

FILE

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September 13, 1977.

Dear Mr Morrison,

As you will no doubt know, Mr Robert M. Sobukwe is precluded, in terms of his bannings, from making any statement for publication.

It is in these circumstances that I am writing to you to advise that the quotation attributed to him on page 3 of your issue of July 22, 1977 is totally devoid of truth. Mr Sobukwe did not send any telegram to students or anyone else in Soweto.

It would be appreciated, for the sake of historical records, if this fact could be noted in your first available issue.

It would also be appreciated if you could let me know the source of your information so that the matter can be dealt with at that level too.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,

BENJAMIN POGRUND

Africa Confidential July 22, 1977

### Dutal

While providing a very important recruitment route for would-be ZAPU guerrillas, the Botswana government denies that there are any guerrilla camps on its own territory. This is probably true. However, it is almost certain that guerrillas do enter and leave Botswana from western Rhodesia—to avoid Rhodesian troops or simply to get some recuperation after a stint in the operational areas. The Botswana government's small, newly-formed Botswana Defence Force has no chance of stopping this even if it wanted to: its "A" Company, assigned to guard the country's Rhodesian border with Rhodesia, only has 140 troops. In fact, the Botswana government is probably turning a blind eye to the use of its territory by the guerrillas.

Nonetheless, Botswana is a reluctant "front-line state". As Mr. Tibone put it to this correspondent: "We have not done anything to impair peace in southern Africa. We have not closed the railway line (the Rhodesian-owned line from Bulawayo to Mafeking). We are for peace, we are for stabilisation."

The succession of cross-border Rhodesian raids, however, has given Sir Seretse (in opposition but in line up with the other front-line states (Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Angola) and economic stepping-up guerrilla action to pressure the Smith regime into a political settlement that can restore regional stability. A swift transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe, Sir Seretse knows, would also have the attractive result of giving his country a black neighbour for the first time, thereby reducing Botswana's present dependence on white-ruled states for railway and telecommunications links.

But, while Botswana is now as committed as the other front-line states to the removal of the Smith regime, it is evident that Sir Seretse's administration is far from prepared to cope effectively with the military challenges now facing his country.

Until April, Botswana did not have an army at all. Sir Seretse has been content since independence in 1966 to rely on a small para-military police force, the Police Mobile Unit (PMU). At the end of March, legislation was finally presented before Parliament to set up the BDP, but it is still remarkably small, its total troop strength is just over 300. There are two companies in the force: "A" company, with 140 men, to guard the Rhodesian border from Kazungula to the Limpopo; and "B" company, with 160-180 men, stationed in Gaborone. Major-General Mongani Merafhe, the Commander of the BDP, has told us that the government had no plans to ask other African countries to send troops to help defend Botswana's borders and he rejected suggestions that (as in Mozambique) village militias should be raised and armed in the border regions. The government wanted to build a "small but well-trained" force, he said.

The government also has no short-range plans to close the Botswana-Rhodesia border or nationalise Rhodesia Railways' Botswana railway—though it does have long-term plans for a "planned, orderly takeover" of the 650 km line, carried out in close co-operation with Rhodesia Railways. Mozambique's decision in March 1976 to halt all trade and communications with Rhodesia will not be followed by similar action on Botswana's part—at least in the immediate future.

## South Africa: The Guerrillas Are Coming

A few days ago the Assistant Commissioner of the South African Police, Major-General David Kruij, announced that a special unit of the South African police force has started patrolling the country's borders with Botswana, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Swaziland. The aim is to stop the infiltration of armed insurgents across the borders and to discourage the exodus of African youths to join guerrilla training camps in neighbouring countries.

The South African authorities have consistently played down the extent of the recruiting, but we believe the evidence produced at the many political trials in recent months shows that it has now reached considerable proportions.

The new patrol unit is not the first measure taken by Pretoria to prevent the activities of underground movements. A two metre high fence made of diamond mesh has been built at the cost of R1 million along part of the Swaziland border, and farmers in the vicinity have been warned that they must ensure that their migrant labourers are fully registered. Although the Swaziland issue is the most frequently mentioned, it obviously is not the only one. Illegal crossings take place from Mozambique, and in April the South African Defence Minister, P. W. Botha, announced the establishment of a new airforce base at Hoedspruit, about 100 km from the Mozambique border in the eastern Transvaal.

The outward flow of recruits peaked in the second half of last year, following the Soweto riots. At that time the numbers of refugees reaching Botswana from South Africa averaged about 50 a day, according to Charles Tlisoae, administrative secretary in the Botswana President's office. Now it averages about 30 a month.

Miss Nkosazana Dlamini, a fifth-year medical student from Natal, who was Vice-President of the black South African Students Organisation (SASO) left South Africa last September after evading the police for several weeks. According to her, "lots of people who left the country did not even go to apply for asylum as refugees. They have left determined to acquire the necessary skills to fight... Almost everybody who leaves the country looks for the African National Congress (ANC) and makes for them. They know where to go, they know who is going to give them the necessary skills to overthrow the regime..."

Evidence produced at political trials also indicates that the ANC has remained a powerful political force. Of the eleven men and one woman currently on trial in Pretoria under the Terrorism Act, two—Martin Ramokgadi and Joe Gqabi—have been charged with heading the central structure of the ANC in Johannesburg, and five are accused of mounting sabotage operations, including blowing up a railway line and attacking a police patrol near the Swaziland border. The others are accused of being in possession of firearms and explosives and of encouraging people to undergo military training or to form ANC cells. Paulina Mohale is alleged to have typed a leaflet "The Voice of the ANC (Spear of the Nation)". Elias Mashega is accused of having infiltrated the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) last year to recruit members for the ANC. The main prosecution witness (who subsequently said that he had been tortured by the police to make his statement) described how he had recruited 260 people for the Congress, and how he had made eight trips to Swaziland, where he was taught how to handle explosives.

Another case, proceeding at Pietermaritzburg, concerns ten men alleged to be members of the ANC and to have been recruited through Swaziland. In fact, two of the accused, Jose Nduku and Cleopas Nduhova, claim to have been kidnapped from Swaziland by the South African police, and the Swazi government has asked Pretoria for their return. But Mr. Justice van Heerden ruled that the court had jurisdiction to try the men even if they had been arrested in Swaziland. The interesting aspect of this case is that the defence argued that the purpose of the recruiting had been for training in trade union organisation and not military skills, as had been alleged. One of the accused, Harry Gwala, was an organiser of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) before this was made illegal; in his evidence he outlined the legislative removal of workers' rights under South African law, and stated that he had planned SACTU's revival. Mathews Meyiwa, another of the accused, said that SACTU was still alive in the minds of African workers.

In April Stanley Nkosi and Petrus Motlanthe were each jailed for 10 years for bringing explosives into South Africa from Swaziland. They told the court they had joined the ANC because they felt there could be no political change in South Africa without armed confrontation. In May, van Malatji and Kereka Zwane were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for distributing ANC literature and attending a meeting where the training of guerrillas in Mozambique was discussed. Edith Mhahle was imprisoned for three years for photocopying an ANC pamphlet. In March three men were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for participating in the activities of the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, there are at present more than 100 trials under South African security laws, 35 of them under the Terrorism Act.

In view of the apparently close connection between the ANC office in Swaziland and the party's underground organisation in South Africa, there was considerable interest among African nationalists last May, when the marriage was announced of Zeni Mandela—eldest daughter of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island—and Prince Thumbumuzi, son of Swaziland's King Sobhuza II. According to some sources, the marriage confirms rumours that the co-existence between conservative Swaziland and marxist Mozambique was cemented by an undertaking on the part of Swaziland to refrain from interfering with the activities of South African liberation movements; in return, the Frelimo government in Maputo is said to have promised not to undermine the Sobhuza government by infecting the Swazis with alien political ideas. (Moreover, Swaziland's vital export route to the sea consists of a railway running through Mozambique.)

The marriage coincided with the banishment of Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie, to Brandfort in the Orange Free State from Soweto, where she had played an important part as a founder-member of the Black Parents' Association. She also supported the students of Soweto in their confrontation with the authorities last year, thus reinforcing official suspicions that the SSRC is under the sway of the ANC. Since both the ANC and the PAC are outlawed, it is difficult to make any accurate assessment of political allegiances, but

the telegram sent to Soweto last month by Robert Sobukwe, the PAC leader, to mark the first anniversary of the Soweto riots, is said to have been dismissed as "derisory" by some of the student leaders. It read: "Be vigilant and pray. Man proposes but God disposes. Please have faith in Him and keep your ears open to His message. Bitterness destroys".

The ANC communicates with the population through underground leaflets, often distributed in a series of pamphlet "bomb" explosions. A recent message started with the promise, "We shall avenge the brutal murder of our innocent children", and went on to promise that the struggle would be co-ordinated throughout South Africa; the ANC would "develop our mass actions, demonstrations and strikes which mobilise our people and disrupt the economy... above all, we shall arm ourselves with modern weapons and hit back through our organised fighting force...."

**URBAN WARFARE.** On the eve of the Soweto anniversary last month three armed insurgents penetrated into white Johannesburg and shot three white men, killing two. The purpose of the attack is not yet known, but the ANC claimed responsibility for it in a broadcast over Radio Luanda. (The Angolan broadcasting service started daily hourly ANC broadcasts to South Africa last month, since then a similar series of SWAPO broadcasts has been directed at Namibia from Luanda.) The June attack, according to the authorities, bore many resemblances to a grenade attack on the Carlton Towers hotel in Johannesburg last December. Urban guerrilla warfare may have started in South Africa. It may not be a coincidence that the wreckage of the South African Airways main office in Paris last week by a home-made bomb followed the revelation that France is to buy 1,000 tons of South African uranium—although responsibility for the Paris incident has so far neither been apportioned nor claimed.

While the SSRC remains a force to be reckoned with in Soweto, speculation about its ideological motivations and external links is bound to continue. Telo Mofokanyane, Secretary-General of the South African Students Movement and the first chairman of the SSRC joined the ANC publicly in exile, after he escaped from South Africa following the Soweto riots last year. Asked whether there had been an awareness among students of the ANC as an underground movement, he said there had been "clearly such an awareness. There were political trials concerning ANC. We knew that the ANC was operating because we would hear that this person was being charged in Durban, in Cape Town, in Grahamstown, and so on. We would always hear from the papers of ANC activity... From time to time there were ANC pamphlets and journals which we used to get, and we saw very little of any underground activity except by the ANC". Miss Dhimini said that some black leaders in South Africa claimed that "it is only the black consciousness movements, plus the people who are for 'Africa for the Africans', who are doing anything for liberation" but even this approach had its uses: it got young people interested in politics in the first place, and once they are interested "then you can explain the fundamentals, that racialism is only used to exploit people. What we are fighting is not really a racial struggle, it only tends to look that way". She added that "lots of people recognise the ANC as their movement. I'm quite confident that the ANC will have no trouble in mobilising support for the call to armed struggle. During the uprisings people were saying everywhere: 'the ANC would come with arms we'd leave our jobs and go to fight'. Some are just waiting for the day."

## Morocco: Hassan Independents, 2 Opposition Divided, 1

Although there were Opposition complaints of electoral shoddiness by the authorities, particularly from the Leftists, the results of the Moroccan parliamentary elections held in June appeared to go some way to justify official claims that the new Parliament is the most credible form of democracy anywhere in Africa or the Arab World. Held in two stages, on June 3 by direct suffrage for 176 seats and on June 21 by indirect vote for 88 seats, the elections were certainly a personal victory for King Hassan whose supporters swept the board at the expense of the old-established parties.

The so-called "Independents" who say they are "unconditional monarchists" and have a political platform they call "hasanizam" won a total of 140 seats, giving them an absolute majority. Two rural-based parties, the "Mouvement Populaire" led by ex-Defence Minister Mahjoub Amlam, and its offshoot the "Mouvement Populaire Démocratique et Constitutionnel" (MPDC) led by Dr. Abdelkrim Khattib, who are both staunch supporters of the throne also, won 44 and three seats respectively. This gave the King's supporters a

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