

# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

Vol 7  
No 1

JAN  
1973

## STUDENTS TAGE SIT-IN

Black consciousness  
increases racial  
discrimination

South African Students Unite  
The Press in South Africa

Page 2  
Page 11

49 Rathbone Street  
LONDON W1A-4NL  
Telegrams & Cables:  
SECHABA LONDON W 1  
Telephone: 580-53 03

## CONTENTS

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| BLACK STUDENTS UNITE  | 2    |
| FRAGMENTATION OF THE<br>BLACK RESISTANCE                      | 5    |
| THEY PREFERRED TO BE<br>BRITISH                               | 8    |
| THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS:<br>And The Laws That Govern It       | 11   |
| CUNENE SCHEME MAY ATTRACT<br>MORE GUERRILLAS<br>THAN SETTLERS | 16   |
| THE ANC IN CHILE  | 18   |
| INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA<br>Life Under Apartheid                   | 20   |
| INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA<br>Spotlight On Police Crimes             | 21   |
| SOUTH AFRICA:<br>APARTHEID QUIZ                               | 22   |

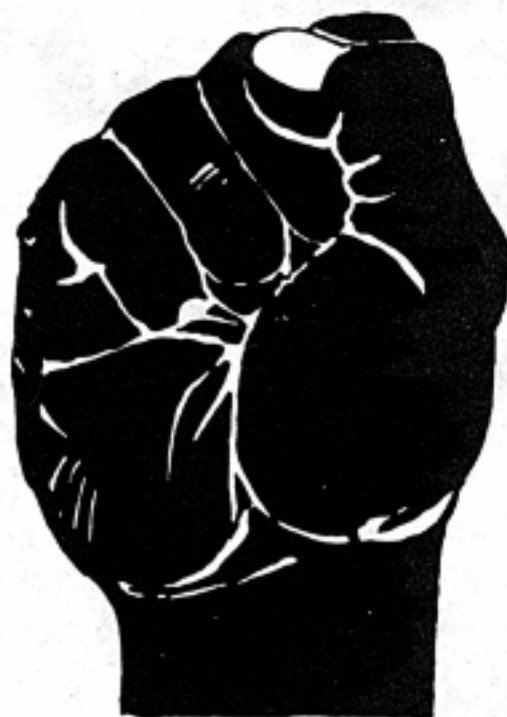
### Annual Subscription Rates

£ 1.50/Europe, Africa and Asia.  
6 dollars U.S.A. and Canada  
Includes postage

### Air Mail Copies

£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia  
12 dollars U.S.A. and Canada  
Includes postage  
33 $\frac{1}{3}$  % commission for 12 copies  
or more

# BLACK STUDENTS UNITE



Recently we published news of strikes at all the Black universities and Teacher Training Colleges in South Africa. These strikes were organised and led by the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Hereunder is a brief history and policy manifesto of this dynamic student body.

The emergence of SASO was a manifestation of a mood which had been spreading in the black campuses ever since the collapse of other black student's organisations which preceded SASO.

The complexity of the South African scene makes it impossible to have a pluralistic organisation that satisfies the aspirations of all member groups. Social and political stratifications in the country coupled with preferential treatment of certain groups results in different aspirations prevailing in the different segments of the community. Thus it often becomes almost impossible to show allegiance to both sides of the colour line. Attempting to keep both opposing segments more often than not results in internal strifes within the organisation. This is the mood

in which black students have decided on several occasions to go it alone.

Dissatisfaction with the white dominated NUSAS led to the establishment of several black student organisations. The Durban Students' Union and the Cape Peninsula Students' Union (CPSU) who later merged to form the Progressive National Students' Organisation, were frantically opposed to NUSAS initially and adopted the emotional slogan of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) - "non-cooperation with the collaborators". The CPSU refused to cooperate with NUSAS in their protests and other forms of activity. They saw NUSAS as a student wing of the imperialist front whose interest was to control the blacks.

In 1961 and 1962 the African Stu

dents Association (ASA) and the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA) were established. Both ASA and ASUSA were concerned much more with national issues and saw themselves as student wings of the national movements. The differences between ASA and ASUSA were ideological. Attempts to unite the two organisations failed . . . Perhaps the fact that the blacks never attained a strong solidarity on the campus was attributable to these divided loyalties. Lack of coordination prevented progress in any recognisable direction as the various groups were bound to compete with each other. Moreover, at the time NUSAS was by no means a spent force on the black campuses and commanded quite a following which capitalised on the differences of opinion between ASA and ASUSA. The fact that this was coupled with intimidation and victimisation of the individual leaders of these organisations served to hasten the collapse of both ASA and ASUSA.

A period of isolation of the black campuses followed the collapse of ASA and ASUSA. The new University Colleges which had been established in 1960 for blacks were born into a tradition of restriction. Their SRCs were under strict surveillance and served more the function of a prefect body than that of student representatives. Not one of the Colleges was allowed any interaction with NUSAS although branches existed underground on some of the campuses. In the meantime, NUSAS assumed the role of being a Spokesman for these campuses. More often than not, this accompanied debates on the "Separate Universities Act."

The formation of the University Christian Movement (UCM) in 1967 gave black students a greater chance of coming together. Because of its more radical stance and also because at that stage it had not developed a 'bad' complexion politically in the eyes of the black campuses' authorities, UCM tended to attract more black students to its conferences and this opened channels of communications amongst the black students.

### SASO is Born

Amongst the black students, one of the most talked about topics was the position of the black students in the open organisations like NUSAS and UCM. Concern was expressed that these were white-dominated and paid very little attention to problems peculiar to the black student community. In fact, some people began to doubt the very competence of a pluralistic group to examine without bias problems affecting one group, especially where the unaffected lot is from the oppressor camp. It was felt that a time had come when blacks had to formulate their own thinking, unpollu-

ted by ideas emanating from a group with lots at stake in the status quo.

At the 1968 UCM Conference about 40 blacks from Fort Hare, Ngoye, Bellville, theological seminaries, Turfloop, UNB and teacher training colleges resolved themselves into a black caucus and debated the possibility of forming a black students organisation. The UNB group was asked to investigate the chances of holding a conference of black student leaders that same December.

Back at home the UNB representatives openly argued the case for a closer cooperation amongst the black centres and as a result the student body mandated the SRC to convene the Conference.

SASO was ultimately formed at the 1968 December Mariannhill Conference of black student leaders and inaugurated at the 1969 July SASO Conference at Turfloop. At both conferences the student leaders were faced with a complex problem. On the one hand, there were accusations by the right wing elements on the black campuses to the effect that the move to establish a blacks-only student organisation was a manifestation of conformism. This attitude was more expressed in liberal White circles.

Then, too, there were several warnings from the middle-of-the-roaders that SASO wouldn't survive for long and therefore its establishment did not warrant the breaking of old ties.

In the face of this the SASO leadership adopted a cautious approach to the "relations" question. While still maintaining their recognition of NUSAS as a National Union, SASO constantly took a very critical stand regarding NUSAS and refused to consider the possibility of affiliation to the organisation. They maintained their distance from NUSAS and gradually explained themselves to their black campuses with whom they quickly found favour.

### Positive Outlook

In the 1970 SASO Conference the attitudes that had been carefully hidden came to the surface. At once SASO withdrew its recognition of NUSAS as a National Union believing that "the emancipation of the black peoples in this country depends on the role the black peoples themselves are prepared to play (and) . . . aware that in the principles and make-up of NUSAS, the black students can never find expression for aspirations foremost in their minds." Since the 1970 Conference SASO has been much more positive in its outlook and is working towards a much more intimate involvement with the black community.

1971 saw SASO rapidly increasing her membership and gradually consolidating her position within the black community. The statement that "we are black students and not black students" was thoroughly substantiated as SASO set about consulting with many black community organisations in an effort to completely weld the student efforts with those of the rest of the community in this great surge towards attainment of the Black man's aspirations. Black Consciousness was highly stressed by SASO as the philosophy and approach to be adopted.

To date SASO has come to be accepted as one of the most relevant organisations in this search for the black man's real identity and of his liberation. The involvement of students with the community by way of community development projects remains a testimony of the oneness of the two, both in plight and in efforts.

On the broader student scene a new and welcome pride is developing amongst black students; a pride in themselves and their achievements; a pride in their own community and a strong faith in the righteousness of their struggle. It is this pride that has

### NYAMEKO PITYANA



Is the Secretary-General of SASO. He is 26 years old and is married with one child. Has also had a turbulent career at the University of Fort Hare which ended abruptly in 1968. Is at present studying through the University of S. Africa. He is doing his final year in Bachelor of Arts (Law). "The system of Education for Black people in South Africa needs a great deal of re-evaluation," was Nyameko's last word on Education.

**RANWEDZI  
NENGWEKULU**



Is the Permanent Organiser of SASO. He is 26 years old and is at present unmarried. He completed his Bachelor of Arts at the then University College of the North in 1969 and majored in Politics, Private Law and Public Administration. He served half a term as SRC President at "the North". He is currently reading for the Bachelor of Laws through the University of South Africa.

"Ours is not a political struggle but a racial one," says Ranwedzi whenever he confronts a confused person.

(e) that this attitude must not be interpreted by Blacks to imply "anti-Whitism" but merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa;

(f) that in pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with Whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged, especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.

4 (a) SASO upholds the concept of Black consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.

(b) SASO defines Black consciousness as follows:

(i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.

(ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.

(iii) The Black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.

(iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the Black people of power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.

(v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the black Community.

(c) SASO accepts the premise that before the Black people join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the White society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. **SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks.**

5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean an assimilation of Blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.

6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for "integration" in South Africa --- and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other Liberal institutions . . . are not working for the kind of integration

ultimately led NUSAS to grudgingly concede that SASO is the only organisation that can effectively represent black students. It is the same pride that has led the black community to welcome the emergence of SASO and to willingly work together with SASO in the setting up of programmes designed to build a self-reliant and a politically conscious black community.

\* \* \* \* \*

**SASO POLICY  
MANIFESTO**

1. SASO is a Black Student Organisation working for the liberation of the Black man first from psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from the physical one accruing out of living in a White racist society.

2. We define Black people as those

who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations.

3. SASO believes that:

(a) South Africa is a country in which both Black and White live and shall continue to live together;

(b) that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the solution or part of the problem;

(c) that, in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, Whites, have defined themselves as part of the problem;

(d) that, therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, Whites must be excluded;

**STRINI  
MOODLEY**



Is the Publications Director of SASO. He is 25 years old and is married but has no children. Studied Speech and Drama and English at the University College for Indians in Durban. Has had a turbulent University career which ended abruptly in mid-1967. Has directed a few plays with the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON). He is also a poet. "Black Theatre is a challenging phenomenon in creating a cultural awareness among Black people," says Strini who is studying through correspondence for a Diploma in Directorship.

that would be acceptable to the Black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow Blacks into a white-type society.

7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that black consciousness should not be associated with any particular political party or slogan.

#### **Dialogue with multiracial organisations:**

(i) SASO believes that dialogue with student organisations such as NUSAS and UCM should only be engaged in when absolutely necessary, i. e. in matters affecting either one or all of student organisations or where so doing is in the interests of black students.

(ii) SASO believes that there can never be cause for joint consultation with any of these organisations on anything relating to the SASO political stance.

#### **BLACK Theology**

SASO is committed to the promotion of Black Theology which is essentially a re-examination of the black man's religious make-up and an attempt to unite the black man to God. SASO sees Black Theology as an existential theology that grapples with the black man's day to day life experience.

#### **Foreign Investments:**

(i) SASO sees foreign investments as giving stability to South Africa's exploitative regime and committing South Africa's trading partners to supporting this regime. For this reason, SASO rejects foreign investments. (ii) Further, SASO sees the ameliorative experiments like those of Polaroid as at worst, conscience-salving and at best, resulting in the creation of a change-resistant middle-class amongst the few blacks employed by foreign firms.

#### **On Namibia:**

SASO recognises the indisputable right of the people of Namibia to conduct their own affairs without any interference from South Africa and expresses solidarity with the students and the people of Namibia to rid themselves of this un-warranted occupation.

#### **On dialogue between African States and South Africa:**

1. SASO rejects all attempts at dialogue between African States and South Africa.

2. SASO believes that South Africa is intent on stretching her tentacles through trade links throughout Africa so as to hold Africa in her grip.

3. SASO further believes that no amount of preaching will alter South Africa from her course towards total and lasting subjugation of the black peoples of South Africa.

The following is an article by a leader of the South African Students Organisation published in a recent issue of the SASO NEWSLETTER.

In it the writer argues against participating in institutions of apartheid such as the Bantustan' governments' and Coloured and Indian Councils

# FRAGMENTATION OF THE BLACK RESISTANCE

Just who can be regarded as representative of black opinion in South Africa? This question often crosses my mind in many conversations with people throughout the country and on reading various newspaper reports on what blacks have to say on topical matters. Once more the issue was highlighted during the debate on whether or not to celebrate the Anniversary of the "Republic" of South Africa. On the one hand Mr. Pat Poovalingam in Durban was urging the Indian people to celebrate whilst, on the other, people like Mr. Mewa Ramgobin and the Labour Party argued the case against celebration. In Zululand Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stated that the Zulu people would celebrate whilst elsewhere pamphlets were distributed from various black sources reminding the people that they would be celebrating the countless sins of the Nationalist government. The interesting thing of course was the conspicuous silence of the urban African people except for the hushed objections of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council (UBC). Not at any stage did anybody state a representative opinion.

#### **Congresses Banned**

Anyone staying in South Africa will not be completely surprised by this. Political opinion is probably very clear-cut on issues of this nature amongst the African people especially. However, since the banning and harassment of black political parties – a dangerous vacuum has been created. The African National Congress and later the Pan-African Congress were banned in 1960; the Indian Congress was routed out of existence by the banning of all its leaders and ever since there has been no coordinated opinion emanating from the black ranks. Perhaps the Kliptown Charter was the last attempt ever made to instill some amount of positiveness in stating categorically what blacks felt on political questions in the land of their forefathers. After the banning of the black political parties in South Africa, people's hearts were gripped by some kind of foreboding fear for anything political. Not only were politics a closed book, but at every corner one was greeted by a slave-like apathy that often bordered on timidity. To anyone living in the black world, the hidden anger and turmoil could always be seen shining

through the faces and actions of these voiceless masses but it was never verbalised. Even the active phase, thugery and vandalism, was directed to one's kind – a clear manifestation of frustration. To make it worse, no real hope was offered by the output from the recently created black universities. Sons and fathers alike were concerned about cutting themselves a niche in a situation from which they saw no hope of escaping.

After this brief spell of silence during which political activity was mainly taken up by liberals, blacks started dabbling with the dangerous theory – that of working within the system. This attitude was exploited to the full by the Nationalist party. Thus the respectability of Matanzima's Transkei was greatly boosted by Ndamse's decision to join hands with him. Clearly Ndamse, being a one-time banned man, convinced many people by his decision that there was something to be gained out of these apartheid institutions. Soon thereafter the Coloured Labour Party, operating on an anti-apartheid ticket, was formed to oppose the pro-apartheid Federal Party within the all-Coloured Coloured Representative Council. People's logic became strangely twisted. Said a member of the Transkei's opposition Democratic Party: "We know that the Transkeian parliament is a stooge body. We ask you to elect us to that stooge body!"

### Gatsha Butelezi

But it seems that nothing influenced people more to 'accept' the 'working within the system' theory than the decision by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to join in and lead the Zulu Territorial Authority. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had for a long time been regarded as the bastion of resistance to the institution of a territorial authority in Zululand. Then one morning a newspaper intimated that he might just agree to take it up and within weeks Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was indeed the Chief Executive Officer of the Zululand Territorial Authority.

Following the capitulation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a burst of activity manifested itself in these apartheid institutions. On the one hand the Labour Party was making full use of the sanctified platform – the CRC – to air their grievances against the government, on the other Chief Gatsha was fast becoming an embarrassment to the government with the kind of things he was saying.

I believe it is just here that the confusion over who are the leaders of the



Kaiser Matanzima

black world began to arise. Because of the increased verbalisation of black man's complaints, the people – especially the white world – began to take these various voices as speaking on behalf of and as leaders of the Black world. This kind of picture was particularly built up by the English press, who followed in detail everything people like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi did and said. Of course in the absence of any organized opinion it began to sound even to some black people themselves as if this were the case. The fact that Matanzima also joined on the band-wagon of militant demands has made everyone sit back and clap. People argue that the Nationalists have been caught in their own game. The black lion is beginning to raise its voice. This is a gross oversimplification.

What is, in fact, happening is that the black world is beginning to be completely fragmented and that people are beginning to talk sectional politics. I would rather like to believe that this was foreseen long ago by the Nationalist Party and that it is in fact a part of the programme. After the kind of noises made by Buthelezi, the Labour Party and of late Matanzima, who can argue that black opinion is being stifled in South Africa? Moreover, any visitor is made to see that these people are fighting for more concessions in their own area (13% of the land). They accept that the rest of South Africa is for Whites. Also none of them sees himself as fighting the battle for all black people. Xhosas want their Transkei, the Zulus their Zululand, etc. Coloured people har-

bour secret hopes of being classified as 'bruin Afrikaners' and therefore meriting admittance into the White laager while Indian people might be given a vote to swell the buffer zone between Whites and Africans. Of course these promises will never be fulfilled – at least not in a hurry – and in the meantime the enemy bestrides South Africa like a colossus laughing aloud at the fragmented attempts by the powerless masses making appeals to his deaf ears.

### Major Danger

"The Transkei is the Achilles' heel of the Nationalists" claim intellectual politicians who are always quick to see a loophole even in a two-foot thick iron wall. This is false logic. The Transkei, the CRC, Zululand and all these other apartheid institutions are modern-type laagers behind which the whites in this country are going to hide themselves for a long time to come. Slowly the ground is being swept off from under our feet and soon we as blacks will believe completely that our political rights are in fact in our "own" areas. Thereafter we shall find that we have no leg to stand on in making demands for any rights in "mainland White South Africa" which incidentally will comprise more than three-quarters of the land of our fathers.

This is the major danger that I see facing the black community at the present moment – to be so conditioned by the system as to make even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and of the goals. Witness the new swing amongst leaders of the Indian community in Durban. (I must admit I say this with pain in my heart). Ever since word was let loose that the Indian Council will at some near future be elected, a number of intelligent people are thinking of reviving the Indian Congress and letting it form some kind of opposition within the system. This is dangerous retrogressive thinking which should be given no breathing space. These apartheid institutions are swallowing too many good people who would be useful in a meaningful programme of emancipation of the black people.

### Who Are The Leaders

Who are the leaders of the black world then if they are not to be found in the apartheid institutions? Clearly, black people know that their leaders are those people who are now either in Robben Island or in banishment or



Lucas Mangope

in exile – voluntary or otherwise. People like Mandela, Sobukwe, Kathrada, M. D. Naidoo and many others will always have a place of honour in our minds as the true leaders of the people. They may have been branded communists, saboteurs, or similar names – in fact they may have been convicted of similar offences in law courts but this does not subtract from the real essence of their worth. These were people who acted with a dedication unparalleled in modern times. Their concern with our plight as black people made them gain the natural support of the mass of black people. We may disagree with some things they did but know that they spoke the language of the people.

Does this necessarily mean that I see absolutely no advantage in the present set-up? Unless the political astuteness of the black people involved in these various apartheid institutions is further sharpened, I am afraid we are fast approaching an impasse. The new generation may be right in accusing us of collaboration in our own destruction. In Germany the petty officials who decided on which Jews were to be taken away were also Jews. Ultimately Hitler's gangs also came for them. As soon as the dissident factors outside the apartheid institutions are completely silenced, they will come for those who make noise inside the system. Once that happens the boundaries of our world will forever be the circumference of the 13% "black spots".

Perhaps one should be a little positive at this stage. I completely discourage the movement of people from the left

to join the institutions of apartheid. In laying out a strategy we often have to take cognisance of the enemy's strength and as far as I can assess all of us who want to fight within the system are completely underestimating the influence the system has on us. What seems to me to be logical at this stage, is for the left to continually pressurise the various apartheid institutions to move in the direction of testing the limits of possibility within the system, to prove the whole game a sham and to break off the system. I will take the example of the Labour Party because it sounds as the most well-organised dissident group in the system.

The Coloured Labour Party stood for elections on an anti-apartheid ticket and won most of the elected seats. Further, the Labour Party wasted no time in spelling out its anti-apartheid stance and revived political activity to a great extent within the Coloured community. In fact the growing consciousness of the possibility of political action amongst the Coloured people is due to the Labour Party. Pretty soon the Labour Party will find that it is singing the same tune and whatever they say will cease to be of news value. In the meantime Tom Swartz will start making demands for the Coloured people and will probably gain a few concessions. The Coloured people will then realise that in fact a positive stand like that of Tom Swartz's is more welcome than a negative attitude like that of the Labour Party who keep on saying the same things. Then the Labour Party will start falling into disfavour.

### What Should Be Done

This is not just theoretical. It has happened in the past with Matanzima and Guzana in the Transkei. Guzana's party – once the pride of dissident Transkeians who wanted to demonstrate their rejection of the system – has now been relegated to the background, operating even on the right of Matanzima's Party whose militant demands are being seen as a more meaningful opposition to the system than a rehashed debate on the protection of white interests in the Transkei.

Therefore I see the real value of the Labour Party being in galvanising its forces now, organising them and pulling out of the Coloured Representative Council together with the support of all the Coloured people. The longer they stay in the CRC, the more they risk being irrelevant. "Pull out and do what?" This is the next question. There



Gatsha Buthelezi

is a lot of community work that needs to be done in promoting a spirit of self-reliance and black consciousness among all black people in South Africa.

This is what the Labour Party should resort to doing. By now, they have sufficiently demonstrated that the CRC is rejected by the Coloured People. Further operation within the system may only lead to political castration and a creation of an "I-am-a-Coloured" attitude which will prove a set-back to the black man's programme of emancipation and will create major obstacles in the establishment of a non-racial society once our problems are settled. This to me sounds the only way of turning a disadvantage into an advantage. It is true of not only the Labour Party but also of all black people of conscience who are now operating within the system.

Thus in an effort to maintain our solidarity and relevance to the situation we must resist all attempts at the fragmentation of our resistance. Black people must recognise the various institutions of apartheid for what they are – gas, intended to get black people fighting separately for certain 'freedoms' and 'gains' which were prescribed for them long ago. We must refuse to accept it as inevitable that the only political action the blacks may take is through these institutions.

Granted that it may be more attractive and even safer to join the system, we must still recognize that in doing so we are well on our way towards selling our souls.

# THEY PREFERRED TO BE BRITISH

---

The following articles on the lessons to be learnt from the Ugandan Asian problem and on sport boycott are from **SEARCHLIGHT** a clandestine publication circulated mainly among the Indian community inside South Africa.

---

The blatant hypocrisy of many of those now pointing the finger of accusation with horror at events in Uganda must be evident to all Indian South Africans. Those who are responsible for racialism in our own country are those loudest in their sympathy for the Ugandans. We have been the victims of and have lived amongst a racialism of the most vicious kind for over a century. To suggest therefore that Uganda Asians might find sanctuary in South Africa is to ask them to jump from the frying pan into the fire.

Yet there are people in South Africa, and regrettably some Indians amongst them, who are deliberately exploiting the sufferings of the Uganda Asians for their own purposes. They are using events there to try and instil fear in our minds, and by suggesting that this is somehow a 'natural' consequence of African majority rule are trying to alienate us from the African people. This is not a new tactic, but one used by oppressors everywhere. So fearful are our rulers of the united opposition of the black people, that they will use every single trick in the book, and a few outside also, in order to divide us and so perpetuate their rule.

It is nonetheless important for us to understand the truth of what has happened in Uganda and why – so that we may learn the correct lessons and draw the right conclusions.

First and foremost we must disabuse ourselves of any belief that the Uganda expulsions are typical and an automatic consequence of black rule. It was Britain which as the colonial ruling power used the Uganda Asians to help exploit the country's coffee, cotton and sugar for its own benefit and laid the foundations of the present problem. Regrettably, the Asians were so tempted by the privileges that they were given that they built further on these foundations.

## Gandhi, Nehru, Dadoo

As early as the 1940's some of our own leadership foresaw the inevitable consequences of such attitudes. They actively directed us in South Africa away from a similar position, and whenever occasion arose made their views known to the minorities in East Africa. In India Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru also repeatedly called upon Asians in Africa to identify with the African masses. In 1962 Yusuf Dadoo wrote:—

"Whatever historical factors there may be for the position in which the Asian communities find themselves in East Africa today, the fact of the matter is that in the eyes of the African people they are looked upon as an 'immigrant class' – a class of interlopers which is more of a hinderance than an ally in the national struggle for freedom and independence.

"Time is certainly running out, but it is yet not too late for them to meet the challenge of the times and fit into the new pattern of the African revolution. A new vision – a revolution in thinking and action – is what is required. A policy of appeasement will not work, an attitude of apathy will not do, a gesture of patronage and charity will not avail. What is required is to become true Africans in every sense of the word.

"The Asian people of Kenya and Uganda, and indeed, everywhere in Africa, have a responsible historical task to perform; that of being active participants in the struggle for national independence and freedom and in the achievement of the noble aim of building a mighty united democratic Africa."

But the attitudes of the majority of Asians in Uganda did not change. In the meanwhile the British, having used the Asians, discarded them and denied them the right to enter the country whose citizens they had become.

What has happened in Uganda is "terrible, horrible, abominable and shameful". These are not our words, but those of an African President who has done so much to help bring about freedom in our country and who was Chairman of the OAU – President Kaunda of Zambia. President Nyerere of Tanzania, referring to his own and African condemnation of apartheid, has said of Uganda:—

"This is clearly racialism and representative of the same thing that Africans are deploring." Vice-President Moi has assured Asians there that they are welcome to stay so long as they are loyal to Kenya.

Unfortunately, these statements do not receive the same attention in the South African press as those of President Amin, yet they do put Uganda into its correct perspective – as the exception rather than the rule in East and Central Africa.

## Limited Opportunities

In common with the majority of South Africans, in their everyday life and experience our people know the meaning of deprivation. They know what it is to be moved around, to be thrown out of houses, schools, temples, mosques and land; to work in the cane plantations, in the mines and factories at wages that are so low that 70% of Indian South African families live at or near the breadline; to have limited opportunities for education and restrictions on the use of such skills and talents we do have.

Since arrival in South Africa we have been part of the oppressed majority in our suffering. In time we came to



realise that we had also to be part of the majority in our resistance and our efforts to bring change. With the emergence in the forties of the Nationalist bloc in the Transvaal and the Anti-Segregation Council in Natal, various of our leaders have asked for and received support on the basis that we are part of South Africa and must participate fully in the struggle to remove apartheid.

Thus Indian South Africans have taken their place together with all the other Black people. Dadabhai, Saloojee and Timol are amongst those who have given their lives for their country; Kathrada, Nair, Naidoo and others have given their freedom and are on Robben Island and elsewhere with Mandela, Sisulu and thousands of our fellow South Africans. Today the NIC has once again forged links with representatives of other oppressed groups; the Black People's Convention speaks for African, Coloured and Indian South Africans and the students are united in their resistance to indoctrination, while the sportsmen are determined to play together. Our record hitherto can leave no doubt as to where we stand, and that is firmly on South African soil and steadfastly determined to free it from oppression and racialism.

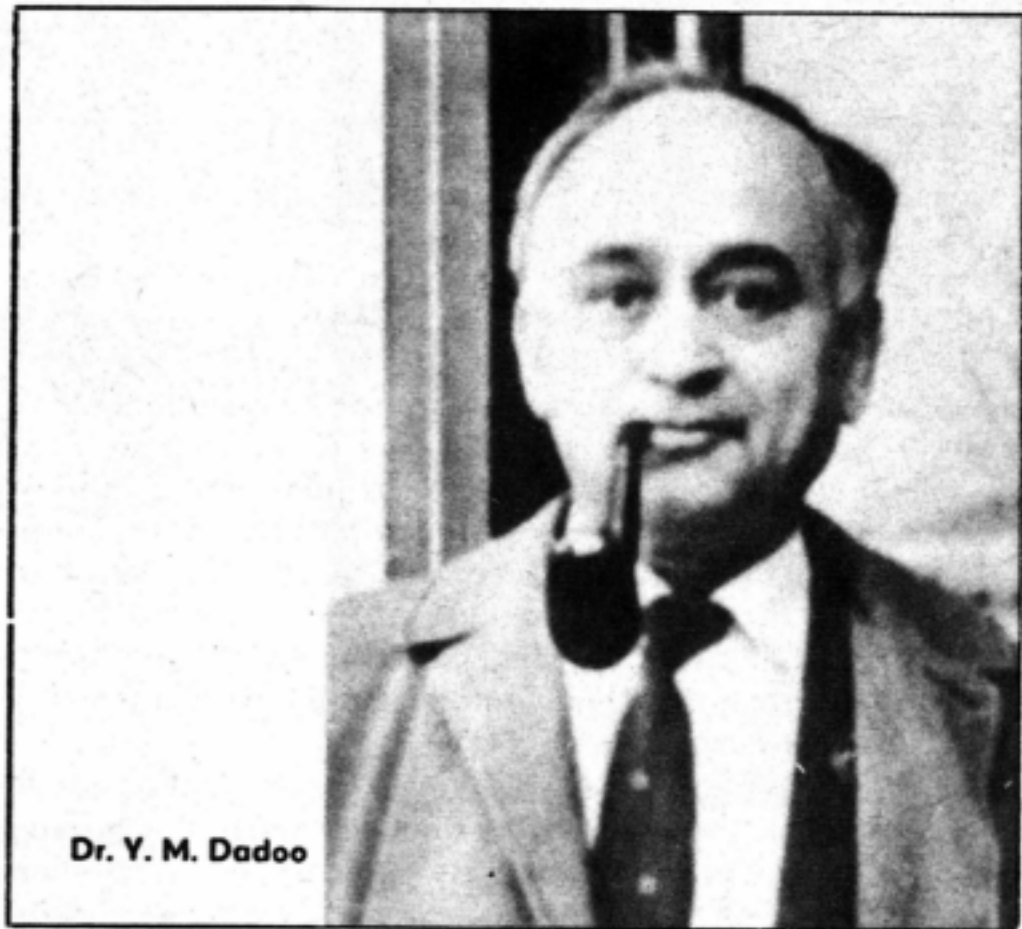
### Part Of Ruling Class

In Uganda, by contrast, the Asians sought to be part of the ruling class. In colonial times that had economic privileges denied to the African majority, and they asked for a special say in ruling the country as "Asians", not in common with all Ugandans.

As a result they accepted privileged positions in administering colonial rule. They control nearly 50% of Ugandan industry and 80-90% of the commercial life of the country. 50% of the registered doctors are of Asian origin as are the lawyers. They are also the majority of the skilled workers and artisans in the country.

We have seen in our own midst individuals who have been prepared to collaborate, support and even advocate apartheid in order to preserve their economic interests and receive the "honour" of talking with and being listened to by our rulers. In as much as the economic power of the Uganda Asians was so much greater, so too was their collaboration and identification with the ruling colonial power. So convinced were they that they were part of the ruling colonial power that at independence the majority chose not to be Uganda citizens, by which action they showed they had no confidence in a basically African Ugandan government. But as collaborators inevitably discover, they can never be part of the rulers but merely their tools. And so, having used the Asians and even given them citizenship in order to safeguard the white settlers, Britain rejected the Asians who chose to be her citizens and denied them the right to enter the U.K. In doing so she created a bottleneck and an artificial slowing down on a normal and natural process of citizens taking over jobs and opportunities in Uganda.

Democratic governments usually endeavour to ensure that foreigners do not take jobs and opportunities from their own citizens. Our own government, not being democratically elected, prefers to bring in foreign white workers as immigrants rather than allow the Black people to take up the opportunities open. In India after independence citizens gradually took over jobs from the British. Similarly, in African countries after independence citizens took over and the foreigners of whatever colour returned to their own countries.



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo

British discrimination against its Asian citizens, however, stopped this natural process and set up artificial tensions and pressures in Uganda, where even the Asian workers and less affluent were misguided enough to be drawn into a position where they saw the imperialist homeland as a sanctuary. Before the coup, President Obote when asked about the Asians said quite categorically: "Uganda has no Asian problem. There is a problem of 30,000 British citizens in my country". It is this British racialism which must bear a heavy responsibility for the present situation.

### No Collaboration

For Indian South Africans the message from Uganda is quite clear: We must make sure that we do not in any way ally ourselves with the ruling minority. **THOSE WHO COLLABORATE WITH APARTHEID ARE ENDANGERING OUR FUTURE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA AND MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DO SO.** It is a message the whites would do well to heed.

Far from being depressed we can take heart from the principled stand of Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda and draw closer still to the African and Coloured people. In a message to President Kaunda, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo has said:—"Your principled stand against racialism in Uganda and humanitarian concern for its victims has brought honour to our Continent and has given strength to the united voice of Africa against apartheid.

"South Africans of Indian origin who have been in Africa for over a century and who have long been united with our African brothers in a struggle to free our country, gather strength from your words and renew their pledge to continue the fight for a free and democratic South Africa."

So let us respond as we have always done and associated ourselves firmly with the majority of South Africans. Just as we are part of the oppressed, we must more actively endeavour to be amongst those who fight against oppression, so that we will be an integral part of a free and democratic South Africa.

\* \* \* \* \*

---

## SPORT: PLAY AS USUAL

---

The increasing momentum of campaigns against racist sport by Black people at home and by progressive forces abroad has brought many successes. Today white South Africa has been suspended or expelled from many of the major international sporting organisations. In fields such as rugby and cricket where her friends have managed to prevent her exclusion, massive protests and demonstrations have led to the disruption or cancellation of tours. This year at least two New Zealand rugby players have refused to play against an all-white South African team – Bob Burgess, one of the most outstanding of New Zealand Rugby players and Chris Laidlaw, their former captain. With growing pressure from the New Zealand public the chances are that there will be no tour in 1973.

Even in those sports where white South Africa has found herself isolated, the battle is far from won. Faced with international ostracism white sportsmen and their associations are adopting new techniques designed to preserve racist sport at home, by presenting a facade of non-racism to re-enter the international arena.

So-called "open international" events are staged, and Black sportsmen who are prepared to support apartheid allowed to participate. Members of bodies such as the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union who are not prepared to affiliate to the white union and by accepting second class status effectively endorse apartheid, are excluded. Thus our own black tennis champion has not been able to play in these so-called "open international" events.

### Lack Self Respect

South African government and sporting propaganda has presented these events as a sign that "changes" were taking place, and will continue if only white South African teams are allowed back on to international sports-fields. We can thus expect that more of these circuses will be organized and unfortunately some black sportsmen will perform. The temptation for them may be great: a chance to measure themselves and gain recognition in international competition and a change briefly to graze in the white man's green pastures. But let them be reminded that it is all of us who have to pay the price.

Those who allow themselves to participate in present conditions are allowing themselves to be used to perpetuate the status quo. Are there amongst us people who wish to be known as "sportsmen" and yet are so lacking in self-respect and dignity that they would allow themselves to be the tools whereby their fellow sportsmen are denied opportunities? These individuals must be shown that their participation does not affect or concern them only. It not only reflects on all of us but is **also to the detriment of sport and sportmen's own interests**. For surely our aim is not that a few individuals occasionally enjoy these opportunities but that all those who wish to participate in sport, whether for leisure or competition, must have the best facilities. By accepting the crumbs from racist tables, these individuals are postponing the day when our national teams are truly representative of the best South Africans.

Fortunately, these Black sportsmen who become temporary whites are not reflecting the views and opinions of the ma-

jority of our people. Their position has been made quite clear by the support for the non-racial sporting institutions and the attitude to "sell out". The Protea rugby team who were used to try and safeguard white South African rugby, have been ostracised since their return; Basil D'Olivera's abortive attempt to help organise a cricket tour in conjunction with Cowdrey met with such hostility from Black South Africans that he has been forced to change his mind. Black sportsmen and administrators who persist in doing the racists' dirty work will find, at home as well as abroad, that they will increasingly be subjected to ostracism and demonstrations of protest.

### No Change

The reality is that nothing has changed. We still have to use inadequate and mediocre facilities, while the whites enjoy some of the best facilities in the world. Administrative, legal and police pressures have been used to force our people to accept the racial concept of white South Africa. The white associations have been trying to pressure us to join them as subservient "partners" so that they are able not only to control us but also to use the membership as a means of rehabilitation in the international field. In 1963, non-racial sports at the only enclosed ground in Transvaal, Natalspuit, was stopped by a Supreme Court ruling. This year the Sam China tournament was not allowed to be held there. The Lenasia Football Association previously affiliated to the white body, affiliated to the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation, and consequently they were not allowed use of the Lenasia stadium. They have now been forced to rejoin the white body.

In every sport we have met obstacles rather than support from the white bodies. Our experience has shown that they are in general supporters of racist sport. While it might be accepted that they act within the law, their pretensions are exposed when they support government policy even where the law does not require it. Apart from their history when they established the present racist structure though the laws did not require it, **even today mixed sport is not illegal in South Africa if the venue is private**. White organisations have the facilities to arrange such matches, but they do not. Even their present policy of allowing affiliation in a subservient capacity has been forced upon them by the growing campaigns both at home and abroad.

### Deserve Support

In contrast, the role played by many of the non-racial sports associations and administrators under very difficult conditions is a tribute to the spirit and courage of our people, and deserve the utmost support.

- We must consolidate and strengthen the stand of the non-racial bodies.
- We must intensify the boycott of racist sporting events. Why should we subsidise our own deprivation
- We must bring about a dialogue with those sportsmen who have either misguidedly or willingly allowed themselves to be used by the apartheid sports associations. Those who persist nonetheless, must be left in no doubt how the people feel about them.

**SOUTH AFRICA MUST REPRESENT ALL ITS PEOPLE AND ALL THE PEOPLE MUST REPRESENT SOUTH AFRICA.**

# THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS: And The Laws That Govern It

An abridged and edited version of a report submitted to the International Organisation of Journalists by The South African Journalists Circle

One of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the South African racists is their control of the media of information – a two-way control, designed to prevent the outside world from learning the full horror of what is happening inside the country, and at the same time to prevent the people of South Africa from learning the truth of what is happening in the outside world. If this century is indeed, as has so often been proclaimed, the century of the common man, then the South African Government hopes to prevent the common South African from finding out about it.

"Everyone", says the 19th Article of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, "has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers".

South Africa, for obvious reasons, refused to sign this Declaration, and the South Africa people have long been refused the rights to which they should be entitled in terms of this Declaration.

## CENSORSHIP AND BANS

When the Nationalist Government came to power, they found a host of restrictive laws and Provincial ordinances, already on the Statute Book providing for the application of censorship. These they proceeded to apply and extend with an intensity never before known in the country. They also introduced new laws giving themselves even more draconian powers to suppress freedom of expression. The key law of the Nationalist regime has been the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. This law not only outlawed the Communist Party but gave the government the power to ban any publication which was published by a Communist organisation or which serves "inter alia as a means for expressing views or conveying information, the publication of which is calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism".

Under this Act, the Nationalist Government in 1952 banned the weekly newspaper "The Guardian", the voice of the Congress Movement in South Africa.

Its successor, "Advance", was banned in 1954, and its successor, "New Age", in 1962. The magazine "Fighting Talk" was similarly banned in February, 1963.

The successor to "New Age", the weekly newspaper "Spark" and the Coloured weekly newspaper "The Torch" were brought to an end in 1963, not by banning, which had proved ineffective, but by use of another provision of the Suppression of Communism Act enabling the Minister of Justice to prohibit any individual from performing any act calculated to further any of the aims of Communism. The members of the staffs of these newspapers were served with notices prohibiting them from functioning as journalists, while at the same time Government Gazette proclamations prohibiting names of banned people or the members of banned organizations from taking part in journalism made it impossible to recruit new staff. The combined effect of these prohibitions was to shut down the most militant section of the press opposed to the Nationalist Government and its policy of apartheid.

Those few White-owned and directed journals with liberal pretensions which espoused or in any way sympathised with the cause of Black liberation have also been heavily penalized under the Nationalist regime. The journals "Forum" and "Forward" were subjected to such financial and political pressure that they were compelled to cease publication. "Contact", at its height a fortnightly publication associated with the Liberal Party, had its editor banned several times and was eventually also forced out of existence. A similar fate overtook the duplicated journal "Focus". When the Liberal Party dissolved itself in 1968 rather than accept the provisions of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which illegalized multiracial political organizations, its journals, "Liberal Party News" and "Transkei Liberal News", also ceased publication.

Nor have anti-apartheid journals been the only victims of government pressure. The opposition-controlled Afrikaans newspapers, "Weekblad" and "Sondagstem", ceased publication, while "Die Landstem" was bought over by the Nationalist firm "Dagbreek Trust" in November 1967.

The effect of all this is:

1. The African people of South Africa not only do not have a press of their own, but also do not have a single legal organ through which they can express their grievances and

aspirations in any shape or form whatsoever. Nor are the Coloured people any better off. Only amongst the small Indian community do a few independent communal publications manage to maintain a precarious existence, concentrating largely on social news and for the most part ensuring survival by avoiding politics altogether.

2. Not a single Afrikaans-language newspaper of any consequence in South Africa is today controlled by non-Nationalists. The Nationalists (including the Herzogites) have total dominance in this field. Anyone who wants his daily or weekly news through the medium of Afrikaans can only get it from the columns of the Nationalist press.

Thus, of the 20 million population of South Africa, the 16 million Africans are unable to enjoy the freedom of expression they are entitled to under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What one calls "the South African press" is entirely dominated by White capital.

Of course, underground the leaflets of the illegal African National Congress, the Communist Party and other clandestine organizations are circulated from hand to hand with great difficulty and danger. Today the ANC journal "Sechaba" carries the Congress message into all corners of the world. The Communist Party journal "The African Communist" appears quarterly as the official organ of the South African Communist Party. These are today the journals of the resistance, the liberation movement, expressing the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the South Africa people.

For all practical purposes, however, White-owned and produced papers constitute the main source of news and information for the mass of the South African population.

## WHO OWNS THE PRESS

A striking feature of the South African press scene is that all the Afrikaans newspaper (with the exception of Die Afrikaner which is even further to the right) are pro-government and pro-apartheid, while all the English newspapers are anti-government (though not necessarily opposed to all forms of segregation). Furthermore, the Afrikaans news-

papers are all party journals, controlled by boards which include Cabinet Ministers and leading Nationalist Party officials to ensure that they toe the line.

The English newspaper, though not formally connected with any political party, cover a range of opinion corresponding with the outlook of the opposition parliamentary parties, United and Progressive. Some of the English-language newspapers, directed at the Black market, are more militant on specific issues without hewing to any identifiable ideological line.

## THE AFRIKAANS PRESS

The Nasionale Pers, identified with the so-called Cape "liberal" or "verligte", wing of the Nationalist Party, publishes Die Burger, Die Beeld, Volksblad, and Oosterling, as well as the nationally circulating magazines Huisgenoot, Sarie Marais, Landbouweekblad and Fair Lady. It has two Cabinet Ministers on its board: the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, and the Minister of Justice, Mr. P. C. Pelser. Die Afrikaanse Pers, based in Johannesburg, publishes die Vaderland, Hoofstad and Dagbreek, as well as the Northern Times, Financial Gazette, Rooi Rose, Fleur, Bona and Imvo Zabantsundu - the last two being directed to the African market. Chairman of Afrikaanse Pers is the Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman.

Voortrekkerpers, which published Die Transvaler, has as Chairman of its board the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M.C. Botha. Other directors include the Minister of Mines, Dr. C. de Wet; the Minister of Labour, Mr. Marais Viljoen; the Minister of Social Welfare, Dr. C. P. Mulder; the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Mr. H. Schoeman, and the head of General Mining, Dr. J. F. Muller.

Strong financial links of one kind or another bind all three Nationalist publishing houses together. Voortrekkerspers, for example, has a share in Hoofstad together with Die Afrikaanse Pers, and also does printing work for Die Nasionale Pers. Die Afrikaner is published by Stryders, one of two publishing companies set up by Dr. Hertzog in November, 1969.



## THE ENGLISH PRESS

The biggest company in South Africa is the Argus printing and Publishing Company, which owns the Star, Cape Argus, Daily News, Friend, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Pretoria News, Sunday Tribune, World and Cape Herald, as well as Illanga, Femina, Personality, Farmers' Weekly and a number of other publications. Its associated company Rhodesia Printing and Publishing controls the major press organs in Rhodesia. The Argus Company also has strong links with the Central News Agency, South Africa's main distribution agency, and the South African Press Association, which has a monopoly of news distribution in the Republic.

Of the 8 directors of the Argus Company, two are nominees of the Rand Mines group and two of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, which between them hold 13.2 per cent of the capital. The same amount is held by the Argus Provident, Pensions and Savings Funds together with the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company. The Anglo-American group holds 3.6 per cent of the Argus shares. Nominees of Barclays and Standard Banks hold 12.2 per cent of Argus shares.

South Africa's second largest publishing group is South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), which publishes the "Rand Daily Mail", "Sunday Times", "Sunday Express", "Eastern Province Herald" and "Evening Post", and has a 50 per cent interest in the "Financial Mail" (the other 50 per cent being held by the London Financial Times). SAAN also has investments in the Central News Agency, S.A. Pulp and Papers Industries and the "Cape Times". The main shareholders in SAAN are the Abe Bailey Trust and Estate with 65.9 per cent of the total shares - a valuable stake which only government intervention prevented the Argus Company from acquiring in 1968.

It can be seen, then, that mining, industrial and financial capital are strongly entrenched in the English press, which not unnaturally tends to act as the mouthpiece for these interests.

Only four English daily newspapers remain outside the Argus and SAAN empires - the "Cape Times", "Natal Mercury", "Daily Dispatch" and "Natal Witness".

Also run by an independent company is the weekly "Post" started shortly after the end of the second world war by Jim Bailey, son of mining millionaire Abe Bailey, as a paper for Black readership. Once a national paper it now publishes only in the province of Natal.

## CENSORSHIP LAWS

The Nationalist Party's greatest weapon in the sphere of propaganda resides in the control of power, which enables it to squeeze the non-conformist press into submission. The press was excluded from the provisions of the 1963 Publication and Entertainments Act, in terms of which the Nationalist Government is banning internal and (mainly) external publications at the rate of 1,000 a year. But in return for its exclusion, the press had to accept the restrictions of a self-imposed code of conduct requiring it to "take cognizance of the complex racial problems of South Africa and . . . the general good and safety of its peoples". The South African Society of Journalists had no hesitation in condemning this code of conduct as voluntary acceptance of censorship by the press. "We believe that the last clause of the code of conduct means plainly that criticism of present government policy must be toned down", the Society said.



The code has not been called into operation very often. Up to November, 1967 the Press Board of Reference which administers the code had received only 16 complaints, of which 9 had been sustained and 6 rejected. In his 1968 report the chairman of the Press Board of Reference, Mr. Justice H. de Villiers, said that after holding his position for 6 years he had come to the conclusion that, generally speaking, there was an excellent press in South Africa "which compares favourably with any press in the world." However, Nationalist politicians have been unwilling to accept the code as a substitute for direct censorship and there is strong and continuous pressure from Nationalist sources for the exclusion of the press from the provisions of the Publications and Entertainments Act to be terminated. This would make possible the banning of newspapers by government edict and even pre-publication censorship, as well as the imposition of criminal sanctions for breaches of the Act.

As long ago as 1956 the International Press Institute headquartered in Zurich found that the encroachments by the government on the press in South Africa had become increasingly serious. The banning of unpopular papers constituted a Sword of Damocles over the entire press. The Institute held that restraints on publication in South Africa were so complex that in few countries in the world was a greater strain imposed on editors.

In its annual review of the state of the world press, issued on January 1, 1968, the Institute once again called attention to the South African Government's "war of nerves" against the opposition press and the threat of legislation to curb it. Including the censorship at that time imposed by the Smith regime in Rhodesia in its censure, the Institute said: "It is particularly regrettable that the two countries which are Africa's richest, and where press freedom has long been established, should set such a bad example."

## LAWS AGAINST PRESS FREEDOM

Here is a list of some of the laws restricting press freedom in South Africa:-

**The Riotous Assemblies Act**, first passed in 1914 but amended several times - gives the State President the power to prohibit the publication of a newspaper or document which is "calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the European inhabitants of the Republic on the one hand and any other section of the inhabitants of the Republic on the other hand". This Act has only been used to protect the interest of the Whites.

The same applies to:

**The Native Administration Act of 1927**, as amended – provides that "any person who utters any words or does any other act or thing whatever with intent to promote hostility between Natives and Europeans shall be guilty of an offence".

**The Suppression Of Communism Act of 1950**, as amended gives the State President the power to ban any periodical or other publication which promotes the spread of Communism or "serves inter alia as a means of expressing views or conveying information the publication of which is calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism".

**The Public Safety Act of 1953** – provides for the declaration of a state of emergency and empowers the State President to prohibit the publication of any newspaper or other printed matter.

**The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953** – makes it an offence to use language or perform any act calculated to cause anyone to contravene any law by way of protest against any law.

**The Prisons Act of 1959** – makes it an offence to publish any sketch or photograph of a prison or prisoner, or to publish false information about a prisoner or ex-prisoner or the administration of any prison, with the onus placed on the publisher to prove that he had taken reasonable steps to ascertain the veracity of this story. The effect of this Act has been to discourage the press from exposing jail atrocities.

**The Extension of University Education Act of 1959** – established segregated universities for Non-whites. In terms of regulations framed under the Act, students at these colleges are forbidden to give statements to the press.

**The Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960** – prohibited the publication of statements by banned organizations like the African National Congress, or information which might be held to further the aims of any such banned organization.

**The General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (the so-called Sabotage Act)** – empowers the government to prohibit any person from performing any act. In terms of this provision, the government has prohibited all banned persons from producing any material for publication. Not only are banned persons prohibited from entering the premises of any newspaper but they are also prohibited from communicating with one another. It is an offence for any newspaper to publish the words or statement of any banned person, even after his death. One clause of this Act provides that any new newspaper which applies for registration may be required to deposit £10,000 with the Minister of the Interior, and if the newspaper is subsequently banned, the deposit will be forfeited to the State.

**The General Law Amendment Act of 1963** – prohibits the press from identifying in reports photographs of any place or area declared by the Minister to be "protected" in the interests of the public or the safety of the State.

**The Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963** – provides press from identifying in reports photographs of any place or art exhibition deemed by the Publications Control Board to be "undesirable". A publication or object, declares the Act, shall be deemed undesirable if it or any part of it (a) is indecent or obscene (b) blasphemous (c) brings any section of the people into ridicule or contempt (d) harms race relations (e) prejudices the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order.

**The Official Secrets Amendment Act of 1965** – makes it an offence to publish in any way or for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the country any information relating to military and related matters, including any police matter relating to the preservation of the internal

security of the Republic or the maintenance of law and order.

**The Defence Amendment Act of 1967** – makes it an offence to publish information about military matters either in peace or in war, save with the permission of the Minister of Defence.

**The General Law Amendment Act of 1969**, the so-called BOSS law – prohibits the publication or communication of any information relating to the Bureau of State Security or anybody connected with it, and places the Bureau beyond the purview of either Parliament or the courts. With a total of 22 political prisoners known to have died as a result of torture by the Security Police between 1963 and 1970, the menace to free inquiry represented by this Act needs no emphasizing.

In addition to these general limitations on the right of publication, there are also other laws, applicable to the population in general, which bear particularly hard on the press.

**The Criminal Procedure Act of 1955**, provides that anyone believed to have information required by the police for their investigations can be brought before a magistrate and questioned. Refusal to answer can result in imprisonment up to a year. Several journalists have been jailed under this Act for refusing to disclose the name of informants. Fear of questioning or prosecution under this Act has resulted in many an atrocity being suppressed instead of being brought to the notice of the public.

**The Terrorism Act of 1967**, providing for the indefinite detention without trial of persons alleged to be in possession of information about terroristic activities, and the **Criminal Procedure Act of 1965**, providing for the detention without trial for repeated periods of 180 days of any person likely to give material evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings, are also fearsome weapons against the freedom of pressmen. Three journalists were among the 22 Africans who were arrested under the Terrorism Act in May 1969, brought to trial under the Suppression of Communism Act in October 1969, and re-detained under the Terrorism Act in February 1970 after the charges had been formally discharged by the presiding judge. The laws controlling the entry of Whites into African urban and rural areas severely restricts the freedom of the press.

Journalists have frequently failed to get permission to enter African reserves to inquire into reports of widespread starvation, or to investigate the circumstances of African communities that have been forcibly removed from their homes under government removal schemes.

With a battery of laws like these ranged against him, it is no wonder that the editor of South Africa's largest daily newspaper, "The Star", wrote in 1952 that "editing a newspaper under these conditions is like walking blindfold through a minefield". No matter how lightly the editor treads, the slightest pressure is likely to produce an explosion. The persecution and prosecution of "Rand Daily Mail" editor, Lawrence Gandar, for publishing reports of prison atrocities is only one of a number of similar cases in South Africa.

## WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS

Press freedom in South Africa in its truest sense has never existed, and the Nationalist Government is determined that it never shall exist. Furthermore, the government is determined that whatever remains in the way of "free expression of ideas" shall be brought under control or stamped out altogether. The South African author Nadine Gordimer, whose own novel "The Late Bourgeois World" was banned by the Publications Board, said in an address to the Society

# Call to replace White rector with a 'Black'

PRESENCE IRRELEVANT  
UWC MEMORANDUM

University of the Western Cape want their present White rector  
They say they do not want which ever a new rector  
Coloured — provided he is not White.



University boycott  
is Black Power,  
says rector

Black  
increasing  
discrimination

STUDENT

for Human Rights at the University of the Witwatersrand in May 1968 that there was no country in the Western World where writers had less freedom than in South Africa. "All the restrictions of freedom in the various media have done in our country is to produce a climate of insidious intimidation that is leading us into intellectual inertia and apathy". Eighteen months later, in January 1970, in an article in the South African journal "Reality", Miss Gordimer said a whole generation of South Africans was growing up in intellectual isolation and without any insight into the lives and aspirations of their fellow-countrymen. The "blunting of human faculties" that control of Communication was steadily achieving was "essential to the maintenance of apartheid as a whole" she said.

Another article in "Reality" in March 1970 by the Afrikaans writer André Brink accused the government of harming Afrikaans literature with censorship. Brink also accused Afrikaans writers of having offered "no serious challenge" to the system of apartheid, because 90 per cent of them were "more or less pro-Establishment, pro-system, pro-government . . . This is why one can hardly expect any truly great writing from the small laager of Afrikaans word-mongers who are all more or less pro-apartheid. Now apartheid is the denial of everything that is dignified and precious in man. Anyone who supports it must inevitably deny something human in himself." Nor is this opinion confined to the ranks of authors. South African journalists themselves are well aware of their predicament. In a statement issued in July 1969 condemning the BOSS law just passed by Parliament, the South African Society of Journalists said that with the promulgation of the Act the South African press has entered "a new dark era in which the normal means of open communication enjoyed elsewhere in the enlightened world will be sacrificed for secrecy, acute apprehension and ever-present peril".

For newspapers, said the statement, the BOSS law created a situation far worse than could be experienced under direct censorship. "The press in South Africa is faced with an untenable situation fraught with doubts which it cannot resolve and threats which it cannot determine. There can be no doubt that this will stop free inquiry by the press in many important fields".

At the 1970 congress of the SASJ, in Johannesburg, held to mark the Society's 50th anniversary, the President, Mr. Brian Rudden, commented on increasing government threats against the freedom of the press. In the past year, he said, there had been disturbing signs of erosive press measures in South Africa. "We have seen once again disturbing signs that some politicians would dearly like to see the press muzzled. We have seen how, under the apparatus created by the government, for the first time in our country police have entered the offices of major national newspapers and, without the backing of any court order, prevented publication of a report."

Mr. Rudden said that a free press was something that concerned not only journalists but the community at large. "If the process continues it will not only be journalists who suffer but — far more important — it will be every single person in the country, entirely irrespective of his political affiliations."

The SASJ has a membership of approximately 700 journalists drawn entirely from the ranks of the English-language press. Journalists working for the pro-government Afrikaans press are forbidden to belong to the SASJ and are not independently organized. Black journalists are prevented by law from joining the SASJ.

The only non-racial organization of South African journalists is the South African Journalists' Circle which is submitting this report. Owing to Government repression, most of the members of the SAJC are either in jail or in exile, and the organization is unable to function legally in South Africa. Nevertheless, members of the SAJC are closely associated with the South African liberation movement, and can claim to speak in the name of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

Within the Law of South Africa it is obviously impossible today to struggle against the law. Outside the law, an army of freedom fighters both inside and outside the country, many with weapons in their hands, are engaged in the struggle for the liberation of all our people. It will be one of the duties of the liberation movement to bring to the people of South Africa a personal freedom they have never before enjoyed. Clearly press freedom, too, must be included as one of our top priorities.

Portugal and South Africa are jointly building 27 dams on the Cunene River. The generating capacity of the whole scheme will be just a third of the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique, but it will open up much new

land for settlement. Finding the settlers is another question. Reporting in the October 1972 issue of **AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT** a special correspondent, MS, states ...



A general view of the Gove dam which Portugal is building on the Cunene in southern Angola

## CUNENE SCHEME MAY ATTRACT MORE GUERRILLAS THAN SETTLERS

The Cunene River rises in the Bié Plateau in Angola, not very far from the Benguela railway town of Nove Lisboa, cuts southwards through the Huila Plateau, veers westwards at Ruacana Falls and forms 200 miles of the border between South West Africa and Angola before emptying into the Atlantic.

It is some 600 miles long, which is not very long by African standards. But nature has provided it with a very important economic characteristic: its bed drops exactly one mile from source to mouth. And in its final 200-mile run to the sea, it flows through some of the driest stretches of land in Southern Africa, both on the Angolan and the South African sides. The first agreement between South Africa and Portugal to harness the Cu-

nene dates back to 1926, when the border line between Angola and South West Africa was finally established. Only as late as 1962 did South Africa ask for a re-opening of the negotiations, suggesting the 1926 Agreement as the starting point for the new talks. In 1964 both countries came again to an agreement, this time on the principles governing the development of any river common to their respective territories.

With their usual plodding inefficiency the Portuguese took a long time to achieve their share of the preliminary studies required for the planning of a Cunene River Scheme. The technical obstacles encountered by both sides were increased by the difficulty in finding a common approach to the solutions envisaged. The toughest point

of contention between the two countries concerned the size and the height above sea-level of the lake to be created at Calueque, some 20 miles upstream from where the river becomes the border line between Angola and South West Africa.

The South African Government, which was very interested in keeping this reservoir close to its borders, proposed the creation, at Calueque, of a lake of 224 square miles with the water storage level 3,602 feet above sea level. Portugal preferred to control the flow of the Cunene at a point much further upstream, so reducing the Calueque reservoir's size and importance as a regulating agent. The Portuguese finally had their way and in January 1969 it was commonly agreed that the full storage level of



the Calueque reservoir would not exceed 69 square miles and its water level would be 3,583 feet above sea level. The Cunene River Scheme had been born.

It is not at all surprising that, from the beginning, both countries attached such great importance to the problems involved in controlling the flow of the Cunene. As a matter of fact, the difference between the flood-level and the drought-level of the waters of the Cunene is such that no development is possible unless these steep variations come under control. The catchment basin of the Cunene is roughly divided into two zones by the Mocamedes railway, which runs more or less along the 15° S. parallel, between the town of Serpa Pinto and the port of Mocamedes. The northern zone has an average yearly rainfall of 40 inches to 50 inches. As the river progresses southwards the rainfall level decreases to the extent that, at Ruacana Falls, the yearly average is 16 inches, and at the estuary only 2 inches. Besides, and strangely enough, the rainy season lasts longer in the northern zone.

### Ambitious Scheme

During the dry season all the tributaries of the Cunene dry up except for the Cului and the Caculuar. The flow of the Cunene also suffers from ups and downs which defy any possibility of an accurate forecast. Measurements taken at Matala in 1960/61 showed a maximum flow of 320,000 gallons a second (galsecs); in 1963/64 this did not go beyond 90,600 galsecs. However, during the 1960/61 dry season, which occurred in a year which can be considered a 'wet' one, the average flow at Matala was measured at 2,900 galsecs while in the following year, a 'dry' one, this figure increased to 7,500 galsecs. For the sake of comparison, the yearly average flow of the Zambesi at the Cabora Bassa dam will be around 521,000 galsecs.

The ambitious Cunene Scheme, born in 1969, comprises 27 dams for irrigation flow control and power production and costs a total of \$648 m. The power output of all the projected stations put together is 6,797 m. kWh (Cabora Bassa dam alone: 18,000 m. kWh). The areas to come under irrigation cover 320,000 acres, and another 865,000 acres are supplied with water for cattle farming.

Despite these rather grandiose plans the Portuguese took a more realistic approach when they decided to implement them: the first phase of the scheme, to be completed by end-1973, consists only in building the Gove dam and the initial phase of the Matunto development project.

The Gove dam, some 60 miles from Nova Lisboa, is a very modest undertaking in Cabora Bassa terms. While

Cabora Bassa, when complete, will be an imposing concrete structure 525 feet high, 995 feet long at the top, with a reservoir covering 1,027 square miles and containing 11,380 m gallons of water at full storage level, the Gove dam will be an earth dam 190 feet high, 3,647 feet long, and its reservoir will cover a mere 70 square miles and contain 566 m gallons of water.

### More Impact Than Cabora

The estimated cost for both also bears no comparison: initial estimates for the Gove dam put its cost at about \$10 million, while the Cabora Bassa dam will not be finished before \$300 million have been spent.

To be more precise, the Cabora Bassa dam contract was awarded to the ZAMCO international consortium for 7,033 m escudos while the Gove dam contract was awarded to a group of three Portuguese firms, Azevedo Campos SARL (civil engineering), Sondagens Rodio (foundations), and SORE-FAME (equipment), for 250 m escudos. The work at Gove started in October 1969 and should be finished by the end of 1972, two years ahead of the Cabora Bassa.

**Even if the Gove dam bears no comparison in size and price with its Mozambique counterpart, the economic benefit it will eventually bestow on Southwestern Angola is probably more important than the future direct impact of the Cabora Bassa dam on the Tete district.**

The Gove dam will harness the Cunene near its source and will guarantee a minimum flow of 17,600 galsecs at Matala, some 60 miles further down-stream, instead of the present 1,100 galsecs. The power produced at present at Matala will increase 16 times and the now disciplined waters will be used to irrigate 49,420 acres in the Quiteve-Humbe area, with another 247,100 acres being supplied with water for cattle farming. It has been estimated that the productivity level of those areas in Southwestern Angola which will come now under irrigation will increase from 25 to 30 times. This extraordinary figure is easily explained by the fact that the economy of these areas is dominated by traditional animal husbandry and that because of bad weather, the average level of cattle concentration is at present one head per 25 acres of grazing land, an unusually low figure.

But the Gove dam is also a diplomatic victory for the Portuguese. According to the 1969 agreement the entire cost of the flow control work at Gove will be financed by South Africa, which agreed to pay for half of it and to finance the other half with a 20-year loan at 5% interest. South Africa will also pay a royalty of US 0.15 cents for each kilowatt produced at the Ruacana Falls dam, which it will eventually

build itself. This royalty will be halved after 20 years.

The first phase of the work to be undertaken by the Portuguese on the Cunene also includes building a pumping station at Matunto which will take the water to the Quiteve-Humbe area through a rural water supply network, also to be built. It has been estimated that the 49,420 acres of land to come under irrigation in the Quiteve-Humbe area will produce eventually every year some 14,200 metric tons of cotton, 29,500 tons of maize, 11,000 tons of wheat and 40,000 tons of citrus fruit.

The work on the South African side will mainly comprise building a pumping station at Calueque, eight miles inside Angola, and a canal from the pumping station to the border. The pumping station will be able to supply an average of 1,300 galsecs to areas in north and central South West Africa. South Africa will also build a nine-mile road parallel to the canal and, later, a hydro-electric dam at Ruacana Falls, where the river bed suddenly drops 460 feet.

Preliminary feasibility studies indicate that those areas in Angola which will come under farm irrigation will eventually allow the settlement of an average of 32 to 36 persons to 100 acres, and that in those lands supplied only with watering-points for cattle, the settlement level will be one settler for every 250 acres. These studies have also established that the lowest net revenue considered as adequate, i. e. -\$185 a month and a settler, will not be attained unless farms have a minimum of 50 acres (20,00 acres for cattle ranches).

Taking these figures into account, and figures referring to the areas which will come under irrigation at Quiteve-Humbe, the conclusion is that the first phase of the scheme, when completed, will have created the conditions required for settling about 15,000 persons in the full irrigation areas and 1,000 in the ranching areas.

However, it is theoretically possible that the Cunene River scheme, which foresees the eventual irrigation of 371,000 acres plus 865,000 acres for ranching, will bring the settlement potential of southwestern Angola to 120,000 to 130,000 persons.

Some sources have quoted these figures, and much more inflated ones, as meaning that many white Portuguese will eventually come to settle in the area. To say so is to ignore the Portuguese demographic reality: firstly, the Metropolitan Portuguese have not shown a marked tendency to settle in Portuguese Africa, and in 1966-1970 only 9,747 Government-assisted settlers came to Angola (4,672 to Mozambique); in the same period, 428,230 emigrated to France alone. Unless Western Europe goes through a severe economic crisis, there is no possibility of this trend being reversed in the near future.

## A Grotesque Dream

Secondly, the population of Metropolitan Portugal has actually decreased in the last 10 years (8.85 m in 1960 and 8.67 m in 1970). With the Metropolitan Portuguese rural population leaving the countryside to look for work in the urban areas or abroad in increasing numbers, the manpower shortage in Portuguese agriculture has become so acute that it is not conceivable that a human surplus of such proportions will become available to be directed eventually to the greener pastures of Southwestern Angola. To talk in terms of dozens or even hundreds of thousands of Metropolitan Portuguese settlers, as in the case of the 'one-million settler dream for the Tete district in Mozambique', is simply grotesque.

In the meanwhile, the Portuguese have been working steadily on the first phase of the project and just recently it has been announced that 33 farms of 1,000 to 3,000 acres each had been offered for tender. These farms are to be exploited on a trial basis for the first three years. After this initial period the concession is to be made permanent. All milk production in the area has been guaranteed an outlet with the opening last January of a dairy factory at Vila Folgares, 13 miles south of Matala.

The Cunene River scheme has been recently in the news for reasons other than economic. According to confused reports from South West Africa, the Ovambos had cut the fence separating the two countries and laid claim to the Cuanhama area in Angola at the beginning of this year. It has been reported that the Portuguese have already sent four battalions to the area and that white women and children had been evacuated from Ovamboland.

The Portuguese authorities have vigorously denied that there is any truth in these reports; but they saw fit that the Governor-General of Angola, Col. Rebocho Vaz, should pay an unexpected visit to the area around the same time. After his visit, a Luanda newspaper announced that there was no foundation whatsoever in the rumours. However, the newspaper added rather ambiguously that in certain areas the traditional chiefs had been meeting a certain opposition created by an underground action of a subversive nature".

The MPLA, the leading liberationist movement in Angola, reacted also in a typical fashion, publishing a flurry of communiques. "Objective conditions exist in the area which are suitable for the commencement of the armed struggle," said one of them. With the Cabora Bassa example in mind the Portuguese might be inclined to think that, in Portuguese Africa, bulldozers and guerrillas seem to come together.

The military strength of the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists was increasing every year and the armed strength of the Unholy Alliance continued to be a particular danger to the liberation struggle of millions of Africans in Southern Africa and to the security of the independent African states, a statement by the African National Congress emphasised at the recent Presidential Conference of the World Peace Council.

# The ANC in Chile

## FOR THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CONFERENCE

also pointed out that to secure the protection of NATO the governments of South Africa and Portugal were tempting the western powers with the advantages of an Atlantic bloc which would link the racists with Latin America in the Southern hemisphere.

Not only have the South African racists made overtures towards creating a South Atlantic military alliance, but it was also attempting to make contact with the people of Latin America through more subtle channels such as sport. Having been isolated by the democratic forces in Europe they hoped to gain a foothold in South America. The ANC urged the democratic forces in that area to prevent the racist sportsmen from bringing their whites-only policy into Latin America.

The Presidential conference of the World Peace Council met in Santiago, Chile from 2nd to 9th October and was attended by its presidents representing most countries of the world, including the national liberation movements of Africa, as well as many guests.

Meeting in the vast glass and marble edifice which the Chileans had built in nine months three years ago for the meeting of United Nations Commission on Trade and Development, the WPC conference declared that the exploitation of Man by Man will not come to an end on this earth as long as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism exist. The WPC considers it its duty to further this struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to counter the constant danger which they represent to the security and peace throughout the world and in the interest of the sacred rights of all peoples to be free and sovereign.

The meeting noted that South Africa's occupation of the territory of Namibia was in its 27th year. During these last fifty years the racist regime has imposed a colonial system upon Namibia which is maintained by the brutal repression of the indigenous people. The International Court of Justice had decided that South Africa's occupation is illegal. The WPC reaffirmed the people's right to complete freedom, human dignity and independence.

## APARTHEID

The meeting of the WPC also reaffirmed its condemnation of the scandalous racist policy of apartheid practised by the government of South Africa and its lackeys, backed by imperialism, against the majority of the population. The conference appealed to all peace-loving forces to speed up the process of ending white supremacy by giving their absolute political, moral and material support to the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa led by the African National Congress.

A special appeal was made to the United Nations to recognise the right which the liberation movements of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique, (respectively the PAIGC, the MPLA and FRELIMO) as well as of Namibia (SWAPO), Zimbabwe (ZAPU) and of South Africa (the African National Congress), have to be accepted in the United Nations bodies as the only authentic representatives of their peoples, as such to be the spokesmen for their interests and aspirations.

In particular the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies must be represented in all the bodies of the United Nations as observers at least.



Alex La Guma - ANC delegate addressing a session of the WPC meeting in Chile

## FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Addressing the Conference the ANC representative attending in the place of Comrade O. R. Tambo, stated that in exchange for the opportunity of drawing huge profits from investments in South Africa, and the opportunity of advancement into the rest of the continent, the foreign allies of the racists have assisted in creating for the oppressor regime a huge military machine whose aim is to ensure the continuation of apartheid and to act as a deterrent to the independent and peaceful advancement of the whole African continent.

It must be clear that any attempts to ensure peace in Africa and in the world must also include the ending of racism in South Africa and the system of oppression of the Black peoples. Thus the struggle of the South African people was part of the world-wide offensive of the progressive forces against imperialism and for world peace.

National liberation struggles were acts of defence against aggression, and forces struggling for the final elimination of colonialism in all its forms, by this very act promoted universal peace and security.

A paper by the ANC titled "SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM, A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE" was accepted as part of the World Peace Council's documentation.

\* \* \* \* \*

The imperialists, led by US imperialism, have always included the Indian Ocean in their strategy, said a resolution at the WPC presidential meeting. In order to carry out their policy of domination, the imperialists also use two governments, South Africa and

Portugal, which they supported politically, economically and militarily.

The resolution considered the

## PROBLEMS OF PEACE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Portugal had been waging a war against the people of Mozambique; Tanzania was exposed to different forms of pressure to make it renounce its policy of national independence; Madagascar and Malawi have been used as forward pawns of this policy, in particular to whitewash the racists of South Africa; All kinds of provocations were organised against Tanzania particularly after the changed policy of the new Malagasy government; India was the object of blackmail and provocations to make her adopt the positions of the imperialist countries, as was the position with Bangladesh, and Sri-Lanka (Ceylon) who was exposed to continuous threat to make her renounce certain economic measures which were being carried out; The peoples of the Islands of Reunion and Comores are dominated by colonial regimes;

It was obvious that this economic and political domination which the imperialists wished to maintain, constituted a permanent threat to the peace of that zone, and the policy of war in the Indian Ocean endangered peace in the whole world too.

The conference denounced all manoeuvres undertaken by the imperialists and colonialists in order to block the road of this region to freedom, progress and peace.

\* \* \* \* \*

While hundreds of students demonstrated outside the UNCTAD building where the World Peace Council was meeting, protesting against United States attempts to seize Chilean copper, the conference expressed the indignation of all peoples of the world at the aggression perpetrated by North American imperialism against Chile. It called upon the peace-loving workers of the world to express their solidarity with the people of Chile. President Salvador Allende was presented with the Joliot-Curie Peace Medal.

In its statement:

## TOGETHER TOWARDS A PEACEFUL FUTURE OF MANKIND

The WPC said that aggressive war against the people of Indochina was still raging; tension in the Middle East continued; cruel colonial and racist regimes in Africa and on other continents were still in existence; the neo-colonialist exploitation of the "third world" countries bring with it hunger and further impoverishment of their population; reactionary and fascist elements in some countries were becoming more active; the arms race was going ahead, while further stockpiling of weapons of mass annihilation, was threatening the future of mankind . . .

"Let our common will and determination prevent the forces of militarism and aggression from slowing down the irreversible historical process towards the progress and happiness of all humanity."

---

**Three Names**

---

**That Mean**

---

**Squalor and Hunger**

---

Cerutiville, Tockomarus and Edenvale mean squalor and hunger to the thousands of Coloureds who live there. The Government is aware of these slums but it will be some years before sufficient new houses are built, and the slums cleared. On the outskirts of Nigel is Cerutiville. Its streets are windswept lanes of dust and waste.

They turn to muddy rivers when the rains come. Homes in Cerutiville are square boxes made of packing cases, pieces of corrugated iron, cardboard boxes and flattened tins. Muddy sand floors are covered by scraps of linoleum. There are no bathrooms. A stench comes from the home-made toilets in the yards. There is only one tap in Cerutiville to provide water for the township's 1,600 residents. Water is not always available.

Mrs. A. van Wyk, a Coloured social worker of the newly formed Social Democratic Welfare Organisation, said:

"The township is a breeding ground for typhoid, diphtheria and gastroenteritis. Malnutrition and TB are not uncommon." Families of 10 bedded down nightly in a single room, trying to ignore the howling wind and damp floor.

"Conditions in the Coloured areas of Edenvale and Tockomarus were no better. There are only three taps in Edenvale, where between 200 and 500 Coloured families live. The women wash their clothes in a muddy spruit. There is TB in every second house.

"People in Tockomarus' shanty homes live on porridge for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Sometimes they have tomatoes and a little meat.

Mrs Van Wyk said the Social Democratic organisation had been formed to help ease these people's suffering.

\* \* \* \* \*

Widow Elizabeth Smith and her nine children live in this house made of packing cases. She is supported by her older children.



The Black people of South Africa know only too well many of the hideous crimes the South African Police perpetrate daily against them. In the majority of cases one never hears about such crimes mainly because victims are either intimidated or feel that no purpose will be served by reporting such crimes as most senior officers in the force who will deal with such complaints are also guilty of such criminal activities. In any case who bothers with such "trifling" matters as a white police officer beating up a black man. It happens so regularly and so frequently that it has become a part of the South African way of life. However four such crimes in a matter of one week last month came before the courts in Johannesburg.

### Crime 1: Raped in Police Van

A constable stationed in Muldersdrift picked up a friend in his police van and allowed him to rape a black woman in the back of it. **The constable conceded in court that he believed a black woman could be treated any way a white man saw fit.**

In passing sentence Justice Hiemstra said: "In the lower ranks of the police force these things occur absolutely too frequently."

So they do. They do, because they are condoned not only by senior ranks in the police force, but by the government and white society.

Despite his strong words, the judge sentenced the criminal to only four years imprisonment. Had the victim been white and the criminal black we have no doubt that he would have been sentenced to death. Many black men have died by the hangman's noose for less blatant contraventions of the laws governing rape.

### Crime 2: Sadistic Beating

A South African Police reservist, Johannes van Niekerk mercilessly beat an African awaiting trial prisoner, Mr. Frans Mailola, with a shambok in a cell at the Wonderboomport police

station to extract information about a housebreaking case.

Medical evidence revealed that Mr. Mailola's back resembled a "woven basket" after the beating. He also suffered other injuries and could hardly walk.

Van Niekerk, a tall burly man, admitted a list of previous convictions dating back to 1958. These included two of assault.

The magistrate in sentencing van Niekerk said: "Not only did the assault inflict severe pain but it left the court with the impression that the accused delighted in causing the pain."

Strong words. Yes. But did the sentence the magistrate imposed on this beast fit the crime? Judge for yourself. Van Niekerk was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment, three months of which was suspended for three years. In addition he was sentenced to four cuts. In passing the latter sentence the magistrate commented that judicial corporal punishment of no more than 10 strokes was allowed by law and even that was stated by the Supreme Court to be on the verge of "the sadistic".

By this standard the reservist is a true blue sadist. The court accepted that he had administered between 15 and 30 blows with the shambok.

These are the type of men the South African Police recruit. Last year alone 191 Policemen were convicted for assault. Most of those convicted are still in the force.

### Crime 3: Rape and Murder

Charl Pedro du Plessis, a police constable, called out a sixteen year old African girl, Elizabeth Madikane, from the police cell in Franklin, and drove with her in a police van to a secluded spot. There he raped and shot her dead.

He was neither charged with murder nor rape. He was charged with contravening the Immorality Act (which for-

#### Footnote:

Mr. Mailola was found not guilty on the housebreaking charge.

bidden sex across the colour-line) and culpable homicide. Sentencing him to one year's imprisonment for contravening the Immorality Act Justice Cloete said that Du Plessis had abused his position. **The girl had been a virgin.** On the charge of culpable homicide the judge said Du Plessis had a good record of service including a period of service on the border.

**On the night in question his judgment was affected by alcohol.**

We have no doubt however that the learned judge's remarks would have been quite different had the accused been a black man and the victim a white girl.

### Crime 4: Set Man Alight

At the time of going to press, Nicolaas Biljon, a police constable attached to Bramley Police Station, was appearing at the Pretoria Regional Court charged with pouring petrol over a Black petrol attendant and setting him alight. The petrol attendant, Mr. Alfred Phatswane told the Court that at 1 a.m. two men stopped at the petrol station. The driver of the car shouted at him: "Kaffir, Kaffir, come quickly." As he approached the car, he saw Biljon, filling the car's tank with fuel.

Biljon, he continued, accused him of trying to be white. Mr. Phatswane said he denied this, and with the words: "Shut up, you f--- kaffir," Biljon aimed the nozzle of the petrol pump at him and squirted petrol in his face.

Mr. Phatswane said he ducked and covered his face with his hands. Then he found he was on fire. He ran into the office and put his burning hands into a bucket of water. Another attendant doused the rest of the flames. Mr. Phatswane said he was taken to hospital and had remained there for nearly a month. He had recovered from his injuries, but his left hand and his eyes troubled him. Cross-examined by the defence, Mr. Phatswane denied he was smoking at the time of the incident. He said his overalls were alight and had to be cut off him by nurses at the hospital.

The hearing was adjourned.

The International Defence and Aid Fund, as part of its continuing campaign to inform people of the real nature of apartheid, has published a pamphlet entitled:

# SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID QUIZ

The pamphlet is packed with facts on conditions in South Africa and answers many questions that people ask about apartheid.

Hereunder are a few of the questions and answers dealt with in the pamphlet

(Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from:  
The International Defence and Aid Fund,  
104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP)

rolls for each race group, and permanent domination by whites. The party assures the whites that no change would be made in the limited representation of any black group without the approval of the white electorate in a special election or referendum.

The United Party also promises to maintain racial segregation, control of the movement of Africans, and other forms of discrimination.

## Do Africans have any political rights?

It is rigid policy in South Africa that Africans can have no political rights in 'white' areas, that is, in more than four-fifths of the country.

Until 1959 Africans living in the Cape Province were entitled, subject to certain voting qualifications, to elect three whites to represent their interests in the House of Assembly. This representation was abolished in 1959 by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No. 46 of 1959. This Act created eight separate 'Bantu' Governments with limited powers 'to restore the traditional Bantu form of democracy'. These governments take the form of legislative assemblies, comprising of appointed chiefs and headmen and elected members. They have severely limited legislative powers. The Bantu Homeland Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971, expressly states that African legislative assemblies shall have no power to make laws relating to defence, foreign affairs, immigration, banking, customs and excise, railways, harbours, national roads, civil aviation, postal, telegraph, telephone and radio services, and the "control, organisation, administration, powers, entry and presence of any police force of the Republic charged with the maintenance of public peace and order and the preservation of internal security". Legislative power on all these important matters is reserved for the white parliament. Such law making as the assemblies have been allowed is subject to approval by the State President.

In so far as the eight million Africans living outside these homelands are concerned, they have been declared to be citizens of the homelands in terms of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, No. 26 of 1970, and have been told that their political and other rights are available only in the homelands. This makes a derision of democracy and is quite useless to the millions who live and work in the 'white' areas.

## What are the political rights of the Coloured people?

Before 1956 Coloured males in the Cape Province had a limited voting right on a common roll with whites. They were deprived of this right by the South Africa Act Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1956. In its place was substituted a form of separate representa-

The National Party has won six elections in a row and under the existing system there is no likelihood of it being defeated by any other parliamentary party.

## Is the opposition United Party against apartheid?

No. The United Party stands for 'white leadership', based on a federal system of government, with separate voters'

## Who governs South Africa?

The white minority of 3,751,328, that is, about 18 per cent of the population, through their elected representatives.

## What is the state of the parties in the South African parliament?

The National Party, which has been in power since 1948, has 118 seats. The opposition United Party has 47 seats and the Progressive Party one seat.

## Most Africans are allowed to do only menial work



ion whereby they could elect four whites to the House of Assembly. The 1956 Act set up an Advisory Council of Coloured Affairs, comprising 15 nominated and 12 elected members. This body was purely advisory. In 1964 it was reconstituted as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council with 16 member - 30 elected and 16 nominated by the State President.

Then, in 1968, the voting rights conferred in 1956 were abolished by the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 50 of 1968, and the Coloured people were totally deprived of all franchise rights. As a substitute, the Representative Council was again reconstituted, this time to provide for 40 elected and 20 nominated members. The government demonstrated that the Council was intended to be no more than a puppet body when the anti-apartheid Labour Party won 26 of the 40 elected seats at the first election in September, 1969. The Minister of Coloured Affairs promptly selected 13 of the defeated Federal Party candidates for inclusion among its 20 nominees to the Council, to give the pro-apartheid Federal Party control of the Council.

The government has also deprived the Coloured people of the Cape Province of the municipal franchise, which they had had for over a century. This right to vote in local government elections was taken away in November, 1971.

### **Do Indians and other Asians have political rights?**

No. A law enacted in 1946 - the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act - placed Indians on a separate voters roll, to elect three whites to the House of Assembly and one white to the Senate. Before this limited franchise could be used it was abolished in 1948 when the National Party was elected to power. As a substitute the government set up the National Indian Council in 1964. This was a non-statutory body consisting of 21 government nominees, with a purely advisory power. It was given statutory recognition in 1968 in terms of the South African Indian Council Act, which increased the number of nominees to 25. But this puppet body cannot disguise the fact that Indians, most of whom are third, fourth and fifth generation South Africans, are denied a say in the election of the government which rules them.

### **To what extent is social segregation of the races enforced?**

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953, the Motor Transportation Amendment Act, No. 44 of 1955, and the State-Aided Institutions Amendment Act, No. 46 of 1957 are the three main laws under which government, provincial, local and other



authorities make regulations reserving premises and transport on a racial basis.

The law says these separate facilities need not be provided for all race groups nor need they be equal. The important thing is to keep the races apart in buses, trains, taxis, parks, zoos, museums, art galleries, cinemas, theatres, toilets, beaches, sports stadiums, cafes, restaurants, etc. Africans, Coloureds and Indians are allowed to visit art galleries, museums, zoos, agricultural and trade shows, and similar places only on days and at times specifically authorised. Sports stadiums have separate entrances, stands, toilets and refreshment places. Post offices, in addition to separate entrances, have separate counters. Railway stations have separate entrances, platforms, waiting rooms and conveniences.

There are separate buses and trains for whites and blacks; where the traffic is small, separate seats ensure that whites and blacks are segregated.

### **Does this mean that black and white friends are not allowed to sit on a park bench together or on the same seat in a bus?**

Yes. It is an offence for a person of one race to sit on a seat reserved for another race.

### **Could black and white friends have drinks and lunch together in a cafe or licensed restaurant?**

No. Proclamations under the Group Areas Act make it a crime for any "disqualified" person to partake of refreshments in any tearoom, restaurant or bar.

### **Why, then, have whites and blacks sat together at banquets in leading white hotels - as happened when President Hastings Banda visited South Africa?**

Such occasions are exempted. Proclamation No. R26 of 1965, under the Group Areas Act specifies that a 'disqualified' person may drink and dine in places reserved for whites as a guest of the State, a provincial or local authority, or a statutory body. But private citizens may not mix in this way.

It should be added that the National Liquor Board has ruled that where blacks and whites have wine and dined together in licensed hotels and restaurants, all cups, glasses, cutlery and other tableware used by whites and blacks must be washed in separate sinks, dried with separate cloths, and kept apart.

### **Are Whites allowed to marry blacks?**

No. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949, made marriages between whites and blacks illegal. Any person classified as Coloured, Indian or Bantu is forbidden to marry a white.

If a South African white man marries a black while outside South Africa, the marriage becomes null and void on his return to South Africa. If the partners of such a marriage continue to live together they can be prosecuted under the Immorality Act.

#### What is the Immorality Act?

The Immorality Act, No. 21 of 1950, makes sexual intercourse between a black person and a white person a criminal offence, punishable by up to five years' imprisonment.

#### Is apartheid applied to health and hospital services?

Yes. The official policy is that black and white patients must be treated in separate hospitals or wards by doctors and nurses of their own race.

A statutory colour bar in the Nursing Act, no. 69 of 1957, forbids the employment of blacks in posts where they would supervise or control white staff. The law also stipulates that only whites may be appointed or elected to the Nursing Council, the body which controls the profession.

Blacks are employed in white hospitals to do menial work such as cleaning wards, removing soiled linen and running errands.

There is also discrimination in the pay of doctors and nurses. African doctors are paid 70 per cent of the rate for white doctors and Coloured doctors get 80 per cent of the white rate. African nurses are paid 45 per cent and Coloured nurses 61 per cent of the salaries paid to white nurses.

#### Is it true that apartheid is practised in blood transfusion services?

There is no official prohibition on the use of the blood of a black for a white and vice versa. But if a patient refuses to receive blood donated by a member of another race, doctors are expected to respect the patient's wishes. Blood transfusion regulations, published on November 30, 1962, provide that containers of blood must be labelled with the racial origin of the blood. This is indicated by W for white, K for Coloured, A for Indian and B for African. Societies which collect blood must have separate white and black departments and the records of donors and their blood donations must be kept in separate racial registers.

#### Are many Africans arrested for not producing their Reference Books on demand?

Yes. Every day of the year nearly a thousand are arrested for this contravention of the law. The Commissioner of Police has reported the following prosecutions under the heading: "Registration and Production of Documents by Bantu":—

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| 1967 | 315,756 |
| 1968 | 352,517 |



'Lunch' being served to African workers

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| 1969 | 318,825 |
| 1970 | 321,583 |

#### Is segregation applied to South African schools?

Yes. There are separate authorities and separate primary and secondary schools for whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

White education is under the control of the provincial authorities; African education is the responsibility of the Department of Bantu Education; Coloured education is administered by the Department of Coloured Affairs and Indian education by the Department of Indian Affairs.

White school children are taught in separate Afrikaans-medium and English-medium schools.

#### Is this segregated education equal for all races?

No. The standard for blacks, especially Africans is much inferior.

(i) School is compulsory for all white children between the ages of seven and sixteen, but not for Africans. In the case of Coloured and Indian children, school is compulsory only in a few areas and applies to those between the ages of seven and fourteen. Almost 70 per cent of African children leave school by Standard 2 and only 5 per cent reach Standard 6.

(ii) There is extreme overcrowding in Black schools and double sessions are necessary because of the shortage of classrooms, schools and teachers. In the case of African children, nearly one million are accommodated in double-session classes.

(iii) While the State spends R258 per year on each white pupil, only R19 is

spent on each African pupil. The amount per Coloured pupil is about R75 and per Indian pupil R81

(iv) Unlike parents of other racial groups, Africans must pay for their children's stationery and most text books in all but the lowest classes, and have to contribute to school funds. The cost of these items is estimated at up to R16 for primary classes, R25 to R29 for lower primary classes, and R32 to R37 for higher primary classes. In addition, some local authorities add a levy to African house rents to pay for lower primary schools in their areas.

(v) The pupil-teacher ratio for whites is about 20; for Africans it is 60.

(vi) White teachers are paid higher salaries than black teachers. African teachers are paid 52 per cent of the white scale and Coloured teachers get 72 per cent.

#### To what extent does South Africa depend upon the support of foreign investors?

According to the Johannesburg Financial Mail (18/6/71) total foreign investment in South Africa amounted to R4,990 million (£2,495 million) in 1969. Of this, 61 per cent came from the Sterling area, 21 per cent from Western Europe and 15 per cent from the Dollar area.

The book value of direct foreign investment in 1969 was R3,502 million, of which 60 per cent (R2,403 million) was British and 15 per cent (R596 million) American. The Financial Mail estimated that the current market value of these investments is probably two to three times the book value. The after-tax return on British direct investment was 10.5 per cent and on American 16.8 per cent.