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THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

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**Vol. LV, No. 2
September 1983
Annual Subscription: R3,00**

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THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

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Education and the New Constitutional Frauds

It is clear that the rulers will rush through as speedily as possible the three-part structure within which the system of apartheid is to be administered in future. While the constitutional legislation has received most attention during the past few years the educational aspect of these adjustments in bureaucratic rule has been regarded as strictly less important. It is certainly not our intention to pretend that education enjoys priority over questions of citizenship and the defence of the people against exploitation and oppression. Yet it is the proper time to review the whole question of the education of the oppressed and the re-education of others while the general political debate continues. In any dictatorship the schooling of people to accept their predestined stations — that is, the master-slave relationship and the cultivation of the slave mentality — has always been regarded as essential to the creation and buttressing of the apparatus bolstering the rulers' position. Whether it is Plato in his *Republic*, Hitler in *Mein Kampf* or the local Christelik-Nasionaal Onderwys (CNO) and Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) tribalisers in 'Die Beleid', they all share the conviction that schools, universities and every available educating institution must condition the mass of the people to fit willingly into their appointed places in society. It might mean even the denial of life and education to people: to Jews in Nazi Germany in 1933 or the people of KTC in Cape Town fifty years later.

Even before we reviewed the de Lange Commission's plans for the restructuring of education, the oppressed were about to start the fourth decade of a debased, racialised, crisis-ridden school system. Thirty years of CNO indoctrination in primary schools, secondary schools, training schools, bush colleges and technical schools has left a gangrenous mess throughout the country. Three generations of South Africa's children have been spiritually, intellectually and culturally battered by the plague of CNO schooling. This mental germ-warfare continues to be steered from the political-pathology departments of the universities, the Broederbond, the SA Bureau for Racial Affairs

(SABRA), the FAK and the churches. They have, in the 'ethnic' education they have devised, with the bullying controls complemented by sheer neglect of the basic needs of children, contrived a poison that has left millions of children of the oppressed without an education! In the wry way in which the truth asserts itself, a research worker at the University of the Orange Free State recently showed that the three million African children now at school will leave before they reach Std. Two — that is, after three years at school — and that they will be functionally illiterate and functionally innumerate. In its thirty years bantuisd schooling has produced an annual crop of maimed

young people, ejected from the schools to face one of the most savage, most brutal and most pitiless social and political systems in the world. This horrifying picture is a continuing one. Decades of this destruction of humanity only emphasises the harsh realities of what that means. Even the suggestion by those seeking an 'instant' solution to the problem that this will be put right in a democratic parliament one day is facile and in the nature of a cynical betrayal. The rest of Eiselen-de Vos Malan schooling, that doled out to the other sections of the oppressed, is no different. Debasement, corruption and mutilation of the human ideal are hallmarks of every tribal system. There is no single, mitigating factor within the whole structure of schooling for 'eiesoortigheid' and the ghetto mind. In its way the schooling of the franchised minority, generously financed and liberally, expensively and wastefully indulged as it is, is no less corrupt. It is no less an obstacle to the attainment of a democratic society with a democratised, unsegregated system of education that will ensure its constant renewal through the generations of young boys and girls at school and young men and women at colleges, technikons and universities.

Let us not imagine that when Mr. Gerrit Viljoen declares that there will never be integration in the school system he is merely repeating a verbal formula. The effect of State policy is to *continue* this process of indoctrination, this appalling process of crippling the minds and spirits of young people, this misanthropic process of generating through the schools and universities the racial dogma, the anti-social attitudes and sense of values, the anti-humanitarian social philosophies based upon the plundering of human beings held captive in locations for their labour, and the plundering of the natural resources of South Africa to enrich a minority and drain the wealth of the country into the pockets of local and overseas investors.

This process is, in the plans of the rulers, a *necessary complement* to their political and economic blueprint for a retreaded South African juggernaut: the Botha-Heunis Bills, the Koornhof Bills, the Verwoerdian Bantustans and all the rest of the brutalising weapons they have devised to maintain South Africa as a penal colony for the unfranchised and a limited democracy for the franchised minority.

The attempt to co-opt the coloured and indian quislings into a 'front' to strengthen the Boer-Brit alliance is a detail within the overall strategy. But let us not mistake for one moment the intentions of the State in regard to the children of this country. CNO schooling — for the past thirty years the *muti* which CNO indoctrinators hoped would colouredise, indianise and bantuisse — has failed to produce the desired political results. In 1950 the Verwoerd school boasted that by 1970 — within twenty years — they would have wrung the neck of the old 'liberal', 'book-orientated' schooling and in its place have working a system to produce the 'Eiselen man': the docile, willing worker, resigned to his station in life, accepting his *eiesoortigheid* — his ethnic identity in these days of word-play — and the *andersoortigheid* of others.

Within this destructive system, therefore, vital contradictions have arisen. While it has wreaked havoc in schools and universities, and there is no denying that standards have been shattered everywhere, tribalised schooling has not produced the political results envisaged by its authors in 1950. The whole system has broken down. Its ruins bedevil the lives of children. But it has *not* worked the way the rulers had hoped it would. For one, teachers, parents and pupils have not accepted the system. But in addition, because school education does *not* stand alone or work in isolation from all other influences, the general political struggle of the masses has provided a climate and a background situation in which teachers, parents, pupils, workers

and professionals could challenge the CNO system, set up their own ideals and resist the indoctrination processes of the rulers. That has in essence been the battle for the minds of the people — a contest that has been and is being fought every day within the schools and outside of them between the forces of democracy and the CNO vandalisers of the young.

We cannot claim total success. But so far the war has gone the way of the oppressed. We have lost battles. We have suffered the banning and sacking of hundreds of teachers in the first two decades, we have survived all the efforts of the rulers in the past decade to crush the educators on the one hand and, on the other, to give free licence to the quisling talk-and-chalk school-pandoere who operate under such umbrellas as the CTPA (the Cape Teachers' Professional Association) and the UTASA (the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa). We have survived the continued betrayal of education by the 'white' teachers' organisations in defence of privilege and wealth. We have overcome the rulers' every attempt to impose 'racial' objectives upon the schools: we demand today as never before a single unsegregated system of education within a unified democratic South Africa. The demand is universal.

We are winning a war. We have not achieved complete victory. Let us not delude ourselves into believing that simply because we struggle to ensure that justice shall prevail in the end, 'we shall overcome' all problems by some miraculous intervention of fate on our behalf.

We have had our signal reverses too. We have had nearly a decade of the results of the selling of the pass in the Bush Colleges by the Black Consciousness idolatries of the seventies. The scars still mar the body politic, even the student body politic of the oppressed. It has left in its wake a delusion that, even in parts, bush colleges may become universities. The Black Conscious-

ness gurus got their black rectors, they restored some student representative councils to acceptability and they were given their Black Studies and black-orientated curricula. This was a signal defeat which some still hesitate to recognise or accept as a defeat: that they fell victim to dogmas created for 'blacks only' by the new racists within our midst. Among those who teach and instruct the oppressed there are cohorts who fell for the deceptions of the de Lange Commission. They virtually *demand*ed the implementation of what was clearly intended to realise partly through the schools the objectives of Botha, Koornhof and the Verwoerdian heirs.

We look at education anew after thirty years of CNO indoctrination. We see it now at the beginning of a fresh attempt to broaden, deepen and reinforce 'racial' divisions and attitudes, to strengthen the apparatus of authoritarian rule. We see it becoming an 'own affair' to be controlled at grass-roots level by menial, ambitious Uriah Heeps and modern Herries who will debase it still further and, if only because of their ineptitude, outdo even the Sebes and the Matanzimas in their reckless betrayal of the oppressed. We have to look at bush colleges, training colleges, 'ethnic' technikons, 'white' universities, primary and secondary schools as being sensitive, vitally important, areas where the new battles to subdue the rebelling homelands and locations, to subdue the resurgent workers, will be joined. To frustrate the rulers' intentions is no easy task. But it is a necessary one. The defence of the children is as vital a battle as any to win. If the ruling class prescribes and exercises debasement in the schools we, the teachers and the parents, have to use whatever opportunity presents itself to *educate* — to keep open the lines of communication with literature, science and mathematics and the means of social growth; to posit democratic ideals and values in opposition to the slave mentality and acceptance of 'ethnic'

or any specious doctrine designed to reinforce the servile mind. We have to interpret education, educational tasks and responsibilities in the light of the needs of the oppressed in their struggle to take their full and untrammelled place in the political, economic, educational, cultural, sporting and related life of the entire nation. We have to teach them to *be* South Africans *now*.

We have to teach them whenever possible the ideas, the attitudes and the ideals which apartheid denies them, or which apartheid seeks to eradicate in its efforts to destroy the democratic spirit. We have to teach them as members of one nation even while the rulers dismember the country. We have to teach them to look beyond the physical, political and ideological barricades of homelands and locations and to regard everything that mankind has evolved to create civilisation as part of a heritage to which they are rightful heirs, to which they are entitled as of right.

Looked at in another way, a necessary and searching re-appraisal of the whole educational set-up in relation to the evil portents of the 'new dispensation' and related matters has to be made by *all* democratic educators. If the battle in the schools is lost, victory in the war against colonial fascism in this country can only be delayed and made so much more difficult. This is a front on which we cannot afford to lose; it is a front that has a unique importance for now and for the future — simply because each generation has to bear the growth points of progress in our struggles. Where the rulers continue to deny citizenship to the oppressed we have to educate for full citizenship. Where the rulers racialise and divide, we have to teach people to think of themselves as members of one nation. If the Hitlers sought to ensure the survival of the Nazi spirit substantially through the corruption of German youth; if the CNO indoctrinators

have attached so much importance to the schools and universities as production areas for the maintenance and extension of the racially-dominated, exploitative society we know, then we cannot afford *not* to note the vital rôle educators must play today. Alone, teachers cannot do it. Our early victories were won by the work of formal educators in the schools and the informal work of political educators in the broad general context of society. More than ever the closest articulation of these two forces is the sole guarantee that the parents, pupils and teachers will be able to conduct their struggle on the educational front in a way that will assist the struggle for national liberation. The struggle to eliminate tribal and racial divisions and to create a nation; the struggle to raise people from the swamps of illiteracy, innumeracy and lack of skills is being waged here and now. It is as much part of the total struggle as any other activity. No victory in the war for liberation is possible without an ongoing struggle for victory over the tribalisers, the indoctrinators, the Hitlers of our times.

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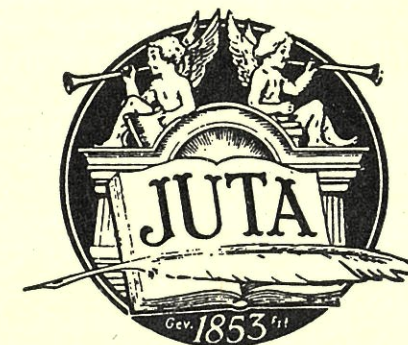
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The Difaqane: Fact vs Fiction

Colonial Dispossession

V. E. SATIR

The Mfecane or Difaqane is a term meaning the "forced migration" or the "crushing of peoples". According to most Histories on Southern Africa this was caused by or resulted from the rise of the Zulu "nation" under Tshaka from 1822 to 1828. The most widely accepted theory is that the destruction of land and peoples in the affected areas was caused primarily by "three bands of refugees from Shaka: Hlubi led by Mpangazita, and Ngwane led by Matiwane . . . and the Ndebele under Mizilikazi . . ."

(*Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. 1, Page 391.) The study of these events is part of the History syllabus for the Junior Secondary School. Needless to say, all the History textbooks used in South African schools attribute the Difaqane directly or indirectly to the actions of Tshaka. One of the results of the Difaqane, these books claim, was the creation of huge expanses of land thus populated by no one, in what is at present the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. At the time of the announcing of the Nationalist Party's Bantustan Policy the South African government issued a White Paper that argued that the Voortrekkers had moved into these uninhabited areas and had not, therefore, displaced any indigenous peoples from their land. This land became "white"-owned not by the conquest and dispossession of peoples but simply by occupation. What is the truth about the Difaqane? In this article we provide some facts that should assist in arriving at the answer to this question.

SOURCES FOR THE THEORIES

The sources from which evidence has been drawn to support the Difaqane theory of depopulation and dispossession are highly unreliable, but this has not deterred the present-day propounders and staunch supporters of this theory. Among these sources are various missionaries.

1 *The Missionaries*: The Difaqane is supposed to have devastated and depopulated much of the high-veld of what is now the Free State, areas in the Northern Cape, in the southern Transvaal and parts of Natal. The missionaries who "observed" the Difaqane "lived on or near the extreme western fringe of the high-veld area", that is, outside the area affected by the Difaqane. In addition to their not having observed the events they wrote about, they wrote after the events had occurred. The missionaries who reported on occurrences in Natal included A. F. Gardiner, F. Owen and A. T. Bryant. Gardiner arrived in Natal in 1835, a period of 7 years after Tshaka's death; Owen in 1837 (he left Natal after Dingane killed the Boer invaders); and Bryant, one of the main sources for the Difaqane-theorists, arrived in Natal, a Catholic missionary, 55 years after Tshaka's assassination by Dingane, in 1883, that is. *The Oxford History of South Africa* is forced to admit of Bryant's copious outpourings "they do not record the names or the offices of the informants, nor the statements actually made by the informants. They are unsystematic syntheses of oral traditions, travellers' observations, and other unpublished works. Moreover, they have been moulded by Bryant's own mind, which was coloured by the assumptions of his generation and his profession." (*Oxford History*, Vol. 1, page 337).

But despite this damaging concession about the unreliability, indeed the suspect nature, of one of their main sources, the contributors to the *Oxford History* cling to the Difaqane explanation of the events. Is one to believe that the Nguni did destroy themselves and that the "civilising" Europeans moved into what was consequently an "unpopulated" area? Or was the Difaqane a British Liberal-Missionary fabrication to cloak the bloody conquest and dispossession of the Nguni?

THE BRITISH-MISSIONARY CONNECTION

The London Missionary Society Moffat, who established himself at Kuruman, and the Wesleyan missionaries Samuel Broadbent and Thomas Hodgson used the strategy of "divide and rule" to set the Griqua and Rolong tribes against "marauders". Under British leadership these tribes were used to massacre Tshwane and Hlankwana. The latter, for example, were attacked on 26 June 1823 by armed Griqua horsemen and Tlhaping who killed and dismembered men, women and children at the battle of Dithakong in the southern Transvaal. The fleeing tribes in turn attacked others. But at the centre of these dispersions was not Tshaka but the British colonists acting from Cape Town via Moffat at Kuruman and via other mission stations. Here was indeed a "crushing of peoples" and a "forced migration". But not at the hands of the Zulu. This Transvaal "Difaqane" was for long and assiduously "believed" to have been the work of the Tlokwa, under the "Amazon" chieftainess MaNthatisi. But in his *R. Moffat: Apprenticeship at Kuruman* Schapera has shown that the Tlokwa did not cross the Vaal River.

The British Governor at the Cape and the missionaries were also the instigators of an inter-tribal Difaqane against the Ngwane led by Matiwane, who caused much of the "destruction" attributed to Tshaka by History textbooks. (See *300 Years* by Mnguni.) In August 1828 a British army of "White" settlers and soldiers, using Xhosa and Thembu allies, defeated Matiwane at Mbholompo on the River Mthatha. Matiwane sought refuge with the Zulus but, according to oral tradition, the new king, Dingane, had him executed. In 1824 the Wesleyan missionaries organised the Griqua and the Rolong against the Taung on the Molopo River and drove the land-hungry Taung away from the Transvaal mission.

In 1836 the French missionary Arbusset came to the Caledon-Vaal River region and strung a mission around the harassed Sotho, exploiting the Difaqane fear to establish his mission. He and Casilis of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society had come from Cape Town in 1833 to Moeshoes capital at Thaba Bosigo. Arbusset's arrival at the Caledon-Vaal was the beginning of the end for the Sotho. (See *300 Years* and *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*.)

INTER-TRIBAL UNIFICATION, NOT "CRUSHING"

The fact is that both among the Sotho between the Orange and the Vaal rivers and among the many Nguni "chiefdoms" united under the once-

small Zulu group into a centralised "monarchy" there was a process of *tribal unification*. The same was happening among the Ndebele led by Mzilikazi and later by Lobengula, after they left Tshaka in 1822. Many Tswana and Sotho groups joined the swelling Ndebele tribal unity. None of these three groups had as yet been attacked and they were far from having been conquered by the Boers or, more important, by the British. These were pre-conquest unifications. But historians spread the legend that there was inter-tribal "crushing of peoples" and depopulation of one another's lands. And the *Oxford History of S.A.* is not alone in the sensational, blood-curdling manner of depicting these separate (Sotho, Ndebele, Zulu) tribal unifications:

"Old settlements were abandoned, ancient chiefdoms disappeared; new groups came into being and in turn dissolved; as food became scarce demoralisation set in and there was widespread cannibalism . . . By that time (1828) nearly every Sotho community between the Orange and the Vaal rivers had been utterly disrupted . . . In most of the Orange-Vaal area itself the old settlements were abandoned, the stock was destroyed, the fields ceased to be cultivated and in several places the landscape was littered with human bones." (Vol. 1, pages 394-5.)

The *Oxford History* admits, though, that "there was a process of regeneration, with the consolida-

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tion of the Ndebele kingdom in the central Transvaal and the rise of the southern Sotho kingdom". But it places these events, which occurred exactly in the middle of the alleged Difaqane period (1822 to 1828), after the "Difaqane" (*Oxford History*, pp. 343-4):

"The rise of the Zulu kingdom had repercussions from the Cape Colonial frontier to Lake Tanganyika. Every community throughout approximately a fifth of the African continent was profoundly affected and many were utterly disrupted." (p. 345.) "By 1824 most of the country between the Tsekela and the Mzimkhulu, the Drakensberg and the sea, was devastated. The cattle had been removed, the grain destroyed . . . In Natal organised community life virtually ceased . . . a few thousand Nguni maintained some sort of existence in areas sheltered by mountain or bush, living in small groups on roots, game, fish and even human flesh." (page 346.)

OTHER SOURCES . .

Bryant, whom we have already mentioned, is one of the main sources for these *Oxford History* descriptions. Other prime sources for the Difaqane legend are:

2 Fynn (The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn) and Isaacs (Travels and Adventure in Eastern Africa, 1836). Fynn's diary was buried with his brother and reconstructed later. He was an active colonialist and, with Francis Farewell and Isaacs, tried to trick Tshaka into ceding some land as private property to a group of English merchants in Durban (then Port Natal). This would of course have been a violation of tribal law. Of Isaacs the *Oxford History* says (page 337): "Isaacs was a young man while in South Africa and there is reason to believe that his account has many distortions. Writing for immediate publication, Isaacs stressed the sensational."

The other of these sources, Fynn, made a series of errors in dating Dingiswayo's reign (errors that were repeated by other "sources", including Bryant and Ritter, in his *Shaka Zulu*). Of Fynn's "suggestions" the *Oxford History* comments (page 339): "Fynn's is demonstrably inaccurate", and admits that "In these circumstances it is not surprising that we do not know precisely why the long-established equilibrium among the small autonomous northern Nguni chiefdoms rather suddenly collapsed." (page 337.) It concedes further that "the reconstructions in the established historical works are far from satisfactory . . . virtually all of them have been derived from Theal's versions, which are unreliable and biased."

Whatever the reasons given for the alleged Difaqane, what is really at stake here is its veracity: whether in fact certain tribes were crushed by

others and forced to migrate, thus leaving vast expanses of land uninhabited and there for the taking. However, if we examine the reasons for the re-aggregation of the tribes and the formation of a number of discrete tribal monarchies (those of Moeshoeshoe, Tshaka, Mzilikazi and later of the Khamas among the Tswana) and for the accompanying tribal wars, we shall have the explanation for the origin of the legend of the Difaqane.

THEORIES vs FACT:

Colonial Dispossession

None of the theories proffered as explanation for the "Difaqane" takes into account the process of colonial dispossession. Among these theories are those of:

- Bryant, Fynn and Theophilus Shepstone (the last-mentioned, the son of a missionary, was the major policy-maker of the first 'Bantustans'), who claimed that Dingiswayo's unification and militarisation of the Mthethwa was due to inspiration by some "whiteman" (a traveller, Cowan, was named as one inspirer).
- Zulu tradition, which, with assistance from the missionaries, makes the "heroic" Dingiswayo and Tshaka the creators of the new Zulu nation. (Mofolo's interesting work on Tshaka is not even mentioned by the *Oxford History*, but that of the collaborationist and unreliable Molema is: *The Bantu Past and Present*.)
- Monica Wilson (*Oxford History*), who suggests that Tshaka's desire to monopolise trade with the Delagoa Bay Portuguese was the reason for the rather disproportionate Difaqane, and
- M. Gluckman (*The Kingdom of the Zulu in African Political Systems*), according to whom the reason for the Difaqane was population pressure in relation to land.

The process of colonial conquest-dispossession in a northward direction occurred simultaneously with a southward push by the Portuguese in Mozambique, the two being linked overland by a slave and ivory route to Luanda-Benguela — the slaves to serve the Cuban and Brazilian planters and the ivory to satisfy a demand in Europe. The northward movement was two-fold:

1 Immediately preceding Tshaka's rapid unification and extension of the confederacy formed by Dingiswayo, and immediately preceding the parallel unification of the Sotho begun by 1823 under Moeshoeshoe and that of the Ndebele begun by 1823 under Mzilikazi, there occurred the historic defeat at Grahamstown in 1819 of the Xhosa led by Ndlambe and Nxele Makanda, followed by Makanda's death in Table Bay. This defeat had a traumatic effect on all those tribes as yet not attacked. This Xhosa defeat was followed in 1820 by massive colonial settlement by the British. By

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1820, too, early trekboers had reached the Orange River. At the same time there arrived on the scene the missionary Philip, and the racial policy of British Governors became more clear-cut even before the terms of office of Governor D'Urban and Colonial Secretary Glenelg: a policy of territorial segregation; of using the chiefs to control labour-providing tribes in captive labour markets — the beginning of the Reserve system. As is made clear in *300 Years*, there was an attempt to mask by means of a public stance for the emancipation of slaves (1808, 1828, 1834) this racial policy based on a demand for cheap labour to produce pastoral and agricultural goods for export. This policy eventually manifested itself in the absolutely racist legislative provisions for "Kaffraria" in 1852 by the virtually "Europeans Only" Cape Government. The anti-Khoi Khoi and anti-Bantu laws of Caledon and Somerset, the final wars against the Khoi Khoi led by Stuurman, the genocidal hunting down of the San and, finally, the massive defeat of Makanda followed by the pouring in of new settlers from abroad and others from the Cape towards the east and the north — all these together were the first elements of a real Mfecane: the crushing of the Bantu tribes by the European settlers.

2 The second element of this Mfecane was to be found right inside Natal. Its ingredients were the arrival there of Fynn, Isaacs, Farewell and King; the 1822 survey by Captain Owen, the fraudulent "Treaty" of 1824 with Tshaka and the growing thrusts against the Zulu from the Port Natal settlement (where already in 1719 a slave-hunting expedition had appeared and taken Nguni slaves). The Port Natal trading fort — for the trading station was armed — concentrated on the slave-based ivory traffic. Fynn became a confidant of Tshaka, whose hunters worked to obtain ivory for Fynn's traffic. He actually accompanied Tshaka's army against the Nwande in 1826 and doubtless acted as an "adviser". Fynn provided armed Europeans from Port Natal to "crush" the Kumalo under Beje in 1827. In 1828 Fynn and Farewell were Tshaka's advisers on strategy while at the same time they were in contact with Col. Somerset's British army — which then came up and defeated Mawane after the Zulu withdrawal. Part of this strategy was to keep out of the British Cape Colony and hence not to become involved in war with the Mpondo under Faku, who was himself under British administrative and missionary surveillance and also, increasingly, under their control. It is not known whether Fynn and Farewell advised Tshaka to move north against Sobhuza's Swazis. But Tshaka did and in the resultant military disaster he was murdered by Dingane and Mhlangana in October 1828. The British of Port Natal had not a little to do with the break-up of the Zulu chieftancy and the decline of

Zulu military power at that time. The trekboers completed the *Crushing of the Zulu* at the Battle of Blood River in 1838, after a real Mfecane: the killing by the boers of the Great Trek, whose rationale was that inter-tribal wars had depopulated Natal.

3 Coinciding with the above Mfecane or Difaqane of the Bantu — including the Zulu — by the Boers and the British was a southward movement by the rapidly declining and desperate Portugal. The Portuguese settlers in Angola had revolted in favour of "White" self-rule in 1820, the year of Brazil's Independence movement and of similar stirrings in Mozambique. At the same time the Portuguese slave traffic (which was abolished only in 1836: slavery itself was abolished 20 years later but continued until 1880) increased rapidly after the abolition of the traffic in the British Empire in 1808. By 1830 the export of slaves was running at 25 000 a year. At the time of the rise of the Zulu kingdom of Dingiswayo and Tshaka the rate was of the same order. The Tsonga were involved in slave-raiding and the Malawi Yao in the traffic of ivory, then much in fashion with Europe's post-Revolutionary middle classes, after Napoleon's defeat. The Nguni of Natal had never permitted or tolerated slaving or slavery, nor had the Sotho, the Tswana, the Venda or the Xhosa tribes. The slave-trade was running to the ocean and across southern Africa north of the Limpopo at a rate that involved an annual genocide greater than the number of slaves transported (as the Goree Island archives, *inter alia*, show).

Here, then, was a crushing indeed, in comparison with which the Mfecane by the Boers and the British Liberals was, even by their own accounts, a mild affair. Yet this crushing of peoples by slave-running does not figure at all in the many "theories" for the Mfecane.

With tens of thousands of Nguni being murdered annually just north of the Natal Nguni chiefdoms and with the Xhosa to their south having just been crushed, was "nation-building" and/or the flight of refugees not an expected response? But the Liberal-manufactured accounts in their histories would have us believe that the Mfecane took place in a vacuum; that the sole agency for these events, the only actor on the stage, was the Zulu Tshaka, who chased the tribes into the wilderness. The boers, the British colonists and the Portuguese were innocent, disinterested, onlookers, playing no part at all.

The myth of the Mfecane or Difaqane was fabricated by the Boers and the British to disguise and justify their land-robbery and to whitewash their own genocidal Mfecane or Difaqane, their crushing and chasing out of the peoples whose land they wanted to grab.

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I
EARLY LAST MONTH THE WORLD Council of Churches held an assembly in Vancouver, Canada. The assembly was attended by 3 000 delegates and observers representing 301 Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican churches, a total human count of 400 million members spread through more than 100 nations. For those who think that bigger is better, this occasion and this mammoth and awesome concourse must have produced some mind boggling. The resolutions must have appeared correspondingly impressive to all those who yearn for the world to make social and political advances to equal its scientific and technological ones: advances that would extend plenty, freedom, justice and happiness to all the people of the world and unlock even further the potential of humanity.

For example, there was a statement intended for USA President Reagan, which:

1. deplored the policy of "constructive engagement" (i.e. continued dealings with South Africa), rechristening it "destructive engagement";
2. deplored the actions of the transnational corporations and the International Monetary Fund (the major mechanisms of western economic control and plunder of the Third World);
3. deplored the United States policy of supplying South Africa with arms via Israel;
4. deplored the United States military and economic actions supporting destabilization by South Africa of her neighbouring states;
5. deplored the United States' efforts to make the withdrawal of Cuban troops a pre-condition for the granting of Independence to Namibia;
6. deplored the United States rejection of or non-support for the sanctions proposed against South Africa.

All of this must have sounded very impressive indeed. Was it a sad anti-climax, then, when people learned that the biggest contributions towards the funds of the WCC came from America, West Germany, Britain, Canada and Sweden. If these nations are prepared to pay the piper, the tune would have to meet with their approval, surely?

A vital clue to the understanding of the role of this body in world affairs is obtained by observing the involvement of the churches in South Africa: High-powered funds application in pursuit of a policy of "engagement destructive" to the progress of the liberatory movement have characterised this involvement. The spawning of the Black

Consciousness movement of the seventies is an example of the liberal type brand of churches' politics aimed at collaring and derailing the progressive forces. (See the TLSA publication "Black Consciousness: a Reactionary Tendency".)

II
IT WAS NO SURPRISE, therefore, that Alan Boesak, fresh from his triumph of being elected President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was accorded the star billing at this assembly, too. Nor was his response undeserving of the recognition this body had granted him. After launching vociferous, blood-raising attacks upon the South African Government, he made the definitive statement that the church should stay with the masses when in despair they turned to violence; should seek to convince them that no solution could be obtained through violence; and, by staying with and supporting them "on the battlefield, should try to bring them to the bargaining table". (*Sunday Times* 31.7.83)

Bishop Tutu, also a WCC hero, chipped in with the call to the nations to be not anti-South Africa, but anti-injustice, and to "love and care for White South Africa". (*Argus* 11.8.83) Indeed, the message loud and clear is still "turn the other cheek", "love thy enemy" and "forgive them for they know not what they do". Meanwhile the masses can continue to sit hollow-eyed and wretched at the bargaining table of their plump, well-fed neo-colonial masters, bargaining away their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

III
THE ILL-STARRED BUSH COLLEGES created in 1961 in terms of the infamous 'Extension of University Education Act' have had more than two decades of anguish. During the week of August 23-27, the Council of Durban-Westville suspended the Student Representative Council (SRC) and locked the SRC offices to prevent the SRC from carrying on its work. The Council appointed an 'interim committee' to attend to student affairs. The SRC, formed only after the Black Consciousness movement had broken the boycott of SRCs, had apparently not framed a constitution that fitted in with the bush college's statute which the Broederbond had drawn up for it. The SRC had also run up enormous debts (some R30 000) in its efforts to function on its own, independently of the bush college council, which had refused to grant the SRC funds as long as its constitution did not get the approval of the Bush Council. Now the SRC faces a series of court actions over the debts it has incurred. The

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stranglehold which the Broederbond exercises over these colleges is well shown here. And it does this with the help of 'indian' members of the Council.

This development is only one of a whole series of show-downs at the bush colleges during the past few months. After the June 16 commemorations more than 300 students at Turfloop were expelled. When returning students boycotted lectures in sympathy with their expelled comrades the police were called in to drive them from the premises. Students at Medunsa Medical School in Garankuwa were sent down after a boycott of mid-year exams. The Technicon showpiece of Kwa-Zulu, the Mongosuthu Technicon (financed by the mining houses, and one of the most modern in Africa) was closed after a recent student boycott of lectures following the expulsion of students who had taken part in a commemoration service

Obituary

Mrs. Helena Dorothy Fife

On 13 August 1983, Mrs. Helena Dorothy Fife passed away at her home in Lotus River, Cape, after a long illness. She was eighty years old. The late Mrs. Fife, with her late husband, Mr. J. Fife, established the J. and H. Fife bursaries which the Teachers' League of S.A. administered. Mrs. Fife served the cause of education for very many years. Her family was associated with the establishment of Livingstone High School in Claremont in 1926. She herself served on its school committee through the years when the state strove to impose Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling upon the schools. She resigned in protest in 1963 when the schools were handed over to the CAD. She served with distinction in the Peninsula Council of Parent-Teacher Associations which was formed in the 1950s to fight the Eiselen-De Vos Malan plan.

In addition Mrs. Fife led the team of workers who acted as financial managers of the 'Torch' newspaper, mouthpiece of the Unity Movement. Through the efforts of her team the newspaper was able to preserve a full financial independence throughout its years of publication.

The Teachers' League of South Africa wishes to place on record its acknowledgement of the services of the late Mrs. Helena Fife to the cause of liberation, and to extend to her bereaved family its sincere condolences.

for those who fell at Sharpeville. All this has been followed by the school boycotts in Soweto, and in Lamontville in Natal. The breakdown in 'ethnic' schooling seems to be chronic, and worsening. Overseas, of course, the Department of Information continues the boast through its glossy propaganda magazines that of all African territories South Africa has the highest number of African students at school!

IV

JUST IN CASE THERE ARE SOME WHO also feel that the USA speaks only through Ronald Reagan, here are a few items mentioned to Congress and the foreign press by his Under-secretary of State for Political Affairs on June 23, 1983. He was speaking on the USA's policy of *Constructive Engagement* in Southern Africa.

1. 4 million dollars are to be spent training in the USA engineers, chemists, computer engineers and so on from among unfranchised students selected in South Africa. A squad of 400 is envisaged.

2. Through the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of International Labour Organisations (AFL-CIO), a known front of the CIA, 875 000 dollars will be spent in 1983-84 to train unfranchised labour leaders in South Africa.

3. NAFCOC — the National Association of African Chambers of Commerce, will get 3 million dollars in 1983-85 to develop small businesses.

4. Five million dollars will be funnelled through private SA institutions to pay for internal scholarships for unfranchised students in South Africa.

He who pays the piper is determined to call the tune. When Reagan talks, money speaks.

V

EARLIER THIS YEAR THE BAN WAS LIFTED from the head of Edward Daniels twenty years after he had begun to serve on Robben Island a sentence of 15 years, which expired in 1978, and a period of banning of five years, imposed immediately after his release. Now this would seem so much like the things we hear of every day in South Africa, but there is an aspect to it that must be mentioned again. Edward Daniels was charged along with several others for taking part in the operations of the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM) in the 1960's. He was not, it was shown, a central figure in the ARM. While some of his comrades were sentenced to two to five years' imprisonment, Daniels felt the full fury of the law. He got 15 years. He served the full time. Some of his comrades had their sentences lifted almost at once. They were allowed to leave the country. But Daniels was shown no mercy. He was the only unfranchised member of the ill-fated ARM movement. I thought

of this as the Press, Radio and Television services created national heroes out of those of the mercenaries who were imprisoned there for shooting up the Seychelles last year, but were recently pardoned by the Seychelles government. They high-jacked a plane. South African law demands stiff penalties, including death, in serious cases of high-jacking. They brought arms into the country. They left the country without police or customs permission. But the ones who were charged in South Africa got shorter sentences than a man who went to look for water for his donkey and his children on a farm in Beaufort West was threatened with. The law is an ass, they say. In this country it is both an ass and a vicious monster.

VI

THEY THOUGHT THAT THE RABID General Charles Sebe of the Ciskei Security Police was the worst trade-union baiter of them all. But he is in detention now in Ciskei as a result of the inevitable political intrigues that govern the handing over of homelands to the quislings to be run on behalf of the labour-hungry vampires in South Africa. Yet with him out of the field the bus boycott in Mdantsane still led to some of the most incredible police violence against the protesting travellers. Officials of the SA Allied Workers' Union, African Food and Canning, Transport and Allied Workers' Union, General Workers' Union and the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union were among the more than 80 people detained. The Wilson-Rowntree strike and subsequent boycott made the SAAWU the butt of the bosses' and the Sebes' wrath. Needless to say, virtually all the officials of NAAWU are in

jail. The Ciskei has become the copy-book case of what is intended with workers who dare to assert their right to form and operate trade unions in the 'homelands'. Even with Charles Sebe in jail there are enough trade union baiters around to do the dirty work of the ruling class.

VII

EVERYONE RECALLS THE DIRTY TRICKS organisation which the Nixon government in the USA ran to destroy the characters of its opponents and to sabotage the election campaigns of rivals. Well, the latter-day voortrekkers of Pretoria have learned from the latter-day cowboys (or crooks) of the USA. Despite the fact that the UDF has been organised by the liberals and the PFP and the moneyed agents of international imperialist agents in South Africa to prevent real change by hi-jacking the protests against the Botha-Koornhof plans, the Botha government did not like it all. During the week when the Cape Town Rally was due the Dirty Tricks department of the state sent out several notices in the name of organisations they sought to discredit at the same time (like SACOS). In these it was claimed that the rally had been cancelled and that people should stay at home. We have neither the room nor the desire to publish any of the political dirt included in these false notices. However, readers can take it for granted that the contents, like the purpose they served, reflected very emphatically the sordid morality that governs a ruling class when it has got its back to the wall. A snake has more to commend it. A rat would be shamed by the dirty tricks brigade. A skunk's defence would be sweet by comparison.

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