achievement, but said man's success in space only served to illustrate forcefully his failure to bring about peace on earth. Mr. Vorster warned: "It is a mistake to see a communist behind every bush but it is even greater folly to close one's eyes to the steady encroachment of the communist sphere of influence and the destructive results of the permissive society."

The past decade could be labelled as the greatest in South Africa's history. There were encouraging signs that we were nearer a solution of the gold problem and it was bound to lead to greater international understanding. It remained a fact, however, that South Africa had opponents on all fronts who would not hesitate to make use of all opportunities to undermine or embarrass it.

FUNDAMENTAL

"It must be understood that what is taken exception to is not the policy of a particular political party, but that it is our fundamental outlook and way of life which is the root cause of the enmity", said the Prime Minister. This enmity had been experienced on all fronts, from religion to sports, "and people, however well-meaning they may be, should take that into consideration when they foreshadow developments they know cannot take place. To make futile promises solves nothing and in the long run creates more ill-feeling than the doubtful advantage it has for the moment."

Mr. Vorster added: "We are as anxious as any other country to foster international goodwill . . . but it must be understood that there are certain issues which outweigh others and if we are forced to choose we will not hesitate to make our choice." (Cape Times, 1/1/70).

Navy in Exercise with South Africa

The Defence Secretary, Mr. Healey, confirmed yesterday that cooperation between the Royal Navy and the South African navy in anti-submarine exercises round the southern African coast was still continuing as a matter of routine.

EVERY YEAR

Mr. Healey's disclosure came in a letter to Mr. David Winnick (Lab., Croydon S). The Minister revealed that combined anti-submarine exercises took place every year, normally involving one British sub-marine, one or two South African frigates, and sometimes one British frigate. Other exercises took place "on an opportunity basis" when British ships were passing through Southern African waters. British warships also made extensive use of South African ports, including the Simonstown naval base and the senior British naval officer in the area had occasional discussion with South African officers.

All these contacts took place under the 1955 Simonstown Agreement, which was still valid and would remain in force until one side or the other renounced it, Mr. Healey said. But he went on: "Our contacts with the South African Navy are solely concerned with the defence of the sea routes round Southern Africa against an external submarine threat, and I must make it clear that they have nothing to do with the situation in South Africa itself."

These sea routes, he said, now carried a sizeable portion of Britain's trade since the closing of the Suez Canal. They were busier than any other routes except the short European routes. All the Royal Navy was doing was to assist in a moderate way the anti-submarine training of the relatively inexperienced South African Navy, in the hope of ensuring an effective counter to the submarine threat to these routes.

Mr. Winnick said last night that he did not accept Mr. Healey's argument, and he remained utterly opposed to co-operation with the South African Navy. (Guardian 2/3/1970)

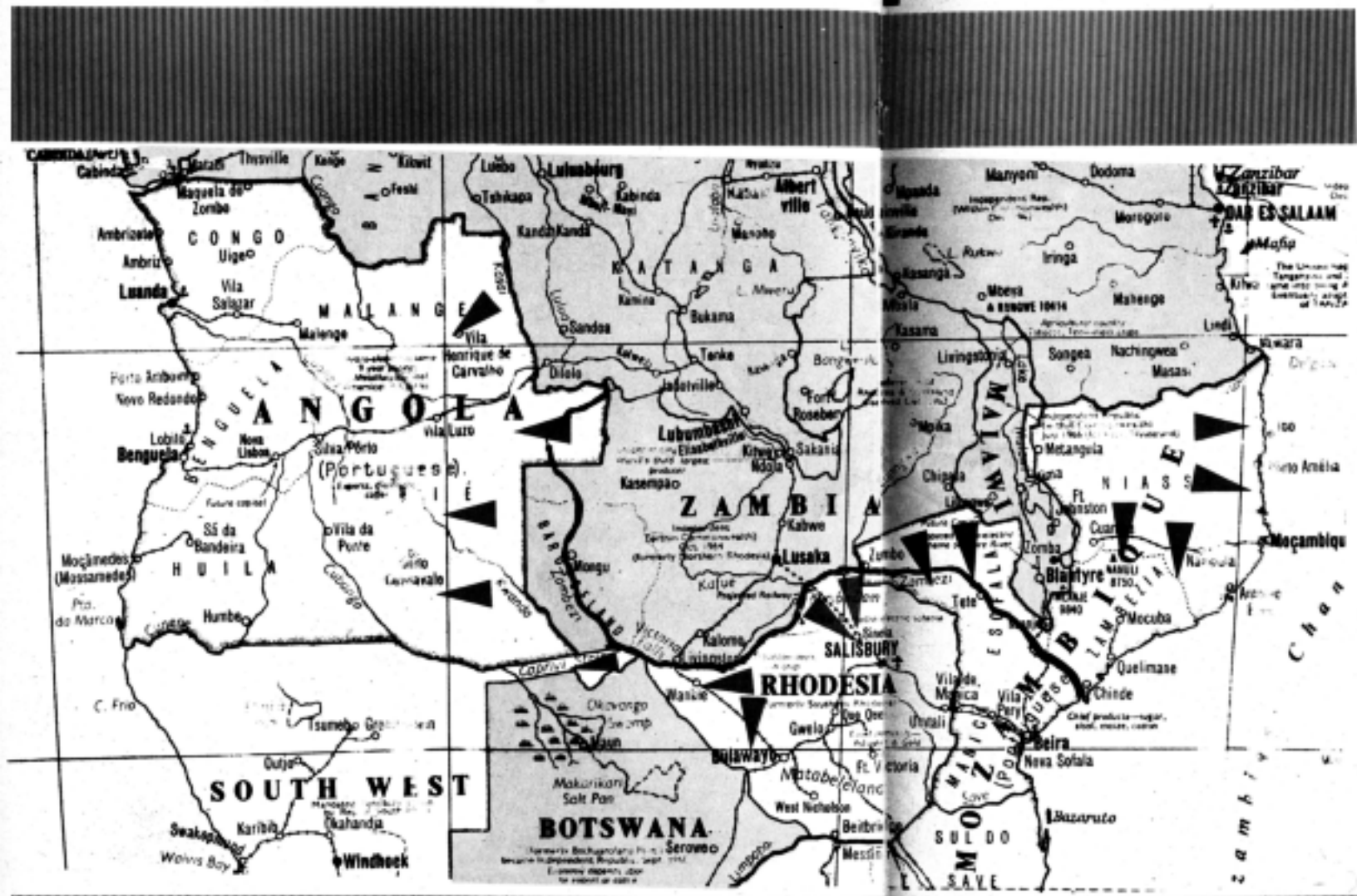
The Zambesi River - Cockpit of African Freedom !

by Ben Turok

Just how serious the confrontation is between Black Africa and the White controlled states south of the Zambesi River is not yet fully appreciated outside Africa. This article shows that the Zambesi has become the cockpit of intermittent reciprocal military action along most of its length. It now represents the Great Divide between African freedom and racist oppression with profound implications for all the states abutting onto it.

A further dimension is added to the picture by the fact that the white regimes are being engaged by the liberation movements from many points in a sprawling ocean-to-ocean belt across the continent. A survey of the situation as a whole shows that the liberation of the sub-continent has drawn into a common vortex the peoples of many countries all of whom are being enveloped in the conflict.

Since space and population are wholly to the advantage of the liberation struggle, the balance must steadily turn against the already widely dispersed military machine of the racist alliance.



Commitment at the Summit

Recognition that there was no return from revolutionary armed struggle in Southern Africa was the highlight of the communique issued by the Summit conference of East and Central African States at their sixth meeting in January this year. Though the conference was set in the Sudan, attention was primarily focussed on Southern Africa indicating that the thirteen states represented acknowledge that their own security and free development is dependent on the outcome of the struggle for liberation in the south. The summit gave first place to assessing the impact of the Lusaka Manifesto concluding that the offer of a dialogue had been rejected by South Africa and that the only alternative was to "intensify by all adequate means the national liberation struggle in Africa by making available all necessary facilities to the liberation movements as would enable them to carry out the struggle".

In his address to the opening session President Kaunda set the tone for the discussion by stressing the magnitude of the crisis in Southern Africa which was involving Zambia's security and even survival. President Kaunda blamed France, Italy, the United Kingdom and West Germany for "bolstering the South African war machine" and NATO for supplying "the instruments of suppression to an unprincipled and ruthless white minority."

He complained that these powers were ignoring the aggression committed by Portugal against the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia, and went on to say "We have considerable forces, military and otherwise, opposing us in our determined struggle to liberate from subjugation and oppression the remaining parts of Africa, particularly Southern Africa. To succeed, and even to survive, we shall need closer collaboration." President Kaunda's words were soon backed up by the announcement by President Nimeri of the Sudan that his Government was paying up in full its commitments to the liberation committee of the O. A. U. The Conference follows on a number of important policy commitments in the past few months which have brought into focus the intractability of the armed struggle being waged in a wide belt across Southern Africa to the South of the Zambesi River.

In reply to Rhodesian allegations that Zambia was allowing guerrillas to operate from her territory and thereby risking retaliation President Kaunda stated "Zambia could claim no moral authority for preventing freedom fighters from continuing their struggle and using whatever means were at their disposal."

This attitude was underlined by an announcement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Lewis Changufu that his Government refused to accept responsibility for the incidents in the rebel colony of Rhodesia involving freedom fighters and rebel forces. He said that the incidents were the direct result of the oppression of the majority of the people. The exchange of warnings, accusations and threats across the Zambesi River is a mark of the sensitive reflex responses that exist across the borders separating Black and White states.

Sealing the Border

Zambia, in a sense the focus of the struggle, is taking ever more fundamental steps to break her former connections and dependence on the other side of the Zambesi thus sealing the Zambesi as a barrier between two hostile camps. In recent months there has been a substantial reduction in the commercial intercourse with

Southern Africa by the substitution of improved trade links with the North. An index of the extent to which this is succeeding is given by the fact that at the beginning of 1969 imports over the northern routes were 24% in value and 11% in tonnage of the total. Trade with Rhodesia itself had dwindled to the lowest level on record and was confined to a limited quantity of coal and electricity. Zambia now has its own coal, and oil supplied through the pipeline from Dar es Salaam. That this process will speed up is indicated by the plans to tar the road from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam in the next year and a half, to build a rail link to Matadi by 1971, and of course the Tanzanian-Zambian railway to be completed by 1974.

Confirmation of this economic disengagement with the South was given by the Rand Daily Mail (3. 9. 69) which stated that South Africa's export market to Zambia would be cut by half because of the rerouting of about 180 import commodities through Dar-es Salaam by Government order. It would cost South Africa between £12 m - £19 m a year in sales. It was also reported that Zambian Railways had said that there would be no further passenger trains from Zambia into Rhodesia from September 8th 1969. All passenger trains to the south would terminate at Livingstone.

On the 9th February 1970 the Times of Zambia reported a total ban on imports of South African fruit and vegetables.

The Military Barrier

The lines are now also more clearly drawn militarily. ZAPU has revealed that the whole white defence line from Lake Kariba to Mozambique is manned by South African troops and patrolled by their boats, helicopters and Buccaneer jets. ZAPU reconnaissance patrols along the 500 mile frontier found the South Africans based in large camps 5 miles apart, each manned by a platoon of about 30 men. Between these were smaller transit camps and a few miles inland were roads which had been built recently.

That South African troops are active so far North comes as no surprise. There has long been evidence of the deep penetration of South African armed forces into all the white minority states in Southern Africa.

Confirmation of this state of affairs was given in a penetrating study of the whole Southern African battleground, in the authoritative American quarterly Foreign Affairs (October 1969). Russell Warren Howe says of the war in Mozambique: "There is, of course, pressure from Salisbury and especially Pretoria to continue the fight, and Pretoria has supplied two battalions to Tete. An area specialist of London's Institute of Strategic Studies, which keeps a close watch on the South African forces, says that Mozambique is used to give combat experience to draftees, led by career cadres. South Africa is particularly anxious that Portugal should follow through with its plans to bring one and a half million more immigrants into Angola and Mozambique." Many of them, it has now been revealed, will be brought to the site of the proposed Caborra Bassa Dam on the Zambezi River in Mozambique.

South Africa's military activity in Rhodesia is well known. What is now becoming more apparent is that there is increasing integration of armed forces and intelligence between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.

The close collaboration between Portugal and Rhodesia was further confirmed by Luanda Radio which reported on 4. 2. 70 that a 68 strong military party from the head-

quarters of the central military sector in Mozambique, based in Lourenco Marques, had just returned from a six-day visit to Salisbury at the invitation of the Rhodesian Armed Forces. The group comprised 41 officers, seven sergeants and 20 privates.

The Dagger in the West

In the West, also on the banks of the Zambesi, the Caprivi Strip has long been a dagger of penetration and military preparedness against Zambia. Reports over the past few years have revealed that a military airfield with a two mile runway has been built there and that it has also been fortified into a powerful arsenal to cope with guerrilla infiltration. In June last year it was reported that many of the local people who were about to be moved for security reasons fled to Zambia to emergency camps at Senonga in Barotseland and Malyukyuka in Central Province, Zambia. The Times, quoting Vorster, said of Caprivi (12. 3. 68) "it is 'the perfect sally-port from which to hit Zambia so hard she will never forget it', and added that it was an ideal situation for a state bent on a forward military policy. That such a policy is fundamental to the strategy of the white Southern African regime is now obvious. How else explain the development of sophisticated missiles in South Africa, the substantial jet air force, and the softening up 'outgoing' programme instituted by Vorster.

Aggression against Zambia

Numerous acts of aggression have been committed from the other side of the Zambesi against Zambian villages and installations.

In 1968, there were several incursions into Zambian territory including a bombing raid over three western Zambian villages in the Kalobo district, killing 7 people; there was the sabotage of one of Zambia's vital road bridges at Laungwa River on Zambia's great East road link with Malawi; three South African policemen with machine guns, revolvers and ammunition were caught in a boat in Zambian waters of the Zambesi near South West Africa; foreign aircraft raided Chimpopi village, eastern Zambia, and numerous similar acts took place.

In March 1969 President Kaunda alleged that South Africa was sending high-altitude spy aircraft over Zambia. In addition, Rhodesian photo-reconnaissance jets were flying over Zambia at much lower altitudes.

Also in March 1969, enemy activity from across the border obliged the Zambian Government to send troops at battalion strength along the border with Rhodesia. President Kaunda stated that Rhodesian forces were preparing to bomb prescribed Zambian positions.

In June 1969 several Portuguese soldiers were killed in a clash with Zambian troops on the Mozambique border. The incident took place near Feira, a little town on the Zambesi River.

A young Briton who confessed to being a spy for Rhodesia gave details when caught of the Rhodesian order of battle for an air and ground attack against Zambia "in the event of provocation". He revealed that at a signal Rhodesia planned to destroy Zambia's air force, bomb key installations and send troops across the Zambesi in wide forays.

In July 1969 the press reported that there was a tense border situation between Zambia and the Portuguese territories following three clashes between the forces of the two countries in four days. Previously four Portuguese planes had swooped across Zambia from Mozambique in a bombing raid, dropping 24 bombs. They were driven

off by Zambian ground fire but not before two people were killed near Lote village 2 miles inside Zambia. This was the twenty-third incident since 1966. Zambian troops were rushed to the area and were instructed to "keep your finger on the trigger at all times until the blood of our people has been avenged" by the Defence Minister Dr. Sylvester Maisye, while the Zambia Mail, a government owned paper described the clashes as developing into a miniature war.

The constant intrusions from across the Angola and Mozambique borders greatly angered the Zambian government and President Kaunda warned of a Vietnam situation developing in the whole Southern African region. As though purposely to provoke Zambia and inflame the situation, Hastings Banda laid claim to parts of Eastern Zambia for which he earned a rebuke from Zambia that it was tantamount to a declaration of war for which Zambia was wholly prepared.

Guerrilla Engagements South of the Zambesi

The friction between Zambia and her Southern neighbours cannot be separated from the military actions of the liberation movements and their guerrilla forces. While Vorster has threatened military retaliation against countries providing bases for guerrillas and Smith has taken this cry up on numerous occasions, President Kaunda has admitted that guerrillas do pass through Zambia.

Zambia has nevertheless emphasised that she cannot police her borders to the extent of frustrating guerrilla infiltration to the South. In any event the racist regimes are themselves responsible for the hostilities in their territories - armed struggle is now endemic in these countries.

FRELIMO Advancing



Rhodesia

We have previously published details of ZAPU-ANC actions which have taken place in Rhodesia, notably the major confrontations with Smith-Vorster troops at Wankie, and in the Eastern Front area. More recently, we also reported the raids by ZAPU guerrillas on the Victoria Falls airport and on a group of South African troops. Battles have also taken place in the dense bush country south of the frontier line between Victoria Falls and the western tip of Lake Kariba.

Two other engagements were reported in the Zambesi River Valley in January this year with Rhodesian helicopters and spotter aircraft being used. One of these helicopters picked up a ZAPU courier who had been shot while crossing the Zambesi.

In January this year the people of Linda village and Mukuni village in the Livingstone area complained that Rhodesian helicopters carrying searchlights had been menacing the area for some days. Six helicopters patrolled the area with searchlights trained on the ground apparently on reconnaissance.

At the same time James Chikerema, Vice President of ZAPU, announced that additional tactics now in use were to infiltrate men in ones and twos not to fight but to organise, recruit and train men inside Zimbabwe itself. This must be taken as a measure of the support ZAPU can depend on from the people in the country. Confirmation of Chikerema's statement has come from none other than Mr. C. L. Rademeyer the Provincial Commissioner for Mashonaland North, who, speaking at the installation ceremony of a chief in Madziwa tribal trust land on 30th January this year, told the people that "there were those who were the enemies of peace and prosperity and who would rather see that chaos and disorder were established." He urged Chief Nyaomopa to "beware of any people who come along with stories of subversion no matter how plausible they sound. It was the duty of everyone to report the presence of strangers in their areas." (Salisbury Radio 30th January)

In the present phase of installation of cadres deep inside the country we cannot expect much public information on events there but that ZAPU's presence is real enough is now well known. At a recent press conference in Salisbury (10/2/70) Ian Smith was obliged to say: "I think I'm justified in saying that in Rhodesia today we live under abnormal circumstances. We are still fighting for our lives, for our survival." And in reply to a question on whether he could see "any end to this terrorist war", Smith said, "Or do you see any end to communism in this world? That's really the question you have to ask yourself. I don't. I believe this is the sort of thing that we shall have to learn to live with."

Frelimo Active in Tete Province

The scope of the armed struggle in Mozambique is best measured by the progress made since the armed struggle began in 1964. Starting with some 250 trained men, Frelimo now has some 9,000 men under arms. It is conducting its training largely inside the country except for certain specialists who have to go abroad, and is administering the daily lives of a considerable population. (Cabo Delgado, controlled by Frelimo, has a population of 2½ million out of a total in Mozambique of 7 million.) The significance of Frelimo's struggle is perhaps even more brought out by the fact that half of the 120,000 Portuguese troops in action in Africa have been dispositioned against Frelimo.

What is of special importance at present, is the increased activity in the Tete province where lies the site of the Cabora Bassa Dam. A recent report stated that seven men were killed in an explosion near the Caborra Bassa dam site. The Portuguese maintain that it was due to an accident, but in a communique dated 26th February, Frelimo stated that it had launched a major operation in Tete province and that since September last year Frelimo forces have killed about 350 Portuguese troops and destroyed 55 enemy vehicles, several posts and camps. They have launched 20 attacks and carried out 40 mining operations in highways. Here too the Zambesi River constitutes a natural barrier between liberation and Portuguese rule and the puncturing of enemy defences along its banks will be a crucial test of Frelimo's capacity to expand its area of operations.

Its aim in the present phase is to consolidate control of Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces as well as the northern part of Tete, but strategically it must also generalize the struggle deeper into Mozambique in order to force a debilitating dispersal of Portugal's troops while at the same time mobilising as much of the population as possible. This will also make the defence of the proposed installations at Caborra Bassa more difficult.

Action Along the Zambesi

That military action extends practically all along the Zambesi has been confirmed by a recent admission (Windhoek advertiser 17. 2. 1970) by the South African Minister of Police in Parliament that there had been a clash between Guerrillas and South African forces in the Caprivi strip. He claimed that a large amount of weapons and ammunition belonging to the guerrillas was captured. The Minister proceeded to say that he was extremely careful not to divulge information about such clashes since it would benefit South Africa's enemies. But he gave away enough to explain the frantic fortification of Caprivi as a defensive-offensive military base.

Deep into Angola

The revolutionary war waged in Angola is probably the most developed in Southern Africa. Starting in 1961, MPLA now has fighting men in nine out of the 15 Angolan provinces with considerable control of the countryside. Here too, as in Mozambique, the Portuguese are in some areas wholly confined to strategically placed posts which are often supplied only by air, and which are at times subjected to attack by MPLA forces. But outside the posts, MPLA has great freedom to manoeuvre subject only to the harassment of enemy planes with their loads of dreaded napalm and fragmentation bombs.

One of the most significant and sensitive regions is that of Cabinda, an oil-rich enclave on the northern coast bordering Congo Brazzaville, and of obvious strategic value for MPLA. Recently the Daily Telegraph reported that two guerrilla groups had launched an attack on Cabinda. The major areas of MPLA operation however are in the eastern districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango. Fighting continues in Bie and Lunda and reports indicate that MPLA advanced detachments are operating very near the centre of the country.

The success of the MPLA struggle has been admitted by the reactionary journal News-Check (South Africa). It stated on the 12th July that: "The Angolan war has taken a dramatic turn for the worse. What was before a peck at the plum of Southern Africa has in the past twelve



FRELIMO on Guard

months become a substantial bite which in turn has affected the security of the entire sub-continent." Africa Report of January 1969 confirmed this assessment: "The MPLA evidently continue to extend their sphere of action through the eastern and central grasslands. Freedom for five million Angolans and the possibility of the same for millions more Africans is now approaching."

It is, above all, in Angola that the strategic military-manpower weakness of Portugal is likely to prove fatal in the next few years. MPLA has succeeded in spreading its activity widely in geographic terms and also in human participation. First hand reports by outsiders have given accounts of popular support for MPLA's guerrillas and of the integration and total interdependence between villagers and guerrillas. What is now required is improved armaments to turn sporadic action into total people's war. Finally there is SWAPO, operating in South West Africa, (Namibia). Starting with an attack on a South African convoy on August 26th 1966, fighting has continued sporadically in the face of many odds in a number of the northernmost areas. There have been attacks against South African bases in Katima Mulilo and Mpacha, and there has also been action in Ovamboland where some 40% of Namibia's people live. A further area of confrontation is in Kaokoveld, to the west, where South Africa proposes to build a large dam on the Kunene River. While SWAPO have yet to establish a base area under their control, they are extending their underground fighting apparatus in many areas.

In sum, although the armed struggle throughout Southern Africa is unevenly developed the lines of future conflict are fairly clearly drawn. In what is generally accepted as a protracted war time is on the side of the liberators. As more and more freedom fighters are trained to greater proficiency so the liberation movements will be able to engage the racist alliance over an ever larger area and at numerous different points. The greater the number of attacks, no matter how small, the greater the defense mobilization required by the enemy at steadily increasing cost. Even South Africa's wealth and Nato's assistance has an elastic limit.

Furthermore, every shot fired by guerrillas in the North makes a great impact inside South Africa itself. Encouraged by the battles by fellow-Africans nearby, and driven into desperation by the violence of Vorsters oppression,

our own people will soon respond to the challenge to stake the whole edifice of white rule in Southern Africa.

Past the Point of No Return

The most balanced picture yet given by a western observer of the whole Southern African battleground is undoubtedly that by Howe. In his previously quoted article, War in Southern Africa, Howe estimates that here are about 26,000 African guerrillas operating against a quartermillion white or white-officered troops in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia. He says that this situation "offers such a prospect of escalation that it can hardly help but be bigger, in cemetery terms, than Vietnam. In this corner of the globe, whose fair hills make a savage contrast with the ugliness wrought by man the restless spirit of Nazism, with its accent on genetic myth and legal caste, will perhaps be put to rest in a swamp of blood."

Howe's estimate of the successes of guerrilla warfare confirms the claims of the liberation movements: "Despite the disparity of armaments, the guerrillas have several advantages over their enemies. They can move much faster in the bush when the enemy is also on foot. They are guerrilla trained, and have real confidence in the value of their training. Field reports show that Rhodesian losses are higher than those of the guerrillas - although the Smith regime helps to conceal this fact by conducting military funerals at night, by cordoning off roads when mortuary convoys pass and by the orthodox lies of war." He goes on to say that the white troops are generally inferior, lack experience and are not 'motivated' while the guerrillas have massive advantage in that "the bulk of the population, at least in the northeast, seems to have thrown in its lot with the resistance."

Howe's conclusion is also ours. "The southern African racial conflict seems to be escalating into war - which may be alleviated and foreshortened by agitation, pressure and eventually negotiation, but cannot be forestalled . . . (The Africans) are now, I think, beginning to show their mettle, to indicate their capacity to overthrow their occupiers. It is in this historic development that we can discern the passing of a formidable point of no return."

FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

current news and comment



WOULD YOU LET YOUR DAUGHTER . . . ?

Five jobs which urban Africans would be prohibited from holding if the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was passed were listed in the House recently by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Dr Koornhof. Africans would not be allowed to work as typists in white offices and similar places; counter assistants in shops serving whites; receptionists in doctors' rooms or offices; barmen and barmaids; telephonists in hotels and other public places.

Dr Koornhof described these jobs as 'cracks in the wall of apartheid' which the Government wished to seal. Dr Koornhof was speaking in support of the controversial Clause 11 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill which allows a Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to prohibit by proclamation in the Government Gazette, the employment of Africans in specific areas, on specific types of work or by specific employers. In defence of the clause Dr. Koornhof said "Not many Africans were as yet employed in these posts, but the Government wants to check it in good time, as it had done in 1951 when legislation had been introduced to prohibit African builders from building in White areas." Mr R.Z.J. van Vuuren, Nationalist MP for Benoni, said in support of the Clause: "Would you let your daughter work in the same office as a Bantu clerk? . . . He complained vociferously that in the office of the Johannesburg Mayor he had seen two white typists sharing an office with a 'Bantu Clerk'. "Were the sons and daughters of White South Africa to work alongside blacks?"

APARTHEID BEGINS AT HOME

Drastic new rules affecting the private lives of Non-White domestic workers are on the way in South Africa's cities. The rules include a ban on all Non-White domestic servants who work in "white" areas having visitors between the hours of 10 p. m. and 8 a. m. The onus is on the servants to ensure they do not have visitors. The penalty for contravention is a fine of about £ 200 or two years' imprisonment. Also white South Africans will risk a fine of about £ 200 or two years' imprisonment if they fail to ensure that black servants live in separate quarters closed off from the main buildings with a separate entrance, washing and toilet facilities.

And in buildings where servants and employers live on the same floor - such as in a house - there must not be any "communal" traffic in passages and balconies except when the servants are on duty. The new rules will come into force in 12 months.

The new drastic rules are part of the Government's drive to make South Africa's towns "whiter by night" either by cutting down on the number of non-whites who live in white areas or by eliminating them completely. Several smaller towns have already gone completely "white by night" with servants travelling to and from work each day.

The difficulty is that non-white residential areas are invariably considerable distances from the white areas so that servants must rise as early as 4 a. m. to get to work on time.

There is also a shortage of houses in the non-white areas. Johan-

nesburg, for example, has a housing shortage of 10,000 for Africans and has protested to the Government that it cannot force Africans out of the white areas because there is nowhere else for them to live.

Announcing the new rules this week. Mr Blaar Coetzee, the Minister of Community Development (the department which administers the separation of people into different areas), said they were a step towards exercising more control over domestic servants and their accommodation. Rules would also assist the police in exercising control over illegal and undesirable visitors.

WEST GERMAN COLLABORATION

The West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel during his recent India visit made an attempt at a press conference to deny West German arms deliveries to South Africa and nuclear cooperation between Bonn and the racist in Pretoria. A similar attempt was made by the West German observer to the UN, von Schmidt-Paull, in a letter published by the Security Council.

An announcement by the West German chemical trust Farberwerk-Hoechst AG of July 1969, revealed that the firm together with the South African Sasol chemical trust had founded a joint enterprise near Johannesburg. Sasol is working on the development of the poison gases Tabun, Soman, and Sarin which were originally made by the IG-Farben trust in Hitlerite Germany towards the end of the Second World War. A group of experts are working for Sasol; they are headed by Guenther Pruss who was already working on poison gas research for the Nazi army.

At the end of 1963 the President of the South African Atomic Energy Commission, Prof. Roux, had confirmed military collaboration with the West German Trust. He announced at a scientific meeting in Pretoria that the further development of the above-mentioned poison gases was leading to new agents which were ten times more poisonous than all gases known so far. They were inodorous and could be sprayed like insect powder from aircraft or rockets and had a similar effect as a 20 megaton atom bomb. The close collaboration between Bonn and Pretoria was sealed by a secret agreement on atomic and military cooperation. In the same years the UN had decided on the economic boycott of the South African regime. Ever since, the West German trusts have gained a firm foothold in the economy of South Africa via investments and subsidiary companies, not only in the chemical industry but also in electrical engineering, and metallurgical and vehicle industries.

PROBLEMS OF AN IMMIGRANT

Johnny Byrne, former international soccer player now playing for Durban City had to run for his life from a group of African spectators. The incident happened at Merebank ground near Durban where Byrne was to referee a match between two top Non-White sides. As he went to the centre spot to start the game, the crowd broke into an uproar of booing. Then onto the field came some officials who asked him what he was doing there. His story was

that he had been approached by the secretary of the club. Byrne had to be escorted by ten African policemen when the screaming mob invaded the field. Mr Byrne said afterwards: "I have never been so scared. I only wish some of the BBC men who talk so glibly about mixed sport from the safety of their studios or some of Fleet Street's writers could have been standing in my shoes at the stadium." Mr Byrne can now be safely called an expert on mixed sport in South Africa.

AID FOR THE PORTUGUESE . . .

Mr Norman Elliot, Chairman of Durban City Football Club made an offer about six months ago for his club to meet a Portuguese Army side at Lourenço Marques with all the proceeds going to the Portuguese Soldier's Comfort Fund. Elliot says that all his players (including our Mr Byrne) and officials are so keen on the idea that they are prepared to offer their services free of charge, the Club will even pay its air fares to and from Lourenço Marques and meet all hotel bills.

Sports Boycott Snowballs

Call to Expel S. A. From all Sport

One of the most influential daily papers in the West Indies has called on all Commonwealth Caribbean sporting organizations to demand the expulsion of South Africa from all international sport.

NO HOLDS BARRED

The "Gleaner" admitted that there were some people in Jamaica and other West Indian countries who thought South African sports could be divorced from South African politics and that South African sports organizations should not be penalized for their Government's policies.

"The fact is, the sportsmen and those who watch them play have votes and voices," the "Gleaner" said. "In any event, a war of this type is a war of total and unrelenting attrition. No weapons whatsoever are barred. The pressures must be continuous."

2 Blows Against South African Sport

AUSSIE DYE PROTEST

Black dye was hurled into the pool during the Australian Swimming Championships in Sydney last night. Earlier, demonstrators carrying posters protesting against the Australian decision to send a team of swimmers to South Africa next month had paraded in front of the pool. Just before the final of the men's 200 m free-style, four parcels of dye were tossed in, discolouring the water. The race was delayed until the water cleared.

NETBALL REFUSAL

South Africa would not be invited to compete in the World Netball Tournament in Jamaica in December, Miss Rena Stratford, president of the International Netball Association, reaffirmed in

TAX EXTORTION

Yet another new law has been passed which is aimed solely at the already suffering African masses in South Africa. The new Bantu Taxation Act came into force in March. Quite simply, the Act is designed to make it even easier for the fascist State to milk money from African taxpayers. There are many aspects of the Act that impose a discriminatory burden on the African. It puts a heavy onus on employers to collect the cash and it dispenses with such personal trivia as rebates and allowances which might clutter up the national bookkeeping. Africans are to go without benefits because the Government finds itself unable or unwilling to handle the administration. Therefore they are allowed no deductions for medical expenses, pension contributions, or insurance premiums. However, the most important fact to be remembered about this Act is that it forces an African man with a wife and three children to pay heavy taxes when his family is living in abject poverty; that is, when he is earning only half of what is needed to keep above the poverty datum line. In other words he is paying relatively more in tax than a White man.

Nairobi yesterday. Miss Stratford pointed out that the decision to bar South Africa had been taken by the Jamaican Government. (Rand Daily Mail 28. 2. 1970)

South Africa has to call off tour

South African athletics officials have scrapped plans for a European tour later this year after only two out of seven nations had agreed to receive a Springbok team.

Mr Dankie Kleynhans, secretary of the South African Amateur Athletic Union, said only Greece and Austria had agreed to entertain a South African team and that the proposed tour had been switched to South America. He said that during a recent visit to seven European nations British officials had told him they were too busy organizing the 1970 Commonwealth Games to receive a Springbok team. But they had added that negotiations could be resumed next year.

Swiss officials had said they had already invited other African states to compete and could not consider a South African team at this stage.

The Netherlands and France were against a South African tour and Belgian sports officials had said they were undecided and would reply at a later date. (Times 10. 3. 1970)

Africans to boycott arms ships

The All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) is to boycott all ships transporting arms and other war material to South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia. The Algiers-based executive bureau of AATUF, which met here last weekend, decided on this in a series of measures contained in a resolution aiming at "reinforcing the support of African masses to liberation movements" and published today.

The 19-member organisation also urged workers in countries supporting these colonial Powers to act "in order to put an end to arms deliveries and other forms of support."

AATUF also decided to ask African Governments to step up their assistance to liberation movements, to convene a conference of solidarity with workers from Portuguese colonies and "to oppose any form of Zionist penetration in Africa."

(Morning Star 20. 2. 1970)

THE MADHOUSE OF APART-HATE



The Suffering and Sullen Majority:

My heart is overflowing with irrefutable facts and poignant feelings which could show even the purblind Doubting Thomases of the World that the suffering and sullen majority in South Africa is far from being silent but very near a revolutionary and volcanic explosion whose repercussions will affect the whole of the ever-shrinking world. Cynics might say that these are mere empty threats, but I speak and write from profound knowledge and deeply-felt personal experience. The sad story could fill monumental volumes and I neither have the material resources nor the time to do that.

The really unfortunate sin of omission is that some Black South African exiles have allowed themselves the luxury of becoming "the silent minority" to use President Nixon's phrase in reverse. A few, who never even lifted a finger to help towards the colossal liberatory struggle at home, are now posing overseas as "patriots" and for personal selfish reasons have allowed themselves to become puppets of sectional and vindictive groups.

However, I will not waste my time and energies by engaging in this type of vendetta – in all history there have always been traitors, defectors and distractors, especially if the struggle is long and agonizing.

A Promise and the Unexpected:

In this series of articles, I admit, I shall merely scratch the surface of a vast unexplored field but I shall do it with pleasure as a token payment of an incalculable debt I owe to "the suffering and sullen majority" I left in 1960 confined within the "madhouse of apart-hate" referred to in my title. I shall try and keep a cool head but a warm heart. I will give you facts, figures and feelings hitherto unpublished and therefore unknown obtained from personal experience and deep study.

Unfortunately, a good part of my personal records, files, correspondence, documents and books were confiscated by the Special Branch. But in a madhouse, often the unexpected happens – sometimes help comes from the least expected quarters – take for instance, the fantastic fact that a tough self-confident Dr. Verwoerd could be assassinated within the well-guarded precincts of the Police-

state Parliament. Even in Fascist South Africa fact can be stranger than fiction!

Anyway, to get back to my own story which is not half as dramatic as that just mentioned. A tip just in the nick of time from a faithful follower in the police, "an informer-in-reverse", made it possible for my wife to salvage one box of documents by the simple device of putting and spreading a few inches of coal on top of the literary material. I did lose a lot of valuable matter but it could have been much worse.

Part of the absurdity was that some of the correspondence confiscated were official letters from the Departments of Bantu Education in Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere which had been legitimately directed to me in my capacity as Hon. General Secretary of the Natal African Teachers' Union and Hon. Secretary-General of the Federal Council of African Teachers' Associations, both organisations being officially recognized as representing teachers in Natal and the whole of South Africa respectively. Maybe they suspected that their senior officials had armed me with devastating and damning ammunition which I certainly intended to use to show how evil and dishonest Bantu Education is and has always been.

The Nazis of South Africa:

On the 10th March, 1970 I was watching B.B.C. 1 24-Hours and was rather amused to see a small portion of a Nazi propaganda film made in 1941 when Nazi Germany was almost sure she was winning World War II and therefore could afford to begin to reward her staunch allies in South Africa, the Boer Nationalists, who were then the Official Opposition.

In his usual cautious and scholarly way, D. Edgar H. Brookes in "Apartheid – a documentary study of modern South Africa", states, "South African Nationalists were sympathetic to Germany in both World Wars . . . All South African Nazis were Nationalists, but few Nationalists were Nazis". Wellmeaning Dr. Brookes is being generous, but among the "few" Boer Nationalists even he would undoubtedly include both Vorster and Verwoerd and Verwoerd (whom the Ngunispeaking Africans always referred to as UVELEVUTHA which means 'he was born burning' and sometimes they varied the epithet to UFEVUTHA which

means 'he will die burning' – it just happened by chance and through the great sense of humour that Africans possess that his name is pronounced that way in Xhosa and Zulu). As we all know, a Supreme Court judge in a case in which Verwoerd was the plaintiff declared that he had in fact used "Die Transvaler" as a mouth-piece of Nazi propaganda and Vorster was actually interred by Smuts because of blatant Nazi sympathies and activities.

The Anglo-Boer War:

The BBC gift film depicted the Anglo-Boer War and showed "Dom" Paul Kruger being oppressed and persecuted by the British. The particular scene reviewed was that of elderly British missionaries enthralled in solemn and sonorous ringing of "God Save the Queen" while rows of Africans were meekly kneeling, as if about to receive Holy Communion, but instead each African was given in one hand a Bible and in the other hand a gun. The clear implication was that the British were prepared to or even did arm the Africans to fight the Boers in order to "Save the Queen".

Now this is one of those classic halftruths at which all Nazis and Fascist were experts and still are. It is true British Missionaries dished out plenty of Bibles to Africans, but so did all missionaries including those of the Dutch Reformed Churches. As a matter of fact, invariably the standard joke at most African gatherings is that the missionaries pumped religion into the African and then solemnly implored the Africans to join them in prayer.

The innocent unsuspecting African duly knelt down and closed his eyes and at the end of the long-winded prayer the land of the African, the birthrite of his forefathers, had been stealthily stolen by the missionary's mates, the imperialists.

On the other hand it is completely untrue, a downward lie in fact, that the British armed Africans during the Anglo-Boer War. Both sides did employ Africans as hired handymen, herdsmen and grave diggers. These menial and manual tasks are the traditional bane and plight of the despised and debauched African in War and in Peace, in and out of season. As a matter of fact, I have met more Africans who worked for the Boers than those who were employed by the British. Africans were, of course, neutral – it was purely a Whiteman's war – that is why I refer to it as the Anglo-Boer War and not "the South African War" as some liberal historians have tried to call it, yet another instance of the inaccuracies of South African history – the whole of which needs drastic overhaul and rewriting. The partisans, of course, attribute it to the other side: the Boer Afrikaners call it "Engels War" while their (former) adversaries call it simply the "Boer War".

A Century of Wrong:

The few Africans who did take an interest in the issues over which the combatants were involved were solidly in sympathy with the Boers as they were being squeezed and stifled by a great imperialist power. What oppressed person would not sympathise with those apt and eloquent words of General J. C. Smuts in "A Century of Wrong" written immediately before the Anglo-Boer War, "As the wounded antelope awaits the coming of the lion, the jackal and the vulture, so do our people all over South Africa contemplate the approach of the foe . . ." It has

been said that the Boer Nationalists forget nothing and forgive nothing. That is by and large true, but there is at least one vital fact they forget, that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Perhaps, to remind them of this platitude, we need to write our own, "Three Centuries of Wrong" and I pray they will still be there to learn something from history.

Their basic problem is that today, in 1970, they are still busy fighting the Battle of Blood River of 1838 and the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 and many minor ones as well – they are almost completely oblivious of the reality that we are now living in the Second Half of the 20th Century. As they are so well-versed in the Old Testament, they should perhaps read again the Book of Kings, particularly that part where the Prophet Elijah mockingly calls upon the worshippers of Baal to shout even harder, maybe their gods were asleep, and incidentally this was immediately before the great prophet destroyed their gods. Maybe the gods of Apartheid Baal are asleep as the golden idols are about to be destroyed and the fire of the African God will consume them even though billions of tons of water have been poured to dampen the tinder.

In the madhouse of Apart-hate the ghastly guns are being distributed to the whites, including women and youth, while the African is being admonished in an old-fashioned Kruger-style paternalistic manner to hang on to the Blessed Bible. It cannot be for long that all the bullets will remain on one side of the colour-line.

The Paradox of Apart-Hate Madhouse:

In 1964 the University College of Dar Es Salaam requested me to conduct a course of lectures on South Africa as a background to present events and policies. I was glad to get that opportunity and prepared a brochure as a guide to the Extra-Mural students. I would like to conclude this article by quoting the introductory paragraph of that pamphlet. The title was "South Africa – the World's Delinquent Child" and I then proceeded to state: –

"South Africa, land of contrasts and contradictions: enlightened yet enslaved, impressive but imprisoned. South Africa, a land of wealth and waste, beauty and bondage, glamour and gloom; the land with 'the best of times and worst of times'. South Africa, isolated yet insolent, blindly believing that 'Divided we stand, united we fall' – Whither South Africa? First find the facts." I have no reason to alter a word of this.

The course was a great success, and according to the Resident Tutor, the best they had ever had in that district. I was not aware then that some of the students needed the information for some examination or other. But in the end I was pressed to prepare a summary of the lectures which I eventually did. "The Sunday News" 17. 5. 1964 printed an extract giving it prominence under the heading "The Clash in South Africa – Where Apartheid Theory Falls Down." A few statistical figures may have slightly changed for the worse in the past six years but the cancerous condition of the patient remains extremely grave! In the coming months, we shall be dealing in some depth with the subject, "Bantu Education for Mental and Spiritual Slavery."

AMANDLA! MAYIBUYE!

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Spotlight
on Police State

18 to a Room

The shortage of African housing was creating slum conditions in Johannesburg's townships, according to Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, a member of the Johannesburg City Council.

He said that there was a back-log of some 10,000 families needing houses, but funds for building these houses had not been forthcoming from the Government. It was "very doubtful" if funds would be made available this year. He said he had interviewed a group of squatters who had been living 18 to a room in a location before moving to the squatters' camp. "they told me they just could not stand it any longer."

Stink of Inhumanity

Tens of thousands of rootless African women, old people and fatherless children were "plucked from their homes and left to rot in their resettlement villages, the names of some of which still stink in the nostrils of decency," Mr. J. Hamilton Russell said in Cape Town. "Visits are not encouraged to these so-called resettlement villages, made up first of tents, then small corrugated iron shanties, then finally cramped concrete huts, always overcrowded and in which human beings live in deplorable conditions.

"Broken-up, fatherless families exist in settlements where more often than not there are little or no work oppor-

tunities. They are invariably far from the nearest towns. Money is scarce and food and water supplies often inadequate. During the weekend there is often no way, even in an emergency, sickness or accident, to call an ambulance. There are settlements such as these dotted in many parts of South Africa in which human beings suffer from malnutrition and various deficiency diseases - where deaths are often a daily occurrence. The school classes are overcrowded. More than one class is often taught in the same room, the children sitting back to back. The breadwinner, of course, is away. He is a migrant labourer, living in bachelor quarters in some distant town, visiting his home once every year or perhaps every two years. In that distant town he works ceaselessly without a woman for solace.

All this in modern, thriving, prosperous 'civilised' South Africa of today.

No wonder we have the highest crime rate in the civilised world. No wonder the crime rate for the last ten years has increased by 120 per cent, in spite of our having the largest per capita police and security force that South Africa has ever previously known, even in time of war."

Against Army Training

As a dedicated Jehovah's Witness, he preferred to follow the example set by Jesus Christ and his disciples by maintaining a neutral attitude towards this world, 19-year-old Mr. A. D. Joubert told Mr. H. J. Doman when he was found guilty on a charge of having failed to report for compulsory military training. He was sentenced to 90 days detention in the military barracks at Voortrekkerhoogte.

Three other Jehovah's Witnesses were also sentenced to 90 days' detention.

More Tax

Every household in South Africa employing an African servant will have to keep a five-year record of exactly how much the servant is paid. In addition domestic employers will have to deduct their servant's P. A. Y. E. (if the servant earns more than £ 15 a month), fill in forms and

pay in the deductions to their local office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. The minimum amount that can be deducted for African P. A. Y. E. is 1/= a month as an employee must earn more than £ 180 a year to qualify.

Failure to comply with this renders an employer liable, among other things, to a penalty of 10% on the amount involved.

Narrow Minded

Technical books on nymphomania, lesbianism and homosexuality sent by a Boston medical man to a Johannesburg psychiatrist have been impounded by the Customs - and the psychiatrist has been ordered to explain the imports, or face police prosecution.

The psychiatrist has said: "I am not importing pornography. These books are purely for research purposes."

Blank Refusal

The South African government has refused a visa to the celebrated Japanese jockey, Sueo Masuzawa. Mr. Masuzawa has been quoted as saying: I would never go to South Africa, even if I was asked again." Under pressure from racing and trade bodies, the South African regime later reversed this decision.

A Plank for a Bed

While politicians have urged local authorities to make their towns "white by night", thousands of African workers are living in appalling conditions in municipal hostels. Returning from a day's work to little privacy and heavy overcrowding, Africans have a wooden plank for a bed and a string for a wardrobe. Filth and squalor, rancid smells, crowded conditions and general dissatisfaction among residents are the dominating features in the "batchelor" quarters where men live in dormitory-type rooms, sleeping 16 to a room on wooden boards supported by iron trestles. Clothes and blankets hang on string around the walls. Each resident has a paraffin stove on which the evening meal is cooked along the narrow spaces between the beds.