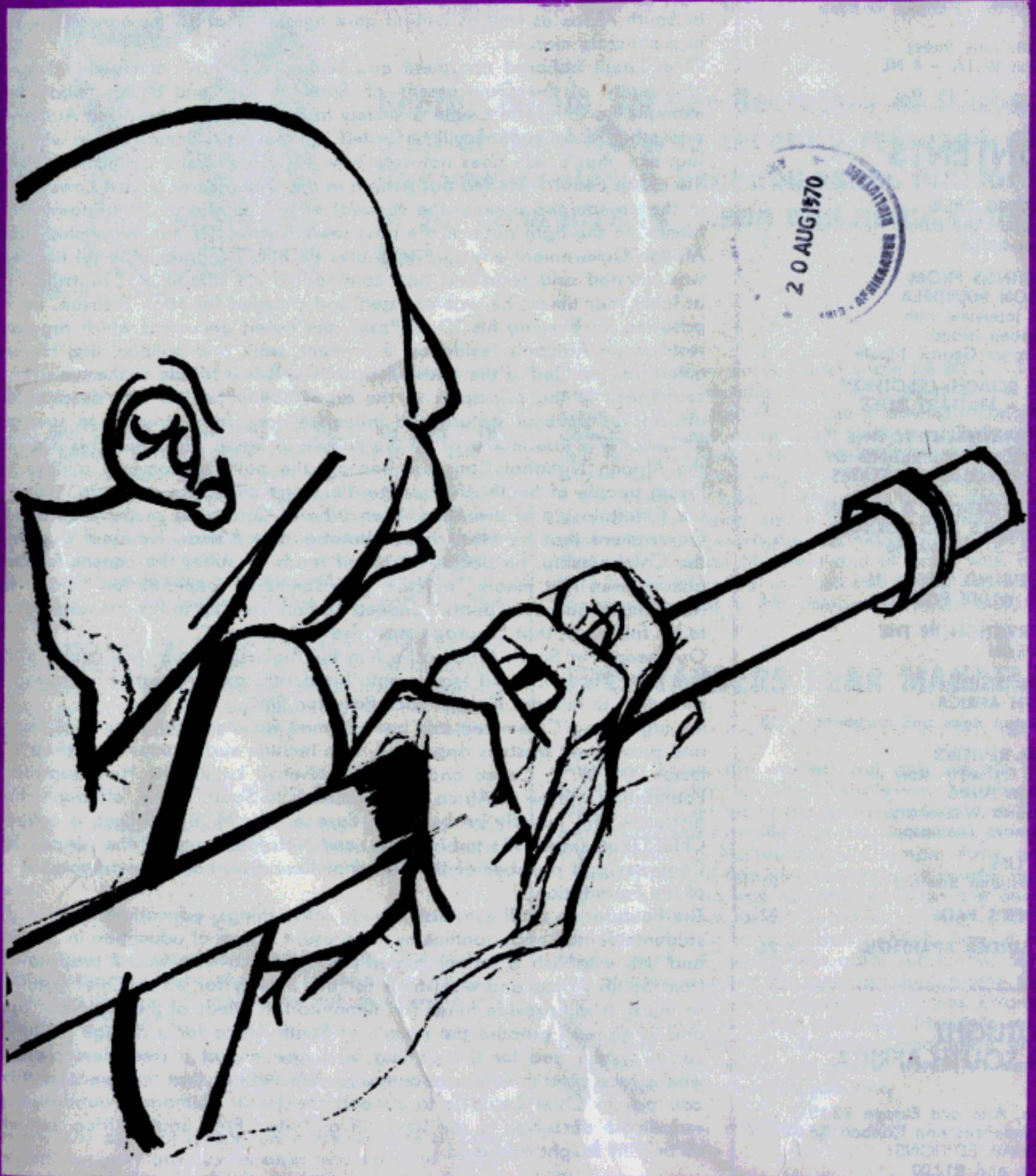


# SECHABABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



**Annual Subscription Rates**  
15/-Europe, Africa and Asia.  
3 dollars U.S.A. and Canada  
Includes postage

**Air Mail Copies**  
£2/0/0 Africa and Asia.  
6 dollars U.S.A. and  
Canada Includes postage  
Price per copy 1/-33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> % com-  
mission for 12 copies or more.

49 Rathbone Street  
London W 1A - 4 NL

## CONTENTS

### FIGHTING TALK

Support the Lutuli Memorial  
Foundation 2

### GREETINGS FROM NELSON MANDELA

An interview with  
Robben Island  
prisoner George Mbele 3

### FRED ROACH: LESOTHO'S PARA - MILITARY BOSS 6

### ANC STATEMENT TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED STATES 8

### SPORTS DEMOS- A LESSON IN MORALS AND POLITICS 10

by L. S. Mngqikana

### THERE'S NO "LEFT" IN S.A.'S WHITE POLITICS 13

### STARVATION IN THE TRANSKEI 17

### FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA 18

Current news and comment

### BOOK REVIEWS

The Oxford History of  
South Africa  
Monica Wilson and  
Leonard Thompson 20

### ONE LIFE

Christiann Barnard 21

### READER'S PAGE 22

### LIFE UNDER APARTHEID 24

## SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA

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

# Fighting Talk

## Lutuli Memorial Foundation

Plans are now well advanced for the launching of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation, on the 21st July, 1970 the third anniversary of the date when he met his tragic and untimely death.

The foundation is being established as a result of the initiative taken by us his colleagues in the African National Congress and the demand of our supporters in South Africa as well as certain governments, that his memory be perpetuated in a concrete manner.

Chief Lutuli abhorred apartheid and White "baaskap", the political creed and philosophy of the Government of South Africa, and by his leadership and example he fought to create a society in South Africa where the African people and other racial groups will be united in creating a democracy in which the colour of a man's skin does not determine his place in the political and economic life of the country. He led our people in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, in the campaigns against the removal of the people of Sophiatown from their homes, in the fight against the pass laws. Because of his leadership, the South African Government directed its attacks on him, continuously until his death. He was banned and restricted and confined to his village of Groutville in Natal, at least four times; he was arrested and charged for High Treason, he was imprisoned for burning his "Dom Pass", the hated document which regulates and restricts an African's residence, movement, work and political life. He was ridiculed and derided in the government press. It is a tribute to the man and to the soundness of the principles of the organisation he led that despite all these attacks, his political stature and influence grew from strength to strength, and he became a true leader of all the people of South Africa and his organisation, the African National Congress became the political home of all the freedom loving people of South Africa, regardless of their colour or origin. When he left the Chieftainship of the Amakholwa tribe of Groutville, at the insistence of the Government that he must choose between the African National Congress and the Chieftainship, he declared himself ready to suffer the consequences of his action, even if it meant "ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death". Indeed he had lived up to his constant exhortation to his followers, that "**courage must rise with danger**".

Our people in South Africa gave him the highest honour they could, and made him their President and leader until his death, and the world honoured him by awarding to him the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960.

An organising Committee has been formed for the Lutuli Memorial Foundation and provisional trustees appointed, who include such names as Bishop T. Huddleston, Dr. W. Z. Conco and Mrs Nokukhanya Lutuli. The Headquarters of the Foundation will be in Africa and ultimately in South Africa, although the administration will initially be based in Europe. Mr. M. B. Yengwa, a colleague of Chief Lutuli since 1951 to his death, and Natal Secretary of the African National Congress and member of the National Executive, has been appointed director of the Foundation.

The Foundation shall establish among other things, educational scholarships for students denied opportunities by the present system of education in South Africa, and will establish a school somewhere in Africa that would prepare students from South Africa and elsewhere for the Society for which Chief Lutuli worked so much. It will provide funds for humanitarian needs of the victims of apartheid and in general prepare the people of South Africa for a change in the present social system and for the coming of a new era of a free, democratic society where race discrimination is outlawed. We believe that the greatest tribute we can pay to Chief Lutuli is to support the Lutuli Memorial Foundation and to rededicate ourselves to the ideas of a United Free South Africa, for which he so bravely fought and died.

**Mayibuye i Afrika! ... Amandla Ngawethu!**  
**Maatla Ke Arona!**



George Mduduzi Mbele

**George Mduduzi Mbele, former political prisoner on Robben Island brings**

# GREETINGS FROM NELSON MANDELA

**George Mbele, former Secretary of Durban Region of the ANC was recently released after a five year sentence. Sechaba asked him for news of our comrades in prison and about conditions there.**

George you must be quite relieved to be out of the terrible tension you were under in South Africa.

Certainly, yes. I left S. A. on the 10th April this year, 1970 on an exit permit. It is true that I am happy to be out of those terrible conditions but at the same time I am sad to have to leave our country. It is not my wish to stay outside S. A. for a long time. I hope that in the near future I will be able to go back and continue the struggle. In the meantime I bring you good wishes and greetings from our leaders Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and practically all the leaders of the ANC and its allies who are in prison.

They are in very high spirits and they are very hopeful that the present oppression in S. A. will not last much longer. They are looking forward to the day which they see coming very soon when they will be liberated by the armed struggle which is presently being waged in Southern Africa.

You were in prison for a total of four years?

Yes. I was arrested to start with on the 10th May 1963 and put in solitary confinement for a period of six months. Then I was an awaiting trial prisoner for five months thereafter.

Was this under the 90 day law?

Yes. I was then sentenced on the 24th April 1964 to four years imprisonment. I was charged for being a member of the African National Congress as well as carrying out the activities of the ANC.

You were then sent down to Robben Island which now holds Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and many other life prisoners?

Yes. May I first say that practically every prisoner at Robben Island was very anxious to meet and see and speak to Mandela and the others. They were held in what is known as the Isolation department whereas the rest of the prisoners were in what is known as the open part of

the jail. In other words there would be 80 or 85 in a cell whereas Mandela and others were isolated in a cell. Now I was fortunate that I was able to meet Mandela and was able to exchange a few words with him. It came about like this. A criminal assaulted a political prisoner at the quarry where we were working. I was a witness to this assault. I was therefore taken to Isolation to be locked up as a form of intimidation and punishment so that I should not give evidence against the one being charged. It was there that I met Nelson Mandela and others. I was, of course, kept by myself in a single cell but during washing time in the morning and in the afternoon I would meet them.

## THE WARDERS FEAR MANDELA

Were you able to chat while the warden was not looking?

Well you know, the warders not only respect Mandela, but they actually fear him. The rule was that Mandela and his group would go to the washing place first. Then they were supposed to leave and the rest of us go in to wash after them. But Mandela would remain there and when I went in I would find him washing. The warden was standing there, but he was not able to chase him away so we were able to chat for a little while.

We were able to arrange that I should have a long discussion with "X" which was quite successful. Some work was also done inside the isolation department, the crushing of stones. On a particular day it was arranged that "X" should not go out to work with Mandela and others but should remain in the Isolation Department. We worked together for the whole day and as a result-I was able to have a lot of discussions with him.

What was your impression of their condition, physically and mentally?

The morale was very high. Generally the morale of political prisoners in all the prisons is very high. Men like Walter Sisulu are always jovial and always joking. I never

saw him without a smiling face at the Island and this was very encouraging in an old man like that. We felt ashamed that we should feel the pinch of prison in his presence.

## HIGH MORALE

To what do you ascribe this high morale?

I ascribe it to the fact that the members of the ANC were members of a disciplined organisation. They maintained this discipline even in jail. For instance when the warders assaulted any one of us the comrades would prevail upon him not to hit back so that there should be no excuse for further assaults. And whenever any one of us was called upon to do anything he would do it without any complaint. This doesn't mean that we were submissive in any way. We were not being submissive at all but we were using a method appropriate to the conditions in prison. We did not allow the warders to provoke us into retaliation which would lead to the imposition of serious penalties on the prison as a whole. Some warders, especially the younger ones, tried to provoke us and challenged us to hit back in order that they could shoot.

Do you think there was a real danger that they would shoot?

**Yes, certainly there was a danger.**

To kill?

**No doubt about that. They were keen to kill. And they were well armed.**

If they had shot anybody do you think this would have reached the attention of the public outside or could they have hushed it up?

I think they could have hushed it up.

Can you tell us about prison conditions?

Yes. On our arrival there were about 89 prisoners, all of us political prisoners and on our arrival we experienced a lot of hardship. We had been chained and manacled right from the Transvaal to the Island. When we got out of the boat the chains were not removed from our legs. We were then picked up like bags of mealies and thrown onto a lorry and then transported to a cell. When we got to the cell some warders were lined up with batons and they beat us up, driving us out of the cell to go and fetch food from the kitchen. It was just porridge, very hot, we were not given spoons to eat with, we used our hands and as we were eating we were told to hurry up. Some of the prisoners who were with me could not finish their meal and were then chased back to the cell. When we got to the cell we were chased out again, all the time they were beating us up, to go and wash in the showers, which we did under protest. There was no soap, nor were we given anything to dry ourselves with. This was already in the early evening and it was terribly cold. From the showers we were driven to the cells, counted and locked up. The blankets which they gave us were two each, very old and dilapidated, some of them infested with lice, dirty and actually stinking. And each of us got one mat to use for sleeping purposes. That was the first day that we arrived on the Island.

On the following day we had to go to the Reception Section. We did not receive a beating on that day. On the third day we were taken to go to work. We were very keen to go to work at the quarry because it was only at that time when we would be able to meet our friends.

## DIRTY CLOTHES, NO SHOES

Can you tell me something about the clothing that was given to you at Reception?

Oh, yes, it was terrible. The clothing we got was also dirty, just shorts and a shirt and a very light coat made out of

calico material, white, and you had to keep it clean. When they gave it to us it was very, very dirty.

Did you get shoes?

No. There were no shoes at that time on the Island. In fact practically all the prisoners at that stage, that is political prisoners, did not have shoes. Some did have sort of sandals and others could use old tyres to make their own sandals to protect their feet from the cold. It was only at a later stage, in 1965, that they introduced shoes.

And what was your impression of this prison? Was it a very formidable place, a maximum security prison?

Yes. This is a maximum security prison. Very many bars and very many gates, very strong and there were dogs around. The warders walk about with dogs and practically every warder was carrying an F. N. or a service revolver. There is a wire fence right around the prison. The prison walls are very thick. High, very high. The windows are also very high. Each window has some iron bars about four or five to each window. When you are in the cell you cannot see anything on the outside. In any case you can't look through the window. If you do that you are charged or assaulted.

How big are the cells?

When we came there there were still the zinc cells. They were quite big, they could take 70 to 75 prisoners each, but the new cement cells were being constructed and about five months after my arrival we were all shifted to the new cells.

What were the toilet facilities?

The toilet was right in the middle of the cell and if you consider that we had to have our meals, especially at weekends and supper, inside the cell, this was very unhygienic. It was a flush toilet so that at night if you were fast asleep, especially if you were unfortunate enough to sleep next to the toilet, a man would pull the chain and you would wake up. There were quite many in the cell so you were constantly woken up by this chain pulling.

Was there any privacy at all?

No. No privacy at all. Absolutely none.

And the lighting?

The windows did not supply enough light but they had a faint electric light on throughout the night. I mention this because at a later stage when prisoners were allowed to have studies they found it very difficult to study because of the light.

## NO BOOKS FOR A LONG TIME

At the beginning you had no books to read?

No. No. For a long time. In fact I remember in 1965, 75 of us were charged with having ball pens and some pieces of paper. Reading and writing was totally forbidden unless you had obtained permission from the prison authorities to write a letter home.

So for a long time you had no books. When you finally got your books were you expected to study in a room with 75 other people?

No. The position was this. They introduced library facilities in 1965 and we had books during the weekend to read and keep for the whole week but apart from that some of the prisoners who had sufficient money were allowed to study and a cell was set aside for this purpose. To start with there were not many prisoners who could afford to study.

Can you tell us something about the health facilities in the prison?

They were very bad. The attitude at Robben Island was that if you were ill you were not given the medicine you required. I remember I used to have stomach trouble and every morning I would go and queue up at the hospital premises for medicine. The warders would give practically all the prisoners the same medicine. For instance even those who were suffering from earache or toothache might get Epson Salts, and they treated this thing as a joke. I remember one old man, Madjede, who came from Port Elizabeth, who was very old, in the late 60's. I was with him in the same cell. He was my friend and we all respected him very much. He got ill on a Friday with flu. Now this old man could not get any help from the hospital. He was chased away when he reported at the hospital until he became delirious. We woke up to find him walking up and down the cell and mumbling to himself and singing ANC songs and shouting ANC slogans. He was completely naked. This took us aback. We could not do anything but bang on the door for the warder to open the door and take him to hospital. The warders refused.

Did you not have night bells in your cell?

No there were no bells. If you wanted the warder you had to bang on the door. The warder came and said he could not do anything because he did not have the keys with him so we had to wait until Monday morning. I then approached the Chief Warder on behalf of this old man and reported his illness. The Chief Warder allowed me to carry him to the hospital. On the following Tuesday, when we came from the quarry we heard that this old man had passed away.

Are there many such incidents on Robben Island and in other prisons in S. A.?

Yes, in all the prisons.

You knew Caleb Mayekiso very well. Can you suggest how he died?

I have no doubt that Caleb was assaulted and killed by the police in detention.

## DOCTORS BEHAVE LIKE WARDERS

What about the doctors? What sort of attitude did they adopt?

The doctors in prisons generally behave as the warders do. At times you wonder if they are at all qualified.

Did you get a thorough examination when you entered prison?

No. It was not thorough. I can illustrate this. When I went to a local prison soon after my sentence we were given very old and dirty clothing. Two weeks after my stay I found that I had V. D. which I obviously got from the old filthy trousers which I was using. I had already been in prison awaiting trial for a long time. I reported this to the prison doctor who said that nothing was the matter. It was only after a very serious protest by me and my colleagues that he prescribed some injections for me.

According to the S. A. prison regulations every prisoner is supposed to get half an hour exercise in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon in an open yard. What was your experience?

My experience was that the prison authorities do not abide by it. At first we stayed in the cell without exercise for a month, and when I was at Robben Island in solitary confinement I would get exercise only when a warder was available which was not every day and even then it was never fully 30 minutes.



Were armed warders present at exercise time?

Yes. And they were very nervous. We had to walk in single file round and round.

What is your impression of the calibre of the S. A. warder?

The white warder behaves in the same way as the S. A. policeman. He considers himself to be part and parcel of the state machinery and he regards any political prisoner as his enemy. He feels personally involved.

Did you feel that they were trying to take their revenge on you for what you did outside?

Certainly, yes. They referred to us by all sorts of names, calling us Communists, and murderers and you felt that whereas you had been sentenced by a Court of Law to a certain number of years imprisonment, the prison warders were taking it upon themselves to give you further punishment for your political associations and activities. The warders assault you, insult you and do all sorts of horrible things to you. The white warder uses his opportunity to the utmost and he brings home to you the real extent of white supremacy in S. A. They would insist that we should call them "baas" but of course we refused. We never did that, and if we addressed them as Mister or Meneer they would say we were insulting them. I must say that we were able to fight this quite successfully. And again some of them objected if you spoke English to them, most were Afrikaaners.

Contd. on Page 6



# FRED ROACH

What looks uncomfortably like an incipient civil war seems to be building up in Lesotho. Although news is sparse as a result of the illegal government's recent clamp-down on newspaper correspondents, and also because communications with and within Lesotho are extremely difficult. But enough news has trickled through to show that Chief Jonathan is no longer in firm control of the country and that there is constant violence in the country. So disturbed has the situation become that border officials are warning South African visitors against venturing beyond Maseru. All this is distressing, but hardly unexpected. It is the direct consequence of Chief Jonathan's action four months ago in usurping power when he was clearly losing the election. By that act Chief Jonathan abandoned democracy and set himself up as an autocrat holding power not by the consent of the people, but by the brutal repression of the para-mili-

tary Police Mobile Unit led by the notorious Mr Fred Roach, which still props up his tottering regime. Mr Roach, English-born, is the "strong man" of Lesotho, who has been in charge of his tough peace keeping force for nearly three years and in that time has built it into a brutal death-dealing machine. It has become so powerful since the State of Emergency was declared that it almost rules Lesotho. The 6 ft. 3 ins. policeman, who has battled with so-called "terrorists" in Malaya and Tanganyika for over 15 years, has arrogated unto himself the unenviable role of King Maker in Lesotho.

## ROACH MEDDLES IN POLITICS

In defiance of world public opinion and censure, Roach meddles in the politics of Lesotho, a course extremely dastardly in a civil servant, especially in so sensitive and responsible a posi-

Contd. from Page 6

Many of these warders come from the backveld?

This is where they get their schooling and when they get to prison they find they have a golden opportunity for asserting their authority over us, that is why they are so brutal. They feel that the politicals are challenging white supremacy and that they should do all that they can to destroy you, not only politically but even physically.

Did you find that the educated warders were better than the others?

Yes, the educated warders hold higher positions and don't come into contact with you very frequently. But they are not many, and whereas they would not assault you physically they were more nasty in their attitudes. I remember at Robben Island, the chief warder, Theron, who was always inciting the younger less educated warders to assault us.

Do you think that they felt challenged by you since you were a man with a degree yourself?

Yes, certainly, you find that the warders, once they know you are educated would hate you just for that even to the extent that a prisoner who wore spectacles would be assaulted and told to throw them away. If you wore spectacles you were pretending to be a gentleman.

## A HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

In all your four years did any of these white warders relent and treat you as a human being?

Yes, I can quote an exceptional instance of one warder I worked under. I had to work with him in an office and we got used to each other. When this warder was about to be transferred to another prison he called me and expressed regret that we were parting. He informed me that for the first time in his life he had learned to know an African. He confessed that in his upbringing on a farm, he had regarded an African as an underdog who would not rise to any level in life. What moved me was that this man literally cried tears. He told me that he would not stay for more than two years in the prison department and would go back to work in his father's shop. It seems to me that not all these warders who put on this air of authority and superiority, with the big overcoats and batons and guns, not all of them are convinced that the political system in this country is the correct one. It seems to me that some of them are terribly ignorant, they are there just to earn their wages. At the same time they seem to sense that this system is not going to last forever and, man to man, it is possible to convince some of them that the Nationalist Government is on the wrong path and is misleading them.

Finally, George, were you working after leaving prison?

No. I was not employed. After I left goal on the 23rd of April 1968 I was banned for two years. I was confined to the Location of Lamontville, where I had a house. I could not obtain employment. The employers have a hostile attitude to people who have been to jail for political reasons, and the Special Branch intimidate any prospective employer who might employ you.

THANK YOU. WELCOME TO THE EXTERNAL FORCES OF THE ANC.

# Lesotho's Para-Military Boss

tion. In an interview with a Johannesburg Sunday paper he is alleged to have said: "I believe in Chief Jonathan because I think he is right for Lesotho. I don't think a Westminster type of government works in Africa." Thus, instead of going about the normal, everyday duties of a policeman, Mr Roach has aligned himself with an illegal regime — recognised by no country except Fascist South Africa. With his para-military Force he has ridden rough-shod over the inalienable right of the people of Lesotho: the choice of their own government. In typical reactionary colonial mentality, he knows what is best for them.

As to what form of government would suit Africa, he does not enlighten us with his wisdom. He further claimed that the Opposition, the Basutoland Congress Party, had connections with communist countries. In this allegation, as in all the others, he does not specify which communist countries, and indeed, does not deem it fit to take recourse to the normal processes of law to prosecute them if by having fraternal relations with countries with a different politico-economic system, they had contravened the laws of the country. Roach's role in Lesotho and the fact that he receives an allowance of more than £100 a year from the Ministry of Overseas Development, has come under attack in Britain, particularly since she does not recognise Chief Jonathan's government. But there is no sign that Roach is unduly worried. Over the months he has overshadowed the Commissioner of Police, who has gone on leave. In his absence, Roach commands both the Mobile Unit and is Acting Commissioner. Aided and abetted by the Vorster regime, using Cessna planes for sudden swoops into the mountains and with the aid of a 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. curfew on the roads, Roach's police are keeping their grip on the country.

## VIOLENT CLASHES

But the people have begun to fight back against this puppet government foisted upon them. A clear manifestation of the Peoples' wrath is the series of confrontations with the government in widely-scattered areas such as, Letsieng-la-Terai, Butha-buthe, Leribe and

Kau. In the once-populous village of Kau violent clashes have occurred in which several police stations have been attacked, arms secured and many policemen killed. Air strikes — using hand grenades and bombs — have killed hundreds of villagers. In a violent gun battle with the police at Moruthoane, about 10 miles from the capital Maseru, Mr Lebenya Chakela, Chairman of the Communist Party Youth League and Mr Nkahle Maretlane, a deputy, were killed. Many villages have been razed to the ground; University lecturers and students threatened; suspect Policeman and civil servants sacked, detainees assaulted beyond recognition. Perhaps there has not been a more serious indictment against the brutality of Roach's uniformed thugs than a letter of March 17, written by a lady teacher, wife of a Privy Councillor, to the Police Commissioner. After citing the names of people brutally assaulted she states: "Some sadist has obviously taken it upon himself to inflict . . . inhuman punishment on detainees . . . to gauge the extent of these Gestapo atrocities, you have to see Mr Mohau, Head Teacher of Lefikeng PEMS School, Sebapala, Quthing, who spent a week in agony, horribly disfigured,

in the Quthing Hospital. I am not the only Mosotho who is distressed by this appalling lawlessness, nor do I believe that, nurtured as you are in British tradition, you would lend your name to bestiality so revolting in its sordidness. We have always looked on the Police as guardians of law and order. Once again, therefore, I appeal to you, in the name of God, let there be an end to this senseless national suicide and a speedy return to the rule of Christian law and order."

The short-term outlook for Lesotho is bleak; more violence, more police brutality, more authoritarianism and an accompanying run-down of the tiny economy.

For South Africa, the bastion and financier of all reactionary regimes, this is disturbing. Lesotho has always been equated to the Bantustan fraud, now what if the people in the Transkei were to rise up against the puppet Matanzima? These events certainly have serious implications for the outdated and neo-Nazi policy of Apartheid. To cheat the people out of their democratic rights is to court serious trouble. Whether or not Roach's Mobile Unit will be sufficient to keep Chief Jonathan in power remains to be seen.



# ANC Statement to the Preparatory

## OUR COMMON PRINCIPLES

Your Excellencies, the purpose of this brief statement is to draw attention to the flagrant violation by the White minority South African regime of those fundamental principles to which all member states here are committed. The right to self-determination and National Independence; the Equality of all peoples, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The defence of all persons, groups and nations from oppression and exploitation. The raising of the standard of living and culture of all, without discrimination. The promotion of international cooperation and world peace.

The stubborn persistence of the White minority regime in pursuing its racist and fascist policies is certainly no accident. It is a carefully planned and systematically prosecuted criminal conspiracy, to consolidate and extend their ideology of racialism and fascism whose basic economic objective is the ruthless exploitation of the African people, whose military and political aim is the defence of imperialism, fascism and the subversion of national independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

**The South African White minority regime has over the past few years matured to become a full-fledged member of the imperialist conspiracy both financially and militarily. The South African racists' allies, the imperialist powers, Britain, the U. S., France, Portugal, West Germany, Japan and others have been building the White regime into a dangerous, aggressive and expansionist state.**

It is this imperialist conspiracy which today is guilty of the crimes and atrocities against the people of South Africa, Southern Africa, Africa, Asia, and Latin America for which Hitler Nazi bandits were arraigned and convicted by the world at the Nuremberg trials.

Just as in the case of Hitler's Nazi Germany this criminal conspiracy is aimed at regaining lost colonial territories and countries, the plunder and exploitation of the peoples and the resources of their country, and the perpetuation of a system of amassing fabulous profits for industrial and armaments monopolies. It is a desperate plot for the imperialist second Reich in an era when socialist and national revolutions have made empires shrink.

South Africa clearly demonstrates the wolfish nature of this conspiracy. The natural wealth of South Africa is to say the least, fabulous. It is the source of 75% of the gold in the capitalist world. Minerals like copper, iron ore, coal, manganese, diamonds, chromium, nickel, thorium, vanadium, uranium and numerous others are mined there. It is a treasure chest for foreign capital and investment.

Foreign investment is estimated at £3,000 million of which Britain accounts for about 60% and U. S. 13%. Through the ruthless exploitation of African labour the rates of profits in South Africa are higher than anywhere else in the world. The British monopolies are guaranteed 12.5% as against 8.5% in the rest of the world; the U. S., 20.6% as against 8.5% in the rest of the world. Japan, West Germany and other western countries have made South Africa the hunting ground for super-profits.

South African companies like the Anglo-American Company under Harry Oppenheimer and many others have all got interlocking interests and directorships with British and U. S. companies. Economically therefore, the South African racists who cling to Apartheid are an integral and key part

of the sinister plot of exploitation by the imperialists on an international scale. **The merger of White S. A. capital with international finance has been a specific feature of S. A. penetration in the economies in many countries in Africa and elsewhere.**

There is no other country in the world in which the imperialists have been prepared to relegate their differences to the background and unite their efforts economically, technically and militarily as they have done in South Africa.

The beneficiaries of Nazi Germany and the paymasters of Hitler were I. G. Farbern, Siemens, Krupp, Deutsche Bank and others. It is hardly surprising that these companies have joined their South African, British, French and U. S. counterparts in supporting the colonialist and racist regimes of Southern Africa. The Cabora Bassa project exposes once more the dangerous alliance of South African and International finance in the consolidation of the bulwark of reaction in Southern Africa.

Financially, South Africa is the spearhead in Africa for imperialist capital penetration and the subversion of the achievement of genuine national and economic independence in Africa, Latin America and South-east Asia.

## EXPANSIONIST POLICIES

The aggressive, offensive and expansionist policies of the South African racist Government have been expressed in different ways at different times by spokesmen of the Racist Government itself. Sometimes these were blatant threats of armed aggression against Zambia and Tanzania. At other times they were couched in terms of extending the "hand of friendship" to independent African states.

Spokesmen for the racist regime have stated over and over again that they were an integral part of the Western System and boasted that the western imperialist powers were dependent on the racist state for the defence of the western way of life in Africa. Vorster's Government even claims that it has the same role to play in Africa as the U. S. has in the world - the policeman against 'communism'. Vorster arrogantly claims the right of the South African Government to intervene in the Affairs of African States, as the U. S. has done in so many instances in the world and brutally in Vietnam now.

The watchdog for the imperialists in Southern Africa against the achievement and consolidation of National Independence in Southern Africa is the racist minority regime of South Africa, and her allies Smith and Caetano. The White minority regime does not act merely as an agent but also as a partner.

Recently the racists' spokesmen have made this abundantly clear. In October 1969 the Minister of Defence, P. Botha stated that whatever the situation might be with other western countries, South Africa was already involved in in a Third World War, militarily, economically and diplomatically. On the 25th October, **Hilgard Muller stated in Britain that S. A. is no longer on the defensive, her priority was Africa.** He also deplored Britain's compliance with the arms embargo.

The 'hand of friendship' which Vorster constantly extends to African Independent States is an octopus tentacle for the domination of Africa, politically and economically by South



# Meeting of the Non-Aligned States

African and imperialist powers. The 'outward or northward policy' is a neocolonialist device to expand and spread the ideological and financial interests of South African and international finance, to subvert political and economic independence and support for the national liberation struggle.

Militarily too, South Africa is part of the aggressive imperialist bloc. It is an important detachment in the imperialist global military strategy. The role of imperialist powers in giving massive allround assistance in building that monstrous fascist army in South Africa is systematic and deliberate.

When the army was reorganised in 1969/61, the then Minister of Defence Erasmus, justified the arms build-up as 'a measure to ward off a threat from loudmouthed Afro/Asians in the North'.

The purpose of the reorganisation of the South African armed forces, and the swelling of the military machine was in fact firstly, to suppress the national liberation movement not only in South Africa but in the whole of Southern Africa. Secondly, to threaten African independent states and where necessary in pursuance of expansionist policies to invade them, and finally to give support to the imperialists in the event of a global war.

The imperialists gave and still give assistance for the building of the armed forces of S. A. to fulfil the above aims. France openly defies the U. N. embargo on arms and is today the biggest single supplier of arms to S. A. The U. S. despite its avowed claim that it is abiding by the arms embargo, last year sold 10 million dollars worth of arms to S. A.

South Africa does not merely confine her military role to Africa. With the closure of the Suez, the withdrawal of Britain from the far east, the imperialists and the S. A. fascists

President Nyerere at Conference



regard the S. A. military force as the most important alternative in filling the vacuum in the Southern Hemisphere. Hence the continued overt and clandestine military support. The proposals to find a place for the fascists in NATO and the plans for a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation in which the racists will play a major role are part of the sinister plot against the national liberation struggle and National Independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Apartheid has been extended and entrenched in Rhodesia by Smith with the full support of South Africa and the imperialist powers. Both Britain and the U. S. have systematically sabotaged all effective international action.

South African fascists and their imperialist allies have set themselves the task to suppress the national liberation movement and to subvert national independence. The struggle for national liberation and the consolidation of national independence are inextricably interlinked and bound together, because the greatest enemies of national freedom, the oppressors and exploiters allied internationally, remain the greatest enemies of national independence throughout the world.

## FIERCE ARMED CONFRONTATION

The achievement of national independence and the consolidation of independence are themselves a great contribution to the whole anti-imperialist struggle. This has been clearly demonstrated by the change in the balance of forces in the international forums and particularly the massive onslaught on racialism and colonialism in the U. N. and its agencies, the O. A. U. and other international and continental agencies. This is a great achievement. The joint strength of the progressive movements and states has a great potential.

Imperialists have through their armed repression in Southern Africa compelled the oppressed and exploited peoples to meet this repression with armed revolt.

The whole area has become the theatre of what will be one of the most fierce armed confrontations between the racialists, and fascists on the one hand, and the peoples forces on the other. In this struggle the imperialists involvement on the side of reaction is complete and irrevocable. The involvement of the democratic and progressive forces on the side of the armed national liberation struggle should be equally complete.

The struggle conducted by M. P. L. A. in Angola, Frelimo in Mozambique, the ANC/ZAPU Alliance against Smith and Vorster and the peoples organisation of South West Africa is being waged against powerful international bandits and for the cause of humanity, justice and world peace.

Our peoples draw inspiration from the historic armed struggle of the Algerian People, the Cuban People, the Heroic Vietnamese Peoples and all the struggles of the oppressed and exploited against tyranny.

Your Excellencies, the armed struggle in South Africa will be protracted and costly in terms of human life. This is not the choice of the people. However protracted it might be, whatever the cost may be its victory is assured. We are confident that this meeting will draw the attention of the Summit Meeting to the urgency and gravity of the armed struggle in South Africa, and the need to give it massive and all-round assistance.

Mr. Hassan Howa, president of the South African Cricket Board of Control (S. A. C. B. C.), the non-white body said: "We don't want multi-racial cricket, we want non-racial cricket with teams picked on merit alone, it might well be that a Springbok team picked on this basis would still be all-white, or even all non-white. What we don't want is a method of selection which requires the inclusion in the national team of four whites, four Coloured, two Africans and an Indian."

London Times 21/5/70

What seems to be bothering British sports administrators and players is the effect of isolation on the White South African sportsmen. These "innocent" sportsmen are portrayed as the victims of the political machinations of opponents of continuing sporting relations with racist South Africa. The moral issues are thrown overboard, and support is given to Whites-only South African teams at a time when South Africa is increasingly feeling the pinch of international isolation. The maintenance of these links has served to provide South Africa with the sympathy and the recognition she so desperately yearns for. Nothing or very little is said or mentioned about South African non-White sportsmen, and the views they hold and the ideals they aspire to are ignored. The theories of "bridge-building" and "no politics in sport" which have been advanced have deliberately ignored the views of the non-White sportsmen. It is through the 'conscientious demonstrators' (whether long-haired or not) that the non-White sportsmen have found expression.

Those who have sought to retain links with racist South Africa are not abreast with the times. They seem not to realise that the changes that are taking place throughout the world, and in their own countries as well, require different responses from the traditional ones. No longer is the definition of human relationships a preserve of certain countries or races. The old colonial mentality and the Imperial mania which dictated relationships among peoples is not appropriate in the present world. The race issue, be it in the political or sporting

# SPORTS DEMOS - A LESSON IN MORALS AND POLITICS

by L. S. Mngqikana



fields, has cut across boundaries and is no longer an "internal problem". The insult that racialism has inflicted on the non-White peoples has provoked the appropriate response of anti-racialism. The defenders of continued sporting links in Britain seem not to understand why there is a strong feeling, against the retention of sporting ties with South Africa.

### It's the principle that counts

The fundamental objection of this movement to such links is that South Africa practises racial discrimination in sport. The motive force behind the threatened boycotts and demonstrations is adherence to values which are held to be inalienable — human dignity and equality. These values are also upheld by the South African non-White sportsmen. They are not just clamouring for inclusion into Springbok teams or for offers to tour or play against overseas non-White teams, but for the principle that **apartheid in sport be ended totally**. The aspirations of the non-White sportsmen are evidenced in the following statement made by Mr. L.S. Casojee, one time official of the Border Soccer Union (non-White): **"Charity begins at home. When I, a South African of copper colour, can participate with South Africans in local, provincial and national championships at home without stigma, I have something to be happy about"**.

The stand of the non-Whites is unequivocally expressed by Mr. Hassan Howa, president of the South African Cricket Board of Control (non-White).

**"The acceptance of anything other than an absolutely equal opportunity for our players to aspire to international cricket would be a betrayal"**.

The non-White sports bodies have rejected the manoeuvres of the White bodies to make them accept apartheid patterns inside the country. For example, the South African Cricket Board (White) has offered the South African Cricket Board of Control some money, presumably to appear generous to the non-White cricket body. Mr. Howa has retorted to this bribe by saying: **"We do not want funds. We want opportunity to send non-White cricketers, if good enough, overseas with Springbok teams"**.

He added:

**"We want our players to have the opportunity to play for South Africa as Springboks. We don't want an alternative like a trust fund of R50,000. The Springbok team to tour overseas should be open to all players in South Africa regardless of race"**.

The paramount reason for agitation against South African sports policies is abhorrence of racism. This anti-apartheid movement seeks to prevent or circumvent connivance at promoting and giving comfort to racism. The threatened Afro-Asian-Caribbean boycott of the Commonwealth Games strengthened the call to intensify the fight against racialism in sport. Those countries still sympathetic to racist South Africa have been adequately warned that they cannot, henceforth, overlook the deep international

# If you could see their national sport, you might be less keen to see their cricket.



Poster by Anti-Apartheid Movement

moral opposition to racist tours in future. What is being demanded is the abandonment of the obnoxious policy of apartheid, else South Africa should bear the consequences of her policies — isolation from world sport.

Some people have raised the question of the competence or otherwise of non-White sportsmen — an argument advanced to further entrench relationships with the South African racialists. The crux of the matter is not the competence or incompetence of the non-White South African sportsmen, but whether South African sport is run on an equitable basis, and whether equal opportunity is afforded to everyone irrespective of race or colour.

### Politics wins out

A close look at South Africa's sports policy shows a close inter-relation between that policy and the government policy of apartheid, and talk of "no politics in sport" is self-deception or naked hypocrisy. The "bridge-building" argument inevitably implies political judgements. The flab-

bergasting contention that politics has nothing to do with sport is like saying that sport has nothing to do with life. To suggest that sport and politics are unrelated is tantamount to saying that sport is more important than life itself. Was the decision to bar Arthur Ashe from participating in the tennis championships in South Africa in the interest of sport, or was it politically inspired? Is the decision to debar non-Whites from White sports grounds in the interest of promoting sport? Is not the decision by the South African government to stop all sporting fixtures between White and non-White South Africans in the neighbouring countries, like Lesotho, a politically motivated act? All these measures were and are primarily motivated by political considerations. In any case **apartheid is a political ideology!**

The demonstrations, threatened boycotts, the expulsion of South Africa from some international sporting bodies etc. have had a tremendous impact on South Africans, both White and black, though the responses of the different racial groups vary. These manifestations have constituted a moral boost for the non-Whites. They feel less

isolated in their struggle to effect change in the oppressive White structure. The impact of these manifestations of anti-racism on the Whites has resulted in desperate measures, especially by the sports administrators, to offset or alleviate the pressures that have been brought to bear on their sports policies — trust funds to non-White cricket bodies have been set up, statements have been made to the effect that they will play against non-Whites etc. There is no better illustration of the sense of frustration experienced by the Whites than the testimony of Mr. Braun president of the South African Olympic and National Games) before the International Olympic Committee:

**"EXPULSION FROM THE OLYMPICS HAS DEPRIVED US OF EVERY REASON OF OUR EXISTENCE. DESPAIR, FRUSTRATION AND DISILLUSIONMENT HAVE BEEN DEEPLY FELT AT ALL LEVELS OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AMONG ALL SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION. THE STIGMA OF BEING LOOKED UPON AS AN OUTCAST HAS BEEN NO EASY CROSS TO BEAR".**

The above statement might be true insofar as it affects the Whites. As for the non-Whites, they have long been denigrated as outcasts by that same society that now feels itself "unfairly" treated.

### Focus on the collaborators

The demonstrations and the threatened boycotts have correctly focussed their attention on the collaborators who have willingly been prepared to engage in

sporting relations with the racials. They have accepted the challenge of Mr. Waring, South Africa's Minister of Sport, which ran thus: "The world of sport must either take apartheid or leave it", by rejecting Mr. Waring's terms. The MCC and other bodies on the other hand chose the dirty path of accepting apartheid.

Whilst there is every reason to rejoice at the growth of the anti-racist movement that has exposed the true racist nature of sporting links with South Africa, we should be vigilant of the tactics that have been introduced both by South Africa and her external friends. An example is the Rugby Football Union (England) strategy of inviting the South African non-White Rugby Boards to its centenary celebrations. Its purpose is to create the image that they are concerned with non-White sportsmen. Such overtures should be exposed for what they are. It is clear that the R.F.U. has found itself under stress and wishes to extricate itself by posing as a body that has the interests of the non-White sportsmen at heart. It is posing as a non-partisan party. Why then, did it see fit to invite the non-White boards to its celebrations? The only conclusion that one can draw is that the R. F. U. is trying to deceive people into believing that it is doing something for the non-Whites. It is evident that it has witnessed and reacted to the growing volume of opinion which demands the termination of sporting links with South Africa. Some scheme to take the heat off the objectors to British collaboration had to be formulated — hence the invitation to the non-White boards to the centenary celebrations. Such an invitation, of course, implicitly accepts the apartheid policies of racial

separation in sport. It is an empty gesture. **We admire the activities of the anti-racial forces in Britain and abroad and we urge that pressure be increased and vigilance intensified.**

### Jamaicans in Britain against Apartheid

The Association of Jamaicans (UK) representing some 300,000 Jamaicans living in Britain and among whom are to be found some of the best sportsmen in that country recently organised a campaign to mobilize Jamaicans against apartheid. At a press conference in London officials of the organisation stated that it was their duty to identify themselves with Black people in South Africa and they hoped that by so doing they would strike a blow at apartheid.

They proposed to arouse the Jamaican community to protest in every way possible against white South African sports teams who must be seen as representatives of an oppressive regime and not as "nice chaps" not responsible for apartheid. "Perhaps Hitler never killed a single Jew with his own hands" they said. "Yet the roasting of six million Jews was done for him by "nice, innocent, and perhaps sporting chaps!"

The Association has resolved to act in concert with the principal organisers of the anti-apartheid campaign in Britain and they have the support of the Jamaican High Commission in London.

A spokesman said, "We want to identify ourselves with those who reject apartheid. If South African teams are allowed to come here then we must expect that future selection in Britain will be on the basis of colour and our people will be excluded." Describing apartheid as a contagious disease, the Association called for a decisive slap in the face for its supporters.

### Scoreboard

#### South Africa's isolation from world sport:

##### EXPULSIONS

- Olympic Games
- Davis Cup
- World modern Pentathlon Championships
- World Gymnastics Championships, 1970
- International Table Tennis
- International Weightlifting
- International Boxing

##### SUSPENSIONS

- Basketball
- Soccer
- Fencing

##### AFFILIATION REFUSED

- Volleyball
- Judo

##### EXPULSIONS PENDING

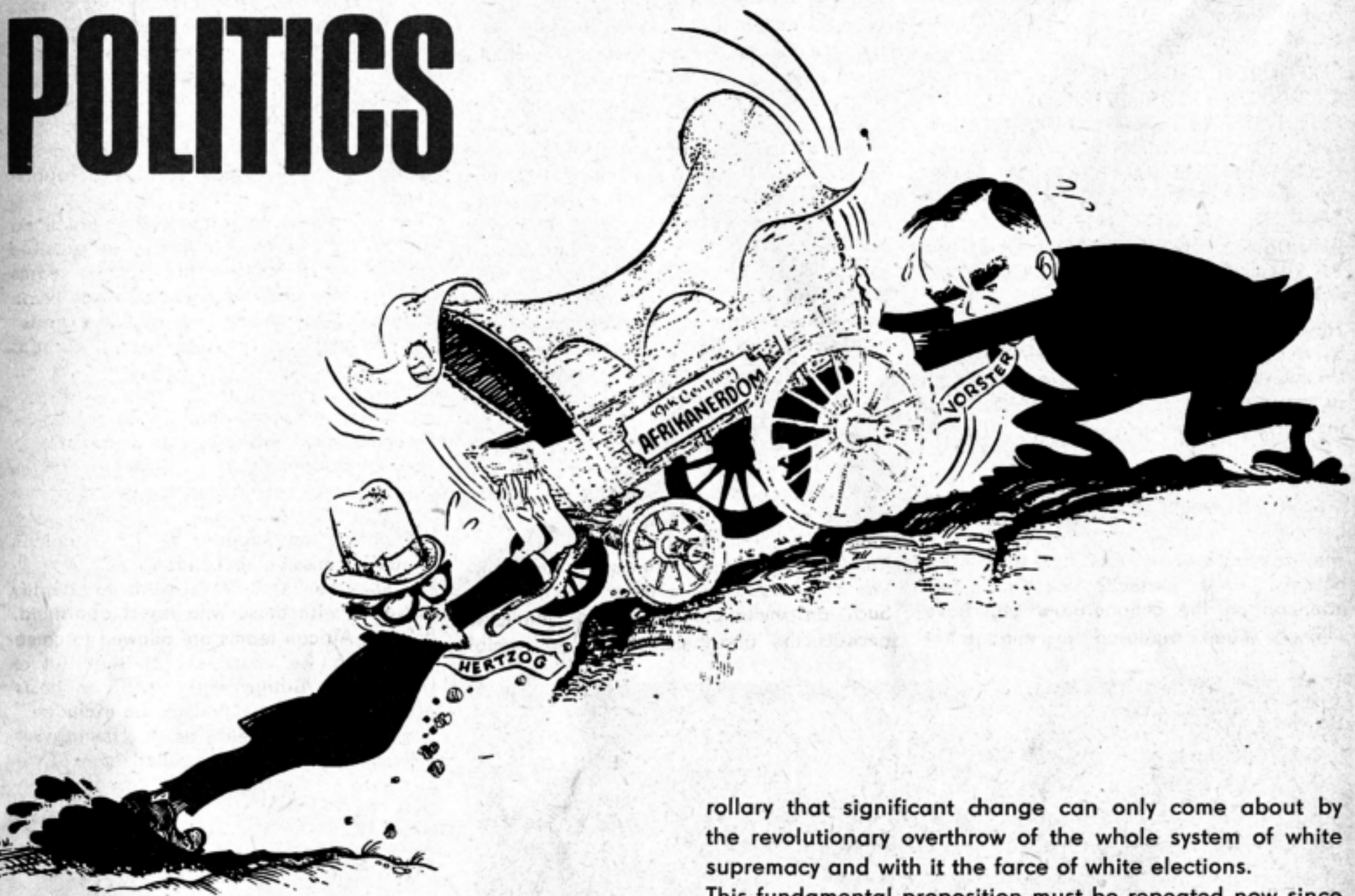
- International Lawn Tennis Federation

##### AWAITING ATTENTION

- Swimming
- Athletics



# THERE IS NO 'LEFT' IN S.A.'S WHITE POLITICS



The South African elections revealed a falling off in support for the ruling Nationalist Party. This article argues that this is no "leftward swing" but the consequence of Vorster's fumbling on fundamental issues in an increasingly difficult situation. The writer analyses the power base of the various parties and discusses the conflicting pressures building up within the system which present serious policy problems for the ruling party.

Some newspapers abroad seem to have been taken in by the enormous hullabaloo raised in the South African English press about a 'swing to the left' in the general elections. That a purely white election could lead to a leftward swing is an illusion cherished by the naive and fostered by the mischievous. In a power structure where a privileged minority usurps political power for its own advantage, it must move steadily not left but right. This is the logic of undemocracy. To this proposition must be added the co-

rollary that significant change can only come about by the revolutionary overthrow of the whole system of white supremacy and with it the farce of white elections.

This fundamental proposition must be repeated now since Vorster's party did indeed sustain a minor setback in the elections. This will surely lead to a grand campaign by his parliamentary opposition, the United Party, in the country and outside, to persuade the world that salvation from Vorster's terroristic rule is at hand. The English press in South Africa is already raising the image of a United Party come-back and we suspect that this will be taken up around the world by people who would gladly take the edge off anti-South African hostility. There are even some who claim to be our friends, some governments even, who may feel that a shift has taken place in South Africa and that 'perhaps', 'maybe', 'you never know', some alternative to armed struggle may be possible.

The one luxury our oppressed people cannot allow world opinion at present is the illusion that there is a real threat to Vorster from the ranks of the white opposition. The so-called 'moderate' opposition is no opposition at all, and we shall try to show that Vorster's party is in any case so firmly entrenched in the social structure that it can be overthrown only by a revolution based in the African masses.

## BITTER FEUDING IN WHITE POLITICS

Yet, the bitter feuding and internecine wrangling that is now endemic in white politics and especially among Afrikaners is not without significance. It reveals that although the system is grinding on relentlessly, there has nevertheless developed a considerable degree of confusion at the level of policy making. It would seem that apartheid has led white South Africa into an impasse and that none of the established white parties can offer a coherent explanation of how the ever-present fear of Black revolt can be assuaged, how the pressures caused by economic expansion can be controlled, and how a hostile world can be appeased. It is Vorster's indecisiveness on these questions that brought back some interest in white party politics.

## THE ELECTION RESULTS

The state of the parties is given below:

Before the Election	After the Election	
Nationalist Party (Vorster's)	123	117
United Party	38	47
Progressive Party	1	1
Herstigte Nasionale Party	4	Nil

In an electorate where only whites were eligible to vote and 74.35% of 2,028,487 did so the votes were apportioned as follows:

	Votes % of Total		
Nationalist Party	820,968	54.43 %	Loss of 3.7 %
United Party	561,647	37.23 %	Gain of 0.4 %
Herstigte Nasionale Party	53,763	3.5 %	
Progressive Party	51,760	3.4 %	

The so-called 'swing to the left' is therefore seen to be a mere 0.4% gain for the United Party although other factors transformed it into a gain of 9 seats in Parliament — a development that surprised the much demoralized United Party as much as anyone else. More significant however is the fact that although the Verkrampstes were wiped out and the Progressive Party made only minor gains in terms of votes cast (Mrs Suzman's substantially increased majority can only be seen as a creditable personal achievement) there has been a loss of momentum in the Nationalist drive to total dominance of the country.

**This is a point worth emphasising since the Nationalist Party is by no means an ordinary parliamentary party working within a constitutional framework.** It is rather a machine of coercion moulded more in the Fascist tradition. It combines a parliamentary face with a powerful extraparliamentary apparatus which has brought tremendous pressure on all critics white as well as black. It has used a tailored legal system to suppress opposition, state institutions to indoctrinate the white population, and its secret police to hound its opponents on all sides. Yet, despite its reign of terror over 22 years, its hold over the electorate has slipped a little and it is useful to see why.

## POLICY DILEMMAS

The most likely explanation is that apart from some fatigue among its supporters and some disgruntlement with a Government which has been in office a long time, it has now become more obvious that the Nationalist Party can no longer offer a plausible political policy to underpin its actions. It could be argued that white supremacy is policy enough, and Vorster has indeed never wavered on this fundamental question, but in today's challenging world with the international situation so sensitive and with so many structural pressures building up internally, it seems that the electorate required some perspective on how this very supremacy is to survive. This, on the whole, Vorster has been unable to give. Whereas Verwoerd had managed to develop the myth of Bantustans and separate development which he sold to his followers with some skill, Vorster lacks his predecessor's glib tongue. Also, he has nothing concrete to show for so many years of agonising discussion. The lack of policy in depth became obvious as his team of corrupt ministers made blunder after blunder in the run up to the election. The sports issue was hopelessly bungled, the threats to Harry Oppenheimer frightened off English and business support, and no clear plan was evident in all the equivocation on economic or labour questions.

The confusion in the government party was seized upon by the Verkrampstes who played a devastatingly destructive role within the Nationalist complex. Their flagrant demand for Afrikaaner hegemony in all spheres of government and in the economy reminded the English voters that Afrikaanerdom had not lost its sectarianism and they scuttled back to their own little laager in the futile United Party. This tendency was reinforced by the extremely violent tactics used by Vorster and the Bureau of State Security against the Verkrampstes.

On the other hand the Verkrampstes failed to make the anticipated impact, probably because the Afrikaaners remain fearful of breaking the unity which alone has gained them so much political and economic power. The white workers among whom Afrikaaners predominate might have been expected to rally to the unadulterated chauvinism of the Verkrampstes but they did not respond to Hertzog's call for isolationism and retreat from continued economic growth. They stayed behind Vorster and the party which has ruled during the period when so much affluence has come to white South Africa as a whole with a very substantial advance for Afrikaaners in particular.

## AFRIKAANER UNITY HAS PAID OFF

Why is it that unity is so important to Afrikaanerdom? The answer lies in the numerical advantage Afrikaans speaking whites have over the English speakers. It was recognition of this simple arithmetic that led to the vision, since realized, by the founders of the Afrikaans — nationalist movement, that political power would lead to economic gain. Pressing forward from its electoral victory in 1948 the Nationalist Party drastically transformed the civil service, the army, and the large state controlled mixed sector by the removal of the English speaking presence and replacing it with Afrikaaners. Since white supremacy requires

a massive administrative machine to control the subject peoples, it is the Afrikaanders who have come to perform this task so that of all Afrikaanders a very high percentage are to be found in Government and near government occupations. Exact figures are not available but the scope of state employment can be gauged by the fact that there are now 218,000 whites or 20% of all economically active whites in state and provincial departments.

By taking over government administration, numerous job opportunities opened up for Afrikaanders. Furthermore, by marshalling their savings and organising their purchasing power, a base was created for the emergence of an Afrikaans sector of the capitalist class. Without political control of the state apparatus these gains of the past 20 years would be jeopardized. With a huge army of civil servants, thousands of small businessmen and the larger finance houses dependent on state contracts have come to identify their interests with Afrikaans rule. And Vorster's party still holds the reins of that power very firmly in its hands.

## STATE CORPORATIONS BOLSTER AFRIKAANER NATIONALISTS

Added strength has come to the Nationalist Government by its boosting of state controlled corporations such as Iscor (steel) Sasol (petroleum products) and Foscor (fertilizers) which have brought Afrikaander interests into close alliance with certain imperialist financiers under the umbrella of state management. Dr Diederichs, the South African Minister of Finance and a graduate of German universities has used his position to obtain capital from institutions such as the Deutsche Bank to boost the purely Afrikaans finance houses which had formerly depended mainly on the mobilization of funds from middle class savings.

Another benefit accruing from the effective control of political power has come from the move of Oppenheimer and his local and foreign financial collaborators to open the door to Afrikaander businessmen to share the spoils of big business. In return Oppenheimer hoped to gain indirect influence in the political sphere to bend Government policy. What he could not achieve via the ballot box he hoped to do by other means.

This ploy was not altogether successful. Afrikaander businessmen have taken what they could get without surrendering their power base. They have indeed gained a junior partnership in the private sector in the country thereby tapping onto the vast financial investments of international corporation but they still maintain separate financial institutions. And on basic issues the ruling Party remains as inflexible as ever. Yet Vorster has made some efforts to meet his erstwhile bitter enemies. His frequent dinner parties with businessmen, and his golfing encounters at English clubs are directed at bringing together the Afrikaans and English power structures. He seems to have come to recognise that strong as Afrikaanderdom is, it cannot remain in power without the closer collaboration of English capital and the considerable support forces it can muster at home and abroad. And it must be admitted that a coalition of the Afrikaander con-



Albert Hertzog

trolled state with its intense repressive powers coupled with English business and imperialist finance is a formidable combination.

Vorster's assessment that Afrikaander unity has become sufficiently solid to risk a partnership with the English speaking section has brought new tensions to white politics. To the Verkramptes, and no doubt to many Afrikaans voters, his new stance is puzzling. Nevertheless the election can be read as support for a coalition between the two main forces in ruling class power. It may also mean public support for Vorster's tentative 'outgoing policy'.

## ECONOMIC IMPERATIVES

Every South African economic textbook stresses that this country can only grow internally by means of an expanding export trade to the North. Vorster's so-called 'out-

going policy' is the expression of this very real need. Furthermore, while economists formerly arrived at this conclusion by way of calculations of the needs of industry alone, this has now been reinforced by new information from the gold industry. Having built up gold exports to £450 million, or 40% of the country's annual export total, it is now at its peak as mines are closing down and as the freezing of the world market price blocks further exploitation. Hence all the greater the need for industrial exports to pay for imports, and the nearby African market is an obvious way out.

But the Verkrampes will not tolerate this solution. They have raised the Black bogey in a new context, that of the loss of white exclusiveness as a necessary consequence of fraternization with Black states. They have also come out against the continuing absorption of more and more African labour into industry and commerce in the white urban areas, and accept the economic consequences of both these policies with stubborn consistency. They say that the former growth rate of 5½% is too high and Willie Marais, the Party's economic spokesman stated:

"We say the growth rate should be geared to the availability of local White labour . . . If we improve the efficiency of the White labour pool, we could still grow at 2½% to 3½% a year."

This demagogic nonsense was combined with a strong anti-big business stand in the elections and Oppenheimer was condemned as "the greatest threat to the White man in South Africa." There was a plea for "a multiplicity of small businesses" while the growth of big companies should be controlled.

The Verkrampes opposed any further relaxation of job reservation, they want Afrikaans to be the only official language, and according to Jaap Marais, deputy leader of the party, "the Power of Nationalist aspiration has always been seated in the countryside and the rebirth of it should be sought there."

All this is strong heady medicine in the crazy world of white politics. Despite their disappearance from Parliament the HNP cannot be written off since the conditions which led to their emergence still obtain. At the least they will act as an anchor of extreme narrow racialism and isolationism at a time when White South Africa is not clear about how to solve the numerous contradictions that are forcing themselves into the open. And South Africa's history shows that the only sure winner in white politics is race hatred.

## **ECONOMIC GROWTH AND APARTHEID REPRESSION**

Some critics overseas seem to have been impressed by the substance of the Verkrampes arguments on the consequences of an expanding economy. It is suggested that there is an inherent conflict between economic growth and apartheid policies and that one or other must give way. There is surely something wrong with this thesis. The South African economy has been growing for a considerable time while apartheid has become ever more repressive. While Africans have been absorbed increasingly into white industry they have at the same time come

under ever more severe restrictions and the divisions between the races have increased rather than the reverse. In further refutation of this theory, it is clear that this process has not inhibited profits, rather, business has never been so good, and the current rate of profit in S.A. (27%) is among the highest in the world. Also, the gap between white and non-white earnings has increased greatly with white incomes rising almost half as fast as against African. (At Gold Field's West Driefontein mine, the largest mine in the country, some 1,600 Europeans average around £2,500 a year while 13,800 Africans average around £165 a year.)

It is a harsh truth, but one we have had to face for a long time, that apartheid pays the white minority well, and while various disequilibria continue to develop, such as a shortage of skilled labour and manpower generally, and overproduction of consumer goods in so restricted a market, apartheid nevertheless continues to deliver high profits for investors and an easy life for the white rulers. The system will not crack up from purely economic considerations and differences among white parties about how best to handle distortions in the economy will remain secondary to the main contradiction, the gap between White and Black. The enormous gulf between the growing landless proletariat in town and country (4.3 million Africans live in urban areas) which is not only poor but constantly subject to white violence, contrasts hugely with the comfort of the self-appointed master race. It is in this growing chasm in South African society that the real source of change is to be sought. And, in the last analysis, all the disputes in the elections centred on how that change can best be delayed. There is nothing 'left' about that.

---

# **UNIT ON APARTHEID**

**at the United Nations has published some valuable material this year in a monthly publication called Notes and Documents.**

The January issue discusses Banishment of Africans in South Africa.

The March issue deals with "Native Reserves" and a Decade of Repressive Legislation.

In April various International Speeches and Documents were covered as well as the Statements and Addresses of Chief Lutuli.

Copies may be obtained from Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political, and Security Council Affairs, United Nations, New York.



# 'BLACK' HOTELS EMPTY AS TRANSKEIANS STARVE

The Government has bought two hotels for non-whites in the Transkei at a cost of reputedly more than £70,000. The hotels are now standing empty while the Transkei faces a 600 per cent increase in the number of people suffering from malnutrition. Doctors and other Transkei residents feel that the money has been "thrown down the drain" and should have been spent in ways more important for the survival of the people. The hotels have been bought at a time when mission doctors are fighting the worst incidence of malnutrition in the territory's history and when it is estimated that every fifth Transkeian has tuberculosis. It is estimated that malnutrition has increased by 600 per cent in the last three years. Local people say the hotels have been bought as "show pieces" to convince sceptical outsiders that separate development is really working.

The hotels are the Transkei Hotel in Umtata and the Anchorage Hotel in Umtata Mouth. The Transkei Hotel is the most luxurious hotel in the territory and the only one with air-conditioned rooms.

Not one room is occupied. It cost over £50,000 to build, and charges between £2 and £2.10 a day. The Anchorage Hotel in Umtata Mouth was originally for Whites. It lies on a beautiful bay on the Wild Coast where the river meets the sea. It was declared "Black" on February 1 and bought at a cost of £19,000 - and now stands empty.

Dr. Guy Daynes, head of St. Lucy's Hospital, 20 miles from Umtata, says that admissions to the hospital of people suffering from malnutrition had risen from 66 in 1966 to a minimum (the complete figures for 1969 were not available) of 369 last year.

This hospital has so many TB cases that it is difficult to cope. As for malnutrition, African women walk 20 miles to the hospital every day. "We let them work on the mission, and then at the end of the day we pay them in food and they walk the 20 miles home to feed their families." said Dr. Daynes.



# FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

current news and comment



Compiled by Godfrey Motsepe

---

## CURTAIN OF SECRECY

---

No charges are at present pending against Winnie Mandela, wife of the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island, and the 21 other detainees. They were acquitted of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act in February and then immediately re-arrested, this time under the Terrorism Act. The Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr. A. K. Moodie, said that the case was now with the notorious Security Police and out of his hands. Since the accused had been acquitted he had not been approached by the police to consider any further charges.

"The case is finished as far as this department is concerned. The accused are now being held under the Terrorism Act which, as you know, empowers the Police to detain persons for as long as necessary. This department no longer has any contact with the detainees or control over them."

Mr. Joel Carlson, an Attorney, who is acting for the accused has applied to the Security Police authorities for details concerning their whereabouts, for permission for relatives to visit the detainees, for medical attention for those who are ailing and for the aged. One detainee is in the 70s. Mr. Carlson has also asked when the detainees are to be brought to trial. His application was made on March 13. So far he has had no reply. In view of the Terrorism Act under which the 22 are detained – incommunicado, indefinitely and in solitary confinement – relatives have a real fear for the well-being of those in detention due to the deaths in detention of Caleb Mayekiso, Imam Haroun, Nicodemus Kgoathe, L. Ngudle and others. World-wide attention has been focused on these freedom fighters. The International Committee of the Red Cross agreed to investigate the welfare of the detainees but said they had not yet been given permission by the S. African government to visit the prisoners.

Mrs. Helen Suzman M. P. for Houghton, called on the neo-Nazi government, to charge the detainees in a

court of law – or else release them. "What sort of democracy is this where people can virtually disappear into solitary confinement, undergoing heaven knows what sort of interrogation? If, after all these months, the Government cannot frame charges against them, they should be released forthwith". The New York Times wrote recently: "In its treatment of 22 Blacks charged with working for the banned African National Congress, South Africa seems determined to outdo even its own appalling record for 'legal' cruelty and hypocrisy. The prosecution had obviously been embarrassed by two things: one was the triviality of its own evidence against the defendants. The other was the persistence of Mr. Justice Bekker in inquiring into the pre-trial treatment of State witnesses, who had also been detained for months under the Terrorism Act.

Nomyamise Madikizela, 20, held in solitary confinement for six months, told the court that the Police had threatened her with 10 years in prison if she refused to testify against her sister, Mrs. Mandela. Miss Shanti Naidoo, a young Indian woman, had refused to give evidence even though she was kept in solitary confinement for six months. In addition to being charged with furthering communism, the defendants were accused of having "encouraged feelings of hostility between the races." Since then students at a number of Universities have protested vigorously at Mrs. Mandela's detention. But the voice of world opinion has not yet been aroused. Protest may yet save the 22!

---

## ISOLATION

---

The growing isolation of S. Africa in world sport has distressed several promising white youngsters who are anxious to make sport their career and some are considering emigrating to other countries because of lack of opportunities. No official S. African junior tennis team will go overseas this year because the S. African Lawn Tennis Union is worried by threats of demonstrations and possibly expulsion. The Vice-president of the International Pentathlon Federa-

tion, Dr. Edgar Friend of Austria, said at Pinetown that he expected a motion to be introduced in August at the annual meeting of the international body asking for S. Africa's expulsion from the organisation.

S. Africa's big-game fishermen have been excluded from one of the world's premier angling events – the annual Bahamas International Tuna Match. The Director of Tournaments in the Bahamas, Mr. Don McCarthy, said in a letter to Mr. Albert van der Reit of Natal, captain of last year's team, that a S. African side will not be invited, as their presence could result in unfavourable publicity. In the latest edition of "S. A. Tennis", Miss Brenda Kirk and Miss Wendy Tomlinson, two of S. Africa's finest junior tennis players, said that they may be forced to take up citizenship in another country to further their tennis careers if they are prevented from doing so by sports bans.

---

## ACADEMIC WITCH-HUNT

---

Two eminent academics, Prof. Ellison Kahn, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Dr. Barend van Niekerk, a senior lecturer in law at the University, have been cross-examined by the Security Branch in connection with an article written by Dr. Van Niekerk on capital punishment.

The article, which contained the results of a questionnaire on the death penalty, was published in the "South African Law Journal", of which Prof. Kahn is editor. The Special Branch said they were investigating possible contempt against the administration of justice in South Africa. The two men explained that they regarded the answers to the questionnaire on the death penalty as an interesting scientific study and that nothing had been further from their minds than to commit contempt against the administration of Justice. In 10 years 953 South Africans were executed.

Prof. John Dugard, of the law department at Witwatersrand said this incident appeared to be an act of intimidation which was intended to suppress scholarly comment on and criti-

cism of the administration of justice. Prof. S. A. Strauss of the law department at University of South Africa said it was an established principle – and a very important principle – that justice should be open to criticism.

## S. A. WORSE THAN HE THOUGHT

An eminent Netherlands theologian, Prof. J. Verkoyl complained that the Special Branch questioned a number of people after they had been seen by, or been in touch with him. A Dutch television team which had covered his visit and also televised a pre-election round-up in South Africa, found that a large part of their tapes had been mysteriously "wiped clean" while they were in Durban. The two-man team later found that a case of films, covering much of their four-week visit to South Africa, had been removed from their Johannesburg hotel room by the Security Branch.

Before he left, Prof. Verkoyl said: "South Africa is more of a police state than I had visualised. I am shocked and disturbed that people should have been intimidated by the Special Branch because of me. The whole system of apartheid is morally indefensible, as well as being in practice impossible to implement. I had previously felt that the strictures of this society were unjust towards the masses. After my visit I have seen that the position is a thousand times worse than I thought." Prof. Verkoyl said he



had found great bitterness, anger, resentment and hurt among non-whites in South Africa.

## INDIANS FOREVER MOVING

The dilemma confronting the Indian communities of South African towns is clearly seen by examining the position of the 700 strong community in Potchefstroom. In 1896 these people were granted 16 morgen of leasehold ground one mile from the Town Hall to the south of the city. Over the years this increased to 22 morgen. In this area are 40 of the 70 Indian shops of Potchefstroom, and about 80% of the Indian residences. In 1952 the Town Council encouraged the Indian community to develop the 22 morgen, and the Indians built homes in the area at their own expense. In 1964 the area now occupied by the Indians was proclaimed a white group area, which meant that the residents have at the most until 1974 to remain in occupation, and in the meantime they are prevented from carrying out any improvements or alterations.

They have to move to Mohadin township, four and a half miles from the town centre. So far 45 economic rental houses have been completed, and five larger homes to be rented at £19.4s are under construction. Twenty six of the smaller houses are already tenanted. There are already eight Indian businesses in the city centre which have been given eviction orders. The vast majority of Indian businessmen in Potchefstroom are general dealers, and clearly there is no hope of them surviving if they are forced to move to Mohadin. A survey showed that their trade is shared equally by white and non-white customers. It is maintained, therefore, that to survive economically the Potchefstroom Indians will have to obtain sites where they can hope to retain the present balance of customers.

Their business undertaking is fairly large: A total of about 70 traders. As things stand at present they can receive 12 months notice to quit their businesses. Yet they are being asked to move into a township, many of them to build their own homes, without any guarantees that their business interests will be safe-guarded. Failure to obtain suitable alternative sites would spell ruin for the majority, just as it spelt ruin to many of the Indian traders in the western areas of Johannesburg who simply vanished when they had to move because of group areas proclamations. And even when they have moved there are no guarantees that their new areas will not be de-proclaimed and another move demanded, as has already happened in Natal.

# Goal Sentence Not Enough

Eli Weinberg and Ivan Schermbrucker were released from Jail in Johannesburg recently after serving five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. They were then served with house arrest and banning orders. Now only Bram Fischer – who is serving a life sentence – remains from the trial in which he and 13 others were charged with belonging to and furthering the aims of the Communist Party in South Africa.

The house arrest and banning orders served on Mr. Weinberg and Mr. Schermbrucker confine them to their homes from early evening to the morning and during week-ends. They are restricted from all gatherings, including social gatherings – which are defined as any gathering of more than two people. They are also restricted at all times to the Johannesburg magisterial area. Mr. Weinberg, a professional photographer involved in taking pictures at functions, will no longer be able to undertake this type of work. Mr. Schermbrucker, who worked for the newspaper New Age, is now banned from newspaper premises. **Both Mrs. Weinberg and Mrs. Schermbrucker are under house arrest.**

# BOOK REVIEWS

## THE OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

### Vol. 1 South Africa to 1870

Editors: Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson

South African history writing has entered a new and exciting phase. The time is fast passing when those interested in the history of the progressive movements and of South Africa as a whole (as against white history) have only the biographies of Bill Andrews, and S. P. Bunting to turn to, and, of course, that well-thumbed stand-by, Edward Roux's **Time Longer Than Rope**. Jack Cope and Edward Roux were pioneers in this field, and their books, after several decades, are still extremely valuable sources and good reading – a remarkable fact in that neither of them were trained historians. It is significant and logical that they were both on the left politically. Edward Roux's **Time Longer Than Rope** was the first history by a white man which placed Africans in the centre of the South African picture. This was a revolutionary departure, and has not been repeated in any noteworthy works until fairly recently.

The Simons's book has already been reviewed in the columns of **Sechaba**, and, quite rightly, has been described as a rich and exciting source of information, which leads to a wide range of new material and new problems – a joy for any academic. It is not surprising that although their book was originally conceived as a history of the labour movement, they found it necessary to deal with the national liberation movement as well. We find that similarly in **Time Longer Than Rope**, although the focus is on episodes in African history, with most space devoted to the history of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, Roux found it impossible to leave out of the picture the revolutionary working class movement, particularly the Communist Party. For the mutual influence of the national and revolutionary working class movements in South Africa is the central and most dynamic theme in the history of South Africa in the twentieth century. Their struggle for a better South Africa is the most positive development of the past decades, and is setting the stage for the South Africa of the future.

### African Political Consciousness

An important task of historians of South Africa today is not only to trace the development of African political consciousness and the growth of their national and working class organisations, but also to deal with what has been referred to as "African history". Strictly applied this term refers to the history of the African peoples before they became a part of the "common society" of the industrialised South Africa of today. To limit the term to this early period and to exclude developments in the twentieth century, is perhaps not absolutely correct, for South Africa is not, of course, today a politically inte-

grated society. The whites dominate the non-white peoples by the vicious techniques of colonialism, and use racist ideology to bolster this system. Thus, in a sense, even today, the African people still have an historical experience separate from the whites.

An important part of the ideology of the colonialists is to portray Africans as people without a history, a species less than human. According to their view only the "civilised" whites have a history. Thus when Zimbabwe was discovered the whites held that these ruins could not possibly be the product of an African civilisation. They have variously attributed them to King Solomon, or to the Phoenicians, or to people from southern India. **In the context of the dehumanising experience of colonialism, an important part of the task of the national liberation movement is to instil in the African and other non-white peoples a sense of their own worth. An important part of this process is to discover themselves in history. In so doing, they realise that they can change history, that they are not merely passive objects in the hands of white colonialism.** Of course, this 'liberation' is only one aspect of a much broader process of political action and the development of a political ideology.

### Repudiating Racist Myths

The recently published first volume of the **Oxford History of South Africa**, (South Africa to 1870) edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, is an attempt to overcome some of the racist myths that have existed in South African history-writing. The basic ideological aim of colonialism is to create and sustain the myth that white and non-white are eternally separate entities. In the Preface the editors aver that "This work derives from our belief that the central theme of South African history is interaction between peoples of diverse origins, languages, technologies, ideologies, and social-systems, meeting on common South African soil". They point to some "misleading assumptions" which have shaped writing about South African history. The first is that this history begins with the discovery of the Cape, that is when whites appear on the scene. The second is that traditional African societies were static. The third that physical type, language and economy are necessarily correlated. The fourth is that each physical type in Southern Africa – the San, the Khoikhoi, Africans, and whites – constituted a "pure race" which, at least in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had the exclusive occupation of a specific area and remained isolated from the others. They point to the myth, which so dominates white South African thinking and propaganda, that the white settlers

occupied an "empty land", and that Africans only came into the area later. The unanswerable evidence they give us to prove that Africans were already in Southern Africa some time before the advent of Europeans, helps to put into historical perspective the demand by the liberation movement for the return of the land and the wealth of South Africa to the people. As also the demand for political power in the land of their birth. Of course, the genuine liberation movements make it clear that these demands include full equality for non-Africans.

This first volume of the Oxford History performs other necessary and useful functions. It includes something of the history of the San and the Khoi-Khoi, and thus raises these people out of the dark barbarism into which reactionary whites would place them, and helps to break down the myth that in South Africa it is only whites who have a history, and that it was only white society which changed and developed and brought progress to a dark continent sunk in the sleep of centuries. The description of the changing societies of the Nguni people, and of the Sotho, Venda and Tsonga and the techniques in metal-working, developed before the coming of the whites, performs a similar function. So, too, the growth of the great Zulu Kingdom out of what had previously been smaller chiefdoms.

## **An Interdisciplinary Approach**

To some extent, this first volume is merely a putting together of work that has already been done in the fields of archaeology, Social anthropology and history. Part of its seeming novelty is that material from these fields, which in the past, have been kept separate (reflecting colonial prejudices – history was for whites; social anthropology for "primitive peoples") have been put together between the covers of one book. Those acquainted with both social anthropology and South African history writing therefore come away from reading this book with a feeling that the authors have not done anything fundamentally new, except for the elimination of some important myths. Nonetheless, the fact that they break down the artificial barrier between these disciplines, does point the way to the future, for white South African historians anyway.

One of the difficulties of the authors is that very little from the African point of view actually exists in accessible form at the present time, on this early period. The editors say that they are keenly aware of the book's shortcomings and point out that one of the reasons for these is that there is at present a dearth of monographs on many aspects of South African history, that not sufficient systematic archaeological work has yet been done, and that it is necessary for African and Coloured historians, economists and anthropologists to work on various aspects, including an account of past wars and alliances. The collection of oral evidence by Africans about their past history is a necessity.

What is singularly lacking in this book, is any serious analysis of the techniques and impact of imperialism on the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. If the authors had drawn more on the known history of the rest of the African continent they might have gained broader and deeper insights into the African reaction to white conquest in South Africa at this early period. Unfortunately, this volume suffers from the disease of South African parochialism – that reactionary nationalist affliction – which has dominated South African history-writing. Thus the authors are not inclined to use the history of the rest of

the continent to further illuminate their subject, nor to have a good look at the international activities of colonialism.

They should have less difficulty with their second volume (which is due in July this year), because for this latter period (from 1870) far more material exists actually written by Africans: there are several books and a great deal of very valuable newspaper material. Their second volume should thus enable us to judge to what extent they have managed to give us a history whose motive is not just the production of a more sophisticated version of the old imperial history.

---

## **BARNARD'S OBSESSION IS WITH FAME**

**ONE LIFE: by Christiaan Barnard,  
George Harrap 55 sh**

---

Neither the pink glow or the clasped hands on the cover portrait of Professor Barnard should delude one into imagining that this is a man dedicated to relieving human suffering, of which South Africa has more than her fair share. In fact, the most impelling impression this book gives is that of a man with a single-minded obsession to get to the top. His sense of purpose, when shorn of the religious fills with which he chooses to decorate it, is to prove himself bigger and better than anyone else in his field.

Not one incident in this long book bears out Barnard's later claim to be in disagreement with his country's race policies (when confronted with their shortcomings at press conferences overseas). Rather, growing up as the son of a missionary to Beaufort West's Coloured community seems to have given him no deeper insight into the plight of non-whites in South Africa than it takes to recount the kind of insulting anecdotes about Coloured people which he has chosen to include in this book.

"I wanted to be a doctor," he writes, "Maybe even a famous one". And, even as he wept as a schoolboy on being defeated by Daantjie Rabie in the mile, so for him the field of open-heart surgery, when it opened before him in the United States, became another race to be first.

"A new figure had come to the track – latest successor to Daantjie Rabie. He wore a head lamp and he was out there ahead of all of us. But the race was only beginning . . ."

Having crammed a six year course into two years, he returned to South Africa with the first heart-lung machine and a research grant, both gifts from the United States Government.

In a revealing aside Barnard described how he worked with equal determination to turn his daughter, Dierdre, into a world water-ski champion. "The urgency of Dierdre's training inevitably rode over everything else, de-

manding that she receive most of my time. Everything was geared to one goal: she had to be made a world champion". On his own admission he drove his daughter to breaking point and beyond. And yet he began to doubt her chances of ever fulfilling his ambition:

"She did not have the killer instinct needed to become a world champion. She would be beaten and laugh about it. When I am beaten I may laugh but I also cry inside".

Barnard returned to the United States to do a course on kidney transplants and a year later he had successfully transplanted the first kidney in Groot Schuur Hospital. He now felt that his team was ready to transplant a heart.

## A "BANTU" WITH ONLY ONE DEFECT

At this time his American counterparts had experimented with the operation on 300 dogs, he writes. But they believed they could not attempt a transplant on a human being unless he was already "on the operating table and in such a condition that he could not come off the heart lung machine".

"It seemed to me to be unrealistic", remarks Barnard. At the time he had done heart transplants on 48 dogs. **"There was little sense in continuing the further sacrifice of animals", he writes.**

But his first request to Professor Schrire, head of the cardiac department, for a patient met with a cool response. "Your dogs don't live very long. You should get longer survivors before you try this". Barnard's reply, in his own words, is a classic: **"I have an idea. We can take a Bantu with cardio myopathy because its a disease common to them with no known cure. This will give us a young man with a good body who has only one defect — heart disease"**.

But Professor Schrire hesitated: "Our first patient will never be black or coloured, because overseas they will say we are experimenting on non-whites". Finally, though, Barnard got his man — Louis Washkanski. The detailed description of the events leading up to the operation, the operation itself and the 18 days Washkanski was kept alive, reads like the most bizarre science fiction. Barnard does not hide his irritation that his patient was too old and sick, or his impatience at having to wait until the heart of the girl crash-victim had stopped beating before removing it for the operation.

"The big battle in a heart transplant is not going to be in placing a new heart in a human being but in getting it to stay there", Barnard writes earlier. Certainly the most alarming part of this curious odyssey is the frenzied blind-folded drama to prevent rejection and at the same time suppress the rampant infection which the repressive drugs opened the way to. And all the time this drama was being enacted radio and television teams were jostling in the hospital corridors, waiting for the next press hand-out, their presence accepted philosophically by Barnard, no doubt as essential for his rise to fame and glory. Before Washkanski finally, and no doubt with relief, succumbed, Dr. Blaiberg was waiting in the wings.

M. T.

---

## READER'S PAGE

### On Ronald Segals Interview

---

The views expressed by Ronald Segal in the March 1970, (No. 3/70) issue of *Sechaba* about the intellectual and students' movements in the United States (and other major capitalist countries) may certainly be well meant. This is all the more so because of the stress our movement lays on mobilising world opinion, especially in the capitalist countries, for our liberation struggle.

The United States it should be remembered, is one of the main supporters of the Vorster regime and it is because of this that any effective support we can get from the protest movements there would be of value in the protracted struggle our liberation movement is engaged in against racist South Africa.

In the views expressed by him in relation to these organisations and our liberation struggle one finds a lot of half truths, superficiality and wooliness of thought. I find his well intended advices misleading. I have to question his definition of class and the description of the United States as liberal capitalism, only because these are consistent with the other views voiced by him in relation to the main issue of his interview, i.e. of winning these protest movements to a greater commitment to the South African liberation struggle.

Why R. Segal chooses to call state monopoly capitalism in the United States, Britain, France and West Germany **liberal** capitalism is difficult to comprehend. That he refers to one of the most reactionary imperialist governments in the United States as liberal would baffle even the theorists of this system. Yet when one follows him on his footsteps, the answer is not very far to find. He obviously chooses this epithet **liberal** to prepare us for what he is going to say. He is completely fascinated by the United States, and this comes from him "... it is ... the most exciting country on earth ..." Yes, if we ask him what he means by "most exciting" he lets the cat out of the bag. "We need only consider the sort of world we would have if the United States were the monolithic repression, some of us think it to be". Has he forgotten that our people in South Africa are suffering under the fascist boot of a racist government which enjoys political, economic and military support from this not so "repressive" imperialist state? Has he closed his eyes to the most inhuman wars waged by this "exciting" country in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia etc.? The list can go on. Further, one wonders whether this apology for the United States has in essence anything to do with the central theme of the interview. Indeed, the question arises whether the space afforded him in *Sechaba* has been properly used.

Our movement has other views about the United States imperialists. It seems R. Segal wanted to misuse the interview given him to propagate views which are alien to the liberation struggle.

What should be done in order to get more support from these intellectual radical movements in these capitalist countries? This is where we expected R. Segal to take the interview seriously. He himself admits that we are entering into a difficult period (one hopes he means that of armed struggle in South Africa). If so then these movements could be of benefit to us, as this has indeed been the case in

relation to other liberation movements. An advice to this effect from a man of experience like R. Segal would of course be taken with all the seriousness it deserves. But hear yourselves what he says: "I think that the liberation movement of South Africa, in approaching this enormous potential in the West for support must project itself as . . . a movement of **individual** liberation". One wonders whether he has understood these radical movements, if he has then certainly not the liberation movement of South Africa led by the ANC. We are fighting for the liberation of the national majority (the African and other non-whites) suffering under racist oppression in South Africa.

That we do not want to "supplant white power by black bureaucracy" he only has to alleviate his fears by reading the programme of our movement, the Freedom Charter. Our friend can rest assured that MK (the military wing of our liberation movement) is not undemocratic and not authoritarian as he insinuates. On the contrary, not only the people of South Africa are proud of these fine men, but the enemy has also learnt to respect them. (Wankie etc.).

Terms like bureaucratic, authoritarian are irritating when used at random. R. Segal uses these often, because they afford him the innuendos he wants to make. Even when he uses these against the United States he is not convincing, because this is not in par with his line of thought in the interview.

The winning of these radical movements in the West for the purpose of getting effective support from them is obviously taken seriously by the liberation movement. It would have been proper for R. Segal to have concentrated himself on this. He is however so obsessed with the idea of selling U. S. imperialism to us, that everything to him seems secondary, yes even at the expense of ordinary common sense.

Gideon C. Dlingea, 113 Berlin-Lichtenberg, Eitelstraße 81, GDR

---

## WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT SECHABA

---

Sanford Berman comments in an article 'African Magazines for American Libraries' published in *Library Journal*, 1st April 1970:

"Be up-to-date with the struggle in South Africa — read *Sechaba*". So the advertisements proclaim. And it's true. This official organ of the 56 year old African National Congress, banned in South Africa, itself, is a genuinely African product. Mixing polemic with reportage, it's probably the most significant single source of views and information not only on the situation south of the Limpopo but also in the several other regions not yet freed from alien overlordship: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Well-illustrated, *Sechaba* explores the South African scene in full-scale articles, announces ANC programs, and chronicles the world-wide drive against Apartheid, together with events in sister liberation movements.

Libraries that absolutely can't manage more than two or three titles may consider *East Africa Journal*, *Sechaba* and *Zuka* top priorities.

# FRELIMO GREETSS FREEDOM LOVERS

**We never accepted.**

**We were as tall trees  
bending when the strong wind blows  
but who know  
submission is just for a time**

**We stowed anxiety in our hearts  
Courage in our hands  
bullets in our homes**

**Tenderness and hatred impelled us**

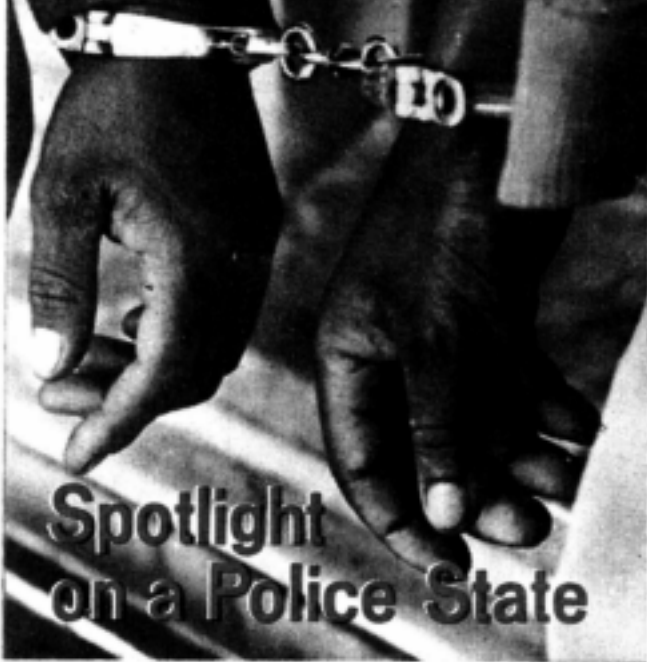
**Our sons measured their height  
by the length of guns**

**The anguish of waiting weighed on us  
like an endless yearning**

.....  
**Happy those who live in our time  
in freedom  
building freedom**



# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Spotlight  
on a Police State

## Police Indoctrination

A letter, in Dagbreek signed by D. C. J. Fourie, of Humansdorp, refers to points made by the Commissioner of Police, General Gous, in an article in "Dagbreek" recently. The writer says practice in a small town such as Humansdorp and theory as outlined by General Gous are two different things. "There are tens of thousands of Afrikaaners who think that unless one is a hater of Non-Whites one is not a true Afrikaaner. This belief is, in my opinion, very strong in our police force. Training and indoctrination of the police to promote sound race relations have failed hopelessly.

"One day in Humansdorp the police got a sudden urge and arrested 35 Non-Whites. The poor people were completely dumbfounded. This was just because some had not crossed the street properly, others were walking on the wrong side of the street while some were walking in the street because there was no pavement and it was wet. "Never has any white in this small town been warned for this type of transgression."

## The Barber's Cut

The story of the barber of Newcastle may not be as musically enticing as The Barber of Seville but it could perhaps match its bizarre scenario. It appears that the Whites in Newcastle, the majority of them Afrikaans-speaking, are having their hair cut by

Indian barbers, thereby throwing apartheid to the winds. The town's only White barber charges 50c as against 35 c charged by the three Indian barbers in Newcastle.

Mr. Fanie Lombard, the White barber has reported to the police about Newcastle's Indian barber's White clientele. "This was as long as four years ago, but nothing has happened up to now," he sighed.

## Persecution of Chinese

The tiny Chinese Community in Port Elizabeth which has been enjoying bits of the White man's social privileges is being increasingly humiliated.

It has now been stopped from playing miniature golf at Humewood or skating at the nearby ice rink, after intervention by the Department of Community Development.

Operators of the two beachfront amenities have been informed that as Humewood is in a proclaimed White group area, they are making themselves liable to prosecution by admitting Chinese. Both have now applied for permits allowing Chinese to participate, but it is not known whether these will be granted.

Legally, the Chinese are still regarded as "Asiatics" and are subjected to the same restrictions as the Indians.

## Brutal Demolitions

A display of complete disregard for life, dignity or suffering was recently presented by the torch bearers of white civilization in Natal when Government bulldozers smashed the mud dwellings of Africans in Geogedale.

The order was simple: Get out of your house, we are going to break it down. So the people of Geogedale carried their furniture into the veld and Government bulldozers flattened their mud houses.

Some were lucky and had six day's notice. Others were called out of their dwellings and told there and then. They carried their possessions out, past the impatient bulldozers. Others had no warning at all. They came home to piles of rubble. The machines had done their work and gone.

Geogedale, near Hammarsdale's giant industrial area, is home for about a thousand Zulus, Pondos, Xhosas and Basotho. Some work in factories, others for a construction company building

Mpumalanga Township across the valley. The township was begun more than two years ago and will ultimately house 100,000 Africans in "housing units" built on 3,000 acres. But the township is for Zulus only. The non-Zulus working on it cannot live in it. They are squatters, says the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Port Natal, Mr. A. L. Schaffer.

An African woman, Miss Elizabeth Syman, whose mud house was one of those smashed, gave birth to a boy that night in the veld. He died six hours later. Without any notice she was told by a Government official to remove her possessions which she had to do unaided. Her house was then flattened. At least two other babies are known to have died during the shack-smashing.

## Banned Woman Assaulted

The Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr. O. Gush, has asked the police to investigate a report that a banned Soweto woman was assaulted by policemen when she went to report to John Vorster Square on Monday. Miss Miriam Sithole, 26, has to report to the square every Monday in terms of her banning order. Mr. Gush heard allegations that two young, white policemen assaulted her, and she was called a "communist pig" and a "kafir". One of them is also alleged to have said: "I am sick and tired of these black bastards".

Miss Kumalo alleged that one of the policemen threw an object at Miss Sithole striking her glancingly on her arm. The other policeman threw a chair at her, said Miss Kumalo.

## Coloured Music

Blues for whites by coloured are blacked. Fifteen minutes after it had struck up, a Coloured band was ordered to stop playing at a recreation club party for White teenagers in Alicedale.

Many of the parents and most of the teenagers at the party were upset about the decision since it is very difficult to find a band in Alicedale and the Coloured band was playing without a fee.

The order came about it was said because certain people had complained for political reasons.